

Tel Aviv University
Institute for Research
of the Jewish Press

No. 22, November 1997 CONTENTS

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Hebrew Cover: Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) as painted by Moritz Oppenheim in 1831. Three articles in this issue are devoted to Heine's journalistic oeuvre in commemoration of the December 1997 bicentennial of his birth.

Typesetting and Production: Mofet-Rosemarine

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In a "changing of the guard" effective June 1997, Shalom Rosenfeld, who served as head of Tel Aviv University's Institute for Research of the Jewish Press from the time he established it 14 years ago, stepped down from his post, to be succeeded by Prof. Michael Keren. Speaking at a farewell evening for Mr. Rosenfeld at the university on May 27, 1997, were President of the University Yoram

Dinstein, outgoing Rector Prof. Dan Amir, incoming Rector Prof. Nili Cohen, journalist Yosef Lapid, and Prof. Michael Keren. A lecture was delivered by Prof. Benjamin Harshav on "The Projection of Public Reality in the Press and in Literature." Following are Mr. Rosenfeld's remarks at the event.

IN PRAISE OF THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY'S NEWSPAPER

I have greatly enjoyed the warm remarks that were delivered here in my honor by friends commending some of my activities at the university, and, following my "right arm" — my friend Tomy Lapid — the last in the parade of well-wishers, I shall say only: "May my tongue cleave to my palate" if I forget all these interesting years. Credit for a large part of what was accomplished belongs to two people whose work with me constituted one of my most pleasurable experiences of the entire period: Yardena Bar-Uryan, who organized and managed the administration of this project with great efficacy, and Dr. Mordecai Naor, a loyal friend and talented editor of the Institute's publications, including our magazine, *Qesher*, whose 21st issue appears this week.

They say that when Mao Tse Tung was once asked how he viewed the French Revolution, he answered laconically: It is too soon to tell.

It is indeed too soon to evaluate what we have accomplished at the Institute, but it is certainly appropriate to review its purpose and its work. The scope of this project is research of the Jewish press during its entire existence, in all its venues, in its many languages, and in the contributions of the people who created it. Worldwide in span, the project is singularly fascinating, for Jewish mass communications has played a unique role in molding the spiritual and cultural image of the Jewish people and in meeting their existential needs.

As a consequence of their particular history and geography, the Jewish people are a people of communications. Long before the appearance of the first newspapers, Jewish communities as well as individual Jews maintained multi-level international contact by means

of letters of the type found by the thousands in the Cairo Genizah. Contact was kept up through emissaries for institutions of charity or learning, as well as by wandering troubadours who passed on news through original rhymes and songs. Possibly the crowning jewel of Jewish communications in the pre-print era was the tradition of rabbinical responsa — the questions and answers that contributed so greatly to the formation of an identical, or at least similar, code of conduct for far-flung Jewish communities separated from one another by seas, deserts and mountains. This unique body of literature consists of hundreds of thousands of questions and answers by rabbis and learned sages (*ge'onim*), both early and late, on every conceivable topic.

It is an aspect of Jewish communications that is particularly relevant to these remarks because the first Hebrew periodical ever, *Pri Etz Hayim* ("Fruit of the Tree of Life"), which appeared in Amsterdam in 1686 and was published consecutively for a full century thereafter, was in essence a compilation of responsa on matters of Halakha, customs, relations between the individual and society, and rules of everyday behavior. One question, for instance, which evoked a response from the noted 17th century Torah sage Rabbi Jacob Emden, was whether reading a newspaper was permissible on the Sabbath. His answer was affirmative, "primarily because there are wars and emergencies in the world and sometimes there is a great need to know which side won and even to hurry to save lives."

Unlike the Hebrew-language *Pri Etz Hayim*, Ladino and Yiddish periodicals that preceded it slightly dealt essentially with secular matters — shipping, trade, general political news and reports relevant to the condition of the Jews.

The first periodical in Yiddish, printed in Rashi script, was titled *Dinstagishe un Fraytagishe Kurant* ("Tuesday and Friday Courant") and carried mainly reports of distressing occurrences in Jewish life resulting from persecution and connivance. This sharing of information on events near and far — from the burning at the stake of Marranos in Portugal to the death of Jews in the Austro-Turkish battles at the gates of Budapest — was a reflection of Jewish solidarity and an abiding sense of mutual responsibility. The Jewish newspaper sounded the alarm whenever tragedy befell the Jewish people anywhere, while also initiating aid activity for communities in need and fund-raising for the freeing of hostages (the taking of Jewish hostages was widespread in those times, in the anticipation that the community would ransom them).

Then, as now, the Jewish press was torn between the fulfillment of its professional and social responsibilities and the need to insure its own survival. Circulation was of concern even then, and to that end "sensationalism" became a factor too. Thus, for example, one of the issues of the *Kurant* in the 17th century carried an item about a baby born in Lemberg (today, Lvov) with two heads, and — wonder of wonders — both of them talked, and in two different languages.

Although the Jewish press did not invent yellow journalism, or *shund* (soap opera) literature, as it was labeled, this type of writing flourished in the Jewish press in eastern Europe and in America, with the participation of a not inconsiderable number of distinguished authors writing anonymously for their livelihood. Neither did the early Jewish press invent ignorance, for as the Midrash tells us: "The Jewish people is made up of Torah scholars as well as illiterates and ignoramuses." Nor did we in Israel invent the bitter wars between publishers or editors over ideology, political views or personal interests. Lastly, it is not our generation that invented aggressive circulation techniques, including prizes and lotteries. At the turn of the present century, a popular Jewish religious-oriented newspaper in America, *Tageblatt*, actually offered a girl as a lottery prize(!), as recounted by I. D. Berkowitz, father-in-law of Shalom Aleichem, in his memoirs. All these aspects of the Jewish press constitute an enticing research challenge.

What, then, does our institute do? First, we have set up a computerized information bank on various worldwide and Israeli media topics, directed by Carmen Ossi, a graduate

of Tel Aviv University's Journalism Studies Program. At present, this bank contains some 100,000 main entries and hundreds of thousands of sub-entries in the field of the media generally. The Institute utilizes this bank to further its research of the Jewish press, which made its appearance over 300 years ago and since then has existed on every continent in at least 40 languages (not counting, of course, the two languages spoken by the two heads referred to above). What is the total number of such publications? No one can say with certainty. Many collections of Jewish newspapers are to be found in libraries and universities as well as in such unexpected places as church basements and private and institutional repositories throughout the world. Some collections are catalogued and others are simply strewn about. It would appear that while yesterday's newspaper is viewed as an object to be disposed of, the newspaper of the day *before* yesterday does not necessarily fall into the same category.

The truth is that old papers are rare treasures for the purpose of research and enlightenment not only in terms of the press as a phenomenon in its own right but as a first-rate source for the study of our people's history, tribulations, migrations, life styles, struggles, vital concerns, languages and the like. Thus far, we have managed to computerize the names and main details, including location wherever possible, of 7,000 Jewish periodicals, a figure that constitutes approximately a third of the estimated total of Jewish periodicals, although we have discovered that these estimates are of necessity fluid in light of recurring new finds.

These publications include newspapers in which some of the great Jewish writers took their first steps; newspapers published by an oppressed fighting proletariat; newspapers published by avowed atheists as well as by the Orthodox; newspapers by cantors and by *mohelim*; women's papers and children's papers; bilingual, trilingual and even quaterlingual papers; humor and comic papers, most of them ephemeral, appearing mainly for Jewish holidays; one-man papers, such as Uri Zvi Greenberg's *Sadan* ("Anvil"), or Itzik Manger's *Getzeilte Verter* ("A Few Words"), or the paper published by the lyricist of *Hatikvah*, Naftali Hertz Imber, or Avigdor Hame'iri's *Hamahar* ("The Tomorrow"), or the German-language paper *Krakauer Yiddishe Zeitung* published at the end of the 19th century by the Hassidic Rabbi Dr. Aaron Marcus, who carried on an intensive

correspondence on the ever-current topic of religion and state with Theodor Herzl at the time of the first Zionist Congress. I mention this last newspaper because at a certain point it ceased publication for several months while Rabbi Marcus devoted all his time, energy and funds to saving his son, who was the target of a blood libel propagated by his Christian neighbors. Some newspapers were handwritten, such as a series that appeared in the Bergen-Belson camp following liberation and which are now housed in our archive. And of course there were the newspapers that appeared in the underground, in captivity, in ghettos and in some of the concentration camps.

The dominant language of the pre-Holocaust Jewish papers was Yiddish, "the temporal language," as termed by Dov Sadan, in contrast to the "eternal language" — Hebrew. Moving to another part of the world, a bibliography published by the Institute not long ago contains 254 titles of Jewish periodicals in the countries of North Africa — Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Morocco — mostly in Judeo-Arabic but also in French, Italian, Spanish and Hebrew. Worthy of special note are the many hundreds of Jewish periodicals published in various languages in the Americas. A little-known aspect of Jewish journalism is that as many as 40 Jewish periodicals appeared in China. According to our partial data, 383 Jewish dailies alone have appeared since the Amsterdam *Kurant* — 151 of them in Hebrew and 181 in Yiddish. Sadly, there isn't even a single extant Yiddish daily left in the world today.

We make efforts, at the Institute, to locate the first and last issues of important Jewish periodicals that are no longer published — a distinguished morgue "of blessed memory." I personally have been searching for years for a certain historic edition of a newspaper that for me symbolizes the end of eastern European Jewry and its press: the Warsaw *Heint* ("Today") issue of September 22, 1939 — Yom Kippur eve, at the height of the German invasion of Poland. The *Heint* had been a part of our home environment in the *shtetl* of my birth. That particular issue was prepared by a single staff member brave enough to make his way to the paper's editorial office under a barrage of German bombs, darting across islands of devastation. The issue consisted of a single page, with a chapter from the Book of Psalms centered on page one. Not only have we failed so far to locate this issue, but we do not know which chapter was cited. A journalist and writer who managed to escape from the burning city by the skin of his teeth thinks it may have been Chapter 44. I read that chapter again yesterday and it made me shiver. What a tragic and heroic end. The literal collapse of a world. A wonderful world, a unique branch of Jewish culture that cannot be disregarded, must not be forgotten, and deserves to be preserved, researched and studied.



Founder
Institute for Research of the Jewish Press

Rules of Professional Ethics of Journalism

Authorized at the Plenary Session of the Israel Press Council on May 16, 1996

In the context of two articles dealing with journalistic ethics in Israel that appear in this issue, following is the latest update by the Israel Press Council of its rules of professional ethics.

Definitions

1. "Newspaper" — includes electronic communication media and includes the owners, the publisher and the editor responsible for the media.
"Journalist" — includes the editor.
"Person" — includes a corporation, an incorporated or unincorporated association and a public body.

Freedom of the Press and its Professional Responsibility

2. A newspaper and a journalist shall be faithful to freedom of the press and to the right of the public to know, in providing the public with a professional service and accurate, fair and responsible reporting of news and opinions.

Integrity and Fairness

3. A. A newspaper and a journalist shall act with integrity, fairness and without fear.
B. Where a newspaper or journalist has promised a source that information provided by him or an opinion expressed by him shall not be published, the same shall not be submitted for publication even if it is of public interest.

Loyalty to the Truth

4. A. A newspaper or journalist shall not knowingly or negligently publish something which is not true, not accurate, misleading or distorted.
B. A newspaper and a journalist shall not refrain from publishing information where there is a public interest in its publication, including for reasons of political, economic or other pressure or because of boycott or threat of boycott of advertising.
C. Statements shall not be attributed to a particular person unless they comprise a direct and accurate quotation of his words or of a document in writing. A letter to the editor may be published not as written if its author did not prohibit this in advance and if in editing there is no substantive change to the contents of the letter or to the implications arising therefrom.

Examination of the Facts

5. A. Prior to the publication of any item, the newspaper and the journalist shall check the accuracy thereof with the most reliable source and with the appropriate caution in the circumstances of the case.
B. An examination of the accuracy of an item as aforesaid shall not be waived because of the urgency of the publication.
C. The fact that an item has been published in the past shall not discharge the person seeking to rely on it in a publication from checking the reliability of the item.

Objectivity

6. A. A newspaper and a journalist shall distinguish in the publication between news items and opinions.
B. A news item which is published within the context of an expression of opinion shall be subject to the rules of ethics concerning news items.
C. The publication of news items shall be fair and not misleading.
D. The headline shall not be misleading.
E. A newspaper and a journalist shall distinguish in a publication between an advertisement and editorial material, in such a manner that an advertisement shall not be published which represents itself as being editorial material.

Rectification of Mistake, Apologies and Reaction

7. Mistakes, omissions or inaccuracies which are substantive in the publication of facts, must be corrected speedily, fairly and with the appropriate emphasis relative to the original publication. In addition, in suitable cases an apology shall also be published. In suitable cases a person injured shall be given a fair opportunity to respond to a substantive mistake, omission or inaccuracy speedily and with the appropriate emphasis relative to the original publication.

Privacy and Good Name

8. A newspaper and a journalist shall not, without the consent of a person, publish an item concerning the privacy or good name of the person and which may impair the latter, unless there is a public interest in the publication and to the appropriate extent. Publication of an item as aforesaid will generally require a preliminary inquiry with the person concerned and a fair publication of his reaction.

Casualties

9. A. A newspaper and a journalist shall not publish a name, photograph or other identifying details of a person who has died or who has been seriously injured in a war, accident or other disaster, prior to information of the death or injury of the said person being brought to the knowledge of his next-of-kin by an authorized person, unless there are exceptional circumstances of public interest in immediate publication.
- B. In reaching a decision relating to the publication of a name, photograph or other identifying details of a person who has died or who has been seriously injured in a war, accident or other disaster, the newspaper and journalist shall take into account the request of the next-of-kin of the victim not to publish these details and shall weigh it against the public interest in publishing them. The publication shall be appropriate in manner, extent and sensitivity.
- C. In reaching a decision relating to the publication of a name, photograph or other identifying details of a victim of a crime, the newspaper and journalist shall take into account the request of the victim not to publish these details and shall weigh it against the public interest in publishing them. The publication shall be appropriate in manner, extent and sensitivity.
- D. A newspaper and journalist shall not publish an item concerning the health of an injured person, victim of a crime or sexual offense save in reliance on a competent medical source.

Minors

10. A. A newspaper and journalist shall not publish a name, photograph or other identifying details of a

person who is under the age of 14, in circumstances which are likely to injure his name, privacy or welfare, save with the consent of his parents or guardian and where there is a public interest in the identifying publication and to the extent which is appropriate.

- B. A newspaper and a journalist shall not publish a name, photograph or other identifying details of a person who is over the age of 14 and under the age of 18, in circumstances which are likely to injure his name, privacy or welfare, save where there is a public interest in the identifying publication and to the extent which is appropriate.

Ill Persons and Organ Donors

11. A newspaper and a journalist shall not publish a name, photograph or other identifying details of a mentally ill person, drug or alcohol addict, organ donor or recipient, or mortally ill person, without their consent or the consent of their next-of-kin, according to the circumstances, save where there is a public interest in the publication and to the extent which is appropriate.

Suspects, Detainees, Charges and Convicted Persons

12. A. In their reporting, a newspaper and a journalist shall respect the fundamental principle that every person is presumed innocent unless found guilty as a matter of law.
- B. A newspaper and a journalist shall not publish the name, photograph or other identifying details of a person suspected of an offense, prior to his having been brought before court, save with his consent or where there is a public interest in the publication.
- C. Where a newspaper has reported a suspicion, the filing of an indictment or the conviction of a person, and the newspaper and the journalist have been authoritatively informed that the suspicion has been lifted or the indictment was not filed or nullified or the accused was acquitted or the appeal of a convicted person was upheld, as appropriate, the newspaper shall report the same with the appropriate emphasis.

Civil Suits

13. A. Where the publication concerns civil legal proceedings, the newspaper and the journalist shall present the position of all the parties. If a

statement of defense has been filed, it shall be fairly reported. If a statement of defense has not yet been filed, a defendant will generally be given the opportunity to fairly publish his position.

- B. Where a civil suit has been dismissed or set aside, this shall be given in so far as possible the equivalent publication as reports regarding the filing of the suit.
- C. No report shall be made concerning a claim which has been dismissed or set aside as aforesaid, unless the fact of its dismissal or being set aside is indicated.
- D. A newspaper and a journalist shall not publish questions out of interrogatories in a civil procedure, or any details whatsoever therefrom, save in proximity to the answers given to such questions.

Discrimination and Racism

- 14. A newspaper and a journalist shall not publish any matter which contains incitement or encouragement of racism or unlawful discrimination on the basis of race, origin, skin color, ethnic affiliation, nationality, religion, sex, occupation, sexual orientation, illness or physical or mental impairment, political belief or views, and social or economic standing. A newspaper and journalist shall not indicate these characteristics unless they are relevant to the subject of the report.

Conflict of Interest

- 15. A. A newspaper and a journalist shall not place themselves in a position where there is a suspicion of a conflict of interest between their duties as a newspaper and a journalist and any other interest.
- B. A publisher of a newspaper and its owners shall once a year publish a proper disclosure of the substantive business and economic interests which they possess within and outside the field of communications.
- C. Where a newspaper has a substantive economic or other interest within or outside the field of communications in a particular matter being reported, it shall make a proper disclosure of that interest in a place adjacent to the said report.
- D. The names of the publisher, the owners and the editor of the newspaper shall appear in every issue thereof.

Improper Use

- 16. A. A newspaper and a journalist shall not make improper use of their position, their work or their power to publish or to refrain from publishing.
- B. A newspaper and a journalist shall not make improper use of information which has come into their possession by reason of their work.

Additional Occupation

- 17. A journalist shall not deal in any occupation, work, service, public relations, advertising and soliciting of advertisements which give rise to the suspicion or appearance of a conflict of interest or of misleading the public.

Benefits

- 18. A journalist shall not ask for and shall not accept a benefit in relation to a matter connected with his journalistic work, except from the media in which he is employed.

Independence

- 19. A newspaper and a journalist shall not be instructed in the fulfillment of their functions by any external body which is not revealed and in particular not by advertisers and governmental, economic and political bodies.

Improper Means

- 20. A newspaper and a journalist shall not, for the purpose of obtaining information, use improper means which would bring disgrace to the profession of journalism, including violence, extortion, threats, enticements, unlawful invasion of privacy, unlawful eavesdropping, or any other means of obtaining information which is likely, in the circumstances of the case, to seriously impair the confidence of the public in journalism.

Indicating the Source of the Publication

- 21. No newspaper or journalist shall present the work of another newspaper or journalist. In every case where information is quoted which has already been published in another communications medium or by a news agency, the newspaper and journalist shall indicate the identity of the original publisher.

Journalistic Immunity

22. A newspaper and a journalist shall not disclose information which has been disclosed to them on condition that it remains confidential and shall not expose the identity of a confidential source save with the consent of the source.

Ethics in a Newspaper

23. A. A newspaper shall ensure the suitable qualification of journalists working for it, within the field of professional journalistic ethics.

B. A publisher of a newspaper and its owners shall ensure the maintenance of conditions which will enable all journalistic work carried out in a newspaper to be performed in accordance with the principles of professional journalistic ethics.

C. A newspaper and journalist are entitled to request from the Ethics Committee of the Press Council that it render an opinion on a fundamental matter of professional journalistic ethics. The Ethics Committee shall act as an advisory body.

Editor and Journalist

24. A. No item or article shall be published in the name of a journalist, the contents of which have been significantly altered by an editor, without the consent of the journalist.

B. An editor who has rejected for publication an article written by a journalist, shall not impair the right of the journalist to publish the article in another newspaper.

Suspension from Journalism and Termination

25. A. A journalist who has been indicted by the State for a criminal offense, shall have his case heard by the Ethics Tribunal of the Press Council, which shall determine whether the offense with which he is charged brings disgrace to the profession of journalism. Where the Ethics Tribunal finds that the said offense brings disgrace to the profession of journalism, it shall be entitled to require the newspaper to suspend the journalist from his work in journalism to the proper extent as determined by the Ethics Tribunal on the basis of the offense and on the basis of the entirety of the circumstances, until the final legal determination.

B. Where a journalist is convicted under a final judgment of an offense which the Ethics Tribunal has determined brings disgrace to the profession of journalism, the Tribunal shall be entitled to require the newspaper to terminate the employment of the journalist to the proper extent as determined by the Ethics Tribunal on the basis of the offense and on the basis of the entirety of the circumstances.

C. In considering suspension and termination of employment as aforesaid, the Ethics Tribunal shall act in accordance with the civil procedure set out in the Regulations of the Press Council.

On March 26, 1997, the Plenary Session of the Press Council decided to amend Section 17 and add Section 17B, as follows:

Without derogating from other methods of additional occupation, the following shall be regarded as additional occupations which give rise to the suspicion or appearance of a conflict of interest or of misleading the public:

- (1) Advertising broadcasts, public relations or other similar services connected with the area of employment or expertise of the journalist who provides these services;
- (2) Advertising broadcasts, public relations or other similar services provided by a journalist who deals with news, daily events, commenting, investigation or interviews on a variety of subjects;
- (3) Public relations, publication or soliciting advertisements which are carried out by a journalist on a regular basis.

Advisory Opinion on the Application of Section 17

It is suggested that a journalist be enabled to request that a committee of the Press Council render its advisory opinion with regard to the application of Section 17 on the additional occupation in which he wishes to engage. The authority to deliver an advisory opinion on the said question shall be conferred on the Ethics Committee which was set up by Section 23 of the Ethics Regulations, or on a special committee which shall be set up by the plenary or by the executive for this purpose, in accordance with Section 23 of the Regulations of the Press Council.

Translated by Rahel Rimon

HEINRICH HEINE AS A JOURNALIST / Yehuda Eloni

Heine (1797-1856) embarked on his journalistic career during a period when the press was at a turning point, seeking to expand its readership beyond the educated sector of society to reach an audience that wanted entertainment and the satisfaction of its curiosity without too much effort. In this, the English and French press preceded the German press.

Heine, a master linguist for whom any and every topic was of potential interest, simplified the ponderous Goethe-esque German language and created a new journalistic genre — the modern feature article. This medium, based on conversational German, was to enter into the realm of literature and would influence such future writers as Theodor Herzl, Alfred Kerr, Kurt Tucholsky and Egon Erwin Kisch. Accused by his critics of corrupting the German language, Heine, in the view of his admirers, drew journalism closer to literature and in so doing moderated German literary pretentiousness.

The young Heine was one of the leading spokesmen of "Young Germany," a liberal literary trend that criticized German reactionary regimes. By the late 1820s, attacked by elements of the aristocracy and the Catholic Church, and singled out because of his Jewish origins, Heine was suffocating in an atmosphere of repression that led him in 1831 to emigrate to France.

In Paris he found a vibrant and congenial cultural and social milieu which he mined to the fullest. Through a wealthy uncle, Salomon Heine, a Hamburg banker, he had an entree to the salons of Paris where he met the leading literary, artistic, political and social luminaries of the day and gathered material for feature articles that he wrote for the *Morgenblatt* and the prestigious *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, both published by the liberal Baron Johann Friedrich Coota. Paris of Louis-Philippe's period was the political, intellectual and artistic center of Europe. Added to this, was Heine's unique ability to take note of the unremarkable and the marginal and use them to illuminate the larger issues.

His articles quickly evoked anger by the German authorities because of the political dynamite in them. At times, Baron Coota could no longer stand up to the pressure from high places, and Heine was forced to discontinue writing for the *Zeitung* during several periods. In December 1835 the German Bundestag banned his works, along with those of other writers associated with the Young Germany movement, throughout all 36 German states. Methods were devised, however, to circumvent these obstacles.

Heine struggled against censorship throughout his

journalistic career, whether official censorship or the self-censorship of individual newspapers, which was even more stringent. He adopted various devices to overcome this, such as using various characters to express his views or disguising his ideas as fairy tales.

Even in France, he discovered, a discrete form of censorship existed, the result of the vast sums of money needed to start up a newspaper there, which forced newspapers to seek support from political parties or the government itself. This dependence on the establishment, Heine observed in 1840, was far more sinister than official German censorship.

While Heine repeatedly vouched for the accuracy and authenticity of his articles as historical records, at a later stage, when he reworked them into anthologies, he admitted that he took considerable artistic license with the original facts for the sake of underscoring his view of events. Indeed, Heine systematically focused not only on the obvious facts but on the hidden elements, which he magnified purposely, if disproportionately.

Interestingly, he dealt with one such element in an article in 1843 — the tiny Communist Party in France, which he felt deserved intense attention. Likening the Communists to the Christian martyrs in Roman times, he warned that the Communists, too, in their fanaticism and their determination, would ultimately succeed, although their time had not yet come. While he acknowledged that their victory would attain the higher goal of the "right of the people to eat," the artist in him shrank from the inevitable "cultural revolution" that he foresaw once Communism came to power.

Heine's journalistic independence was questioned by some after a revelation that he, as other political and artistic exiles, received a stipend from the French government. However, his frequent criticism of French society and the French government, especially during the blood libel in Damascus (see article by Yigal Lossin, below), disproves any doubt in this context.

Dedicated to the goal of fostering a climate of understanding between France and Germany, Heine fought fanatic German nationalism and German xenophobia. Another goal was social justice, although he avoided demagoguery. A third goal was the freedom of the individual, which is what caused him to fear the eventual victory of Communism over the bourgeoisie. His greatest fear, which drove him into prolonged exile from his homeland, was loss of the freedom to express his own truth his way.

HEINE — THE LINK BETWEEN LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM / Jürgen Michael Schulz

A significant attribute of Heinrich Heine's literary output is that most of it first appeared in newspapers and periodicals. This was the case for a considerable portion of his poetry and for nearly all his prose. All told, his work was published in some 50 periodicals in Germany and France, some of which employed him as a staff writer.

While still a student, Heine began writing for several papers and periodicals in Westphalia and in Berlin, publishing poetry, prose and ambitious series of articles on sociopolitical topics. Ten years later, in 1831, he became a correspondent in Paris for one of the most important newspapers of the time — the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* ("General Newspaper").

At that time, journalistic freedom was restricted in most German states, in contrast to France, and censorship was in force. Heine, as many young writers then, was a liberal, strongly influenced by the ideas of the enlightenment and the French Revolution as well as by the liberal laws enacted by the French in the Rhineland areas they controlled. Representative legislative bodies were established in several of the small German states at that time, replacing the regime controlled by the nobility and the aristocracy and stimulating notions of freedom and equality so that even after the military defeat of the French in the occupied areas, the German principalities retained civil reforms. Moreover, on a personal level Heine retained positive memories of the French who had occupied his native Dusseldorf when he was a teenager.

A peripatetic journalist, Heine excelled in travel sketches, a popular literary genre then in light of technological and material developments that facilitated travel and generated public interest in it. As a student in Berlin, he gained employment in 1822 as Berlin correspondent for the provincial newspaper *Rheinisch Westfaelischer Anzeiger* and was assigned to depict the Prussian metropolis to the provincial readership. So adept was he at portraying the inner workings of the city's social and cultural life, thanks to his connections in the important salons, that his outspoken reports became a focus of attention on the part of the government and the royal court, not always with positive results.

Heine adopted a style of cloaking his political views in reports on social events replete with seemingly random observations by bystanders and authentic background depictions artfully compiled to make a point — a photographic style of writing whose role several decades later was indeed to be taken over by the camera. This device did not, however, conceal his political views, which

he projected unambiguously and fearlessly.

Several newspaper publishers encouraged such freedom of expression despite the risks. *Anzeiger* publisher Heinrich Schultz, a supporter of the ideals of the French Revolution and of Prussian reforms, was one such liberal who strove for diversity of opinion in his paper. Still, even though Prussian censorship was comparatively mild, Schultz found it necessary to try to rein in Heine's lack of restraint. Another liberal publisher, the *Allgemeine Zeitung's* Johann Freidrich Coota, probably chose Augsburg as his base of operations precisely because its censorship restrictions were more lenient than elsewhere in Germany. Under his guidance, *Allgemeine Zeitung* became an important paper essentially because it could provide a platform for both conservative as well as liberal views.

Meanwhile, however, the political climate in Germany became more repressive during the latter 1820s, and in 1831 Heine moved to Paris. There, his articles on France written for *Allgemeine Zeitung* and for Coota's *Morgenblatt* became his primary link with his homeland while also laying the foundations for modern political journalism. Still using the travel sketch format, Heine reported on social and political developments in his host country, yet made clear to his readership that in fact he was addressing the situation in Germany. Citing the virtues and drawbacks of the constitutional system of government under the citizen-king Louis-Philippe, he debated the optimal conditions for representing the will of the people by comparing the French with the German system under King Carl V.

The public in Europe had become increasingly involved in the political issues of the day during the period between the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the German revolution of 1848-49 and was eager to take part in the decision-making process. A new generation of politically conscious writers emerged in Germany embracing the medium of the press as a tool toward that end. Like them, Heine saw no conflict between journalism and literature, each of which served different but complementary purposes.

He remained, however, a poet and literary writer at heart. From the start, his journalistic oeuvre was intended for further use in the future. Indeed, so illuminating and basic were his reports and observations, that they retained their relevance years later. Yet while his true passion was for lyric literature, it was he who by personal example furthered modern political journalism, which constitutes his great contribution.

THE LIMITS OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN THE MEDIA / Raphael Cohen-Almagor

Democracy is not tolerant of all behavior. It has two central rules: noninfringement on the rights of the individual, and respect for the individual as a human being. The individual, thus, is viewed as an end, not as a means. The moment cultural, religious, national, racial or sexual criteria are used to distinguish between the "we" and the "they," and hierarchies are established according to these criteria, racism rather than democracy becomes a way of life. Democracy is duty bound to delegitimize and excise this development.

The media is an area whose norms in a democracy are entirely different from those in an autocracy: it must be free, it must reflect the various facets of society, it must express the sensitivities of the public, and it must serve as a vehicle for conveying messages between the public and its elected representatives. These important roles are possible only in a democracy. The media, therefore, is dependant on democracy and must be vigilant in protecting it. The media cannot be objective or neutral in its treatment of behavior that contradicts democracy, i.e., violence, terror, racism, chauvinism or any other behavior that threatens freedom and tolerance.

Yet, journalistic objectivity is viewed as an important — some say the most important — element in the media. The problem here is that objectivity is an elastic concept. Certainly in the moral realm it must be set aside when confronting anti-democratic behavior such as discrimination or violence. Media ethics therefore includes the consideration of societal norms. An example of this is media treatment of the Holocaust or of Nazism.

Not only must the media be sensitive to societal norms, it must demonstrate both responsibility and accountability in terms of the messages and information that it conveys. Journalists do not shed their obligations as citizens in a democracy when they enter their profession; on the contrary, they must be all the more conscious of these obligations.

Above all, the journalist must rein in his/her capability to cause unjustifiable harm to the individual by means of media exposure. This is a complex challenge, for the media is simultaneously charged with the task of being the "watchdog for democracy." The journalist must make

the distinction between events that are of importance to the public or to society, and events that are of interest to the public but have little importance, as, for instance, gossip. The journalist must also avoid the temptation to prompt events by his/her very presence; divulge information conveyed off the record; inflate events beyond their true proportions; stage events for the sake of media coverage; or fake events. Other ethical infractions that must be eschewed are reporting on an event in the absence of proof, i.e., on the basis of hearsay; unfair or imprecise reportage with the intent of creating a sensation; irresponsible reporting that causes unnecessary pain to the individual; and reporting that can endanger life (e.g., in the coverage of security-related affairs).

The last instance also involves a distinction between moralizing, which is permissible in a democracy, and incitement, which is prohibited. Incitement is likely to lead to the endangerment of one or more individuals. Examples from contemporary Israeli events are "Kill Rabin" stickers disseminated after the signing of the Oslo Accords in October 1993; posters with a photomontage of Rabin in a Nazi SS uniform displayed at a rally in October 1995; a pamphlet disseminated in 1994 after the murder of Arab worshippers at the Makhpelah Cave in Hebron, depicting the perpetrator as a saint; and the dissemination of a religious death curse on Rabin in September 1995. Legislation to sharpen the distinction between moralizing and incitement is wanting in Israel.

A relevant development in the wake of the Rabin assassination was a warning to the media issued by the attorney-general then, Michael Ben Ya'ir, to disallow coverage of inciters who justified the act, lest the reportage appear to justify other such murders. This step was rejected by the Editors Council, which emphasized the media's obligation to report on every event of importance to the public while heeding professional rules of ethics. Thereafter, the Journalists Association appealed to the Supreme Court to order the attorney-general to show cause why his instruction should not be rescinded. In response, the attorney-general declared that his instruction applied only to inciteful views, and in any case it was issued as

a statement of position and not as an order.

While the method and phrasing used by the attorney-general in this instance was incorrect, the rationale behind

his thinking is persuasive. Media professionals must consider the results of their acts, for a responsible media is an ethical media. Moreover, if the media does not monitor itself, it invites the prospect of governmental supervision.

CONSERVATISM VS. DYNAMISM: THE EVOLUTION OF THE "NAKDI DOCUMENT" IN THE ISRAEL BROADCASTING AUTHORITY / Yehiel Limor and Inés Gabel

The "Nakdi Document" (named for its author, veteran radio broadcaster Nakdimon Rogel) was an internal compilation of directives drawn up in 1972 for Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA) employees, laying out both ethical and professional work guidelines. Updated three times thereafter (in 1979, 1985 and 1995), it expanded nearly fourfold in topics covered and underwent significant changes that reflect the unique position of the IBA as a state public body in Israel's media scene.

The IBA came into being in 1965 following the shift in authority over the state radio station, Kol Yisrael ("Voice of Israel"), from the Office of the Prime Minister to a new status as an independent public body. State TV, established in 1968, also joined the IBA. During the period of coalescence that followed, the need arose for a redefinition of the status and role of the journalists involved, who were no longer civil servants but rather employees of an independent yet public body. This need resulted in the compilation of the 1972 document. With the passage of time, the addition of new broadcasting stations and channels, the influence of new professional norms within the country and abroad, and the application of technological innovations required updating the guidelines and adapting them to new circumstances, including new social patterns stemming from changes in the media. Ultimately, the guidelines came to fill a dual role: the preservation of accepted organizational and professional norms on the one hand, and adaptation to changing realities on the other.

Subject as it was to the statutes of the state comptroller, the IBA could not simply adopt the extant code of ethics of the Press Council but had to work out a code of its

own. This was important, too, in order to remove the stigma of civil servant status from the IBA journalists and equalize their standing with that of the rest of the journalistic community. With this, the IBA journalists were charged with a special responsibility, in light of the country's security situation and other national burdens, to be sensitive to the needs and goals of the state at all times.

Despite the fact that the political establishment had granted the Authority its independence, the politicians did not easily relinquish control of the broadcasting medium, and for many years — to this very day — have tended to view it as a governmental, rather than a public, vehicle. The more independence the IBA has shown, the greater the criticism of it by the political establishment and the more vigorous the attempts to interfere with it. This tension between the political establishment and the public state broadcasting authority is not the province of Israel alone; it is typical of the European countries and Australia as well.

Such tension was highly evident in 1972, and may have constituted the primary impetus for the Nakdi Document. In this context, the guidelines were a conscious effort by the Authority to develop the means to curb external pressures, namely by exerting internal supervision.

A statistical analysis of the changes that were made in the document over the years reveals that the largest number of changes and additions were in the rules for gathering and broadcasting information, i.e., professional guidelines. A far smaller number of changes was made in the area of general rules relating to the field of journalism and to the

work of the IBA in particular. Other areas of change were linguistic/semantic; the treatment of political issues; terrorist acts and security; the territories and the Israeli-Arab conflict; relationships with other media agencies; relationships with spokespersons and public relations officers; and restrictions in the event of personal involvement.

A noteworthy tendency was the growing centralization of decision-making in all areas and the shifting of authority

from lower- to upper-level employees, a reflection of the need to maintain professional norms as well as deal more effectively with outside pressures. These pressures have stemmed from the addition of broadcasting channels and hours, new broadcast formats, and intensified media competition, in addition to ongoing political pressures. All these prompted both the standardization and preservation of professional norms, and alteration to accommodate new realities.

ON BEHALF OF THE PERSECUTED JEWS OF DAMASCUS: A CHAPTER IN THE JOURNALISTIC HISTORY OF HEINRICH HEINE / Yigal Lossin

The Damascus Affair of 1840 — the blood ritual accusation leveled at the Jewish community of Damascus, followed by torture, imprisonment and the death of several of the Jews, all with the connivance of the French consul in the city — shocked the Jewish world, especially in western Europe, where Jews were eagerly seeking integration into society in the wake of emancipation.

Reports of the event that reached the capitals of Europe contained an explicit assumption of the guilt of the Jewish community. By chance, however, one of the Jewish victims was an Austrian subject whose family managed to persuade the Austrian consul in Damascus to intercede in order to end the insidious and barbaric persecution. Thereafter, Baron James de Rothschild, the consul for Austria in Paris, came into the picture, together with his brother Salomon Rothschild. Inter alia they leaked details about French-sanctioned criminal wrongdoing in Syria to several Parisian newspapers and to the highly regarded *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg — the first effort ever to enlist the press in molding public opinion on behalf of the Jews.

The involvement of the Rothschilds, a deviation from their usual low-profile stance, marked another first — in fact a turning point in contemporary Jewish life. At the height of the struggle for emancipation, any sign of Jewish communal solidarity could evoke the accusation of dual loyalty, and few Jews dared raise their voices in protest.

One exception was Adolphe Cremieux, vice president of the French Consistoire and attorney to James de Rothschild. The English Rothschilds also joined the effort, enlisting their kinsman by marriage, Moses Montefiore, with the result that Foreign Minister Palmerston and other high-ranking British officials were brought into the campaign to see justice done.

One of the journalists to respond immediately and enthusiastically to this challenge was Heinrich Heine, who, dispatching a fiery article to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, likened the incident to the darkest days of the Middle Ages, a period of history that the Jews of western Europe had conveniently relegated to the distant past. Heine also charged French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Adolphe Thiers, who prided himself in his libertarian image, with cynical indifference regarding the incident. In a second article, Heine sharpened his criticism of the coverup by the French government of the conduct of its consul in Damascus, exposing details of the man's unsavory past.

The entire affair was played out against the bitter internecine rivalry at that time between the various European powers over the acquisition of power bases in the Ottoman Empire, with an alliance emerging between Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain to oust France from its entrenched position in Egypt and end its patronage of

the renegade Pasha Muhammad Ali.

Heine had never until then identified himself as a Jew in his published works (he had been baptized as a young man), but his articles in *Allgemeine Zeitung* were signed with the symbol of the star of David. Moreover, he decided at that time to submit a story for publication that he had written 15 years previously, *Der Rabbi von Bacharach*, which opens with a description of a blood libel.

Side by side with his attack on the French government, Heine raged against the Jewish community of France for its indifference to the plight of fellow Jews, a product, he wrote, of a single-minded determination to assimilate, combined with personal greed. Bitingly portraying the syndrome of the self-hating Jew, he branded such former Jews as worse than Christian Jew-haters. At the same time he also targeted the Catholic clergy for attack, along with the anti-Semitic press. Reacting to reports of rioting at the home of the Austrian consul in Damascus (who had come to the aid of the Jews), and the widespread identification of the consul as a Jew himself, Heine retorted, mockingly, that it appeared that anyone who behaved favorably toward Jews must be a Jew himself, and that all the consuls in Damascus must therefore be Jews, except for the French consul. In another article he ridiculed Thiers for implying that Jews actually did lust for the blood and flesh of Christians (the libel in Damascus was based on the murder of a local Capuchin friar and his Muslim servant).

In mounting his outspoken journalistic campaign against the French government, Heine endangered himself recklessly in view of a stipend granted to him by the French government in 1836 following a boycott imposed on his books in Germany, and, more basically, political refuge granted him in France. However, he discovered in 1840 what Herzl was to discover during the Dreyfus Affair in 1895 and what the enlightened world would discover during the Vichy regime of 1940-44 — the other, dark, side of France. Heine, whom German nationalists had accused of loving the enemy (France), was forced to admit that Paris was not only "the laboratory of all the progressive brotherhoods" but also of "all that was retrogressive." He also discovered that the enlightened liberal camp could not be relied on in times of distress.

Meanwhile, representatives of various Jewish

communities gathered in London under the aegis of the Rothschilds and decided to send a delegation led by Montefiore to intercede in Alexandria, seat of the administration of Syria — the first time in the modern period that Jews from various regions organized for a common Jewish cause.

Montefiore, backed up by Cremieux, proved a tenacious representative of his people, for after an unproductive audience with Muhammad Ali in Alexandria he brought a series of pressures to bear on the pasha until the accused Jews were pardoned and the imprisoned victims freed. Moreover, he then traveled to Constantinople and obtained a *firman* (royal decree) from the sultan clearing the Jews of any accusation of ritual murder and granting all Jews under Turkish rule freedom of religion and protection from persecution. Cremieux, for his part, remained behind to establish two experimental Jewish schools, in Cairo and Alexandria, that were to serve as the nucleus of the Alliance Israelite Universelle educational network.

Heine, pursuing his campaign in the press, continued mocking Thiers' moves, including a government-inspired drive to stir up patriotic sentiment within the public in anticipation of a French declaration of war in the Levant, a step viewed by Heine as transparently self-serving and a clear indication of the imperialistic appetite of the French leader. The French king, alarmed by the prospect of war, forced Thiers out of office and replaced him with a pro-peace government, a move praised by Heine.

Most Jewish historians view the response to the Damascus Affair as the harbinger of modern Jewish nationalism. At a time when the Jews of western Europe were assimilating for the first time into their countries of residence, the advent of the Damascus libel unified them and demonstrated the enduring bond between them. Heinrich Heine was one of those deeply affected by the event, revealing in his writing a Jewish soul cloaked in a double life. His Jewishness, however, was different from that of his time, heralding in its secularism and humanism a philosophy that would emerge decades later, in the 1880s and thereafter. Ideas that he articulated on Jewish self-defense, on the Bible as a national record, and on the need to counterbalance the excessive spirituality of Jewishness were to be expressed later on by the modern Hebrew writers as well as by the founders of the "Canaanite" movement in the yishuv.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF THE JEWISH ANARCHIST PRESS / Moshe Goncharok

Jews constituted a significant proportion of the anarchist movement that emerged in the latter 19th century, especially in England, the US and Argentina, foci of Jewish migration following the pogroms that broke out after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. Jewish anarchists also constituted a majority within the Jewish labor movement in the US and in several western European countries during the 1880s and '90s, and were founders of the first trade unions in New York, Chicago and San Francisco.

The Jewish anarchist movement, begun in the 1880s, produced at least 15 periodicals in Yiddish published in England, the US, Argentina, eastern Europe and Israel. Most of the journalists involved were emigrants from Russia, as were most of the readers.

The first Yiddish anarchist periodical is considered to be *Arbeter Fraynd* ("Worker Comrade"), a monthly founded in London in 1885 by a group that included the noted Jewish radical socialist and writer Morris Vinchevsky. At first partly revolutionary socialist in ideology, *Fraynd* became purely anarchist only in 1891-92 after a split among the founders. Various English anarchists supported the periodical, including the emigre Russian Prince Peter Kropotkin. Curiously, the cover page contains a quote from the Mishna: "If I am not for myself, who is for me, and if I am only for myself, what am I?"

The periodical appeared for 31 years, first under the editorship of Saul Joseph Janovsky (1864-1939), a well-known Jewish writer, translator and communal figure. The most important contributor to it, however, was Rudolf Rocker (1837-1958), an unusual figure of German non-Jewish origin who lived in London and learned Yiddish in order to write anarchist propaganda for the Jewish labor community there. A political refugee, as his friend, Kropotkin, Rocker wrote extensively in Yiddish on philosophic and sociological topics. *Fraynd* was closed by the police in 1916 for anti-war propaganda, reopening in 1920. It closed again in 1924, reemerged in 1930, and closed finally in 1932. By then, most of its readership had emigrated to the US.

The first purely Jewish anarchist periodical from its beginnings was *Warheit* ("Truth"), established in New York

in 1889 by a group that included the noted Yiddish poet David Edelstadt (1866-92). Its first editor was a Jewish journalist and a well-known figure in American and British anarchist circles, I. Jaffe. *Warheit* lasted only five months. Thereafter, another of its founders, Roman Lewis, organized a conference of all Jewish labor organizations in the US, at which the idea of establishing a single Jewish workers newspaper representing both anarchists and social democrats was raised. A split during the course of the conference, however, resulted in the founding of two competing papers, *Die Arbeiter Zeitung* ("The Workers Newspaper"), which was social-democratic, and the anarchist *Die Freie Arbeiter Stimme* ("The Voice of the Free Worker"), edited at first by Lewis. *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* broke all records in this journalistic milieu, lasting until 1977. It had a distribution of 12,000 in 1905, and a sizable readership as late as the 1950s.

Another Yiddish anarchist periodical at this time, *Die Freie Gezelshaft* ("The Free Society"), appeared in 1895 in New York. With a distribution of 8,000, it published works by well known Jewish writers and poets such as Edelstadt, Morris Rosenfeld (1862-1923) and Joseph Bovshover.

A short-lived Yiddish anarchist daily, *Die Abend Zeitung* ("The Evening Paper"), launched in 1906 and edited by Janovsky, was unique in managing to present a broad range of contemporary ideologies. Jewish nationalism, however, was consistently rejected by the anarchists up until the mid-1930s with the rise of Nazism and anti-Semitism. A metamorphosis was reflected at that time in the content of the long-running *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*. Following the declaration of the State of Israel, the staff of this paper, as many of its readers, visited Israel, and one of its writers, Abba Gordin (1887-1964), moved there in 1957. The paper began to report about Israel regularly, and was one of the few radical Jewish periodicals in the US to support Israel's position during the Six-Day War. By then, its attitude toward Israel was notably more positive than the Bund's, for example. The paper also broke ranks with other radical publications on the issue of the blacks in the US during the 1960s when it warned of signs of reverse racism and anti-Semitism, for example among the Black

Muslim and Black Panther movements.

The readership of *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, which was the last anarchist periodical in the US, diminished significantly by the mid-1960s with the passing away of the last of the Yiddishists. By 1977, it had only several hundred subscribers and literally expired of old age.

A Yiddish anarchist periodical in Argentina, *Das Freie Wort* ("The Free Word"), was founded by immigrants from eastern Europe in 1950, devoted mainly to Yiddish cultural life. It lasted until 1970.

In Europe, five other Yiddish anarchist periodicals were known to have been published in addition to *Arbeter Fraynd*. Foremost of these was *Germinal*, edited

by Rudolf Rocker, which appeared in London in 1900. Significantly, this publication, together with *Arbeter Fraynd* and *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, played an important role in the development of Yiddish literature during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, providing a forum for writers who had no connection at all with anarchism.

Other short-lived anarchist efforts in Europe were begun in London, Geneva, Warsaw, Vilna and, reportedly, Bialystok during the pre-World War I period.

In Israel, a group called the Association of Lovers of Freedom supported the publication of an anarchist periodical in Yiddish begun by Abba Gordin, *Problemen*, until 1989.

"EDEN" — A HEBREW CHILDREN'S PERIODICAL IN THE UNITED STATES / Etti Paz

With the revival of Hebrew in the early 20th century, a wave of Hebrew periodicals for children materialized both in the yishuv in Palestine and elsewhere during the 1920s. Although most of these magazines or newspaper supplements were short-lived, the impetus to publish books and periodicals in Hebrew for a juvenile audience was pronounced.

Most of the American periodicals for children were published by Jewish educational and cultural institutions or with the support of philanthropists. The philosophy in all cases was Jewish national-oriented, and the periodicals or supplements were used as Hebrew teaching aids in Jewish afternoon schools. An abiding dilemma that they all faced was suitable content, style and age level in addressing an audience for whom Hebrew was not their mother tongue.

One such periodical, a monthly titled *Eden* published in New York from April 1924 to October 1925, was exceptional in that it was privately funded. Its patron was an unusual New York-born Hebraist and Zionist, Bathsheba Grabelsky, who, side by side with her studies at Columbia University, had studied Hebrew under the noted Hebraist Daniel Persky. Later, her home became a meeting place for the American Jewish intelligentsia, especially those who supported the endeavor in Palestine. She was a patron

of literary Hebrew periodicals abroad; a member of the executive committee of the Histadrut Ivrit (Hebrew Federation) of America; treasurer of Young Judea; a member of the Committee for the Palestine Opera; president of the Council for Va'ad Halashon (The [Hebrew] Language Committee); and involved in organizing the first U.S. exhibition for Bezalel (the yishuv school of the arts). Her special project, however, was *Eden*.

Naming Persky as its editor, Grabelsky put nearly unlimited resources at his disposal and made use of her connections to attract the best Hebrew writers for the magazine. The content focused on Jewish tradition within a national context, along with universal educational messages. Interestingly, the magazine ignored the American milieu of its readers entirely: it was a Jewish national periodical that could have originated anywhere in the world, and especially in eastern Europe. Many of the writers were themselves educators, and uppermost in their mind was the danger of the assimilation of the Jewish community in America and the importance of preserving Jewish national culture as it had developed in eastern Europe.

However, *Eden* did feature the work of the best Hebrew writers and poets, including Hayim Nahman Bialik, Saul Tchernikowsky and many others. Secondary writers who

lived in America also wrote for the magazine, as they did for other Hebrew juvenile publications such as *Yizra'el*, *Aviv* and *Shaharut* — evidence of the vibrant Hebrew cultural milieu in America at that time.

In Daniel Persky the magazine had an unusual editor. Devoted to the dissemination of the Hebrew language and Hebrew literature as his life's work, Persky viewed *Eden* as a vehicle for the amusement and enjoyment of the he set uncompromisingly high literary standards, thereby narrowing his audience to those who were linguistically fluent.

In April 1925, a new editor, Yitzhak Dov Berkowitz, took over, shifting the stated emphasis of the magazine to the learning of Hebrew. Even so, *Eden's* basic problems remained, namely a remoteness of context from the lives of Jewish children in America, and a level of Hebrew that was too sophisticated for the audience.

The Jewish nationalistic and traditional (although not necessarily religious) emphases of the magazine were also retained, with stories about the Jewish holidays largely set in eastern Europe and projecting a positive picture of Jewish life and values there. The Zionist endeavor, while also presented positively, was not accentuated, presumably because of a realization by the editors that the likelihood of immigration from America to Palestine at that time was slight.

Ultimately, *Eden* failed for lack of an institutional underpinning. The Hebrew-reading public in America was so small, that it could not sustain periodicals. Moreover, the potential juvenile audience was well integrated into the American milieu, unlike the marginalized situation of the *shtetls* of eastern Europe, and felt no identification with or longing for eastern European Jewish culture.

Eden's limited subscription rate ultimately brought this attractive, qualitative magazine to an end.

ISRAEL'S IMAGE IN TWO AMERICAN JEWISH LOCAL NEWSPAPERS / Haim Avni

Two American Jewish newspapers — the *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix* and the *Jewish Transcript* of Seattle — are analyzed as representative of relatively isolated Jewish communities witnessing a population explosion largely as a result of the growth of the electronics, communications and aviation industries in certain regions of the United States. This development has turned both Phoenix and Seattle into prime examples of a distinct trend in contemporary American Jewish life: sustained long-distance migration. Inasmuch as both cities are remote from the places of origin of their new, or even veteran, Jewish residents, the Jewish newspaper (each of the cities have only one) is likely to play an important communal role.

At a conference of editors of Jewish newspapers held at Brandeis University in 1994 on problems facing this press, nearly all the participants concurred that interest in Israel on the part of the American Jewish community, and especially among young people, was waning. Coverage of

Israel in the Jewish press, the editors therefore felt, was less relevant than reports on local issues of group and individual identity as well as information on the arts and entertainment. However, in order for this shift in priorities to be reflected in the local Jewish press, that press had to free itself from its traditional dependence on institutional sponsorship, which largely determines the nature of the newspapers.

Financially, all Jewish newspapers — in the US as well as in the rest of the Diaspora — fall into three groups; revenue-producing with no public institutional support; privately owned but supported by the Jewish Federation and local organizations in terms of distribution, with a large proportion of their income derived from advertising; and wholly owned by the local Federation. In all three cases, editors are under constant pressure from local communal leaders to publish materials that are favorable to their organizations. Those editors best able to withstand such

pressures are the ones whose papers are least dependent on community funding.

The two papers under discussion belong to the latter two groups: the *Phoenix Jewish News*, founded 49 years ago, is privately owned, while the *Seattle Jewish Transcript*, founded 73 years ago, is owned by the Federation. The papers were analyzed from the period starting with the Jewish new year in September 1996 until June 1997.

With the Seattle Jewish community serving as host of the annual General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations held in November 1996 and attended by 3,000 delegates and guests from all parts of North America, the newspaper highlighted communal achievements. In light of a strong official Israeli presence at the event (including Prime Minister Netanyahu), it also emphasized identification with Israel. Two other major events at that time also affected the Israel issue: the elections for the US presidency and for a large part of Congress in November 1996, and the Likud government's first moves in the peace process and in the area of religious legislation.

According to statistics provided by the newspapers, the average distribution of the *Phoenix Jewish News* was 5,175, while that of the *Seattle Jewish Transcript* was 4,504. Significantly, the Jewish population of Phoenix during the period in question was about 60,000, as compared to that of Seattle — about 35,000. Relative to population, therefore, the distribution of the Seattle paper was larger than that of Phoenix, although the size of the papers was comparable. Other differences between them were in frequency (the Seattle paper is a semi-monthly while the Phoenix paper is a weekly) and in editorial format (the Phoenix paper runs an editorial in each issue; the Seattle paper does not). Their agenda, however, is identical: first and foremost, to cover and to serve the local Jewish population.

Inasmuch as the Seattle paper (which belongs to the Federation) carried more institutional advertising than the Phoenix newspaper (which carried more private advertising), the revenue brought in by the Seattle paper was considerably smaller than that of the Phoenix paper. Editorially, however, the two papers devoted a similar proportion of space to two central topics: Israel and its problems, and the US and its Jewish community.

Significantly, articles on Israel appeared on page one of the Seattle paper in 79% of the issues during the period under review, and were featured prominently as well on

pages 2 and 3 and elsewhere. The Phoenix paper, by comparison, ran page-one articles on Israel in only 33% of its issues during the same period, although items on Israel were featured on the back page. In both cases, however, the prominence of material on Israel was greater than the actual space allotted to it (some 14%-15% in each paper) would suggest. This prominence was underscored by a significant proportion of editorials and caricatures on Israel.

The content of the Israel-centered articles may be categorized in four groupings: the peace process as it related to US-Israel ties; the issue of religious conversion in Israel and contention between the religious and ultra-Orthodox communities on the one hand and the non-Orthodox and secular populations on the other; political developments in Israel that have resulted from the above issues; and other Israel topics. Editorially, both newspapers consistently supported Israel's handling of the peace process, chiding the US government on one occasion for playing into the hands of the Arabs. The conversion issue, however, evoked criticism and concern at what was perceived as an attack by the Orthodox on the religious status quo in Israel and divisive as regards Israel and the American Jewish community. Considerable space was also devoted to political and party developments in Israel. By contrast, coverage of other aspects of Israeli life, such as economic, social or cultural developments, was random and skimpy, with no overview provided to serve as a context for the detailed coverage of the generally grave security, religious and political issues. The readership, therefore, viewed Israel through the prism of its problems and received little information on its achievements, its creative life or its ordinary joys with which to identify on a more human level.

Another area relevant to the perception of Israel was local fund-raising. The Seattle newspaper devoted considerable space to the local Federation fund-raising effort. The traditional Israeli needs in the areas of immigration, welfare and education were highlighted pictorially, although the texts emphasized the contributors' total Jewish responsibility, namely to the local community, to Israel and to Jews in countries all over the world. The Phoenix paper's coverage of the fund-raising campaign was smaller in scale and the Israeli component was minimal. Both newspapers publicized Federation scholarship and savings programs for trips by young people to Israel. Significantly, however, the multi-faceted activities sponsored

by the varied groups of Federation donors — e.g., women donors, lawyers, physicians, young leadership, major donors and leadership council — largely excluded Israel content, focusing either on Jewish themes or on vocational or other aspects of contemporary life in America.

The Seattle Federation allocated 34% of the funds it collected to "overseas" activities (organizations functioning in Israel and elsewhere, including Joint and HIAS), while Phoenix allocated 38% for this purpose. Of these allocations, a large proportion was earmarked for Israel.

The Israeli public, however, is unaware of the intense and sustained voluntary effort involved in raising this money.

The analysis of the two newspapers under discussion illuminates two factors that contribute to a growing estrangement between the American Jewish community and the Israeli public: ignorance of the broader Israeli reality on the part of the American Jewish community, and ignorance on the part of Israelis of communal fund-raising efforts made by the small committed segment of the American Jewish community, inter alia on behalf of Israel.

"THE DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER" AND ITS EDITOR, MORDECAI STEIN / Dan Miodownik

The Hebrew-language periodical, *The Democratic Newspaper* (1945-69), a reincarnation of an earlier periodical published by the same editor, *Ha'or* ("The Light," 1925-39), stemmed from an abiding impetus to produce an independent news weekly that would focus on the individual in society, in contrast to the nationalist and collective foci then current in the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine and in the early years of the State of Israel.

Mordecai Stern, born in Russia in 1896, arrived in Palestine alone in 1913 and attended the Hebrew-language Gymnasia Herzliya in Tel Aviv. He soon embraced a philosophy linking the Jewish national revival in Palestine with fundamental principles of individual liberty and equality for all citizens, Jews and Arabs alike. During the latter 1920s, his first periodical, *Ha'or*, became the unofficial organ of the Palestine Communist Party, but this association ended when Stein began criticizing Stalin's purges.

In 1951 he founded the Third Force movement in Israel, a Jewish-Arab group devoted to civil equality, with *The Democratic Newspaper* functioning as its organ. The movement ran as a party in the 1959 elections but failed to attain sufficient votes for representation in the Knesset. From then on, Stein's periodical appeared with a parallel Arabic edition and with Arabic and English supplements in the Hebrew edition.

The ideology espoused by the paper was a synthesis between liberal and labor principles, placing the individual at the center of society. Only a democratic society, it held, could guarantee the rights of the individual as opposed to his national or collective status. In this, the periodical presented a view that differed from the consensus in Israel then, i.e., identification with the Zionist goal rooted in Jewish religion, history, culture and language, and an emphasis on state building and political sovereignty.

The Democratic Newspaper sought a release from the country's near-messianic Zionist ideology and proposed replacing it with an ideology of democracy with no ulterior national agenda. This singular approach was reflected in the consistent responses of the paper to three central issues that occupied the country during the 1950s, which contrasted sharply with the responses of other party-sponsored newspapers then, namely, *Davar*, which represented the mainstream labor Mapai Party; *Al Hamishmar*, representing the socialist Mapam Party; *Kol Ha'am*, representing the Israeli Communist Party; *Herut*, representing the rightist opposition party of the same name; and *Ha'aretz*, which, while privately owned, reflected middle class aspirations.

The first issue examined is the proposal put forward in 1951 to require the draft of religious women into the army, in the same way as nonreligious women were obliged to serve. This meant annulling the section of the

existing law that exempted religious women on the basis of a declaration that their religious principles precluded them from serving in the army, and establishing suitable alternative venues for their military service in religious agricultural settlements, in defense-related service jobs where their religious practices would not be infringed, and in national social work programs.

The prolonged national debate on this issue agitated both the religious and the secular sectors of the population. *Ha'aretz* emphasized the civic principle involved, namely the responsibility of all to fulfill their national duty to the state, while also highlighting the view of the religious kibbutz movement, which supported army service for religious women. *Al Hamishmar*, firmly behind the drafting of all women, emphasized both the needs of the state and, no less important, the principle of sexual equality. *Davar*, too, came out in support of changing the law, quoting Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, who declared that the central and critical issue was the security of the state, which takes precedence over both the sexual and the religious-secular issues. *Kol Ha'am*, by contrast, viewed the issue as a ploy by Mapai, together with its religious coalition partners, to divert the attention of the public from the vital economic, social and foreign policy problems facing the country, although ultimately the Israeli Communist Party did support the proposed change in the law. *Herut*, while initially expressing support for the opposition by the religious sector to changing the law (a significant segment of the religious population voted for *Herut*), ultimately supported the proposed change both for security reasons and because of the principle of sexual equality, although, like *Kol Ha'am*, it accused the government of politically motivated intentions.

The Democratic Newspaper, for its part, placed the issue of freedom of choice at the center of the debate, claiming that forcing women to serve in the army only exacerbated the discrimination they face a priori as women. The issue, it wrote, was one of conscience; the question of the national interest was secondary. In Stein's view, the essential struggle was between the entire public, both secular and religious, and the government, which exploited the population in order to support unnecessary expenses. Stein thus circumvented both the issue of security and that of religion completely, viewing the question as one of the right of the individual to freedom of choice.

The second issue centered on the proposed reform of the compulsory education law that would disband the various

independent political and ideological "trends" within the state education system, leaving a single secular track side by side with a religious track. *Ha'aretz* highlighted the institutional aspect of the reform, viewing it as a logical step in the entrenchment of the state. *Al Hamishmar*, in contrast, reflected the opposition to the proposal within Mapam, which regarded it as an abandonment of national values and an abuse of the right of self-definition. *Davar*, however, presented the proposed law as a national achievement, although it noted the considerable opposition it aroused. *Kol Ha'am*, like *Al Hamishmar*, opposed the law absolutely, calling it dictatorial as well as potentially divisive in the area of Arab-Jewish relations in light of its national emphasis. *Herut*, by comparison, supported it wholeheartedly, welcoming the depoliticization of education and the consequent enhancement of national unity.

The Democratic Newspaper wrote that the proposed law actually would do no real harm to the labor sector, since the labor school trend offered only an illusion of socialism: in reality its approach was national socialist. Instead, Stein aspired to the goal of establishing truly socialist schools, with no connection to nationalism.

The third issue during the 1950s centered on the proposal to grant the rabbinical courts authority over all matters of marriage and divorce for the entire Jewish population. The responses to this proposal were undoubtedly influenced by the timing of the debate on it, which took place immediately after the vote on the women's army service issue. The rabbinic proposal was widely viewed as compensation to the religious sector for the outcome of the preceding issue. *Ha'aretz* took a passive, low-key position, conceivably because the draft of the proposed law was the product of legislative cooperation by most of the parties in the Knesset. *Al Hamishmar* opposed the law, but not as vociferously as it had opposed the reform of the educational system. *Davar* presented it as a necessary compromise between the demands and needs of various sectors of the Israeli population. *Kol Ha'am* put up the sharpest opposition to the law, viewing it as religious coercion. *Herut* played down the issue, justifying the law as a necessary compromise.

The Democratic Newspaper attacked the state for imposing clerical rule on the private lives of the population. The law would not lead to the unification of the people, as was claimed, since the people were firmly divided into religious believers and nonbelievers. The issue, concluded *The Democratic Newspaper*, was nothing more than a

political move to preserve the government coalition at the expense of civic rights.

The press survey presented in the article reveals that the issue of the importance of state building and the concessions necessitated by it constituted a common denominator for a wide range of political ideologies in Israel during the 1950s, from left to right. *The Democratic Newspaper's*

stance, by contrast, differed from that of the rest of the political press because it viewed the welfare of the individual, rather than of the state, as paramount. In fact, its editor singled out national tendencies as the root of all evil, especially when they underlay day-to-day policy. Such rejection of the national idea was unique in that time and place.

SENSATIONALIST FICTION IN THE HEBREW PRESS IN PALESTINE OF THE 1940S / Mordecai Naor

The genre of the serialized sensationalist novel was so well entrenched in the Jewish press in Palestine of the 1940s, that following the "putsch" of 1948 by part of the *Yediot Aharonot* staff and the establishment by them of *Ma'ariv*, the seceders carried off the novel then running in their old paper — *Julia Leaves the Camp* — and ran the next segment in the first issue of their new paper without a break and without even a word of explanation to the readers.

Abroad, the genre was 50 or 60 years old by then. A newspaper that wanted to increase its distribution would publish at least one, and sometimes up to three, serialized novels, which in Yiddish and German were called *schund* (trash) literature and in British English penny dreadfuls.

The early Hebrew press in Palestine at the turn of the century had also run serialized fiction, but it was serious literature, generally translations of known foreign works. The 1940s, however, witnessed a burst of popularity for the sensationalist trend with the emergence of evening newspapers. The first such paper, *Yediot Aharonot*, which began publication in December 1939, ran a series of short serialized stories of five to seven chapters, mostly by such well known writers as Avigdor Hame'iri. Within a year, it launched the first full-blown sensationalist novel, *The Mystery of the Balkan Express*, subtitled "An original novel of espionage and love based on fact," whose authorship was anonymous. Published over a period of nearly a year, this successful work was immediately followed by another, this time signed by the writer who was to produce most of the serials in the years to come — S. Varsha'i,

a pseudonym for journalist and editor Shalom Gottlieb (Yedidya).

A multi-faceted writer, Gottlieb-Varsha'i could write on any topic set in any period, and, moreover, he could produce quickly. His serialized work soon stretched to 200 and even 300 chapters. In October 1941 *Yediot* began *The Volga Squadron Returned Late* by him, a timely story based on the Nazi invasion of Russia and the Red Army's efforts at defense — a series that ran for no less than a year and five days, mining the sympathy in the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine for the Soviet struggle against the Nazis. In many ways, the work typified the entire genre, featuring a clearcut differentiation between the good and bad characters, with the good side ultimately winning after a series of setbacks; an exceedingly convoluted plot; a dramatic title containing such key words as "Lost," "Did Not Return" or "Disappeared"; and above all a significant correlation between the story and current events.

The following year (1942-43), *Yediot* ran *One Commando is Missing from the Squadron* by the same writer, subtitled: "A novel about life in the underground in occupied Europe." A sequel that followed immediately was titled *Jadwiga Cohen*, a name that undoubtedly spoke to the large immigrant population from Poland, as Queen Jadwiga was an admired figure in Polish history. Nine months later, in July 1944, this opus came to a sudden end with the dramatic "generals' plot" against Hitler, and a new serialized novel was launched in *Yediot* nine days later — *The Generals*, featuring Nazi and anti-Nazi generals, counts and princes. At the end of April 1945, a new novel

appeared — *The Seventh Column*, about the efforts of seven Nazi generals who were war criminals to escape at the end of the war. This was followed, in early 1946, by *An Emissary Arrives at Herod's Palace*, about international intrigue in contemporary Palestine involving Jewish, Arab and British characters.

With *Moon in the Ayalon Valley*, which also revolved around current intrigue, *Yediot* mounted an intensive promotional campaign, prompted by the appearance of a competitor in the evening newspaper arena — *Hadashot Ha'erev*. This new paper, published by the Mapai Party, projected a sober image and at first eschewed the institution of the serialized novel. It soon relented, however, in view of market realities, and in October 1946 launched *Between Distant Shores* by an unknown, apparently pseudonymous, author, Raphael Menasheh. The story, published at the height of the anti-British struggle in the Jewish yishuv, further entrenched the trend toward imbuing the genre with a message. It centered on a young Jewish woman from Palestine who marries a British man, cannot acclimate in England, and decides to return to Eretz Yisrael.

The ostensibly remote theme of a novel serialized in *Yediot* at the start of 1947, *The Adventures of Lucias, King of Cyrene*, focused on the annals of the Jewish rebellion against Roman rule that took place in ancient Libya and Egypt — an event with clear parallels to

the extant situation under the British Mandate. This was followed by a new story begun in July 1947 shortly after the real-life drama of the arrival at the Palestine shore of the ship *Exodus* with its human cargo of 4,500 Holocaust survivors. The new series, *Jula Leaves the Camp*, was subtitled "The tortured route of the Displaced Persons in Europe — a novel based on facts."

Thereafter, with the outbreak of the War of Independence in Israel, the serialized novels both in *Yediot* and *Ma'ariv* were explicitly message-oriented, reflecting the life-and-death struggle of the Jewish state in formation. *Ma'ariv* ran two series side by side in February 1948 — *The Lost Platoon* and *Point 23 is Silent*. They appeared sporadically, however, and were eventually discontinued, possibly shunted aside by the immediacy and sheer volume of the reportage on the war itself. Thereafter, *Ma'ariv* apparently decided that it was sufficiently well established to do without serialized sensationalist literature, although it ran serializations of serious fiction and nonfiction.

Yediot, hard hit by the secession of its staff and the emergence of *Ma'ariv*, continued running sensationalist fiction. *Amnon has not Returned to his Base* — "A novel of Jewish life in Israel and the Diaspora" by an unknown author, Aryeh Gur, appeared in February 1948, to be followed by *Path of Victory* by the same writer in 1949.

המחברים

ד"ר יורגן מיכאל שולץ: המכון להיסטוריה של התקשורת ומדעי התרבות, האוניברסיטה החופשית, ברלין.

יגאל לוסין: מפיץ ובמאי לשעבר בטלוויזיה הישראלית. יוצר הסדרות "עמוד האש" ו"ירושלים שהיתה בספרד". כותב ביוגרפיה על היינריך היינה.

משה גונצ'רוק: עובד בארכיון הציוני המרכזי, ירושלים.

אתי פז: מורה ביחידה להוראת עברית ותלמידת התואר השני בהיסטוריה של עם ישראל, אוניברסיטת תל אביב.

פרופ' חיים אבני: פרופ' להיסטוריה יהודית מודרנית וכת זמננו. יו"ר אקדמי של המרכז הבין ארצי להוראת תרבות ישראל באוניברסיטאות, האוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים.

דן מיודובניק: סיים את לימודי התואר השני בחוג למדע המדינה, אוניברסיטת תל-אביב. מנחה באוניברסיטה הפתוחה.

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ד"ר רפאל כהן-אלמגור: מרצה בכיר בחוג לתקשורת, אוניברסיטת חיפה. חבר מועצת העתונות.

יחיאל לימור: מורה בכיר בחוג לתקשורת, אוניברסיטת תל אביב. עמית הוראה בכיר בבית הספר לתקשורת, המסלול האקדמי, המכללה למינהל, תל אביב.

אינס גבל: סיימה את לימודי התואר השני במחלקה לקומוניקציה ותקשורת, האוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים. מרכזת הקורס "אמצעי תקשורת ההמונים בישראל" באוניברסיטת הפתוחה.

ד"ר יהודה אילוני: יו"ר אגודת חובבי היינה בישראל, היסטוריון ופדגוג.

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