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Nahum Sokolov, drawn by Leopold  
Pilichowski (1869-1933), a Jewish artist  
who was born in Poland and lived in  
London from 1914. An article about  
Sokolov appears on p.22 (Photo courtesy  
Central Zionist Archives)

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## FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY — FROM SOKOLOV TO BARAK

Over two generations — 58 years — separate the contents of a congratulatory letter written by the father of Jewish journalism, Nahum Sokolov, to the *Palestine Post* in December 1932 on the essence, the role and the responsibility of a free press in a democratic country, and an address by Justice of the Supreme Court Aharon Barak at an alumni gathering of the Journalism Studies Program at Tel Aviv University on the theme "Freedom of Speech and its Limitations" in June 1990.

In this issue of *Qesher*, you will find an essay by Shoshana Shriftel on "Nahum Sokolov as Journalist and Editor," and the transcript (in Hebrew and in English) of a lecture delivered by Justice Aharon Barak.

Why do I take note in particular of these two contributions, out of all the varied essays and articles in this issue? What commonality exists between the thoughts of a Jewish author and multifaceted scholar born in the last century, about the purpose of a newspaper and the principles that should guide its editors and writers, and statements made by a judge in the State of Israel toward the end of this century on the complex topic of freedom of expression in modern society?

I would express the commonality by quoting one of the great Jewish philosophers and theologians of our century, Professor Abraham Joshua Heschel, who said: "It is no coincidence that the letters of the word *herut* (freedom) are contained in the word *ahrayut* (responsibility), because the one cannot exist without the other."

The work of countless thinkers, statesmen, judges and journalists, both before and after Heschel, who have expressed themselves on the juxtaposition of freedom and responsibility, could easily fill a book. Some of these thinkers, such as Justice Felix Frankfurter, widened out the equation: Freedom (of the press) grants power, and power necessitates responsibility in the use thereof.

During the more than 320 years of its existence in many countries throughout the world, the Jewish press, in its various languages and phases, grappled with nearly all the issues encountered by today's media: liberalism, freedom and democracy, on the one hand, and censorship, restrictions of freedom and government supervision, on the other. It has been a serious, responsible, political and ideological press which sees itself as fulfilling a mission, and it has also been a commercial, even yellow, sensational press interested only in profit. It has been a press guided by truth and accuracy in reporting the news, and it has been an unprincipled press

which likens man's dignity to the peel of a garlic, and devalues society's vital interests by featuring the titillation of voyeuristic impulses and the lust for entertainment. The Jewish press has embraced all these aspects in the same way as the rest of the press throughout the world.

Nahum Sokolov touched on some of these problems in his letter written in English to the *Palestine Post* 58 years ago:

My notions of the press, I am afraid, are entirely out of date and may be considered as pastoral or patriarchal. In my eyes, journalism is not a profession, but a mission, a form of leadership, a teaching task, almost a priesthood. Yellow journalism — that calamity of calamities (as Mark Twain calls it in his Autobiography) is not democracy, it is organised everyday demagoguery. The idea at the bottom of democracy is the victory of reason and intelligence over blind custom and prejudice. In a democracy the best tactics are no tactics. Say what you mean, mean what you say, go straight to your objective. There is no other sound rule in human affairs. On the other hand, the idea at the bottom of demagoguery is to please, to excite, to amuse — a tout prix. Sensationalism is the most dangerous poison!

I wish the press would come back to the high standards of truth and accuracy. News unbiased and uncoloured by prejudices or partnership, are like literature, an element of education; rash, inaccurate journalism, which indulges in controversies, exaggerations and inventions may be interesting, like detective novels, but it is misleading and it carries in itself the germs of decay. I think this country needs a well-informed and well written organ in English... in addition to its Hebrew and Arabic press. Well-informed, because the chief purpose of a newspaper is to supply information. People can form their opinions from the facts. Accurate information teaches people to think in accurate terms. And as vulgar and melodramatic headline-making demoralises the way of expression among the masses; in the same way a clean style of the press elevates and ennobles public speaking and writing.

Had Sokolov written this congratulatory letter in Hebrew, he would probably have used richer language, less modern, closer to the sources whose *stata* he had mastered with such rare virtuosity. This Torah scholar, who traced his lineage to the learned Rabbi Nathan Netta Shapira, the 17th century "godlike revealer of profundities," and further back to Rashi, attached great importance to linguistic aesthetics in journalism. This was true in all the languages in which he

was fluent — more than ten in all — but most of all in the primary language in which he wrote — Hebrew. He was one of the great modernizers of Hebrew, as well.

Well-versed in the arts and sciences of the enlightened world, from philosophy to astronomy, and from the intricacies of higher mathematics to history and geography, Nahum Sokolov presented his readers with the theories of Henri Louis Bergson, Nietzsche and Spinoza and translations of outstanding German, French and English prose and poetry, along with articles on the latest developments in science and technology in various languages.

He also translated into Hebrew the great opus of another famous Jewish journalist, Theodor Herzl, naming his *Altneuland* "Tel Aviv" and thereby giving the first Hebrew city in Israel its name.

His output was phenomenal. Hayim Nahman Bialik used to say that "it would take 300 camels to load all the articles and books that Nahum Sokolov had written in his lifetime." There was no journalistic genre that Sokolov hadn't mastered, from travel sketches to political actualia, from feuilletons to weekly reviews of the news. Sometimes he filled an entire issue of *Ha-Zfira* ("The Dawn") with his own work. He also emphasized the role of Jews in the founding of major newspapers and the first telegraphic news agencies all over the world, on both sides of the Atlantic. Reviewing Sokolov's *Ishim* ("Personalities"), the poet Ya'akov Fikhman remarked that Sokolov looked for "the Jewish genius, the Jewish fate and the Jewish pedigree" in the subjects of his essays.

Sokolov was aware of his enormous influence on the Jewish masses through his articles and columns, such as "*Ha-Zofeh Le-Veit Yisrael*" ("Viewing the House of Israel") or "*Mi-Shabbat Le-Shabbat*" ("From Sabbath to Sabbath"). Consequently, he was also aware of the great responsibility he bore as an information-supplier, as a commentator and as a publicist.

A liberal and a democrat, Nahum Sokolov would surely have considered freedom of expression in the State of Israel a supreme right, notwithstanding the country's difficult domestic and foreign problems, in the same way as is reflected in the rulings of Israel's Supreme Court justices and the address by Justice Barak which we have reprinted in this issue. The criteria on which Justice Barak bases freedom of expression — the desire to expose the truth; man's self-fulfillment; and freedom of expression as a bridge to man's dignity and to other freedoms, as well as a vital condition for

the development of a democratic regime — are criteria that also appear in Sokolov's work. "Truth and accuracy are as necessary as air for breathing," Sokolov said.

As a Zionist leader, spiritual mentor and spokesman for the Zionist cause throughout the world, he also had strong opinions about the leading role that the Jewish press, and especially the official Zionist press, should fill in the area of information. (Gideon Kouts covered this theme in *Qesher* no. 2.) He might not have found many supporters for this conception in the Hebrew press in Israel today, but anyone who follows debates conducted in the Jewish press in the U.S. and other countries about their attitude to the State of Israel, its policies and its image will agree that nothing is new under the Jewish sun.

Therefore, Sokolov, agreeing with Professor Barak's conception of freedom as expressed in his address, would have identified in particular with the second part, in which Justice Barak weighs freedom against the danger caused by the abuse of freedom to the very public that it was meant to serve. He would certainly have identified with such statements as: "To the extent that this conflict is frontal and unavoidable, the values of security and public order take precedence [over freedom of expression]," or: "The right to life in society precedes the right to express an opinion in it." In other words, there is a principle of balance — of give and take — between various values.

It is not coincidental that Justice Barak concluded his address by emphasizing the special responsibility born by the court in assessing "not only the law but also the deed; not merely the rhetoric but also the practice."

Again, we see the the indication of commonality: freedom and responsibility at the rip of the journalist's pen as well as on the judge's scales of justice.



Head of the Journalism Studies Program  
and Institute for Research of the Jewish Press

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# FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ITS LIMITATIONS

AHARON BARAK

## Presentation of the Problem

"I disapprove of what you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it," said Voltaire. John Stuart Mill, in his essay, *On Liberty*, added: "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." These and other thinkers, as well as many democratic countries who were influenced by them, including Israel, established freedom of expression as a pre-eminent "supra-right." Justice Shimon Agranat regarded freedom of expression as the "heart and soul" of democracy and said that it holds "a place of honor in the palace of the fundamental rights of man." What is this right, and what makes it central to our lives? Most importantly, what limitations on this right are justified and proper in a democratic society?

## What is Freedom of Expression?

Freedom of expression is a type of right to liberty. It is the freedom of a person to make his opinion heard and to hear the opinion of his fellow man, without being obligated to do so. To realize this liberty, the law provides those who hold it with additional rights derived from it. Among these are the right to receive information and the right to respond to information. From these follow the right to know the contents of coalition agreements. The right to demonstrate and the right of assembly are derived from freedom of expression. The right to read and write books and newspapers, as well as to see and write plays and films, are

also included in it. So is the right not to make something heard, that is, the right to be silent. Indeed, freedom of expression is not a single, monolithic right. It is a constellation of rights. At the center of this constellation is the freedom to make oneself heard and to hear; surrounding it are other rights that aim to realize and protect this freedom. Freedom of expression and the rights derived from it form a comprehensive and intricate system of interlocking arrangements that sustain one another and, when put in practice, consolidate the tradition of freedom of expression in the legal system.

## The Justifications Underlying Freedom of Expression

What is the rationale and underlying explanation for freedom of expression? It seems that freedom of expression does not have a single justification, but many different justifications. In this lies a great blessing. Freedom of expression comprises a complex system of intertwined liberties and rights. This complex system cannot be covered by a single explanation. Various arguments reflecting its different aspects are necessary to justify freedom of expression. Only in this way can the full scope of this freedom be expressed. The vindication of freedom of expression is complex and many-layered indeed. There is the freedom of the individual to realize himself, to form a worldview and an opinion by giving flight to his spirit, creative and receptive, which breaks out of the heart's confines, spreads its wings and sets thoughts free. It is the freedom of the individual and the community to illuminate the truth through free and unending struggle between truth and falsity. It is the freedom of society's members to exchange opinions and views in a spirit of tolerance, without fear, with respect for the autonomy of every individual, and to persuade one another in order to strengthen, secure and develop the democratic regime. Some of these justifications are utilitarian, others are not; some focus on the individual and his happiness, others focus on the community and the defense of its values. Essentially, the justifications revolve around three arguments.

The first argument bases itself on the desire to reveal the truth. Freedom of expression must be ensured to enable different outlooks and ideas to compete with one another. From such competition, and not from the official dictate of a single "truth," shall truth arise, as truth will ultimately be victorious in the struggle of ideas. When all is disclosed and all is revealed, truth will win out over falsity. The light of day is the best purifier, and the light of the lamp is the best policeman. The test of truth is not in governmental power accompanying it, but rather in its internal power to persuade.



A demonstration by families without homes: an example of self-expression

The way to confront falsity is not in silencing it, but in publicizing it and educating the public. Falsity is defeated by revealing it, not by suppressing it. The remedy is not restricting expression, but augmenting it. To this end it is crucial to guarantee freedom of expression, for without expression there is no persuasion, and without persuasion there is no confrontation, and without confrontation there is a danger that the truth will not come to light.

The second argument is rooted in the need to facilitate personal self-realization. Only by guaranteeing freedom of expression is it possible to bring about such self-realization. Without allowing the freedom to hear and to make oneself heard, to write and to read, to express oneself or to be silent, the human personality is crippled, as its spiritual and intellectual development is based on the ability to formulate a view of the world freely. Freedom of expression is a crucial component of such self-realization. It is a need not only of the speaker but of the listener as well. This argument relates freedom of expression to human dignity and other liberties such as freedom of conscience and religion. But it also sets freedom of expression apart. By his nature, man realizes himself by expressing himself.

The third argument roots freedom of expression in democratic rule. Freedom of expression is a vital precondition

for the existence and development of a democratic regime. It ensures the public exchange of opinions and thus enables the populace to form positions regarding issues on the national agenda. In this manner it is possible to mould the government, to supervise it and to change it. If the argument regarding revealing the truth aims to disclose the truth, the argument regarding democracy aims to involve the whole public in this truth, so that it can direct the future of society. The free exchange of information, opinions and views aimed at mutual persuasion is a vital condition for the existence of democratic rule. Only in this manner is it possible to guarantee that each individual in society will receive the information he needs in order to make decisions on matters of government and the regime. This free flow of opinions enables orderly change in government. Without freedom of expression, democracy loses its spirit. Justice Landau rightly stated:

A government that assumes the authority to determine what is good for the citizen to know will ultimately determine what is good for the citizen to think; and there is no greater contradiction than this of a true democracy, which cannot be "guided" from above.

But over and above this, freedom of expression contributes to

social stability. Freedom of expression allows social tension to be expressed verbally, not physically. Social passions are vented peacefully, through words, not violently. Society, which is sometimes complacent and does not foresee evil, prepares itself for what may come by the right to free expression, for it is aware of the dangers that free expression brings out into the open.

The argument about democracy illuminates the connection between freedom of expression and social tolerance. Democratic rule is based upon tolerance. This means tolerance of the acts and opinions of others. It is also tolerance of intolerance. In a pluralistic society like ours, tolerance is the force that unites us and makes communal life possible. Freedom of expression increases tolerance and strengthens democracy.

The relationship between democratic rule and freedom of expression is two-sided. Addressing this issue, Justice Meir Shamgar has said:

Freedom of expression is a primary consequence of democracy, and one of its central characteristics. Even so, the very organization of democracy is conditional from time to time upon freedom of expression actually existing, and from this standpoint democracy is a consequence of granting liberties and protecting them. In the final analysis, true democracy and freedom of expression are one.

Freedom of expression breathes life into democratic rule. Similarly, democracy lends vitality to freedom of expression. There is an inseparable connection, then, between freedom of expression and democracy.

### The Scope of Free Expression and its Protection

I have dealt with the justifications for freedom of expression. Against this background, the following two questions arise: First, what is the scope of freedom of expression? That is, what is the range of matters it encompasses, and which matters are perceived as outside of it? This question aims at delimiting the range of matters covered by the principle of free expression. It grapples with the question: What is "expression" in the context of this fundamental value? For example, does freedom of expression extend to racist expression? Or, rather, does the racist content of a speech remove it from the ambit of free expression?

The second question is, what is the scope of protection that the law gives to those expressions included in freedom of expression? This question aims at determining whether the protection given to speech is absolute or relative, and if it is relative, what its standards are.

The first query is internal, in that it examines the internal

nature of freedom of expression and the range of matters included in it. The second query is external, as it looks at the relation between freedom of expression and other freedoms, and at the degree of protection that the law gives to freedom of expression. For example, freedom of expression encompasses defamatory statements, but the law protects such speech only if it is made in good faith.

I shall begin with the question of the scope of free expression, and will move on afterwards to the degree of protection that this freedom enjoys.

### The Scope of Freedom of Expression

The principle of freedom of expression extends to all forms of expression. It includes all known forms of expression: books, films and performances; written and oral expression, whatever the medium; and expression by actions as well as by words. A procession, a silent vigil, burning a flag and erecting a sculpture all fall within the realm of expression to which the principle of free expression applies.

Does the principle of free expression apply to the contents of all expression? My answer to this question is in the affirmative. Freedom of expression extends to all expression, whether the content is political, literary, commercial or otherwise. Justice Agranat dealt with this question in the *Kol Ha-Am* case, stating:

...Here, for the purpose of this examination of truth, the principle of the right to free expression serves as a means and an instrument, inasmuch as only by the clarification of "all" views and the free exchange of "all" opinions is that "truth" likely to become apparent.

Freedom of expression thus extends to both conventional and anomalous opinions; to views that people like to hear and to those that are infuriating and deviant. Freedom of expression is not only the freedom to express things calmly and pleasantly. It is also the freedom to raise a shrill outcry. It is the freedom to express an opinion in a manner that is, in the words of Justice Brennan of the United States Supreme Court, "uninhibited, robust and wide-open." Even expression having "an indecent spread of erotica, politics and abstractions of all sorts" falls into the framework of free expression. Speech that involves injury to religious feelings or contains abominations is also covered by freedom of expression.

Is speech of a racist character covered by the principle of free expression? May it not be said that the racist content of the speech removes it from the domain of free expression? One might argue, along this line, that while freedom of expression is defined by the desire to reveal the truth, racism

is founded upon a lie, and can contribute nothing to the clarification of the truth. If so, then we need not support the self-fulfillment of the false prophet. The democratic argument, too, can be used to support the removal of racist speech from the realm of free expression, as racist speech harms the democratic order.

In my opinion, these considerations are not dispositive, and reflect an incomplete understanding of the justification for freedom of expression. Racism is indeed founded upon a lie, but this truth will come to light only through the free contest of ideas and opinions. By confronting the falsity of racism in the open realm of opinions and ideas, racism will be exposed in all its ugliness, and human equality and dignity will be augmented and strengthened. It is not the truth of racism that justifies the freedom to express it; rather, it is the free contest of opinions and views to expose the lie that justifies this freedom. The weakness of racism is its inherent falsity, which is laid bare precisely in the free competition of opinions and ideas. Even the self-realization argument supports this approach, for to realize ourselves we must listen to, learn



"Efrayim Returns to the Army": a play that was disqualified by the censor

from and be aware of racist opinions as well. Only in this manner will we know how to fight them. This outcome is also supported by the democratic argument. By exchanging opinions and views, the public will be able to take a stand on the racist point of view and bring about its elimination or curtailment through political struggle based on tolerance that is characteristic of a democratic society. Democracy will emerge strengthened from this struggle against racism.

Does freedom of expression also extend to defamatory speech? In my opinion, the answer to this question is also in the affirmative. Defamatory speech is also covered by the principle of free expression. Defamatory speech expresses the self-realization of the publisher and his readers. The truth is that which arises from the free exchange of opinions and views, and not from the suppression (self-imposed or external) of this or that speech. The free exchange of opinions alone makes the existence and consolidation of democratic rule possible.

Thus, the underlying reasons for freedom of expression justify, in my opinion, an expansive approach to its scope of application. From this it does not follow that all speech that is covered by the principle of freedom of expression is defended to its full extent in a democratic society. I have already noted that the internal scope of freedom of speech is distinguished from the external protection given to it. The case of defamatory speech is a good example of this distinction between the scope of free expression and the degree of protection it is accorded. While defamatory speech falls within the realm of free expression, other values must also be taken into account, such as an individual's reputation. Thus, there is no justification for total protection of defamatory publication, and certainly not for a defamatory publication that is untrue. Protection of publication is the result of a balance between the value of free expression and those of personal reputation and individual dignity. It follows that examining the scope of free expression is only one side of the coin. The other side involves examining the protection that ought to be given to freedom of expression, and the cases in which speech that comes under the principle of free expression ought not be protected. That is, we must examine the limitations that ought to be imposed on freedom of expression.

### The Protection of Freedom of Expression

Freedom of expression is a central value for the individual and for society. But it is not the only value, nor the most important. There are other central and important values, such as human life and dignity. Shall we allow for any freedom of expression that harms life and dignity? Moreover, organized



society, and the state, exist for the sake of realizing human rights and promoting national objectives. Ensuring the existence, wholeness, security and peace of the state necessitates restrictions on freedom of expression. Shall we allow freedom for all expression that harms the state's most closely guarded secrets, or that may lead to a perversion of justice, or to riots?

The accepted approach in all legal systems is that freedom of expression is not absolute. It is only a relative freedom. We distinguish between freedom and licentiousness. For example, the rights of assembly and procession are not unlimited. They are relative, not absolute liberties. My right to hold an assembly or a procession does not mean that I may alight onto my neighbor's property without his consent, or that I am entitled to cause violence and a breach of public order. As with other liberties, here too one must balance the desire of the individual, or individuals, to express their views by way of assembly and procession, against the desire of the individual to safeguard his peace and property and the public's desire to protect public order and security. Without order there is no liberty. Freedom of assembly does not mean the breakdown of public order; freedom of procession does not mean the freedom to run riot. Every democratic society has the right not to protect freedom of expression to the full extent. Every enlightened regime has a duty to limit certain forms of self-expression. Voltaire's dictum, "I disapprove of what you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it," is not precise. I am not obligated to defend with my life your right to utter words that will lead to my death. Democracy is not obligated to commit suicide in order to prove its vitality.

### Balancing

Thus, the central problem confronting us is this: Under which circumstances, and by what standards, is it permissible in a society that respects human rights and establishes freedom of expression as a central and pre-eminent right, to limit freedom of expression?

There is no general answer to this question. It all depends on the values, interests and principles with which freedom of expression conflicts. Thus, there are situations in which freedom of expression is not limited at all, and is implemented to its full extent. This is when there are no values or interests that justify restricting freedom of expression. When values and principles justifying a limitation upon free expression do exist, a conflict is created that makes it necessary to strike a balance with regard to the restrictions upon freedom of expression and those upon the other value in conflict with it. Since Justice Agranat's monumental

judgment in the *Kol Ha-Am* case, we accept that the balancing shall be principled and not ad hoc. We must determine a "rational principle," in Justice Agranat's words, that will constitute, as Justice Shamgar put it, a "standard that carries within it a value-guideline," avoiding any "casual paternalistic standard that a person will not be able to appraise in advance." This standard balances the different conflicting values according to their weight, and establishes the principled "balancing formula."

The expressions "balancing" and "weight" are metaphors, of course. Underlying them is the understanding that not all principles are equally important in the eyes of society, and that when legislative guidance is lacking, the court must appraise the relative social importance of the different principles. Just as there is no man without his shadow, there is no principle without its weight. Establishing a balance on the basis of weight means giving a social estimate of the relative importance of the different principles.

It is only natural that the balance changes from case to case, according to the nature of the conflicting values. Thus, a uniform standard must not be adopted; rather, varying standards should be adopted, according to the weight of the conflicting values. The points of equipoise vary according to the substance and character of the conflicting values.

A helpful distinction, in this context, is that between two types of restrictions on freedom of expression. The first type involves limitations on freedom of expression necessitated by the form of communication, without any connection to its content. Every legal system seeks to create a balance between the manner in which free expression is actualized (regardless of the content of the expression itself) and other values that are impaired as a result of the realization of free expression. An example of this type of restriction may be found in the laws limiting the freedom to demonstrate on account of impairment of freedom of movement. These limitations are not directed at the content of the message that the demonstration seeks to express, but rather at the manner in which the message is voiced. The manner may impair freedom of movement, and therefore the two must be balanced.

The second type of limitation on freedom of expression is rooted in the content of the expression itself. In this class of cases, the content of the expression leads to consequences that could harm democratic society. The legal system strikes a balance between the value of freedom of expression and the values impaired by free expression. Examples of this type of limitation may be found in defamation law, criminal law regarding abominable material and the *sub judice* rule.

Censorship, too, is included in this type of prohibition, as the purpose of censorship is to defend the public from the harmful content of the expression itself. Limitations on racist expression are also included in this type of restriction, as it is not the form of the expression but its content that harms other interests and values worthy of protection. Sometimes both types of restrictions may be found in a given situation. When demonstrators seek to march in the main street of a city, and the message they seek to deliver is racist, the need may well arise to restrict freedom of expression both because of disturbance to movement (a restriction unconnected to content) and disturbance to public order (which is related to content). We will deal briefly with each of these two types of limitations.

### Communicative Restrictions Unrelated to Content

Restrictions in this type of case are not directed against the content of the expression, but rather against the manner in which it is expressed. Demonstrators who use loudspeakers and distribute flyers may disturb their neighbors' work or rest, or may sully the environment, regardless of the message they seek to publicize. While a society that gives priority to freedom of expression must allow expression even in circumstances that cause a disturbance and infringe upon other values, still, freedom of expression is not the only value, and it must be balanced against other values worthy of protection. Society is not organized on an all-or-nothing principle, but on give and take and on balance between different values.

It seems to me that restrictions imposed on the time, place and manner of the expression must allow sufficient breathing space for freedom of expression, and must not substantially impair it. Thus, holding a demonstration in the main streets of a city should be allowed, even if it disturbs traffic, by setting limits on the time and manner of the demonstration. Just as my right to demonstrate in a city street is limited by the right of my fellow to free passage in that street, so the right of my fellow to move about in a city street is limited by my right to hold an assembly or procession. Roads and thoroughfares are intended for pedestrian and vehicle traffic, but this is not their only purpose. They are also intended for processions, marches, funerals and other such events. In this regard, of course, there is a distinction between restrictions on freedom of expression in public places and those in private or quasi-public places, such as shopping centers.

### Content-Related Restrictions

Another type of restriction is that related to the content of

the expression. From the standpoint of the form of communication, this type of expression does not harm other values that merit protection. However, from the standpoint of content, it harms security, public order or public sentiment, judicial integrity, human dignity or other values that every democratic society strives to protect. What is the proper balance, in this case? Intrinsically, there is no single point of balance, as the values that are in conflict with freedom of expression are not all alike. A conflict between the content of an expression and state security and public order is not the same as a conflict between the content of an expression and human dignity. And neither of them are the same as a conflict between the content of an expression and judicial integrity. We must fashion, then, different principled standards that take account of the diversity of values that conflict with freedom of expression.

Take the case in which the conflicting interests are freedom of expression, on the one hand, and state security or public order, on the other. The point of departure is that, to the extent that this conflict is frontal and unavoidable, the values of security and public order take precedence. The reason for this is that democracy needs to exist so that it can realize itself. The democratic regime is prepared to defend freedom of expression so long as freedom of expression defends democracy. But when freedom of expression becomes an axe with which to injure democracy, there is no justification for democracy to bare its neck to the blade. A constitution is not a blueprint for suicide, and civil rights are not a platform for national self-annihilation. A person cannot enjoy freedom of expression if he does not enjoy the freedom to live in the society of his choice. The right to life in society precedes the right to express an opinion in it.

The balancing formula in the conflict between state security or public order and freedom of expression thus presumes the realization of the value regarding state security. At the same time, because of the centrality of freedom of expression, the balancing formula seeks to curtail this basic value as little as possible. Only if the abridgement of freedom of expression is crucial in order to maintain the value of state security and public order will such curtailment be permitted.

In this context, the Israel Supreme Court has addressed two principal questions: **First**, what is the degree of injury to state security or public order that may justify abridging freedom of expression? **Second**, what is the degree of probability that the injury to state security or public order will occur if freedom of expression is not restricted?

The answer given by the Supreme Court to these two questions is this: Freedom of expression gives way to state

security and public order only if the injury to state security and public order is severe, serious and grave, and only if there is a proximate certainty that the realization of free expression will bring about this injury. Thus, the Minister of Interior may prohibit the appearance of a newspaper on account of something published in it that is likely to harm public order only if this harm is serious, and only if it is nearly certain. Similarly, the Chief Military Censor may prevent publication of a news article only if it is proximately certain that publication of the article will lead to grave injury to state security. The Censor of Films and Plays used to be entitled to rescind a permit for screening a film or staging a play only if it was almost certain to cause serious and severe injury to public order. The Police Commissioner may prevent granting a permit for a demonstration for fear of injury to the demonstrators due to the message of their demonstration, only if it is proximately certain that serious injury to public order will occur. In all these cases, alternative means that may prevent the near certainty of serious danger without impairing freedom of expression must be examined. Thus, if a hostile crowd threatens the demonstrators, the first step must be to disperse the crowd, not to prevent the demonstration. Prohibiting the demonstration must be done as a last resort, not as a first step. Moreover, whenever possible, it is preferable to examine the legality of the expression after it occurs rather than before it occurs. Examination before the occurrence tends to freeze expression; examination after the occurrence tends merely to cool it down. Cooling is preferable to freezing.

Injury to public sentiment may also constitute a severe, serious and grave injury. A society based on social pluralism must allow the exchange of opinion, even if doing so may hurt the feelings of some. Indeed, the very nature of the democratic regime involves a certain level of exposure to public criticism that injures the feelings of members of the public. But severe, serious and grave injury that justifies restriction of free expression refers to injury that exceeds the limit of endurance in a democratic society. Simply expressing an opinion on a controversial public issue (historical, religious, social or otherwise) is permitted. However, there will be exceptional and rare instances in which the content of such expressions will constitute a severe, serious and grave injury to the public's feelings. These instances will shake the foundations of mutual tolerance. A Nazi procession in a Jewish settlement, a racist, anti-Arab procession in an Arab settlement, or a procession of pigs in a religious Jewish settlement, are examples of crossing the threshold of tolerance in a democratic society, and justify prohibiting the expression because of its content.

Even the possibility of a severe, serious and grave injury to security or public order does not justify an abridgement of free expression. There must be near-certainty that injury will occur. A mere possibility, or even a reasonable possibility, that the injury will be realized is insufficient. The realization of the danger must be seen as a near-certainty. This illustrates the great weight that we give to freedom of expression. With that, there is no need to show that the realization of the danger is a clear certainty, nor that it is immediate. It is enough to show that the realization of the danger is a near-certainty.

This approach, arguably, involves a compromise of principles. The cynic might say that this approach defends freedom of expression only so long as it is not sufficiently effective. I do not agree with this criticism. As we have seen, freedom of expression is not the only value that must be defended in a democratic society. Inevitably, a compromise is necessary to balance various interests. Compromise is not a sign of weakness. It is a vital condition for tolerance and collective life. A democratic society founded on pluralism and tolerance must base itself upon compromise and not on obstinacy.

### Conclusion

Freedom of expression is a complex value. We cannot do without it, but we cannot manage with this value alone. It raises difficult problems for every democratic society. Ought we defend racist speech, and if so, to what extent? Is a democratic society obliged to allow anti-Semitic or pornographic speech? I have dealt with these problems from a number of perspectives.

Is the Israeli solution, as reflected in legislation and in judicial decisions, satisfactory? There are many aspects that I have not touched upon. Is the freedom of expression of an individual who wants to voice his opinion on a street corner similar to the freedom of expression of a mass-circulation newspaper or a television station? Does freedom of expression not call for certain obligations, in particular fairness, competence and professional ethics? Does freedom of expression not impose a duty upon a newspaper editor to publish opinions with which he disagrees and which may even hurt the newspaper's circulation? The enlightened public is likely to disagree on these and other questions. Answering them imposes a special responsibility upon the courts. This responsibility is twofold: first, the responsibility to arrive at solutions that will be consistent with what Justice Menahem Elon has called the "oversoul" of the legal system, that is, the fundamental values and articles of faith of our law; and second, the responsibility of consistent application of



fundamental understandings, without which everything that is ordained at the normative level will be lost in the real world. The court must examine not only the law but also the deed; not merely the rhetoric but also the practice. "The principles that the court has stressed in the past," Justice

Gabriel Bach has remarked, "must not serve solely as an ideological banner for the outside world; they must also guide us in our day-to-day decisions in practice." Would that we will meet this weighty responsibility.



Kings of Israel Square in Tel Aviv after a political rally

This article is based on a translation of a speech delivered by Justice Barak at an alumni gathering of the Journalism Studies Program at Tel Aviv University on June 14, 1990.

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# THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX PRESS IN ISRAEL

MENACHEM MICHELSON

The ultra-Orthodox press in Israel is not new. Agudat Yisrael's daily, *Ha-Mode'a* ("The Informer"), has been published since the founding of the state, and *She'arim* ("Gates"), Po'alei Agudat Yisrael's weekly, became a daily at that time as well (later, it reverted back to being a weekly). This article, however, will deal with the new ultra-Orthodox press which emerged in the 1980s.

The wave of telephone calls, angry remarks and sharp rebukes directed at the editorial staff of the ultra-Orthodox newspaper *Yated Ne'eman* ("Loyal Peg") on Wednesday, the 10th of Av, 5750 (August 1, 1990) was unprecedented. Loyal readers announced categorically that they would no longer read the paper; distressed mothers said that because of their children's questions, the paper would never again cross the threshold of their homes; irate rabbis called and asked: How can this be?

The editor had to apologize a thousand times over and promise that an error such as had occurred would never recur. He explained that the paper's "comptroller" (or censor, in secular terminology) had been exhausted from the long, hot Tisha B'Av fast, and the terrible word had slipped past his eye and so appeared in the paper.

All this tumult occurred as a result of an item that appeared in *Yated Ne'eman* reporting that a young man had attacked a girl soldier in Camp 80. The young man, a local resident, attacked the girl soldier while she was guarding an out-of-the-way gate at the camp, grabbed her rifle and tried to rape her. When the item was published in the paper, the attacker was still under suspicion of rape. Itim, the news agency that distributed the item, included all the details of the event, including the fact of suspicion of rape.

In an ultra-Orthodox paper generally, and in *Yated Ne'eman* in particular, the word "rape" falls into the category of unmentionable. Suspicion of theft is passable, but rape?! A

young child at home might get hold of the newspaper, read that someone is suspected of rape and ask his father and mother what rape is, and other such questions.

This is an example of the kind of dilemma that faces the ultra-Orthodox press in Israel, with the solution being not to write about subjects that might raise educational problems. Curiously, there are gossip columns in several of the ultra-Orthodox papers — something which is also forbidden — but there is absolutely no rape, no picture of a woman, no sports and no pop singers.

Actually, these do exist, but only from a negative point of view. For example, if Maccabi Tel Aviv were to win the Europe Cup, or if the Israel all-star football team were to achieve victory at the Mondiale, the readers of the ultra-Orthodox press would be likely to learn about it only from the perspective of the desecration of the Sabbath, or as a result of an exposé of players caught eating at a non-Kosher restaurant in Rome.

With the increased political power of the ultra-Orthodox public in Israel, and more important, with deepening rifts developing in it, the ultra-Orthodox media itself has become a powerful factor. Every Hassidic "court" and every Lithuanian yeshiva, every master and teacher and every rabbi is hurt if his name fails to appear in these papers, and all the more so if the name of his rival does appear. This exposure has become increasingly important with the proliferation of tiny "courts" during the last few years. Here, the well-known rule applies: If you have been written about, you exist; if you have not been written about, you don't exist. The fact is that a large portion of the Israeli press has become a platform for conscientious PR agents.

In other words, in the unending quest for publicity, the followers of the Torah sages have forgotten the adage that blessings are to be found in that which is not apparent. They

have turned it into: No blessing is to be found except in what is apparent. Sociologists might observe that the ultra-Orthodox community, which for years shunned participation in the life of the Zionist state, is now trying to enter it by the back door. That is, they are at least aware of the secular mechanics of achieving their internal goals. The ultra-Orthodox media do indeed make full use of modern methods, albeit at times in archaic or clumsy language. But the target is explicit. Some newspapers even have special columns devoted to attacking the secular media. They don't allow any article or item to pass that criticizes ultra-Orthodox persons or institutions, whether explicitly or by innuendo. While these counter-attacks do not actually come to the attention of the secular writers, they give the ultra-Orthodox public a feeling of one-upmanship. It is no longer a community under attack, defenseless. It no longer has to beg the large newspapers to insert small items or corrections. It now has an open platform under its own control, devoted entirely to protecting the honor of the community.

While it is impossible to enumerate and describe all the ultra-Orthodox newspapers and publications here, we shall present a few of them in order to sketch a general picture of this media.

### Intentionally or Ex Post Facto?

The ultra-Orthodox press favors a weekly pattern. If the world was created in six days, there is no reason why a newspaper must be created in a day, every day. Therefore, most of the press consists of weeklies: *Yom Ha-Shishi* ("Friday"), *Erev Shabbat* ("Sabbath Eve"), *She'arim, Ha-Mahaneh Ha-Haredi* ("The ultra-Orthodox Camp"), *Kfar Habad, Ha-Edah* ("The Community") and others. There are only two dailies — *Ha-Mode'a* and *Yated Ne'eman*. Of course, *Ha-Tzofeh* ("The Observer") is also a daily, but it cannot be grouped together with the ultra-Orthodox papers because it is the organ of a Zionist party — the National Religious Party (NRP).

There are also Yiddish organs of various factions in the ultra-Orthodox camp: *Der Yid* ("The Jew"), *Der Allgemeiner Journal* ("The General Journal"), *Dos Yiddisher Wort* ("The Jewish Word"), *Dos Yiddishe Likht* ("The Jewish Light") and *Der Yiddisher Shtral* ("The Jewish Beam"). Their readership is not necessarily aged — it is simply a readership whose mother tongue is Yiddish. The Naturei Karta camp also has organs in Hebrew: *Ha-Homa* ("The Wall") and *Homoteinu* ("Our Walls").

The newspaper "Yated Ne'eman"



*Yom Ha-Shishi* is the most professional weekly in the ultra-Orthodox press, both graphically and editorially. However, this is a relative assessment, for the self-imposed limitations of the paper would not be tolerated by any modern secular paper. These limitations prevent the editors from dealing with problematic topics which would endanger the existence of the paper.

Natan Grossman, the editor of *Yated Ne'eman*, states that the very existence of the ultra-Orthodox press is an *ex post facto* matter, for there are no relevant rulings about it in the *Shulhan Arukh*. Still, it appears that the approach of the *Yom Ha-Shishi* editors is well-thought out. The possibility of managing an ultra-Orthodox newspaper on a profit-making basis came up in discussions with religious journalists who worked on the established ultra-Orthodox papers or in the Kol Yisrael broadcasting services, or did reserve duty with the army radio station. These people are not Torah scholars. Two of them are editors of *Yom Ha-Shishi* today — Yisrael Katzover and Yitzhak Nahshoni. The fact that both have served in the Israel army is unique, and places them in a position that is both inside and outside the ultra-Orthodox community.

A one-time opportunity had presented itself to them in 1983, and they took it. That was the year when a network of local papers, "Rehov Rashi" (Main Street), was established. A few weeks after the first newspapers were launched, Nahshoni and Katzover approached the directors of the network and proposed that they start an ultra-Orthodox paper as well.

"The expression 'ultra-Orthodox newspaper' is not only a mistake, it is misleading," says Nahshoni. "We proposed creating something innovative for the ultra-Orthodox community. We do not define the paper as being for the ultra-Orthodox community alone, but rather for the whole religious community. The intention was to replace the secular weekend papers, which many religious people read reluctantly. We decided to establish a general paper for the religious public. The truth is, we rode a wave of religious opposition to the secular press. Previously, it was legitimate to have a paper like *Ma'ariv* [one of the leading secular dailies] in a religious home. But as the years went by, this paper adopted a point of view which alienated the religious community, printing risqué pictures and articles which were not appropriate for a religious home."

Apparently, the two editors also adapted themselves to the wave of extremism that spread through the religious community in Israel, which made secular papers untouchable. One way or another, Katzover and Nahshoni, both of whom have experience in the religious media — the former as a

military reporter for *Ha-Mode'a*, the latter as a reporter for the military rabbinical program at the army radio station — decided to define the public they intended to target. According to them, "We wanted to find the broadest possible common denominator among the religious population. Therefore, we had to give up the extremes — the religious kibbutz movement on the one hand, and Naturei Karta on the other. We decided that our territory would extend from the middle of the NRP, through Merkaz Ha-Rav graduates, to the border of the ultra-Orthodox, where we knew we couldn't set foot. What happened in practice was that we are read both in the religious kibbutzim, and by quite a few ultra-Orthodox as well."

The two editors proposed to Rehov Rashi to reserve the religious public for them, and received a positive reply. In order to preclude opposition by rabbis and heads of yeshivot to the effect that the new paper did not provide suitable material for the holy day of the week, the editors decided to publish on Thursday, not on Friday. The intention was not to provide material for the Sabbath. Whoever wanted to read the paper on the Sabbath anyhow, would do so on his own.

Logo of the newspaper "Yom Ha-Shishi"



### The Same Merchandise in Different Packaging

According to standard marketing practice, the paper was at first distributed free in the large religious centers of Bnei Brak and Jerusalem. Once it was well-established, the editors made the decision to charge for it. Meanwhile, the Rehov Rashi network expired, and the only paper that survived was *Yom Ha-Shishi*. Not only did it survive, it began to flourish.

Its founding editors decided that in addition to the paper's novel day of issue, there would be a novel style as well. Considering that they had to contend with the ultra-Orthodox conviction that anything new is forbidden by the Torah, the novelties were bold indeed. For example, there were no ethics sermons and no learned commentaries on the portion of the week. On the other hand, there were ultra-Orthodox scoops and news about what was happening at the various "courts" and yeshivot.

Another novelty was interviews with secular personalities, which until then was unacceptable in the ultra-Orthodox press, as an interview with someone like that was practically



tantamount to agreeing with his lifestyle. The first interview with a secular personage was with ex-Commander-in-Chief of the Israel Defense Forces Raphael Eitan. The reporters went to his home at Tel Adashim, and left with his statement: "The secular educational system is bankrupt. Religious education is the only alternative." Nahshoni took the quote to one of the leaders of the ultra-Orthodox community and told him that if 100 rabbis had made this statement, it would not have the weight it did coming from the one and only "Rafal."

The launching of the paper coincided with a period of conflict between the secular and the ultra-Orthodox populations in Jerusalem. The image of the latter in Israeli society was poor. "We felt we could respond to the secular public in its own language," the editors of *Yom Ha-Shishi* say. "We didn't want to adopt a defensive position. We decided to fight back. We were very abusive toward the secular public then."

As an aside, it may be noted that the secular public did not actually react to these attacks, inasmuch as it had no idea that it was being attacked. But this fact did not trouble the *Yom Ha-Shishi* editors. For them, it was more important that the ultra-Orthodox public see itself fighting back than that the secular public collapse in panic.

Katzover and Nahshoni worked out an arrangement with the defunct Rehov Rashi to continue publishing the paper, but under a different name — *Erev Shabbat*. It was the same merchandise in different packaging. The editors then searched for the possibility of an arrangement with a national paper in order to gain a strong economic base. Eventually, a partnership was worked out with the *Jerusalem Post*. The *Post's* primary interest was in the administrative side, while the two editors handled the editorial aspect.



Logo of the newspaper "Erev Shabbat"

Four years later, the arrangement fell apart and a battle over the right to the name of the paper was begun, still going on in the courts. Katzover and Nahshoni wanted to retain the name *Erev Shabbat*. The *Post* objected, claiming that it owned the rights to the name. The two editors then announced that they would publish a new paper but with the same editorial staff — *Yom Ha-Shishi*. The *Post* continued publishing *Erev*

*Shabbat*, but with new editors. Katzover and Nahshoni were thus publishing an old-new paper, while the *Jerusalem Post* came out with a new-old one.

The editors of *Yom Ha-Shishi* then made a deal with the Schocken network of local papers, in which *Yom Ha-Shishi* would buy paper from Schocken and print at the *Hadashot* press in Tel Aviv, while Schocken would handle the advertising. The editorial offices are in Jerusalem.

### Threat of Economic Boycott

In describing the paper's editorial point of view, Nahshoni says: "When we publish exposés, we focus on areas which we can try to correct. Our priorities are different from the secular press. If there is a controversy between Rabbi Shach and the Lubavitcher Rabbi, we report it, but we don't take a stand. The fact that the controversy exists is important to our readership, but everyone must make up his own mind individually."

Whether this is real or pretended innocence, the fact is that *Yom Ha-Shishi* has found a wide audience. Even though its editors had at one time practically written off the religious kibbutz public, many members of that community read the paper as often as, or perhaps more often than, *Ha-Tzofeh*. The ultra-Orthodox papers in fact enjoy an advantage over *Ha-Tzofeh*. NRP readers of *Ha-Tzofeh* read the secular press as well, so that many advertisers do not feel it necessary to invest in *Ha-Tzofeh* in order to reach this audience. They can reach both the moderate religious and the secular audience through a secular paper. But the ultra-Orthodox readers can be reached only through their own press; the other is strictly forbidden.

In fact, advertisers tailor ads especially for the ultra-Orthodox press. For example, Elite, which markets its products to the ultra-Orthodox community under a separate name, had to withdraw an ad that showed bare-legged girl dancers, because of threats of an economic boycott by the community. Since then, the Elite ads have been entirely kosher. There is never a suggestion of a female image in them, not to mention sexual allusions so much favored by the ad agencies.

As for the editorial content of *Yom Ha-Shishi*, its editors face the challenge of treading carefully between the many ultra-Orthodox camps, and have been extremely successful in this, for they have never been boycotted. As opposed to the old ultra-Orthodox press, *Yom Ha-Shishi* does not publish an editorial column, nor does it publish obituaries. The old-style press had many older subscribers, and would publish a large number of obituaries. But *Yom Ha-Shishi* decided to forego the obituary section because it wanted to avoid political



entanglement over the nature of the obituaries and the identification of the deceased with a particular faction. The editors themselves are not identified with any camp. The fact that they served in the army does not place them in an advantageous position, but rather marks them as outsiders, which is good for business. In the ultra-Orthodox world, symbols play a major role. The fact that Nahshoni wears a black *kippah* and Katzover a knitted *kippah* defines their position.

The paper employs 60 religious free lance reporters who cover all the territory from the NRP to the ultra-Orthodox community. The reporter who covers the latter area uses a pseudonym. A large proportion of the material submitted is non-objective, and most important, cheap. It is conveyed by part-time reporters who have positions inside the various "courts" and yeshivot. They have no concept of journalism, but they know what is happening around them. Examples of the information they report include Torah scroll dedications, memorials for departed Torah masters or visits by ministers to rabbis. Staff writers then work the material into articles suitable for publication. In point of fact, in the secular press it is the PR agent or the spokesman who fills the same role, and they are not characterized by excessive objectivity either. The paper also has a Knesset reporter, a political reporter and reporters in every city with a sizeable religious population — Jerusalem, Bnei Brak, Safed, Ashdod, Haifa, Ashkelon, Netanya and several others.

### "Dynasty" in an Ultra-Orthodox Newspaper

The paper also runs columns. The column titled "*Halakha Le-Ma'asseh*" ("Putting Rules into Practice"), by Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, deals with topics that are of interest to the ultra-Orthodox community in question-and-answer format. A recent topic was the prohibition against cooking meat with milk even for a dog, and even by a non-Jew. Other questions have been whether it is permissible to destroy the walls of a synagogue in order to install additional windows, or whether a soldier serving in the reserves is allowed to eat dairy products after only five hours have passed since he ate meat, rather than six. The answers to the questions are followed by detailed lists of sources.

There are two medical columns, reports on the Jewish world — nearly all of them translated from the Jewish press in the U.S. and England — and a vacation column which recommends trips to the graves of *tsaddikim*, especially under the auspices of a certain tour company which, not surprisingly, has a full-page ad in the paper.

A column entitled "*Ha-Shavu'a*" ("This Week") contains

short news items about Israel and the world. A series entitled "*Shoshelet*" ("Dynasty"), which is not what it might appear to be at first glance, contains stories about rabbis and learned masters. There is a family advice column which answers such questions as what to do about a neighbor who drops in every morning in order to gossip, and there is also a beauty column.

The paper also runs a gossip column, "Behind the Curtains." Nahshoni explains the existence of a gossip column in an ultra-Orthodox paper thus: "It is not vulgar gossip, but information presented positively. The community is based on gossip. How can I ignore it? What we do is provide tidbits that only border on gossip." An example of an item in the column is: "At a rabbinic conference at Kibbutz Lavi, during a discussion on communications, a journalist from Kol Yisrael [the Israel broadcasting authority] said some insulting things about one of the religious newspapers. When the editor of the paper (*Yom Ha-Shishi*), who was in the audience, stood up and revealed that the journalist writes for a paper that considers itself a competitor, and even receives a salary there, the journalist admitted it was true. Now he fears that Kol Yisrael will discover that he moonlights, and he may come to the same end as all the other moonlighters."

The "Behind the Curtains" column in "Yom Ha-Shishi"



Another item was about Minister of Communications Raphael Pinhasi, who wanted to have a swim at the separate-swimming section (men apart from women) of Herzliya beach. The minister had to wait quite a while in the new Volvo 740 that had been given to him, until the gate to the shore was opened. Up until a year ago, when he was deputy mayor of Bnei Brak, he had his own key to the shore, as do all the senior municipal officials. As a government minister, he doesn't have those privileges.

Even the famous Donald Trump appeared in *Yom Ha-Shishi*: "The American media have been focused continuously on the troubled financial affairs of New York millionaire Donald Trump. What the papers don't know is that precisely at this difficult time, the millionaire, who is not Jewish, contributed \$20,000 to an institution that belongs to a large Hassidic 'court' in Brooklyn, with the promise that the contribution was the first of a series."

*Yom Ha-Shishi* has a circulation of 40,000, according to its editors. Its competitors question the figure. What is undeniable, though, is that the paper sells in the ultra-Orthodox community, especially in Bnei Brak and Jerusalem. There are no subscriptions. There are additional sales points in Haifa, Tel Aviv and even in Eilat.

### The Rabbi's "Tish" (Mitzva Meal)

*Yom Ha-Shishi's* main competitor is *Erev Shabbat*. Although *Yom Ha-Shishi's* editors minimize *Erev Shabbat*, they admit that "it competes with us only in that it tries to imitate us and undercut our advertising rates. Aside from that, it doesn't harm us. There is actually no room in the market for two non-party religious newspapers."

When *Yom Ha-Shishi* split from the *Jerusalem Post*, Zvi Rosen, a senior *Ha-Mode'a* journalist, was appointed the new editor of *Erev Shabbat*. By good fortune, a major strike was being waged at the broadcasting authority, and there were plenty of journalists looking for work. Several found a solution to their problems in the new paper. However, Rosen's appointment gave the paper an Agudat Yisrael image. It was thought that the paper would disregard the Degel Ha-Torah, Shas and other factions within the ultra-Orthodox community. Indeed, during the 1988 elections, the paper explicitly supported Agudat Yisrael. Shas and Degel Ha-Torah moved away from it and stopped advertising in it.

Rosen left the paper after a year and was replaced by Moshe Grillak, who, after a brief period, was replaced by Yisrael Gellis in early 1989. Gellis had worked for *Yated Ne'eman* for three years.

"When I arrived at *Erev Shabbat*," Gellis says, "I introduced a moderate line. Every faction receives exposure, but they are

also criticized as well. I support all of them and also oppose them. There is no political preference."

Pictures of women do not appear in this paper either.

There are three permanent reporters on the staff. According to Gellis, the circulation is 20,000, nearly all in Bnei Brak and Jerusalem. The readership includes "Naturei Karta, on the one hand, through the furthest reaches of the NRP on the other," he says. There are also subscribers abroad, especially in the ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods of Antwerp, Brooklyn, London and Zurich.

There are no staff meetings in the secular journalistic sense. The editor decides what material goes in and who writes it. He too retains non-journalist reporters who convey information about the "courts" and the yeshivot. His methods for verification are not particularly exacting, and *Erev Shabbat* has been called "the apologizing newspaper." It has a permanent column for apologies about previously published items that were erroneous. Gellis is unperturbed. He doesn't mind apologizing.

But his willingness to apologize did not help in the matter of Aryeh Avneri, a journalist who wrote a book titled *Ha-Gvir* ("The Rich Man"). *Erev Shabbat* wrote, or hinted, that "someone had commissioned the book to be written about former Member of Knesset Avraham Shapira." The matter is now in the courts. In another instance, *Erev Shabbat* wrote that the son of a well-known rabbinic personality had failed the tests for the position of religious judge. An error had been made in the name: The name that was printed was the name of another son in the same family. Unfortunately for Gellis, the libeled son was a lawyer. This matter too is being decided in court.

The editor of *Erev Shabbat* is not particularly concerned that his readers are not given news about crime, sports and other kinds of events. "No one lives by one paper alone," he says. "*Erev Shabbat* is a supplementary paper. In addition, the ultra-Orthodox public listens to the radio a lot." If an earthquake should occur somewhere, *Erev Shabbat* will not report it unless, Jews were hurt or synagogues were destroyed.

The paper's readership is very active, quick to react by letter and phone to anything that displeases it. For example, the telephone lines were burning when a report on a rabbi who opened a synagogue in the Jerusalem suburb of Ramot was mistakenly accompanied by a photograph of a rabbi from Bnei Brak; or when a report appeared about a certain rabbi who held a *tish*, while another, more important rabbi, who had also held a *tish*, received no coverage. Gellis' solution, in the latter matter, was to publish a report on the "more important" rabbi's *tish* the following week, and the affair was settled.

### Does the Public Have the Right to Know?

There is also violence. Once, *Erev Shabbat* reported on tension within one of the Hassidic "courts." The ink was not yet dry when an ambulance siren shattered the silence of the night, and medics appeared at Gellis' home to offer "emergency treatment," which he, of course, did not require. The next day, Friday, he found 200 loaves of *hallah*, with a bill, at his doorstep. On Sunday, he was threatened on the telephone. Finally, a solution was proposed. The Hassidim dictated a draft of Gellis' apology. When he wanted to change a word, they stared at him until he understood that if his peace of mind, and his life, were dear to him, he should not argue with them.

"I published the apology just as they wanted," Gellis says. "The important thing was peace."

The quick reaction by parties who consider themselves offended, on the one hand, and by *Erev Shabbat*, on the other, is astonishing. Once, an item appeared about a well-known personality from the Belz Hassidic community who had become entangled in debts and fled the country. The item turned out to be untrue: One of Gellis' informants had deceived him. In no time at all, the owners of a food firm which had a Belz kashrut guarantee were instructed to stop all advertising in *Erev Shabbat*. Gellis was alerted. The offended parties demanded an apology and Gellis agreed immediately. After writing a positive article on Belz, as the Hassidim demanded, the advertising resumed.

There are even more serious incidents as well, but Gellis will not discuss them. "The right of the public to know?" he says. "I don't owe the public anything. If the public doesn't know what I, as a newspaperman, know — then it doesn't know."

That accounts for a phenomenon which Gellis describes well: "When I get information that *Yom Ha-Shishi* is about to pay a visit to someone, I immediately write something positive about that person. That was what happened in the case of a senior member of the ultra-Orthodox community who holds a high position in a government office, and it immediately resulted in advertisements from that office."

Gellis is not hypocritical about the question of gossip either, which is also an element in his paper. "There is always a problem with slander and gossip. But without it, we might as well close down the paper and go home." Gellis is not interested in closing down the paper. In fact, he hopes to expand it from its present 32-page format, to use color, to publish special supplements and to live in peace with everyone.

### The "Spiritual Committee" in Action

If *Erev Shabbat* and *Yom Ha-Shishi* try not to identify with any particular ultra-Orthodox faction, at least not officially, *Yated Ne'eman* functions explicitly as the platform for Rabbi Shach, the head of the Lithuanian faction of the ultra-Orthodox world.

*Yated Ne'eman*, founded in late 1985, is the product of many contributing factors, the primary one being Rabbi Shach's withdrawal from the Council of Torah Sages in 1982. Agudat Yisrael's organ, *Ha-Mode'a*, ignored him from then on, and while it refrained from attacking the elderly rabbi from Bnei Brak personally, it was extremely critical of his associates. Apparently, Rabbi Shach realized that the best way to communicate with his followers was through a newspaper of his own.

Once the decision was made, money was raised and two journalists were recruited — Moshe Grillak and Shmuel Hasida. Their journalistic experience had been primarily in the ultra-Orthodox field, although they had also edited a column on tradition and the Torah portion of the week for *Ma'ariv*. Hasida left after a few months, and Grillak after three years. A staff member who stayed was Yisrael Gellis, who had been one of the heads of the Or Same'ah Yeshiva for the newly repentant, but responded to the challenge of the newspaper. Having no substantial journalism experience, he began learning about the field by working for several secular newspapers in Tel Aviv.

Two months after the decision was made to publish the paper, money had been raised, and Rabbi Shach gave the signal to go ahead. The rabbi also indicated that the format would be similar to that of *Al Ha-Mishmar* (the Mapam daily), and that the printing facilities of the Mapam organ should be used — this despite his scathing public criticism of kibbutzim.

A network of reporters was organized, an advertising department was set up and the first issue was published. When it was brought to Rabbi Shach, he examined it first from a graphic point of view, questioning the choice of typography. Then he examined the ads, asked about distribution, read the paper, expressed his satisfaction and gave his blessing. There were problems at first: Editors resigned and there were financial difficulties, but *Yated Ne'eman* weathered the running-in period, although there are still money problems.

One of the budding reporters then was Natan Grossman, appointed editor of the paper in 1988. Everyone knew that the overall editor was Rabbi Shach, whose representatives

checked the day-to-day running of the paper on his behalf. Formally, the paper is co-owned by a company which is responsible for its content and which functions as a spiritual committee. This body is unparalleled in the Israeli press and perhaps in the press anywhere. The other co-owner is responsible for the paper's business and technical management. The two bodies function separately, although there is an executive board representing both elements.

The spiritual committee, which is the newspaper's highest censorship board, is made up of seven heads of yeshivot, religious judges and scholars from Jerusalem and Bnei Brak, all of them students of Rabbi Shach. Their authority is absolute. Not a word in the paper is printed without their approval. Since they have other occupations and cannot be present every evening, they send representatives to the editorial office in Bnei Brak in order to supervise the night editors' work. These representatives — "comptrollers" — work on shifts as volunteers. They read every word of the text and the ads. The paper cannot go to print without their signatures. They make sure that the ads — especially the classified ads — are discreet. For example, the phrase "beautiful bride" would not appear in the matrimonial column, but rather "bride" alone, or at most "bride with good qualities," for the sake of modesty.

There have been cases when full-page ads have been completely disqualified by the comptroller. For example, an ad calling for settlement in Emanuel and Betar was disqualified because of Rabbi Shach's well-known opposition to settlement beyond the Green Line. An ad for a Citroen car, which described it as "the perfect Frenchwoman" (*ha-tsarfatiya ha-mushlemet*), was disqualified, for how would a father reply to his child if questioned about a perfect Frenchwoman? Ads that are too Zionist are also disqualified. For example, *Yated Ne'eman* would never run an ad for a festive prayer service at the Western Wall with the participation of the Chief Rabbis in honor of Israel Independence Day. This kind of holiday does not appear in the ultra-Orthodox calendar.

### Spirituality Rather Than Force

There are practically no crime reports in *Yated Ne'eman* either. The reader learns about such events only through articles written in reaction to reports that appeared in the secular press. He must piece together what happened by a circuitous route, but this is the usual approach in the ultra-Orthodox sector.

There are also expressions and definitions that never appear in *Yated Ne'eman*. For example, *Mishkan Ha-Knesset*

(literally, the dwelling-place of the Knesset) does not exist — it is *Binyan Ha-Knesset* (the Knesset building), because *mishkan* implies something else entirely — the Sanctuary or Temple — and cannot resemble anything else, certainly nothing of the Zionists' doing. The Supreme Court never pronounces (*posek*) decisions, but rather decides (*mahlit*), because only a rabbi pronounces decisions. A court of justice (*beit hamishpat hagavoha le-tseddek*) does not exist, because the only just law is Torah law. A secular court is not authorized to do justice. The paper uses the abbreviation "bagatz" for the word court, without ever spelling out what it stands for. Even the president of the state is not referred to by his title, *nassi* (president), because that is a biblical term referring to the princes of the tribe in ancient times. President Chaim Herzog rates only a "Mr." If the Chief-of-Staff states that the country can rely (*lismokh*) on the Israel Defense Forces, it will not be reported in *Yated Ne'eman* because one can rely only on our father in heaven. There are very few reports about women, but when there is no choice — for example, when there is a news item about the State Comptroller (at present, a woman), or the President of the Philippines — it is extremely brief.

If a woman appears in photographs received by the paper from news agencies, she is excised from history with the snip of a scissors. To this day, *Yated Ne'eman* readers are convinced that only men participated in the revolution in Rumania, demonstrations in Moscow and every other newsworthy event. Of course, photographs of Israeli soldiers with guns never get into the paper, nor of air-force exhibitions by Israeli pilots, as there is no need to emphasize force over spirituality. Furthermore, the military photographs do not show the kind of people that comprise the readership of *Yated Ne'eman*, and children seeing them are liable to think unacceptable thoughts about military service.

The paper partially supports itself by subscriptions, which, according to the editor, amount to 10,000 Degel Ha-Torah and Shas readers, and double that amount on the weekend. Wealthy U.S. Jews, anxious to fulfill Rabbi Shach's wishes, also assist the paper. In addition, business and commercial concerns whose managers are close to the Rabbi advertise in the paper even if there is no economic justification for the ads. Rabbi Nissim Karelitz has pronounced that it is permissible to take out a subscription with *ma'asser* (tithe) funds which every Jew must set aside for charity. Young men who did not want the paper in their home were told: Don't read the paper, don't even bring it into your house if you don't want to, but take out a subscription for your grandfather or grandmother. Old folks suddenly discovered that their grandchildren were concerned about their reading habits.

The paper has eight pages, with supplements at the end of the week "worthy of placing on a Jewish table on Shabbat." The supplements are spiritual in content, with commentaries on the Torah portion of the week, ethical ideas, articles about great Torah scholars of the past, history columns, surveys about yeshivot and similar traditional subjects. It is all written in a serene, educational style, except for such subjects as the Mizrahi movement, the Habad movement and the Lubavitcher Rabbi, who is Rabbi Shach's arch-rival. The messianic messages emanating from New York and the personality cult that has developed around Rabbi Menahem Mendel Schneerson are thoroughly denounced. Another subject that gets rough treatment is the Chief Rabbinate in Israel, which is suspected of excessive Zionism. A special survey done by the newspaper revealed, for example, that 80 per cent of the rabbinate's conversions were "fictitious."

"All in all, our role is to reinforce the believers," says Editor Natan Grossman. "We provide them with information that will assist them in confronting the secular public and in persuading unbelievers. The paper is a propaganda tool. If you have no *shofar*, you have no mouth. Our staff is small and frugal, and today the paper supports itself. When there are profits, especially at holiday time, we repay debts."

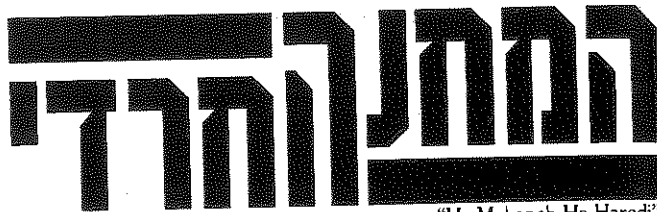
As for the right of the public to know, Grossman says without hesitation: "Our public's right to know is limited. In *Yom Ha-Shishi*, the limitations are smaller; here they are larger."

### An Aggressive Style

*Ha-Mahaneh Ha-Haredi*, the organ of the Belz Hassidim, is a noteworthy component of the ultra-Orthodox press. A weekly, it has appeared in modern format since 1980, although it traces its origins to a newspaper that was first published in 1868, when the Austro-Hungarian government granted a permit to the Belz Hassidim to publish a newspaper.

The first editor of the modern version was Michael Halberstam. Yisrael Eichler, today's editor, worked as a reporter then. The paper had begun as a monthly but became a weekly as a result of the withdrawal of the Belz "court" from the mainstream ultra-Orthodox community and its establishment as a separate entity with its own court of justice, kashrut jurisdiction and school system. Attacked on all sides, especially by the radical Sattmer Hassidim, the Belz Hassidim decided that they needed a more tangible platform for rebuttal.

Editor Eichler's delicate appearance and manner can be misleading, for *Ha-Mahaneh Ha-Haredi* has an aggressive



Logo of the newspaper "Ha-Mahaneh Ha-Haredi"

style. Recently, the paper and the editor were obliged to pay 105,000 shekels in damages to the heads of the Citizens Rights Movement for slander.

The Belz political point of view is explicitly reflected in the paper. It is decidedly dovish, and advocates conducting peace talks with anyone, including the PLO. Eichler explains that this approach is not a result of pacifism, or of recognition of the rights of gentiles to Eretz Israel territory. It is a question of security and the saving of lives, and the Belz Hassidim have no confidence in security provided by physical force.

The paper has two parts: an educational Torah section written in a simple, journalistic style, which includes stories about *tsaddikim* and similar material, and a political section which editorializes on events in the ultra-Orthodox world. There is no such thing as objective journalism in this newspaper: Its managers do not believe in it. "We pass on direct messages to our readers, without kid gloves," says Eichler.

The editor meets with his Rabbi at least once a week in order to hear his thoughts about events in Israel and the world. The Rabbi also makes comments on the previous issue, so that the editor is guided for future issues. Although the Rabbi never inquires about the contents of the forthcoming issue, there is supervision: Rabbi Yosef Amram Moscowitz, head of the Belz "Ma'asseh Rokeach" Institute, which publishes the Belz Rabbi's scholarly Torah works, reviews the text thoroughly before publication, especially the Torah material. There are also an administrative manager and three reporters. Eichler gives out assignments, while he himself writes most of the editorial material. Advertisements are submitted by firms and stores, most of whom are under Belz kashrut supervision. The arrangement is mutually advantageous.

According to the editor, circulation is 10,000, including distribution abroad. A special U.S. edition is published a week after the Israel issue, with local advertising.

The guiding principles of *Ha-Mahaneh Ha-Haredi* are the same as those of the other ultra-Orthodox papers: no crime, no "embarrassing" subjects, no women, no sports, no TV, no films. These concepts do not exist in the world of Belz Hassidism.

"The purpose of the paper is to reinforce the believers, not to initiate them into the fold," Eichler says. "Everyone needs ideological reinforcement, because no one is absolutely certain of his beliefs all of the time. A paper like ours is necessary in order to fight back against the enormous force of the media. Until we appeared, the ultra-Orthodox press was defensive. We initiated and developed an aggressive style which gives the young ultra-Orthodox person self-confidence. Until now, he always had to justify his existence. We have given him tools to fight with."

These tools take up 32 pages weekly. On holidays, a green color is used in the paper. While Eichler is in favor of graphic

innovation, he believes that the aggressive style and the Belz-type content are what make the paper unique.

### The List is Long

Space does not permit covering other examples of the ultra-Orthodox press, such as the Habad movement's publications for adults and for children, and a report on events in the Lubavitcher Rabbi's "court"; the Naturei Karta newspapers; and the synagogue newspapers, which, besides dealing with the weekly Torah portion, also report on relevant government, institutional and organizational developments.



The readership of the ultra-Orthodox press

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# NAHUM SOKOLOV AS JOURNALIST AND EDITOR

SHOSHANA SHTIFTEL

Nahum Sokolov



Nahum Sokolov has been called the father of Hebrew journalism. Born in 1859, he was a brilliant Talmud student. Later, exposed to the European and Hebrew Enlightenment, he educated himself in languages, sciences and the humanities while simultaneously pursuing Torah studies and preparing for the rabbinate. This combination of acquired Judaic and European scholarship resulted in Sokolov's characteristic intellectual openness and flexibility and his desire to extract the best from both worlds.

While still very young, Sokolov was already an articulate intellectual who often expressed himself in writing. His first article was published in the Hebrew-language Warsaw newspaper *Ha-Zfira* ("The Dawn") in 1876 when he was 16. It suggested his awareness of a personal responsibility to the Jewish community in terms of exposing it to the outside world. The Hebrew press of the period focused on news, scientific developments and culture from all over the world, tailored to the Jewish reader. Over a three-year period, Sokolov, still immersed in rabbinic studies in Makov, Poland, submitted dozens of articles on science, geography, anthropology and literature to this press — especially to *Ha-Zfira* — in the best tradition of the Hebrew Enlightenment movement.

In late 1878 he wrote his first political piece, published in the Hebrew-language *Ha-Melitz* ("The Advocate") in Peterburg, about the position of the Jewish community in Tsarist Russia. The article dealt with the Jewish tradition of freedom, tolerance and laws that were just, and suggested that granting Jewish citizens civil rights would enhance their loyalty to the Russian state. The themes of liberalism, pluralism and freedom of thought based on a defined social contract were to characterize Sokolov's writing from then on.

He attached great importance to the role of Hebrew writers, whom he saw as community leaders, and cautioned them to be aware of the consequences of their writing as well as to be faithful to their cultural sources. The rejuvenation of the Hebrew language to allow for modern self-expression was a primary goal for Sokolov. He was convinced that there were treasures hidden in the Hebrew language that could be mined and could improve communication between the Jewish and the European cultures. He viewed the preservation of the Hebrew language as an essential component of the preservation of the Jewish nation.

Taking on the role of guide and mentor in his writing, and not only of reporter, Sokolov personified journalism's loftiest goal — to seek to improve, not just to reflect the status quo. He published articles in nearly every Hebrew paper of his time — *Ha-Kol* ("The Voice"), *Ha-Zfira*, *Ha-Magid* ("The Tattler"), *Ha-Melitz*, *Ha-Carmel* and *Ha-Shahar* ("Dawn") —



as well as articles written in other languages in foreign newspapers. He soon became known as a talented writer, and began to work as an editor as well, in *Ha-Zfira*, *Yizraelita* (Polish), *Die Welt* (German, "The World"), *Ha-Olam* (Hebrew, "The World") and *Ha-Telegraph* (Yiddish). Newspapers from all over the world commissioned articles and commentaries from him, particularly on the subject of East European Jewry.

One of his favorite subjects was public opinion, a concept that developed from liberalism. Sokolov was conscious of the implications of molding public opinion in modern society, and cautioned writers to be guided by restraint and balance. He lamented the absence of a defined body of public opinion in the fragmented Jewish population, and called on the Hebrew press to help develop it.

The editor of *Ha-Zfira*, Hayim Zelig Slonimsky, did not share Sokolov's vision of newspapers as opinion-molders, and would have preferred to continue providing general information in his paper, but times were changing. Reluctantly, Slonimsky expanded the political section of his paper and brought in the young Sokolov as an editor — his first permanent job in the field of journalism. At first, he wrote up Jewish news items from all over the world. Later, he produced surveys and comparisons on the situation of Jews in various places, and eventually essays on the Jewish political issues of the day. He introduced new columns on world political events, on the one hand, and on Jewish tradition on the other, while developing a new Hebrew linguistic style to convey a contemporary message. These columns generated intense interest by readers throughout Eastern Europe.

He was a journalist and editor, but also an author, poet, historian and translator. He disliked constricting professional definitions, and defended the vocation of the journalist as being at least as worthy as that of the writer, if not more so. In order to fulfill his reader's demands, the journalist, Sokolov said, must deliver more immediacy, style and knowledge in a single day than a famous author does in a whole year. Well aware that the journalist writes for the moment and not for posterity, he himself produced articles that were relevant for

decades. Good journalism, he believed, was a difficult intellectual exercise demanding the keenest knowledge and analysis presented in a way that is accessible to the entire public. He defined the journalist as a medium through which the reader understands the world and his reality.

Sokolov's emphasis on the journalist's responsibility to the public, and his insistence that the journalist be aware of the implications of his writing, were part of his concept of professional ethics. He introduced new rules in Hebrew journalism. Devoted to the principle of a free press, he struggled hard with Tsarist censorship, as editor of *Ha-Zfira*, resorting to all sorts of ploys in order to put out a newspaper with serious content.

He exemplified the special sense of responsibility for the fate of the Jewish people that Jewish writers and the Jewish intelligentsia felt in the absence of a Jewish state. The Hebrew press, specifically, spoke for the Zionist public. It was not coincidental that Herzl too had been, first and foremost, a journalist. Writers and journalists became the focus for Jewish national consciousness during that period.

Sokolov's contribution to the Hebrew press may be summed up thus:

- He made use of modern journalistic genres hitherto unknown to his public, thereby widening the Hebrew-reading audience substantially.
- He updated the Hebrew language so that modern concepts could be expressed. In so doing, he integrated various styles of Hebrew from different periods, creating a rich linguistic synthesis. Moreover, his innovations were easily comprehensible to the reader.
- He established a new high level of professional ethics, emphasizing the obligation to be objective in presenting information.
- He turned the Hebrew press into a press for the people, accessible to a wide audience, by virtue of simplicity and clarity of language as well as a direct, honest writing style. His audience included Jews from all political, religious and socio-economic sectors.



## LOUIS MILLER AND THE "WARHEIT": A NEW ELEMENT IN THE AMERICAN YIDDISH PRESS / Talli Tadmor - Shimoni

In November 1905, the Yiddish-language editor Louis Miller quit the *Forward* and founded the *Warheit* ("The Truth"), thereby introducing a new element into the radical Jewish community in the U.S. which was embroiled in debates over the 1905 pogroms in Russia.

Miller had begun his career in the late 1880s as editor of the Russian Jewish socialist *Znamia* ("The Banner"), a modest publication. By the time he became editor of the *Warheit*, a major New York Yiddish daily, he had traveled an ideological route that reflected the metamorphosis of the American Jewish labor movement as a whole. The original socialist theory was that the Jews had to pass through a process of cultural impurity on the way to the revolution. The final metamorphosis came with the legitimization of a national cultural identity, including embracing socialist Zionism. Miller, who arrived in New York in 1884 as a young socialist, passed through all the way stations along this road.

The first stop was the impetus of the Jewish socialists to activate their fellow proletarian Jews in America. To this end, the United Hebrew Trades was established as an umbrella organization for Jewish workers, which Miller represented at the Socialist International Congress in 1889. A Yiddish-speaking branch of the Socialist Labor Party was also established. Miller was one of its leaders. In addition, a party weekly in Yiddish was published — the *Arbeiter Zeitung* ("Workers' Newspaper"), followed by a Yiddish monthly, *Zukunft* ("The Future"). These publications legitimized the use of Yiddish as a means of conveying proletarian consciousness to the Jewish worker.

The next stop was the founding of a newspaper which legitimized Yiddish as a form of ethnic self-expression and not just as a means of proletarianization — the *Forward* (1897). Miller was one of its founders, along with Abraham Lessin and Abe Cahan.

The 1905 pogroms in Russia were the impetus for an upsurge in diverse ideologies such as Bundism and Social Revolutionism, whose proponents were immigrating to the U.S. from Russia. The *Warheit* began at this time as a socialist paper with high literary standards, but, reflecting its founder's ideological odyssey, it soon became something quite different: an opponent of class definition and an advocate of a collective solution for the Jewish people.

While the *Warheit* initially came into being as a result of

friction between Miller and Cahan, two dominant personalities who worked at the *Forward*, it soon became defined on the basis of its pronounced ideological identity. It introduced a radical Jewish national element into American Jewish journalism that had been absent until then. The *Forward* was radical socialist, while the *Tagblatt*, while nationalist, was Orthodox and could not attract the anti-religious community.

The *Warheit* appealed to Jews who did not belong to the Socialist Party, but it was sufficiently "revolutionary" to attract Russian Social-Revolutionaries. Yet from the start it defined the Jewish people as a national entity — a radical departure from socialist dogma. The nationalistic aspect of its thinking climaxed during World War I when the paper became the platform of the Po'alei Zion Zionist party.

In 1906, Miller became entangled in the "Maxim Affair," which reflected internal rivalries in the radical Jewish movement. After the 1905 pogroms, funds had been raised by the entire American Jewish community to aid Jewish self-defense groups in Russia. The question arose as to who should receive the funds. For Miller, the Jewish fighters symbolized a nascent national spirit. He believed they should all be supported by the American Jewish community as a whole. Similarly, he supported a one-day strike by American Jewish workers and employers alike in commemoration of the victims of the pogroms. Whereas various Jewish political groups called for symbolic acts according to their ideological predilections, Miller emphasized the overall goal of Jewish self-identity. For Miller, the class war had lost priority to the struggle of the persecuted Jew against anti-Semitism. In championing this struggle, Miller attacked two quite different groups for their apathy: the socialists on the one hand, and the Reform German Jews on the other.

This criticism was reflected in his paper's opposition to Morris Hillquit, a Jewish candidate to Congress who ran on the American Socialist Party ticket in the 1908 elections. Hillquit regarded himself as a socialist leader, not a Jewish leader, and was backed by the *Forward*. The rivalries involved were not purely ideological. Miller was identified with Tammany Hall, and the corruption associated with that group tainted his name long afterward. Still, Miller's point of view reflected the transition for many immigrant Jews from universal socialist values to Jewish national loyalty. Miller faced up squarely to the painful question of priorities: Jewish

interests vis-a-vis broader interests. This was a vital issue, especially when applied to the controversy over immigration, with the trade unions demanding to limit immigration in order to keep wages high.

In 1907 Miller and his paper attacked the German Jewish Reform community for its opposition to the Zionist movement, which had been reflected in a series of strident articles by Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler, President of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and the Zionist leader, Shmaryahu Levin. Levin had called for the classic Zionist repudiation of the Diaspora by American Jews, whereupon Kohler countered that America could not be considered a diaspora, as Jews had equal rights there. America was the best place for Jews — the new Zion. Miller wrote angrily that although American law was indeed progressive, anti-Semitism existed. His main point was that the Diaspora would always exist for Jews because they were foreigners wherever they lived.

A controversial report issued by the New York Police Commissioner in 1908 — the Bingham Report — was another occasion for an attack by Miller on the German Jewish leadership. The report stated that half the criminals in the city were Jewish. This was not surprising to anyone familiar with the harsh conditions of the Lower East Side. Still, the Jewish community and the Yiddish dailies reacted angrily, accusing Bingham of anti-Semitism. They called on the German Jews to use their influence in City Hall to rectify the situation. The German Jews didn't know how to react. Miller was particularly sharp in his criticism of them, which apparently produced results. He and other representatives of the downtown immigrants met with representatives of the German-dominated American Jewish Committee and established a joint communal group.

This joint effort was based on the traditional Jewish concept of mutual aid during times of danger, but in this case the danger was not physical. It was a threat to the reputation of the Jewish community. Miller described the joint effort as a manifestation of Jewish national unity and called for the establishment of a "Jewish National Union" to deal with American Jewish national interests. In this he was opposed by the *Forward*, which viewed the whole matter as a case of simple philanthropy.

A year later, in 1909, the same theme — the prevalence of Jews in organized crime — surfaced again, this time in *McClure's Magazine*. The Jewish community was again agitated. Miller claimed that a stigma had been applied to all Jews, not just New York Jews. The issue of organized crime became the major issue of the 1909 mayoralty elections. For Miller and other Jews, it was a manifestation of anti-

Semitism, and they judged the candidates on the basis of their stand on the Bingham Report. The Tammany Hall candidate had repudiated the report, and Miller called on his readership to support his candidacy in the Jewish national interest.

Another issue which occupied Miller and the *Warheit* was the territorial solution to the Jewish question, first proposed as the Uganda Scheme at the Sixth Zionist Congress in 1903. Miller supported the concept of a territorial solution to save Jews, and in 1906 wrote plainly that the socialist international solution was not relevant to the Jewish question. Similarly, he supported Baron Hirsch's plan to encourage Jews to settle in Argentina. He had moved away from his original ideology and had begun developing a new one, which would lead to viewing the Jewish people as a nation like all others.

With the Young Turks revolution in 1908, the Zionist movement hoped that the possibility of building a Jewish society in Eretz Israel would become more realistic. Miller supported this goal. He now believed that funding for the Jewish colonies in Argentina should be transferred to the settlement of Eretz Israel. In 1911 he traveled there and wrote a series of enthusiastic articles praising the work of the pioneers. He also came to the conclusion that Eretz Israel would become the cultural center of world Jewry — an echo of Ahad Ha-Am's philosophy 20 years previously. Miller turned the *Warheit* into a platform for Po'alei Zion, printing articles by Ber Borochov and other labor Zionist ideological leaders. The paper now had a radical nationalistic image.

With the outbreak of World War I, Miller espoused unpopular causes, and his paper began to fail. He was the only Yiddish editor to support the Allies (Russia, England and France), while everyone else supported the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary). Support of the despised Russian Czar was anathema to the Jewish public. Moreover, the Jewish socialists identified with German culture, which had played a major role in the development of European socialism. The rest of the Yiddish press carried articles warning that a Russian victory would mean disaster for the Jews, as well as items about Jews signing up for the Austrian Emperor's army. Miller wrote that an Allied victory would have a restraining effect on Russia, which would improve the situation of the Jews.

But the readership was upset and boycotted the paper. Miller's partners, who controlled the majority of the paper's shares, forced him to resign as editor in 1914. Following that, he started a series of newspapers, but none of them succeeded. He died, forgotten, in 1927.

In 1914, a new Yiddish liberal, pro-Zionist newspaper, the *Tog* ("Day"), appeared. It appealed to a wider audience than the fading *Warheit*, which was sold to the *Tog* in 1919.

# A JEWISH EDITOR IN NAZI GERMANY, The Personal Story of the Berlin Jewish Telegraphic Agency Editor and Manager During the 1930s / Arno Herzberg

The Nazis invested a great deal of effort in controlling the news in the Third Reich. In this they learned a valuable lesson from their fascist colleague, Mussolini, who made the same effort in Italy during the 1920s, although the Nazis surpassed him in achieving an airtight news monopoly.

Special efforts were directed to the Jewish press. From 1933 to 1935, when the Nuremberg Laws were proclaimed, the primary goal was evicting Jews from every sector of German life and isolating them. The Nazis did not object to the continued existence of Jewish communal institutions, including newspapers, at that stage. But during 1935-38, the Nazi approach to the "Jewish problem" changed. All efforts were devoted to speeding up the process of getting rid of the Jews. Following the Kristallnacht riots of November 1938, all Jewish papers were shut down, thereby demoralizing the Jews that were left and cutting them off from contact with the outside world.

All editors, publishers and journalists, including those who worked for Jewish publications, were required to obtain permits from the authorities. The permits could be revoked at any time. This constituted effective control of everyone connected with news dissemination. The system was based not on a priori censorship, but on censorship applied after publication. The editor was obliged to send his publication to the various offices of the Nazi bureaucracy and take full responsibility for the consequences. Since every office had its own censorship criteria, the result was ongoing uncertainty as to what was permissible to print.

The author worked in this tense and dangerous situation for nearly four years as manager of the JTA office in Berlin until it was closed by the Gestapo in 1937. The JTA was owned by American shareholders, which meant that the firm could claim protection under the German-American trade agreement — a valuable aid during the early years of the Nazi period.

A new U.S. ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, who arrived in 1933, stated in an interview to the Jewish press that he intended to monitor the situation of German Jewry closely. This created the first confrontation between the Jewish press and the Nazi regime. JTA was forced to deny that the interview took place, and the Jewish press had to print front-page retractions. The Nazis would have closed down the JTA then and there, but they were still in their infancy and were concerned about world public opinion. After

negotiation, in which the American consul participated, they decided to allow the JTA to disseminate news reports to domestic subscribers but not abroad. By controlling the JTA, the Nazis knew they were effectively controlling all the Jewish papers in Germany, as everyone relied on the agency.

One time, Sturmbannfuhrer Eichmann called the agency to say that one of the items reported in its bulletin was unacceptable — a rare occasion when unacceptability was made known before the item was published in a Jewish newspaper. As a rule, Jewish papers could be — and were — closed down for any reason, or for no given reason, and their editors sent to a concentration camp.

The Jewish press took on the task of supporting and encouraging the German Jewish community during this most difficult period. The editors, too, learned to use news as a weapon that would forge resistance and strengthen the will to live. They emphasized the positive aspects of Judaism, the importance of surviving and the need to escape and start new lives wherever possible. The Jewish press was practically the only vehicle left for Jewish solidarity. Every report about the success of a Jew anywhere in the world, along with the progress in developing Eretz Israel, was a source of self-pride and strength to Jews who were being brainwashed daily that they were inferior. Similarly, the vast historical and religious resources of the Jewish people were mined by Jewish journalists to show parallels with the present and bring hope for better times. But every quote from the Bible, the prayer book or any other source had to be carefully assessed for its provocative potential. A great deal of material was never used.

Jewish journalists carefully followed the Nazi press in order to be up to date on the nuances of the war against the Jews. They learned to take the degrading and shocking lies seriously in terms of their implications for the Jewish community and their influence on the German people. Sometimes, just reading the speeches by Nazi leaders, which the JTA was obliged to report, was a frightening experience for the author. The dilemma was that while reporting this news resulted in demoralization, avoiding it was a disservice to the Jews because they had to prepare themselves for the worst.

The JTA bulletin appeared five days a week. Its sources were a daily report by air from London covering news from the Western world, including the U.S.; newspaper clippings from Warsaw; and a report from the JTA in Prague, which

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was later replaced by a private source of information. Foreign Jewish newspapers were not permitted into Germany.

The two primary areas of news interest for the Jewish press in Germany then were developments in Germany as they affected the Jewish population, and the Jewish world abroad and its reaction to Nazi policy. The writing had to be extremely subtle and circuitous. For example, the censors disliked the word "democracy." "Self-rule," or simply "developments in certain countries" had to be substituted. Exiles such as Thomas Mann or Albert Einstein were never mentioned. Anti-Nazi demonstrations became "statements about the Jewish question." These linguistic games had to be played in earnest in order for a paper, and its editor, to survive.

There was also an element of self-censorship, for example in dealing with the subject of emigration. Every published report on emigration opportunities resulted in masses of Jews converging on the American or South American embassies, leading to the possibility that these outlets would be closed off. These dilemmas were aired at a weekly meeting of the Jewish editors, where the latest information on Nazi government developments, emigration and the local Jewish communities was disseminated, although most of this material was not for publication. Joint decisions were made about publishing or withholding certain reports based on the wellbeing of the community. Journalistic competition was no longer relevant.

The Jewish press was forced to accept the elimination of Jews from German cultural and economic life as a given, and could not express any reaction to it. In 1937, the winter of 1937 in order to meet the JTA Prague correspondent in a winter ioner on Jewish affairs invited himself to address a meeting of Jewish leaders in Berlin in which he resort in Czechoslovakia. He reprinted on the worsening situation in Germany cally that there would be no Jewish activity outside the Jewish community, and that the final goal was the and warned ion of the Jews. But the editors could not publish this statemeof German intentions to invade Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Returning to Germany, he felt he had come back into a lions' den. they said to a Jewish audience; the speaker did not release the item for publication; and the report would have His had a demoralizing effect on the Jewish community, which phone was tapped, his mail was read and his apartment was still hoping for a miracle.

Certain Jewish leaders in Germany hoped that once the truth about Hitler and his regime were known abroad, the world would respond and people could be saved. Unfortunately, a spirit of isolationism, combined with lack of interest, pushed the horrifying news about Germany to the

back pages of the press in the U.S. and Western Europe during 1933-38. The Jewish story didn't interest foreign correspondents in Germany, who saw it simply as part of the general situation of Nazi rule. They could not comprehend the magnitude of the reign of terror that had been instituted.

In this they were not alone. When the author arrived in the U.S. in 1937, he met with several Jewish leaders, including Rabbi Stephen Wise, in order to convey the immediate danger of the Jews of Germany and of the whole world and to impress upon the Americans that emigration was a question of life and death. But the Americans were convinced that they knew exactly what was going on in Germany, having complete faith in the American press. They could not grasp that the real story was not getting out of Germany because of the totalitarian manipulation of the news. Furthermore, American Jewish papers did not even have permanent correspondents in Berlin, and very few American Jewish leaders went there to observe the situation personally.

The Nazis read the German Jewish press thoroughly. The author once wrote a series of articles for the newsletter published by the Centralverein — The Central Union of German Jews — about the organizational structure of Jewish communities throughout the world. His purpose was to familiarize potential Jewish emigrants with the names of relevant organizations and persons abroad. Eichmann, the Nazi expert on Jewish matters, questioned the editor about the series and informed him that it was of interest to him. The author had the feeling that this interest was connected with Nazi intentions to invade foreign countries. He continued the series, but focused on distant communities — Australia, South Africa, South America and Asia — rather than on neighboring countries.

The Nazis were on good behavior before and during the 1936 Olympics held in Germany in order to show foreign visitors how calm and peace-loving Germany was. Anti-Jewish incitement was temporarily halted and the foreign correspondents were easily fooled. The author went to visit the neglected Jewish cemetery in the village where he and his forebears had been born. He realized that there were no Jews left to visit the graves. He sat down in a hotel in the village and wrote a report to the London JTA office conveying the true picture of murder, terror, and the concentration camps which were the daily reality for Jews in Germany. He asked the mistress of the hotel, whom he knew since childhood, to mail the letter for him. It was addressed to one of the JTA staff members in London with a neutral-sounding name. He requested the London editor to use an Amsterdam dateline. The story was published widely in the West and caused a stir.

The author managed to get out of Germany during the

winter of 1937 in order to meet the JTA Prague correpondent in a winter resort in Czechoslovakia. He reported on the worsening situation in Germany and warned of German intentions to invade Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

Returning to Germany, he felt he had come back into a lions' den. His phone was tapped, his mail was read and his apartment was searched. He and the other Jews who remained were leading a paranoid existence.

## TREASURES THAT WILL NO LONGER BE LOST / Aryeh Ben Yosef

Although the technique of indexing is over 100 years old, the importance of indexing periodicals and newspapers has been realized only during the last few decades. While history books preserve a record of major events, newspaper editorials — the soul of journalism — are not preserved, and with the passage of time, it is difficult to locate them.

Private libraries certainly cannot keep volumes of newspapers, but public libraries do, especially in the latest microfilm and microfish formats. However, newspaper researchers still often encounter the problem of an absence of index catalogues for periodicals.

If newspapers are as important to society as eyes to a person — a common saying amongst journalists — then editorial and feature articles serve to focus and clarify the daily recording of events. An example is the events of May and June 1948 during Israel's War of Independence when heavy battles fought at Latrun resulted in defeat for the Israel Defense Forces. Reports carried by the newspapers were skimpy and did not cover the major strategic controversy between Minister of Defense Ben-Gurion and Chief of Operations Yigael Yadin at that time. However, this background information was reflected in editorial pieces in such periodicals as the monthly *Ma'arakhot* ("Editorials") and in the daily *Ha-Aretz* ("The Land").

Feature articles in the press can also provide primary source material. An example is a number of scholarly articles on the noted Jewish historian Zvi H. Graetz, which appeared in the daily *Al Ha-Mishmar* ("On Guard") in 1967 and *Ha-Yom* ("The Day") in 1968 and 1969.

It is well known that Israeli author Sh. Y. Agnon won the Nobel Prize. However, a little-known fact is that much before then, other Hebrew-language writers had been considered for the prize, especially Hayim Nahman Bialik. Background on this aspect of history appeared in *Al Ha-Mishmar* in 1969. Another important editorial contribution in the press is literary criticism and review of new works.

Eyewitness reports published in the press also contribute to historical research. In many cases they constitute the basic

evidence for the historian's work.

Censorship accompanied the press from the start, especially in totalitarian countries. Another obstacle which hindered the effectiveness of the printed word was censorship by librarians who prevented free access to published materials. These obstacles have been removed in recent history. Moreover, librarians have produced indexes not only for books, but also for periodicals. The pioneers in the latter field were the Americans William Poole, who began indexing periodicals in 1848, John Edmonds and Henry Z. Raymond, the first editor of the *New York Times*. Today, there are over 2,000 periodical indexes throughout the world.

In Eretz Israel, and later in the State of Israel, the National Library at the Hebrew University pioneered Hebrew-language bibliographic work, including work on periodicals. Starting from the 1920s, it published a bibliographic periodical, *Kiryat Sefer* ("City of the Book"), whose first editors were Professors Sh. H. Bergmann, H. Pik and G. Scholem. During 1945-74, a column entitled "In the Periodicals" appeared in *Kiryat Sefer* reviewing the contents of periodicals received at the National Library. In 1969 the library began publishing a periodical titled *Reshimat Ma'amarim Be-Mada'ei Ha-Yahadut* ("Listing of Articles in Jewish Studies"), edited by Dr. Y. Yoel, in which articles were categorized by subject. In 1977 the Haifa University library began publishing *Mafte'ah Le-Kitvei Et Be-Ivrit* ("Index for Hebrew Periodicals"), edited by A. Adler, which lists humanities and social sciences articles. The kibbutz movement publishes an index to all the articles that appear in kibbutz periodicals. The Law Faculty at Bar-Ilan University indexes all articles that appear in legal periodicals. The Szold Institute in Jerusalem publishes *Megamot* ("Trends"), which includes information on published articles in the behavioral sciences. It also publishes a bibliographic periodical, *Mehkar Shotef Be-Mada'ei Ha-Hevra* ("Current Research in the Social Sciences").

Published articles on Torah literature have been indexed by bibliographer M. Vender in two bibliographic volumes — *Meir Einayim* and *Meir Le-Zion*. The Society for the

Protection of Nature library indexes the articles that appear in its periodical *Teva Va-Aretz* ("Nature and Land") and other articles on Eretz Israel geography and nature. The library at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev indexes articles on Hebrew liturgical poetry. During the 1980s, the Bar-Ilan University library undertook to index periodicals on Jewish studies and the humanities that had ceased publication or that had never been indexed.

For a long while, there were no indexes to the Israeli daily press, a situation which was decried by many bibliographers, including the well-known Getzel Kressel. This was partially remedied as follows: Yad Ben-Zvi in Jerusalem has undertaken indexing the first modern Hebrew newspapers, and published an index to *Ha-Levanon* in 1974. Y. Pitzer, the Tel-Hai College librarian, began cataloguing the daily press in microfilm format in 1985. *Ha-Aretz* has indexed events of the first 13 years in the State of Israel as reported in its newspaper. The Bar-Ilan University library undertook

indexing articles in the Sabbath and holiday eve literary supplements of the daily press starting from 1985, in coordination with Haifa University. An addendum to this work lists all Hebrew and foreign books that were published in Israel and throughout the world during the corresponding period, with notations of relevant book reviews in the Israeli press.

Computers have given a major impetus to the indexing of periodicals throughout the world, including in Israel. Clearly, ongoing technological developments will continue to affect this field. On-line facilities for Hebrew periodicals are now available, and hopefully will be extended to the Hebrew daily press soon. The CD ROM system of compressing the information in periodical indexes into disks has been welcomed enthusiastically by Israeli librarians.

Indexing the daily press will change the image of the newspaper from an ephemeral service to an intrinsically valuable work and a lasting historical source.

## REUTER, HAVAS AND COMPANY: THE TELEGRAPHIC NEWS AGENCIES' JEWISH CONNECTION / Moshe Or

The first inter-city telegraph line was established between Washington and Baltimore in 1844. Shortly thereafter, the new invention was put into use in Europe, connecting virtually all the countries and cities there in a complex network. The one exception was a missing telegraph link between Brussels in Belgium and Aachen in Germany, a gap which was to be filled by a pigeon service started by a young man named Yisrael Bar Yehoshafat, who was later to make history.

Born in 1816 in Kassel, Germany, Yisrael was the third son of the Hesse district rabbi. When he was 13, his father died and he was sent to live with an uncle who was a banker in Göttingen. The boy began working as a messenger in his uncle's bank. One day he was sent to collect a sum of money from Professor Karl Friedrich Gauss, a mathematician and physicist who was experimenting with electrical telegraph impulses. He mistakenly paid the boy one gold coin too much, whereupon Yisrael did rapid mental calculations, discovered the error and returned to the professor's house to rectify it. As a result, Gauss developed a close relationship with the boy and showed him the new instrument that he and a colleague had invented — the telegraph. Yisrael was quick to recognize

its potential for financial institutions in terms of reporting stock market fluctuations, but his uncle declined to introduce the new invention into his bank.

Yisrael, 14, then set out for Berlin and joined a small publishing house, which flourished. Five years later he converted, changed his name to Paul Julius Reuter and married a banker's daughter. Some of the periodicals he published incurred the displeasure of the authorities, and Reuter was forced to leave. He moved to Paris in 1848 and began to work for a telegraphic news agency owned by Charles Havas, rumored to be of Jewish origin as well. A year later, the independent-minded Reuter opened a competing agency, and in 1850 he started the pigeon service between Aachen and Brussels to connect the German and French telegraph systems, reducing the previous nine-hour railway connection to two hours.

Dissatisfied with skimpy business, Reuter decided to relocate to London in 1851, having first established a network of agencies in France and Germany. At first he handled only financial reports, but with the expansion of the press in England, he signed up several newspaper publishers as subscribers to a general news service. His agency expanded

rapidly and included the London *Times* among a growing list of subscribing newspapers.

Intense competition between the four major news agencies then — Reuter, Havas, Bernhard Wolfe in Germany and A. P. in the U.S. — resulted in an arrangement by which each one controlled a defined geographic area. Reuter — Britain, the British Empire, Egypt, Turkey and China; Havas — France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Latin America; Wolfe — Germany, Russia, Holland and Austria-Hungary; and A.P. — the U.S. This arrangement lasted until the 1930s.

Reuter constantly used new inventions and ideas to speed up the process of getting the news. During the American Civil War, news reached Europe by a N.Y.-Liverpool steamship line. Reuter hit upon the idea of sending out an agent by boat from Ireland to meet the N.Y. ship, and the agent then returned to Ireland and telegraphed the latest news to the head office in London, beating the arrival of the ship in Liverpool by two days. Reuter was the first to convey the news of Lincoln's assassination, which appeared in the London *Daily Express* — a client of Reuter's — just 11 days after the event.

Reuter was awarded the title of Prussian baron, with the

addition of "von" before his name, in return for the favorable press he gave the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. He retired in 1878 and passed on the management of the agency to his eldest son, Herbert. He died at age 83 in 1899.

Herbert, educated at the best British schools, was a sophisticated socialite who was devoted to music. Taking up his father's business reluctantly, he nevertheless proved himself highly capable of the complex task of managing an international operation with thousands of clients, and the business flourished. But World War I brought disaster when the agency's close connections with Germany were cut off. At the same time, Herbert's wife died, and he committed suicide three days later in 1915. His only son, Hubert, was not interested in the business. He joined the British Army in 1915 at the age of 40 and was killed in action.

The Reuters agency was bought up by the Bank of Scotland in 1916 and was later sold to the Press Association (PA) Company in 1941. Eventually it formed a partnership with the American A.P. and so became a worldwide communications operation. It is one of the five largest news agencies in the world today.

## SHLOMO BEN YISRAEL: HIS HEART WAS IN THE EAST, BUT HE WAS AT THE EDGE OF THE WEST / Gabriel Tsifroni

Shlomo Gelfer — later Ben Yisrael — was born in Poland in 1905. He received a Hebrew education at the Hebrew Gymnasium and Hebraicized his name. Joining the He-Halutz Zionist movement, he worked at the Eretz Israel office in Warsaw which arranged for pioneering youth movement graduates to sail to Palestine. He himself arrived in Eretz Israel at age 20 and worked at draining the swamps in the Zikhron Ya'akov area. Like many of the other pioneers, he was taken ill with malaria and pneumonia. Nevertheless, he continued working at the difficult jobs that typified the period and were the badge of the pioneers: at a cowshed in Karkur, at salt ponds in Atlit and at a stone quarry in Tira.

Ben Yisrael surprised his pioneering friends by displaying a certain attachment to Jewish tradition. He began moving away from the commonly held Leftist point of view. He spent more and more time in Jerusalem, where he became close with journalists working at *Do'ar Ha-Yom* ("The Daily Mail"), which was edited by Ze'ev Jabotinsky in the late 1920s. He hoped to join the newspaper staff, but its financial

position was poor, so he began writing stories on his own which were published by the paper under various pseudonyms. Taking up advice that Jabotinsky had once given him, he started writing the first-ever Hebrew detective stories. He had read reports in *Do'ar Ha-Yom* about the colorful ex-Palestine police detective David Tidhar, who had opened the first private detective agency in Palestine. Tidhar, born in Jaffa, had written a popular book called *Criminals and Crimes in Eretz Israel* (Hebrew) and was later to publish a 19-volume encyclopaedia about the lives of the founders of modern Eretz Israel. Tidhar and his assistant, David Sokolik-Almog, became the prototypes for the heroes of a series of detective books by Ben Yisrael which were an instant success with young readers. However, the books were severely criticized by the Establishment as uneducational. Ben Yisrael and Tidhar waged a lively counter-campaign, which included an endorsement by Bialik and support by several other writers, but the opposition was fierce. Controversy over the series spread to the political arena, with the Labor pioneers accusing



Ben Yisrael of promoting Revisionist adventurism among the youth. Nevertheless, the books became best-sellers, and are collectors' items today.

The detective-story affair established Ben Yisrael's reputation as a popular journalist, although he was turned down as a staff member both at *Ha-Aretz* and *Davar*, where he had hoped to find work. He continued writing popular stories that were published in the Warsaw Yiddish papers *Moment* and *Haint*, which also reached the Yiddish-reading audience in Eretz Israel. Most of the stories were published under pseudonyms. He supplemented his income by writing songs and sketches for the popular theater — Kol Ha-Ruhot and Ha-Matateh, and wrote a hit comedy called "The Good Soldier Yihyeh" which played throughout the country. He befriended Avraham Shlonsky and the young Natan Alterman, and for a time became part of the Tel Aviv bohemian set.

But his first love was journalism. Although *Do'ar Ha-Yom* was in difficult financial straits, Ben Yisrael accepted an offer to join its staff. He was a hard-working and resourceful journalist, well received by the readers, but his salary was insufficient and he had to leave.

Meeting a new immigrant journalist from Hungary, Alexander Zauber, who was anxious to start a new paper, Ben Yisrael found an investor, the young Dr. Avraham Matmon-Cohen, son of the founder of the Herzliya Gymnasium. The paper, *Iton Meyuhad* ("A Special Newspaper"), was launched as a weekly, and, surprisingly, was immediately successful. It featured a sophisticated reportorial style, as compared to the editorial emphasis of the other Eretz Israel newspapers then. A year later, it was sold.

Ben Yisrael rejoined *Do'ar Ha-Yom* as chief correspondent for Eretz Israel and Europe. He covered various Zionist congresses, and in addition visited his family in Poland, persuading his two brothers to come to Eretz Israel. A prolific writer, he reported extensively on the early years of Hitler's Germany. He also renewed contact with several Yiddish newspapers in Warsaw, including *Moment*, where he

published a series of detective stories and other pieces for young readers. In 1937 he published *The Chronicles of Danny Mor* (Hebrew), the adventures of a boy searching for the ten lost tribes. The book was a success and was translated into English. Ben Yisrael hoped it would be made into a Hollywood movie, but was disappointed. He published two other books in Hebrew and in Yiddish — *The Cursed House* and *The Sign of Revenge*.

His ambition was to be appointed a foreign correspondent for one of the major newspapers or telegraphic agencies based in Jerusalem. Introduced to Joe Levy of the *New York Times*, he became his assistant and friend. Simultaneously, he worked as a free lance journalist. His prospects brightened when the veteran German Zionist, Leo Wintz, arrived in Jerusalem and bought up *Do'ar Ha-Yom*, but the paper soon failed again.

Ben Yisrael took up Levy's suggestion to study English in the U.S., where he hoped to attain a Middle East posting with a large newspaper. Meanwhile, World War II broke out. Ben Yisrael was taken on at the *Boston Globe* as assistant editor for foreign affairs. But he was anxious to get to New York, which was the center of the Yiddish press. In 1950 he became a reporter for the *Forward*, where he worked until the end of his life. He was also part of its radio staff. As the paper constricted, Ben Yisrael's role in it expanded. His energy and capacity for hard work earned him a reputation as the leading Jewish journalist in the U.S. He made good use of his knowledge and connections in Israel. He produced powerful articles on the post-war situation in Europe and Israel, as well as on the silent Jews of the Soviet Union. He was the newspaper's U.N. correspondent for many years.

Ben Yisrael retained a love for Israel and wrote extensively and favorably about it. He delighted in developing new, positive ways of presenting the country. He died at age 84 in 1989, having earned many awards and honors for his contribution to Yiddish journalism. He had planned to return to live in Israel, but did not fulfill this goal.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE JEWISH PRESS IN POLISH / Alina Cala

Dr. Alina Cala is a young Polish historian who for the last few years has been devoting herself to bibliographic research of the Jewish press in Poland, having learned Hebrew and Yiddish in order to help her in this work. She did her

doctorate on "The Problem of Anti-Semitism in the Polish Kingdom." Taking up the bibliographic research of the late Paul Glickson on the daily and periodical Jewish press in Poland during 1823-1982, sponsored by the Hebrew



University's Center for Research of the History and Culture of Polish Jewry, Dr. Cala recently completed a volume of research that covers the period up to 1939.

Dr. Cala stipulates that her research is incomplete, for two reasons. First, she limited her work to libraries and archives in Warsaw, although there is a great deal of material to be found elsewhere in Poland and in other countries. Second, it is difficult to detect which publications are Jewish in nature, in cases where the names of the publications are not Jewish.

In the introduction to her research, Dr. Cala points out that Glickson had traced over 500 periodicals, based on bibliographic sources primarily in the British Museum in London, the Library of Congress in Washington and the National Library at the Hebrew University. In 1986 she took up where he had left off, initially planning to cover all the libraries in Poland. She discovered that there is so much material extant, that she would limit herself to the libraries in Warsaw: the National Library, the Warsaw University Library, the Public Library, the College for Planning and Statistics Library, the United Labor Party Central Committee Archive and the Jewish Historical Institute. She was also assisted by the Bibliography Laboratory of the History Institute at the Academy of Sciences, as well as by Polish-language material at the National Library at the Hebrew University. Dr. Cala documented 1,060 titles, with an addendum of an additional 203 partially documented titles. Some of the periodicals were published outside Poland — in Eretz Israel, in various European countries and in North America.

The oldest Polish Jewish newspaper, *Dostrzegacz Nadwislanski* ("The Wisla Shore Observer"), appeared during 1823-24. The largest number of periodicals were published between the world wars, although many of them were short-

lived. A considerable number of papers were bilingual (Polish and Yiddish, or Polish and Hebrew), and some were trilingual (Polish, Yiddish and Hebrew). Dr. Cala also listed calendars and reports of events, even though they cannot be classified as periodicals, because of their importance as historical source material.

Jewish periodicals in Polish were published by a variety of institutions — professional, economic, student, mutual aid, army veteran, medical, charitable and cultural. There were also a large number of political periodicals, especially Zionist organs. Interestingly, despite efforts to use Hebrew, it was the Polish language that served to convey the Hebrew national message to the Jewish community. The second-largest group of political publishers were the left-wing Jewish organizations — the Bund, socialists and communists. Only a few periodicals promoted the idea of assimilation, even during the period between the wars when the pace of assimilation was rapid. Oddly, there were about ten Orthodox periodicals which were published in Polish.

In addition to solving the problem of identifying Jewish periodicals whose names gave no hint of their Jewishness, Dr. Cala also had to decide whether to include periodicals whose subject matter was not Jewish — such as professional or economic journals — but whose membership or readership was virtually entirely Jewish, and therefore of historical interest within this context. A related problem was the relevance of the self-image of individuals in the publishing field — whether they defined themselves as Jews or not, and whether including their publications in the research might not stretch its perimeters too much. Dr. Cala defined her approach to these questions as flexible while remaining faithful to the criterion of the essential Jewishness of the publications in question.

## RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS IN ISRAEL:

### A BRIEF GUIDE / Mussia Lipman

There were only a few Russian-language newspapers in Israel before the late 1980s, but with the beginning of the mass immigration from the Soviet Union, a large number of new papers appeared. Although some closed quickly, quite a few have become well-established. They are varied in content and format. Many of these papers are headed by professional journalists and talented writers, while others were begun as business ventures. There has been considerable mobility

among the journalists, many of whom have changed papers or started their own.

The papers are characterized by a large proportion of translated articles from the Israeli and the world press, as well as selected material from the press in Russia. There is a similarity in subject matter: news, interviews with prominent personalities, serialized detective or love stories — mostly translated from the foreign press — TV schedules for Israel

and the Soviet Union (to service the immigrants who have satellite receivers), want ads, immigrant-advice columns and sports, health, chess and horoscope columns. Matrimonial columns are especially prominent.

The following newspapers are available at newsstands in Israel:

1. *Nasha Strana* ("Our Land"). The oldest Russian-language paper in Israel, it was founded in 1973 with the first wave of immigration from the Soviet Union. It was begun as a weekly but is now a daily, with a circulation of 15,000. It has grown from a 6-page to a 16-page daily format, with 24 pages on Friday, plus occasional supplements. Its contents are varied, with a large proportion of translated material. Politically, it supports the Labor Party, although it publishes articles expressing other points of view as well. It has a permanent staff, and its most prominent writer is Rivka Rabinovitch.

2. *Aleph*. Begun in 1981 on an irregular basis, *Aleph* is now a growing weekly of 64 pages which has a traditional point of view. It terms itself an international magazine that aims to reach Russian-speaking Jews throughout the world. Sold in 16 countries, including the Soviet Union, it has branch offices in New York and Montreal. Its circulation is 17,000 — 5,000 in Israel and the rest abroad. The magazine prints the weekly Torah portion with commentaries by rabbis and academicians, along with varied content that includes news, interviews, fiction and a large matrimonial column.

3. *Sputnik* and *Novosti Nadli* ("Weekly News"). These two newspapers are similar in their adaptability to changing realities. Both have been managed in varying capacities by Mordecai Lerner, an economist and businessman. *Sputnik*, founded in 1986 as a weekly, aims to satisfy the needs of the entire immigrant community, and maintains a middle-of-the-road political position. It has a circulation of 15,000 and now appears twice-weekly. *Novosti Nadli*, begun in 1989 as a weekly, now appears three times weekly and has a circulation of 10,000-12,000. Both papers are similar in format and content, and include translated articles, news from the Soviet press, fiction and want ads. Both are distributed free to new

immigrants for three months.

4. *Krug* ("Circle"). This 80-page weekly, founded in 1977 by Georg Mordel as a continuation of a previous weekly, *Klub*, espouses a Likud point of view but also includes articles representing all types of opinion. It too includes many translated articles. Its circulation is 7,000. It distributes five free issues to new immigrants.

5. *22*. This literary and ideological journal appears six times yearly. It is a spinoff of a previous journal, *Zion*, edited by David Markish, part of whose staff left to establish the new magazine after the 21st issue of the old. They were led to *22* by Editor Raphael Nudelman. The magazine publishes works by new immigrant authors from the Soviet Union, especially on the subject of immigration, as well as translations of Israeli and foreign authors. Essays by prominent Israeli intellectuals on contemporary political and philosophical issues are featured. The magazine is a prestigious platform for Russian writers in Israel, and reaches the Russian-reading public in the West and, more recently, in the Soviet Union.

6. *Novaya Panorama* ("New Panorama"). This weekly combines a woman's-magazine format with advice to new immigrants, including legal guidance, and offers a topical Russian-Hebrew dictionary. It has a circulation of 10,000 and is distributed to new immigrants free for five months.

7. *Zerkalo* ("Mirror"). A monthly digest-type magazine which began in 1985, *Zerkalo* prints translations of articles and stories from the press throughout the world. It has grown from 80 pages to 112-28 pages and is printed on quality paper. Its circulation of 10,000 includes readers in Europe, the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

8. *Echo*. Founded in 1989, this weekly features translations of sensational and curious items from the world press. It has a circulation of 2,500.

The Russian-language press in Israel is in a state of rapid development, with papers opening and closing and staff moving about constantly. This dynamism, which has created intense competition, will undoubtedly continue for the foreseeable future.

## ARYEH NAVON: THE FIRST CARICATURIST IN ERETZ ISRAEL / Shlomo Shva

Aryeh Navon was the first caricaturist to be permanently employed by a newspaper in Eretz Israel — *Davar*, where he produced thousands of caricatures over a 30-year period. He achieved excellence early, drawing aggressive, provocative sketches that both amused and angered, which is the classic caricaturist's task. He was a talented artist who recorded a tumultuous, heroic period of history.

Born in Russia in 1909, he arrived in Palestine with his parents in 1919. Two older brothers were artists and caricaturists, and Aryeh showed artistic talent from a young age. Educated at a commercial school, which his parents hoped would lead to an accountancy career, Aryeh chose art instead and studied at the Histadrut-sponsored studio founded by the artist Yitzhak Frankel. He taught calligraphy and drew caricatures which were published in various occasional humor magazines. The dailies in Eretz Israel during that period did not publish caricatures because of the expense involved. The exception was Ittamar Ben Avi, the ambitious editor of *Do'ar Ha-Yom* ("The Daily Mail"), who patterned his paper on the London newspapers. He was enthusiastic about Navon's caricatures and published several of them.

Ben Avi had a fertile imagination and would attach his own captions to Navon's caricatures to suit his point of view. Navon, who identified with the Labor camp, sometimes discovered that his caricatures conveyed the opposite message from what he had intended, for Ben Avi was a Jabotinsky supporter.

Navon was introduced to Berl Katznelson, editor of *Davar*, who liked his work and in 1933 asked him to become the paper's permanent caricaturist. Navon drew two or three caricatures a week, and was the only permanent newspaper caricaturist in the country until the late 1930s.

During the 1940s, *Davar* readers would turn to Navon's caricature first when reading the Friday edition. That, and Natan Alterman's "Seventh Column," were weapons which the *yishuv* used to fight the Mandate authorities. Many of the caricatures were censored, and the authorities even closed down the newspaper once as a punishment for publishing one of Navon's caricatures.

Navon excelled at the unexpected element, which is the caricaturist's most important device. With that, he was a highly skilled artist, and sometimes the artistic impact of his sketches alone constituted the surprise element. He defined

the successful caricature as having a balance of three elements: the subject, the twist and the artistic execution.

He would begin his day at one of the artists' coffee shops in Tel Aviv, where he read the morning papers. Coffee shops were where caricatures, articles and poems were conceived at that time. Sometimes the right idea would come then and there, but usually it required a good deal of thought. He would list possible subjects, and eventually choose one. Or, he would bring the list to Managing Editor Zalman Shazar and consult with him. Katznelson, though not involved in the day-to-day management of the paper, took a keen interest in Navon's caricatures, and, like the rest of the staff, Navon admired him greatly. Katznelson later helped select the caricatures that were collected in the five published volumes of Navon's work.

During World War II, Navon's work became more intense and somber. He did only one caricature a week, published in the Friday edition. In those days, copies of the paper would be posted outside the Histadrut building and the offices of the newspaper, and people would crowd around to glimpse and discuss the caricature. After World War II, the anti-British nature of his caricatures became sharper, and the censor would often disqualify them. Navon's challenge was to camouflage this content, and one of his most workable solutions was to transpose the situation to a Biblical context.

Some of his most unforgettable caricatures were produced during the War of Independence — for example, a newborn baby in its crib defending itself against wolves, and Little Red Riding Hood on the besieged road to Jerusalem bringing food to her grandmother. He created the popular figure of the little Israeli wearing a knitted army hat, representing the new state. He went to the front lines to capture the fighters' milieu, and continued recording the country's problems and developments until 1964, when, after 30 years, he discontinued doing caricatures and took up drawing and set design.

In addition to being the first caricaturist in the country, he was the first comics artist, producing the *Uri-Muri* series with author Leah Goldberg for the children's edition of *Davar*. He also sketched portraits, landscapes and cityscapes, utilizing a minimalist style to capture the essence of each subject. His work was exhibited in group and one-man shows. In addition, he designed sets for the Cameri and other theaters.

Navon was recognized as a central figure both in the country's journalistic world and in its art world.

## "HA-MIZRAH" — MIKHAEL PIKOVSKY'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER / Dov Genehovski

Mikhael Pikovsky, an Odessa zincographer, editor and publisher, settled in Eretz Israel in 1924 at the age of 58 and opened an engraving workshop for the printing of photos and illustrations in Jerusalem, together with his son, Emil. As there was insufficient work, he also opened a publishing house for art and books, and in April 1925 began publishing the first illustrated newspaper in Eretz Israel, a biweekly entitled *Ha-Mizrah* ("The East").

The 16-page paper, which averaged 45 photographs an issue, aspired to illustrate the development of the country and was oriented not only to the Eretz Israel public but also to a Jewish readership abroad and to tourists. Consequently, it was trilingual, with picture captions and announcements in Hebrew, English and German. Favorite subjects were artists, Jerusalem neighborhoods and special national events. The

scarcity of water in Jerusalem was also a recurring theme.

While no editor was listed on the masthead, contributors included Elisheva, Dr. Noah Braun, M. Gnessin, David Hofstein, Avigdor Hameiri, Shaul Tchernikovsky, K. Y. Silman and Sh. Y. Agnon.

*Ha-Mizrah* ceased publication after six issues. It had printed hundreds of photographs and dozens of illustrations. It was a rather expensive newspaper at 2.5 Egyptian piastres, or 9 pennies abroad, and circulation was low. Very likely, Pikovsky grew tired of it, as his full-page advertisement for his zincography service, which appeared in the last issue, may have accomplished its purpose. The shop now had enough orders even without the newspaper. In addition, the printing was done in Tel Aviv, which may have been too cumbersome for the publisher. The last issue appeared in August 1925.

## THE JERUSALEM "HA-ZA'IR": PORTRAIT OF A LITERARY JOURNAL / Nurit Govrin

The literary magazine *Ha-Za'ir* ("The Youngster") was published in Hebrew in Jerusalem in 1914, with the subtitle: "A Platform for the Development of Young Talent." It is an early example of the literary conflict between established writers and younger writers in Eretz Israel. It arose after the outbreak of the "language war" on the issue of whether German or Hebrew would become the official language of the Jewish schools in Palestine. This issue came to a head during 1913-14, when the German-language Ezra Society (Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden) attempted to institute German as the language of instruction in the new Technion in Haifa and in the society's network of schools.

A group of students from the Ezra teachers' seminary in Jerusalem as well as the Bezalel art institute, joined by a few rebels in Jerusalem *yeshivot*, gathered together to oppose this attempt and to promote Hebrew as the true indigenous language of the country. They were anxious to show its literary potential. The launching of *Ha-Za'ir* was one of the first symbols of their success. Soon afterward, Hebrew was finally recognized as the sole national language.

The effort was an attempt by a new generation of native-born Jerusalemites to shake free from the intellectual authority of an older, non-native generation which identified with foreign cultural models. It may have also been a response to Tel Aviv colleagues based at the Herzliya Gymnasium, who considered themselves an intellectual elite.

Of the 13 young writers who contributed to *Ha-Za'ir*, only two were to become well known. Amotz Cohen (b. 1896) was born in the village of Motza outside Jerusalem, the son of founders of the village. Educated at the Ezra teachers' seminary in Jerusalem, he was 18 when he wrote for *Ha-Za'ir*. He served in the Turkish army during World War I. Later, he made his career as a natural-science teacher at the Rehavia Gymnasium in Jerusalem, educating generations of pupils to love nature, and wrote extensively on botany and zoology.

Levin Kipnis (1894-1990), born in Russia, received a traditional yeshiva education but began drawing and whittling as a youngster and enrolled at Jerusalem's Bezalel institute of art. He was 20 when he contributed to *Ha-Za'ir*, and was its

anonymous editor as well. He was to become a pioneer of Hebrew children's literature in Eretz Israel and produced a total of 800 stories, 600 poems and 100 books.

The 66-page *Ha-Za'ir* included 15 pieces: 6 poems, 6 stories, 2 plays and a critical essay — a nearly classic balance of material for a pure literary journal. While the subject matter of the poems is general, the themes of the stories and plays are explicitly local and contemporary. Four of the stories are set in Eretz Israel, while the other two describe strong ties to the country. One of the plays is set in Jerusalem, the other in the Diaspora. The prevailing mode is melancholy, describing family and social pressures and poverty. The view of the country is unromantic and unadorned. Eretz Israel fails to solve either personal or nationalistic problems. Sometimes it even exacerbates them. The country, and Jerusalem in particular, is described realistically. However, some of the stories contain a measure of optimism. The writers are preoccupied with the Jewish problem at least as much, if not more than, with personal problems. The Arab problem, however, is not dealt with in any of the pieces, although the presence of Arabs in the country is an element in some of the stories. The writers' styles have been influenced by Hebrew writers in Europe and Eretz Israel and by general literary models, but not by contemporary German or French literature, which, in fact, they were required to study in school.

The primary importance of the collection lay in the fact

that it appeared, that it reflected the collective voice of a young generation in Jerusalem and that it expressed the beginnings of a literary awareness of the reality of Eretz Israel and Jerusalem.

The appearance of *Ha-Za'ir* was briefly noted at the time in a Jerusalem daily, *Ha-Herut*, and in two labor weeklies, *Ha-Po'el Ha-Za'ir* and *Ha-Ahdut*. The last also printed a hostile review of the journal by the noted author and editor, Joseph Hayim Brenner, who questioned the need for an additional literary magazine. His reaction typifies the response of the literary establishment to an implied challenge by youngsters. While it is true that much of the material in *Ha-Za'ir* was unpolished, and that time was to show that most of the contributors did not become recognized writers, Brenner himself had promoted even less successful literary efforts by young writers. Moreover, the *Ha-Za'ir* material filled his own stated requirements for literature which confronted the reality of Eretz Israel honestly. It is likely, too, that Brenner was irked by the fact that he knew most of the contributors personally, as he lived in Jerusalem then and played an active role in the "language war." He was probably insulted that he had not been asked to become involved in the magazine.

In any event, with the outbreak of World War I a few months after the appearance of *Ha-Za'ir*, life in Eretz Israel changed drastically. The first issue of the magazine was also to be its last.

## THE IMMORTAL "SCHLEMIEL" / Yehuda Eloni

In 1903, a group of young Zionists in Berlin began planning a satiric political journal: *Der Schlemihl: Illustriertes juedisches Blatt fuer Humor und Satire*. Published by Leo Wintz, who also brought out a Jewish monthly, *Ost und West*, the journal was the collective effort of Theodor Zlozisti, Sammy Gronemann, Emil Simonsohn and Max Jungmann, who had written humoristic material for the Student Zionist Union in the past. *Schlemihl* was influenced by contemporary German satiric political journals such as *Kladderadatsch* and *Simplicissimus*.

The term "schlemiel," which originates in Jewish folklore, has several possible explanations. It might be a slurring of the Hebrew *shelo mo'il* ("useless"), or it might be derived from a combined Yiddish-Hebrew expression, *shlim-mazal* ("bad luck"). Heine believed it came from Shlumiel ben Tsurshadai,

leader of the tribe of Simon, although the Bible doesn't attribute any "schlemiel"-type activity to him. While both the Hebrew and the German dictionaries define "schlemiel" as an unlucky fool, the editors of the new journal had in mind the image of a Jewish court jester who is permitted to ridicule his environment, expose hypocrisy among the high-ranking and tell the painful truth.

Its early issues lampooned self-satisfied Jewish assimilationists who had gained petty prestige in the army or in society, wealthy West Berlin Reform Jews and the Jewish press itself, including the Jewish nationalist *Ost und West*, the liberal, anti-Zionist *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and the Zionist *Juedische Rundschau*.

*Schlemihl* was the second Jewish humoristic periodical in Germany, having been preceded by *Gutt Woch*, published in

Berlin in 1899 by a Jewish businessman named Siegfried Meir. This weekly transcended satire in its anti-Semitic-type ridicule of Jewish characteristics manifested in an imaginary independent Jewish state.

*Schlemihl* faced publishing difficulties from the start, but the first issue was well received among the Zionist community. Herzl himself remarked at the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basel in 1903 that the magazine ought to carry on. Another, better-established publisher was found — Julius Moses. The magazine's name became *Schlemiel*, the subtitle became "Illustrated Jokes" and the formal editor was Dr. Max Jungmann, a physician. Occasional articles were received from prominent Zionists such as Max Nordau, Leon Kellner and Heinrich York-Steiner. Herzl, although supportive of the journal, declined to write for it because of ill health. The paper struggled financially, as it appealed to a limited audience. Non-Zionists had no interest in it at all.

The Uganda debate in the Zionist movement was a major issue dealt with by *Schlemiel*. Jungmann was one of the few German Zionists who opposed the Uganda scheme. Using irony as his weapon, he depicted the reactions of an imaginary Ugandan chief to the new Jewish state there, mocking the Mizrahi faction which supported the scheme. Jungmann also satirized the scheme's opponents because they used the issue to attack Herzl personally and came close to toppling the entire structure of the Zionist Federation. Herzl himself was indirectly satirized, despite Jungmann's admiration for him, for his autocratic manner.

The Jewish world was the target of Jungmann's weekly column, "*Wochenschau-te*" — a combination of the German words "weekly review" and the Hebrew word "fool." He commented on current political developments in his front-page "Poems of the Times." For example, in 1905 he mocked English hypocrisy in a poem entitled "To Joe Chamberlain" on the issue of opposition to Jewish immigration to England lest it introduce a foreign element into English society.

He mocked dilettante Zionist functionaries who were Jewishly ignorant, such as one particular leader who kept quoting a certain Jewish expert named Hausmann, until it turned out that his expert was none other than the Hebrew newspaper *Ha-Zman*. An endless source of satire was Liberal and Reform rabbis, with their assimilationist aspirations and exaggerated Prussian patriotism.

The one issue of *Schlemiel* which was devoid of satire was the issue published after Herzl's death, reflecting the shock and grief of the entire Zionist movement. Herzl, upon his deathbed, had been looking forward to the next issue of the

magazine. Soon afterward, a weary Jungmann gave up the editorship of the magazine and it closed after 18 months of publication. The readership, however, hoped for its revival. Two years later, in 1907, Jungmann reopened *Schlemiel* as an annual Purim satiric anthology. He again mocked the "territorialist" Zionists and various Jewish settlement schemes in Texas and western Morocco, as well as the old Uganda scheme. But after the 1908 Purim edition, the magazine closed again.

Its next chapter began in 1919 when Jungmann brought out the magazine again, this time in a more mature style, under the subtitle "Jewish Humor and Art." While resuming satirizing Zionists, assimilationists and other groupings in the Jewish world, as well as such distinguished Jewish personalities as Max Nordau, Martin Buber and Albert Einstein, the magazine was less radical. It also included reprints of drawings and sketches, some in color, by both established and unknown Jewish artists, edited by the artist Menahem Birnbaum. *Schlemiel* was now published in a modern format and was run on a professional basis. It lasted two years until it became a victim of postwar Germany's runaway inflation, although Jungmann was convinced that it could have been saved by Jewish community funding even in those difficult times.

He revived the magazine once again in 1924, this time in collaboration with the editors of the monthly *Menorah*, an illustrated family magazine published in Vienna. The *Menorah* editors featured *Schlemiel* as a supplement. Smaller, but well designed, the magazine once again lampooned all aspects of Jewish life: the Jewish affinity for the Berlin stock market, the false illusion of permanent peace, the hypocritical Zionists in England and Germany who had no intention of moving to Eretz Israel now that the Jewish national home was being built there, and even the activities of the Blau-Weiss youth movement and its leader, Walter Moses. But the *Menorah* readership wasn't happy with *Schlemiel*. The impudent Berlin cabaret-type criticism didn't suit the Viennese nostalgia for the glitter of their old empire. The *Menorah* management demanded of *Schlemiel* to forego political satire. *Schlemiel* refused, and was dropped.

But it didn't give up. A month later, it published a commemorative issue in Berlin marking the 50th birthday of Zionist leader Alfred Klee, using the opportunity to mock the Vienna community whom it referred to as Philistines. This issue, in 1925, was to be its last, although one reader claimed it would one day rise again, for "schlemiels are immortal," according to a statement in a 1920 issue of the magazine.

## המחברים

**שושנה שטיפטל:** תלמידת מחקר בחוג להיסטוריה של עם ישראל, אוניברסיטת תל-אביב. נושא עבודתה: דרכו של נחום סוקולוב בתנועה הציונית.

**גבריאל צפרוני:** כתב ב"דואר היום", כתב חוץ במשך עשרות שנים ("דיילי טלגרף", "ניו יורק הרלד טריביון"), עורך "הבוקר".

**ד"ר אלינה צאלה:** היסטוריונית פולנית, העוסקת בשנים האחרונות בחקר העתונות היהודית בפולין. השתתפה מספר פעמים בכנסים של המרכז לחקר יהדות פולין ותרבותם באוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים.

**מוסיה ליפמן:** מכון לבון, תל אביב.

**שלמה שבא:** סופר ועיתונאי הכותב בנושאי ארץ ישראל.

**דב גנחובסקי:** עורך ופרשן כלכלי ב"ידיעות אחרונות" חוקר תולדות ירושלים.

**פרופ' נורית גוברין:** פרופ' לספרות עברית, אוניברסיטת תל-אביב.

**ד"ר יהודה אילוני:** מורה במכללה לחינוך על שם לוינסקי; חוקר במכון לחקר הציונות, אוניברסיטת תל אביב.

**שלום רוזנפלד:** ראש התוכנית ללימודי עתונות והמכון לחקר העתונות היהודית בעולם, אוניברסיטת תל אביב. ממייסדי "מעריב" ועורכו הראשי, 1974-1980.

**פרופ' אהרן ברק:** שופט בית המשפט העליון.

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**טלי תרמור-שמעוני:** תלמידת מחקר בחוג להיסטוריה של עם ישראל, האוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים. מתמחה בשאלת הזהות הלאומית של הסוציאליזם היהודי-אמריקני.

**ד"ר ארנו הרצברג:** עיתונאי יהודי שפעל בגרמניה בשנות ה-20 וה-30. ראשי הסניף הברלינאי של הסוכנות הטלגרפית היהודית (י"ט"א). חי בארצות הברית, בה פרסם זכרונות על תקופת עבודתו כעיתונאי וכעורך בגרמניה.

**ד"ר אריה בן-יוסף:** היסטוריון וביבליוגרף, ספריית אוניברסיטת בראילן, רמת גן.

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