Western Europe

Great Britain

Domestic Affairs

THE YEAR 1974 ended with a record level of inflation, a record overseas trade deficit, bombings in London, and renewed anxiety over what wage increases the miners would require to prevent further possible strike action. It also saw two elections and four budgets. Conservative leader Edward Heath fell in February amid the three-day work week and a state of emergency imposed to conserve fuel. The election result was a stalemate: Labour won 301 seats, the Conservatives 295, the Liberals 14, and others 24 seats. Half-hearted Conservative efforts to form a coalition with the Liberals failed. Realizing that his opponents feared an election more than he did, Prime Minister Harold Wilson governed with exuberance. He dismantled the Industrial Relations Act, which had provoked the wrath of the unions, and repudiated wage controls. The "social contract" between the government and the unions moderated wage claims, despite the refusal of the engineers union to abide by its admittedly vague terms. The introduction of food subsidies helped. As part of the same budget package, pensions and taxes were increased in March.

The second general election, in October, slightly increased the Labour vote, giving the party an over-all majority of three seats. Otherwise, only the Scottish Nationalists increased their representation. The second budget, in November, gave industry considerable relief. Still, at year's end, such major enterprises as British Leyland and Burmah Oil were forced to seek government financial aid. In Northern Ireland, meanwhile, the Assembly was suspended following industrial action by the Protestant workers, and direct rule from Westminster was reimposed. The Christmas truce gave some slight hope for a peaceful solution.

Relations with Israel

During the last months of the Heath government, relations with Israel began to improve. The arms embargo imposed during the Yom Kippur war was lifted in January, and, in February, Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home supported America against France at the conference of the 31 oil-consuming nations. In its February election campaign publication, the Conservative party reaffirmed that the

integrity of the State of Israel must be maintained, but also pledged continued support for withdrawal from occupied territories in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. The Conservative Friends of Israel, a parliamentary group with a current membership of 83 Conservative M.P.s was formed in September. At the group's meeting in December, director Michael Fidler outlined the group's aims as follows: to keep Conservative peers and M.P.s fully informed on Israeli affairs and to promote the best Anglo-Israeli relations.

The Labour government's concern, according to a November statement by Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, was to steer a course compatible with its traditional friendship with Israel, but to balance it against Britain's dependence on Middle East oil. In a March speech, Queen Elizabeth said the government would support the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 of 1967, and 338 of 1973; Wilson's letter to his national executive affirmed that the government Middle East policy remained the same as that pursued by Labour in opposition. This was interpreted as a reiteration of his attitude while in opposition that Resolution 242 did not require the Israelis to withdraw from all the territories occupied in 1967, despite a March statement by a Foreign Office spokesman that the present government did not dissent from the November 1973 declaration to the contrary by the nine Common Market member states. (AJYB 1973 [Vol. 74] p. 406). On his return from a visit to Israel in September, Edward Short, leader of the House of Commons, said relations with Israel were so good that they could not possibly be improved.

Efforts continued to expand trade with Israel and to diminish the widening discrepancy between British exports and imports. Goods and materials going to Israel reached an all-time record value of £187,248,000 in 1973 (£53 million more than in 1972), and British imports from Israel £55 million (a rise of £10 million), increasing the gap to £122 million, from about £100 million in 1972, £70 million in 1971 and £60 million in 1970. In May Stanley Clinton Davis, parliamentary undersecretary at the department of trade, said that however concerned the government was about the situation, it could not discriminate in Israel's favor to reduce the gap; that the main responsibility lay with those charged with promoting Israeli imports to Britain. In July the Anglo-Israeli Chamber of Commerce said it was cooperating with the British Overseas Trade Group for Israel and the Economic Council for Israel in an effort to coordinate the promotion of trade in both directions. In July, too, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, Callaghan stated that he would continue to seek favorable arrangements for the continuation of Israeli agricultural exports to the European Economic Community.

Palestinian Question

Britain's attitude to the Palestinian question clarified over the year. Callaghan stated in the House of Commons in March that permanent peace was impossible "unless a settlement provides for a 'personality' for the Palestinian people." In

November, however, he called "for the satisfaction of the needs of the Palestinians." by which I mean not only the rights of individual Palestinian refugees as was laid down for so many years by the UN General Assembly, but also the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people." Britain abstained when the General Assembly voted to seat the Palestine Liberation Organization as the "representative of the Palestinian people" in the November debate on Palestine, evoking a sharp protest from the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

In the debate itself, Britain voted against resolutions giving the Palestinians observer status at the General Assembly ("The British Government," wrote Wilson to Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, "feels very strongly that such observer status should be accorded to states and certain non-governmental international organizations. The Palestine Liberation Front does not come into either category."), and affirming "the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty." In the debate, Britain's delegate Ivor Richards said his government would support a Middle East settlement in which the Palestinians would "express their personality and exercise their legitimate political rights," but "this must be done in a manner which does not infringe upon or call into question the right of Israel as a state to exist in peace within secure and recognized boundaries." The British government, he said, had "much sympathy" with the Palestinians' contention "that they are indeed a people with a just claim to express their own identity within the territory with which they are historically associated and that, as such, they have political rights which extend beyond the rights of refugees referred to in Resolution 242. However, the Resolution must not be supplanted and not distorted out of shape or recognition."

There were in the Parliamentary Labour party, according to a statement made in June by Ian Mikardo, M.P., chairman of the party and of its international committee, some extreme anti-Israel members. These, he said, should not be confused with the "sizable and serious body of opinion within the PLP" (estimated by Mikardo at 30 to 50 M.P.s) which could not be described as anti-Israel in the sense of actually wanting to see the Jewish state destroyed, but which was pro-Arab in that it advocated a better deal for the Palestinians. Also in June, Joe Gormley, miners' union leader and new Labour Friends of Israel chairman, said that the anti-Israel section of the party could not be "very strong," since the British and Israeli labor movements had "been long-time collaborators in the Socialist International." Proof was that Golda Meir headed the Israel Labour party's delegation to the British Labour party conference in November.

In fact, the strongest parliamentary pro-Arab group, the Labour Middle East Council, was weakened in July by the defection of Christopher Mayhew, M.P., its founder and leader, to the Liberal party. In December six Labour M.P. Council members took part in a 12-day Middle East tour as guests of the Palestine Liberation Front.

In December Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe told the Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce that it would be in Israel's interests to "withdraw from the greater part of her conquests in the Six Day War" and "permit and indeed welcome the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank," but only in return "for the most categorical declarations by the governments of her neighbors and by those who claim to speak for the Palestinians that they recognize the State of Israel, that they renounce war against her and that they are willing to establish normal interstate relations with her."

In December Sir Julian Huxley, the first director-general of UNESCO, and other prominent British intellectuals stated in a letter to *The Times* of London that they would no longer cooperate with the organization unless it reversed its anti-Israel stand.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL

According to a "random omnibus survey" commissioned by the Israeli Embassy and conducted by National Opinion Poll Market Research in June, 68 per cent of the 1,845 adults questioned had heard of the PLO; 1 per cent said their attitude toward it was "very favorable," and 6 per cent that it was "favorable"; 30 per cent said it was "unfavorable," and 32 per cent that it was "very unfavorable"; 21 per cent were neutral, and 10 per cent "didn't know." Only 4 per cent of all respondents believed that PLO was "morally justified in seeking to destroy Israel," as opposed to 73 per cent who thought it was not. The survey also showed that while only 3 per cent supported the Arabs (compared with 7 per cent in November 1973), 35 per cent supported Israel (43 per cent in 1973), 52 per cent supported neither and 10 per cent "didn't know." Exactly half thought that Israel was "morally justified in sending forces into the Lebanon" after Ma'alot (p. 402). An equal proportion felt there was moral justification for Israel to take action outside its borders to combat terrorism, but only 11 per cent thought it justified under all circumstances, 38 per cent under some, and 29 per cent under none.

OFFICIAL CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM

Foreign Secretary Callaghan's keynote address to the November Labour party conference strongly condemned terrorism, whether the "murderous bombings in the Midlands and in London" or "the shooting of innocent hostages in aircraft hijackings or in cross-border raids." In May the Foreign Office had deplored both the "evil outrage" committed by the Palestinian terrorists at Ma'alot and the Israeli retaliatory raids on Lebanese bases. Condemnation of the Ma'alot attack was voiced in the House of Commons. Acts of violence from whatever source, said minister of state in charge of Middle East affairs David Ennals, could only harm prospects for a settlement in the area then being actively pursued by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

There were continual alerts at British airports, ports, and naval bases over the year on rumors of projected terrorist attacks. In January Home Secretary Robert Carr said contingency plans at London's Heathrow airport had been under review

for the past two years since Arab terrorist hijacking operations started, and in June an innovation was the presence of troops in Heathrow terminal buildings.

Arms Supply to Arabs

Commenting on May reports that Egypt and Syria were seeking arms supplies from British manufacturers in an effort to lessen dependence on Russia and to strengthen their renewed ties with the West, a Foreign Office spokesman said that "the new Government is presently looking at the whole question of arms supplies to the Middle East. Our overriding policy objective in that area is a peace settlement between Israel and the Arabs and you can take it for granted that the British government would do nothing which might endanger it." In February Egypt had invited representatives of British arms manufacturers to Cairo to display a variety of weapons, all described by the British as "defensive."

Arab Boycott

It was announced by a company spokesman in February that British Leyland, Britain's largest car manufacturer, intended to deal with both Israel and Arab countries once it was removed from the Arab Boycott Office's blacklist. While it had offered to build two car assembly plants in Lebanon, it would continue to supply cars and spare parts to Israel and even hoped to increase its Israeli trade. In July, in fact, Leyland signed a £12 million contract with Iraq for the supply of buses, and in December Israel Ambassador to Britain Gideon Raphael voiced his country's concern over the implications of a Leyland deal with Egypt to Secretary of State for Industry Anthony Benn. In December, too, Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce chairman Lewis R. Goodman warned that British firms were increasingly submitting to the Arab boycott of Israel.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography and Communal Data

A decline in the number of Orthodox marriages almost entirely accounted for a drop of 6.25 per cent in the number of persons marrying in synagogues in 1973 to 3,510, from 3,744 in 1972, according to statistics issued by the statistical and demographic unit of the Board of Deputies (AJYB, 1974–75 [Vol. 75], p. 408). For the first time since compilation of the statistics began, the Orthodox proportion fell to below 80 per cent of the total (79.5 per cent, compared with 81.5 per cent of the 1968–72 average), while Reform's share rose to 13.5 per cent (from 11.5 per cent) and Liberal's to 7 per cent (from 6.9 per cent).

The number of deaths was 4,776 in 1973. Of these, 86 per cent occurred in the Orthodox, 8 per cent in the Reform, and 6 per cent in the Liberal sectors.

A survey conducted by the research unit among 700 Jewish mothers who gave birth in 1971 showed the Jewish birthrate (1.72 children per family) to be lower than that of the general population (2.16 children). The exception was the small ultra-Orthodox group, with an average family size of 2.69 children. The survey showed a shorter child-bearing period for Jewish women, with only 4.6 per cent of births taking place after 10 years of marriage, compared with 13.3 per cent for the general population.

These figures, taken in conjunction with an average rate of synagogue marriages of 1,800 annually, led Professor S. J. Prais, honorary consultant to the research unit and co-author of the survey, discussing its implications in the London *Jewish Chronicle* in January, to estimate the eventual Anglo-Jewish community at 225,000 persons (affiliated to the minimal extent that they married in a synagogue) compared with 410,000 at present of whom some 270,000 were from families that were synagogue members.

Jewish Education

The London Board of Jewish Religious Education's annual report for 1973, issued in August, showed declines all around, with the total number of children enrolled in Jewish courses under its auspices down to 9,863, from 10,221 in 1972: average Sunday morning attendance dropped to 5,570 (from 5,691), and average mid-week attendance to 1,973 (from 2,152). In 1973 the board's Highgate, Mile End, and Bow centers in London closed, reflecting declining communities in these areas, while a new center opened in Newbury Park. At the end of that year, the board was responsible for 62 part-time centers attached to Greater London synagogues, and for release time classes in religious education at 16 local schools.

Concern with teaching standards at part-time centers was reflected in a June announcement that the faculty for the training of teachers, run by the board in conjunction with Jews' College and the Jewish Agency's Torah department, would conduct a condensed introductory course in teaching techniques for prospective teachers and in-service training of current teachers. Tovia Shahar was appointed director of the faculty.

In May the Jewish National Fund in London set up an advisory committee of educators active in Jewish schools and religion classes to counsel on the preparation of teaching aids and publications, as well as on planning conferences and meetings for teachers and parents.

It was announced in April that the Chief Rabbi's Educational Development Trust (AJYB 1972 [Vol. 73], p. 464) for promoting Jewish education has to date paid out a total of £200,000 in capital grants and scholarships, including £35,000 to the Lubavitch Foundation for a sixth form at its Stamford Hill, London, school; £60,000 to the Zionist Federation Education Trust for school development; £50,000 for the sixth form building at the Jewish Free School Comprehensive School, and £18,000 in scholarships to graduates.

In May Carmel College, Britain's only Jewish public school, celebrated its twentyfifth anniversary.

Jews' College

For the first time, Talmud and Jewish law, as well as Jewish thought and philosophy, will be offered by Jews' College as part of a new course leading to a B.A. honors degree in Jewish studies, according to a June announcement. The three-year syllabus, approved by the Council for National Academic Awards (NCAA), will also cover the Bible with commentaries, Hebrew and cognate languages and literatures, and the history and sociology of the Jews. NCAA's approval, said the school's principal, Rabbi Nahum Rabinovitch, was "recognition by the academic authorities that a program for our students should be designed from a Jewish point of view" (previously, any degree course at Jews' College had to be determined by University College, London). London Bet Din Dayan Morris Swift described the course as "a break with the Torah world." The inclusion of both Jewish and Christian critical scholarship in the College curriculum would, he said, make it "out of bounds for any genuine ben Torah or veshivah graduate."

In June, too, the College announced it was initiating a new program of graduate studies in Judaica, leading to M.A. or Ph.D. degrees and designed for students whose first degree was in other fields, with special provisions for overseas students and veshivah graduates.

In October new student enrollment at 35 was the largest ever, including 10 taking the new B.A. course, 15 entering the postgraduate department, and 5 the Trent Park teachers' training department.

At the Universities

A boost to Jewish studies on the academic level was the decision by the Cambridge University library syndicate in April to set up a Taylor-Schechter Geniza unit under the direction of Dr. Stefan Reif, which will make available bibliographical information and encourage research in geniza. The unit received a grant from the Leverhulme Trust fund, and annual grants for ten years were promised by the university's Oriental studies faculty. An agreement was made with the Hebrew University for a joint program of Geniza research.

At a meeting in Oxford in April, scholars from 20 British universities and institutions of higher education formally agreed to create a British Society for Jewish Studies to promote and coordinate the various branches of post-biblical Jewish studies, and to provide a discussion forum for students of Judaica.

In September the Oxford Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies-which, earlier in the year, acquired a building to provide facilities for its visiting fellows and eventually to house a 20,000-volume Judaica library—purchased from Israel the Kressee library, a major collection of press cuttings, books, and periodicals on the

history of Zionism, Jewish resettlement in Palestine, and the growth of Hebrew literature.

Wolfson College in Oxford, Britain's largest residential graduate school built largely with funds granted by the Wolfson Foundation, was opened by Oxford University's Chancellor Harold Macmillan in November.

Chief Rabbi, United Synagogue, and Religious Life

Rationalization and consolidation of community resources, a constant theme of the year, were strongly advocated by Chief Rabbi Jakobovits in his Rosh Ha-shanah message: "If our essential communal services are to be maintained and our religious, educational and charitable institutions saved from bankruptcy (or a drastic curtailment of their activities)," he said, "the community will have to recognize that it can no longer afford the luxury of organizational fragmentation and all the enormous waste it entails."

It was announced in April that two 70-year-old synagogues were to close as part of the United Synagogue's readjustment to Jewish population movements: at Brondesbury, membership had fallen continuously since World War II to slightly above 200; the Stoke Newington congregation, United Synagogue president Alfred Woolf said, was spiritually and financially nonviable, but a writ was issued against the United Synagogue to prevent its closure. The movement of Jews away from London's East End also accounted for the shutdown in October of the New Road Synagogue, Whitechapel, affiliated to the Federation of Synagogues.

The total income of the constituent, district, and affiliated congregations of the United Synagogue for the year ending June 1974 was a record £1,125,000, and total expenses were £1,130,000, according to the treasurer's report. Money for vital projects of expanding congregations in outlying areas of Greater London, it indicated, would have to come from the sale of older synagogues which were no longer spiritually essential.

An independent congregation, the New Highgate and North London Synagogue, was formed in November for the advancement of traditional Judaism in the spirit of Rabbi Louis Jacobs' New London Synagogue, which, in May, celebrated its tenth anniversary.

Rationalization and cooperation were also apparent in relationships between various branches of Judaism. In March Orthodox and Progressive religious leaders agreed to establish a Consultative Committee on Jewish-Christian Relations. In May Rabbi Dow Marmur of the North-Western Reform Synagogue, Golders Green, London, proposed a joint program to deal with questions of intermarriage. The Reform Bet Din's 1973 report, he said, showed that while the parents of 75 of the 92 Jews married to converts to Judaism were members of Orthodox synagogues, only 12 of the 92 spouses in question had applied to the Chief Rabbi's Court for Orthodox conversion.

Attempts were made to increase involvement in communal activity. In response

to repeated pressure, Chief Rabbi Jakobovits said in January that "the religious community and its organizations can only benefit from the increased participation of our womenfolk in their deliberations and activities at local or communal levels." This participation, as he pointed out, was restricted by the halakhic ruling barring women from serving as honorary officers or officiants. A demand that women be allowed to serve on boards of management and councils of Orthodox synagogues was carried by an overwhelming majority at the League of Jewish Women's annual meeting in May.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews joined the World Jewish Congress as a "national participant" in January, upon formal confirmation by the WJC plenary assembly of the Board's complete freedom of action in conducting its own affairs in all religious matters, and in approaches to the British and other governments. This meant that the British section of WJC would cease to exist and that the Board would take over its functions. Following the treasurer's report that the Board's deficit in the first half of 1974 was almost 50 per cent higher than in the same 1973 period, its president, Lord Fisher of Camden, issued an open letter asking all Jewish community members to "share in the responsibility for the efficient running of its representative body."

Kashrut and Shehitah

Concern over diminished kashrut observance, which together with consumer resistance to high costs, was regarded a major factor in the decline in kosher meat sales, moved the London Board of Shechita to set up a subcommittee to look into the matter in June. According to Dayan Grunfeld, the percentage of British Jews buying kosher meat diminished to 50, compared with 90 before World War II. The Board's 1973 figures showed a drop of 7.24 per cent, from 1972 levels, in the slaughter of oxen, 30 per cent for calves, and 6.8 per cent for sheep.

At the same time, London Reform Rabbi Michael Leigh wrote a pamphlet. Aspects of Kashrut, published in November by the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain, which advocated full observance of the Torah laws on kashrut. (The Reform movement's practice has been to leave dietary-law observance to individual conscience.) Although Rabbi Leigh specifically stated that he was expressing his personal views. Rabbi Marmur felt they might reflect a growing tendency in the movement toward stricter adherence to halakhah.

Meanwhile, Jack Brenner, secretary of the National Council of Shechita Boards, said in June that kosher poultry abattoirs in 18 British towns and cities would not pass stringent Common Market regulations, to be introduced in 1976, with regard to antemortem examinations, refrigeration and evisceration facilities, and the provision of "clean" and "unclean" areas. In December the National Council of Shechita Boards decided to establish a standing committee representing shehitah boards in all Common Market countries. In July the Board of Deputies designated a group to investigate prices of kosher food for Passover.

Welfare

Charitable institutions for the young, sick, and elderly were forced to curtail services because of the concentration on fund raising for Israel after the Yom Kippur war. In June Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) chairman Lionel Leighton forecast that day-to-day expenditure in 1974 would exceed £1 million—an increase of £100,000 over 1973. In December the Board's headquarters were moved to a less desirable neighborhood, as the urgent need for funds made it "immoral to sit on some of the most valuable property in London." Decentralization of Welfare Board activities was in progress, with day centers, a current priority, already functioning in various parts of London. An anonymous gift of £500,000 was earmarked for a Jewish day center in northwest London, to be run jointly by JWB and the Jewish Blind Society. There was also a determined effort to eliminate duplication by cooperative programs among agencies.

Zionism and Aliyah

Aliyah figures for 1973 were 30 per cent lower than in 1972 (708 compared with 976). While, as a result of an "aliyah month" (March), with over 300 meetings throughout Britain, aliyah increased for the June to September period, the number of emigrants in the first seven months of 1974 was 359, against 389 in the comparable 1973 period. The March aliyah campaign, according to Yitzhak Mayer, director of the Jewish Agency's immigration department in Britain, showed that the most likely settlers were middle-class families aged between 32 and 45, whose major motivation was their children's future. In view of this, the Agency considerably improved immigration facilities for British families.

A booklet published in May by the Reform Synagogue of Great Britain's Israel Committee warned members going on aliyah to "be aware that while he enjoys the full rights under the Law of Return, there are severe disabilities for anyone wishing to continue fully as a Reform Jew."

It was announced in October that Michael Fidler, one-time M.P. and president of the Board of Deputies, would head a new Zionist party, the General Zionist Organization, which, at the time of its formation in May, had a membership of 125. Linked ideologically though not organizationally to the World Union of General Zionists, the party was seeking affiliation with the British Zionist Federation.

In September George Evnine, general secretary of British Herut, whose membership has grown since its formation four years ago from 35 to 5,000, resigned as co-chairman of the Zionist Federation's (ZF) Soviet Jewry committee because of its leadership's alleged unwillingness to implement a resolution adopted in March to initiate and lead a cultural and economic boycott of Soviet Russia until all Soviet Jews wishing to go to Israel were permitted to do so.

In December Golda Meir addressed a nationwide ZF-sponsored mass rally of solidarity with Israel in London's Albert Hall.

The Joint Israel Appeal launched its 1975 fund-raising campaign in November, two months earlier than customary, in an attempt to match the sum raised in the

post-Yom Kippur war period. To the same end, greater emphasis was placed on study missions to Israel, a series of preparatory seminars for Appeal leaders was introduced, and the fund-raising apparatus was decentralized. In August it was announced that 1974 Kol Nidre appeal funds would not be channeled into general Jewish Agency funds as in the past, but would be earmarked for specific social welfare projects in Israel; £30,000 would continue to go to Israeli institutions designated by the Chief Rabbi.

Pro-Arab advertisements in newspapers over the year culminated in an outcry in December when the London Times published a full-page advertisement by a "Committee for Justice in the Middle East" urging British Jews to keep their money in Britain, instead of donating it in support of "the Israel war machine."

Protests and Demonstrations

In February a campaign urging Syria to release a complete list of Yom Kippur war prisoners and to permit the Red Cross access to them centered around a brief visit of the 15-year-old sister of one of the prisoners. Among other activities arranged for her, she delivered a letter asking for government intervention, which Chief Rabbi Jakobovits handed to the Prime Minister, who replied that there had been several requests of Syria to release at least a list of names.

In April, in an atmosphere heightened by the news of the Kiryat Shemona massacre, members of ZF's Arab Jewry committee and of the Assocation of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women protested the murder of six Syrian Jews, outside the Syrian embassy. In May a week-long series of lunchtime demonstrations, organized by the Council for Jews in Arab Lands, were held outside Syrian Airlines London offices. In May, too, Michael Fidler introduced a motion in Parliament expressing shock at the continued ill-treatment of Jews in Syria and calling for the release of certain individuals who had been incarcerated for long periods without trial. It was reported in July that Syrian-British diplomatic relations had become strained over Syrian allegations of the British government's pro-Israel bias and interference in Syria's internal affairs.

Major General Sa'ad al-Din al-Shazli, until then Egyptian chief of staff, began his tour of duty as Egyptian ambassador to Britain, despite strong criticism of the government's acceptance of his credentials. Questions were asked in the House of Commons, demonstrations were held, and the Board of Deputies formally called on the British government to declare Shazli persona non grata, in view of his close association with known racialists Colin Jordan and John Tyndall (AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], p. 421).

For Soviet Jewry

Nationwide efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry continued unabated. Protests, often dramatic in form, were organized whenever the opportunity presented itself—on the occasion of Soviet visits to Britain, holiday celebrations like communal Seders-to draw attention to Soviet Jews in prison, labor camps, or waiting for visas to go to Israel. The initiators generally were the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry (the 35s), the Soviet Jewry committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the Association of Jewish Women's Organizations. Among the important efforts was a communal campaign for the cancellation of the Bolshoi Ballet Company's London visit in June, which included petitions to the Prime Minister and cabinet members, picketing of the booking office, and calls to boycott performances. Unprecedented support came from Equity, the actors' union. The response was so effective throughout the Bolshoi's stay that the Soviet embassy threatened to cut short the engagement.

The release of Sylva Zalmanson from Soviet labor camp in September followed a lengthy campaign. Its highlights were a visit by an interdenominational delegation of clergymen to London's Soviet Embassy in January; a nationwide "Month of the Jewish Prisoners of Conscience," proclaimed in November by the Board's Soviet Jewry action committee and the All Party Parliamentary Committee for Soviet Jewry, including a high-level rabbinical delegation to the Soviet ambassador; the publication of a letter with more than 600 prominent signatures in the London Times; receptions in the House of Commons, and London rallies.

A group of Soviet Jewish youngsters living in Israel, whose fathers had not yet been able to leave the USSR, came in June as guests of the All Party Parliamentary Committee. They attended an exhibit on the plight of Soviet Jews organized by the Committee at the Church of St. Martin-in-the Fields, London, and opened by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In March, the committee's four principal honorary officers were refused visas to Russia, where they intended to contact Jewish families wishing to emigrate.

Support for Soviet Jews was voiced at a number of conferences held in London: by Jewish communal leaders from 15 countries (May); by more than 100 leading scientists from all over the world (July); by 40 lawyers and jurists from 20 countries (September).

Press and Publications

A Joint Israel Appeal decision in March to withdraw its substantial annual subvention to the Zionist Federation weekly, Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, necessitated stringent economy measures and caused the resignation of its editor. By year end, however, the crisis had been resolved, the paper was functioning normally and, according to ZF general secretary Sydney Shipton, "the journal has become more internally Zionist."

Israeli-Arab relations were an important theme of the year's publications. Among them were Walter Laqueur's analysis of the Yom Kippur war, Confrontation: The Middle East War and World Politics; Martin Gilbert's The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Its History in Maps; the Sunday Times newspaper team's Insight on the Middle East, and The Electronic War in the Middle East, by Edgar O'Ballance, who also wrote an account of Arab Guerrilla Power. Also on the terrorist theme was Bard O'Neill's Revolutionary Warfare in the Middle East on Palestinian violence and Israeli coun-

terinsurgency tactics. In Between Enemies: An Arab-Israeli Dialogue, Israeli liberal dove Amos Elon and young liberal Egyptian intellectual Sana Hassan sought a solution to the conflict. On the Arab aspect were Elie Kedourie's Arabic Political Memoirs and other Essays; Y. Porath's The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab Movement 1918-1929, and M. Abdel-Kader Hatem's Information and the Arab Cause, an Arab propaganda document about Arab propaganda.

Israel was not neglected. Among historical studies were Moshe Pearlman's vivid In the Footsteps of Moses; Oskar K. Rabinowicz's Arnold Toynbee on Judaism and Zionism: a Critique, and Jacob M. Landau's Middle East Themes, Papers in History and Politics. On contemporary Israel, publications included the beautiful album, Jerusalem, City of Mankind, edited by Cornell Capa; Jakov Lind's essay on his 28-day Trip to Jerusalem; the East and West Library's series illustrating the stages in the development of modern Hebrew as seen in the writings of Isaac Dov Berkowitz, by Abraham Holtz, Isaac Landau, by Leon Yudkin; Saul Tschernichowsky, by Eisig Silberschlag, and Abraham Mapu, by David Patterson, and, in addition, The Running Stag, the Stamps and Postal History of Israel, by Meir Persoff.

Preoccupation with the recent past of the holocaust continued unabated. The Voyage of the Damned, by Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts, told the story of the 937 Jews who set sail from Germany for Cuba in May 1939; Ruth Aliav and Peggy Mann, in The Last Escape, dealt with the illegal emigration from Europe to Palestine before and during World War II. More personally, Auschwitz survivor Kitty Hart described her experiences in Alive. The Last Butterfly, by Michael Jacot, was a moving portrayal of concentration-camp life. Other People's Houses, by Lore Segal, on the other hand, told of an Austrian refugee's experiences in Britain. More academically, Walter Laqueur's Weimar: A Cultural History, 1918-1933 supplied the background to it all; André Brissaud covered the period 1931-39 in the history of The Nazi Secret Service; Richard Humble's Hitler's Generals gave a clear account of the conduct of the war on the German side, and Into That Darkness, by Gitta Sereny, was a study of war criminal Franz Stangl.

More general history was represented by Sam Waagenaar's The Pope's Jews and Joan Comay's Who's Who in Jewish History.

Jewish theological publications included Rabbi Louis Jacob's A Jewish Theology (which received the 1974 Jewish Chronicle book award); Insurance in Rabbinic Law, by S. M. Passamaneck, original research on Jewish law on maritime loans; Trialogue between Jew, Christian and Muslin, by Ignaz Maybaum, an attempt to show the interaction between the faiths.

Biographical works of note were Alexander Altman's scholarly Moses Mendelssohn; The Letters of Chaim Weitzmann, Vol. IV (1905-1906), edited by Camillo Dresner and Barnet Litvinoff; Sydney H. Zebel's Balfour: A Political Biography; Desmond Stewart's Herzl, and Hans W. Cohn's life of the German-Jewish poetess, Else Lasker-Schuler: The Broken World. Among autobiographies were Hungarian Communist Jewish playwright Julius May's Born 1900 and Dannie Abse's A Poet in the Family.

Notable works of fiction were Lynne Reid Bank's Two Is Lonely, Audrey Laski's

Night Music, Brian Glanville's The Comic, and Love Letters on Blue Paper, by Arnold Wesker who also wrote Say Goodbye: You May Never See Them Again, a nostalgic view of London's East End, illustrated by John Allin, which was matched by Just Like It Was: Memoirs of the Mittel-East, by Harry Blacker.

Books on Soviet Jewry included Soviet Anti-Semitism, edited by Emmanuel Litvinoff; the Soviet Treatment of Jews, by H. G. Schaffer, and The Yermakov Transfer, a thriller by non-Jewish author Derek Lambert.

In a class of its own was the beautifully produced Catalogue of the Jewish Museum, London, edited by R. D. Barnett.

Events on the British literary scene were the 20th anniversary celebrations of *The Jewish Quarterly* and the formation, in July, of a Jewish Book Circle by the Jewish Book Council.

Race Relations

Board of Deputies president Sir Samuel Fisher's January warning that the "national state of turmoil" could create a situation "which could reflect dangerously on minorities," seemed partially borne out by the votes for the right-wing National Front party (NF) in the February and October general elections, and by the violence following the NF march through London in June, protesting against the immigrant community.

Although no NF candidate polled enough votes in either election to retain his deposit, the number of candidates for office grew from 54 in February to 90 in October, and voter support from less than 80,000 to an all-time high of over 100,000. In a parliamentary by-election in May in Newham, London, the NF candidate scored 1,713 votes, some 60 more than the Conservative, though considerably less than the Labour or Liberal contestants.

Leaflets abounded at the October election: Colin Jordan's ultra-right-wing British Movement, which offered no candidate, called on electors to withhold support from any known Jewish candidate. In August the British Movement booklist included the antisemitic *Did Six Million Really Die?*, by Richard Harwood (Historical Review Press), which the Attorney General in July pronounced nonactionable under the Race Relations Acts.

The Board of Deputies published "The Hatemongers," warning the electorate of the dangers inherent in NF policy. In August both the Board of Deputies and the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women reported that London had become the headquarters of Children of God, an antisemitic, anti-Zionist movement.

Personalia

Joint treasurer of the Conservative party Sir Arnold Silverstone, public-relations executive Dennis Lyons, former Liberal party chairman Basil Wigoder, Q.C., alderman and Board of Deputies president Sir Samuel Fisher, and bank executive chairman Henry Kissin were created life peers in 1974. Knighthoods were bestowed on

impresario Bernard Delfont for charitable services; on William Woolf Harris, chairman of Bow Street magistrates court, for political and public services to London; and on National Coal Board chairman Derek Ezra, Lansing Bagnall Ltd. chairman Emmanuel Kaye, and business executive Jan Alfred Lewand, for services to export. Rose Heilbron, the second woman ever to be appointed as a high court judge, was made a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in October.

Sir Myer Galpern, Labour M.P. for Glasgow, was appointed deputy speaker of the House of Commons and deputy chairman of Ways and Means. Lord Diamond, former Labour chief secretary to the treasury, became chairman of the new Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth; Michael Vivian Posner, fellow and director of studies in economics at Pembroke College, Cambridge, was appointed deputy chief economic adviser to the treasury. Lieutenant Colonel Mordaunt Cohen of Sunderland became chairman of Industrial Tribunals for England and Wales; Anthony Lewisohn, Alan Lipfriend and Vivian Ronald Hurwitz were made circuit court judges; and Neville Clive Goldrein was one of the first solicitors to become a deputy circuit judge.

Professor Sir Isaiah Berlin was the first Jew to be elected president of the British Academy. Sigbert J. Prais, honorary consultant to the Board of Deputies statistical and demographic research unit, was awarded the D. Sc. degree by Cambridge University for many published works of scientific standing in the field of economic and social statistics. Lord Cohen of Birkenhead, president of the General Medical Council, was made a Companion of Honour for service to medicine.

Among notable British Jews who died in 1974 were: Rose Stiftel-Lipman, prominent Hebrew educator, dedicated Zionist and civic administrator, in London in January, at the age of 71; Philip Stern, founder professor of applied mathematics at Natal University, South Africa, in London in January, at the age of 83; Professor Hermann Mannheim, world famous criminologist, in London in January, at the age of 84; Major John Gervase-Lang, noted member of London's Spanish and Portuguese community, in London in March, at the age of 93; Shlomo Alter, one-time scribe to London's Bet Din, in London in March; Ronald Nathan, executive director of the Jewish National Fund of Great Britain, in London in March, at the age of 54: Davan Shabsay Gukovitzki, member of the Federation of Synagogues Bet Din, in London in April at the age of 67; David Hillman, noted stained-glass artist and portrait painter, in London in May, at the age of 82; Geraldo (Gerald Bright), famous dance band leader of the 1930s and 1940s, in Switzerland in May, at the age of 69: Professor Cornelius Lanczos, leading expert in numerical analysis, in Budapest in July, at the age of 81; Desmond Adolph Tuck, noted communal worker, in London in July, at the age of 85; Albert Rothschild, expert on Rashi, in London in August, at the age of 84; Jacques O'Hara, art dealer and communal worker in the Spanish and Portuguese community, in London in August, at the age of 73; Arthur Jacobs, internationally known urologist, in Glasgow in August, at the age of 75; Nicolai Polakovs (Coco), England's most popular circus clown, in Peterborough in September; Sir Seymour Karminski, eminent judge and communal leader and former Lord Chief Justice of Appeal, in London in October, at the age of 72; Rabbi Hirsch Jacob Zimmels, principal of Jews' College, London, from 1964 to 1970, in London in November, at the age of 73; Joel Cang, journalist and recognized writer on Soviet and East European Jewry, in London in November, at the age of 75; Sir Morris Finer, judge of the family division of the High Court and chairman of the Royal Commission on the Press, in London in December, at the age of 57.

MIRIAM AND LIONEL KOCHAN

France

Politics

THE MAJOR POLITICAL EVENT of 1974 in France was the presidential election following President Georges Pompidou's sudden death in April. Several weeks earlier, on February 27, the second government of Premier Pierre Messmer resigned, and Pompidou promptly reappointed him to form a new and streamlined one. A cabinet was named on March 1; it had 16 ministers, six less than in the previous cabinet.

President Pompidou died on April 2. April 6 was proclaimed a day of national mourning. Solemn homage was paid to his memory at Notre-Dame de Paris cathedral. Among the 50 chiefs of state present were President Richard M. Nixon and Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny.

The election campaign began almost immediately thereafter with the hastily announced candidacy of Jacques Chaban-Delmas, mayor of Bordeaux and a former Gaullist premier. Other Gaullists, including Edgar Faure and Charles Fouchet, also announced their candidacies, but later withdrew. Chaban-Delmas immediately drew the opposition of certain Gaullist circles; the Union of Democrats for the Republic (UDR), the Gaullist party par excellence, had long been plagued by dissension and quarrels among groups and individuals. Premier Messmer supported Chaban-Delmas in principle, but very feebly, as did Foreign Minister Michel Jobert. Jacques Chirac, one of the most prominent Gaullist personalities, openly opposed him. An appeal by 43 prominent Gaullists advocated "the union of the majority." This meant, in effect, the candidacy of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former finance minister under Pompidou and a member of the Independent Republicans, the non-Gaullist section of the governing coalition. He announced his candidacy on April 8. François Mitterand, secretary general of the Socialist party and a former interior minister, was the candidate of the Socialist-Communist alliance on the first ballot. The first joint meeting of the left in Paris drew 100,000 people. Mitterand was widely believed to be leading; some thought he might win on the first ballot.

As usual in French election campaigns, foreign policy did not play much of a role. Nevertheless, the question of Israel and the Middle East arose. The Strasbourg Jewish weekly *Tribune Juive* (May 17, 1974) interviewed the two main candidates on this subject. The statements of both were rather vague, but at least in principle not at all hostile to Israel, emphasizing its right to full and complete independence and secure boundaries. Giscard d'Estaing advocated direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel for the purpose of achieving a definitive peace.

Jewish voters placed a good deal of hope in the centrists for an improvement of

relations between France and Israel. Politically, the centrists had always been the group most favorable to Israel. There was some distrust of Mitterand in this regard because of his alliance with the anti-Israel Communists. Some individuals prominent in the Jewish community, including the new president of the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF; Representative Council of Jews of France), Jean Rosenthal, advised Jews to vote for Giscard d'Estaing. But the candidate of the left undoubtedly had a large number of supporters among Jews for various reasons. One was the traditional position, almost a conditioned reflex, that as a Jew one does not vote "right." Another was the growing confidence in the Socialist party of Mitterand's personal prestige. A number of Jewish groups, such as the Union des Etudiants Juifs de France (Union of Jewish Students in France), the Cercle Bernard Lazare (a left-wing political-cultural association), the Cercle Crémieux (pro-Israel but ultra-left), and, of course, the Jewish Communists, issued appeals to vote for Mitterand. Although no exact data were available, there was reason to assume that the majority of the Jews voted left.

On the first ballot, Chaban-Delmas received less than 15 per cent of the vote, Mitterand 43, and Giscard d'Estaing almost 33 per cent. Younger than the candidate of the left and more innovative, Giscard d'Estaing made a favorable impression. Public opinion polls indicated that the left's chances for a sweeping victory were poor, and the results of the second ballot on May 19 confirmed this expectation. Giscard d'Estaing was elected president with 50.81 per cent of the vote, against 49.10 per cent for Mitterand, indicating an almost equal division of France between right and left. It must be noted, however, that Giscard d'Estaing received the vote of the majority of the centrists and even some elements of the left-center.

The government formed on May 28 included five representatives of the Gaullist UDR, four from the centrist Reformists (including the group's two leaders, Jean Lecanuet and Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber), three Independent Republicans, and four who belonged to no party. One of the latter, Minister of Health Simone Veil, was Jewish. The Prime Minister was Jacques Chirac, a moderately orthodox Gaullist who had been the leading opponent of Chaban-Delmas's candidacy. The new cabinet held its first meeting on May 29. In his televised message to parliament, Giscard d'Estaing emphasized his intentions to have a liberal program and his desire to make a real change by being the president of all the French, including those who had voted against him. This was in keeping with his wish to bring to the office a new and pragmatic style.

On June 19 the government presented its social program. The parliament ended its session nine days later, after adopting a law reducing the voting age from 21 to 18.

In August the cabinet approved penal and prison reforms, a decision that followed a series of grave incidents in the prisons. Several days later, the president visited two prisons in Lyon, talking with the prisoners and shaking hands with them, a gesture without precedent in the history of the Republic.

The trade union federation called a general strike in November, which was not

completely effective. As signs of an economic recession and crisis multiplied, Giscard d'Estaing told the nation on television that the difficulties were real but not insurmountable, critical but not catastrophic, and were part of a situation currently developing on an international scale.

The end of the year saw dissension on the left between the Socialists and Communists. The latter were annoyed by the growing membership of the Socialist party and its successes in by-elections, and feared they would lose rather than gain from the new rise of the left. They charged that the Socialists were playing a double game; that, looking ahead to future legislative elections, they contemplated, if the opportunity presented itself, to enter into an alliance with the centrists, and thus reconstitute a "third force" despised by the Communist party. Many commentators explained this conflict in terms of the French Communists' lack of real interest in taking governmental responsibility in a time of economic crisis for which they saw no remedy, while, on the other hand, conditions no longer permitted them to return to an openly revolutionary line. Also, the Soviet Union preferred to have the government remain in power since French foreign policy was in perfect accord with its own interests. The accession to power of a united left could produce some unpleasant surprises for the Soviet leadership.

Foreign Relations

The first four months of 1974 were marked by efforts to strengthen France's relations with the Arab Middle East. This was the purpose of Foreign Minister Michel Jobert's trip to Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Kuwait, begun on January 23.

On June 27, at the conclusion of a state visit, the Shah of Iran and the French government signed an agreement involving a major ten-year development program under which France would sell to Iran five 1,000-megawatt nuclear reactors, the largest part of a \$4 billion deal. Other aspects of the program included the electrification of Iranian railways and new railroad construction, the construction of a subway system in Teheran, the creation of a petrochemical industry, as well as military sales. The agreement was expected to ease France's acute balance-of-payments problem due partly to the rise in oil prices.

On August 28 France lifted the embargo on arms shipments to the Middle East "battlefield countries," which had been in effect since the six-day war. This decision came about after it had been clearly proved—particularly by Israel—that the Mirages delivered to Libya, theoretically outside the area of conflict, had ended up in Egypt and seen service in the Yom Kippur war.

At the end of October Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues visited Israel, where he was very coolly received. Earlier in the month he had gone to Libya and met with Yasir Arafat. The "warmth" of the meeting and the importance with which Sauvagnargues seemed to invest the PLO leader caused bitterness among French Jews, especially those who had campaigned for Giscard d'Estaing. However, France's support of the UN General Assembly November resolution granting observer status

to the PLO and recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people to "regain their rights" in keeping with the UN charter—in contrast to the other states of Western Europe—went beyond the anticipation of even the most pessimistic Jews. The worst that had been foreseen was an abstention.

At the beginning of December Soviet Communist leader Leonid Brezhnev came to France and met with Giscard d'Estaing to discuss matters relating to the Geneva conference on the settlement of the Middle East conflict. At a press conference on December 20 the French president described his foreign policy as based on internationalism and conciliation.

UNESCO Affair

Since the UNESCO sessions which took anti-Israel actions in November were held in Paris, France was, next to Israel, the place where repercussions were strongest. Among the numerous prominent intellectuals who signed an initial statement protesting the sanctions were Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. A second statement by a large number of French intellectuals announcing that they would cease all cooperation with UNESCO until it demonstrated its fidelity to its proper purposes was signed by members of the Institute de France, the College de France, and the Academie Française; eminent scientists; famous actors and theatrical directors; jurists; psychoanalysts; priests and nuns, and even generals. This wave of protest was effective enough for the director general of UNESCO, Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, who on November 14 had replaced René Mahew of France, to offer a somewhat embarrassed explanation attempting to minimize the importance of these anti-Israel maneuvers. The French senate protested the UNESCO action by voting a symbolic cut in France's contribution to that body.

Terrorism, Anti-Zionism, Antisemitism

In August there was a terrorist attack on the Paris office of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU; United Jewish Philanthropic Fund). A booby-trapped vehicle parked in front of the building exploded but caused little damage. During that month, a number of letter-bombs were delivered to the Israel embassy in Paris, but were immediately recognized as suspicious and sent to the police laboratory. On September 15 a bomb planted in Le Drug-Store at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the literary quarter on the Left Bank, wounded several persons and killed David Grunberg, a militant Jew and Zionist. The police could not find the perpetrator.

There was a considerable decrease in leftist parades and demonstrations, and a certain depoliticization of university and high-school students, accompanied by a drop from the previous year in anti-Israel and "pro-Palestinian" shouts and graffiti. However, the Trotskyist, Maoist, and anarchist grouplets in the high schools continued their "educational" work of spreading anti-Israel ideology and slogans. One of the most virulently anti-Israel and fanatically pro-Arab political youth movements in France was the Gaullist Union des Jeunesses Progressistes (UJP). Split

from the official Gaullist party, the UDR, and in competition with the leftists, UJP outdid its competitors in anti-Zionism and antisemitism.

Israel's return of Quneitra to Syria was the occasion for a large-scale campaign to defame Israel. The Israeli soldiers were said to have profaned and pillaged the mosque and the church, and to have behaved exactly as did the Nazi SS at Oradour-sur-Glane (a small town in Southwest France burned with its inhabitants by the Nazi troops), a parallel drawn by an anti-Israel Gaullist deputy, Raymond Ofroy, in a speech at a Euro-Arab interparliamentary meeting in Beirut. Photographs of the ruins of Quneitra with the caption, "A Zionist Oradour," were pasted on fences and walls in Paris.

In June the old Jewish cemetery of Mommenheim, an Alsatian village, was profaned, the tombstones toppled and defiled. The police failed to find the culprits. On July 15 the Jewish cemetery of Vantoux in Eastern France was similarly vandalized. Here, too, no arrest was made.

During the summer, a repetition of the "Orléans rumor" (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], pp. 419-20) occurred in Chalon-sur-Marne. In this middle-sized provincial city, too, the rumor spread that the Jewish owners of some dress shops used their fitting rooms to drug young women customers for purposes of the white slave trade, although—as previously in Orléans and later in some other cities—the police had received no report of the disappearance of a woman. There were, as before, official communiqués denying this absurd rumor, a police investigation without result, some complaints by the libeled merchants, and protests by the International League Against Antisemitism (LICA). The "Chalon rumor" dissipated rapidly.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Organizations and Institutions

The reorganization of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) from an agency for the collection and disbursement of funds for social and cultural activities into an organic, democratic institution of the Jewish community continued throughout 1974. The guiding principle was pluralism without discrimination. Particular emphasis was placed on attracting the younger generation to positions of leadership. There was first a major campaign for the mass recruitment of members; the minimum age was 18, and annual dues a very modest 25 francs. Toward the end of the year, 15,000 persons and 112 groups and associations had joined. General elections for a national council to direct the organization, for which 400 candidates filed, had to be postponed to January 1975 because of a protracted postal strike.

FSJU's philanthropic and cultural activities saw little change. As in the preceding year, the budget was relatively small and concentrated primarily on aid to the elderly poor, as well as on urgent cultural activities. Economic conditions presaged a growing case load of the needy.

One of the most valuable achievements of FSJU in recent years was the establishment in Paris in 1973 of the Centre Broca, a communal house for Jewish students and intellectuals. In a little more than a year, it had become the focal point for Jewish cultural activities of very high quality. Its Centre Universitaire d'Etudes Juives (AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], 432), modern Hebrew courses, an annual colloquium of French-speaking Jewish intellectuals, lectures of all sorts, discussion groups, religious activities for youth, concerts, and exhibitions made it an intellectually inspiring place.

In October "Les Oliviers," a modern residence for the elderly, with every comfort, was opened by FSJU in Marseille.

Under its new president Jean Rosenthal, Compagnon de la Libération (an honorary title given to the first members of the resistance in General DeGaulle's entourage) and a former active Gaullist, the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF; Representative Council of the Jews of France) took frequent action on matters of concern to French Jews, particularly Franco-Israeli relations. On October 30, on the eve of the French foreign minister's visit to Israel, CRIF published a communiqué after Rosenthal had been received at the Elysée Palace, stating that he "had informed President Giscard d'Estaing of the French Jewish community's shock and disgust at the fact that France had seen fit to recommend that a terrorist organization guilty of terrible outrages should be permitted to use the platform of the United Nations for its continued demand that the State of Israel cease to exist."

Consistoire and Religious Life

There were no new developments in the activities of the Consistoire Central de France. As in recent years, it carried on its regular functions: supervision of kashrut, Torah courses, and instructions for bar-mitzvah wherever a sufficiently large number of Jews lived. According to Consistoire figures, some 15,000 youngsters were receiving primary and secondary religious education at the beginning of the year, but their number had decreased by about one-third at the beginning of the summer vacation.

In the Paris region, two new synagogues were opened during the year: one at Vincennes with a community center, and one at Fontenay-les-Roses. The 100th anniversary of the great synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire in Paris was celebrated; Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren of Israel attended the ceremony.

It was not easy to be a religious Jew in France, even in Paris. There were, for example, only three or four kosher restaurants for the 300,000 Parisian Jews, and these were closed on the Sabbath. However, the city had countless kosher butcher shops.

Scattered and often little known religious activities, not connected with the Consistoire, took place in Paris and elsewhere. Various groups who resisted integration had their own small places of worship that were attached to no central organization. Young Lubavitcher Hasidim and their "mitzvah mobiles"—small trucks adorned

with religious slogans—came to Faubourg-Montmartre, the center of Paris, on their "put on the *tefillim!*" campaign. Approaching passing Jews, especially young people, they offered them phylacteries, and helped those, who so desired, put them on in the prescribed manner and to say the required benediction.

Youth

The Union des Etudiants Juifs (UEJ; Union of Jewish Students) did not increase its small membership in proportion to the ever-growing number of Jewish university students. UEJ was highly politicized. For some time now its dominant ideology has been that of the more or less left-wing tendencies within the French Socialist party, narrowly defined leftism being very much on the decline in all student circles. In the presidential elections, UEJ campaigned for Mitterand. Independent of UEJ was the Comité de Liaison des Etudiants Sionistes Socialistes (CLESS; Liaison Committee of Zionist-Socialist Students), engaged primarily in activity in support of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The Front des Etudiants Juifs (FEJ; Jewish Student Front), considered as belonging to the "right," has gained influence and was militantly Zionist.

Pro-Israel Intellectuals

A year after its establishment, the Conseil des Intellectuels Juifs pour Israël had not accomplished much. Its stated aim was to familiarize intellectuals with the idea and facts of Zionism and to explain in intellectual terms the national revolutionary significance of Zionism, in an effort to go beyond routine Zionist propaganda. By virtue of its composition, the Conseil also aspired to be expressive and representative of the Jewish intelligentsia of France. Under the presidency of Professor Robert Misrahi, it did not attain, or even approach, any of these objectives. From its inception, blunders, as well as political and personal dissension, seriously damaged the project. Misrahi had to resign in June, and no successor could be found. Controlled by the Jewish Agency (which paid its expenses), deprived of all autonomy, and without the support of the majority of prominent Jewish intellectuals, the Conseil did no more than repeat the Zionist and pro-Israel propaganda of the old Zionist organizations. Its consequent lack of prestige and influence led many of its founding members to resign. With a membership that never reached 50, it failed in its aim to become a large representative body of the Jewish intellectual élite.

The Press

On the whole, the condition of the French Jewish press remained stable and with too little growth in influence and prestige, given the size of the Jewish population and the importance of Jewish problems even in the non-Jewish world. This, no doubt, was in part due to the fact that the general press, and especially the dailies, had been giving its readers ample information and commentary on Israel. The

majority had correspondents in Israel, most often Jews and sometimes even Israelis, and often published interviews with Israeli political figures and even writers, artists, and scholars.

The value of the Jewish press lay in its reflection of Jewish cultural and religious life. This was particularly true of the FSJU's monthly l'Arche, the monthly Information Juive, edited by Jacques Lazarus and read mainly by Jews of North African origin (its circulation of about 18,000 should be multiplied by three to get its actual readership), and the weekly Tribune Juive of Strasbourg, which was more widely read by observant Jews than any other publication. The daily Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin, according to its editor Reine Silbert, had a readership of 15,000. Intended for journalists, it was read by many others because of its daily news reports. The new General Zionist and Revisionist monthly, Dialogues, has been doing a creditable job, but has not yet been widely distributed.

In October l'Arche published a special issue on the Jews of France, with interesting historical, sociological, and reportorial contributions. Information Juive, in spite of its modest format and its run-of-the-mill readership, was the Jewish periodical that gave the most serious attention to ideas and devoted much of its space to them, with articles by such leading French Jewish scholars and writers as André Neher, Renée Neher-Bernheim, Emmanuel Lévinas, Eliane Amado Lévy-Valensi, and Vladimir Jankélévitch. Tribune Juive's editor Rabbi Jacques Grunewald seemed more at home in politics than in theology; the publication was most militant in political matters, fighting with the greatest vehemence against the pro-Arabism of French statesmen and the government. The Alliance Israélite Universelle sponsored the quarterly Les Nouveaux Cahiers, an intellectual review with a small circulation of about 3,000. It sometimes carried excellent articles, generally written by educators, on a wide range of subjects: Zionism and the Diaspora, assimilation and Jewish nationalism, leftism and conservatism, and synthetic neo-orthodoxy with additives of Marxism and Freudianism. The semimonthly Terre Retrouvée, like the institutional Zionism which founded it, was not prestigious.

The Yiddish press was on the road to extinction. Of the three Yiddish dailies published in Paris some years back, only the Zionist *Unser Wort*, now the only Yiddish daily on the European continent, continued to appear regularly with the aid of a continuous subsidy from its readers. The Communist *Naïe Presse* came out only three times a week, while the Bundist *Unser Stimme* ceased publication.

During the long strike that paralyzed postal services for almost two months at the end of 1974, the Jewish periodicals, slow to arrive at their destinations in normal times, did not reach their destination at all. The copies piled up in the depots, at a time when many political events, such as the Arab summit conference at Rabat and the exaltation of the Arafat leadership, called for discussion.

Books, Theater, Films

Among the new publications of the year were many accounts and memoirs dealing with the Soviet detention-camp system and Soviet antisemitism during the

Stalin, Khrushchev, and post-Khrushchev eras. The majority of these works were written from the same perspective as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago 1918–1956, placing the blame for the prison world of the Soviet Union not on Stalin's tyranny alone, but on the whole system, starting with Lenin and Trotsky. Some of these books were more specifically devoted to the situation of the Jews in the USSR, to the efforts, adventures, misadventures, and tragedies of those who chose aliyah to Israel, and to Soviet antisemitism today, both official and popular.

Esther Markish's book Le long retour ("The Long Return"; Robert Laffont) is an account of the life of the great Yiddish poet Peretz Markish, from his marriage to the author to his arrest in 1949 and execution in 1952. The narration continues with the deportation and exile of Esther and her children, the posthumous rehabilitation of her husband and, finally, her decision to go to Israel at any cost and the ultimate success of her efforts. The book drew the enthusiastic response of the French public. Esther Markish spoke on television in French, the language of her studies, and won the sympathy of the viewers.

Les otages ("The Hostages"; Seuil) by Grigori Svirski, primarily deals with the virulence of antisemitism in the Soviet Union today, especially in university and literary circles. The author never gives a precise answer to his repeated question, "How is it possible?" But the answer is implicit in his analysis of the situation; it is, in essence, that the revolution in Russia changed neither the people nor human relations, nor the causes of antisemitism.

A major Yiddish literary work in French translation, La famille Machber ("The Family Machber"), by Der Nister, pseudonym of Pinchas Kahanovich who had been executed during the Stalin purges, appeared under the imprint of Lattés, a new publisher who planned to give a large place to Jewish literature. The book was only one volume of what was to have been a continuous novel in several volumes, had the author lived

Que vous a donc fait Israël ("What Israel Has Done for You"; Gallimard) was a moving and attractive book pleading the cause of Israel with affectionate warmth and from a more moral and generally humanitarian than a political perspective. The author, Zoé Oldenbourg, was well known for her historical novels. Another book on a Jewish subject by a non-Jewish author was Herbert Le Porrier's novel Le médecin de Cordoue ("The Physician of Cordova"). This novelized biography of Maimonides was notable not for its historical exactness—anachronisms are deliberately introduced—but for the nobility of its inspiration.

Among reprints of Jewish scholarly works were: Histoire biblique du peuple d'Israël ("Biblical History of the People of Israel"; Adrian Maisoneuve), by Renée Neher-Bernheim and André Neher; Renée Neher-Bernheim's L'histoire juive ("Jewish History"; Kincksieck) in four volumes covering the period from the Renaissance to the present; André Neher's biography of David Gans (Kincksieck), a disciple of the Maharal of Prague; and an anthology on Rashi by twelve authors, with a preface by Manès Sperber, published by the Service Technique pour l'Education, a publishing service connected with FSJU.

Les Juifs à Paris de 1933 à 1939 ("The Jews in Paris from 1933 to 1939";

Calmann-Lévy) by the young American scholar David H. Weinberg was a historical study based on documentary material, especially press reports. This work caused a stir in Jewish circles because it recorded an attitude toward the German and Austrian refugees on the part of some French Jewish notables and rabbis that showed little Jewish solidarity.

Arnold Mandel's new novel, La vierge au bandeau ("The Blindfolded Virgin"; Fayard) was a sequel to his Périple ("Periplus"). Another book by Mandel, Vie quotidienne des Juis hassidique ("Daily Life of the Hassidic Jews"; Hachette-Litterature) also appeared in 1974.

Elie Wiesel's Zalman ou la folie de Dieu ("Zalman: or, The Madness of God") had a deserved success at the Theâtre de la Nouvelle Comédie in Paris.

Two excellent films on Jewish subjects appeared during the year. Both Les violons du bal ("The Violins of the Ball"), directed by Michel Drach, and Les guichets du Louvre ("The Windows of the Louvre") directed by Michel Mitrani, dealt with the persecution of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Paris.

Personalia

Darius Milhaud, leading figure in contemporary French music; composer of operas, cantatas, symphonies, and other works; best known for Sacred Music, commissioned by Temple Emanu-El in New York for its services, died in Geneva on June 22, at the age of 81. Léon Czertok, for many years secretary-general of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris, died on September 17. Raphael Spanien, once close associate of Léon Blum and his defense lawyer at the Riom trial in 1940, director of the European headquarters of United HIAS Service, for decades active in refugee aid and resettlement work, died in Geneva on October 11, at the age of 72.

ARNOLD MANDEL

The Netherlands

Domestic Affairs

N MAY 11, 1973, the government of Premier Joop den Uyl took office, ending a 164-day political crisis—the longest in the history of the country. This was the first government since 1966 in which the Labor party (PvdA) participated, and the first in 15 years that was headed by a Socialist. The progressive parties—PvdA, Democrats '66 (D'66), Radical party (PPR)—had 56 of the 150 seats in the Second Chamber of parliament. The other coalition partners were the Catholic People's party (KVP) and the Anti-Revolution party (ARP). The July 1974 elections for 38 of the 75 seats in the First Chamber of parliament strengthened the position of the PvdA and the opposition Liberal party, and weakened the Catholic People's party (KUP).

The new government policy included a cut in the defense budget, a more equitable distribution of earnings, and putting a stop to land speculation. No decision regarding the liberalization of the abortion law was expected before the Christian parties—the Christian Historical Union (CHU), the Calvinist ARP, and the KVP—submitted new proposals.

Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel, one of the severest critics of Greece and Portugal, was expected to continue to strengthen the ties with NATO, since he was more Atlantic-oriented than his predecessor, Norman Schmelzer, who leaned more toward Europe. Although a strong critic of United States foreign policy, he advocated close cooperation with the United States. His friendly attitude toward Israel was well known.

Finance Minister Willem F. Duisenberg announced on September 15 that the Dutch currency would be revalued by 5 per cent because of a trade balance surplus of over 5 billion guilders. New measures were also adopted to combat unemployment, which had risen from 106,490 in December 1973 to 123,020 in mid-1974, some 3 per cent of the work force. On August 6, 1974, the Rotterdam city council reversed its decision to limit the number of foreign workers, including natives of Dutch overseas territories, to 5 per cent of any district's population. The Crown had suspended the order two weeks after it was issued, in September 1972, following protests.

On several occasions the Dutch showed characteristic concern for the underdog and opposition to acts of violence and discrimination. Fifty thousand persons demonstrated in Utrecht on January 6, 1973, against the bombing of North Vietnam. The Dutch government was among the first to support officially the World Council

of Churches program against racism, with a contribution of 500,000 guilders on December 11, 1973. Seven months earlier it had barred Dutch freighters from entering the South African port of Simonstown. Minister of Development Cooperation Johannes P. Pronk's national budget for 1973 contained a provision for development aid in the amount of 2.7 billion guilders by 1976, constituting 1.5 per cent of national income. On November 31, 1973, the Dutch representative to the United Nations declared that the Dutch contribution to UNRWA would be raised by 900,000 guilders, which was earmarked for educational projects. Large fund-raising campaigns were held for the disaster areas of Bangladesh and the Sahel region of Africa. A televised appeal for the support of cancer research brought contributions of over 60 million guilders in one evening.

Aid to Nazi Victims

On May 16, 1973, "Center 45," a clinic for the treatment of those who were suffering from the effects of the Second World War, was officially opened in Oegsgeest by Queen Juliana. The new facility bore witness to the fact that many of the Holocaust survivors continued to suffer disabilities 25 years after the war had ended. Particularly traumatic for them were events like the 1972 debates on the proposed release of the remaining three war criminals in a Dutch prison and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In January 1973 parliament passed a law giving war victims the right to claim allowances for physical and psychological disorders. By mid-year 15,000 had already filed claims, among them 1,000 living in Israel and the United States. This was four times the expected number. To cope with the increasing backlog of applications, Undersecretary for Culture, Recreation and Welfare Wim Meyer issued special measures regulating advance payment of recognized claims. An editorial in the Jewish weekly Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad praised Meyer for his speedy action. During 1974 Meyer visited Israel and Jewish communities in California and New York to investigate the problems of the Dutch Jews who had left the Netherlands after the war. When he returned from Israel he said that there, too, former Dutch citizens could claim allowances and that a coordinating agency would be set up to facilitate procedures. In a special television interview he emphasized that, in decades to come, material as well as spiritual aid would have to be given to those who suffer. He also spoke of a growing need to give support to their offspring. In mid-December the Jewish community asked the government to subsidize the engagement of special pastoral workers to deal specifically with the growing psychological problem of the survivors.

Dutch Solidarity with Soviet Jews

The decision of Austria on September 28, 1973 to close Schönau transit camp (p. 365) brought a strong reaction in the Netherlands. Several hours after the news broke, Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp strongly protested the closing in a television

interview, which also raised the question whether it would not be possible for the Netherlands to admit Soviet Jews. The following day, there was a deluge of offers to house them in hotels, private homes, and conference centers from all parts of Holland. Politicians and private individuals appealed to the government to open the doors of the Netherlands in case of emergency. Labor party leader Ed van Thijn asked den Uyl and van der Stoel to set up reception camps for Soviet Jewish emigrants. Van der Stoel maintained that the Netherlands "is obliged to do something for the Jews of the Soviet Union," but was later assured by the Austrian ambassador that his country was continuing with its task.

A seminar on the situation of the Soviet Jews, held on October 7, 1973, the day after the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war, was attended by Premier den Uyl and his wife. Author and journalist Emanuel Litvinoff of London gave a presentation. Later in the afternoon, at a rally originally organized to protest against the closure of Schönau, politicians of all parties took the occasion to express their strong solidarity with Israel.

Reaction to Yom Kippur War

During the first weeks after the outbreak of the conflict there was an outpouring of solidarity from individuals and groups. On October 13, for example, some 5,000 persons, among them Defense Minister Henk Vredeling, participated in a demonstration in Amsterdam. In the Hague on October 31, 2,500 people attended a special "Artists for Israel" meeting. Other activities took place throughout the country, all coordinated by an emergency committee set up by the Zionist executive. Contributions by non-Jews, sent to the Dutch Collective Action for Israel, were proportionately higher than in any other part of the world. A public-opinion poll indicated that 73 per cent of the people supported Israel's position.

The Dutch government's dismay at the resumption of hostilities in the Middle East was voiced in an October statement by Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel asking that fighting cease and that there be a return to the 1967 cease-fire lines. Interpreting this to mean that the Dutch would support these lines in a final settlement, and angered by their earlier reaction to the Schönau camp closing, the six Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) announced on October 24 an embargo on all oil exports to the Netherlands. Algeria and Kuwait had done so several days earlier, and Libya soon joined. This meant a reduction by about two-thirds in Dutch crude oil imports, which, Dutch officials feared, could lead to a general economic slowdown, particularly in Rotterdam. An emergency law was enacted, authorizing measures to head off shortages. They asked for a reduction of the use of energy, a ban on travel by car on ten consecutive Sundays, and others. This did not change the people's attitude toward Israel. On the contrary, a poll indicated a one per cent rise in support for the state.

Still, there was no public remonstration when the government, in an effort to ease the situation, began to back away from its initial pro-Israel position. Foreign Minister van der Stoel repeatedly denied Arab charges of support of Israel which, he said, were based on a misunderstanding of Dutch policy. The ambassador to Iran, Paul A. E. Renardel de Lavalette, and J. H. van Rooijen, who had held the posts of ambassador to the UN, the United States, and Great Britain, were sent to Arab capitals to clarify this policy. On October 23 the Dutch government reiterated that, in its view, a solution of the conflict would have to be based on UN Resolution 242. On November 6, it signed the European Common Market declaration endorsing the return to the Arabs of territories captured in the six-day war. In a foreign policy debate in parliament on November 29, van der Stoel repeated an earlier statement that the government sought a "balanced policy" that acknowledged the rights of both Israel and the Palestinians. At the same time, the government continued to insist that it had not changed its policy; that it had merely clarified it in the light of new developments. On the day of the parliamentary debate Premier den Uyl, speaking to newspapermen, pledged that his government "would never place the continuation of the State of Israel in jeopardy." And when Dutch and Arab representatives meeting in Brussels on December 1 made no progress toward ending the embargo. Dutch Minister of Economic Affairs Rudolph F. M. Lubbers said the Netherlands would not meet Arab demands for a condemnation of Israel and a call for complete Israeli withdrawal. "We don't want to give the impression," he declared, "that we are buying oil on a Saturday morning, or making any deal that would be misunderstood by others." However, the Netherlands received some oil supplies, and the embargo was officially lifted on July 10, 1974. The decision was made because, as the Saudi Arabian oil minister put it, "All the members [of OPEC] were convinced the Dutch government's attitude toward the Middle East had changed."

Terrorism

On November 25, 1973, a KLM Dutch Royal Airlines Boeing 747 with 247 passengers was hijacked by Palestinian terrorists while flying over the Middle East on route from Amsterdam to Tokyo. The passengers were released when the Dutch government acceded to the hijackers' demands that it "ban transportation of weapons and volunteers to Israel" and would not open facilities for Soviet Jews in transit to Israel. To put a stop to this type of blackmail, parliament on December 20, 1972, had unanimously passed a bill, introduced by Minister of Justice Andreas van Agt, providing that terrorist acts against airplanes be punished by nine to 15 years in prison.

However, sentences imposed June 6 by a Dutch court on two Arab guerrillas who had hijacked and set fire to a British Airways jetliner at Amsterdam airport on March 3, 1973, were only five years imprisonment. The government had been warned by the Arab National Youth Movement for the Liberation of Palestine, which claimed responsibility for the attack, to make certain that no harm came to the hijackers during their pretrial detention. Answering critics of the light sentence,

van Agt declared he considered it to be a sensible one in view of the interests and responsibility involved. The statement drew a reprimand from the premier. In October, one of the two terrorists, who were held in prison in Schevingen, and three other armed convicts took 15 hostages in the prison chapel and demanded, as condition for their release, a getaway plane and freedom for the second Palestinian. With government approval, Dutch marines and police unit stormed the chapel and released the hostages.

The hijackings and related events prompted the World Jewish Congress to cancel plans to hold its world conference in the Hague at the beginning of May 1974. The official reason was that it would be difficult for the Dutch to provide the necessary security for the safety of all delegates, who would have had to be housed in various places in Amsterdam and the Hague.

A new indication of the links between Arab terrorist groups and foreign revolutionary groups (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 499) was the seizure as hostages of the French ambassador and his staff in the Hague by two Japanese, later identified as members of the Japanese Red Army. They demanded the release of a third member imprisoned in Paris, the payment of \$300,000 ransom, and safe conduct to the airport. Their demands were met, and a Dutch volunteer group flew the terrorists to Damascus, where they were persuaded to give up the ransom. In a press conference, Premier den Uyl, who had taken charge of the negotiations, expressed satisfaction that the hostages were freed unharmed, but also bitterness that the criminals escaped punishment. A Syrian announcement that the terrorists were in PLO custody was later denied.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish population of the Netherlands remained at about 30,000. Membership in the Orthodox communities decreased from 18,900 in 1954 to 16,000 in 1974; the Sephardi community membership remained at 800. The Liberal community's membership doubled in the 1964–74 decade, from 1,000 to over 2,000 members. New Liberal communities were formed in Arnhem, Rotterdam, and Enschede.

Aliyah remained at about one per cent of the Jewish population, annually. Of the 213 Jews who went to Israel in the 1972-73 Jewish calendar year, 33 were under 18 years of age and 80 between 18 and 35. Of a total of 168 who left during the following year, 23 were under 18, and 78 between 18 and 35.

Israel and Zionism

In May 1973 the Dutch Jewish community marked the 25th anniversary of the State of Israel with a celebration attended by 2,500 persons, who were addressed by Leon Dulzin of the Jewish Agency.

At its 70th annual meeting, the Zionistenbond (Zionist Federation), whose chair-

man was Sal Cohen, approved the application of the Netherlands branch of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) for membership. The WIZO board later decided against joining. The meeting elected Mrs. Fieps van Emde, immediate past president of WIZO, to succeed Cohen as Federation chairman.

A Center for Documentation and Information for Israel (CIDI) was established in February 1974. Its purpose, according to director Ral Levisson, was to eliminate prevailing ignorance about Israeli affairs through the publication of factual information. It thus far issued a number of pamphlets, among them a detailed study of the Palestine Liberation Organization. At the same time, a group of young intellectuals formed Werkgroep Israel, which organized study groups throughout the country and published a bi-monthly *Nabij* aimed especially at high-school and university youth. David Shultan, who joined the staff of the Israeli embassy in 1974 as press attaché, did much to help these groups achieve their aim. Gavriel Gavrielli replaced Joshua Tregor as councillor at the embassy.

During the months following the Yom Kippur war Jewish communities throughout Holland concentrated their activities on fund raising and general support for Israel. Many youths volunteered for work in Israel. Proceeds from a public auction, held on November 4, went to Israeli widows and orphans. Solidarity with Israel was expressed on a number of other occasions. In May 1974 there were expressions of sympathy for the victims of the Ma'alot killings. In November the Wergroep Israel organized a demonstration at the offices of the European Common Market in the Hague, protesting its declaration in support of the Arabs (p. 316). On November 14, when Yasir Arafat addressed the UN Assembly, Jewish youth held a rally in the center of the Hague and handed a foreign ministry official a petition asking that no PLO representative be permitted to appear in the UN. On December 1, in Amsterdam, a meeting organized by the Zionist Federation and attended by 2,500 persons joined the other Jewish communities in Europe in expressing solidarity with Israel. The meeting, which was addressed by several Dutch political leaders, was critical of the government's decision to abstain from voting at the time of the UN debate on support for the Palestinians. On April 20, 1974, a number of leading intellectuals protested the UNESCO decision to expel Israel. This protest was followed by a declaration of solidarity with Israel, signed by representative personalities, known as the "Statement of the 88."

Appreciation of Dutch support of Israel was shown by the establishment of a Dutch-Israeli Friendship League in Israel. So many Israelis, including then Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, praised the Netherlands that Dutch Ambassador to Israel Gijsbert J. Jongejans cautioned against exaggeration. On the occasion of Queen Juliana's 65th birthday, on April 20, 1974, a new forest in Galilee was dedicated to her. On that day her grandson Prince Willem Alexander planted the first tree from that forest in front of the royal palace.

Community Activities

A new Jewish home for the aged in Rotterdam was inaugurated by the city's mayor on April 22, 1974. The Jewish home for the aged in Arnheim celebrated its 100th anniversary. The Rosh Pina and Maimonides day schools, with primary and secondary grades, moved to their new premises in Buitenveldert, a modern Amsterdam suburb (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 415). The board of the Kerkgenootschap Orthodox community in Amsterdam agreed in August 1974 to move its administrative offices to the cultural center in Buitenveldert, whose population was ten per cent Jewish. The Gotspe youth club in the old central part of Amsterdam, which had been a meeting place for more than 600 youths, was closed in February 1973 because it had no money.

In February 1974 Prince Claus, German-born husband of Crown Princess Beatrix, paid an official visit to the Jewish community of Holland, at the Amsterdam Jewish center, where he was welcomed by representatives of all communal organizations. There had been strong opposition to the marriage from Jews and non-Jews alike because he had been a member of Hitler's Waffen-SS (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 333; 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 353). However, he proved to be an active popular leader, notably in the field of development programs. On the occasion of his visit, he asked to be informed particularly about Dutch Jewish youth and the Jews in the Soviet Union. His interest in Soviet Jews was well known to the Dutch Committee of Solidarity with Jews in the Soviet Union which had been in touch with the prince and princess before they visited the USSR in May 1973.

After years of negotiations agreement was reached in June 1973 on the distribution of the JOKOS (Stichting van Joodse Kerkgenootschappen en Sociale Organisaties in Nederland voor Schadevergoedings Aangelegenheden) funds, the accumulated interest of 11 million florins on German reparations payments to the Dutch government. In addition to 2 million guilders which had already been given to Israel, 3 million were paid to the Irgun Oleh Holland to aid needy Dutch immigrants in Israel; 2 million went to the Orthodox, 1 million to the Liberals, and 600,000 to the Sephardim. The fairness of the distribution was debated in the *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad*.

The Weinreb case (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 351; 1973 [Vol. 74], pp. 411–12) remained in the news. Corroboration of his guilt of having denounced resistance workers and Jews to the Nazi occupation authorities was presented in a new, definitive study by A. J. van der Leeuw and D. Giltay Veth of the government National Institute for War Documentation.

Religion

After the retirementof Amsterdam Chief Rabbi Aaron Schuster in October 1972, the central committee of the Orthodox community, the Nederlands Israëlietische Hofdsynagoge, despite rabbinic opposition, decided in June 1974 to establish one chief rabbinate for all of Holland. The Dutch system allowed for chief rabbis in

Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and one for Utrecht, who had jurisdiction over the rest of the country. By year's end the decision had not yet been carried out. The vacancy left by the departure to Israel in December 1972 of Rabbi David Brodman of Amsterdam was finally filled in mid-1975, when Rabbi Aryeh L. Ralbag was inaugurated.

A serious problem arose in the Rotterdam community at the end of 1973, when its board decided not to renew the contract with Chief Rabbi Daniel Kahn, which was to expire in August 1974. Kahn requested that a Bet Din be convened to deal with the disagreements between him and the board. The request as well as the offer by Britain's Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits to act as mediator were refused. In September 1974, after months of debate between factions in support of and against him, Rabbi Kahn finally offered his resignation on "religious grounds." In an interview with the Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad he declared that the board had made decisions contrary to Halakhah, which he could not accept.

Work to restore the 250-year-old Portugues Synagogue in the Hague was begun in September 1973, a year after it was acquired by the Liberal Jewish community. At a press conference in April 1974 an interfaith committee representing churches and other non-Jewish organizations in the Hague announced that it would help finance the project and that it had received individual contributions from the members of the royal family. The Queen also made a contribution to a project to restore the 17th-century de Pinto mansion in the former Amsterdam Jewish quarter, which had been almost entirely demolished by subway construction work.

In February 1974 the Orthodox community of the Hague, the Nederlands Israëlietische Gemeente, bought the Good Friday Church which was to be converted into a synagogue. The one on Wagenstreet was declared to be a historical monument and was to be used only on the High Holy Days.

In October 1974 army chaplain Rabbi Leo Slagter retired and was succeeded by Rabbi Michel Nager. The community planned to appoint a second Jewish chaplain, but no appointment was made because of a controversy with the Liberal community which wanted the post to be filled by a Liberal rabbi.

The Rabbis and the Churches

The Yom Kippur war gave rise to a public controversy regarding the position of the official church organizations in the Netherlands toward Israel. When the Dutch Reformed Church, the Calvinist Church, and the Catholic Church announced a collection of funds to help all victims of the conflict, the Orthodox and Liberal rabbis, on October 15, 1973, addressed an open letter to them expressing shock that they had not spoken out against aggression. While all victims should be helped, they said, the silence of the churches implied that they condoned the attack on Israel.

In reply to the letter which was widely publicized and debated on television, the Calvinist and Dutch Reformed church leaders stated that "in these times of struggle and tension," they felt "very close to the Jewish people," whose link with Israel was

eternal and unbreakable. They expressed hope for a peace agreement which would guarantee the security of Israel and solve the problems of the Palestinians. Secretary General van den Heuvel of the Dutch Reformed Church and S. Gerssen said the exchange of letters indicated that relations between church and synagogue had become closer.

A reply also came from the Catholic bishops in whose view "it would not suffice to condemn only this violence," precisely because they were concerned about "the fate and identity of the Jewish people which, after centuries of persecution, desires a secure home." They advocated that "a lasting peace for the people of Israel should be sought by negotiations between all parties concerned," taking into account also the "interests of the Palestinians."

The rabbis individually expressed their disappointment with the replies, especially the bishops' letter. "There will always remain the fact that they had been silent in the hour of need." Utrecht's Chief Rabbi Eliezer Berlinger said the Protestant churches at least underscored Israel's right to existence, which the Catholic bishops did not mention. The Liberal rabbis expressed a desire to continue the dialogue with the churches.

At the local level, an overwhelming number of churches throughout the country responded with expressions of solidarity and fund raising for Israel. The small village of Urk collected over 100,000 guilders, a gift that was officially presented to Israeli ambassador Hanan Bar-On. In November 1973 a number of Dutch pastors and the Hague's Chief Rabbi Menachem Fink established a group called Synagogue and Church in Support of Israel. The pastors published nine theses pledging their unequivocal support as Christians for the Jewish people and the State of Israel. By the end of 1974, the group had some 150 members.

In June 1974 an Israel Committee was formed by non-Jews for the purpose of disseminating information and organizing activities in support of Israel. In September a large crowd attended an atonement service held in the Dom Church in Utrecht to express the Christian commitment to Israel. Before Yom Kippur 5735, the first anniversary of the war, the Dutch Reformed Church addressed a letter to all rabbis which said it wished to express concern for, and fellowship with, the Jewish people and Israel out of a need to voice its deepfelt convictions not only in moments of distress, but also in a time of relative peace. In December the Reformed Church strongly protested issuing certificates of baptism to those who wanted to travel to Arab countries. All Dutch church organizations later prohibited pastors and priests from issuing such certificates.

Publications

Dr. Lou de Jong published volume five (March 1941 to July 1942) of his detailed study of the history of the Netherlands during the German occupation, Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog ("The Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Second World War"). Dr. Ben A. Syes published a collection of essays,

Studies over Jodenvervolging ("Studies of the Persecution of Jews"), on Adolf Eichmann, antisemitism in Austria and other subjects, as they related to the "final solution" of the Jewish problem in the Netherlands. Dr. K. Kwiet of Berlin published in Dutch his incisive historical account of antisemitism, Von Jodenhoed tot Gele Ster ("From Jewish Hat to Yellow Star"). Hyman Beem's historical studies of Dutch Jewry, De Joodse Gemeente van Sneek ("Jewish Community of Sneek") and De Joden van Leeuwarden ("Jews of Leeuwarden"), and the treasured Uit Mokum en Mediene ("From Amsterdam and Environs") earned him honors for important research. Mozes Heiman Gans, celebrated author of the Memorbook (a picture atlas of Jewish life in Holland from the Middle Ages to 1940), published De Amsterdamse Jodenhoek ("The Amsterdam Jewish Corner"), a book of many photographs of the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam in 1900–1940. Jan van Agt wrote a beautiful book, De Synagogen van Nederland ("The Synagogues of the Netherlands"), with a large section devoted to the old Portugues synagogue of Amsterdam.

Solidarity with Soviet and Syrian Jews

Aside from arranging the October 7, 1973, seminar on Soviet Jews (p. 315), the Committee of Solidarity with Jews in the Soviet Union sponsored the traditional Simhat Torah celebration in front of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam in October 1974. Michail Shepselovitch who had spent over two years in a labor camp and Boris Rubinstein, recent immigrants from the Soviet Union, talked about their experiences at meetings and press conferences. During the 1974 Hanukkah week daily demonstrations were held in front of the Russian embassy in the Hague. Television coverage was extensive.

Dr. Jeanne Smeulers, an endocrinologist at Rotterdam University, initiated a doctors' campaign in 1974 in support of Dr. Michail Shtern, who, after his sons applied for emigration to Israel, was arrested and tried on charges of accepting bribes for medical services. Two thousand signatures on a petition were obtained within a few weeks. In November 1974 the Russian embassy in the Hague issued a statement in its official monthly news bulletin, attempting to counteract the protests.

In September 1973 a Jewish delegation appealed to the undersecretary for foreign affairs to deal with the situation of the Soviet Jews at the security conference scheduled for March 1974 in Geneva.

The Committee for Jews in Arab and East European Countries, under the leadership of Monseigneur Antonio C. Ramselaar of Utrecht, continued its appeal for relief to the suffering remnant of Jews in Syria. Their terrible plight was described in June 1974 by two young Syrian Jews to members of parliament and representatives of the Jewish community. Professor Th. van Hulst of the Christian Historical Union represented the Netherlands at the International Conference for the Rescue of Jews in the Middle East in Paris in July.

Personalia

In November 1973 Amsterdam Mayor Ivo Samkalden was appointed honorary curator of the Hebrew University. Dr. Louis Evers was appointed the new director of the Jewish Maimonides high school.

Dr. L. Fuchs retired as librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana of Amsterdam University, one of the largest Judaica libraries in the world. He has published studies on Yiddish and Hebrew in Dutch Jewish history, and was lecturer in Yiddish at Amsterdam University.

At a traditional ceremony in November 1974, the Israel ambassador presented the Yad Vashem medal for courageous aid to Jews during the war years to a number of Dutch men and women. On that occasion Premier den Uyl spoke of the feeling of guilt still shared by so many Dutch and of his own feeling of responsibility for the security and safety of the Jewish people.

Ernst Isidor, the president of the Orthodox Jewish community in Amsterdam, died in Amsterdam on July 21, 1974, at the age of 63.

S AWRAHAM SOFTENDORP

Italy

THE GOVERNMENT of Mariano Rumor, formed in July 1973 after one year of centrist interruption as a promising second edition of the Left-Center coalition, was forced to resign in March 1974. The crisis was triggered by the resignation of Republican Minister of the Treasury Ugo La Malfa because of the opposition of Socialist Minister for Programming Antonio Giolitti to his restrictive anti-inflationary measures. Rumor succeeded in forming his fifth government, but the Republicans (PRI) refused to reenter the coalition, promising only "external support" in parliament.

The year's main political event, one of foreseeably historical consequences, was the outcome of the referendum on May 12 for the abrogation of the divorce law of November 1970 (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 366). The referendum was sponsored by Christian Democrat (DC) moderates and right-wingers, together with ultraconservative Catholic circles which, as early as 1971, had already collected 1,300,000 signatures, 800,000 more than legally required for a formal request for a referendum. This was regarded as an indication of a resounding victory; an expectation regarded by Amintore Fanfani, who was elected secretary of the Christian Democrats by the party congress in 1973, as his and his party's great chance. He therefore threw all his energy and the entire party apparatus into the campaign. It should be noted, however, that support of the referendum was in any case a necessary move by the party, which otherwise might have lost most of its followers and voters from the center to the right who were already embittered by the reconstitution of the Left-Center coalition in June 1973.

All the lay parties and the Communists (PCI) had opposed the referendum, with the result that DC remained alone with the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale (MSI-DN) in an unwanted and embarrassing "cameraderie of arms," a circumstance that was exploited by DC's opponents, in particular the Communists, in a drive to win over its women voters—mostly "anti-divorcists"—under the banner of "antifascist fight."

Mindful of the disastrous consequences of past religious conflicts, the Vatican would have preferred to avoid this clash, and therefore refrained almost entirely throughout the campaign from openly taking sides. Only shortly before the voting, amid growing indications of defeat, the Pope and the Bishops' Conference came out in favor of the anti-divorcists, stirring further lay resentment.

The results of the balloting upset all forecasts by pessimists and optimists on both sides. Of the 32.2 million valid votes cast (about 85.5 per cent of registered voters), only 40.9 per cent opted for the abrogation of the divorce law, compared with the 47.6 per cent collected by the anti-divorcist parties in the last general election of May

1972. They had been rather certain to surpass the latter figure, trusting in the "voice of Catholic conscience" of a good many among the usual voters for lay parties. The fact that the opposite occurred was the real significance of the referendum, and had far-reaching consequences.

An analysis of the vote by geographic areas showed that the anti-divorcists obtained 37.7 per cent (1972 election: 44.6 per cent) in the highly industrialized north of Italy; 36.3 per cent (1972: 44.5 per cent) in the central part, and a scant majority of 51 per cent (1972: 55.3 per cent) in the south, including the islands—a loss, as compared with their electoral strength, of about one-fifth in the northern and central, and one-twelfth in the southern regions of the country. The record was set in Turin (Piedmont), where the divorcists obtained 79.8 per cent of the vote (in 1972 the percentage for all lay parties was 65).

For the Christian Democratic party and for Fanfani's personal position the referendum outcome was a true disaster. The left wing reproached Fanfani for having used the party's prestige for his personal ambition. The rightists blamed 1) the party's board for not having agreed to the neofascists' proposals to abrogate the divorce law in parliament by simply using the majority represented by the combined two parties, and 2) the party's left wing for having caused the debacle by desertion in battle.

What shook the DC to its foundation, however, was the demonstration by the vote that it had lost its image of a political party based on common religious feeling and on the corresponding Catholic outlook on society (and thus gathering adherents from all classes of the population). The promoters of the referendum committed the great and thus far unexplained blunder of affirming that their opposition to divorce was not based on religious but on social considerations, which in a way helped the voters to free themselves from clerical tutelage. No doubt, the widespread and angry disaffection from DC (which alone was held responsible for all the ills afflicting the country) was another important factor in the defeat, whose percentual proportion was later confirmed by the outcome of the Sardinian regional election in June and by the partial (but nationwide) municipal elections in November. These also registered large gains for the Socialist party (PSI) and moderate gains for Social Democrats (PSDI) and Republicans, while the Liberals and MSI-DN lost; PCI had a slight gain.

This induced the Socialist party to make new and greater demands: an end to the "hegemony" of the DC government in the numerous public institutions and state-owned enterprises—the so-called sottogoverno, or "subgovernment." The Socialists also demanded equal rights with DC, and recognition of their "superior quality" as "authentic representatives of the working class." This unacceptable attitude moved Rumor to tender his resignation again in June, but this time President Giovanni Leone refused to accept it, and asked the premier to seek a vote of confidence in parliament. The Socialists prudently drew back—they wanted more influence, but feared an untimely crisis—so that Rumor obtained the backing of the majority and remained in office. In October PSI again began to pressure; they wanted a "new

model for economy and government," as well as "preferential relations with DC," with evident detrimental consequences for the two other coalition partners, the Republicans and Social Democrats. No wonder the latter "slammed the door," provoking the third government crisis in 1974, the 36th since the fall of fascism.

The new crisis lasted 73 days, and after Fanfani failed, Foreign Minister Aldo Moro made a successful attempt to form a two-party government of Christian Democrats and Republicans, and, with the promise of PSI and PSDI support, managed to maintain formally the Left-Center coalition. The precariousness of this coalition was evident from the fact that it had so far found it impossible to call a meeting of representatives of the four parties. Moro's government, doubtless more homogeneous in composition than Rumor's, nevertheless was too exposed to easy demagogic criticisms and pressures by the Communists, and even more so by the Socialists. More than ever before, the latter found themselves in the comfortable situation of being close to the government, retaining the "subgovernmental" positions and, at the same time, being free to attack the Christian Democrats relentlessly.

Fanfani apparently remained the strong man in the party, and even succeeded in ousting the left-wing members from the secretariat; but his fate remained closely linked to the outcome of the June 1975 regional and municipal elections, which were generally expected to produce another painful defeat for his party. Efforts to form some kind of an alliance or election pact between the three minor lay parties (Social Democrats, Republicans and Liberals, the latter thus far in opposition), deemed essential to attract those DC voters who were expected to desert their party, but had no confidence in small parties and would otherwise abstain or vote for extremist parties, had failed so far, and had little prospect of success in the near future.

Toward year's end, Socialist leaders rather surprisingly declared themselves against the "historical compromise" as well as against a new "popular front" with the PCI (which was accused of lacking in a "sense of democracy" and of insufficient "autonomy from Moscow"). They obviously realized that in either eventuality they would be pushed aside by the much stronger partners. Strangely enough, they realized this only when the resistance of other democratic parties to PCI's participation in government was fading.

Economy

Economically, Italy, like the rest of the industrial world, was afflicted by "stagflation," only much more so because of its 80 per cent dependence on foreign energy sources; its huge treasury and balance-of-payment deficits (each amounting to \$13 billion yearly, equal to one tenth of the GNP); the steady flight of capital abroad because of fear of the PCI, and a top-heavy, obsolete administration. Also detrimental was the attitude of the trade unions which in their turn claimed that pressure by ascending extraparliamentary groups forced them to continue their demands for higher salaries incompatible with the spreading recession, and to call paralyzing

strikes. Only at the end of the year were rather promising collective contracts concluded with employers' associations.

In the latter half of 1974, however, ruthless credit restriction reduced the balance-of-payment deficit sufficiently to cover it by available foreign loans. Thus supporting investment in industry and agriculture again became a possibility, but the effects will not be felt for some time. In December industrial production was 10.9 per cent lower than in December 1973, though there was a rise of 4.9 per cent for the entire year. Prospects for the first half of 1975 remained gloomy.

Other Problems

Signs of the disintegration of public and social life appeared also in other spheres. The prestige of political parties and parliament was shaken by scandals, and even more by the parties' adoption, in unprecedented record time of a few days, of a law granting them huge governmental subsidies. Signatures were being collected for another referendum to abrogate this law. At the same time, unrest was spreading among the police because of low salaries and because they felt they lacked the necessary protection to ensure their physical safety and moral standing in face of constant accusations from the left. Two police generals resigned in loud protest against the disayowal by civilian authorities of some disciplinary measures they had proposed. The military secret service was under heavy public attack for having failed to take action against fascist attempts to seize power; a general and several other high army officers were arrested, others were under investigation. In the judiciary, too, there was a deep rift which showed itself in disputes and accusations among the professional organizations of judges of various political tendencies. The unprecedented rise of crime (especially kidnapping with ransom demands of millions of dollars) and of political terrorism from both extremes—the riots and violence preferred by the extreme left, and cruel bomb massacres and foolish plans for golpi by the rightists—completed an image captured in the N.Y. Times Magazine cover-page heading, "Italy in Agony." Only at year's end did more and more leaders and citizens, apparently realizing that the country was drifting towards an abyss, seriously seek remedies.

Foreign Policy: The Middle East

Throughout the year, Italian foreign policy was necessarily "oil-minded." This also affected relations with other members of the European Economic Community and the United States. Aldo Moro, and later his successor Mariano Rumor, kept a median course between the French and American policies. Pressure by Arab countries to bring Italy into line with their particular interpretation of UN Resolution 242 and of Palestinian rights began on the new year, and soon proved completely successful. In January Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Cesare Bensi visited Iraq and Syria, and in February Foreign Minister Aldo Moro toured Arab countries, both repeating throughout their visits the phrases their hosts wanted to hear, and

both being rewarded with assurances that Italy was put on the list of "friends of the Arabs." Italian diplomats also endeavored to prove that the country's policy with regard to the Middle East conflict had not changed throughout the years. The Arabs showed much understanding for such efforts, and in December, when President Leone visited Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, Sadat certified, against all evidence, that "Italy had already supported the Arab cause in 1967, the first European country to do so." (Then why was Italy included in the oil embargo in October 1973?) Sadat overdid it, however, when he added that Italy was "on the side of the Arabs in their battle against Israel." Obviously embarrassed, Leone ignored such affirmation and limited his answer to pointed repetitions that Italy's policy was peace. Whether or not upon Italian request, Egyptian sources later said that Sadat's words had been incorrectly translated.

This incident indicated that the docility of Italian foreign policy had certain limits, which acted as a brake to the initially steep "downfall of political morals," as an observer called the enforced crude-oil policy. This emerged also in the affair of Arrigo Levi, editor-in-chief of the Turin daily La Stampa, owned by the FIAT automobile company. In Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi's eyes, Levi was guilty of having permitted the publication of a satirical article about Qaddafi's Paris press conferences, and still worse, for having fought as a volunteer in the Israeli army during the War of Independence. The Arab League threatened FIAT with boycott, even with nationalization of their installations in Arab countries, if Levi was not dismissed. The Italian foreign ministry pointed out that there was freedom of the press in Italy; FIAT adopted a wait-and-see policy, and thus far nothing happened either to Levi or to FIAT.

A relative stiffening of Italy's foreign policy could also be noted when its delegation, which had voted for inviting Yassir Arafat to speak in the General Assembly, abstained on the Arab draft resolution and voted against conferring observer status on the PLO. In UNESCO, after some hesitations in the commissions, Italy voted against condemnation of Israel and suspension of contributions to that country, and for its admission into the European regional group. For weeks, statements protesting the UNESCO resolution, signed by top Italian personalities, appeared in the Italian press and were adopted at meetings.

Public Opinion on Israel and Jewry

The press followed the government line in almost all its nuances. Italian journalists accompanying Aldo Moro on his trip did not report on the "publicity material" (various antisemitic pamphlets, among them the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*) they were given in Kuwait and Riyadh, as their French colleagues angrily did in an analogous situation.

The press did much better in discussing the Arrigo Levi affair (since freedom of the press was at stake here) and the UNESCO resolutions. On Arafat's UN appearance, most papers did not comment; those which did stressed that it would only aggravate the Middle East situation. Their reaction to the decisions reached by the Arabs at the Rabat summit conference was the same.

The stand on the Middle East by the various political parties did not change: the Social Democrats and Republicans in the government coalition, and the Liberals of the opposition, remained decidedly on Israel's side and said so on every appropriate occasion. So did the Socialists, at least in principle. They stressed evenhandedness generally, but with significant differences of detail between their leaders and with attention to what the Communists were saying. The neofascists followed a pro-Israel line, but only as an extension of their anti-Communism and while continuing to have many known antisemites in their ranks. The Communist party was strictly pro-Arab, faithfully following the Moscow line, sometimes even outranking it. The exceptions were some of its Jewish members like Senator Umberto Terracini who, against the reported opposition of the party leadership, decided to participate in the international meeting of Jewish jurists in London on the "juridical situation of the Jews in the USSR." He even said in an interview before leaving Italy that he intended to collect in London "new information," since he had given up hope of "ever obtaining [it] from Soviet sources." According to Terracini, Jews in the USSR were victims of "systematic violations of social justice." As a result of the absence of freedom of speech and of the press, the emerging diffuse antisemitism, under the guise of anti-Zionism, could not but influence Soviet public opinion.

Contacts between Italy and Israel were frequent in the political, scientific, cultural, and artistic fields. Delegations of the Keneset and of the Italian-Israeli section of the Interparliamentary Union exchanged visits. A PSI delegation toured Israel during the summer. A meeting of pro-Israel European parliamentarians in Berlin in February was attended by a group of ten Italian deputies and senators, headed by Undersecretary of Finance Giuseppe Amadei.

Within the framework of the Italian-Israeli cultural agreement, groups of scientists of both countries exchanged visits. The Italian Committee for the Weizmann Institute—its roster included top names in science and culture, among them its chairman, Professor Alessandro Faedo of the Italian National Research Council—held its inaugural meeting in Rome in November. Professor Israel Dostrowsky, president of the Weizmann Institute, attended. The presence of a score of Israeli physicians at the International Cancer Congress in Florence was widely noted; attention focused on Professor Leo Sachs, the "great hope" for cancer research.

A group of Florence architects, headed by the city's Commissioner for Urbanization Vittorio Foti, visited Jerusalem in the fall. Its report, made public during the UNESCO debate, praised both the excellent restoration work done to conserve the old city of Jerusalem and the efficient communications system in the new city.

At Venice university, Italian-born Rabbi Menachem Artom of Israel was appointed to fill the newly established chair of Modern Hebrew. The Israeli scholarship program for Italian graduate students continued.

In December an agreement for the exchange of information on the peaceful use of nuclear energy was signed between the Italian and Israeli atomic authorities.

In October Israeli Ambassador to Italy Moshe Sasson presented to Father Don Benedetto Richeldi the Yad-Vashem Medal for the Just for hiding and then having smuggled into Switzerland a group of Yugoslave Jews who, in the fall of 1943, had been trapped by the German occupation of Northern Italy.

In Modi'in, Israel, in a ceremony attended by Israeli and Italian personalities, Senator Paride Piasenti, president of the Italian Association of Former Concentration Camp Inmates, dedicated a forest in the memory of 40,000 Italian soldiers who had perished in Nazi concentration camps.

Israeli artists participated in the International Graphics Exposition in Florence, which attracted much interest and a good press. The Jerusalem orchestra came to Italy and performed in the renowned San Carlo Opera House in Naples, as well as in other cities. As usual, Israeli editors attended the annual Children's Book Fair in Bologna.

The Vatican

Efforts to come to an agreement with the Polish government on such problems as religious education, the nomination of bishops, and the construction of new churches, continued. The creation of "working commissions for contacts" was viewed as preliminary to the establishment of diplomatic relations. In the deliberations the bargaining power of the Church was relatively strong because of its almost undiluted influence on the Polish masses. A reasonably good agreement with Poland was particularly desirable because it could, in all probability, serve as a model for similar arrangements with the other East European Socialist countries with predominantly Catholic populations, where atheistic ideologies continued to be rampant.

At present, contacts with Czechoslovakia regarding the nomination of bishops made only slow headway; those with Hungary did not improve much despite the Vatican's removal of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, and relations with Yugoslavia were at a stalemate after the "honeymoon" of the late 1960s. Therefore, the Holy See was understandably ready to be more flexible in Poland; but it had thus far met with the opposition of the Polish clergy who were disinclined to relinquish any of the real religious freedoms "won in 30 years of fierce battle."

During his sojourns in Rome, Stefan Cardinal Wyszinski, primate of Poland, was finally persuaded that it would be in the general interest of the Holy See if he accepted its strategy, which even drew favorable attention from the Kremlin. In fact, Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski was invited to come to Moscow immediately after Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, the Pope's "foreign minister," visited Warsaw in February. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko called on the Pope two weeks later. The Soviets obviously had come to regard the "Polish case" as an interesting "experiment" in improved relations with the Vatican for the advancement of general East-West détente.

In April the Vatican's Ostpolitik veered sharply West: Monsignor Casaroli left

for Cuba to resume "fruitful dialogue" after the break in 1960, when 500 Spanish priests were ousted from the island. Fidel Castro gave him a very cordial reception and even honored him by paying him one of his famous unannounced midnight visits at the Nuncio's residence. Casaroli had the opportunity to talk freely with bishops and priests. Back in Rome, he spoke of mutual understanding, adding that "religious and Marxist teachings are not incompatible."

Within the Church, the rift between innovators and ultraconservatives continued, with both sides vehemently attacking the Church's central power and undermining hierarchic institutions. In an address in August, Pope Paul VI asked the faithful for comprehension of the Church's position in a hostile world, thereby drawing upon himself new criticism for pessimistic views unbecoming to a pope.

In September the Bishops' Synod met for a one-month session to discuss "Evangelization in the World Today." On that occasion, the Third World showed strength and vitality, and a marked tendency to make the most of local civilizations, assimilating their diversified theologies and their socio-political and nationalistic peculiarities. The Synod also revealed severe institutional tensions within the Church. The Pope reaffirmed his absolute power; the sensational collective meal for the 350 bishops (for centuries popes had not eaten with others) failed to compensate members of the synod for the absence of true "collegiality" between the Pope and bishops, as requested by the Ecumenical Council.

On Christmas the Pope solemnly inaugurated the "Holy Year 1975" in Rome (AJYB, 1974-75 [Vol. 75], p. 460), continuing its observance throughout the world in 1974. The Jewish origin of the concept was widely discussed by the mass media. More care than ever before on similar occasions was given to the spiritual uplift of the pilgrims who had come to Rome to participate in the ceremonies.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND THE JEWS

Less than a month after the Fiumicino airport massacre staged by Arab terrorists in December 1973, a meeting took place in Beirut between the papal nuncio, Monsignor Alfredo Bruneira, and a representative of Yasir Arafat, in which the latter, expressing gratitude to the Pope for his position on the Palestinian issue, referred to "existing contacts" between the Vatican and a PLO delegate in Rome. The nuncio reportedly replied that "such support of the Vatican was dictated by right and justice." The Rome news agency Relazioni Religiose viewed the meeting as "another of the Vatican's historical errors of incalculable consequences for the Church, humanity, and the Palestinian Arabs themselves whom, it says, it wants to help. Whoever shakes hands with the fedayeen has no moral right to be scandalized by the massacre of innocents." Despite criticism, the Pope received in private audience the head of the PLO delegation to the World Food Conference in November.

Still more discussed was the Vatican's stand on the Capucci affair (p. 403). Patriarch Maximos V, who as former Bishop George Hakim had been a loyal citizen

of Israel, came to Rome in August to plead his bishop's (Capucci's) cause. He drew a parallel between Capucci and the European freedom fighters against Nazism. At that point, the Vatican remained neutral; but after the bishop's conviction it issued a statement of "surprise and sorrow," and of hope for the early liberation of the arms-smuggling priest.

Vatican diplomacy was actively involved in the question of Jerusalem. On March 25 the Pope appealed to the faithful to "save the Christian community in Jerusalem" from disappearing. He regretted the constant departure of Christians from Jerusalem. Without their presence, he said, the Christian holy places would become museums. Jews were somewhat perturbed by the appeal, though it was not openly aimed against them. The Pope in fact stressed the spiritual importance of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, especially by the clergy, as an opportunity for contacts also with the Jewish and Moslem communities. Referring to the first Christian fund raising, that of St. Paul, in behalf of Palestinian Christians, Pope Paul appealed to the faithful all over the world to contribute abundantly to meet the needs of the Church in the Holy Land. A somewhat less pessimistic assessment emerged from a conference on the "Situation of Christian Communities in Jerusalem," held in Rome in April by Paolo Colbi, departmental director of the Israeli ministry of religion.

After Ma'alot, the Pope, more outspoken than in response to earlier acts of terror, cabled his apostolic delegate in Jerusalem that he was "deeply grieved by this most serious act of violence," which he "deplored as an outrage against the conscience of humanity." To the families of the victims and to Israel he expressed his "heartfelt sympathy in their anguish." The Vatican newspaper Osservatore Romano declared that "every detail in this terrible aggression torments and offends, and gives rise to horror that is equalled only by the anger at, and condemnation of, ideologies and methods of violence."

In May the Pope received the fathers of two Israeli POWs held by Syria with very cordial words, wishes, and assurances of his intervention. In July he gave an audience to Israeli Minister of Tourism Moshe Kol, which concluded fruitful talks between Kol and the papal Commission for the Holy Year on the possibility of the Vatican encouraging visitors to Rome during that Year to extend their pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The creation by the Vatican of a separate Commission for Relations with Judaism, with much wider functions than those so far performed in this area by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, was announced in October. A personal bond continued, since Jan Cardinal Willebrands was president of both bodies. Father Pierre de Contenson became secretary and Monsignore Charles Moeller vice president of the new commission.

In his customary Christmas address to the Cardinals on December 23, Paul VI said:

How could one not remember, on the eve of the Holy Year in this city, ... another city, Jerusalem, the "Holy City" of the Christian world, at the same time the focus

of the love and secular nostalgia of that people which God mysteriously elected His people and in which we recognize ourselves, and so dear to the great religious family of Islam?

These words were quite novel; for Christianity had always considered itself the only heir to divine election and to the Covenant.

Shortly thereafter, the Vatican published "Guidelines and Suggestions for Relations With Judaism." They were intended to implement the Vatican II Declaration on the Jews, a breakthrough in Catholic-Jewish relations. However, the "Guidelines" even surpassed the Declaration in that they clearly rejected the widespread teaching that Judaism is a rigid religion of justice, fear, and law, calling for neither love of God nor of men. They stated explicitly that the history of Judaism did not end with the destruction of Jerusalem, but continued to develop, creating new rich religious values. The document further contained instructions to Catholics to start dialogue on all levels and to fight antisemitism. This decisive policy of approach to Jewry, including Israel, aroused considerable international interest. Some observers saw in it an attempt to establish a "common front of religions" against the moral disintegration of institutions and society; others believed it was meant to pave the way for the role the Holy See claimed for itself in the European Conference for Security and Cooperation and in the Geneva conference on the Middle East.

On November 30 the Pope presented to the directors of UNESCO the 1974 John XXIII Peace Prize, but made it quite clear that the recipient had been selected before the "regrettable" votes in UNESCO, an action that had nothing to do with UNESCO's institutional tasks, that outraged world opinion, and "disturbs the serenity of this happy moment." He also expressed the hope that the matter would be reviewed and settled as soon as possible. Monsignor Loris Capovilla, who had been secretary to Pope John XXIII, was to have read the citation, but cancelled participation in the ceremony without specifying the reason. Jean Cardinal Villot, the Vatican's secretary of state, who was to address the meeting, did not even attend, ostensibly because of a sore throat.

Also in November, the late French Jewish historian Jules Isaac, who had induced Pope John XXIII to put the problem of the Church's attitudes toward the Jews on the agenda of the Ecumenical Council, was eulogized by Professor André Shuraki of Jerusalem at Florence's town hall, which was filled to capacity.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Antisemitism

The main causes of antisemitism did not change (AJYB 1974-75 [Vol. 75], p. 464). However, its manifestations during the year could be traced largely to the extreme right and to reactionary Church circles. Apart from the more than a dozen incidents of slogan-painting on buildings in various towns (among them Venice in

February, and Pisa in November), and the numerous threatening letters with the usual, stale invectives, a "new look" was added by a shower of telephone hoaxes to Jewish leaders, announcing Arab terrorist actions, especially in August, and again in November, concomitantly with widespread rumors of an imminent rightist coup d'état. This induced authorities to arrange for the physical protection of the Jewish leaders in question and for stronger security measures at Jewish institutions. Also, leaflets claiming or, at times, disclaiming responsibility for some bombing attempt or similar exploit by extreme rightist groups often contained threats or merely ugly references to Zionists, Jews, and Israel. Thus, on August 8, a "Group for the 'Black Order' Press Office" disclaimed responsibility for the terrible bomb explosion in the Rome-Munich train but, at the same time, threatened reprisals against the "servants of Jewish power."

The Friends of Freda (AJYB 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 438) reappeared on the scene to blame former Italian president Giuseppe Saragat and "Zionists" for the bomb massacre in Milan in December 1969, for which Freda was being held in prison pending investigation. At the same time, his well-known antisemitic Padua publishing house Edizione di AR continued its work without interference and, at year's end, distributed a new Catalogue 75, as usual offering books and pamphlets drenched with Nazi ideology, by Julius Evola, de Gobineau, Paul Rassiner, and others. It also announced a new series entitled Paganitas, of which the first publication dealt with the anti-Christian (and anti-Jewish) Greek philosopher Celsus.

The intensification of rightist antisemitic and anti-Zionist propaganda, while that of the extreme left became relatively less virulent, probably indicated that the suspected main financiers of such efforts, the wealthy Arab nations with Libya and Saudi Arabia in the vanguard, generally concentrated their help on rightist groups, probably in keeping with similar shifts in their domestic and foreign policies. In fact, commentators believed that such interest and support went beyond the question of Israel; that the oil sheiks were "actively interested" in promoting an authoritarian rightist regime in Italy. Very significant, too, was the proliferation of Nazi terminology in the rightist propaganda. In one of its few numbers, *Anno Zero* ("Year Zero"), organ of the now banned Ordine Nuovo (New Order), reproduced from Libyan papers *Stürmer*-style anti-Jewish articles and cartoons.

This sort of investment of Arab petrodollars does not seem very promising. True, the Italian extreme right still commanded a good number of pathologically exalted gangs and "action squads," which were highly dangerous because of their access to unlimited dynamite and arms supplies, but largely powerless because of their almost complete isolation from society.

According to the weekly *Panorama* (August 22, 1974), the Italia-Libia organization in Ferrara was founded in 1973 by a group of dissidents from Giorgio Almirante's MSI-DN party. Its chairman Claudio Mutti, founding member of the Ordine Nuovo, "managed" the Libyan money.

The release, in 1974, of a new edition of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (printed in 1972 by an artisan, Costantino Catapano, in Lucero and its free distribution to

bishops, priests, and "selected" laymen by Don Luigi Villa, a priest in Brescia, was strongly condemned by the press.

Attention was given by the press (e.g. Voce Republicana, March 2), to the appearance in Italy of the Children of God, a group led by "Moses David," which boasted of having branches in 11 cities. In their pamphlets, which were offered for sale, they hailed Arab power and predicted the early demise of the United States and Israel.

At the same time, Arab connections with the Italian Left did not stop; they focused on arranging conferences, discussion panels, usually "lofty" in principle and "peaceful" in outlook, with venomous attacks and threats against Israel.

Relations with Israel

The trauma of the Yom Kippur war and its aftereffects in Israel and on the international scene aroused fears among Italian Jews that Arab political pressure might extend to public opinion and lead to their isolation from society, similar to that of Israel from the world. Though there have so far been only very few concrete signs of such a development, these understandably assumed exaggerated proportions for Jews.

Israel remained the focus for Italian Jews, but they became more critical and realistic about its policy and structure. An extensive symposium significantly entitled "Two on the Seesaw," and published in the Rome Jewish community's monthly Shalom, dealt with the question of the relationship between the Diaspora and Israel. Opinions and proposals ranged from one for a "mixed senate" to "the absent should not interfere," to the somewhat misapplied "no taxation without representation." The prevailing view was that the "right to criticize should not be refused a priori, but that direct participation in decisions by the politically unorganized Diaspora was impossible."

On the local level, interest centered on the ninth quadrennial congress of Italian Jews, held in Rome from June 9 to 11. It was generally considered as disappointing because undue time was lost on the question of whether a person married to a Gentile could effectively serve as an official of the Jewish community. The decision was overwhelmingly negative. The congress's political resolution expressed solidarity with the State of Israel indissolubly linked to the Diaspora and condemned Nazi-fascist terrorist acts and plots. The newly elected council of the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane was pledged to fight antisemitism from whatever source and to work for the removal of still existing discrimination against Jews in the penal code and the Italian Concordat with the Holy See.

The congress recommended the engagement of rabbis of other than Italian origin and ordination to alleviate the scarcity of rabbis; the modernization of teaching methods in Jewish day schools, and the establishment of follow-up courses for Jewish teachers. Also recommended were the creation of a Study Center of Jewish History, and the utilization of the artistic and cultural patrimony of Jewish communities not only for religious, but also for scientific purposes, with further research

to be conducted in the south of the country. It was decided to support the national circulation of *Shalom*, also among non-Jews. Judge Sergio Piperno-Beer was reelected president of the Unione, and six new members were elected to its 15-member board.

Delegates of Zionist federations from 13 European countries—Great Britain and France sent only observers—met in Milan in October in a well organized conference. The reason for this partial representation was that, at earlier European Zionist meetings, the voices of the smaller federations were drowned out by the much larger British and French delegations discussing their own specific problems that were quite different from those of the smaller communities. In fact, the work of the plenary sessions and commissions proceeded more smoothly, and there was an opportunity to discuss adequately and intensively the specific situations of minor federations. The conference strongly emphasized the need for local Zionist organizations 1) to disseminate in the language of their country up-to-date information and material from the World Zionist Organization, and 2) to extend Zionist work with youth by organizing activities in the family, in schools, in other youth organizations, in synagogues, and elsewhere. The consensus was that the Milan conference was useful for the affirmation of Zionism in the threatened minor Jewish communities of Europe.

A most painful event occurred at the annual convention of the Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia (FGEI; Jewish Youth Federation of Italy), held in November in Chiavari. Thanks to the skillful maneuvering of a "progressive and democratic" board, the meeting adopted a resolution which, in almost offensive terms, accused the Israel government of having "militaristic and annexationist tendencies." It put the PLO's right to nationhood before Israel's right to existence. Some members of the board, obviously thinking first of their position in the Italian Left, submitted an even more repugnant version of the resolution to the largecirculation weekly Panorama, which printed it with venomous comments under the heading, "Far From Tel Aviv." The incident evoked bitter protests in the Jewish community and brought a censure from the Unione, which subsidizes the FGEI, from the Italian Zionist Federation, and from the large majority of the members of Kadimah in Rome, the largest youth organization in FGEI, though without adequate representation on its board. Thus far, no sanctions were applied because it was hoped that Italian Jewish youth would learn how to impose its will on its leaders, or to be more circumspect in selecting them. In fact, the question of the FGEI's mandate was once again raised; for its pretentious name wrongly implied that it was representative of Italian Jewish youth in its entirety.

In March the first Center for Jewish Family Consultation was opened in Rome, with a team of social workers and psychologists on its staff. A new cultural center, opened in Rome near the Great Synagogue in May, has proved its value as a place for conferences and many community activities.

In April, 25 Israeli soldiers who had been wounded in the Yom Kippur war came to Italy as guests of Italian Jewry for a successful fortnight's tour.

In December an exhibition of documents and photos depicting "Antisemitism

Yesterday and Today," including the history of the persecution of the Jews in Italy between 1943 and 1945, was organized by the Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (CDEC; Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation) in Milan, in memory of its late director Eloisa Ravenna.

A significant event receiving much attention in the press was the return to Italy of Professor Emilio Segre, aged 70, one of the founding fathers of nuclear physics and 1959 Nobel-prize winner, to fill a chair founded for him at Rome university. He had been one of Fermi's collaborators, but left his post at Palermo university in 1938 because of Mussolini's racial laws and emigrated to the United States, where he immediately became professor at the University of California at Berkeley.

Publications

L'Arpa di Davide ("David's Harp"; Campironi Editore, Milano), by Elena Tessadri, is a most complete, objective, and documented history of the 1475-76 ritual murder trial in Trient (southern Tyrol). The alleged child victim, though never beatified, was later worshipped locally as Little Saint Simonino until the city's bishop, under the influence of the Ecumenical Council, prohibited the cult in 1964. According to the legend, King David's harp sounds in lamentation at every new persecution of Jews.

Several remarkable literary works dealt with Jewish tragedy in our time, when the harp resounded. La Storia ("History"; Giulio Einaudi Editore, Torino), by Elsa Morante, described the fateful years 1942—44 in Rome, ghetto life and the October 1943 deportations, and the fate of the victims, as seen in historical perspective. It evoked the enthusiasm of critics and public alike, and became a best-seller of the year. Un Ebreo nel fascismo ("A Jew Under Fascism"; Rusconi Editore, Milano), by Luigi Preti, Social-Democratic leader and many times member of the Italian cabinet, is the story of Oberdan Rossi, a half-Jew, son of an ardent Jewish supporter of Mussolini and himself a thorough fascist, who committed suicide when he finally recognized the true nature of fascism. Impressive is the deep understanding of this non-Jewish writer for the feelings and sufferings of the Italian Jews under fascist and Nazi rule.

Shalom Ruth, Shalom (Barulli Editore, Roma), by Lise Loewenthal, received the 1974 Syberis Magna Graecia literary prize of the Free Union of Writers. It is the autobiography of a young girl of a Jewish middle-class family in pre-Nazi Germany, the story of the persecutions, and her later experiences on a transport to an Israeli kibbutz. The authoritative Jesuit periodical, Civiltà Cattolica, and Osservatore Romano commented in laudatory reviews on her discussion of the elements common to Judaism and Christianity.

Another woman's autobiography against the background of great historical events was Salto indietro ("The Leap Back"; Edizioni Mediterranee, Roma), by Mita Kaplan, describing Jewish life in pre-war Riga, the Nazi occupation, and Jewish refugee camps in Tashkent and post-war life in Rome.

The 1974 Portico d'Ottavia literary prize was awarded to Alberto Vigevani for

his Fine delle Domeniche ("The End of Sundays"; Edizioni Valecchi, Florence), a volume of three stories about the life and demise of the Jewish middle classes in disintegrating Europe in the 1930s and 1940s. Guido Fubini's La Condizione giuridica dell'ebraismo italiano ("The Legal Condition of Italian Jewry"; La Nuova Editrice, Turin) is a remarkable and thoroughly researched account of the legal status of the Jews and their communities in Italy, from the time of Napoleon to the present.

Immagini del passator ebraico ("Images from the Jewish Past"; Vol. 19 of the series of Jewish and Zionist works published by the high-level Unione-supported monthly, Rassegna mensile di Israel) is a collection of articles and photographs by Attilio Milano that had been published in that periodical throughout the years. Though Milano died before he could complete profiles of all cities, the articles give a remarkable picture of the Jewish past in Italy. The compilation was prepared by Umberto Narboni and Joseph Colombo.

Studi sull'ebraismo ("Studies of Judaism"; Barulli Editore, Rome), by various authors, is a volume of essays and documents compiled by the Institute for Advanced Jewish Studies of the Rome Rabbinical College, which includes reprints, some of them in English, extracts and translations.

Art

Many Jewish and Israeli artists showed their paintings in Rome and other Italian cities. The year began with an exhibition of Pincas Sha'ar, Anatol Gurewitch, David Azur, and Zadik. This was followed by an Israeli graphics exhibit, sponsored by the Israel embassy, of works by Miron Sima, Yehoshua Griffit, Elie Abrahami, Pinhas Eshet, Mordechai Moreh, Rudolf Lehman, Rita Alima, and Avraham Eilat, giving a good cross-section of several generations of artists of varied backgrounds and styles. Other works were shown with much success: those of Pauline Vivienne of Leghorn, at the Foreign Press Club; the designs of Vladimir Galatsky, a Soviet Jewish emigrant in transit; the works of Eva Fischer of Rome, an artist of long standing.

Personalia

Alfredo Steinhaus, a Merano merchant and counselor of that city's small Jewish community in the immediate postwar period, philanthropist, Keren Kayyemet leader, died in Milan on January 10, at the age of 65. Renato Maestro, accountant, vice-president of the Venice Jewish community, died in Venice on March 15, at the age of 63. Carlo Alberto Viterbo, attorney, Zionist leader, until 1961 president of the Zionist Federation of Italy, for more than 50 years editor-in-chief and owner of the Rome weekly *Israel*, died in Rome on August 9, at the age of 85. The *Unione* published a final, commemorative issue of the weekly containing his autobiography and tributes by many Jewish leaders throughout the world.