

Western Europe

Great Britain

Domestic Affairs

THE YEAR 1973 has been dominated by a feeling that a turning point was reached in national life. Assumptions that supplies of cheap fuel were plentiful, that the steady growth of the economy was continuing, and that social cohesion would keep industrial disputes within limits which did not actually cripple the general community no longer seemed to hold true. This was despite—or perhaps because of—the fact that the government maintained its policy of economic expansion. It hoped thereby to promote industrial investment and break out of the “stop-go cycle.” So far as unemployment was concerned, the policy was successful for, until December, the number of unemployed declined by an average of 20,000 per month.

The strain of expansion was borne by the foreign trade balance. Thus an early indication of difficulties to come was the announcement in January that the 1972 overseas trade deficit had been £700 million, the worst on record. Another component was the deterioration of the labor situation. It began in a comparatively small way in February with strikes and industrial action by gas workers, civil servants, and nonmedical workers in the National Health Service. April marked the institution of Phase Two of the counterinflation policy, providing for limitations on dividends, profit margins, and wage increases, which was soon followed by a rise in the mortgage rate from 8.0-8.5 to 9.5 per cent, and to 11 per cent by September. In the meantime the Bank of England's minimum lending rate rose to 11.5 per cent in July to buttress spending abroad. However, it brought no relief to inflationary tendencies, and Phase Three of the government's wage and price policy had to be introduced in November. It offered basic pay

increases of 7 per cent, together with certain bonuses for "unsocial" hours of working, as well as a threshold agreement if the retail price index should rise 7 per cent above the level of October 1973. Margin controls on the prices of manufactured goods and foodstuffs remained in force.

The policy did not work for the crucial mining industry. Barely a fortnight after its implementation, on November 12, the miners began to operate an overtime ban in response to an unsatisfactory offer under the terms of Phase Three. And, on the very next day, the government had to declare a state of emergency both to conserve fuel supplies and in response to the worsening overseas trade position. In October the visible trade deficit soared to £298 million from £177 million in September and £193 million in August. As a result, the Bank of England required special deposits from the clearing banks to reduce the money supply and lifted the minimum lending rate to a record high of 13 per cent.

But these financial measures proved unavailing, especially in conjunction with the oil cutoff. Further measures had to be taken in November and December: the imposition of a 50 m.p.h. speed limit, a large reduction in government spending, cuts in defense and education, tighter installment-plan regulations and, most drastic of all, a three-day working week to conserve electric power (scheduled to come into operation on December 31).

The political repercussions have benefited the Liberals. In May they gained control of Liverpool from Labour; in by-elections in July, they won two seats from the Conservatives, and a third in November. The reason for the Liberal revival was not only the swing to the left of the Labour party, as shown in its commitment to an extension of public ownership at the annual conference in October, but also the Liberals' promise of a fresh approach to the country's intractable economic problems. The Liberals were not encumbered by doctrine or failure.

Britain and Israel

The trend in British Middle East policy, which culminated in the end-of-year oil diplomacy and reversion to the Harrogate line taken by Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home three years earlier (AJYB, 1971 [Vol.72], p.318), was already visible in January. By May French President Georges Pompidou and British Prime Minister Edward Heath, meeting in Paris, described their respective positions on the Middle East as "very close." In July Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Lord Balniel, noted a "striking improvement" in Britain's

relations with the Middle East in the past three years: with Jordan, he said, they were traditionally close and stable; as for Syria, it was hoped that ambassadors would be exchanged in the near future and that relations, particularly in trade, would continue to improve; Lebanon had the government's profound sympathy and support in dealing with the fedayeen; the most evident improvement, however, was in Anglo-Egyptian relations. But, he added, the government did not want the improvement to be at the expense of friendship with Israel, which was "solidly based on our common respect for freedom and democracy and for intellectual and cultural achievement."

Despite these protestations, Britain supported the UN Security Council April resolutions condemning Israel for the raid on Beirut, and added its own protest over the use of false British passports by the Israeli agents involved. In July Britain gave an affirmative vote to another Security Council resolution (vetoed by the United States) "deploring" the continued occupation by Israeli armed forces of territories captured in the six-day war and the failure to achieve "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East" thus far. Fears that this was a departure from previous British policy in interpreting Resolution 242 met repeated government denials and explanations that "all acts of violence should be condemned."

As Israel Foreign Minister Abba Eban pointed out on BBC television, Britain's "evenhanded" policy during the October Arab-Israeli war—her imposition of an embargo on arms supplies to "countries involved" in the dispute on the grounds that it would be "inconsistent" for Britain to urge the combatants to accept a ceasefire while supplying them with weapons and ammunition; her reluctance to stand by America during the crisis, and her advice to the United States to halt the arms lift—contradicted Sir Alec's House of Commons statement that Britain would ensure Israel's survival. This policy led retiring Israel Ambassador to Britain Michael Comay to state in October that, "on the official diplomatic level, relations between Israel and Britain are now more strained than they have been for many years. I must say in all honesty that the people of Israel felt let down by Britain at a crucial moment."

Still, British public opinion, measured by a sample survey of 1,000 people in 50 localities at the end of the first week of the war, revealed that 47.5 per cent supported Israel, while 5 per cent favored the Arabs; 33 per cent said they supported neither side, 15 per cent were noncommittal. A *Daily Express* opinion poll in the same period found 36 per cent of respondents pro-Israel, 7 per cent pro-Arab, and 50 per cent supporting neither side; but 56 per cent favored the British arms embargo.

In an October interview Abba Eban ruled out any British or French role in a Middle East peacemaking or peacekeeping process. It was, he said, quite legitimate for governments of both countries to pursue a policy of national self-interest dictated "by commercial and mineral interests," but such a policy was incompatible with playing an international role in the Middle East. However, despite Israeli opposition to what Sir Alec called "the united voice of Europe" being heard at the negotiating table—an opposition conveyed by Israeli Premier Golda Meir during her London visit in November—Sir Alec said in November that, although the European Economic Community (EEC) did not intend "to push itself" into the peace negotiations, "we hold ourselves ready to play our part when required. . . . Before the end of this Arab-Israeli dispute we will find that Europe is able to play a constructive part in arriving at a settlement." As a result of Anglo-French diplomatic pressure, the nine member states of the Common Market subscribed to a joint declaration in November, expressing readiness "to contribute to an Arab-Israel peace settlement based on ending Israeli territorial occupation and on satisfying the legitimate rights of the Palestinians."

Following a London visit of Arab oil diplomats in December, Prime Minister Heath explained: "It is only by using all the resources of foreign policy that we can give Europe the secure access to the oil it needs." Meanwhile, Sir Alec and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko reaffirmed in "frank and friendly" talks in Moscow a broad measure of agreement in their interpretation of UN Resolution 242, with stress on complete Israeli withdrawal.

By the end of November, a nationwide public opinion survey showed a drop in respondents' support for Israel to 43 per cent and a rise in support for the Arabs to 7 per cent. To a question whether the Arab countries were justified in using oil as a political weapon, 53 per cent replied negatively, 33 per cent positively; 42 per cent thought British policy towards the Arabs was now more favorable, 14 per cent that it was less so; 38 per cent saw this apparent change in attitude as a sign of British government weakness, and 15 per cent as a sign of strength.

British exports to Israel grew by almost 50 per cent, to £110 million in the first seven months of 1973, compared with £79 million in the comparable 1972 period, while imports rose from £37 million to £45 million. Possibilities of correcting the growing imbalance between Britain's exports to, and imports from, Israel would be studied by an Anglo-Israeli working committee of high-ranking officials, it was announced, after September talks between Israel's Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir and British Minister of State at the Treasury John Nott.

Anglo-Israel-Arab Relations

Despite demands from pro-Arab members of Parliament, led by Christopher Mayhew, chairman of the Labour Middle East Council executive, in June that the Labour party "review its entire attitude to the Arab-Israeli struggle and no longer allow itself to be 'coerced by its Zionist minority,'" Opposition leader Harold Wilson supported Israel throughout the year, strongly opposing government policy during and after the Yom Kippur war and playing host to the London Socialist International meeting addressed by Golda Meir in November.

At the annual Labour party conference in Blackpool in September, the national executive's report to delegates reiterated the party's commitment to the "continued validity" of Resolution 242 and stressed that a lasting peace was impossible unless all parties subscribed to such principles as the absolute right of all nations to exist in conditions of mutually recognized peace and security within mutually recognized and freely negotiated boundaries; the right of all nations to free passage through international waterways; the need for a humane solution to the refugee problem; regional disarmament and the creation of demilitarized zones; the establishment of effective guarantees for the maintenance of peace and security; the inadmissibility of territorial aggrandizement through force, and the need for all peoples in the region to advance social, economic, and democratic development.

Divisions within the parties became clear in the Yom Kippur war, when more than 3,000 Arab supporters marched past London's Israeli embassy and an estimated crowd of 20,000 massed in Trafalgar Square to demonstrate solidarity with Israel and to hear leading Conservative M.P. Hugh Fraser express aversion that "this government which I support should at this time be sending arms for a parade of independence in Dubai and denying Israel, fighting for its life, spare parts for Centurion tanks." Both Labour and Conservative M.P.s joined in asking the government to call off the training of Arab pilots in Britain in view of the war, and in a bitter debate protested the arms embargo against Israel.

In November a group of M.P.s tabled a motion in the House of Commons deploring the continued refusal of the Syrian authorities to hand over to Israel names of Israeli prisoners of war or to permit Red Cross officials to visit them. It exhorted the government "to urge the Syrians to comply with the Geneva Convention on the treatment of P.O.W.s in the interests of elementary humanity and the establishment of a just peace settlement." In December several thousand people

participated in a mass vigil arranged by the Committee for the Release of Israeli Prisoners of War.

The Action Committee for Jews in Arab Lands was active throughout the year. In January it picketed the Iraqi embassy and demonstrated outside the Syrian Arab Airlines offices in London to protest against the brutal treatment and imprisonment of Syrian and Iraqi Jews. In March the Zionist Federation set up a committee to assist in the campaign for Jews in Arab countries, while in April a letter from Lord Balniel to Michael Fidler, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, declared the government's inability to assist in the plight of Jews in Iraq: "In the absence of diplomatic relations, we could not make direct representations even if we thought such action was necessary." In April, too, the Board of Deputies unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the Iraqi authorities "to cease forthwith the murderous acts and vicious campaign of persecution," while in May a motion drawing attention to "the wretched plight of Jewish citizens of Iraq and Syria" was placed on the order paper of the House of Commons and attracted support from both sides of the House.

Security precautions against terrorist attack were continually tightened at London's Heathrow airport; but alarms persisted throughout the year, culminating in the shooting of Joseph Edward Sieff, president of Marks and Spencer Ltd., at his home in December, for which the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed responsibility.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demographic and Communal Data

The Board of Deputies' statistical and demographic research unit reported in July that 3,750 persons married in synagogues in 1972, compared with 3,730 in 1971 and an average of 3,738 for the five years, 1967-71. Distribution of marriages between the main synagogal groups was virtually unchanged, with 81 per cent of marriages held in Orthodox synagogues, 12 per cent in Reform, and 7 per cent in Liberal, compared with the 1967-71 averages of 82, 11, and 7 per cent, respectively. To combat the dangers of marriage outside the faith, the Chief Rabbi's office in January set up an Intermarriage Anonymous bureau operating initially with a panel of seven or eight London rabbis

and aimed at parents or young people reluctant to discuss their intermarriage problems with their own ministers.

Deaths in 1972 rose to 5,069, from 4,902 in 1971 and the 1967-71 average of 4,823, reflecting a 4.3 per cent rise in deaths among the general population. Eighty-five per cent of total Jewish deaths in 1972 occurred among the Orthodox, 9 per cent among Reform, and 6 per cent among Liberal, against the 1967-71 averages of 87 per cent, 7 per cent, and 6 per cent, respectively.

A survey by S.J. Prais, Board of Deputies statistical and demographic research unit honorary consultant, published under the title, *Synagogue Statistics and the Jewish Population of Great Britain, 1900-1970*, showed the shift in London's Jewish population: a decline in north London to 59,000 in 1970 (from 85,000-100,000 less than 20 years earlier), and in the old East End center to some 39,000, from 125,000 two generations before. In 1970 the Greater London area, with a total general population of nearly eight million, had a Jewish population of 273,000, of whom 158,000 lived in 19 of the 20 outlying boroughs, and a further 114,000 in the 12 boroughs of inner London. Except for 17,600 Jewish residents south of the Thames, London Jewry was concentrated north of the river, with Jewish density (the ratio of Jewish to non-Jewish residents) highest in the boroughs of Barnet and Hackney.

Jewish Education

About 17 per cent of all Jewish school-age children attended Jewish day school in Britain, according to Jacob Braude writing in the *London Jewish Chronicle* in July. He put the total enrollment in 1973 at 11,804, excluding 475 non-Jewish children, an increase of less than 3 per cent since 1971, compared with 6.5 and 7.5 per cent increases, respectively, in the three preceding two-year periods. Of the total, 7,452 children were in London and 4,352 in the provinces; 8,323 attended primary and 3,481 secondary/grammar schools.

The faculties consisted of 242 full-time and 99 part-time teachers in 15 secondary grammar schools (five state-aided), against 189 and 82, respectively, in 15 schools in 1971; 392 full-time and 180 part-time teachers were employed in 40 primary schools (14 state-aided) and attached nurseries (390 full-time and 206 part-time in 38 schools in 1971.) As the average standard of Jewish education in Britain, according to Braude, was far below that in the United States, he recommended that, in view of a shortage of really good teachers, the

limited available funds be used to improve and consolidate existing Jewish schools rather than establish new ones.

The distribution of limited funds was discussed by Professor S.J. Prais in his survey which noted that 67 new synagogues were built or acquired between 1961 and 1971 to provide a total 26,000 seats. Only 5,100 new Jewish day-school places were made available in the same period; and since half of these replaced older school accommodation, the real increase was only 2,800 places. Prais estimated that net expenditure from Jewish communal resources for day schools (apart from the contribution from general communal taxation) was below £1 million over the 10 year period, while the total estimated expenditure on synagogues was £6.5 million.

In April the London Board of Jewish Religious Education ended several months' discussion by reaffirming that it would not appoint non-Orthodox Jews as teachers in its Jewish Free School Comprehensive School, preferring non-Jewish teachers to non-Orthodox. In August salaries of all full and part-time teachers in the Board's employ were raised by an annual total of £9,300 in keeping with the government's anti-inflation measures.

The London Board's annual report showed attendance at Hebrew and religion classes decreased from 7,339 in 1971 to 7,085 at the end of 1972, and at special classes for Jewish children not attending school religious sessions, from 1,143 to 1,114. In September a new course to train religious-school teachers, sponsored by the Leo Baeck College, began at the Liberal Jewish Synagogue, St. John's Wood, London.

In January a full lectureship in Jewish studies was added to the religious studies department of the Trent Park College of Education, Cockfosters, London, where, the London Board's November annual report showed, 11 full-time students were currently taking Jewish studies as their main subject.

In April Chaim Finkelstein, Jewish Agency general education department head, announced that British teachers of Jewish studies would be selected for one-year master courses in Israel, sponsored jointly by the Zionist Federation, the Jewish Agency, and Israeli universities. It was announced in September that scores of Jewish Free School children would visit Israel in 1974 for educational purposes.

In February Carmel College, Britain's only Jewish public school, announced its hope of increasing scholarship pupils by ten in 1973-74, and another ten in the following year, as part of the board of governors' plan to increase the school's potential intake. With annual fees of £1,023, *The Sunday Times* placed Carmel College fifth in a table of the most expensive British fee-paying schools.

Jews' College

A plan which would change the character of Jews' College from a training institution for the ministry to a center for higher Jewish learning and social studies, outlined in July by the College's president, Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, and its principal, Rabbi Nachum Rabinovitch, awaited approval. The announcement followed sharp criticism of the College and called for an inquiry into its affairs in preceding months. According to Dr. Rabinovitch, the new program "will provide a much broader base for the College" and "produce a well-educated Jew and will also be effective in the training of rabbis, teachers, lecturers, Jewish social and communal workers, executives in Jewish organizations, student counsellors and youth leaders." The implementation would require an academic staff of two professors, eight lecturers, and four readers, and an expenditure of some £58,000. A publications program to encourage scholarly research would cost a further £5,000 annually. College accounts, published in March, showed that, though the deficit of £25,824 for the year ended September 30, 1972 was slightly lower than in the previous year, the anticipated 1972-73 deficit was more than £34,000.

The College opened the academic year with 22 new students in all departments. Two visiting lecturers were appointed: Leon A. Feldman, professor of Hebraic studies at Rutgers University, New Jersey, and Dr. Markham J. Geller, a linguist from Brandeis University, Massachusetts. New developments in October 1973 included a one-year postgraduate diploma course to cover the whole range of Jewish studies for students whose first degree was in other subjects; a new magazine to appear once a term, which would discuss the practical moral and theological problems of contemporary Jewish existence, and the creation of a reservoir of educational material on which any Jewish society could draw for its programs.

The Universities

Jewish studies at British universities were boosted in May when Professor David Daube, director of the Robbins Hebraic and Roman Law Collection, California, and emeritus regius professor of civil law at Oxford University, delivered the inaugural lecture at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies and became the Centre's first honorary fellow. Visiting fellows for 1973-74 were Hebrew University Professors Chaim Rabin, Chone Shmeruk, and Abraham Wasserstein,

and A. York of Cornell University, New York. It was announced in September that a fellowship in modern Jewish history would be established.

Modern Hebrew came into academic prominence with the October announcement of a B.A. degree, to be instituted at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies in the 1974-75 session, and a unanimous decision by the Glasgow University Senate in April that Modern Hebrew rank as a qualifying subject for its M.A. degree. It was also reported in November that 48 students, including undergraduates, postgraduates, and nondegree students, were taking courses in the department of Hebrew and Jewish studies, University College, London; its Institute of Jewish Studies published volume one of its *Bulletin* in May. Also, a new teaching fellowship was introduced in October for the Israeli studies sector at Sussex University.

Chief Rabbi, United Synagogue, and Religious Life

The long awaited scheme for "restructuring" United Synagogue organization and finances (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p.385) was withdrawn for amendment in March, after rejection by its executive committee in February and district synagogues council in March. The scheme would have abolished all distinctions between United Synagogue constituent, district, and ultimately affiliated congregations and replaced their existing councils by a single type of council representing one type of synagogue and one type of membership.

In the June United Synagogue elections, Sir Isaac Wolfson, president since 1962, was succeeded by Alfred Woolf, senior vice president.

Membership of 16 of the 23 constituent congregations fell in 1972, and total membership dropped to 20,870, from 21,046 in 1971, according to United Synagogue statistics. On the other hand, accounts presented to the United Synagogue Council in June showed a rise in both income and expenditures of constituent synagogues over the past year. A total of £142,000 advanced for building new synagogues and ministerial residences was largely used to establish synagogues and communal centers on the outskirts and suburbs of London. Funds advanced over the 27 postwar years for the acquisition and erection of new synagogical and communal properties, as well as for the modernization of existing premises, totaled £2,818,000.

Professor Prais' survey further found that a total 410,000 British Jews were served by 375 synagogues (with total male accommodation of 72,843 seats), half of them built in the postwar period. Provincial

synagogues he explained, provided almost twice as many seats for their male population as did London congregations (199 synagogues for Greater London's 280,000 Jews, against 176 synagogues for 130,000 in the provinces) due to the "declining nature" of many provincial communities, especially the smaller ones, where synagogues were built long ago for much larger Jewish populations. New trends in the London community were reflected in some 20, generally small, new, right-wing Orthodox synagogues, mostly in the Stamford Hill area, five new Sephardi synagogues (some for new immigrants), 11 new Reform synagogues and eight Liberal synagogues. Wrote Prais:

But the community is still dominated by its traditional Ashkenazi central-orthodox complexion, as is shown by the establishment of 20 new United Synagogues [mainly in the outer London area] and 9 new Federation synagogues [some in north-west London and some in outer London]. In the provinces [outside the Home Counties] the proportion of the new Progressive congregations is striking: 17 new synagogues have appeared and of these 12 term themselves Progressive, Reform or Liberal.

In February the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues decided to set up a social issues committee to report and assess social and community changes affecting British Jews. In February, too, the Reform Synagogue of Great Britain published a volume of essays dedicated to Rabbi Werner Van der Zyl, which was intended as a manual on contemporary Reform Judaism in Britain. In May the organization elected a woman, Mrs. Eva Mitchell, as chairman.

Board of Deputies of British Jews

It was reported in February that a national council to represent Orthodox Jewry in Britain on religious matters would be formed by Orthodox groups, which no longer regarded the Board of Deputies as representative of Anglo-Jewry. This followed the secession of the Orthodox coalition from the Board in October 1971, when an amendment was adopted to Clause 43 of the Board's constitution, according the religious leaders of the Reform and Liberal sections the right to be consulted on all religious matters concerning them (AJYB, 1972 [Vol. 73], p. 467). However, in April 1973 Federation of Synagogues deputies were instructed to attend the final meeting in the Board's current triennial session. The decision to attend was influenced by "clarifications" in the annual report of the Board's executive committee, which said that the only religious authorities

recognized by the Board were the Chief Rabbi and the *Haham*, and that once their advice on religious matters had been sought, the Board must follow it. The report also promised a change in the controversial amendment to reflect the clarifications. The Union of Hebrew Congregations and Machzike Hadass refused to join the Federation in ending the boycott "unless and until Clause 43 is satisfactorily modified in accordance with the halacha."

At the July elections, Sir Samuel Fisher succeeded Alderman Michael Fidler as president of the Board of Deputies.

Kashrut and Shehitah

A European conference of Jewish communities, held in London in January by the World Jewish Congress in association with the Board of Deputies, agreed to keep a close watch on any possible action by their respective countries that could endanger *shehitah*. The 200 delegates from 20 countries who attended found that no serious *shehitah* problems existed in the majority of countries, but agreed that information on the most modern *shehitah* methods, particularly the use of casting pens, should be made available where not in use. They also agreed to cooperate in the training of *shohetim* and *shomerim*, to meet periodically for the purpose of exchanging current information, and to establish a *shehitah* secretariat.

In January the London Board for Shechita officially opened a £130,000 kosher poultry abattoir in Bow, London, which, it hoped, would eventually process some 35,000 fowl weekly (the current rate was 6,500) and perform much of the *shehitah* services for London and the provinces. The new building, replacing five small abattoirs, was designed in accordance with Common Market requirements.

In March the committee of enquiry into Passover and other food prices (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 386) dismissed allegations that manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers of kosher food for Passover were deliberately overpricing products. It also found that *Bet Din* Kashrus Commission supervisory costs were reasonable and had no "untoward impact" on Passover food prices.

Welfare

The Jewish Welfare Board, which already in mid-year anticipated an unprecedented annual deficit, was hard hit after the Yom Kippur war, when it suspended its fund-raising campaign to leave the field clear for

the Israel Appeal. Increased expenditures of £936,000 forecast for 1973 (against £818,475 actually spent in 1972) resulted not only from extension of services and inflation, but also from the government's introduction of value-added tax.

In April the Jewish Welfare Board decided it could not for the present recognize the Central Council for Jewish Social Service as the central administrative machine for social service in Anglo-Jewry. Chairman Lionel L. Leighton said that JWB would continue to work on the Central Council only if it remained a coordinating body. In July it was proposed that the Council undertake major research into the social-service needs of Anglo-Jewry, to extend over three years at a cost of £15,000 a year.

The fifty-year-old East End London Jewish Hospital, according to a February announcement, was to change from a general to "a community hospital for geriatric and psychogeriatric patients," both Jewish and Gentile, while retaining its Jewish character. Work was scheduled to begin in June on a £2 million project to make the Home for Aged Jews, Nightingale Lane, Wandsworth, London, one of the largest of its type in the world, which would not only continue to minister to the active aged, semi-infirm, and infirm, but also to infirm and semi-infirm residents needing special medical treatment.

Charity

Jews in Britain, contributing to charity an average of £20 per capita, were more charitable than any other religious denomination and slightly ahead of the Lutherans, according to a 1971 survey conducted by the leading fund-raising consultants, Wells International Donors Advisory Services. The survey named the Joint Palestine Appeal (called the Joint Israel Appeal since June) Britain's second largest fund-raising organization, with a total of £8 million, topped only by the Church of England, with £25 million. Other Jewish fund raisers among the survey's top 100 were the Jewish Welfare Board (£510,000) and the Jewish Blind Society (£353,000). Four of the eight families listed as maintaining multiple charitable trusts were Jewish: the Wolfson, Mark, Rayne, and Clore families.

Zionism and Aliyah

In a dramatic response to the Arab attack on Israel in October, the Joint Israel Appeal immediately launched its 1974 fund-raising appeal

(originally planned for December) for £30 million, double its 1973 target, in an intensified six-to-eight-week campaign. By year's end, JIA had far exceeded the goal set.

Meanwhile, at a London meeting, some 400 members of the Board of Deputies and representatives of over 20 religious and lay organizations unanimously passed a resolution expressing British Jewry's "brotherhood and solidarity with the people of Israel," to whom it pledged moral, material, financial, and political support. In the five days following the outbreak of war, hundreds of Jews and non-Jews flocked to give blood for Israel at two London centers opened by the Medical Aid Committee for Israel, which also sent 100 tons of drugs, dressings, and surgical equipment. An ad hoc committee set up by the Jewish Agency and Zionist officials dealt with thousands who volunteered to serve in Israel.

Negotiations for a united Zionist organization in Britain reached an impasse in October. Major stumbling blocks were the wish of the Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi Federation for a completely new organization, contrary to the Zionist Federation (ZF) scheme for Mizrachi to join the existing Federation on terms similar to those of other affiliates, and Mizrachi leaders' dissatisfaction with the Federation's close links with the Confederation of General Zionists. There were also disagreements on the different degrees of Orthodoxy in the curricula of the two organizations' schools.

In September the British branch of Herut complained to the World Zionist Organization about the Federation's alleged refusal to admit it to the committee of principal honorary officers ("an extra-constitutional body" advising the chairman on the day-to-day running of ZF) and to grant it a subsidy like that received by the left-wing Poale Zion and Mapam. Herut claimed it was entitled to both, since it held 25 per cent of the elected seats on the Federation executive council. The Federation reply to the first complaint was that Herut had joined ZF only two years before; that other parties had to wait much longer for admission to the committee. As for subsidies, these were only granted for specific work among non-Jews: Poale Zion received an annual subsidy of £2,500 to help it organize the Labour Friends of Israel; Mapam's subsidy of £250 yearly was for work among ultra-left groups, primarily at the universities.

British emigration to Israel in the first seven months of 1973 fell to 389, from 466 in the corresponding 1972 period. Worried that this trend would continue, the Jewish Agency immigration department made changes in the composition of its staff in an attempt to correct the situation. A junior *aliyah* movement was also planned, primarily to provide the 15-18 age group with information about career and educational opportunities in Israel.

For Soviet Jewry

Nationwide activity on behalf of Soviet Jewry in general, and Jewish prisoners of conscience in particular, by all communal associations continued throughout the year. Picketing of the Soviet embassy and mainly unsuccessful attempts to hand in petitions were constant features, together with approaches to personalities, ranging from Russian President Nikolai Podgorny (in January, by the All-Party Parliamentary Committee for the Release of Soviet Jewry) to Queen Elizabeth II (in January, in a campaign conducted by the Association of Jewish Women's Organisations), and public meetings, at which recent Russian emigrants related their experiences. Protests and appeals also greeted official Russian visitors to Britain. For example, the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry asked help of Soviet tennis players participating in an international tennis tournament in Beckenham, Kent, in June, and of a Soviet trade delegation visiting Manchester in May. In the same month the "Manchester '73" festival, which included visits by the Kirov Ballet, the deputy chairman, and a judge from Leningrad (Manchester's "twin" town), aroused a sustained campaign that possibly influenced the unexplained cancellation in July of a planned visit to Manchester by a group of Leningrad school children.

In January a series of activities were initiated to draw attention to the plight of individual Jews imprisoned in Russia. The first was a demonstration organized by the Universities Committee for Soviet Jewry for the release of Lazar Linbarsky, whose trial had been widely protested. Fourteen members of Parliament introduced a motion in the House of Commons, demanding Linbarsky's release and protesting other Soviet action.

Greville Janner, M.P., who in April called in Parliament for representation against Moscow's continued refusal to permit academic Benjamin Levich to leave to take up a teaching post in England, was told by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Julian Amery that the government had no standing to act in such matters. Amery added that the British representative to the UN Human Rights Commission meeting, which ended on April 6, twice spoke in support of the right of individuals to leave and to return to their country, a general principle that applied very particularly to the Jews in the Soviet Union. In September Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home and other Foreign Office officials made it clear that Britain was not prepared to raise the specific issue of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union at the current European security conference at Geneva.

Professional groups protested on behalf of Russian colleagues. In June leading British scientists and academics supported efforts to

persuade the Soviets to allow six Jewish scientists, who went on a hunger strike in Moscow, to emigrate to Israel. A motion to the same effect was introduced in the House of Commons. In September 100 Fellows of the Royal Society, including at least ten Nobel Prize winners, called on Prime Minister Heath to urge the Soviet Union to lift emigration restrictions on scientists, including Jews.

After Austria closed the Vienna transit camp for Soviet-Jewish immigrants (p. 526), the Board of Deputies and other Jewish organizations in October protested to the Austrian government and staged demonstrations and vigils outside the Austrian ambassador's residence. Poale Zion urged Labour party leaders to use their influence to persuade Socialist Chancellor Bruno Kreisky not to "submit to terrorist blackmail." Harold Wilson's suggestion that Britain make available its resettlement camps for Ugandan Asians as a transit center for Soviet Jews, while praised for its humanity, was dismissed because of geographic considerations.

A month of protest on behalf of Soviet Jewish prisoners, coordinated by the Board of Deputies, which ended in mid-December was marked by countrywide demonstrations and protests, as well as synagogue services and a motion in the House of Commons. During the month, which coincided with the formation of a Greater London Interdenominational Committee for the Release of Soviet Jewry, almost 300 individuals and organizations "adopted" Soviet Jewish prisoners.

It was reported in January that over £50,000 had so far been sent to Israel by the Russian Immigrant Aid Fund (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 387) to finance the absorption of new immigrants.

Press and Broadcasting

Complaints of anti-Israel bias in British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reporting persisted throughout the year. In May officials in Jerusalem and the Israel embassy in London protested when commentator John Godson accused Israel of falsifying evidence about the Libyan Boeing disaster (p. 525). In August the BBC's Arabic Service report of a Middle East Airline Boeing 707 hijacking was said to be biased; the *Jewish Chronicle* complained that equal credence was accorded to factually correct Israeli reports and to Arab reports, which had repeatedly proved wildly inaccurate in the past. In October BBC's own Panorama program television crew in Israel supported the criticism. By contrast, the new independent all-news radio station, London Broadcasting, was praised by both the Israeli embassy and Arab sources for fairness of coverage.

On the other hand, press reporting facilities in Arab states during the war showed an improvement over 1967, according to Charles Douglas-Home, *The Times* of London deputy editor. Reports were less distorted and the Arab case had found its way into the British communications media, he said.

In March the Association of Jewish Journalists criticized *The Times* for publishing an advertisement recording Libya's views on the downing of aircraft over Sinai, which it called "destructive and dangerous propaganda" serving "to perpetuate untrue stories and to postpone even further the day of peace in the Middle East."

Publications

History was one of the main areas of 1973 publications, ranging from reference books on biblical archaeology, like *Archaeological Encyclopaedia of the Holy Land*, edited by Abraham Negev, to *The Third Arab-Israeli War*, by military historian Major Edgar O'Ballance. Others were Moshe Pearlman's *The Maccabees*, with relevant historical background and modern historical references, and David Kossoff's novel, *The Voices of Masada*, evoking in an original way the last days of ancient Judaea. Rome exercised particular fascination, with *The Jews in the Roman World*, by Michael Grant, and *The Roman Siege of Jerusalem*, by Rupert Furneaux, as well as three studies of Jesus: *Jesus the Jew*, by Geza Vermes, and *Jesus and the Pharisees*, by John Bowker, both strengthened by Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew source material on contemporary life, and *Revolution in Judaea: Jesus and the Jewish Resistance*, giving Hyam Maccoby's image of Jesus as anointed king of the Jews.

The transition to modern times was effected by Joshua Prawer's thorough study of the Crusader state, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, and by Jacob Katz's *Out of the Ghetto*, an analysis of Jewish emancipation, 1770-1870. Books on the recent history of British Jewry were *A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life: 1870-1970*, edited by Salmond S. Levin, a series of lectures arranged jointly by the United Synagogue and the Jewish Historical Society in 1970 to celebrate the United Synagogue's centenary, and *Friday Nights—A Jewish Chronicle Anthology: 1841-1971*, selected by A. B. Levy and edited and introduced by William Frankel. Particular episodes were highlighted in *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich: 1933-39*, by A. J. Sherman, and *The Fascist Movement in Britain*, by Robert Benewick.

Palestine and the evolution of modern Israel were discussed by Isaiah Feldman in *The Question of Palestine 1914-1918*, a scholarly

work drawing, *inter alia*, on declassified archives in the Public Record Office, and in *The Gentle Zionists: A Study in Anglo-Zionist Diplomacy, 1929-1939*, by Norman Rose, Jon Kimche bridged the intervening years with *Palestine or Israel*, which concentrates on two periods of Zionist history: 1917 to 1923 and the period since the six-day war. The problems of contemporary Israel are analyzed in *Israel: A Profile*, by Israel Naamani; *In King David's Footsteps*, by Hans Habe; *Israeli Complexities: To Build the Promised Land*, by Gerald Kaufman, and *Whose Jerusalem? The Conflicts of Israel*, by Ronald Segal. The other side of the situation was represented by Y. Harkabi in *Arab Attitudes to Israel* and in two books, both entitled *Fedayeen*, one by Zeev Schiff and Raphael Rothstein, the other by John Laffin.

Several biographical and autobiographical accounts also appeared during the year, among them Martin Gilbert's biography of *Sir Horace Rumbold*, member of the 1936 Peel Commission on Palestine; *The Rothschilds: A Family of Fortune*, by Virginia Cowles; *Einstein, the Life and Times* by Ronald W. Clark; 80-year-old Emanuel Shinwell's *I've Lived Through it All*; *For the Record: The Memoirs of Eva, Marchioness of Reading*, and *If I Forget Thee: Some Chapters of Autobiography 1912-1920*, by Helen Bentwich. Victims of the holocaust Martin Gray and Jacob Lind told their own tragic stories in *For These I Have Loved* and *Numbers*, respectively.

In the realm of religion were the biography of *Leo Baeck: Teacher of Theresienstadt*, by Reform Rabbi Albert H. Friedlander, a thorough exposition of Baeck's theology; a volume of essays, *Reform Judaism*, edited by Rabbi Dow Marmor and dedicated to Rabbi W. Van der Zyl; *Gate of Repentance, Services for the High Holydays*, coedited by Rabbis John Rayner and Chaim Stern and published by the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues; a definitive and scholarly work on *The Jewish Dietary Laws*, by Dayan Dr. I. Grunfeld, and the 10th to 11th century *Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart*, by Bahya ben Joseph ibn Pakuda, translated and edited for the modern reader by Menahem Mansoor.

Poetry published during the year included *Notes for a Survivor*, by Emanuel Litvinoff; *Shadow in the Sun*, by Chaim Lewis; and *Funland and Other Poems*, by Danny Abse. Collections of short stories were Brian Glanville's *The Thing He Loves and Other Stories* and *Inklings, Selected Stories*, by Dan Jacobson, who also published a novel, *The Wonder-Worker*. Other notable works of fiction were Bernice Ruben's *Go Tell the Lemming*; Frederic Raphael's *Richard's Things*; Lynn Reid Banks' *One More River*, a book for older children about *kibbutz* life; Chaim Bermant's most important novel to date, *The Last Supper*; Bernard Kops' *Settle Down Simon Katz*, and Cyril Kersh's highly amusing *The Diabolical Liberties of Uncle Max*.

Race Relations

In a March policy statement intended as a manifesto for future elections, the extreme right-wing National Front party (NF) pledged itself to uphold the wish of the majority of the British people that Britain remain a white country. For the first time, in April, NF candidates stood for the Greater London Council, though without success, and equally unsuccessfully for county councils, as well as for parliamentary by-elections: in Rochdale (polling 4,000 votes), and West Bromwich (4,789 or 16 per cent of the total vote—the first time an NF candidate polled sufficient votes to save his deposit). In March an Enoch Powell Support group, formed by Leicester Tory businessmen, aimed at splitting the NF vote.

The Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women defense committee chairman, B.A. Remington, in April attributed increased right-wing strength to industrial and social unrest and high unemployment; the continued housing shortage, which could easily be exploited against certain sections of the community, particularly where individual landlords might be Jewish or immigrant; and the influx of Ugandan Asians which, he said, "provided an opportunity to enlist support for fascist ideologies." Remington added that, though reestablished right-wing bodies tried to assume a new look of respectability by changing their names and the composition of their committees, "the records of those actually forming the committees speak for themselves." The National Front, whose leader John Tyndall was a former member of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement (although NF has now outlawed Jordan), also advocates the repeal of the Race Relations Act as "an infringement of our traditional rights of free speech and freedom of association and that it treats immigrants as a privileged class."

Personalia

Sir Robert Mayer, the 93-year-old philanthropist, was made a member of the Order of the Companions of Honour for services to music. Among Jews who were named Knight Bachelor were Stanley Marks Krusin, second parliamentary counsel engaged in drafting bills; Harry Livermore, former lord mayor of Liverpool, for services to the arts on Merseyside, and Isidore Jack Lyons for public and charitable services and services to the arts. Professor Hermann Bondi, chief scientific advisor of the Ministry of Defence, and Professor Claus Adolf Moser, director of the central statistical office, were made Knights Commander of the Order of the Bath.

Lord Segal of Wytham was appointed a deputy speaker of the House of Lords. Dr. Harold Montague Finniston was named chairman of the British Steel Corporation for three years. Arnold Weinstock was appointed by the government to head a new company responsible for Britain's domestic nuclear power. Sydney Hamberger became chairman of the new northwest regional health authority under the reorganized National Health Service. Professor Max Beloff, Jonathan Cohen, and David Lewis of Oxford University became fellows of the British Academy. Professor Beloff was named principal of the prospective Independent University College. Peter Solomon of London was sworn in as a circuit court judge; Clive Vernon Callman became a judge on the southeastern circuit, and Aubrey Gordon of Sutherland was appointed to the list of deputy circuit judges. Cyril Lipman became sheriff of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Dr. Brian Josephson of the Cavendish Laboratories, Cambridge University, shared the Nobel Prize for physics and chemistry.

Among notable British Jews who died in 1973 were: Jack E. Posnansky, philanthropist and communal worker, in London in January, at the age of 78; Sir Edgar Cohen, British representative of the Organization for European Cooperation and Development with the rank of ambassador, in February, at the age of 65; Edward Lockspeiser, music critic, conductor, and composer, in Alfriston, Sussex in February, at the age of 67; David Bauer, American-born actor, member of London's National Theatre, in London in February, at the age of 55; Benjamin Frankel, the composer, in London in February, at the age of 67; Siegfried Oppenheimer, leading British expert on Jewish art and artists, in February; Samuel Tolansky, a leading authority on the moon, and professor of physics at London University's Royal Holloway College in March, at the age of 65; Abraham Israel Richtiger, one-time chairman of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, and chairman of Poale Zion, in March, at the age of 81; Leo Towers, songwriter, in March, at the age of 71; Philip Levene, playwright, author and actor, in April, at the age of 46; Leonard Stein, eminent both in the Zionist movement and in the Jewish community, in London in April, at the age of 85; George Lichtheim, philosopher and historian, in London in April, at the age of 60; Lord Cohen of Walmer, eminent jurist, onetime Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, in London in May, at the age of 85; Godfrey Heilpern, Q.C., a leading counsel on the northern circuit, in Salford in May, at the age of 61; Jacob Isaacs, former professor of English Language and Literature at London University's Queen Mary College, in London in May, at the age of 77; Tina Bloch, honorary president of the Federation of Women Zionists, in London in May, at the age of 80;

Paul Einzig, writer on economics and the monetary system, in London in May, at the age of 75; Reverend Dr. Israel Wolf Slotki, Manchester educator and scholar, in Manchester in June, at the age of 88; Sir Karl Cohen, distinguished civic and communal figure, in Leeds in June, at the age of 64; Professor Erwin Stengel, internationally famous psychiatrist, in Sheffield in June, at the age of 71; Dr. Leslie J. Harris, former director of the Nutritional Laboratory Cambridge, in Cambridge in June, at the age of 74; sculptor Max Sokol, in London in July, at the age of 77; Cyril J. Ross, businessman, artist, communal worker, and public benefactor, in London in July, at the age of 81; Eva Violet, Marchioness of Reading, vice president of the World Jewish Congress and president of its British section, in Sussex in August, at the age of 78; Dr. Isaac Levy, a founder of the Adath Yisroel Synagogue and the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, in London in September, at the age of 88; Dayan Abraham Rapoport of the London *Bet Din*, in London in October, at the age of 66; Sir George Bean, judge of the High Court since 1969, in London in November, at the age of 58; Solomon Alwais (Alva) gifted artist of international renown, in London in November, at the age of 72; Eustace Chesser, eminent psychiatrist and authority on sexual behaviour, in December, at the age of 71; Benn Levy, playwright and former Labour M.P., in December, at the age of 73; Jane Degras, leading authority on the history of the Soviet Union and Soviet foreign policy, in London in December, at the age of 68.

LIONEL AND MIRIAM KOCHAN

France

The Political Year

A POLITICAL COMMENTATOR of *Le Monde*, Pierre Vianson-Ponté called 1973 “a year of indecision and defiance.”

At the beginning of the year almost all political activity centered on the legislative elections scheduled for March. Prophets and public-opinion polls foretold a severe setback to the governing party. It seemed possible that the left opposition might come to power. Ministers and other leaders of the government party made the mistake of concentrating on attacking the joint Socialist-Communist program as demagogic, burdensome, and impractical, while being vague about their own program. Dissension within Gaullist ranks, and even in the government, showed the wear and tear on the regime of 15 years of power. The opposition alliance of Socialists, Communists, and Left Radicals showed a combative spirit and took the offensive. So far as possible, the differences between Socialists and Communists were suppressed or minimized. This showed itself, among other things, in diminishing sharpness and frequency of criticisms by the left-wing parties in the electoral coalition in regard to the Soviet Union—Soviet antisemitism and anti-Israelism, in particular.

In the first round of the elections on March 4 (in which an absolute majority was necessary to win a seat), the government parties received 38.4 per cent of the vote, against 46.49 per cent for the left-wing coalition and 12.56 per cent for the centrist opposition. In the runoff election on March 11, the government parties made a partial recovery by polling 42.99 per cent; the Left got 43.23 per cent and the Center was the big loser, with 6.2 per cent. The government won 276 seats in the new National Assembly, compared with 372 in the old. Of the 175 deputies elected by the left coalition, 102 were Socialists and Left Radicals, and 73 were Communists.

What happened, essentially, was a massive “repatriation” of traditionally left-wing voters, who, during the Gaullist ascendancy, had shifted to the parties supporting General de Gaulle. Thus the electoral dividing line was back where it had been before the Fifth Republic. The Gaullist Union of Democrats for the Republic (UDR) no longer had a majority; it depended on the votes of the independent deputies of the Right and Center. As a coalition needing right-wing

support, the new government necessarily shifted toward conservatism, particularly in economic questions. There was no longer talk, as there had been under de Gaulle, of "participation" or a "new society."

The new government formed by Premier Pierre Messmer on April 5, after the parliamentary election, included 13 members of the old Messmer cabinet and 8 new members. The latter included two nonparliamentarians: Michel Jobert, who replaced Maurice Schumann (who lost his seat in the elections) as foreign minister, and the writer Maurice Druon—member of the Académie Française and a relative of academician and novelist Joseph Kessel, who was of Jewish origin—as minister of culture.

Cantonal, or country, elections took place in the provinces on September 23 and 30. These elections were of limited political significance, since local issues were involved, and there was large-scale abstention. They did, however, show important Socialist gains.

March saw a resurgence of sporadic leftist activity among secondary-school students in protest against the Debré law limiting the right of students to deferment of military service. The slogan, "The Spring will be hot," used on the occasion turned out to be a false prediction. In June the Lip affair began: it became an important element in the propaganda of the opposition. Lip, a concern manufacturing watches which was undergoing judicial liquidation, closed down and dismissed its workers. (The proprietor, M. Lipmann, was a Jewish industrialist.) The workers at the factory, at Besançon took over its operation and paid wages by selling watches on a large scale at cut prices. The police put an end to this illegal but picturesque experiment in "workers' control" by expelling the workers from the occupied facilities in August. But the affair and its political and judicial consequences had not been settled by the end of the year.

In June violent leftist demonstrations took place against a meeting convened by the neo-fascist *Ordre Nouveau* (New Order) group to oppose what it called the "immigration sauvage" (wild immigration) to France of North African workers, and particularly Algerians. Helmeted and armed with sabres, Trotskyists faced their opponents as well as the police, some of whom were seriously wounded. The result was the suppression of the leading Trotskyist organization, the *Ligue Communiste*, and of the *Ordre Nouveau*. Trotskyist leader Alain Krivine was indicted and imprisoned for some time.

The *Canard Enchaîné* scandal exploded in December. When that famous left satirical and anti-government weekly was about to move its editorial offices, a staff member accidentally discovered some

pseudo-plumbers who were installing bugging devices in the new offices. The Ministry of the Interior and the police denied any involvement in the incident. The *Défense et Sécurité du Territoire* (the French counterespionage agency) was clearly implicated, and some even thought the American CIA was involved. Rumors circulated that certain editors of *Le Canard Enchaîné* were gathering information for the benefit of a "foreign power," and, in view of the paper's pro-Israel sentiments, it was obvious which power was meant.

Foreign Relations

French foreign policy continued to stress a strengthening of ties with the nations of the Third World and the Arab states. (In Paris during the election, some pro-Israel centrist and Gaullist candidates sent to Jewish voters their own appeals couched in terms of the defense of Israel.) Rapprochement with the Soviet Union was somewhat impeded by the latter's concurrent rapprochement with the United States; in French official circles this produced criticisms and complaints about the "superpowers" and their plans for hegemony.

Early in January President Georges Pompidou paid a short "unofficial" visit to the Soviet Union. In mid-January he was in Djibouti and Addis Ababa. In February France established diplomatic relations with East Germany, and in April with North Vietnam. President Luis Echevarría Alvarez of Mexico visited Paris in April. The visit of Saudi Arabia's King Faisal in May led to a strengthening of military cooperation between the two countries. Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Chi Pong-fei came to Paris in June; he was followed, in the same month, by Leonid Brezhnev on his way back from the United States. On this occasion young Jews in Paris demonstrated against Soviet antisemitism.

Algerian Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika was in Paris in July. In the same month Premier Pierre Messmer and Foreign Minister Michel Jobert visited Hungary and Bulgaria. In a press conference on July 27, Pompidou predicted periodic European "summits." Army Minister Robert Galley went to Polynesia in August in connection with a series of French nuclear explosions, which had called forth strong protests from Australia and New Zealand. Australia's were particularly sharp. President Giovanni Leone of Italy visited France in October. A Franco-African conference in Paris on November 13 was attended by the chiefs of state or finance ministers of ten of the 15 former French colonies in black Africa. Chancellor Willy Brandt of West

Germany visited Paris toward the end of the month.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war, the pro-Arab partisanship of the French government was brutally displayed in a statement by Foreign Minister Jobert, who, when the Egyptian troops crossed to the East bank of the Canal and reoccupied territory which had been under Israeli control since the six-day war, "asked" himself whether it should be allowed to describe as aggressors "those who reenter their own domain." France played a leading role in bringing about the declaration on November 6, by the nine foreign ministers of the European Economic Community, demanding that Israel evacuate the occupied territories.

Chronicle of Terrorism

On January 8 the Paris representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization was assassinated in the street by an unknown gunman. The press and police immediately attributed the assassination to the Israeli secret services. On August 25 an unbalanced North African worker killed a French bus conductor in Marseille. This was followed by a wave of racism directed against North Africans in France's second city, and a number of them were murdered in the region. In an extension of this violence, there were attacks in Juan-les-Pins on the Côte d'Azur against groups of vacationing Tunisian Jews from Belleville, a Paris working-class district. They were denounced for speaking Arabic and for remaining too long on the terraces of cafés while buying only a single item. There were riots, but fortunately the violence was not very serious.

On September 5 Palestinian terrorists attacked the Saudi Arabian embassy and took hostages, an act with sinister aspects that recalled the tragic events of Munich. Although such a settling of accounts between rival Arab groups did not directly concern Israel or the Jews, it caused an uneasy feeling in the Jewish community.

On December 14 the Algerian consulate in Marseilles was bombed, with the loss of several lives. This revived the wave of racism in that region and led to an interruption in the immigration of Algerian workers to France.

At the end of the year the police discovered a secret cache of Palestinian terrorist arms in a Paris suburb. The weapons were in the care of young Turkish revolutionaries working for the Palestinians, and were to have been used for a series of attacks on Israel's diplomatic representatives in Europe.

Christian-Jewish Relations

In April, at a press conference, the French Episcopal Committee for Christian-Jewish Relations, made public a document urging an end to antisemitism and indirectly approving of the creation of the state of Israel. Titled "Pastoral Orientation on the Attitude of Christians Toward Judaism," it was drawn up in the context of the Vatican II declaration on the Jews, at the special initiative of Monsignor Arthur Léon Elchinger, Bishop of Strasbourg, and Monsignor Roger Etchegaray, Bishop of Marseille.

Because the Vatican has thus far not recognized Israel, the document skirted the issue and did not use the word "Israel." It declared, however, that "Universal conscience cannot refuse to the Jewish people, who have suffered so many vicissitudes throughout history, the right and the means to a political existence of their own among the nations."

The declaration did not have the support of the entire episcopate. In an article in *Figaro*, Jean Cardinal Daniélou opposed its political implications for the Middle East, but recognized its theological arguments.

The reaction of French Jews to the document was expressed by Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan, who, underlining the importance of progress in Jewish-Christian relations, welcomed the statement as "a great act by the Church toward which Judaism is very sensitive." The anti-Zionist and pro-Arab groups around the left-wing Catholic weekly, *Témoignage Chrétien*, raged against the declaration, which they described as a sin." (For the reaction of the Vatican see p. 463).

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Response to Yom Kippur War and Aid to Israel

The first reaction in Parisian Jewish circles and in the important Jewish centers of the provinces, when news came of the advance of the Egyptian troops in the Sinai immediately after October 6, was one of stupefaction. At the very beginning, people thought that the reports of Arab victories were a bluff, as they had been in June 1967. But when it was confirmed that the Arabs had the initiative, there was disquiet and sorrow. The Jews of France, like Jews everywhere in the Diaspora—and in Israel itself—had been convinced of Israel's absolute military superiority and of the impossibility of Arab victories in battle.

What also became immediately apparent was a considerable decline in public sympathy for Israel in France, compared with 1967, and hence the great isolation of Israel and of the Jews who supported it. Even personalities who in some way were prominent because of their pro-Israelism, like the leftist writer Maurice Clavel, were less demonstrative and less enthusiastic in their attitude than during the six-day war. The same was true of the press: *Le Conard Enchaîné* and the daily *Combat*, 100 per cent pro-Israel in 1967, showed themselves much more nuanced in 1973. *Combat* even published in its "free forum" section some pro-Arab statements. The anti-Israel diatribes of the Communist daily *l'Humanité* went unanswered.

The Jewish press, with its infrequent appearance (the monthly *l'Arche* and *Information Juive* and the one weekly *Tribune Juive*—the daily Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin, intended for journalists, did not reach the average reader) and slow distribution, was almost always left behind by events. Besides, in at least one case, its reaction was *maladroit* or inadequate. When Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi came to Paris in November to participate in a colloquium organized by *Le Monde* and two other great liberal European dailies, *Tribune Juive* published a violent editorial in the name of the people of France, all allegedly hostile to him, protesting against his visit and describing him as a fascist of the Hitler type. But, rightly or wrongly, Qaddafi was not perceived as a fascist. At the colloquium he engaged in dialogue with Pierre Mendès-France the left-wing but Zionist writer Albert Memmi, Professor George Friedmann, and the dissident Communist philosopher Roger Garaudy. There was no sign of popular indignation against him. A Jewish anti-Qaddafi demonstration attracted only a very small number of young Jews. The Jewish weekly thus made its great attack without apparent cause.

The drop in pro-Israel sympathy, even in traditionally pro-Israel sectors of the political world, was due in part to the existing political situation. The French Socialists, having allied themselves with the Communists for a joint push for power, found themselves much less free than in the past to take positions contrasting too crassly with those of the Communists. It was necessary to avoid endangering unity of action; therefore the Socialists imposed on themselves a sort of self-censorship. In addition, in the recent past certain groups within the party had already shifted to a reserved, or even frankly critical, position on Israel. François Mitterand, himself, did not openly take Israel's side. By comparison, Israel's partisans in the government parties, and the Gaullist UDR seemed much less constrained in expressing themselves. There no longer existed any real unity within

Gaullist ranks. Under these conditions, pro-Israel Gaullists were a natural counterweight to pro-Arab and anti-Israel Gaullists.

The period of crisis preceding the 1967 war—the closing of the Straits of Tiran, threatening talk from Nasser, the departure of the UN Emergency Forces and others—permitted a psychological and moral adjustment to events that were to follow. The suddenness and unexpectedness of the Yom Kippur war found those who should have been concerned unprepared. The atmosphere at that moment, even in Jewish circles, was not highly pro-Israel. Voices were beginning to be raised in Jewish organizations against the exclusivity or the absolute priority of concern for Israel, and in favor of giving preference to the needs of the French Jewish community for its social and educational work. A few days before Yom Kippur, the Union of Jewish Students of France vehemently protested against the failure of the Israel government to break relations with Chile after the Pinochet coup d'état.

Some of the faithful in the synagogues did not learn the news until the next day, not having read the newspapers or turned on the radio. Thus we read in a short account of the small Alsatian community of Delme: "On Yom Kippur there were only ten of us in the synagogue, so that none could absent himself during prayer and thereby learn that war had broken out in the Middle East" (*Tribune Juive*, December 31, 1973).

Nevertheless, the first Jewish demonstration for Israel took place that very evening of October 6, at the end of the fast when people were leaving the synagogues, in the Place de la République, which is bordered by neighborhoods with large Jewish populations. This rally drew several thousand people, mostly young. Other demonstrations of support took place in the following days, up to the moment of the cease-fire, but none of them had the size or enthusiasm of those in 1967. The demonstrations in Paris, as in the major provincial cities, were primarily the work of very young people marching under childish slogans, in the puerile style of vulgar leftism; for example, "Sadat, the Jews will have your skin!" (in imitation of the Maoist-anarchist clamor promising one or another cabinet member, "The people will have your skin"). On the whole, it was rather sad and depressing. There was no hostility either from the mass of passersby or from the police. But neither was there sympathy; only great indifference.

To be sure, the polls showed a majority expressing opinions in favor of Israel. But one need not exaggerate the importance of the readings of this thermometer. To some extent, polls direct public opinion. Moreover, support of a principle does not usually indicate a disposition toward action in that direction. The public opinion polls, if they

revealed anything, showed a certain persistence on the part of the general public in harboring anti-Arab sentiments which, however, grew out of the Algerian war and were "pro-Israel" only very incidentally.

On the first evening of Sukkot, a large rally took place in the main Paris synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire, while outside the building young demonstrators shouted "Israel will win." In his address, Grand Rabbi of France Jacob Kaplan unequivocally denounced French policy in the Middle East. In non-Jewish circles the most important and solid support for Israel came from the political Centrists, supported by such well known pro-Israel personalities of the Gaullist UDR as Deputy Joel Le Tac of the 18th district of Paris; Jewish Gaullist Deputy Elie Marcus, and right-wing independent parliamentarian Guillaime De Benouville. The newspaper which was most consistent in its defense of Israel was *l'Express*; but articles voicing strong sympathy for Israel also appeared in the *Nouvel Observateur*, the organ *par excellence* of the left-wing intellectuals. *Liberation*, a new ultra-leftist daily, published among other anti-Israel diatribes a "free opinion" saying, "The world is sick of Israel." The paper's editor, Jean-Paul Sartre, continued in his personal capacity to defend the existence of Israel and again, at this time, signed a statement to this effect. Simone de Beauvoir wrote an article in *Le Monde* expressing indignation at Syria's treatment of Israeli prisoners of war.

Certain anti-Arab tension developed with the first symptoms of the great oil crisis. Anti-Arab racism being capable of extension, the same crisis was the occasion for recriminations directed against Israel and the Jews.

A Jewish organization in Marseille had planned a Hanukkah ball, for which it had hired a professional pop orchestra. Meanwhile, Ben Gurion died, and it was decided to cancel the festivity as too joyous for the sad circumstances. The organizers called together the orchestra leader and his musicians to explain the reason for the cancellation. The latter responded by flying into a great rage and charging the Jews with not being "content with depriving us of gasoline," but also "reducing French artists to unemployment."

From the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war the Appel Unifié Juif de France (AUJF—United Jewish Appeal of France), an autonomous organization of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU—United Jewish Philanthropic Fund), was inundated by large numbers of contributors. To hasten the transfer of funds to Israel, many gave currency instead of checks. Up to the cease-fire, French Jewry's total contributions to Israel were estimated at 140 million new francs (about \$28 million), an amount much higher than that collected in June 1967. In evaluating the response, however, it must be remembered that the franc had in the

meantime been devalued and that the collections extended over a longer period of time than in the six-day war.

While the number of large and medium-size contributions increased, the total number of contributions was smaller. Many Frenchmen, including some non-Jews, volunteered for military service. While most of them were refused, Israel did accept labor volunteers who wanted to work for a time in place of Israeli workers who had been mobilized. All French volunteers paid for their flights. Several days after the first great battles in the Sinai and on the Golan Heights, news came to France of the death of many Israeli soldiers of French origin.

Aliyah, apart from those going to Israel to aid the war effort, did not exceed 1,400, a figure much lower than in preceding years.

Community Life

In 1973 Fonds Social Juif Unifié continued the difficult task of transforming itself from an organization for the disbursement of funds into a representative communal organization. It elected a national council of 120 members; approved individual membership, which was to begin at age 18 in keeping with the strong emphasis on the need to bring young people into the organization. The dues for an ordinary member, in contrast to a member benefactor, was set at the modest sum of 25 francs a year. The expectation was that these measures would lead to many, if not very large, meetings and eventually make FSJU the real center of the French Jewish community. The number of its contributors, which for many years had not exceeded 15,000, was about 40,000 by year's end. FSJU leaders also hoped to bring into the organization some groups that thus far had not joined, such as the Zionist Federation of France.

At least until the Yom Kippur war, FSJU gave first priority to educational and cultural work. It planned to set up a network of kindergartens in the Paris area and the provinces, so that the Jewish education of Jewish children might begin as early as possible.

The Centre Universitaire d'Etudes Juives (CUEJ—University Center of Jewish Studies), created by Leon Ashkenazi under the aegis of the FSJU to teach Jewish subjects on the university level, was solidly established. It was a sort of semiofficial faculty of Jewish studies, where students also acquired a certain Jewish emotional experience. But the number of those attending its courses did not increase significantly, remaining at about 600. Marseille had a small branch of CUEJ at the Aix-Marseille Academy, attended by a small number of Jewish students. The number of students enrolled in Jewish

primary and secondary all-day schools throughout France remained at about 5,000, a number which had already been reached in 1953. Many applications for admission continued to be rejected because of limited classroom facilities.

In its strictly philanthropic activities—aid to indigent refugees, the aged, and the handicapped, as well as vocational training and apprenticeship of adolescents—FSJU was forced by the “distress budget” adopted in 1972 to limit itself to the indispensable minimum. Aid given to families and individuals was definitely inadequate.

The great accomplishment of FSJU in 1973 was the opening of the new Centre Broca for Jewish students and academicians, on the Left Bank near the Latin Quarter. This large and comfortable center, with lecture halls and auditorium, library, bookstore, game room, cafeteria, and restaurant, was intended to be the community center *par excellence* for the university community and also to attract independent intellectuals and artists. A community and youth center, opened several years earlier on the Grands Boulevards, a lively but not very intellectual district, did not draw many students. Beginning at the end of 1973, CUEJ held its courses at the Centre Broca, which was also to become the place where important Jewish cultural events, such as the “Colloquy of French-speaking Jewish Intellectuals,” were to take place.

The third national day of the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF—Representative Council of Jews of France), on December 15 and 16, was attended by many delegates. Some sessions were tumultuous. Protests became violent when the delegate of Union Juive de Résistance et d’Entr’aide (Jewish Union of Resistance and Mutual Aid) appeared on the platform to defend Communist policy. (The Union, a Communist-line organization, defended French Communist party policy in Jewish circles and sought, as far as possible, to counteract anti-Soviet feelings aroused by the anti-Jewish and anti-Israel policies of the Soviet Union.)

But it was not only the attempt to present the Communist position on Israel in a thoroughly Zionist and pro-Israel assembly that caused protests. Although there was unquestionable support for CRIF director, Professor Ady Steg, there were outbursts of discontent against CRIF and its leaders, who were accused of not being active and dynamic enough in view of the seriousness of the situation. Some “young angry people” seized the platform for a while, vehemently demanding *aliyah*, and nothing but *aliyah*, and declaring that everything else “can go to the devil.”

The recently formed Judaïsme et Perspective demonstratively left the meeting to protest in the Place de l’Etoile against French Middle

East policy. The group came into being as a result of the sudden upsurge of Jewish consciousness during recent events; none of its founders or leaders had previously been well-known in French Jewish or Zionist circles. One of its demands was that all French Jews immediately launch a propaganda and pressure campaign aimed at changing the French government's attitude toward Israel. People were urged to question their deputies; to make individual and collective representations to the authorities, and to protest unceasingly until the policy changed. *Judaïsme et Perspective* also called for a boycott of Arab products, particularly against the former French possessions in North Africa which supplied France with a good deal of the same kinds of fruit that Israel exported. The group further strongly advocated the Jewish education of children and young people, and the maintenance of permanent contacts with Israel through as many visits as possible.

A Council of Jewish Intellectuals for Israel was formed as a result of the initiative of Professor Robert Misrahi. Its members wanted to do more than sign petitions; they especially desired to spread real knowledge of Zionism, of its ideology and history, in French intellectual circles.

Religious Life

A new synagogue was inaugurated at Nogent sur Marne and the cornerstone of another was laid at le Vésinet, both in the Paris region. During the Yom Kippur war, the Consistoire Central and its leaders showed complete solidarity with Israel. Numerous prayers were offered in the synagogues of Paris and the provinces, nominally for peace, but in fact wholeheartedly for Israel's victory.

At year's end it was learned that Jean Kling, for 18 years Grand Rabbi of Lyons, would leave to become Grand Rabbi of Nice. Rabbi Kling, ultra-Orthodox and Zionist, had made Lyons, whose Jewish community had been rather insignificant before World War II, into an active center of European Judaism, comparable to Antwerp, Strasbourg, and Milan. His sudden personal decision to leave, for reasons that were not clear, therefore came as a surprise. It was known, however, that he had some difficulties, if not actual clashes, with officials of the prefecture because of his energetic and persistent defense of Israel on all occasions. A Lyons newspaper commented that the authorities would receive the news of his departure with "relief." In Nice, the Ashkenazi Grand Rabbi Kling headed a Sephardi community. It was his hope to make Nice the Strasbourg of Sephardism. The great majority of the 20,000 Jews in Nice and of the

50,000 on the French Riviera between Toulon and the Italian border were of North African origin.

Books and Films

Chaim Potok's *Je M'appelle Asher-Lev* ("My Name Is Asher Lev"), aroused lively interest among critics and the public because it depicted the social and religious life of the Hasidim in the United States. *La Bréhaïne* ("The Barren"), by the young Algerian Jewish writer Albert Bensoussan, was a strong and poetic evocation of Jewish North Africa. As in past years, numerous books were published about the Middle East conflict, Israel, and the Arab world. Jacques Derogy's *200,000 Juifs à la mer* ("200,000 Jews Overboard") was a kind of historical account of the "wandering ships" of the period of World War II and the clandestine *aliyah*. Derogy, a member of the editorial staff of *l'Express* and a recent convert from the extreme left to Zionism, was well known as a reporter of history for his earlier book, *Le Loi du retour* ("The Law of Return") devoted to the voyage of the *S.S. Exodus*.

Walter Laqueur's monumental *Histoire du sionisme* ("A History of Zionism"), translated from the English, was published in Calmann-Levy's "Collection Diaspora" at year's end. It was the first publication in French of an ample and objective history of the Zionist movement, of which the French know so little and the leftists speak so badly. Another translation from the English, Abram Leon Sachar's *Histoire des juifs* ("A History of the Jews"; Flammarion), was received with reservations by the Jewish press; the critics felt it was too full of outdated attitudes from the period between the two World Wars. Jacques Pugatch, a Paris Jewish teacher and publicist, described the personality and work of Mendele Mokher Seforim in a pretty little book, *Un classique juif: Mendele* ("A Classic Jew: Mendele"; Albin Michel: Collection Présences du Judaïsme). Another, posthumous, publication in the same collection was *Terres et vents* ("Lands and Winds"), the prose works of the symbolist poet Joseph Milbauer, with a preface by Arnold Mandel. Milbauer was the French translator of Bialik and Tchernichowsky, as well as of some Yiddish poets. For many years a figure in Paris literary and Jewish circles, he had been editor of the weekly *l'Univers Israélite*, before the war.

A somewhat romanticized autobiographical account by Joseph Joffo—"rewritten," since the author was a beautician—had certain critical acclaim. The book, *Un sac de billes* ("A Bag of Marbles"; Editions Láttes), was the story of two Paris Jewish children, ten and

twelve years old, and their wanderings around France during the Nazi occupation. Although the level of the book was only mediocre, and the Jewish consciousness of the narrator was almost zero, there was a certain charm in the way the story was told, combining sensitivity and humor. A book of a very different sort was the French translation of Isaiah Berlin's *Trois essais sur la condition juive* ("Three Essays on the Jewish Condition"; Calmann-Levy).

Les Juifs meurent aussi ("Jews Also Die"; Fayard) by Roger Ascot, was a novel with a Parisian Zionist milieu. Here, for the first time in French Jewish literature, a work of fiction depicted a Jewish group in Paris at the time of the six-day war and the turbulent period of 1968, whose members firmly held to Jewish spiritual and cultural values; were preoccupied with their identity and exposed to all the problems flowing from that position. Ascot, the editor-in-chief of the Zionist periodical, *La Terre Retrouvée*, and the chronicler of community problems in *l'Arche*, was far closer in his Jewish consciousness to certain American Jewish novelists than to other French Jewish writers.

Two films on Jewish subjects and of very unequal value were produced in France during the year. *Pourquoi Israël?* ("Why Israel?"), a very long documentary produced by Claude Lanzmann, which at times was remarkable for its artistic film technique and approach, was the best documentary on Israel ever made. Lanzmann, a close friend of Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir was once received by Nasser; more recently he became an ardent Zionist. By contrast, *Les Aventures de Rabbi Jacob*, was an inoffensive, humorous detective story in a Jewish setting, featuring the celebrated comedian Louis Funès. The "television rabbi" Josy Eisenberg served as the film's adviser on "Jewish matters."

Personalia

André Blumel, Interior Ministry official in the Blum government and former president of the Zionist Federation of France and the France-USSR Friendship League, died in Paris on May 26, at the age of 80. Once a member of the Socialist party and of Léon Blum's entourage, he adopted after the war the "progressist" line of sympathy for Communism without formal membership. He vainly attempted to reconcile this tendency with his Zionism and defense of Israel. As Zionist Federation president, he frequently visited Moscow in an effort to improve relations between Jews and Communists, and his intervention is said to have led to the authorization for the publication of the Yiddish monthly, *Sovetish Heymland*.

Belgium

FORMERLY a united state, Belgium has now become regionalized and communal. Sweeping constitutional changes adopted in September 1971 (AJYB, 1972 [Vol. 73], pp. 492–93), while maintaining the traditional divisions of the state—the communes and nine provinces—created new territorial entities: cultural communities and economic regions. Three cultural communities were recognized: the French, Dutch, and German. The autonomy of each community was to be exercised by a council to which the constitution granted legislative powers. In a spirit of conciliation, the constitution set up four linguistic regions: the French (32.3 per cent of the total population), the Dutch (56.1 per cent), the “bilingual” region of greater Brussels (11 per cent), and the German (0.6 per cent). Besides the cultural communities, the country consists of three regions: the Walloon, the Flemish, and Brussels. The regional bodies were given autonomy in social and economic matters. Enabling legislation to implement these new provisions required a two-third majority in parliament.

Political Situation

Frictions between the French and the Dutch-language communities, supposedly eased by the constitutional revision, resurfaced over the regionalization and led to the government’s resignation in November 1971, a day after the parliamentary elections. It was to take more than two and a half months for Premier Gaston Eyskens to form a new government. Ten months later, the coalition of Social Christians and Socialists again was in open conflict over the implementation of the constitutional reforms to which the government had committed itself. The immediate cause was disagreement over the future status of the predominantly French-speaking inhabitants of the six communes of the Fourons, that had been incorporated into the Flemish province of Limburg in 1960.

Another cause of tension was the revision of the 1958 school pact, which had ended a century-long controversy between the advocates of limiting state support to secular schools and the Catholics. It gave the national government over-all powers to establish schools and determine curriculum and other requirements, but provided also for state support of private schools fulfilling certain state requirements, as

well as of "official" schools established by local authorities. All official schools were to be neutral in ideology, but offer an elective course in religion or in ethics.

The fundamental issue at present was the division of jurisdiction over the education budgets between the national government and the newly established cultural councils. The Socialists feared that the Flemish cultural council, dominated by the Social Christians, would favor the "free" Catholic schools. Furthermore, the establishment of the three regional councils created serious frictions between the coalition parties and within the parties themselves, leading to the government's resignation in November 1972.

The French-speaking co-president of the Socialist party, Edmond Leburton, accepted a mandate from King Baudouin in December to form a new government. He began negotiations for a three-party coalition, with the participation of the Freedom and Progress party (Liberals), to ensure for the future government at least in theory a majority position in parliament. It took Leburton 65 days to reach an agreement: the Flemish Social Christians were opposed to a French-speaking prime minister, while some important sections within the Socialist party opposed the idea of a coalition with the Liberals and the concessions made to the Catholic schools.

The formation of the government was officially announced on January 26, 1973. By the end of the year, however, the coalition was divided on several important issues, some of them related to the situation that caused the downfall of the previous two-party government. The coalition partners failed to agree on a project of a joint Belgo-Iranian oil refinery to be built in Lanaye (in the Walloon region). Called "Ibramco," the project was strongly supported by the Socialists who favored state control over energy and a much greater government participation in running the economy. The majority was again divided on the question of how much power should be given to the economic councils of the regions. The revision of the school pact was not progressing. Legalization of abortion, supported by the Socialists and Liberals, was a source of major friction because of the strong opposition by the Social Christians, inspired by the position taken by the Belgian bishops in January 1973. The latter reaffirmed the orthodox line on the sanctity of life, and hinted that the legalization of abortion would lead to killing the handicapped and aged.

Economic Situation

Although, in 1972, inflation in Western Europe did not affect Belgium as much as it did most of the other countries, it was the

principal economic concern. Despite impositions of price controls, the retail price index rose by 6.56 per cent. Compared to 1953, the average rise in prices over the past two decades was 68 per cent. During the same period, the Belgian franc lost some 40.5 per cent of its value. The budget in 1972 and 1973 showed a deficit.

In an effort to avoid inflation, the government tried to freeze petrol and oil prices, but the oil companies objected on the ground that their profit margins were being hit. Among other measures taken to stem the rising inflation were raising tuition fees at universities and limiting the number of foreign students of industrialized countries to 5 per cent of the total student body, which would reduce government spending on higher education. The 1972 trade balance was favorable, as the country emerged from the previous year's stagnation. This was due to an increased foreign demand, more lively consumer demand at home, higher levels of public spending, and an upturn in the important building industry. But the investment levels were low and unemployment high; the number of registered unemployed rose to 3.9 per cent of the work force. Industrial production expanded, but the growth rate did not keep pace. In recent years, industrial activity has been concentrated in the increasingly populous Flemish areas of the North; the government was encouraging investment in the Southern region (i.e. the Ibramco project).

Foreign Policy and Public Opinion

Since Belgium's prosperity depended on exports, the economic decline of the Walloon region and the resultant increased unemployment forced the government to look for foreign investments. In December 1972 the Israel Aircraft Industries announced their intention to spend \$30 million on a plant to build aircraft and electronic equipment at Bierset (in the Walloon region), which would have created 1,500 new jobs and further enhanced Belgium's good economic relations with Israel. In 1972 Belgian exports (including Luxembourg) to Israel reached \$122 million, exceeding imports from that country by \$76 million. However, the Arab League's Boycott of Israel Office in Damascus, through the Arab embassies in Brussels, threatened that the authorization of the Israeli project would adversely affect Belgium's growing trade with the Arab countries. Eventually the Belgian government gave up the project. A few days after the Yom Kippur war, the press reported that the secretary of the Walloon economic region, who visited Kuwait in September, brought back a promise that Kuwait banks would establish in Liège financial institutions with assets of some \$150 million to aid local industries.

During the Yom Kippur war, Belgium's Foreign Minister Renaat Van Elslande was a Flemish Social Christian. His position on the Israeli-Arab conflict was identical to that of his predecessor, the Walloon Social Christian Pierre Harmel. Van Elslande declared at the United Nations on October 9 that the Security Council must insist on a cease-fire in the Middle East "without first trying to determine responsibility for this new conflict." Belgium committed itself to do its share, together with its European partners, in working for the establishment of secured and recognized borders guaranteed by international conventions and protected by international forces. The Arab ambassadors to Belgium approved this position at a press conference. At the same time, they advocated a joint European political initiative in the United Nations with regard to the Middle East. The first European resolution on the conflict, issued on October 13, called for a settlement based on all provisions of the November 22, 1967 Security Council Resolution 242.

When the Organization of the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) decided to reduce their exports to industrialized countries according to a rating scale, Belgium was considered to be neutral, and its supply was cut by only 25 per cent. The embargo imposed on Holland caused more concern, since 60 per cent of the crude oil for Belgium passed through the Rotterdam-Antwerp pipeline. The Belgian foreign ministry negotiated directly with the Arab producers so that the Belgian oil imports would not be affected. With the view to winning the Arab producers' favor, Belgium rallied the French and English positions. On November 6, the European Council of Ministers issued a second resolution, far more explicit than the first, stating that a peace agreement in the Middle East must be based on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force and on the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

In light of the circumstances, several Belgian political observers considered the resolution an act of humiliation for Europe. It reflected political weakness and was adopted for mercantile reasons. The same view was expressed, some three weeks after the resolution was adopted, in a parliamentary debate, when the foreign minister spoke of the government's position on the Middle East conflict. The debate aroused little interest: fewer than 30 out of 212 deputies and none of the party presidents and leaders were present, an indication of indifference, or of tacit approval of the government's stand.

This ambiguous attitude was shared by the public to some extent. The pro-Israel deputy, Jean Gol, declared on October 9 that "1973 was not similar to 1967 because it would be incorrect to say that the entire public is backing Israel today, as it did at the time of the six-day war."

Several important newspapers had changed their policy, adopting a balanced position. The consistent sympathy for the Arab cause voiced by the journalists of the Belgian state radio aroused the indignation of Jewish institutions.

However, several important groups in various fields have shown solidarity with Israel before and during the Yom Kippur war. The *Rassemblement Belge pour Israel*, a pro-Israel organization of which several state ministers, senators, and deputies were members, was founded on October 15. It was first headed by former Prime Minister Gaston Eyskens, and later by State Minister Pierre Vermeylen. Its principal aims were to strengthen "the recognition and the security of the State of Israel" and to fight against "any anti-Israel and antisemitic propaganda." On November 19 the national Catholic and Protestant committees for Jewish-Christian relations in Belgium issued a declaration of solidarity with Israel.

An opinion poll was conducted in mid-December, at a time when OAPEC had not yet decided to consider Belgium's position friendly, nor announced an increase in the price of oil. Although 76 per cent of the persons interviewed believed that OAPEC had imposed restrictions on oil supplies to compel the West to take an anti-Israel position, only 44 per cent were ready to support government policy. Thirty-one per cent were in favor of some measures of retaliation against the Arab producers to obtain the necessary oil supplies. An unusually large proportion (25 per cent) of the respondents had no opinion on what the government's reaction should have been. Sixty per cent felt that the European countries should help Holland overcome the effects of the embargo, an implicit expression of support of Holland's position on the Middle East conflict; 36 per cent believed that no assistance should be given. These results indicated that government policy was not quite in accord with the public sentiments, even though a number of respondents thought the government had no alternative. Indeed, people were worried about the economic consequences of the cut in oil supplies. Although the government's restrictive measures to reduce oil consumption were accepted with discipline, there was some adverse popular reaction lasting several weeks because of fear that the oil crisis would result in a food shortage.

Neo-Fascism and Neo-Nazism

In the French-speaking region there were several groupings of the extreme right, but their influence on public opinion was weak. *Nouvel Europe Magazine* clubs were created in several towns under the

auspices of that Brussels periodical. Its editor-in-chief Emile Lecerf, once a member of the fascist *Jeune Europe*, was fighting Bolshevism and glorifying the *Waffen SS*. Some members of these clubs were former Nazi collaborators with international connections.

Jean Robert Debbaudt, a member of the *SS* during the Nazi occupation published a Brussels monthly, *Europe réelle*, which has been working for the reorganization of the completely Nazi-committed Rexist party. Its founder and leader, Léon Degrelle, who was sentenced to death in absentia in 1945, has been living in Spain (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], p. 425; 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 379). Several requests for his extradition were refused by the Spanish government. In a recent interview for Dutch television, Degrelle denied that six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis. The Belgian government issued a vigorous protest to the Spanish authorities, for in allowing this interview they failed to live up to an agreement with Belgium. Degrelle's memoirs, collected by the journalist Wim Dannau, were now being published in Belgium in 13 volumes, in French and Dutch, under the title *Ainsi parla Degrelle* ("Thus Spake Degrelle"), reminiscent of Nietzsche's Zarathustra! In June 1973 the young Socialist deputy from Liège, Claude Dejardin, protested the publication to the minister of justice. He argued that it violated the law banning obscene literature and therefore should be withdrawn from commercial distribution. The French Walloon and Brussels Federalists supported Dejardin; but the minister of justice stated that the Belgian constitution does not permit censorship of a writer, in this case Wim Dannau, who is known and resides in Belgium.

Earlier in March 1973, Claude Dejardin submitted to parliament a new version of a bill, first introduced in 1966, aiming to outlaw public incitement to discrimination against any person because of race or origin. At year's end, the bill had not yet been acted upon. Early in May the executive of the Flemish Social Christians, in opposition to Dejardin, submitted to parliament a bill of their own that would grant general amnesty to those who had been convicted of political collaboration with the enemy during World War II. The House of Representatives defeated it, on May 30, by a vote of 109 to 62.

The question of amnesty has divided the Flemish and Walloon communities for many years. Although the proportion of Flemish collaborators had not been much larger than the Walloons, groups of former collaborators and *SS* were more active in Flanders than in the South, and far more influential. Former Walloon *SS* were known to have regular meetings with their Flemish counterparts. Both belonged to an association called *Sint Maartensfonds*, which published a monthly, *Berkenkruis* ("Birch Cross"). The two groups planned a

dance, which was to have been held on March 31 in Schepdaal (Flemish Brabant), whose mayor was a member of the nationalist Volksunie, the Flemish People's Union (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], p. 425). The invitation to the dance carried an advertisement of a private bank, one of whose commissioners, Senator Lode Claes, also belonged to the party. The dance was forbidden by the provincial and state authorities. The main objective of the Volksunie, since 1971 the third strongest party in Flanders, was to obtain a general amnesty for the former Nazi collaborators, but was deeply divided on other ideological matters. The Flemish Social Christians, the strongest party in the region, has adopted several points of the Volksunie platform, among them the demand for amnesty.

Another organization, Broederband (Fraternal Link) claiming some 3,000 members, honored Professor F. Daels, who also had been sentenced to death in 1945 and later exonerated, at a public function in June. In conjunction with Were Di (Defend Yourself), a group fighting for general amnesty for former Nazi collaborators and a great Netherlandish State, the Broederband also organized in Schepdaal a Flemish national day in October for the purpose of creating a "radical national Flemish front."

The Broederband and Sint Maartensfonds asked their members to pay a tribute to the late Cyriel Verschaeve, a former priest and Nazi collaborator, who had died in Austria. In June 1973 his body was secretly brought back by members of the neo-Nazi Vlaamsche Militanten Orde (VMO) and buried in the cemetery of Alveringem (West Flanders), which had been his parish. VMO planned to organize an annual pilgrimage to Verschaeve's tomb, in lieu of gathering in the "park of honor" erected in the city of Stekene in East Flanders (AJYB, 1970 [Vol. 71], p. 427), which will have to be demolished by order of the Tribunal of Ghent acting at the request of the Stekene city council.

Under the auspices of two neo-Nazi German-language periodicals, *National-Europa* and *Mut*, the first Congress of National European Youth was held in Planegg (near Munchen) in September 1972. Some 1,000 attended the meeting whose motto was "*Wir werden siegen*" (We Shall Triumph). The Congress was mainly directed against Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*. The Belgian delegation consisted of VMO and Were Di members. The second Congress, which was to be held in Antwerp at the end of June was forbidden by the government, at the request of the Contact Committee of the Belgian Patriotic Associations.

The annual pilgrimage, in July 1973, to the Tower of the Yser in Dixmude, established to honor Flemish victims of World War I had

some 45,000 participants, who demanded amnesty for former Nazi collaborators. The pilgrimage committee's secretary, Rik Deghein, was the Belgian representative to the Congress of the National European Youth.

The annual Festival of Flanders 1972, organized by the city of Antwerp, was the occasion of an incident. The text of the playbill of *De Rattenvanger van Hameln* ("The Pied Piper of Hamelin") by Herwig Hensen, which was performed at the Royal Flemish Theater of Antwerp as part of the festival, had antisemitic overtones. The play itself was a condemnation of antisemitism. Antwerp Jewish leaders thereupon met with the cultural councillor of the city to protest the incident. A statement issued later said the matter had been settled; it was agreed that the choice of the offensive text was not made with malicious intent, but rather to draw public attention to the seriousness of antisemitic accusations. There were some voices in the community, such as *Tribune Sioniste* (July 28, 1972), which were not satisfied with this official explanation.

In August 1972 the periodical *Knack* published an article entitled "Antwerp, Europe's Jerusalem," which described the Antwerp Jewish community as the strongest on the Continent and carried on its front page a photograph of religious Jews with long beards under the following caption: "Geld verdienen zonder werk" (Making money without work). It also printed a cartoon showing a baby with a *yarmulke* and earlocks, sucking on a silver dollar, who was surrounded by a fence shaped like a Magen David. Despite protests by Jewish organizations, the same magazine, a few months later, published several anti-Israeli articles. One of its staff writers, Jef Coeck, had previously worked for the Flemish State Radio, where he was known for his anti-Israel comments. Socialist Deputy Wim Geldolf had raised the question of Coeck's objectivity in reporting Israeli news in parliament with the Minister of Flemish Culture. After several such interventions Coeck was transferred from the political department of the Flemish State Radio. He finally quit his job when he was refused a grant for a trip to the Arab countries, and eventually joined *Knack*.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

In 1973 the number of Jews in Belgium was estimated at 35,000. This mainly urban, population was distributed as follows: some 18,000 in

Brussels, 12,000 in Antwerp, 1,000 in Liège, 500 in Charleroi, 1,000 in Ghent, Ostend, and Arlon and the remainder scattered in other cities. Jewish settlement dates back to the early 19th century but the majority of the present population came to the country in periods between 1924 and 1939, and 1945 and 1955. A large number of immigrants and their children acquired Belgian citizenship.

Most of the Jews now belonged to the middle class, working in the fur, leather-goods, clothing, and textile industries, wholesale and retail trade, and in the crafts. Antwerp Jewry has long been concentrated in the diamond trade.

Since the end of World War II, an increasing number of Jews have studied at the universities with a resultant growth of Jewish professionals and white-collar workers. There remained a small number of underprivileged persons and social welfare cases. The decline of Jewish poverty, due to Belgian prosperity, German restitution to individuals and institutions, and Jewish solidarity, has led to the reevaluation of communal needs in an effort to arrest growing assimilation. Cultural life was greatly impoverished by the gradual disappearance of Yiddish in published writings. This was also true of the Antwerp community, where the prevailing tone was still full of *yidishkeit*. A total of some ten Jewish periodicals were being published in Brussels and Antwerp, but these only occasionally carried articles in Yiddish (nearly half of the 233 Jewish periodicals published in Belgium between 1900 and 1959 were Yiddish-language publications).

Religious Life and Education

Most of the Jewish ideological trends were represented in Belgian Jewry. Political and religious attitudes tended to be polarized according to regional distribution. Antwerp Jews were a closely knit, Orthodox-centered community, stimulated by an active hasidic movement. The population remained concentrated within a limited area of the town, which had more than 20 *battei midrashim* and synagogues. However, the influence of lay associations, such as the Maccabi sports club and the newly founded Romi Goldmuntz community center, which attracted the less traditional Jews has been growing. They served as meeting places for socializing with non-Jews. In Brussels, Jewish involvement meant participation in individual institutions and organizations rather than in an over-all community undertaking. The Jewish population was scattered over several districts of the metropolitan area. In spite of repeated efforts, the congregations were unable to maintain a kosher communal restaurant.

Since the 19th century, official recognition has been enjoyed by the Jewish religion, as well as by the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique as the representative body of the Jewish community. Located in Brussels, the Consistoire, a council composed of the delegates of the recognized communities in the country, has been supervising the administration of synagogue properties and examining their budgets and accounts. Though it generally did not intervene in internal congregational affairs, it was asked to ratify the nomination of rabbis and cantors because a large part of their salaries was paid by the state. The Consistoire has helped integrate Jewish immigrants into Belgian society. The state's contributions have made it possible to maintain religious services in places where otherwise they might have completely disappeared. At present 23 rabbis and ministers were serving in the 12 recognized congregations (four in Brussels, three in Antwerp, and one in Liège, Charleroi, Ghent, Ostend and Arlon). A new congregation in Knokke, a sea resort, was expected to be recognized soon.

The Jewish community has also been a beneficiary of the Belgian educational system, which recognized two main types of schools: the official secular school and the private denominational school receiving state subsidies. In the official schools, parents may choose between weekly two-hour courses in religious or lay ethical instruction. As a result, the state has been paying the salaries of some 25 Jewish teachers giving Jewish religious instruction in the primary, secondary, and technical schools throughout the country. They were supervised by the Chief Rabbi of Belgium, elected by the Consistoire. The state also subsidized compulsory general curriculum in four private Jewish day schools: two in Brussels (Ganenou, with secular Israel orientation had an enrollment of 195 pupils in kindergarten and primary grades; Ecole Israélite-Maïmonide, traditionalist, had 408 pupils in kindergarten, primary and secondary departments) and two in Antwerp (Yesode Ha-torah-Beth Jacob, Orthodox, with some 1,200 pupils in kindergarten, primary and secondary departments, and a teachers seminary for girls, and Tachkemoni, traditionalist with a Zionist orientation, with 753 pupils in the three departments). Antwerp, also had two hasidic schools, with an enrollment of 400 pupils, and a *yeshivah* which boarded some 70 students. These schools received no state subsidies because they did not comply with the minimum curriculum requirement imposed by the state.

Community Affairs

More than 100 organizations were active in all other spheres of Jewish life. In Brussels, La Centrale d'Oeuvres Sociales Juives, was founded in 1952 as central fund-raising agency, for philanthropic and welfare organizations. Its first president Max Gottschalk, later became president of the Consistoire. The activities of this agency have been greatly extended in recent years. Since 1972 it has also been allocating funds for a part of the budget of the private Jewish day schools and the newly founded Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Judaïsme, Martin Buber, a free faculty of Jewish studies created by Jewish professors and research workers of the University of Brussels and located on its premises. The Centrale further subsidized two communal centers, three vacation camps, and a student union. In 1972 it raised for its 17 recipients 17,500,000 million Belgian francs among 2,603 persons; more than 45 per cent of the total budget was contributed by 5 per cent of that number. Since this sum covered only 75 per cent of the recipients' needs, the development of complete federated control and planning has been hampered, and some leaders have been advocating a return to an additional campaign. In Antwerp, the central welfare and philanthropic organization was the Central Beheer. Its budget exceeded that of the Brussels' Centrale.

Keren Ha-yesod, now called Fonds de Solidarité avec Israel, has been conducting a separate campaign throughout the country. Some Brussels and Antwerp leaders advocated a joint campaign for domestic purposes and Israel in the hope that this would make for a more consciously united Jewish community. They claimed that the majority of the contributors give to both campaigns.

Centralization Versus Separation

Since the arrival of East European Jews in Belgium, there has been an erosion of centralized communal activities. The original character of the Consistoire as an over-all institution has been changing when these immigrants began to establish their own religious, political, and cultural institutions, which were alien to the Consistoire's ideology and over which it had no control. Due to the influence of the recognized Orthodox congregations, the Consistoire now has become Conservative, as evidenced by its refusal to recognize L'Union Libérale Israélite de Belgique, a liberal religious association founded by American and Belgian Jews in 1966.

The Zionist Federation of Belgium lost much of its former authority among East European Jews. In recent years, it has been severely criticized because of its autocratic leadership and lack of ability to adapt to the contemporary political situation. Although some 5,000 persons belonged to the Zionist movement, a Belgian delegation to the 28th Zionist World Congress (January 1972) was chosen without consulting those who had signed the Jerusalem program. Perhaps more important was the fact that since the creation of the State of Israel, the distinction between Zionists and non-Zionists has become much less clearly defined in the community. For many Belgian Jews solidarity with Israel has become part of their Jewish identity since the six-day war. Indicative of these changes were the new name for Keren Ha-yesod and the number of contributions for Israel which, since then, have greatly exceeded those to local institutions.

In 1970 a council of 21 Jewish organizations, the Comité de Coordination des Organisations Juives de Belgique (CCOJB) was founded to mobilize and coordinate the activities of its members in areas where community action was required. Its aim was to become the political representative institution of the Jewish community. CCOJB's program called for a radical modification of the present communal structures, among others: direct elections and the creation of a representative Jewish parliament in Belgium, as well as of a much needed and united Jewish appeal which would encompass in one campaign the Centrale of Brussels and the Fonds de Solidarité. Among its founding members were several Zionist organizations and political parties, B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Youth Federation of Belgium, and, particularly, the very influential Centre Communautaire Laïc Juif of Brussels, a secular communal center directed by the "activist" David Susskind who was well known for his progressive views. The center strongly supported Israel, but it had both Zionist and anti-Zionist members. None of the Antwerp organizations has joined CCOJB, nor have Fonds de Solidarité, the Centrale of Brussels, the Zionist Federation, or the Consistoire done so. Union Libéral Israélite de Belgique was the only religious organization that became a member. Although CCOJB claimed to be open to all Jewish ideological trends, except the anti-Israeli, many Jews looked upon its ambition to represent the entire community as an interpretation and, therefore, definition of Jewish identity which they could not accept. Nonetheless, the significance of this new coordinating body should not be overlooked. It represented a positive reaction to the proliferation of organizations. For the Zionist organizations, it was the only political alternative; for smaller communities and institutions, the only way of overcoming their relative isolation.

Communal Unity

Although there was great diversity of religious and political attitudes among the Belgian Jews, as reflected in their institutions, there was also basic unity on fundamental issues. Each year Jewish martyrdom has been commemorated in impressive ceremonies, generally on the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt. In 1973 the Zionist Federation and the Belgian section of the World Jewish Congress joined CCOJB in Brussels to organize a public meeting, which was attended by top government officials. The three organizations have also been cooperating in protesting the condition of Russian Jewry. In Brussels, in September 1972, some 4,000 persons participated in an outdoor demonstration against the education tax imposed by the Kremlin on Jewish intellectuals who had applied for a visa for Israel. In a subsequent meeting many Belgian personalities expressed their solidarity with the Soviet Jews.

A greater consensus was shown on the occasion of Israel's 25th anniversary. Several central organizations formed a National Action Committee for Israel, headed by Professor Chaim Perelman of the University of Brussels. It promoted throughout the country the organization of ceremonies, which were sponsored by a great many Belgian political and academic personalities. Only a minority disavowed this solidarity with Israel. On May 19 a group of some 50 Jews, mainly intellectuals, issued a statement, which was published in the Brussels daily *Le Soir*, rejecting Israel's claim to speaking for world Jewry and criticizing Zionism on the ground that "it arouses and maintains the most pernicious chauvinism" and constitutes "an inadequate response to antisemitism." The declaration provoked strong reaction within the community, but, at the same time, stimulated a greater sense of responsibility.

On October 3, 1973, a delegation of representatives of most central Jewish organizations met with the Austrian ambassador to protest his government's decision to close the transit camp for Soviet Jews going to Israel. A public demonstration in front of the embassy was organized to back the protest.

As was usual on the High Holy Days, Belgian synagogues were overcrowded on Yom Kippur 1973. The outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East was announced during services. The next day, the National Action Committee for Israel was reorganized to reflect all representative tendencies in the community. During the night, in Brussels, "Israel will live" was painted on buildings throughout the city. A public demonstration, preceded by a religious service, was organized in the capital on October 9. While the number of participants

was far less than in a similar gathering in 1967 (an estimated 7,000 compared to nearly 20,000), delegations from all parts of the country were present.

It was followed by a public meeting, attended by 2,000 persons, at which eight government deputies of various political parties expressed their solidarity with Israel. All organizations interrupted their current activities and united behind the National Action Committee to work for Israel.

In Antwerp, the rabbi of the Orthodox congregation authorized blood donations during Sukkot; 1,800 persons responded. In Brussels, 3,000 persons, Jews and non-Jews, gave blood. On October 14 some 300 young people conducted a drive in the streets of Antwerp for the purchase of ambulances for Israel. The following weekend, the action was repeated in Brussels. Public reaction was generally favorable; many Catholic priests encouraged their parishioners to contribute to the drive. In Brussels, two million Belgian francs were raised. Medical supplies and equipment were collected through special appeals. Most notable was the drive for medical aid organized by the Union of Progressive Jews of Belgium, which was not an affiliate of the Action Committee.

In the midst of the drive, on October 11, a petition calling for the "condemnation of the aggression" and "understanding and support of the State of Israel" was circularized in 23,000 copies throughout the country. It was signed by hundreds of persons, mostly non-Jews, including members of parliament, journalists, and academics. The Committee also used other means to influence public opinion. It sent a delegation to the chairman of the Belgian State Radio to inform him of public concern about the Radio's lack of objectivity in reporting the war news. Another Committee delegation of 13 persons flew to Israel on November 14 to express Belgian Jewry's solidarity and readiness to continue its action on behalf of Israel.

Indeed, the remarkable results of the drive organized by the Fonds de Solidarité avec Israël, in conjunction with the National Committee, had more than financial significance. Thousands of postcards bearing the symbol of a heart and the words "Israel, I love you" were sold for the benefit of the drive. Some were also sent to the Keneset in Jerusalem. In a simple manner, they truly expressed the profoundness of Belgian Jewry's bond with the people of Israel.

Jewish-Christian Relations

The two main committees fostering Christian-Jewish cooperation were the National Catholic Commission in Belgium for Relations

Between Jews and Christians, a subcommittee of the National Commission for Ecumenism created by the Belgian Bishops on November 16, 1967, and the Belgian Protestant Council for Relations Between Judaism and Christianity, also established in 1967, by the Federation of Protestant Churches in Belgium. Former Prime Minister Gaston Eyskens headed the Catholic commission, and Dr. Th. da Costa the Protestant council. Since their establishment, the committees have closely, cooperated, with the full support of the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique and Chief Rabbi Robert Dreyfus of Belgium.

Most notable were their positions on current political issues. On September 27, 1972, a letter signed by the heads of the three faiths was sent to the Russian ambassador to protest the education tax imposed on Jewish emigrants. In July, and again in December 1970, the two committees took a public stand against the resolutions of the World Christian Conference for Palestine in Beirut, Lebanon, arranged by George Montaron, editor of the French left-wing *Témoignage Chrétien* (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 342). They also protested against the proselytizing activities of some missionary groups in Israel (March 1, 1973). Later in the year they interceded with Chancellor Bruno Kreisky to maintain the Schoenau transit camp in Austria for Russian Jewish emigrants, which was to be closed in November.

The highest religious leaders sponsored meetings, in June and December 1972, with a view to establishing a permanent mixed commission of the three religions. Certain activities were already underway. The Sisters of Sion have opened an information center and were publishing a bulletin in French and Flemish. The Institutum Judaicum was founded under the auspices of the three religions for the study of the Jewish sources of Christian spirituality and to foster relations between Christian and Jewish scholars. The two commissions have also stimulated the creation of interfaith groups in Antwerp and Ostend.

The French bishops' declaration on Judaism, issued on April 16, 1973 (p. 428), was reproduced or discussed in several Belgian Jewish and non-Jewish periodicals. Father Georges Passelecq, an active member of the Catholic commission stated that the declaration "exceeds in importance, substance, and daring those published in the last decade in Austria, the United States, and Holland. It will be a landmark." On November 19, 1973, the Catholic and Protestant commissions in conjunction with three other Christian groups issued a statement entitled, "Belgian Christian Groups' Token of Solidarity With Israel for Peace." The International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee held its third annual meeting in Antwerp in December 1973.

Publications and Cultural Activities

The Centre National des Hautes Etudes Juives, a research institution, was set up in 1960 by professors of the University of Brussels, at the university, for the purpose of studying contemporary Jewry, specially in Europe. Professor Max Gottschalk headed the Center from its inception until his retirement in 1971. He was succeeded by Professor Jean Baugniet, former rector of the University of Brussels. With funds coming mainly from the Belgian government (the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture has been subsidizing specific projects), the Center has also established a documentation service which collected published and unpublished materials from Jewish institutions, including those in Western Europe. A reference library containing works on contemporary Jewry and some 160 Jewish periodicals from all over the world is open to the public. The Center also has a department of oral history.

Among the studies published by the Centre National des Hautes Etudes Juives in 1970-1973 were the following: *Dualité culturelle et appartenance* ("Cultural Duality and Identity") 1970—An 81-page study of the attitudes and behavior of children of mixed marriages, compared with those of affiliated Jews and non-Jews; *La Presse juive en Belgique et aux Pays-Bas* ("The Jewish Press in Belgium and the Low Countries"), 1971—the history and a content analysis of the Jewish press in Belgium and Holland, with an appendix presenting the statistical results of a study of the Jewish press in France; "Bibliography on Judaism, the Jews and the Relationships Between Jews and Non-Jews," *Social Compass*, xviii, No. 3, 1971, pp. 445-523; *Les relations de la communauté israélite de Belgique avec le pouvoir central (1830-1940)* ("Relations Between the Belgian Jewish Community and the State"), 1972—a history of the relations between the Jewish community and the Belgian government, dealing mainly with the question of the official recognition of the Jewish religion in Belgium which was debated for 40 years; *Démographie et identité juives dans l'Europe contemporaine* ("Jewish Demography and Identity in Contemporary Europe"), 1973—the proceedings of the Second Scholars Conference on Jewish Life in Contemporary Europe (those of the first conference were published in 1965), organized jointly with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, a discussion of the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study of Jewish populations in Europe, the findings of sociodemographic communal studies and a discussion with some European lay leaders on the implications of research on Jewish communal life; *Le Comité de Défense des Juifs, 1942-1944* ("Jewish

Defense Committee, 1942-1944"), 1973—history of an underground Jewish organization during World War II, an organization which, with the cooperation of non-Jewish resistance fighters, helped rescue thousands of Jews in Belgium; *L'image des Juifs et du Judaïsme* ("Image of the Jews and Judaism"), 1973—a qualitative content analysis of several Belgian textbooks of Jews and Judaism.

The Centre National des Hautes Etudes Juives also was instrumental in the creation of the Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Judaïsme, Martin Buber, offering a Jewish studies program on the campus of the University of Brussels. In the 1972-1973 academic year, 235 hours of lectures were given by 26 professors, of whom ten came from France and five from Israel. Enrollment in the program was 115; of these 65 were students at the university.

Lectures, most frequently given by Frenchmen or Israelis, often were organized by other institutions as well. They generally were related to current political issues.

Several Jewish periodicals were being published in Belgium—a remarkable activity considering the size of the community. The most unique among them has been the Brussels monthly *Regards*, organ of the Centre Communautaire Laïc Juif, with each issue devoted to a specific crucial question: human rights in the Soviet Union, the Holocaust, Israel, intermarriage, abortion, Progressive Judaism, etc. While defending a secular conception of Judaism, it also sought to develop its readers' interest in Jewish civilization by the regular publication of articles on Yiddish and Ladino literature, Jewish history, and spirituality. Most notable in Antwerp was the independent *Belgisch Israelitisch Weekblad*, the only Jewish weekly in Belgium. It is well informed on Jewish communal life and is widely read by non-Jews.

Personalia

The Belgian Jewish community has mourned the death of distinguished non-Jews who, throughout their life, remained faithful friends. Alice M.L. Van Buuren (1887-1972) had been the most generous of benefactors, supporting Jewish causes in memory of her deceased Jewish husband, David M. Van Buuren, a banker. One of her foundations was the Belgian House at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Théo Lefèvre (1914-73), former prime minister, state minister, and former national president of the Social Christian party, a devout Christian and resistance fighter during the Nazi occupation, was the first chairman of the Belgian Friends of the Weizmann

Institute. State Minister Henri Rolin (1891-1973), honorary professor at the University of Brussels and former president of the European Commission of Human Rights, was a co-founder of the Belgo-Israeli Association and the Belgian Committee for Negotiated Peace Between Israel and the Arab Countries, which he headed for many years. Most beloved was Father André (1907-1973) who, during World War II, organized the rescue of hundreds of Jewish children from his home in Namur. He maintained regular contact with the Comité de Défense des Juifs, the Jewish underground organization. He was decorated by the Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

Several notable Jews died in 1972-73. Jankel Zalzman, president of the Orthodox community from 1954 to 1972, died in Brussels on December 26, 1971, at the age of 75. Nathan Blomhof since 1965 president of the Ganenou school board to which he contributed generously; active member of the Belgian Friends of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem and Fonds de Solidarité, died in Brussels on May 1, 1972, at the age of 70. Yeshayah Zandberg, one of the few remaining Yiddish writers in Belgium, author of a number of recent books on such topics as the Nazi occupation of Belgium and life in the *shtetl*; founder and president of the Brussels Yiddish literary society, Le Cercle culturel Emmanuel Ringelblum, and a founder of the Yiddish theater company Yikult, which is still performing, died in Brussels on November 11, 1972, at the age of 81. General Ernest Edouard Wiener, president of the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique until 1956, who had devoted most of his efforts to the reconstruction of religious communities in postwar Belgium, died in Brussels on January 31, 1973, at the age of 91. Conrad Franco, for some 20 years president of the Brussels Sephardi community, for whose official recognition in 1958 he was responsible, died in Brussels on May 29, 1973, at the age of 76. Mark Anisfeld, a member of the Executive of the General Zionists World Confederation and general secretary of the Belgian Zionist Federation from 1952 to 1971, when he became president of the Executive, died in Antwerp on November 7, 1973, at the age of 62. A Goldschmidt-Brodsky, former president of the Comité d'Assistance aux Enfants Juifs Réfugiés which before the outbreak of World War II, organized in various Belgian cities the sheltering of hundreds of Jewish children escaping Nazi Germany and Austria, enabling many of them to leave for overseas countries later; one of the key organizers and developers of ORT in the postwar period, a co-founder of the Centrale in Brussels, died in Brussels in 1973 at the age of 89.

Italy

GIULIO ANDREOTTI's centrist government—a coalition of Christian Democrats (DC), Social Democrats (PSDI), Republicans (PRI), and Liberals (PLI)—was already doomed at the beginning of 1973, only six months after its formation. It not only had a narrow majority in parliament, but was also weakened by the left-wing opposition within DC. At the same time, a relentless opposition of Communists, Socialists, and trade unions, who accused it of collusion with the neofascists, paralyzed its legislative work. Even Republican and Social-Democratic leaders undermined the government's prestige by pointing to its provisional character.

The government was still in power when the Christian Democratic convention met in June. Andreotti hoped that, as premier, he could win over a strong majority at the convention and press the left-wing snipers into discipline. He failed mainly because, on the eve of the convention, the Republicans announced that they would vote against him on television policy. Thereupon Amintore Fanfani persuaded almost all the other Christian Democratic leaders that there was no alternative but to return to the left-center coalition, so that it could profit from the Socialist party's readiness to move away from its policy of "advanced equilibrium" (AJYB, 1973, [Vol. 74], p. 431). The convention ratified this decision, and Fanfani was triumphantly elected party secretary. He then announced his intention to reorganize and reunite the party.

Andreotti resigned on June 12. Christian Democrat Mariano Rumor formed a new government on July 7 and became Italy's premier for the fourth time. Apart from the Christian Democrats, the coalition again included Social Democrats, Republicans and, as "returnees," the Socialists; the Liberals were ousted, exactly as predicted.

In parliament the government had a comfortable majority of 371 out of 630 seats. The outcome of the November local elections in some parts of the country, which were considered representative, was favorable for the three lay parties, especially the Socialists, and enhanced the authority of the coalition.

From the start, Rumor had to cope almost exclusively with economic and monetary difficulties. Though industrial production showed slight signs of recovery as early as the second trimester, it was threatened by the monetary situation (the Andreotti government allowed the lira to float in February, and it lost 18 per cent of its value

by "Black Thursday," on June 21) and by the steep rise in prices. Deflationary measures could not be taken because of latent unemployment. A price freeze was decreed in July and functioned relatively well for three or four months. The rising cost of crude oil and other raw materials in the world markets and of labor in Italy, as well as a trade balance deficit running at a yearly rate of \$5 billion even before the October events, seemed to leave Italy particularly defenseless and vulnerable; it was dependent for about 60 per cent of its energy needs on Arab crude oil. Also, the demand for automobiles, which constituted a crucial part of the country's industry, slackened throughout the world. Further, even a slight wave of unemployment in other countries of Europe, where some two million Italians were working, could send them home to join the more than one million jobless in Italy.

The government continued the policy of huge industrial investments, mostly in the south, to compensate for the chronic lack of private investment; but the budgetary deficit of about \$12 billion per year put essential limits to these efforts and to the implementation of reforms that were sorely needed in almost all sectors of public life.

At year's end it appeared that the reborn left-center coalition had already lost its freshness and its ability to reach quick agreement on appropriate and comprehensive economic measures. The old tensions between the Socialists, who were constantly leering at the Communist party's (PCI) attitude, and their coalition partners reappeared.

Such contrasts were underscored after October, when PCI Secretary Enrico Berlinguer, in an unexpected move, proposed to the government parties a coalition with the Communists, a "historical compromise," as he called it. For, he argued, as the experience in Chile has shown, Italy could not possibly be governed by a "popular front," i.e., a coalition of Socialists and Communists, even if it were to reach a majority of 51 per cent, because of the influence, power, and belligerence of the largely middle-class dominated Christian Democrats. Nor could the country be governed without the "support of the popular masses," led by PCI and the Socialists. With more firmness than ever, Berlinguer pledged unwavering support of the constitution, parliament, and the principle of political pluralism.

The government parties refused his offer because of PCI's allegiance to Moscow, its internal nondemocratic structure, its record of authoritarianism and suppression of freedom, and thus its lack of credibility. While Fanfani's refusal was emphatic, some mental reservations about future possibilities were discernible in the statements by the Socialists and of left Christian Democrats. In fact, one could conceive of an emergency arising from the country's

difficulties that could leave coalition with the Communists as the only alternative. Besides, since the Socialists would hardly remain in the government without the "benevolent" opposition of PCI, developments would seem to depend largely on the Communists.

The Middle East and Israel

Until the outbreak of the October war, there were no changes in Italian foreign policy, particularly since it was relegated to the background by the serious internal problems.

Andreotti's Foreign Minister Giuseppe Medici toured Israel in the latter part of March, after a visit to Arab countries. During his talks with Israeli statesmen, differences emerged regarding the evaluation of the Middle East situation. While the Israelis tended to minimize the dangers of a new outbreak of hostilities and insisted on direct peace negotiations, Medici strongly stressed Italian and European apprehensions about a possible new explosion. Therefore, he asked the Israelis to modify their traditional position and make a first move of good will (such as acceptance of the Rogers plan) so that talks could begin.

When the Yom Kippur war reached its climax, on October 18, Rumor's Foreign Minister Aldo Moro, responding to parliamentary interpellations, said that all efforts for mediation had failed because of the "absence of a clear-cut interpretation acceptable to the parties of the UN Security Council Resolution of November '67," the by now historic "Number 242." Thus, at that moment, the government's policy of evenhandedness was still valid.

Within a few weeks, however, under the pressure of the oil blackmail, that policy was thoroughly dismantled. First, Italy insisted that the nine states of the European Economic Community (EEC) take a common stand "to give Europe a voice in the matter." It knew well what that stand would be, in view of the French—and also the British—position. The declarations at Brussels (November 6) and at Copenhagen (December 15) followed promptly. They not only adopted the French translation, which spoke of Israel's withdrawal "from the Arab territories," rather than using the more elastic "from Arab territories" of the originally English resolution text; they also stated that any peace settlement must take account of "the legitimate rights" of the Palestinian refugees, thus exceeding Resolution 242 which, in both the English and French versions, speaks only of "achieving a just settlement" of the refugee problem.

Moro's attempt to avoid taking a clear Italian position by hiding behind the collective EEC stand did not succeed, however. Italy was

not admitted into the oil privileged circle of "Arab friends," and, at the end of the year, it was easy to predict that further pressure for explicit, complete, and public support of the Arab point of view would follow.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

In the parliamentary debate in October, the positions of the political parties were still the traditional ones: Republicans, Social Democrats, and Liberals strongly supported Israel. In their eyes, the Yom Kippur aggression revealed Arab intentions to destroy Israel. The Socialists were divided, some holding that view and others the position of the completely pro-Arab Communists. Pietro Nenni, the old Socialist party chairman, evaded a clear-cut position by criticizing the Big Powers' arms lifts and complaining about the ambiguity of Resolution 242, though he, himself, preferred the vague formula "conditions of security for Israel . . . and for all" to the resolution's advocacy of "sure and recognized boundaries." The Christian Democrats avoided making any pronouncements other than to affirm that the best solution was to be found within the framework of the UN. The neofascists linked their unconditional support of Israel to a warning against Soviet plans to dominate the Mediterranean.

After Brussels and Copenhagen, Social Democrat and Republican leaders protested this "new look" in Italian foreign policy which, they declared, had never been adopted by the government as a whole. According to reliable sources, it was mostly Premier Rumor and Amintore Fanfani, foreign minister during the six-day war and already then rather pro-Arab, who, invoking the disastrous economic situation, pressed Aldo Moro into this reversal of policy.

THE PRESS

With some hesitation here and there, the important dailies supported the government's new Middle East policy, obviously for "the love of the fatherland." The party papers, of course, followed party lines. More objectivity could be found in the weekly periodicals, which in fact had a much wider readership than the dailies.

PUBLIC OPINION

Italian public opinion was by far more favorable to Israel than were the politicians and a sector of the press. According to a poll conducted by the Doxa Institute when hostilities began, 43 per cent of the interviewed said they tended to be on the side of Israel; 18 per cent favored the Arabs; 28 per cent were neutral, and 11 per cent had no

opinion. The results of a second poll on "how best to react to the oil blackmail," taken at the peak of the crude-oil panic in November, were: 15.1 per cent favored dropping Israel in order to receive sufficient oil; 52.9 per cent advocated a common front of European countries with the United States for exerting counterpressure on the Arabs; 16.3 per cent thought it was best not to react at all; 15.5 per cent had no opinion.

ARAB TERRORISTS

Arab terrorism escalated in 1973. It became obvious that Italy was a favorite proving ground for the terrorists because of its geographical position and the uncontrollably huge stream of tourists making for chaotic airports and overcrowded trains. More important still was the strength of PCI, which prepared the psychological climate of "understanding" for the "despair of the Palestinians" (90 per cent of the terrorists known here were not Palestinians). Numerous extraparlimentary groups of the left and the right most probably collaborated with the terrorists in one way or another. The presence of the 15,000-20,000 Arab students and their associations in various university towns also was a great help.

The year began with the arrest on the Italian-Austrian border of three members of the Black September group, who carried false passports. In March two others, traveling in a car loaded with dynamite, were arrested by French border officials and again, in April, two heavily armed terrorists were caught at Fiumicino, Rome's international airport. Several times, too, abandoned baggage filled with arms was found at the airport. Also in April, a non-Jewish El Al employee was shot to death in the center of Rome; the murderer was arrested but not yet tried at year's end. In June a car carrying ammunition and bombs exploded in the center of Rome, wounding its two Arab owners, who were arrested but freed without bail. In September five Arabs were arrested in Rome and Ostia for having in their possession two Soviet missiles that were to be used in downing an El Al plane over Fiumicino. Two were released in their own recognizance and later escaped to Libya; the trial of the others was in its initial stage.

December 17 was a day of terrible bloodshed at Fiumicino airport: five Arab terrorists attacked a Pan American World Airways Boeing 707 with submachine guns and hand grenades, killing more than 30 persons. They then hijacked a Lufthansa plane to Athens, with hostages aboard, to bargain for the release of two Palestinian terrorists held for an attack on Athens airport. They had arrived from Libya via

Madrid on that day; some of them had been in Rome on many previous occasions.

Of the many terrorists arrested only four remained in prison by year's end. Public opinion sharply criticized the government for such tolerance.

The Vatican

At the Vatican, 1973 began with the solemn announcement of the program planned for the "Holy Year 1975," traditionally observed every 25 years. The leitmotiv for the activities, which, as an innovation, were to begin throughout the world in 1974 and continue in Rome in 1975, was reconciliation within the Church, with other Christian cults, with the faithful of other religions, with nonbelievers. While emphasis would be put on Christian unity, activities would possibly be arranged also with Jews in the area of dialogue and welfare, a high prelate told foreign correspondents in March.

On March 5 Pope Paul VI nominated 30 new cardinals, raising their total number to an unprecedented high of 144. As for participation in the future conclave, however, only those below 80 years of age at that time would be admitted as electors. In the new College of Cardinals the number of Pope Paul's supporters and of Third World representatives was larger than before, and age composition was slightly lower.

The Holy See participated fully, not only as observer, in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which met in Helsinki in July. It was the first such Vatican participation in an international conference since 1815. Its delegate was Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs of the Church—in short, its foreign minister.

Casaroli's appeal in the plenum stressed the indivisibility of peace and the need to establish a code of ethics and morals in international relations. He also used the occasion to make more contacts with East European leaders, in line with the Pope's *Ostpolitik*. His talks with Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski led to the latter's visit to the Pope in November.

Also in Helsinki, Casaroli had a remarkable, but unpublicized, meeting with the West German and East German foreign ministers at the same time to move ahead with the long process of setting diocesan boundaries and nominating new bishops in keeping with the current situation.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND THE JEWS

According to Pope Paul, it was a "historical moment" when, on January 15, he greeted Golda Meir, the first Israeli prime minister ever to enter the Vatican gates. The Vatican later issued a brief, polite official communique stating that the Pope had recalled at the meeting "the history and the sufferings of the Jewish people," before briefly summarizing the Vatican and Israeli positions, as discussed by the Pope and Mrs. Meir. But, simultaneously, Vatican spokesman Professor Federico Alessandrini issued separately an unusual "verbal declaration." He thrust a mimeographed copy of it (obviously prepared by the Vatican's State Secretariat) on the table of the pressroom, after having hurriedly read aloud its rude content to the flabbergasted correspondents, mostly old time "vaticanists." It bluntly stated that the audience granted to Mrs. Meir had not been "a preferential exclusive gesture" by the Pope and emphasized that Mrs. Meir, and not the Pope, had requested it. As for the substance of the audience, it said, neither the Pope nor Mrs. Meir had even slightly changed their attitude on the Holy Land. On that day, Golda Meir diplomatically considered only the official communique as the authoritative one. The incident, however, gave her the occasion that same evening to hold one of her most brilliant and best attended press conferences in the heavily guarded Israel embassy. Her reply to the query whether the Pope had invited her ("I did not break into the Vatican") has in the meantime become a kind of household phrase. As an aftermath of the visit there were press duels between Israeli and Vatican papers.

Following the outbreak of the October hostilities, the Pope made several very strong nonpartisan appeals for peace. However, when he condemned in very sharp terms the Fiumicino bloodshed in December, he significantly added that the cause for such deeds (i.e. the Palestinians' desperate conditions) should be removed. Such phrases have indeed become stereotyped here, but no one else (officially not even the Palestinians) used it in referring to this criminal act. The Pope's statement drew strong criticism in Israel.

In his December 21 Christmas address to the Cardinals, the Pope again spoke of the hundreds of thousands of "refugees from their country, reduced to desperate conditions of life or in other ways hampered in their legitimate aspirations." He then announced that he would strive for "any resolution touching the situation of Jerusalem and the Holy Places to correspond to the requirement of the particular character of the City and to the legitimate aspirations of the

faithful of the three great monotheistic religions." The "courteous interest" expressed by many sides in the Vatican position on Jerusalem and other religious shrines in the Holy Land "and the deference that has been shown to us by the authorities of Israel," he continued, "assure us of the possibility of having our voice duly heard when these questions are eventually submitted for concrete discussion" at the Geneva peace conference.

Professor Alessandrini explained that the oft repeated call since December 1967 for "an internationally guaranteed status for Jerusalem and the Holy Places" remained valid; that the Pope had only reformulated it in this year's address, and that it never was intended as a request for the "internationalization of Jerusalem" (in the sense of the "corpus separatum" of the 1947 United Nations plan), which, aside from all else, would have been unrealistic.

Just what the definition of a "guaranteed status" for Jerusalem was, or what the Pope meant by the "legitimate aspirations" of the faithful of the three religions, again was not revealed despite the pressuring from an army of correspondents. (According to Professor Alessandrini, it just meant that the city's inhabitants should "all feel equally at home.")

However, experts on Vatican affairs agree that the status for Jerusalem which the Vatican most probably had in mind would disregard territorial issues, be above secular sovereignty, and be guaranteed by an international agreement equally binding on the authorities of the city and the guarantors in a manner that would preclude unilateral change. According to the experts, the agreement would guarantee free and unlimited access for all faithful of all religions to their sanctuaries and places of prayer; free exercise of religious activities; "self-government" of religious orders and institutions, and, for many of them, an "extra-territoriality" *sui generis*.

This did not mean that the Vatican's policy toward the territorial problems in the Middle East would always be neutral. It would be determined by two factors. The first was the presence of Catholic Arabs in the region. If the Vatican did not support their point of view, it would become the target of pressures and reprisals not only from the Arab (Moslem) powers, but also—and this is probably more important—of the reactions, pressures, and eventual alienation of the Catholic Arabs and their clergy. This was all the more so because that region had other, rather "competitive," Christian faiths that were more thoroughly permeated by Arab nationalism. The second factor was the attitude of the ultra-conservative wing of the Church, which

looked upon a Jewish state in the Holy Land, particularly with Jerusalem as its capital, as theologically inadmissible.

How these two factors complemented each other was demonstrated by the fate of the April 1973 document of the Committee for Christian-Jewish Relations of the Roman Catholic Church of France under the title "Pastoral Orientations on the Attitude of Christians Toward Judaism" (p. 428). Speaking, among other things, of the Jews' "right and means to a political existence of their own among the nations" and "their links with the land," and generally attempting to further the implementation of the 1965 Declaration on the Jews by the Ecumenical Council Vatican II, it cemented the coalition between the Arab forces within and outside the Church with the conservative Catholics. The Curia in fact reacted by sending a circular letter to all episcopal conferences in the world banning, and warning against, similar initiatives. While the document itself was never revoked, it did not come before the plenum of the French Episcopal Conference. A similar document, prepared by the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, was shelved three years earlier by the Secretariat of State of the Vatican.

At the beginning of the year, the office for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity was entrusted to Pierre de Contenson, who succeeded Reverend Cornelius A. Rijk (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 437).

The International Service for Jewish-Christian Documentation (SIDIC), run by the Sisters of Zion under the direction of Reverend Rijk, continued its activity with a series of conferences; it also enlarged its by now well equipped and well attended library.

The lecture course by Dr. Augusto Segre, head of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities' cultural department, on modern Judaism as the continuation and evolution of biblical Judaism was made obligatory at the Pontifical Lateran University for the 1973-1974 school year. His article "The Sabbath in Jewish Tradition" (an extract of his address at the 25th anniversary meeting of the Foundation for the Italian Bible Association, held in Frascati near Rome on November 1) appeared in *Osservatore Romano* of November 30, significantly with an editor's note describing the author as a "teacher at the Rabbinical College and the Pontifical Lateran University."

The joint liaison committee of the Vatican Office for Catholic Jewish Relations and the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 371), founded for the purpose "of fostering mutual understanding, exchange of information and cooperation in areas of common concern and responsibility," held its

third annual meeting in Antwerp in December. The Catholic delegation had been appointed by Jan Cardinal Willebrands, president of the Vatican Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, with the approval of the Pope; the Jewish delegation represented major Jewish organizations. The Secretariat's general secretary, Monsignor Charles Moeller, and Professor Zwi Werblowsky, chairman of the Israeli Council for Interreligious Cooperation, Jerusalem, presided over the meeting. The committee discussed the concept of "People, Nation, and Land in Their Respective Religious Traditions," on which two study papers were presented. It was agreed to pursue this study and to undertake another on the moral and spiritual foundations of human rights and religious freedom in the two religious traditions. Other topics discussed were the Middle East situation and its implications for Christian-Jewish relations; cooperation between Catholic and Jewish agencies at the United Nations, with special regard to the proposed declaration and convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance; the situation of Christians in Israel and proselytizing activities of some missionary groups there; the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union, and the recrudescence of antisemitism and concerted action to combat it. The meeting was seen by both delegations as an important step forward in their mutual understanding and cooperation.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Antisemitism

The decision of the leaders of the Jewish community to fight antisemitism by revealing the facts to the people (AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 442) culminated in the publication of Alfonso di Nola's *Antisemitismo in Italia 1962-1972* ("Antisemitism in Italy 1962-1972," published by Valecchi, Florence, 1973). On the basis of the book's statistical part, which gave a detailed list and scientific analysis of all antisemitic incidents during the decade, the author, a professor at Arezzo University, established the main causes of antisemitism and its roots in Italian society (reactionary as well as left-wing Catholicism, Nazi-fascism, the Left, and the New Left). The volume also contains a political analysis by the well known journalist Eugenio Melani showing the convergence of these various impulses, and a psychoanalytical-sociological motivation study by Filippo M. Ferro, professor at the Rome Catholic University.

The book attracted considerable attention and stimulated discussion in Italy and abroad, thus apparently having the desired positive effect of mobilizing defense in Italian as well as in Jewish circles. At the same time, the fears of those who warned that publishing antisemitic excesses could stir up imitators seemed to have been well founded, if judged by the number of incidents in 1973.

There were nine cases of cemetery desecration and damage to Jewish buildings by bombs or other means. A dozen Jewish leaders received threatening letters. In Ferrara, Bologna, and Padua the "Friends of Freda" (see AJYB, 1973 [Vol. 74], p. 438) distributed lists of "Zionist" names, variously signed "Centro di Documentazione anti-Sionista" (Anti-Zionist Documentation Center), "Hitler aveva ragione" (Hitler was right), or just "La Fenice" (The Phoenix), a Nazi-fascist organization. Numerous antisemitic posters, inscriptions, and leaflets made their appearance. The Jewish Communist Giorgina Arian Levi, former MP, was insulted during a fascist attack on Communists.

There was a clear correlation between the intensity of such activities and events in the Middle East: the downing of the Libyan plane by Israel in February, the interception by the Israel Air Force of a Middle East Airline jet in August, and the October 6 attack on Israel. This led to greater awareness that the growing political isolation of Israel was partly based on the same irrational feelings as antisemitism, and that the artificial distinction made between antisemitism and anti-Zionism was harmful to Jews everywhere. Said Golda Meir to Jewish leaders during her stay in Rome: "Who is against the independence of Israel is against the survival of the Jewish people in general."

Education

In May the third study meeting on Jewish educational problems in Rome discussed how to prepare Jewish youth to face current problems of Judaism, antisemitism, and assimilation.

The Milan ORT, in collaboration with the Lombardy regional department of education and the ORT-Union in Geneva, set up a Center for Didactical Innovations for researching new teaching models for high schools and vocational training. In Rome, the Jewish community, together with the ORT, inaugurated the first-year class of a Jewish senior high school, with later years to follow. In November 20 principals of Jewish schools in European countries met in Rome to

discuss common problems in their field, with special emphasis on strengthening Jewish youth's links with Israel "in a manner that would have *aliyah* as its logical consequence."

In view of the need to promote rabbinic studies and fill the vacancies in the communities, the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane (Union of Italian Jewish Communities) informed all interested persons that the exercise of rabbinic functions was compatible with many other professions.

In an effort to preserve the ritual objects and vestments of the Rome synagogue, a special fund-raising campaign was initiated. In Venice, further efforts were made to ensure that funds would be available for the restoration and maintenance of the city's five ancient synagogues. Fund raising to support these efforts was begun by the Milan Committee (AJYB, 1972 [Vol. 73], p. 510), as well as by the German Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation in Frankfurt, West Germany.

Jews in Italian Life

In October a monument and museum in memory of political and religious deportees to Nazi extermination camps were inaugurated in the famous Pio castle at Carpi, Northern Italy. The ceremony, which drew a crowd of 40,000, was attended by President Giovanni Leone, cabinet ministers, other high officials, and Italian Jewish leaders, as well as by delegations from Israel and 12 European countries. Nearby, in the suburb of Fossoli, the first Nazi-fascist concentration camp in Italy had been established in 1943 for Jews, partisans, and anti-fascists to serve as the antechamber to Auschwitz and other death camps in Germany.

The 30th anniversary of the deportation of Jews from the Rome ghetto was commemorated on October 16 in the town hall and in the Great Synagogue of Rome. Jewish and non-Jewish leaders, including government officials, attended the services.

In January President Leone named Edoardo Volterra, professor of Roman law at Rome University, to the Supreme Constitutional Court. The appointment was generally viewed as recognition of Jewish participation in Italian science and public life. Volterra had been a resistance fighter and received high decorations. He published more than 400 articles and books, many of them on Jewish law.

The 15th anniversary of the death of Senator Ugo Della Seta, who, in anticipation of the Concordat, induced Jewish leaders in 1924 to establish Jewish day schools because of the reemerging Catholic

influence on public education, was marked in May with an address by Minister of Justice Guido Gonella on preserving the equality of religions. On this occasion, Gonella announced that the government had submitted to parliament a bill proposing the modification of certain articles of the penal code so that punishment for offenses and injuries against religions, their places of prayer, and their priests would be uniform for all faiths. Thus far, Roman Catholicism has enjoyed a privileged status in Italy, partly as a result of the 1929 Concordat. Gonella said that, with regard to religion, the penal code now in force was "based on discrimination which is not reconcilable with the equality and liberty proclaimed by our constitution."

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of Israel, the monthly *Shalom* published in its May issue a special supplement, which was widely praised. In May, too, 25 invalids of the Israel war of independence were given a free two-week tour of Italy by the Jewish Nostro Club of Milan. In July Italian Jewish youths participated in the Maccabiah games in Israel; they won three gold medals, five silver medals, and other prizes. Apart from the special fund raising in connection with the Yom Kippur war, Rome Jews collected 100 kilograms of gold for Keren Ha-yesod on the 30th anniversary of the deportation of Jews from the Rome ghetto and in memory of the 50 kilograms of gold then extorted by SS Colonel Herbert Kappler as a "war contribution to save freedom."

Youth

The antagonism of the leading group of the Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia (FGEI: Jewish Youth Federation of Italy), influenced by the Italian Left and New Left against the "Israel Establishment," swelled after a Libyan plane was shot down by the Israelis in February, and reached its peak after the Beirut incident. On both occasions, the FGEI board sent rude telegrams to the Israel ambassador in Rome, which were also given to the press. FGEI members-at-large, especially Kadimah, the largest and most active youth organization, contested the right of the FGEI board, or its members, to make statements of this kind in the name of Italian youth. Their stand was supported by Jewish public opinion and institutions.

This disagreement, and the October war, led to the adoption of a strong pro-Israel resolution by the Kadimah general assembly in November; significantly, the assembly was unable to select delegates to the FGEI congress meeting later that month. However, despite the nonrepresentation of Kadimah, the discussions and resolutions of the

congress and the composition of the new FGEI council showed a changed attitude towards Israel. There was greater sobriety and a desire for more democratic management of FGEI, which thus far was a true umbrella organization of Italian Jewish youth in name only.

Publications

Noteworthy 1973 publications dealing with the Jews (for a discussion of Alfonso di Nola's *Antisemitism in Italy 1962-1972*, see p. 464) were: Franco Palmieri's *La letteratura della terza Diaspora* ("The Literature of the Third Diaspora"; Longo, Ravenna), a thorough study of the *shtetl*, its culture, traditions, literature, and history since 1880, and its sequel in the United States beginning with the wave of East European Jewish immigration; *I misteri dell'archeologia: I Papiri del Mar Morto* ("The Mysteries of Archeology: The Dead Sea Scrolls; De Vecchi, Cremona), by Giorgio Pallante, a popularization of archaeological findings and studies.

A series of books was dedicated to the State of Israel, its society and problems. Alfonso Sterpellone's *L'assedio d'Israele* ("The Siege of Israel"; Pan Editrice, Milano) dealt with the spirit of Massada, which again permeated Israel, and its consequences in all areas of life. *Israele fra i popoli* ("Israel Among the Nations"; Barulli, Rome), by Feruccio Pardo, was a profound, well-documented analysis of the relationship between the Jews in the Diaspora and their hosts, and between the Israelis and their Arab neighbors. *Israele, una società in evoluzione* ("Israel, a Society in Evolution"; Rizzoli, Milano), by Vittorio D. Segre, gave a cross-section of Israeli society, its history, politics, philosophy, and economy.

Per non morire ("In Order Not to Die"; Zionist Federation of Italy, Milano), edited by Umberto Nahon, was a collection of the writings of Enzo Sereni, and testimonials on his life from the early twenties to his tragic death in a Nazi concentration camp in 1944. Ada Sereni, Enzo's mother, wrote *I clandestini del mare: l'emigrazione ebraica in terra d'Israele dal 1945 al 1948* ("The Clandestines of the Sea: Jewish Emigration to the Land of Israel From 1945 to 1948"; U. Mursia, Milano), in which she told with fine humor, but great precision, the story of the illegal Jewish emigration of Jews from Italy to Israel, of which she was one of the most important champions. *La comunità israelitica di Trieste nel secolo XVIII* ("The Trieste Jewish Community in the Eighteenth Century"; Del Bianco, Udine), by C. Cervani and L. Buda, was a valuable contribution to the history of Italian Jewry. *Il*

cedro (Citrus Medica L.) ("The Citron"; Patron, Bologna), by A. Fersini *et al*, with a preface by Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff of Rome, was an interesting botanical, historical, and archaeological study, whose purpose was to show that the Jews—and not Alexander the Great or the Nabatean Arabs—brought this ancestor of all citrus fruit to Europe and Africa.

Italian translations of several books also appeared during the year. Robert Katz's *Sabato nero* ("Black Sabbath"; Rizzoli, Milan), the story of the deportation of the Rome Jews to Auschwitz, evoked well founded refutations not only by some of the Jewish leaders, who were personally or collectively accused by the author of bearing some responsibility for the tragedy, but also by many of the survivors of the deportations and other witnesses who had lived through that period. The author was generally criticized for political bias and partiality in selecting sources. The Rome Jewish monthly *Shalom*, opened its pages to an extensive public discussion of the accusations. Gershom Scholem's *Le origine della Kabbala* (Il Mulino, Bologna) was a translation, by Dr. August Segre, of the French edition of the German original, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala* ("Origin and Beginnings of the Kabbalah"). Simon Wiesenthal's *Operazione nuovo mondo* ("Sails of Hope: The Secret Mission of Christopher Columbus"; Garzanti, Milano) was translated from the German original, *Operation neue Welt*.

Personalialia

Manfredo Liberanome, professor of ancient history at Florence University teachers college, who had made important contributions to the study of Jewish history and was highly regarded in both Jewish and Italian circles, died in Florence on April 18, at the age of 51. Livia Piperno Beer, wife of Judge Sergio Piperno Beer, the current president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and greatly esteemed by Italian Jewry, died in Rome on July 7, at the age of 64. Alessandro Levi, attorney, a known pre-World War II anti-fascist who had worked with the underground resistance press; one of the founders, in the early postwar period, of the high-level weekly *Il Mondo*, which, at that time, gathered the names of reemerging leaders of a free democratic Italy; contributor to scientific periodicals, collaborator of the weekly *Shalom*, died in Rome on August 24, at the age of 72. Eloisa Ravenna, head of the Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (CDEC) in Milan, untiringly devoted to this institution, which she had

built up and which also rendered significant service in collecting material for the trials of important Nazi criminals, including documentation of historical value regarding the tragedy of Italian Jewry during the Nazi occupation, died in Turin on September 8, at the age of 43. Dr. Leone Maestro, an ophthalmologist who dedicated the postwar years to fighting disease in the North African Jewish communities, a dedicated Zionist leader, died in Florence on October 12, at the age of 72.

JULIO DRESNER