

This issue of QESHER was made possible by grants from:

The IRENE HALMOS Fund
THE AZRIEL CARLEBACH Fund
The ISRAEL and EDITH POLLAK Fund
The ERICH GOTTGETREU Fund
The ELIJAHU PORATH Fund
The ZEEV JABOTINSKY Fund
The TOVA and GUTMAN RABINOVICH
Economics of Journalism Fund

No. 9, May 1991

Tel Aviv University
Journalism Studies Program
Institute for Research of
the Jewish Press

Editor:
Dr. Mordecai Naor

Designer:
Ruth Beth-Or

English Section:
Judy Krausz

Copy Editor:
Moshe Or

Administration:
Yardena Bar-Uryan

Cover: Illustration by Danny Kerman:
The press during the Gulf war in the
shadow of the Scuds, January-February
1991. See article "The First Night of the
Scuds: Three Editorial Views" on p. 5.

CONTENTS

- While the Guns Thunder / Shalom Rosenfeld — 2
- The First Night of the Scuds: Three Editorial Views / Amos Regev,
Raphael Mann, Avi Weinberg — 5
- The Underground Jewish Press in Eastern Europe
Until 1917 / Dr. Avraham Greenbaum — 14
- The Underground Press in Eretz Israel / Dr. Mordecai Naor — 20
- The Underground Jewish Press in Warsaw / Dr. Joseph Kermish — 27
- The Press in Nazi Captivity / Joseph Almogi — 34
- English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles*
- The "Spark" That Was Not Extinguished / Dr. Shlomo Shafir — 37
- "Agricultural Circular" — An Underground Pioneering
Periodical in Holland / Yigal Binyamin — 38
- "Hello, Friday": Laughing in the Ghetto / Dan Re'im — 39
- Underground, With Exclamation Points: The Illegal Communist
Press in Eretz Israel / David Melamed — 39
- The Zionist Aspect of the Agudat Yisrael Press / Dr. Joseph Fund — 40
- Ben-Gurion — Schocken: A Correspondence — 41
- The Events of the Holocaust During 1939-42
as Reflected in "Ha'olam" / Amir Horkin — 42
- The Local Kattowitz Paper / Joseph Chrust — 43
- "Sikkot" — The Story of a Humorous and Satiric Periodical in
Eretz Israel / Nili Kopilowitz — 44
- Contributors to This Issue — 45

Typesetting: Defus Meir

Production: A.R.T. Offset Services

Editorial and Administrative Offices: Journalism Studies Program, Tel Aviv University, Ramat Aviv 69978. Tel: (03)413404, 5450665

WHILE THE GUNS THUNDER

I don't know which of Zeus's nine daughters could be assigned the role of the guardianship of the press. Judging by this issue of *Qesher* alone, perhaps it could be Clio, the daughter of the gods who is who is said to have inspired history. Two topics cross paths in this issue: the press in wartime and the underground press. Presumably, both are examples of exceptional press activity, although this is not the case for the people which since the dawn of history has embraced the exception as the normal way of life. We did not plan this convergence of topics in advance, when we began to gather material on the underground Jewish press, which is one of the most fascinating, heroic, dramatic, sometimes sad and always stimulating chapters in our history. We also did not plan on a nearly surrealist cover which captures a dramatic moment in the history of the press in the State of Israel: journalists in gas masks opposite their word-processors. In a country which experiences war every decade, we could not have imagined that the sixth war (if we count only the major ones), in contrast to all the previous wars, would closet us in sealed rooms instead of placing us on a real front where soldiers face soldiers. We could not have imagined either that when Scud missiles fell on our cities, we would experience moments of fear and uncertainty about the payload they were carrying, and grim conjectures about whether this could be the second attempt in 50 years to attack us with poison gas.

The two topics juxtaposed as if to illustrate historic continuity in the annals of the press, which sometimes must be published in conditions of war and distress. The "press muse" does not tend to be silent even when guns thunder, be they guns of the metaphorical type or those that spew dynamite and cause destruction and death.

Three news editors from Israel's three evening newspapers — Amos Regev of *Yediot Aharonot*, Rafi Mann of *Ma'ariv* and Avi Weinberg of *Hadashot* — describe the tense and fearful moments during the first night of Scuds as if they were caught on camera. The 40 difficult nights that were endured by the population of Israel cannot be compared with that first night, when the "unknown" that we awaited and did not await, that we feared would come but hoped would not, suddenly landed on us with the overwhelming sound of explosions. Editors, reporters, photographers, graphic artists and print workers were busy doing their jobs "normally" in sealed rooms, for the paper must appear and must inform its readers — in headlines that were larger than anything ever seen during all our previous wars — that the strangest war of all had begun. The inconvenient timing

meant that only the evening papers managed to report on the first Scud attack on Israel's cities on Friday, Jan. 18, 1991, and this only in the second edition, with all three papers having to set aside whole pages that were ready for circulation.

Although some members of the public at large, and some journalists as well, criticized certain aspects of the "wartime newspapers," especially the apocalyptic prophecies by certain regular and guest commentators who unwittingly aided the psychological war effort against Israel, everyone agreed that the press, simply by appearing regularly during those difficult days, made a major contribution to society. Amos Regev expressed it well in his article: "People were looking for something to hang onto in that surrealist reality — something familiar, something friendly. Their newspaper gave them the feeling that life went on."

The press photographers also deserve special commendation. Sometimes they arrived at the scene of destruction before the rescue personnel. One photographer captured a scene in which someone's head was poking up through the rubble, and immortalized it.

We also return to wars endured by the Jewish people in many countries during recent generations, examining them from the perspective of the passage of time. Some of these wars were conducted clandestinely, deep in the underground, always against an enemy who outweighed the fighters overwhelmingly. The political Jewish Left initiated an underground press tradition in Tsarist Russia where the varied workers' movements fought for human rights and workers' rights in a repressive regime. Zionist organizations continued this struggle, first in Tsarist Russia, then in communist Russia and finally in Eretz Israel, at least at this juncture of our history, through the Haganah, I.Z.L. and Lehi newspapers. These three military organizations fought for national independence against the British Mandatory regime, each in its own way and according to its political ideology. In contrast, the chapter of history on the underground press in the ghettos illuminates the desperate effort made by these papers to ignite a spark of hope in an atmosphere of total despair.

The classic definition of the press, and the term "underground press," are as mutually contradictory as light and darkness. Certain accepted criteria of the press cannot be applied to the underground press, for a newspaper that is published clandestinely cannot guarantee regularity, as it is not in control of the other required conditions. Usually it is not for

sale, and sometimes it is hard to find at all. It cannot commit itself to a constant format as an ordinary newspaper can. Some readers might even criticize us for granting "recognition" to the underground press that was produced by Jewish groups in places where they could not publish papers legally. In my opinion, our approach is correct historically, whatever the professional debate.

The material on the underground press that appears in this issue is only a small fraction of a unique saga which has no parallel in the history of the press of other peoples, if only because there is no other people that was so forcefully uprooted by history and geography in so many countries and by so many threatening regimes.

Reading about the leftist Jewish newspapers in Russia at the end of the last century the Zionist underground papers under the Communist regime; the multi-faceted political press in the ghetto and even in the Nazi camps (including a humorous newsletter in Theresienstadt); the newspapers published by Eretz Israel soldiers in German prison camps under their captors' noses; and the underground press in Eretz Israel, one is amazed not only by the bravery of the people involved but also by their resourcefulness. They had to obtain typewriters, improvise printing equipment — hectographs and primitive presses — acquire newsprint, organize distribution under dangerous circumstances — whether hand to hand or by

conspiratorial means to reach a wider public — and with all this they still did not abandon their ideological debates, so that even in the face of a common enemy they nurtured their divisions.

Nearly every one of these chapters merits more basic research. While extensive studies do exist on some of them, and we shall return to them in future issues, in this issue we wanted to focus on a unique category of Jewish newspapers: publications that never requested or received publishing permits from the authorities, and whose editors and staff members could expect long years of arrest, whether in the Siberian plains or in the Ayalon Valley on the road to Jerusalem, for their involvement in these ventures. During at least one period — the most tragic period in our history — the fate of the writer was the same as the fate of the fighter in the desperate war to survive, for the word that is conveyed from the secret depths has tremendous firepower.



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



SADDAM HUSSEIN

התקפת טילים על ישראל

התקפת טילים
על ישראל
ביום חמישי
בשעה 17:00
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב

מעשיה

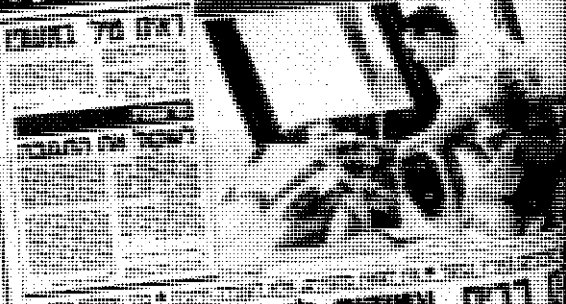
התקפת טילים
על ישראל
ביום חמישי
בשעה 17:00
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב

8 טילים עירקיים נפלו על ישראל

אשכנזי ארבעה

התקפת טילים על ערי ישראל

התקפת טילים
על ערי ישראל
ביום חמישי
בשעה 17:00
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב



ביום חמישי
בשעה 17:00
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב
באזור הנגב

THE FIRST NIGHT OF THE SCUDS

THREE EDITORIAL VIEWS

Three news editors from three Israeli dailies — “Yediot Aharonot,” “Ma’ariv” and “Hadashot” — describe the night of Jan. 18, 1991, and the Israeli press generally during the Gulf War.

AMOS REGEV

“YEDIOT AHARONOT”

A sense of foreboding began spreading through the staff on Thursday afternoon, January 17th. Several hours beforehand, in the early morning, we were all drunk with victory. The war had begun on Thursday at 1:00 a.m. our time, with heavy US and allied bombing of Iraq. We all watched Bernard Shaw and Peter Arnett reporting live on CNN from Baghdad. We saw the anti-aircraft fire and the enormous explosions. And we all asked ourselves: What about the missiles in western Iraq?

The missiles — the Scuds — were the main issue from our point of view. Ever since August 2nd, the day of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, everything focused on the question of the missiles. Would Saddam be deterred from firing them at us? Or would the deterrence fail? What damage would the missiles cause? Would they have chemical warheads? How must we respond?

While the Americans, and the entire world, were preoccupied for five months with the ritual of going to war, with the familiar pattern of threats and declarations and the moving of forces and intensive diplomatic contacts, while the worldwide drama skipped from stage to stage, from Kuwait City to Washington, from Helsinki to Geneva, our drama was different.

Often, we spread out the map of the Middle East on the news desk and measured the distance from H2 and H3 to Tel Aviv, Haifa and other points with a ruler. Hundreds of news items and dozens of commentaries dealt with a single issue: the missiles. The distribution of gas masks heightened the fear, giving a kind of legitimation to the suspicion that if the authorities were afraid, then the danger really did exist.

But after the first night, there was a release of tension. A few hours after the start of the air attack, “sources in the Pentagon” reported that the missile launchers were destroyed.

So we published our issue of Thursday, January 17th, the war issue, with the gigantic headline: “US Bombs the Iraqi Missiles.”

True, the classic headline to describe the outbreak of war is the key word “War,” as a survey of newspapers all over the world will show. But at that moment, in that war, what interested us was a different key word: missiles.

At dawn on Thursday our time, Wolf Blitzer, the CNN military correspondent, substantiated the first impression. “The bombing was a tremendous success. The entire Iraqi air force

has been destroyed. Most of the Republican Guard has been wiped out. The missiles in western Iraq no longer exist."

The sense of elation was infectious. That same morning I was interviewed by an Australian radio station and a Dutch TV network. Surrounded by the news staff, I was high. If this was "the campaign of all campaigns," it had now become "the campaign of all defeats," I said. And what about you Israelis, I was asked. Oh, I said, "we salute the Americans. God bless America."

Somewhere inside, as I was talking, I said to myself: "Watch out. You're getting carried away. Think again. How can it be that all the goals were attained in one night? Yes, perhaps the destruction of the entire air force on the ground was possible, but how can an air force wipe out most of the Iraqi ground forces in one night?"

"Don't be stupid," I replied to myself. "Why, it's exactly the same as the Six-Day War. One blow, and everything's over. Besides, the Pentagon said so."

Nevertheless, "security sources in Israel" began to hint that something was amiss, Moshe Vardi, the editor-in-chief, told me when I arrived at my desk on Thursday night. Afterward, the phone calls began coming in: from the military reporter, from the foreign affairs reporter, from the military commentator. All of them had the same message: "The affair is far from over. The missiles were not destroyed. Tonight is the night."

Bombs Land in Greater Tel Aviv

That was how "the reversal" started. I updated the night shift desk staff. We began to edit the Friday edition with the suspicion that the material was temporary — that we might have to change it. I sorted the material so that page 2 could be shelved if we had to "open up" the paper.

The emphasis was on closing the paper fast that night. It was the Friday paper, so printing time took longer than usual. In view of the circumstances, the instructions were to close fast and wait for developments. The lead headline was written to convey the new message, but not altogether pessimistically: "Israel on Missile Alert; Heavy American Bombing." A large color photo below the headline showed a ground force soldier shaking hands with an American pilot who had returned from a bombing sortie. "Good work" was the photo caption.

We managed to finish early. The paper was nearly ready for press by 2:00 a.m. I told most of my staff to stay.

The 2:00 a.m. news went on the air. Nothing special. A minute later, the broadcast was cut off by a shrill metallic ring, and an unfamiliar motto was repeated twice. I froze for a fraction of a second. "Alarm!" I yelled. There was no sound of sirens beyond the closed windows. "What's happening?"

someone asked. "What do you mean, alarm? How do you know?"

How did I know? Looking back, I suppose the memory went back to '67, when I was in high school, when every alarm during the Six-Day War was preceded by a metallic sound on the radio. The motto was different then but the chilling sound was the same.

I ran to the editor-in-chief's room. "Alarm!" I called out, and ran back to the desk. I went over to the row of windows behind my word processor and opened one of them. The Tel Aviv sky was gray. It was still. There wasn't a car on Petah Tiqva Road. A wail of sirens started up from somewhere, low, dull, distant. What was really happening here?

Boom! A dull explosion. And another. And another. Bombs landing. In Tel Aviv.

Bombs landing in Tel Aviv.

As a veteran artillery officer, I was not unfamiliar with the sound of bombs exploding. I had heard it in the Canal, in the Golan Heights, in the Jordan Valley and in Lebanon.

But in Tel Aviv?

Here it comes, I said to myself. Here it comes — and I didn't know what it was that was coming.

People began running around in the building. Dozens of print workers and other employees came up to the desk floor, their faces expressing a mixture of confusion, disbelief and fear. Some of them ran to the sealed rooms that had been prepared beforehand. Others simply wandered around the corridors or were glued to the TV, which was showing CNN.

I ran to a room where about a dozen desk editors and secretaries were gathered. Everyone put on masks. The radio was on. From what I could hear, it was clear that the people in the broadcasting studio didn't have a clue about what was happening outside.

Our military reporter brought in a walkie-talkie. Sitting with a mask on my face, without my glasses, I tried to keep track of what was happening.

There were dozens of reports on the bomb landings. I scribbled quickly on a piece of paper. Names, neighborhoods, streets, settlements. Greater Tel Aviv and Haifa. Some of the names were very familiar — streets I rode through every day.

The atmosphere in the room was strange. Dim. In a few minutes, it grew warm and humid and unpleasant.

At about 2:30 I darted out, my mask on my face, and turned on a word processor at the desk.

All the news agencies were reporting a missile attack on Israel. CNN was reporting live. One of the agencies quoted someone who quoted someone else about a chemical attack — nerve gas.



The two editions of "Yediot Aharonot" on Jan. 17/18, 1991

Back in the sealed room, after phoning home to find out if my family was all right, I did what I could to calm people down — and to calm myself down as well. I had been under fire before, but if I learned anything from past experience, it was that each time you become frightened all over again.

Well, OK, in the Canal and in the Golan Heights, in uniform, with a flak jacket. But in Tel Aviv? In a sealed room?

We Have Got to Get Out the Paper

When I try to reconstruct what I was thinking during those moments, it seems to me that it was a confused blend of personal feelings and assessments of the situation. Practical considerations — "Well, how are we going to get the paper out?" — and fear of mortality, not just for myself, but for all of us, for the state. A feeling of helplessness and of anger at the authorities who were unable to prevent this irangible thing.

"We told you so" is a favorite expression in the field of

journalism. We thundered about this and that. We "suspected" that this blow or some other one would come, in lead headlines. We wrote about Iraqi missiles aimed at Tel Aviv, and about chemical weapons and about atomic bombs.

We told them so — and still it happened, and here we were, and the bombs were landing outside, and no one had any idea what was happening.

Around 3:00 a.m., about an hour after the alarm, the picture began to be clearer. It really was a missile attack, on the Tel Aviv and Haifa areas. There was damage, there were casualties. No fatalities. No chemical weapons. The state — in other words, we — were still alive and breathing.

We had to get the paper out.

I zoomed out of the sealed room again. The employees were gathered in the corridors, talking about addresses. Everyone was asking where the bombs had fallen.

The desk staff sat at their word processors. We began to

prepare a new issue. The first one hadn't gone to press anyhow. Our information was incomplete, but we still had to come out with something and start printing.

We composed a new heading in consultation with the editor-in-chief: "Missile Attack on Israeli Cities." The military reporter wrote up the first news reports, and the military commentator wrote up eyewitness accounts and some short commentary.

Close to 4:30 we brought down the new material to be printed. I hoped we would print at 5.

Suddenly, there was a new problem. One of the key print workers refused to leave the sealed room. He had not heard the all-clear announcement by the IDF spokesman. He didn't hear it, didn't believe it and wouldn't come out of the room. Someone had to convince him.

I knocked on the door of the sealed room, but he wouldn't open it. I called him on the internal phone and promised him that everything was all right. He still wouldn't come out. Luckily, the radio repeated the all-clear signal. He was convinced. We could start printing.

At about 5:00 a.m. I walked into the editor-in-chief's office with the fresh issue. "Would you have believed that you would ever compose a lead headline like this?" he asked.

I wouldn't have believed it. I find it hard to believe even now.

We began to prepare the next edition. We needed to run photos and reports from the field. The photographers and reporters went out to the sites where bombs had landed. I decided that the moment there was a photo, we would put out an edition with an updated first page. Then we would try to get out another edition with an updated second page as well.

An hour and a half later, around 6:30 a.m., we closed the next edition — the third one that night, and the second to be printed. The lead headline remained the same, but the page itself was entirely different. We spread a photo of one of the destroyed houses across the whole width of the page.

The presses worked nonstop. We were preparing the next edition. More photos and stories came in, from the neighborhood that was hit, from other places, from hospitals. The material was immediately inputted and passed on to rewrite. A beefed-up staff — four editors and a graphic artist — began building page 2 from scratch.

Close to 8:00 a.m., a new edition was ready. The machines processed the new page 2. It was the fourth edition of the night, and the third to be printed.

A New Day, A New Paper

Leaving the editorial offices at 10:00 a.m., I discovered that I had neglected to acquire a supply of cigars. The radio was telling people not to leave their homes. Most stores were closed. I

embarked on a search of the streets of Ramat Gan, Givatayim and Tel Aviv.

The scene was almost surrealistic. The streets were empty. Here and there people gathered around a delivery truck with dairy products. At one corner people crowded around bundles of newspapers that were lying on the sidewalk near a kiosk that was closed. The people plundered the papers. They didn't just take them — they pillaged them. They tipped the string off the bundles and scattered the papers all over the sidewalk. They snatched newspapers like starving people falling upon loaves of bread.

I understood then. In this new, impossible reality, the reality of the morning after the first missile attack on greater Tel Aviv, we had reached the edge of an abyss and confronted our collective phobias. No one knew what had happened and no one knew what would happen. True, the radio and TV broadcasted constantly, but in this unrealistic reality, people wanted to hang onto something familiar, something friendly—their newspaper.

If there was anything I learned during the night of the missile attack, it was this: we newspapermen don't deal just in information or entertainment or gossip. We deal with much more: we provide people with a vital basic necessity. We make a contribution, however modest — the sense that life goes on. That everything is all right, or at least that it will be all right. We help people know for sure that tomorrow will be a new day. After all, here they are, holding a new newspaper.

And tomorrow there will be another.

RAPHAEL MANN, "MA'ARIV"

There is nothing more outdated than yesterday's newspaper, the cliché goes. Sometimes, though, tomorrow's paper can become outdated even before it comes off the press. That is what happened on Thursday night, the first night of the missiles.

The first page was nearly ready at 2:00 a.m. that night, earlier than usual. Too early, as it turned out. A large headline was spread along the top of the page, in reverse — "The Big Strike" — about the heavy air strike by the allied planes on Iraq on the first day of the air attack.

Two words, in reverse, in an effort to accentuate the largeness of the event. During wartime, the evening papers search for graphic ways to emphasize the headlines, to make it clear that these are not ordinary times: reverse, giant type, fewer words.

The previous day, when the allied planes had begun the attack, we settled for one word, in even larger type, in reverse: "War." CNN liked the look of that page, and even viewers who didn't understand Hebrew saw our press spitting out the paper with that giant one-word headline on their TV screens dozens of times all over the world that Thursday. It was a clear, unequivocal message that suited dramatic times like those.

The headline for Friday's page 1, composed after some debate, read: "The Chief-of-Staff: Iraq's Capability is Hit But Missile Threat Not Yet Eliminated." We quoted Major-General Dan Shomron in the item, saying that Iraq's capability to hurt us may have been weakened, but its motivation for doing so had actually increased.

At 2 that morning the *Ma'ariv* news desk began to empty out. Some of the page editors, having finished their work, went home. We were just waiting for the commentary article that was being typed by our military reporter, Emanuel Rosen. Beforehand, when he had returned from a series of briefings and meetings, Rosen had told us: "Maybe tonight."

Later, when the dramatic events of the night had changed the paper, we read what Rosen had managed to write before the "poisonous snake" [the code motto for a missile attack] had bitten: "The campaign to destroy the missile sites in western Iraq that are threatening Israel has run into difficulties, as was expected. There are over 20 mobile launchers and several fixed launchers still in the area. This is not an American foul-up but an anticipated result of dealing with an enormous site (about the size of the entire Negev) and trying to locate mobile launchers that can be hidden easily and moved quickly from place to place."

At a minute after 2:00 a.m., while the hourly news was being broadcast, a metallic ring, followed by the announcement "poisonous snake," interrupted the languid atmosphere of the news desk. "They're calling up the reserves," someone shouted from the other end of the room. A minute later, the editor-in-chief, Ido Dissenchik, arrived at the desk. "An alarm, fellas," he said. Someone went over to the window and said he didn't hear anything.

All eyes were on our military reporter. Rosen was dialing all sorts of numbers frantically, but all the lines were busy. It took a few minutes until we realized that something serious had happened. "Missiles fell," Rosen told us.

Out of the Sealed Room

It was clear, at that moment, that not only was the war beginning for us too, but that tomorrow's paper wouldn't be out at the usual time. The long night that none of us would forget for many years had begun at that moment. Where were you the night the missiles fell? Running to the parking lot to bring the

gas mask from the car, opening the kit with trembling hands, looking for the filter, trying to recall how to put on the mask. Phone calls home to wives and children who were alone at this difficult moment.

Editors, typesetters and several print workers were crowded into the sealed room. The large press, which would usually be printing the classifieds at this time, was stopped.

It was difficult to carry on a conversation or gather information with gas masks on. Rumors soon began spreading through the building about the number of missiles, chemical warheads and the number of casualties. CNN was reporting on the screen from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. After a while, despite the fear, people began leaving the sealed room.

Phone calls were coming in from all over the country and the world. Reporters and photographers were sent out to the field.

From the first moment, our photo editor had had a hard time keeping photographer Na'or Rahav from leaving the sealed room and going out into the field. "Wait, we still don't know whether the missiles are chemical or conventional," the editor warned him. Rahav was impatient. At the first opportunity, he burst out of the room, his black coat flapping around him in the corridor as he ran. I watched him disappear into the unknown and I was worried about what might happen.

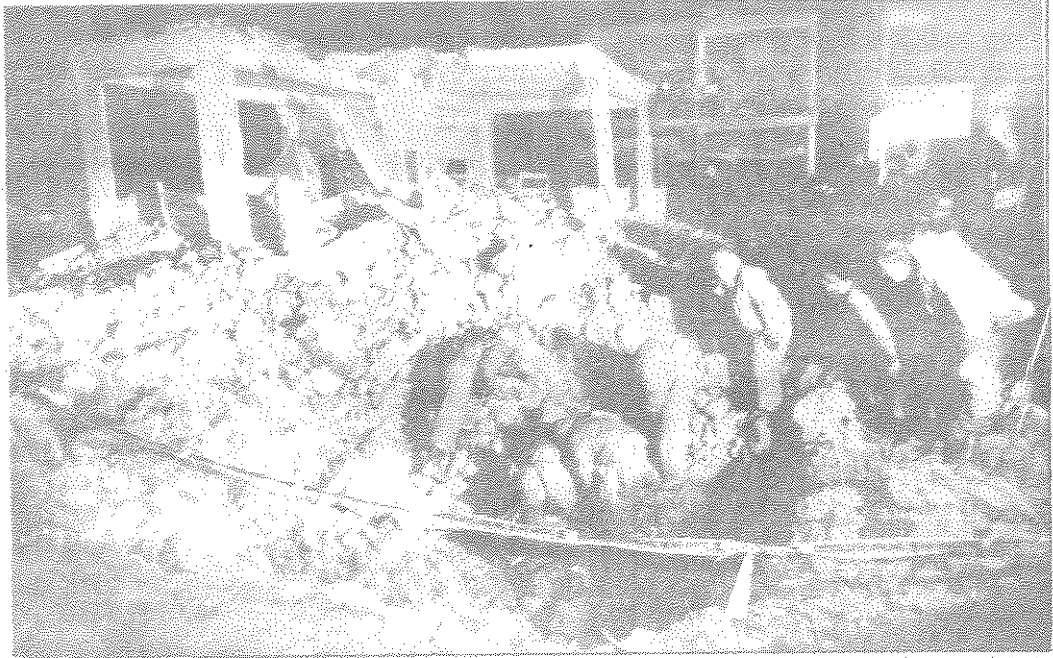
Rahav was to become one of the outstanding "missile photographers" during the month of the war. In a subsequent missile attack, his professional ability, combined with a bit of luck (a component that never hurts in the field of journalism), landed him straight at a house that was hit, before the rescue team arrived. He alerted the team on his walkie-talkie, then photographed the head of a survivor poking up through the ruins of his home — a historic photograph.

But on that first night, no one could know what sights awaited the photographers.

The first few hours following the alarm were characterized by a sense of thick battlefield haze. No one knew what had actually happened — what the dimensions of the event were. The people of Israel sat in sealed rooms waiting for news, making their first acquaintance with the IDF spokesman, Brigadier-General Nahman Shai, who assumed a new radio role as national relaxation-inducer.

At that stage it was not clear if and when the paper would be gotten out. The managers of *Ma'ariv* and the other two evening papers were on the phone with each other. Even if the papers were printed, it was not clear who would distribute them and who would sell them, in the event that the population were instructed to stay at home. All the supplementary sections of the paper were ready. The paper would incur large losses if it were not sold.

"עפתי מההדף וראיתי שהבית נהרס"



**שי ורדק, ממדפי הסליט
 כוחי הרבון "מער"
 פתח בסיסי כשרי מסיל
 על נשקיה לצהר התחלה
 וכעבור זמן קצר למד
 קמעה פרוץ אשית האשית
 בעת הבית לפרט**

החיה והחיה
 "החיה והחיה" הוא שם העיתון של שי ורדק, ממדפי הסליט כוחי הרבון "מער". פתח בסיסי כשרי מסיל על נשקיה לצהר התחלה וכעבור זמן קצר למד קמעה פרוץ אשית האשית בעת הבית לפרט.

"החיה והחיה" התמונץ בתוך כדור אש

קשה היה לומר שהחיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה

מטריד הפיל סקאו
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה

"כל העירקים מניאקים" - צעק החייל שנחלץ בצוץ מבין ההרסות

החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה

החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה

החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה

מד"א פינה פצועים ואנשים שנתקפו חרדה

החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה
 החיה והחיה החיה והחיה

An inside page of "Ma'ariv" in which fresh news on the first missile attack was inserted

After waiting a while longer for news, the desk staff began preparing the paper all over again. At first, they tried working with gas masks on our faces. The graphics editor sketched in the first page. The editor-in-chief wrote the headline, "Iraqi Missiles Fall on Israel," and decided that it would take up most of the page, in reverse, along with a few photos.

Despite Everything, The Paper Comes Out

With dawn rising over Tel Aviv after the first night of missiles, the paper began to take shape. Reporters were frantically

inputting their stories on their word processors. The photo lab was developing the first pictures of the destruction: ruined facades of buildings and burnt cars. The first page would show the destruction, fragments of missiles and a large headline.

On a normal day, papers would be selling at kiosks all over the country at that time. On that morning, the military censor was phoning in changes: the locations of the missile landings could not be publicized, so that the Iraqis would not be able to adjust their launchers for greater accuracy.

A headline on the back page read: "I Was Thrown Into the Air by the Aftershock, and Saw My House Destroyed." Another

read: "'All the Iraqis are Maniacs,' the Wounded Soldier Yelled as He Was Dragged From the Ruins."

The military commentator's article appeared under the headline: "The Threat Was Realized." CNN was quoted, which became standard practice during the war: "The US began a massive retaliatory operation against Iraq this morning as a result of the missile attack on Israel."

At 7:00 a.m. we listened to Major-General Dan Shomron on the news and added a subhead on page 1: "The Chief-of-Staff: This Kind of Operation Requires a Response." Data was added: at least eight missiles had fallen, and at least 12 residents were lightly wounded.

The yard was filling up with dozens of delivery vans. One last change on page 1, and the material went down to print. The cafeteria manager arrived with fresh rolls for everyone who had spent the long night at the paper.

Friday. Close to 7:30 a.m., four hours after the usual print time, the paper began rolling off the giant press, passing through the sorting department and out to the trucks.

Outside, the sun was shining. A spring day in the middle of January. The people of Israel were waking from a few hours of sleep snatched after "heavy heatwave" [the all-clear motto] had signaled everyone that they could leave their sealed rooms. The road home to Mevasseret Zion, near Jerusalem, was empty. At Latrun I passed the large *Ma'ariv* truck, which was bringing papers to Jerusalem. In the neighborhood supermarket people were falling on the fresh *hallot* and the milk, and waiting impatiently for the Friday papers.

Despite everything, the paper came out. Late, but it came out, and it got to the readers.

AVI WEINBERG, "HADASHOT"

In the last analysis, nothing substantial changed in our paper during the war.

What an unpromising way to begin an article on *Hadashot* during the Gulf war — but it is my partial opinion about the work we did during the war. It would be more precise to say that there were changes — even many changes — but that they were mainly quantitative, not qualitative.

The Gulf war started for *Hadashot* at the beginning of January 1991, when the editorial board decided that war was

very likely and near, and that we must gear up for it. Emergency personnel lists were made up, equipment was ordered and procedures were fixed at a meeting attended by the editors and administrative directors of the paper.

On the night of January 16 we found ourselves with walkie-talkies and yellow protective suits for some of the photographers, a listening device for police reports and the incomparable CNN reports on our TV screen. We also had three sealed rooms with emergency closets loaded with canned goods, crackers, flashlights, masking tape and rags for blocking the crack under the door.

On the other hand, we also found ourselves without a military reporter or a territories reporter, positions which happened to be vacant at the moment. The ongoing work of military reportage was given to the military commentator, who nearly collapsed under the load, especially since an editorial decision was made to include military commentary on page 1 daily. Based on the feedback we received, this commentary was a success, and achieved exactly what we had hoped: it gave proportion and perspective to events and served as a kind of guide for the readers during a confusing period. It also resulted in a change in the paper after the war: today, we print much more commentary on page 1 than before.

In the Field

Alarms are the times for reporters and photographers. From the first night of the missiles onward, it was clear that the most important thing for a paper is how fast its photographers and reporters could get to the site that was hit. From the moment the sirens went off, the photographers and reporters stood by to find out where they must go as fast as possible in order to beat the competition and the police who would close off the area to traffic. Often we learned that the press had arrived at the sites before the police.

In the editorial offices, it was the hour of the coordinator of the reporters, a key job at *Hadashot*. During nights when there were alarms, when the whole organization was shut up in sealed rooms, all the phone calls automatically went through his desk. Typically, he would be standing, with no gas mask, surrounded by a crowd of workers, holding two telephone receivers, a walkie-talkie and usually a police listening device, talking, shouting, explaining — and listening.

The reporters' motivation was enormous. They ran — sometimes literally — from place to place, bringing in more and more stories, almost always more than they were assigned to get, and kept going out for more. One of our reporters would grab a walkie-talkie as soon as a missile landed and rush out to the estimated landing area even before the signal that the

warhead was non-chemical was given.

The photographers were equally important. Veteran photographers knew how to get to places that most people couldn't find, how to get the right angles and how to get the film to the paper in time.

The First Night

There is nothing like sealing a room with masking tape and plastic sheeting to soothe the nerves during an alarm. At 2:00 a.m. on Friday, Jan. 18, 1991, I found myself in the office taping windows that didn't look properly sealed, pressing yet another wer rag under the door, talking sparingly and slowly. Dozens of people in gas masks were in the room, most of them sitting on the floor, some of them pacing nervously.

What happened during that first missile night did not happen again during the rest of the war: a missile attack that was not

only a surprise, but that also occurred late at night. Eight missiles fell at 2:00 a.m., when the paper had been composed. Some of the editors had already gone home. One of the editors was driving home alone when the missiles landed, while her husband was struggling at home with their baby, who refused to allow himself to be put into the sealed baby crib. The trauma that she underwent affected her for the rest of the war.

The siren. Frenzied activity. The sounds of explosions, heard clearly. We were in a war. My main worry, once I checked that my family was well, was how to get out an updated paper quickly, how to write the headline so that it would be short, sufficiently dramatic, on target but not a cliché. That was to be our guiding principle throughout the war — to report what happened, briefly if necessary, and with a minimum of adjectives.

The first night of missiles paralyzed all three of the evening



The "Hadashot" news desk

papers for several hours. The timing did not allow for getting out an updated, or even a partially updated paper at a reasonable hour. Putting out a first issue whose headline did not deal with the missile attack was out of the question. In the end, all three papers reached the stands late in the morning, after the information and photos from the field had been rapidly processed in the editorial rooms.

Our front page carried a black-and-white photo of one of the sites that had been hit, while pages 2 and 3 were devoted entirely to the attack. Other material that had been prepared previously was thrown into the basket.

Lots of things didn't work well that night. The walkie-talkies were only partially effective; some of the photographers didn't have walkie-talkies at all; and conveying reports over beepers didn't work when the receiving party was in a sealed room. In the end, the photographers got to the scene more as a result of their own initiative than by relying on standard procedures. These snags were ironed out as time went by and procedures were improved. A duty photographer would go up to the roof when the sirens began, another would set up his camera in front of the TV and the newscasts would be recorded on video just in case.

A Lot of Flexibility

It may not be very pleasant to say, but this war was one of the best things that happened to our news desk in the last few years. It taught us to work really fast when necessary, and to forego minutiae in favor of the really important things. The rule of thumb was that it was better to get out a newspaper that was only middling, but on time, than an excellent newspaper that arrived at the stands after the potential readers had bought other newspapers.

What was needed during wartime was flexibility. A missile attack at 1:00 a.m., or even at 9:00 p.m., changes the entire structure of the paper. One had to decide quickly which items, or which pages, to throw out; change layouts; and be able to process, rewrite and edit a large quantity of raw material quickly and under pressure. This kind of situation developed, for example, when the announcement of the start of the land attack was received, when a late speech of Saddam Husayn's came in and when President Bush's declaration of the end of the war was received.

Professionals know how to stay calm when changes have to be made and when material has to be thrown away, even when only moments before, those articles seemed essential. Professionals

know exactly how to estimate the time needed to change a layout and replace articles and photos, and the shortcuts involved in order to meet deadlines. These are things that happen only once every few days, or sometimes every few weeks, during peacetime. But they happened nearly every evening during the war. The requirements are the same and the rules are the same, but in wartime everything is more intense. After a month and a half of this kind of intensive work, things became clearer, and this inevitably influenced our work after the war as well.

An example of this influence was that because we were desperately short-handed during the war, junior staff members were appointed editors on the spot — and nothing terrible happened. On the contrary, they all proved equal to the task, and the papers that were put out during the war were good, and even better than good. The standard was upheld day after day, despite drastic changes.

The war also taught us something about ourselves. I, as a relatively new desk editor, learned a great deal about the staff and the paper during that month and a half. I learned to appreciate people's willingness to work night shifts, night after night. I got to know new people — reporters from other departments who suddenly appeared and volunteered to go out on assignments. A former arts reporter spent every night of the war in the editorial office sleeping on a mattress in one of the rooms, awaking with each alarm and going out into the field.

On the other hand, there were others who left the city and their jobs at the paper when the war began. Every one of them had good reason to flee the terror of the Scuds. Who had the right to demand of parents with small children to remain? Still, I admired those who, perhaps against all logic, felt that their responsibility to their work obliged them to remain, sometimes without their children, sometimes commuting long distances daily, even during the frightening war nights.

Awaiting the Next Crisis

To summarize, a newspaper, by its very nature, is set up to deal with catastrophes, the unexpected, dramatic events that unfold rapidly. Most editorial people function especially well in these situations. We find ourselves giving more of ourselves than at any other time, feeling that then, and only then, do we realize our fullest professional potential. It resembles the army a bit: all that happens between wars is nothing but a pale shadow of the real thing — intensive action in an emergency. Afterward, the tension is dissipated and the lessons are reviewed, and one waits for the next crisis.

THE UNDERGROUND JEWISH PRESS IN EASTERN EUROPE UNTIL 1917

AVRAHAM GREENBAUM

Revolutionary Jews began to surface in Russia and Poland from the 1870s onward. At first, they were young people who were totally assimilated into the broader revolutionary movement and who viewed Judaism as an exploitive sect which was destined to become extinct. The 1880s and '90s, however, witnessed the rise of a Jewish socialist movement which had a nationalist orientation, at least organizationally. In 1897 its members founded the first Jewish socialist party — the Bund (an acronym for the Yiddish "General Alliance of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland and Russia").

Several years later, at the start of the 20th century, various workers' groups with a Zionist orientation, under the overall name Po'alei Zion ("Workers of Zion"), challenged the Bund. Following a series of ideological debates, three main factions emerged in this movement during 1905-6: the Borochoy group, which emphasized a socialistic Eretz Israel solution and which continued under the name Po'alei Zion; the Zionist-Socialist Party, composed of territorialists; and the Jewish Socialist Workers Party, or "Sejmists," a relatively small faction which advocated broad autonomy within Russia. Two other Jewish labor parties also emerged briefly: the Jewish Independent Workers Party, which advocated economic rather than political struggle and which existed with police permission, but which liquidated itself in 1903; and the Jewish Territorialist Workers Party, which soon merged with the Zionist Socialist Party. After the Russian Revolution of February 1917, the Zionist Socialist Party merged with the Jewish Socialist Workers Party and formed the United Jewish Socialist Workers Party.

After 1916, the Bund developed a new base in Poland; Po'alei Zion established itself in Eretz Israel; and the "Unireds" soon disappeared politically, a reflection, perhaps, of the general

failure of territorialism after the Balfour Declaration.

The general revolutionary socialist parties competed with the Jewish socialist parties and were critical of their "separatist" Jewish activity. The Polish Socialist Party and the Russian Social-Democratic Party made special efforts to dispatch Jewish activists on propaganda missions to advocate general, rather than separate Jewish labor activity, even though the Russian Social Democratic Party had a federative link with the Bund during most of its existence.

Parallel to the activity described above in Tsarist Russia, socialist Jewish organizations sprang up in neighboring Galicia, then under Austrian rule — namely Po'alei Zion; Socialist-Territorialists, who paralleled the Zionist Socialists of Russia; and a Bund sister organization called the Jewish Social-Democratic Party. Other socialist Jewish organizations existed in Rumania, Greece and Bulgaria.

Most of these factions and groups managed to publish their own literature, especially periodicals, which were either clandestine, or closely scrutinized by the censor, and generally did not survive long. Wherever possible, the material was printed outside Russia, despite the danger involved in smuggling in the publications. The first socialist Jewish journal, *Ha'emet* ("The Truth"), published by Aaron Samuel Liberman (three issues, 1877), was printed in Vienna for a Jewish readership in Russia. The most favored venues for printing were countries which enjoyed true freedom, namely England and Switzerland. When, between late 1905 and mid-1907, Russia enjoyed relative freedom of self-expression, the Jewish socialist press blossomed. But even then, when writers could sign their articles with their true names, the papers had to be cautious: the stated editor or publisher was often a *zits-redaktor*

("sitting-editor") — someone willing to serve a jail sentence so that the real editors could publish a new periodical.

Hopes for civil liberty raised by the 1905 revolution in Russia were dashed by the counter-revolution in 1907, which was a blow for the entire socialist movement, including the Jewish wing. By 1911, however, there was some relaxation of restrictions, and socialist newspapers reappeared.

The listing of periodicals that follows is part of an English-language bibliography to be published soon on the socialist and revolutionary Jewish press in Eastern Europe from its beginnings until 1916, which includes nearly 250 works. I was asked to edit the material by the late historian, Shmuel Ettinger, although the initiator of the project years ago was Professor Emeritus Moshe Mishkinsky of Tel Aviv University, an expert on the Jewish labor movement in Eastern Europe. Both these scholars advised and aided me in the work. I am grateful to the Dinur Center of the Hebrew University, sponsor of the project, and to its director, Aharon Kedar, for permission to publish part of the bibliography in *Qesher*.

For background material on the period, we recommend the comprehensive study by Jonathan Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism and the Jews of Russia, 1862-1917* (Cambridge, 1981). For the beginnings of the Bund and the preceding period, see Moshe Mishkinsky, *Reshit Tnu'at Hapo'alim Hayehudit Berusia: Megamot Yesod* ("The Beginnings of the Jewish Workers' Movement in Russia: Basic Trends," Tel Aviv, 1981). For the beginnings of the Zionist Socialist Party, see Alexander Guterman, *Hamiflaga Hatsionit-Hasotsialistit Berusia (S.S.) Bashanim 1905-1906* ("The Zionist-Socialist Party in Russia [S.S.] During 1905-1906," Tel Aviv, 1985). The early Po'alei Zion movement can be studied in the biography by Matityahu Mintz, *Ber Borochoy: Hama'agal Harishon (1900-1906)* ("Ber Borochoy: The First Circle [1900-1906]," Tel Aviv, 1976). The present writer has edited a collection of sources on the Jewish Socialist Workers Party: *Tnu'at Hatehiya ("Vozrozhdenie") U-Miflegat Hapo'alim Hayehudit-Sotsialistit (MPYS)* ("The Revival Movement ['Vozrozhdenie'] and the Jewish Socialist Workers' Party," Jerusalem, 1989).

Among direct bibliographic sources, I profited most from Avraham Kirzhnits' basic work, *Di Yidishe Prese in der Gevezener Ruslendisher Imperiye, 1823-1916* ("The Yiddish Press in the Former Russian Empire," Moscow, 1930). Kirzhnits, a former Bundist and an important Soviet bibliographer, was a victim of Stalin's purges in 1938.

The complete bibliography lists all bibliographic sources for each entry, as well as known locations in libraries and archives.

Pre-Bund, Until 1897

1. *Ha'emer* (Hebrew, "The Truth"). Monthly. Vienna. Three issues, 1877. Editor/publisher: A. Freeman (Aaron Samuel Liberman).

This first socialist Jewish journal was printed with the intention of smuggling it into Russia. The material was reprinted in Tel Aviv in 1938 with an introduction by Zvi Kroll, and reprinted again by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1966. There is considerable literature on the journal and the editor.

2. *Arbeyter Tsaytung* (Yiddish, "The Workers' Newspaper"). St. Petersburg? One issue, Jan. 15, 1881. Editor: Hesyah Helfman? Publisher: Narodnaia Volia.

The first socialist newspaper in Yiddish, it was abridged and translated from the populist newspaper *Rabochoia gazeta*, and produced by hectograph. The single issue is reproduced in *Historishe Shriftn*, Vol. 3. The editor may have been Hesyah Helfman, a young woman revolutionary implicated in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II.

3. *Lumina* (Rumanian, "Light"). Weekly. Bucharest? Five issues, Dec. 12, 1887-Jan. 24, 1888. Editor: Stefan Stanca.

This first Rumanian Jewish socialist journal reflected the views of a group that was led by Stefan Stanca (Stein), a medical student who later became a leader of the Rumanian socialist movement. It was closed by the censor.

4. *Nayes Oys Russland* (Yiddish, "News From Russia"). Weekly. Vilna. 1895? (possibly 1894). Editor: Dr. Shvets. Publisher: the Social-Democrats.

Bund leader V. Kosovski is said to have issued a similar publication in Russian, entitled *Chto slyshno v Rossii*.

5. *Arbeyter Bletel* (Yiddish, "Workers' Newsletter"). Minsk. Nine issues, March 14-August 1897. Editors: Boris Frumkin, Pavel Berman. Publisher: The Minsk Social-Democratic Committee.

Produced by hectograph, this newspaper was partially reproduced in *Historishe Shriftn*, Vol. 3.

The Bund

6. *Der Idisher Arbeyter* (Yiddish, "The Jewish Worker"). Pressburg, Geneva, London. Seventeen issues. December 1896-November 1904. Editors: V. Kosovski, John (Joseph Mil) et al. Publisher: the Bund.

Often called the first newspaper for the Jewish worker in Russia, it was started by a group of Vilna Jewish Social-



Vladimir Medem

Democrats and was immediately taken over by the Bund, who made it its official organ. The Bund Foreign Committee, which had headquarters in Geneva, took it over in 1900. It was edited in Vilna but printed abroad. It dealt mainly with ideological issues.

7. *Die Arbeyter Shtimme* (Yiddish, "Voice of the Workers"). Vilna and elsewhere. Forty issues, August 1897-September 1905, Editors: S. Zeldov, replaced by Gleb-Mutnik (A. Mutnikovich), Y. Portnoy et al. Publisher: the Bund.

Begun before the founding of the Bund, it became the Bund's main organ. It was published abroad for a while. After the 1905 revolution it was replaced by legal periodicals.

8. *Der Veker* (Yiddish, "The Awakener"). Warsaw and elsewhere. Twelve issues, December 1898-March 1903. Editors: L. Bernstein, A. Litvak, B. Frumkin et al. Publisher: the Bund.

The first Yiddish trade union journal, it was the organ of the Bristleworkers Union.

9. *Der Bialistoker Arbeyter* (Yiddish, "The Bialystok Worker"). Bialystok. Seven issues, April 1899-January 1902. Editor: Anman (Pavel Rosental). Publisher: the Bund.

This periodical was published by the local Bialystok chapter of the Bund.

10. *Der Varshaver Arbeyter* (Yiddish, "The Warsaw Worker"). Warsaw. Twenty-one issues, July 27 (Aug. 8), 1899-Nov. 10 (23), 1905. Publisher: the Bund.

This underground Bund organ in Warsaw closed in 1903 and reappeared briefly as a legal journal after the 1905 revolution.

11. *Der Minsker Arbeyter* (Yiddish, "The Minsk Worker"). Minsk. Ten issues, December 1900-November 1901; December 1905. Editors: V. Medem, B. Frumkin, Y. Vilenkin. Publisher: the Bund (officially, the Russian Social-Democratic Party).

An attempt to revive this journal as a legal publication in 1905 was unsuccessful.

12. *Der Klassen Kampf* (Yiddish, "The Class War"). Vilna. Six issues, September 1898-December 1901. Publisher: the Bund.

This journal was the organ of the Bund Vilna Committee.

13. *Letste Nakhrikhten* (Yiddish, "Latest News"). London. Forty-seven issues, April? - December 1901. Publisher: the Bund.

This irregular bulletin was also called *Letste nakhrikhten fun dem despotishen Rusland*.

14. *Glos Bundu* (Polish, "Voice of the Bund"). Geneva. Four issues, May 1904-September 1905. Editors: B. Grosser, M. Liber. Publisher: the Bund.

This journal was issued by the Bund Foreign Committee from its headquarters in Geneva.

15. *Vestnik Bunda* (Russian, "Bund Bulletin"). Geneva. Four issues, January/February-November 1904; additional issue, Russia, Dec. 30, 1905.

This journal was also issued by the Bund Foreign Committee in Geneva. An attempt to revive it as a legal journal in Russia led to the printer's arrest.

16. *Di Revolutsiye in Russland* (Yiddish and Russian, "The Revolution in Russia"). Bobruisk. Six issues, January-June 1905. Publisher: the Bund.

This bulletin, produced by hectograph, was issued by the Bobruisk Bund organization.

17. *Der Glok* (Yiddish, "The Bell"). Warsaw. Three issues, Aug. 17-September 1906. Publisher: the Bund.

This journal was published briefly by the Bund Committee in Poland.

18. *Nasze Hasla* (Polish, "Our Ideas"). Warsaw. Two issues, Jan. 24-April 1906. Publisher: the Bund.

This journal was the illegal organ of the Bund Social-Democratic Committee in Warsaw.

19. *Fun Partey Leben* (Yiddish, "Life in the Party"). Location unknown. One issue, March 1908. Publisher: the Bund.

A similar illegal bulletin was also published in Russian during the same year, and lasted one issue as well.

20. *Die Garber Shtime* (Yiddish, "The Tanner's Voice"). Vilna. One issue, March 7, 1908. Editor: ?Avrom der Tate

(A. Primorski)? Publisher: the Bund.

This illegal organ of the Tanners Union was confiscated by the police. A Russian version may have also been published.

21. *Die Shtime fun Bund* (Yiddish, "Voice of the Bund"). First issue, Bialystok; later location unknown. Four issues, December 1908-April 1911. Publisher: the Bund.

This journal was the illegal organ of the Bund Central Committee.

22. *Lebens Fragen* (Yiddish, "Life Questions"). Weekly. Warsaw. Two issues, May 8 (21), May 18 (31), 1912. Stated editor: H. Raichuk. Actual editors: V. Medem, M. Rafes, R. Abramovich et al. Publisher: the Bund.

This was the first legal Bund publication to appear after four years of oppression. Edited in Vienna as a precaution, it was closed after the second issue, and the Warsaw publishers arrested.

23. *Der Lodzsher Arbeyter* (Yiddish, "The Lodz Worker"). Location not indicated, probably Petrokov. One issue, January 1915. Editors: M. Oguz, Y. Lichtenstein, H. Poznansky. Publisher: the Bund.

This publication appeared during the German occupation, apparently only once. The Lodz Bundists, unwilling to print an acknowledgment that was required by the occupation authorities, preferred printing the issue illegally.

The Beginnings of the Po'alei Zion Movement

24. *Der Arbeyter Tsionist* (Yiddish, "The Zionist Worker"). Minsk. Three issues, 1902?-3. Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

This journal, produced by lithography, reflected the "Minsk trend" of the movement.

25. *Hronik fun Arbeyter-Tsionisten* (Yiddish, "Zionist Workers' Chronicle"). Odessa. Four issues, ?-1903. Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

This journal was published by the "Zionist Po'alei Zion" — the faction that insisted on Eretz Israel as the solution to the Jewish problem, as opposed to the territorialists.

26. *Unzer Tsukunft* (Yiddish, "Our Future"). Warsaw. One or two issues, 1903. Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

This journal was published by the Warsaw Zionist Workers.

27. *Hashahar* (Hebrew, "Dawn"). Berlin. One issue, July 1903. Editor: Ben-Eliezer (Nahman Syrkin). Publisher: Herut.

This is the best-known of several attempts by Syrkin to publish periodicals advocating socialist Zionism. The issue consists almost entirely of his own writing. It was reprinted in *Kitve Nahman Sirkin*.



D.B. Borochoff



Nahman Syrkin

The "Palestinian" Po'alei Zion (Borochov Faction)

28. *Evreiskaia Rabochaia Khronika* (Russian, "Jewish Labor Chronicle"). Three issues, April 23-June 23, 1906. Editor/publisher: L. Meltzer (Liuba Borochova). Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

This was the organ of the Poltava district of Po'alei Zion, devoted mainly to publishing Borochov's party platform. The authorities confiscated the fourth issue, arrested the staff and closed the journal.

29. *Molot* (Russian, "The Hammer"). Monthly. Two issues, June, July 1906. Stated editor/publisher: V. M. Spiro. Actual editor: Feliks (V. Adim). Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

This was the organ of the Crimean Association of Po'alei Zion. The second issue was confiscated by the authorities.

30. *Dos Yudishe Arbeyter Vort* (Yiddish, "The Jewish Workers' Word"). Cracow, Warsaw. Three issues, 1906. Editor: M. Yarblum. Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

This illegally published organ of the Warsaw area of Po'alei Zion, including Czenstochow, is said to be the organization's first newspaper in the Russian Empire.

31. *Der Proletarisher Gedank* (Yiddish, "Proletarian Thought"). Semi-monthly. Vilna. Three issues, Jan. 17-Feb. 28, 1907. Editor/publisher: Shlomo (Z. Shulman). Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

The first legal Yiddish Po'alei Zion organ; its second issue is thought to have been confiscated, and the journal was closed by the authorities after the third issue.

32. *Forverts* (Yiddish, "Forward"). Semi-monthly. Vilna. Three issues, May 4 (17)-July 17 (30), 1907. Editor: V. Zaydshnur. Publisher: Po'alei Zion.

This was a continuation of *Der Proletarisher Gedank*, but it too was closed after the third issue.

The Socialist Zionists (S.S.)

33. *Frayhayt* (Yiddish, "Freedom"). Weekly. Cracow (actually, Podgorze). Four issues, Aug. 25?-Sept. 15, 1905. Editor/publisher: Shulim Freund. Publisher: S. S.

This was an organ of the Socialist Zionist Workers.

34. *Der Yudisher Proletaryer* (Yiddish, "The Jewish Proletarian"). London? Warsaw. Two issues, 1905. Publisher: S. S.

The first issue of this organ of the Socialist Zionist Party had a run of 8,000 copies. The second issue may have been semi-legal.

35. *Hronik fun der Professyoneler Bevegung* (Yiddish, "The

Trade Union Movement Chronicle"). Lodz. Two issues, 1906. Editor: Moshe Katz. Publisher: S. S.

This illegal trade union journal was published by the S.S. in Lodz.

The Jewish Territorialist Workers Party

36. *Das Arbeyter Vort* (Yiddish, "The Worker's Word"). Minsk. Four issues, November 1905-October 1906. Publisher: the Jewish Territorialist Workers Party.

This illegal journal was published by the Minsk committee of this short-lived party.

37. *Dos Naye Leben* (Yiddish, "The New Life"). London. One issue, April 1906. Publisher: the Jewish Territorialist Workers Party.

Illegally distributed in Russia, this was the central organ of the Jewish Territorialist Workers Party.

The Jewish Socialist Workers Party (the "Sejmists")

38. *Vozrozhdenie* (Russian, "The Revival"). London, Paris, St. Petersburg. Five issues, February 1904-December 1905. Editors: M. B. Ratner, Ben-Adir (A. Rozin) et al. Publisher: Vozrozhdenie.

Published by a group of intellectuals, some of whom later founded the Jewish Socialist Workers Party, this organ was influential in promoting Jewish national consciousness. It was smuggled into Russia, except for the final issue.

Sephardi Socialists

39. *La Solidaridad Ovradera* (Ladino, "The Workers' Unity"). Weekly. Salonika. Feb. 17, 1911-October 1912? Editor: Samuel Amun. Publisher: The Salonika Socialist Federation.

This "socialist weekly" was closed by the Turkish authorities for publishing an anti-war manifesto.

40. *Senteya Ovrera* (Ladino, "The Worker's Spark"). Semi-monthly. 1914. Salonika. Publisher: The Jewish Socialists.

This "Journal for the Defense of the Interests of the Workers in Turkey" was probably illegal, as the printer is identified by a Sofia address. The second issue reproduces the Communist Manifesto in Ladino translation.

The Independents

41. *Flug Blettel* (Yiddish, "Newsletter"). Vilna. Two issues, 1902. Publisher: The Independent Jewish Workers Party.

This newsletter was published by the Vilna group of the short-lived and controversial party, which was persecuted by the other socialists.

The Russian General Social-Democratic Parties

42. *Sotsyal Demokrat* (Yiddish). Warsaw. One issue, Nov. 5, 1905. Publisher: Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party.

This illegal periodical was the first Yiddish organ of the sponsoring party, issued to compete with the Bund when it left the party temporarily.

43. *Sotsyalistishes Flugblat* (Yiddish, "Socialist Newsletter"). Vilna. Four issues, December 1906-Summer 1907. Publisher: Lithuanian Social-Democrats.

This irregular, illegal periodical was published by two Lithuanian Social-Democratic factions.

The Social Revolutionaries

44. *Der Revolutionsenerer Shturm-Glok* (Yiddish, "The Revolutionary Storm Bell"). Paris. One issue, December 1905. Publisher: The Social-Revolutionary Party.

This illegal publication was produced by the Young Social Revolutionaries.

The Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.)

45. *Der Arbeyter* (Yiddish, "The Worker"). London, Warsaw, etc. Sixty-four issues, December 1898-August 1907. Editors: Valetzky (M. Horowitz), L. Vasilevsky, F. Sachs, M. Rubinstein. Publisher: P.P.S.

This organ of the P.P.S. Jewish Committee frequently changed locations. It was semi-legal from 1905, and may have lasted until the end of 1907, with a total of over 70 issues.

46. *Di Proletarishe Velt* (Yiddish, "The Proletarian World"). London. Three issues, October 1902-February 1903. Editors: F. Sachs, M. Rubinstein, P. Krantz. Publisher: P.P.S.

47. *Sotsyalistishe Bletlekh* (Yiddish, "Socialist Leaves"). Warsaw. Twelve issues, November-Dec. 22, 1905. Editor: M. Kroll. Publisher: P.P.S.

This illegal bulletin of the P.P.S. Central Committee appeared during the 1905 revolution.

Other Polish Socialists

48. *Di Royte Fon* (Yiddish, "The Red Flag"). Warsaw. Five(?) issues, July 6, 1906-? Publisher: The Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

This illegal publication was undated.

49. *Der Proletaryer* (Yiddish, "The Proletarian"). Warsaw. Twelve issues, 1906-December 1907. Publisher: "Proletariat."

This illegal publication appeared irregularly.

The Anarchists

50. *Die Revolution Shtime* (Yiddish, "Voice of the Revolution"). Warsaw. One issue, Oct. 10, 1906. Publisher: the Anarchists.

This illegal journal represented one of the few attempts by local anarchists to publish a periodical. A second issue may also have appeared.

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS IN ERETZ ISRAEL

MORDECAI NAOR

Sometimes the right word spoken at the
right time can be a weapon.

Yitzhak Sadeh, *Palmah Newsletter*, No. 1, 1941

The British ruled Eretz Israel for 30 years, from 1917/18 to 1948, during which their relationship with the Jewish *yishuv* had its ups and down. It is only to be expected that the positive aspects and the demonstrations of sympathy by the British pale beside the threats, the searches, the arrests and, ultimately, the executions that were perpetrated by them. This latter aspect of life in the Jewish *yishuv* in Eretz Israel was reflected extensively in the activities of the underground organizations. The Haganah, the largest and oldest of the organizations, was founded in 1920. In 1931, a group of commanders and members, primarily Jerusalemites, left the Haganah and founded the National Haganah, or Irgun Bet. Six years later, part of this group returned to the Haganah, while the others formed the Irgun Hazeva'i Hale'ummi (I.Z.L.). In 1940, a split in I.Z.L. resulted in the formation of Lehi — Lohamei Herut Yisrael.

These three organizations dealt extensively with cultural and information issues — the essence of every underground body — so as to explain their *raison d'être* and their activities both to their members and to the public. This article attempts to describe the main communications efforts of the Haganah, I.Z.L. and Lehi during the period of the conception of the state.



Haganah Periodicals

Following two waves of Arab rioting in 1920 and 1921, the country experienced several years of peace. The Haganah's activities during these early years were somewhat pedestrian: training in the use of its limited arms, patrolling and attending lectures on practical as well as ideological topics. Predictably, a newspaper was proposed to keep the members up to date and draw them closer to the organization, or "the line," as it was referred to by its members.

Al Hamishmar ("On Guard"), the first Haganah paper, was launched in 1927 and appeared every few months as a newsletter of the Tel Aviv branch. It was first edited by Shlomo David Yaffe, one of the first Haganah instructors and editor of the agricultural monthly *Hasadeh* ("The Field") for several decades. He was followed by two young intellectuals, Uri Zvi Greenberg and Dr. Yehoshua Heshel Yeivin, who became more radical during the following years and moved over to the Revisionist camp where they initiated the Brit Habiryonim (Zealots' Alliance).

The publication, which was handwritten, was produced in several copies that were passed along from reader to reader. It was read in secret gatherings and was also sent to the Haganah branches in Jerusalem and Haifa. At first, it contained only material written by members of the Tel Aviv branch, but later, contributions from other places were published as well. Topics included memoirs of veterans of Jewish self-defense groups in Russia and of Haganah members in Eretz Israel, translations of foreign military literature, self-criticism of developments in the Haganah and details on preparedness for the future.

Ten issues of *Al Hamishmar* appeared, as far as is known, during 1927-28. Several years later, the publication appeared in a different format.

Other branches of the Haganah also published newsletters and bulletins, such as the Jerusalem branch's *Allon Lahaverim* ("Members' Newsletter"), which contained information on the organization's activities in the capital during the 1929 rioting.

"Bamahaneh" — From the Haganah to the IDF

A new publication, *Bamahaneh* ("In Camp"), was issued by the Haganah at the start of the 1930s. Published at irregular intervals at first, it was put on a firmer footing toward the end of 1934 and continued appearing more or less regularly until it became the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) weekly at the height of the War of Independence.

החומה
 לענין האגודה

ספינת ההגנה
"ציאת אירופה תש"ד"
 (EXODUS 1947)

זה שם ספינת המשפילים שהצליחה לפרוץ את המסגר הבריטי בחופי
 ההפלגה באירופה. הספינה מתקרבת לחופי המולדת.

ציאת אירופה תש"ד: מסעיה לארץ ישראל: 1282 נשים, 1600 גברים,
 1017 נוסע, 655 ילדים — ביחד 4554 נפש מישראל!

חמש אניות משחית ואנית סיור אחת שמו מצור על ספינת
 המשפילים לאורך כל הדרך. הצי הבריטי גייס את הכוח הזה במטרה
 ללכוד את הספינה לבל יגיעו אודני לחוף מבטחים.

הספינה חותרת אלינו!

אחינו המשפילים ישמרו את כולם אל יהודי ארץ ישראל הם ישרדו
 את דברם מעל ספינתם — הערב יום חמישי בשעה 10 ותחר יום שני
 בשעה 7.30 בבוקר. הגל 38 מטר בערך. החנות. קול ישראל תעביר
 את השידור בגלגל הרגיל 48 מטר.

"Hahoma," the Haganah newsletter

Typewritten at first in a few copies, it was later mimeographed and had a larger run. Its earliest editors and writers included Leah Goldberg, Shraga Rubinstein, Shabtai Brenner, Gershon Hanokh and Benjamin West. The permanent editor soon became Efrayim Talmi, who stayed with the journal until it passed on to the IDF.

The underground *Bamahaneh* was a varied periodical which viewed itself first and foremost as a vehicle for keeping its members informed and retaining their loyalty to the Haganah, to the yishuv and to the Jewish people. In issue no. 100 it wrote with pride:

This paper has never stopped reminding its members, morning, noon and night, that within the divided and fractious yishuv, our organization is the one body which incorporates all facets of the nation, and for the sake of its safety and security we must rise above all that is separatist and divisive.

Critical articles about the branch, and the Haganah generally, appeared in the journal, as well as programmatic articles, letters from members and poems on current affairs. During the Arab

riots, when the Haganah advocated a position of restraint, the journal printed both supportive and critical articles on the leaders' decisions on this point.

In early 1948, the Haganah high command decided to turn *Bamahaneh* into its national paper, and it became a biweekly from issue no. 129. Several weeks later another major step was taken when the magazine was professionally printed. When the state was established and the IDF was formed, *Bamahaneh* became the IDF weekly, under the editorship of author Moshe Shamir.

"Eshnav" —

The Most Widely Circulated Underground Paper

Although the underground press is characterized by small runs, *Eshnav* ("Little Window") was an exception. At its height it printed — and even sold — 30,000 copies. Presumably a publication of the Haganah, it was actually something quite different.

The first issue appeared on Aug. 24, 1941, and its masthead included two important mottos: "The Workers' Party of Eretz Israel" (Mapai) and: "For membership only, not for sale." Later, it was indeed sold. The party's name disappeared, from the second issue onward, and was never referred to thereafter. What is clear is that the paper's sponsors were active members of the party in power then — Mapai — and included a broad spectrum of commanders and members of the Haganah. In time, a large part of the public came to consider the paper an organ of the Haganah.

Eshnav appeared for about six years, at first as a biweekly and then as a weekly, with a total of 157 issues. It was distributed by Haganah activists throughout the country. Once or twice a year, all these volunteers would be called together for meetings where they would be given secret information and where their ties to the paper were reinforced.

Eshnav's first editor was Berl Katznelson, soon followed by Eliezer Libenstein (Livneh). The paper's subtitle read "A Digest of Authentic News Items," which expressed the publication's primary goal: to convey information censored by the British. Items obtained by the Haganah secret service were also published, as well as information obtained from other sources in the country and in neighboring countries.

Eshnav's editorial staff was linked with the staff of *Ma'arkhot* ("Campaigns"), the legal Haganah periodical. For safety's sake it was based in a room provided by Dr. Sadovsky, a physician in Tel Aviv, and was printed at the Shlomi Press in strict secrecy. Once, the British arrived at the printshop just before the magazine was to go to press, but the boss managed to conceal the incriminating material.

Eshnav espoused a basically activist philosophy which was often more radical than the Haganah's itself, and which caused tensions with the editor. The 156th issue contained a joint obituary notice for Haganah victims of the British blockade and for members of I.Z.L. and Lehi who were executed by the British. Libenstein was called in for a consultation by Mapai and was apparently informed that another editor would be associated with him to balance his positions, whereupon he resigned, and the next issue of the magazine was the last. Another factor involved was that in the early summer of 1947, the Zionist leadership decided to press forward with the political rather than the military struggle, and *Eshnav*, which represented an activist point of view, became redundant.

A competing publication produced by Haganah activists from the Ahdut Ha'avodah Party, *Oz* ("Strength"), appeared in 1944.

The Palmah Newsletter

The Palmah, which was the Haganah's combat arm, and in effect its regular army during 1941-47, laid great emphasis on propaganda and education, and attached particular importance to publishing a newspaper. *Allon Hapalmah* ("The Palmah Newsletter") was launched a few months after the founding of the Palmah, mimeographed at first, then printed from October 1942 onward. Interestingly, the first issues were not clandestine, since during its first year of activity the Palmah worked alongside the British in the effort to stop the Nazi advance into Eretz Israel. Once the Nazi danger was over, the British ceased the cooperative effort and the Palmah devoted itself to underground activity. Consequently, the newsletter changed too. It began to appear without a name, or with a general name such as "For the Young Member" or "A Reader — Food for Thought." The periodical appeared in 61 issues for about 6½ years until the founding of the state, after which several non-clandestine issues were published up until the disbanding of the Palmah.

The newsletter was much in demand, not only in the Palmah units but in all the other units and courses of the Haganah, as well as in the pioneering youth movements which educated their membership toward joining the Palmah. The first issues were edited by Michael Levin from Kibbutz Sha'ar Hagolan, who was followed by the poet Zerubavel Gilad from Kibbutz Ein Harod. Gilad was later joined by Matti Meged and Natan Shaham.

Printed in the form of a small notebook, the newsletter contained varied material on Palmah activities, outstanding events in the history of the Haganah and articles and debates on current affairs. It also dealt with ideological questions relevant to the Palmah.

The success of the newsletter and the increasing demand for it posed a security dilemma for the editors. A decision was made not to publish sensitive material, but to print a secret addendum, entitled *Beineinu* ("Between Us"), which was distributed to platoon commanders and higher ranks. The commanders would read the material to their men at their discretion, then destroy the addendum.

With the start of the War of Independence and the expansion and popularity of the Palmah, demand for the newsletter soared, and it was put on sale at newsstands.

The commander of the Palmah during its final years, Yigal Allon, attached great importance to the newsletter. "The newsletter was rightly considered one of the central projects of the Palmah," he recalled. "It spoke for all the units, and was a kind of cement that held all the troops together."

Other Newspapers

The Haganah was a large organization that encompassed thousands of members in hundreds of settlements, and published numerous newspapers, newsletters and bulletins. Individual branches and fighting units often had their own publications, several of which are described below:

Lahaver ("To the Member") and *Iggeret Lahaver* ("Newsletter for the Member") — two internal organs designed to convey information to commanders, which appeared irregularly during 1941-46. The former was printed, the latter mimeographed.

Ba'ofek ("On the Horizon") — a newsletter typical of the tightly organized Haganah groups that existed throughout the country. This one was published by a group of fighters who in 1937 had retaken the quarry at Migdal Zedeq east of Petah Tiqva which had been occupied by Arabs during the Arab riots the previous year. The group, which called itself "The Quarry Guards," under the command of Yitzhak Landoberg (later, Sadeh), published this mimeographed newsletter for over a year, describing their lives, the task they were doing and their special experiences.

Hahoma ("The Wall") — a Haganah wall bulletin which reflected the widespread popularity of wall journalism during the underground period. The various organizations competed with each other in putting up as many wall bulletins as possible, which in the case of the Haganah was done by young volunteers who belonged to the Gadna (Haganah youth) and who were hunted by the British. The texts expressed the views of the institutions involved boldly and concisely.

I.Z.L. Newspapers

"Hametsuda"

The first I.Z.L. newspaper, *Hametsuda* ("The Fortress"), appeared soon after the group left the Haganah in the early 1930s, with six issues published from the summer of 1932 to the spring of 1933. Its editorial board included Avraham Krishevsky (Giora), David Raziell and Avraham Stern. Ideological articles were written by Y. H. Yeivin and Yosef Klausner, who used the pen name "The Recluse." Stern's first poems appeared in the newspaper, including "*Hayalim Almonim*" ("Anonymous Soldiers"), which later became the I.Z.L. anthem. The first issue was typed in Jerusalem, with copies distributed throughout the country to be read out to branches by the commanders. The five issues that followed were mimeographed in Tel Aviv.

The publication included ideological articles, news reports, historical background, memoirs and literary pieces. There were also columns on military matters, Jewish-Arab relations and national liberation wars. The newspaper's emphasis on military education was expressed by A. (Y. H. Yeivin) in the opening article of the first issue, in which he rejected the Haganah approach: "It is unacceptable that a young Hebrew be educated night and day, year in and year out, toward an exaggerated desire for peace, and disgust for the idea of war." The message in all the issues was military activism along the lines of the Revisionist movement's ideology.

I.Z.L. intensified its activities during the Arab riots of 1936-39, including the publishing of newsletters, bulletins and wall sheets. *Baherev* ("By the Sword"), brought out by the organization's information department during 1937-42, covered organizational activities and ideological issues. Its first editor was Uriel Shelah (Yonatan Ratosh). A total of 23 issues appeared.

Masu'ot ("Torches") was a youth magazine published during 1938-39 in 17 issues. The real editor was H. M. Merhavia, while the stated editor was Dov Tamari. Contributing writers included Avraham Stern, David Raziell, Y. H. Yeivin, Yosef Klausner, Ya'akov Hurgin and several individuals who were later to become recognized journalists and researchers, such as Yosef Winitzky, Moshe Giora, Moshe Zak and David Niv. Sports were featured in the magazine alongside discussions on literature and ideology. Great emphasis was laid on nationalist topics. In 1939 Tamari was arrested and the magazine was closed.

I.Z.L.'s organization department made great efforts to publicize its message as widely as possible. It published 14 issues of an information bulletin called *National News Service* for journalists and public leaders during 1938-39.

"The Sentinel" — An English-Language Periodical

I.Z.L. was anxious to convey its message to the British as well, and published *The Sentinel* during February-April 1939 (11 issues), aimed at British Mandate officials and British military and police officers. Started by Avraham Stern, with its first issue published in Haifa, the publication was edited by Yona Kop (Tamir) and Kathy and Michael Kaplan, and from the second issue onward by Yitzhak Hanokh. Several of the issues were translated into German, French and Ladino.

The cover page featured a map of Eretz Israel that included both sides of the Jordan River, with the motto "Only Thus," which became the motto of the movement. The first issue included this statement: "Give the Jews the opportunity to restore peace in the land [the period was the Arab riots] so that they can establish a strong state which will have a friendly relationship with England and the Empire." The theme which underlay all the issues was that England would be wise to strengthen its ties with the Jewish *yishuv* in Eretz Israel, a claim which was buttressed by pro-Zionist statements by English statesmen from all political parties. As British policy toward the *yishuv* became increasingly hostile, the publication warned that Jewish youth in its homeland would not sit idly by.

The magazine did not last long. On April 14, 1939, a squad of British detectives broke into the *Sentinel* offices on Nahalat Binyamin St. in Tel Aviv, conducted a search and arrested Hanokh and another staff member. A number of young members of I.Z.L.'s information department who arrived on the scene were also arrested. The newspaper was closed down.

"Herut" — The I.Z.L. Organ

The main I.Z.L. newspaper was *Herut* ("Freedom"), a weekly/biweekly which appeared during 1942-48, the last issue published a few weeks after the establishment of the state. The first editorial staff included Binyamin Lubotzky, Shalom Rosenfeld and Moshe Gold. *Herut* reflected the growing radicalization of I.Z.L.'s anti-British struggle, which peaked during 1944-48. Sometimes it issued a single page to be posted on walls. Mailed to a list of recipients in sealed envelopes, it included articles on current affairs, and announcements by the I.Z.L. command, some in code. The British took a keen interest in the magazine, and in December 1943 the High Commissioner forwarded a complete translation of issue no. 11 to England for Foreign Minister Anthony Eden's information. In his memoirs, Menahem Begin, who was commander of I.Z.L. during 1943-48, wrote: "Public information was an integral part of our war," describing *Herut* as the first wall bulletin in Eretz Israel.

Printing the paper necessitated complex planning and the use of various printshops, including one that I.Z.L. acquired for a



לא ווישי, לא מסדה - אלא מודיעין

היה בדיוק זהו הווישי... לא מסדה... אלא מודיעין... (The text continues with a detailed account of the organization's activities and the impact of the 'Herut' publication.)

כיצד ישתפו ההמונים באלחמה

אם הברית... כיצד ישתפו ההמונים באלחמה... (This section discusses the role of the masses in the struggle and the impact of the 'Herut' newsletter.)

"Herut," the I.Z.L. newsletter

while which printed bills and receipts as a camouflage but which was uncovered by the British, who arrested the workers. Later, several issues were printed in a Jerusalem printshop founded by I.Z.L. members there. In the summer of 1947 the organization decided to establish a central printshop in an underground building in Tel Aviv, but the plan was exposed during the preparatory work. Eventually, a printshop camouflaged as a carpentry shop was set up in the Nahalat Yitzhak neighborhood of Tel Aviv and operated until the British left the country.

Distribution of *Herut* and other I.Z.L. publications was handled by the "information brigade," which established a kind of intercity mail service in order to deliver materials promptly to all parts of the country.

Other I.Z.L. Newspapers

I.Z.L. published a total of over 50 newspapers, newsletters and bulletins, among them:

Prisoners' Newspapers — prepared by the hundreds of I.Z.L. members imprisoned by the British from the late 1930s onward in camps and jails in Eretz Israel and abroad (in Eritrea, Sudan and Kenya). Examples of this type of publication were: *Basuger* ("In Prison"), which appeared in the Sarfend camp in the summer of 1939; *Basohar* ("In Prison"), which appeared in the Jerusalem prison and later in the Acre prison, and was handwritten; and *Bashevi* ("In Captivity"), in the Atlit camp in 1948 shortly before the British departure, also handwritten.

There was intensive journalistic activity in the detention camps in Africa as well, with dailies appearing from 1945, titled *Begalut Sudan* ("In Sudanese Exile"), *Begalut Asmarra* ("In Asmarra Exile"), *Yediot Hayom* ("Daily News") and *Begalut Kenya* ("In Kenyan Exile"). A periodical of another kind, devoted to intellectual and literary topics, was called *Badad* ("Alone") and appeared four times during 1947-48. It included poetry, stories, research on Jewish topics, scientific articles and impressions about life in the camp.

Bulitin Le'ummi ("National Bulletin") — a newsletter distributed to the public at large during 1938-39, "devoted to uncovering the truth about events in Eretz Israel."

Dapim ("Pages") — an information monthly published by the I.Z.L. News Service during 1946-48, edited by Ya'akov Amrami and David Recanati. The 20 issues contained political articles, security news and organizational items.

Foreign-Language Periodicals — a large number of periodicals in French, Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Ladino and other languages, both for the domestic public and for foreign audiences. Most of these periodicals were printed clandestinely in Eretz Israel, while several were published in Italy, France and Germany during 1946-48.

A short-lived periodical titled *Am Lohem* ("A Fighting Nation"), although not published directly by I.Z.L., was produced by an underground organization by the same name formed by a group of I.Z.L. members who were interested in drafting Haganah members to their cause during World War II. Their goal was to intensify anti-British activity, and they also operated a small radio station. Their leaders were Binyamin Lubotzky (Eliav), Ya'akov Rubin, Aharon Kadishman (Ben Ami) and Yigal Hurwitz.

Lehi Newspapers

The smallest and most radically anti-British of the underground organizations, Lehi existed during 1940-48 and published 20 periodicals in Eretz Israel and abroad.

"Bamahteret"

The organization's first publication, *Bamahteret* ("Underground") appeared in October 1940 shortly after the split from I.Z.L. It was intended as "a guide to the organization vis-a-vis the war of liberation; events in Eretz Israel and abroad; and major issues," and aimed to stimulate its readers' self-awareness. Its editors were Avraham Stern, Hanokh Kalai and Ya'akov Ornstein. Each issue was devoted to in-depth coverage of one or two topics only. It published six issues before Stern was killed, and another three issues thereafter. In 1947-48, five issues were published under the name *Bamahteret-Shikuf* ("Underground — Reflection").

"Hehazit"

A Lehi monthly which appeared during 1943-45 (19 issues), *Hehazit* ("The Front") reflected the organization's ideological positions. The first editor was Yisrael Sheib (Eldad), followed, after his arrest, by Nathan Yellin-Mor. The journal focused on the issue of removing the British from Eretz Israel. It contained literature and theater columns in addition to political material. Mimeographed, it was a large publication (between 16 and 48 pages) and was distributed to hundreds of readers, especially in intellectual circles. The leadership of the Haganah, the labor parties, the kibbutz movement and the Palmah also received the journal. A popular publication, it was well edited and constituted an asset for Lehi. A youth magazine, *Hehazit Lano'ar* ("The Front for Youth"), appeared in 1944 in a mimeographed version (2 issues), and was later printed (6 issues, 1947-48).

"Hama'as"

The best-known of Lehi's periodicals, *Hama'as* ("The Deed") appeared during 1945-48 as a weekly, a biweekly and sometimes a news sheet for posting on walls. Its name was taken from a Yiddish daily, *Die Tat* ("The Deed"), a Revisionist-oriented newspaper in Warsaw (1938-outbreak of the war) edited by Nathan Yellin-Mor and Shmuel Merlin. The Eretz Israel version became the central Lehi journal during the organization's final years and included ideological and political articles on the stormy issues of the day, on anti-British activity and on punishments endured by members of the organization. There were also occasional literary pieces; a verse column by Mordecai Shalev, replaced by Yisrael Eldad; and coded messages for organizational purposes.

Hama'as, which had four pages, published 82 issues, the last one just before the founding of the state. It was replaced in 1948 by *Mivrak* ("Telegram"), a successful non-underground evening paper.

Two issues of a youth magazine, also called *Hama'as*,

אלהים אל קדיש לך. אל תתוש ואל
 תשקט אלו כי הנה אויבך הקטין וקטנאך
 קטאו ראש, על עמך נצרים סוד ונתקצו
 על צפונך. אפרו: לכו ונכחדם סגוי —
 ולא יזכר שם ישראל עוד... כי נקצו לב
 וקדו, עליו ברית וברתו: אהלי אדם
 וישקעאלים, סאב ונהגים.
 עשה להם קדונו קסיקרא, קדונו
 בנהל קישונו!
 סגלס ע"ג, ג' - ג' - ג'

המפעש

מכת ואז חשיח עתון לוחם ג' ע'

במערכות חרות ישראל

א חיה האימפריאליזם
 האימפריאליזם הבריטי נחל את כשלונו הגדול בחית ארץ-ישראל. לא עמדו לו צבאותיו, לא עמדו לו גרומיו, לא עמדו לו שותפיו החשבון שלנו, האימפריה הלישה משחשבים, העם העברי חוק משחשבים, חשבון נכון היה, ועד לא נוצלו כל כוחותיו של העם העברי באשמת תבוסתם מבטן באשמת שומרי

יצאו ארצות הברית ב-17 הקו הבריטי הבוויני-מוריסוני, ולאס לאס היפך החיכוך מחיכוך של התגרות לחיכוך של הבנה ותואה צרוף ערמה בריטית וסכנות אמריקאיות הצבענו על כך מראשית הצטרפותן של ארצות הברית לתכנית החלוקה, וזו-זו מתאשרת השקפתנו יותר ויותר. המסגרת התהו זו של ארצות הברית מדינת הליקוה התוכן זה של

עם אנשינו בנינו מה פרא אם מית ייחוד ערבות עושה את ריבוי של ברוך ויהי של נהניו. באמצעות המעשים השאייסי היו בריטאניה שיתרה את סיוות והלבנון היו היא נתנה מלכות לעבראללה, היא העלתה את המפתח הוא מנייה עליו מספס מספס מו ש ל מ ה ספס ינויכל להיות רק אחרי היהודים מציעים לת לבריטאניה בסוסים והיא מפרקת את

העשר החוק והמכשיר כשרו מצד המודר אשר ערכיו הארץ הייבים לשלם מחיר סגל סוסים המרזי כאן קטן הוא בהרבה מהמחיר אשר יצטרכו לשלם לאימפריאליזם הבריטי והאמריקאי המות עורחם לשחררם במיכיל אולם אם ניטוסים מיתוקריאות אלה אינם משכנעים או אינם מציעים קדמוני העם הערבי, אם ביה של הברית חיסויי-קולקטון חוקה כל כך ודחשת את הוער דעתנו למעשי

"Hama'as," the Lehi newsletter

appeared in 1944. Lehi also published foreign-language periodicals in Eretz Israel and abroad, including a journal in New York (11 issues) during 1946-48.

Underground Broadcasting Stations

Although this article deals with the underground press, it should be noted that each of the organizations mentioned above had its own underground broadcasting station as well, with the Haganah operating several stations. I.Z.L. began broadcasting in 1939 via *Kol Zion Halohemet* ("Voice of a Fighting Zion").

The following year, the Haganah initiated *Kol Yisrael* ("Voice of Israel"), and Lehi had a station as well. All these stations were broadcast on short wave, and for short periods only, to prevent detection by the British. Nevertheless, the I.Z.L. and Lehi stations were tracked down several times. Both the Haganah and I.Z.L. transcribed and translated their broadcasts and distributed them to local and foreign journalists and to political leaders.

The underground stations ceased operating once the state was established, with *Kol Yisrael* becoming the official name of the state broadcasting authority to this day.

THE UNDERGROUND JEWISH PRESS IN THE WARSAW GHETTO

JOSEPH KERMISH

The Jewish press in prewar Poland included 30 daily newspapers and over 130 periodicals in Yiddish, Polish and Hebrew. It played a central role in the political, financial, social and cultural lives of the Polish Jewish community. With the German occupation of Poland, the Jews were cut off from all

news sources, both domestic and foreign. This was especially distressing because of the fateful implications for the Jews of daily developments under the occupation. They were starved for reliable news and political commentary, for it was this information which kept their hopes for liberation alive.

A ghetto of the ghetto, where over 50 underground periodicals appeared



The Underground Polish Press in Occupied Warsaw

This press began operating during the first weeks of the occupation, and by late 1939 it included 27 periodicals. The *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, published by the underground Polish military organization ZWZ (later AK), had the largest circulation and was read avidly by the Jewish community, as were many other underground Polish papers. Once the ghetto was established, several of the Polish papers were printed there because of greater efficiency and better security. In 1941, there were 290 underground Polish periodicals; in 1942, 380 periodicals; in 1943, 500 periodicals; and in 1944, 600 periodicals were published.

The Start of the Underground Jewish Press

The underground Jewish press was a totally Jewish-sponsored undertaking, with no Polish support whatsoever. It reflected Jewish underground political activity carried on by the various Jewish political movements and their youth groups, which became an increasingly important factor in Jewish life during the occupation.

With the occupation, the various Jewish organizations and movements immediately began to function as welfare bureaus. It was clear to all of them that communal unity was imperative in order to try to solve some of the problems of survival. A central coordinating body was set up which became the focus for all anti-Judenrat activity.

The political organizations and the youth movements established and intensified their activities in the ghetto, with a major outlet for this activity being the Jewish press. A large number of bulletins, magazines and anthologies were printed, filling an important role in Jewish political and cultural life. The publications aimed to supply reliable information about developments in the immediate environment and in the free world; keep up morale; and perpetrate their ideologies.

Publishing activity intensified up until the mass roundup of the summer of 1942. News sheets were even distributed on *Aktion* days. Even after the population had been decimated and the Jews that remained were preparing for armed resistance, several newspapers still continued to appear. However, the major publishing effort ended with the start of the mass *Aktion* in July 1942.

So far, 52 periodicals are known to have been published in the ghetto. A total of 250 issues have been preserved, comprising 2,933 pages. Most of the material was hidden in Dr. Emmanuel Ringelblum's underground archive in the ghetto, with other papers also preserved in the Hehalutz and the Bund archives. Undoubtedly, many publications were lost, although it is impossible to estimate how many.

With printing plants closed down, and even typewriters forbidden, the underground press functioned in makeshift and dangerous conditions. Virtually all the publications were mimeographed. None had any publisher's identification, but the public knew the organizational identity of each newspaper. Publishers tried to print 300-500 copies of each issue. Distributors would collect copies from the first round of readers and pass them on to a second shift.

Most of the papers included a combination of editorial commentary on international and Jewish events, ideological articles and war news and analysis. The youth movement papers also included educational issues, columns on science, books and famous personalities and reviews of their movement's activities.

A theme that ran through the entire Jewish press was the conviction that despite their awesome military successes, the Germans would ultimately lose the war. The press served not only to boost morale, especially among the young people, but it also supplied substantial educational materials in an effort to stimulate the intellect.

A List of Periodicals According to Ideological Affiliation

1. **The Bund.** This movement, together with its youth movement, *Zukunft*, was the largest political organization in the underground and published the largest quantity of periodicals — 12 in all. A radical movement, it had gained experience in underground activity during the prewar period in organizing Jewish self-defense against fascist terrorism and government persecution. Even in the ghetto, the Bund viewed itself as part of the Polish socialist movement and kept up close ties with it, especially with the PPS — the Workers Party. Its publications reported extensively on events in Poland.

Biuletin (Yiddish) — approximately monthly from May 1940. The first issue was triggered by a pogrom perpetrated by Poles, with the encouragement of the Germans, on Passover 1940.

Der Veker — *Informatsya Biuletin* ("The Alarm — Information Bulletin") — a weekly that replaced the monthly *Biuletin*. It ceased publication after the "Night of Blood" in April 1942.

Dos Freiyeh Vort ("The Free Word") — begun in May 1942, changed its name frequently to avoid detection. It became *Der Glock* ("The Bell"), and later *Oif der Vakh* ("On Guard"), which appeared during the early days of the mass *Aktion*.

Yingeh Gevardieh ("The Young Guard") — an ideological magazine that appeared in July 1941. It then became *Tzeit Fragen* ("Questions of the Hour").

Za Nasza i Wasza Wolnosc (Polish, "For Our and Your Freedom") — an ideological magazine.

Yugnt Shtimeh ("The Voice of the Youth") — Zukunft monthly newsletter.

Nowa Mlodziez (Polish, "New Youth") — Zukunft magazine.

The Bund, as the other organizations, devoted great efforts to smuggling out its newspapers beyond Warsaw. In this it was assisted by contacts with the Polish socialists, although its prime liaison, a young Polish woman, was caught in June 1941, and as a result, Bund activists in various cities in Poland were arrested and sent to Auschwitz.

The Bund papers continued to appear even during the mass deportations in July and August 1942. One Bund member managed to infiltrate into Treblinka and report to *Oifder Vakh* on the mass murder that was being perpetrated there. The ghetto population initially refused to believe the report.

Biulletin W.B. (Polish, "International Bulletin") — six issues published in the "Aryan" part of Warsaw after the ghetto was liquidated. One issue contained an account of the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt, as well as a report on the effect of news from occupied Poland in the West, protests in the U.S. against the murder of European Jewry and the activities of the Polish government-in-exile.

2. **Po'alei Zion (Left)**. This was the second-largest publisher, which, together with its youth movement, Yungbor (Young Borochovians), brought out five periodicals.

Yugnt Ruf ("Call of Youth")

Awangarda Mlodziezy (Polish, "Youth Avant-garde")

Proletarisheh Gedank ("Proletarian Thought") — the party's main organ, begun in March/April 1941.

Nasza Hasla (Polish, "Our Slogans") — a magazine.

Avangard (Yiddish) — an ideological youth movement publication begun in 1942.



The Logo of "Proletarisheh Gedank"

3. **Po'alei Zion (ZS)**. This movement published three periodicals during the occupation. Necessity eliminated the traditional friction between this party and the Po'alei Zion (Left).

Bafreyung ("Liberation")

Unser Veg ("Our Way")

Nowe Tory (Polish, "New Tracks")

4. The General Zionists.

Unser Hofnung ("Our Hope") — an ideological magazine on current Jewish issues and projections for the future. Reports described the destruction of Polish and Lithuanian Jewry, the progress of the war, the free world, American Jewry, the Polish government-in-exile and events in the ghetto.

5. **Agudat Israel**. This party conducted the Religious Council alongside the Judenrat, and included all prominent rabbis.

Kol Koreh Bamidbar ("A Voice in the Wilderness") — undated, probably before Passover 1941. It deals entirely with religious and spiritual issues and does not mention Nazism explicitly.

6. **The Communist Movement**. The movement grew after the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union. Its youth movement, Spartacus, was one of the first underground groups in the ghetto. The various communist groups in Poland united in January 1942 to form the Polish Workers Party (PPR), a unification process which took place in the ghetto as well.

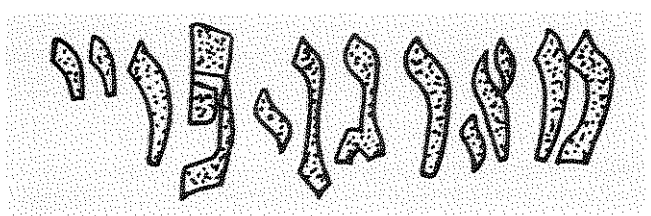
Strzaly (Polish, "Arrows") — newsletter published by Spartacus.

Baginen ("Dawn") — magazine published by Spartacus.

Morgen Frei ("Tomorrow Free") — bulletin published by a communist group in the ghetto which was affiliated with the secret Polish organization, Sierp i Mlot ("Hammer and Sickle"). It dealt with international issues as well as with the ghetto situation.

Proletarisher Radio Comunicat fun Morgen Freiheit ("Proletarian Radio Communiqué of the *Morgen Freiheit*") — a daily news sheet begun in December 1941 containing detailed war news obtained through contacts with Polish communists.

7. **The Polish Socialists**. These groups had no separate Jewish identity before the war, but organized into Jewish groups in the ghetto.



"Morgen Frei" — A communist bulletin in the ghetto

Getto Podziemne (Polish, "The Underground Ghetto") — newsletter of the Polish Socialist Party (PS) which was published as a supplement of the PS newspaper *Barykada Wolności* ("Freedom Barricade"). The message was that the solution to the Jewish problem was not emigration but rather complete integration into all aspects of Polish life.

8. The Trotskyites. Their periodicals reflected their views on the role of the proletariat during the war and their criticism of the USSR during this period. They envisioned Poland as a socialist republic, and harshly criticized the views of both the Bund and Po'alei Zion (Left).

Czerwony Sztandar (Polish, "The Red Flag") — a monthly.

Przegląd Marksistowski (Polish, "Marxist Survey") — an ideological newsletter.

9. The Assimilationists. Former members of the Związek Akademickiej Młodzieży Zjednoczeniowej (ZAMZ) — the United Academic Youth Organization — participated in underground activities in the ghetto. They had strong ties with various outside groups.

Zagiew (Polish, "Torch") — January-May 1942, based on the principle that the Jews were members of the "greater Polish community." It supported the Polish government-in-exile, and, like the other underground newspapers, attacked Jewish collaborators and informers. The Gestapo later used the name of the publication to publish disinformation, as well as to broadcast disinformation in a fabricated radio program.

10. The Anti-Fascist Bloc. This umbrella group was formed in March 1942 to unify all the ghetto organizations for the purpose of armed resistance. Led by the Communists, it included representatives of the PPR, Po'alei Zion (Left), Hashomer Haza'ir, Dror-Hehalutz and Po'alei Zion (ZS). The bloc made plans for training fighting units, escaping to the forests, disseminating anti-fascist propaganda and aiding political prisoners.

Der Ruf ("A Voice Calling") — a militant Yiddish newsletter begun in May 1942 after the April "Night of Blood," which called on the ghetto population not to give into despair and apathy but to unite and combat the Nazis and their collaborators by joining the "national liberation front" of the Jewish masses. Two issues appeared before the mass *Aktion* of the summer of 1942.

11. The "Oneg Shabbat" Archive. Organized by the historian, Dr. Emmanuel Ringelblum, this secret archive was devoted to preserving all the written output of the ghetto, including newspapers, bulletins, anthologies and diaries. The archivists also initiated surveys on various aspects of life in the ghetto, and monographs on the fate of specific cities and towns throughout Poland. This carefully documented material was passed on to the West and was the source of information on the anti-Jewish atrocities taking place in occupied Poland, including information on the mass *Aktion* of the summer of 1942.

Mitteilungen ("Announcements") — an information newsletter which publicized acts of mass murder perpetrated by the Germans, in an effort to remove all illusions about the impending fate of the ghetto population.

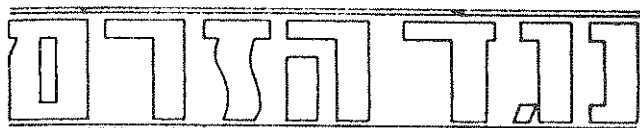
Wiadomości (Polish, "News") — weekly, published November 1942-January 1943, about the situation of the decimated Jewish population in the ghetto after the mass *Aktion*; reports about other ghettos; and reports about concentration camps, especially Treblinka. It carried the first reports about Jewish resistance, and called on the population to shake off apathy.

12. The Youth Movement Press. Youth movement activity, especially by the pioneering Zionist movements, was resumed soon after the occupation, despite the mass flight by the older members. Some of the leaders who had escaped returned voluntarily and organized underground activity. The role of the youth movements became increasingly important during the war in terms of motivating the young people to take part in self-help activities and to keep faith in their eventual arrival in Eretz Israel after the war. In the face of despair within families, the youth movements became the young people's only refuge. They published 20 of the 53 periodicals that were issued in the ghetto, and managed to distribute them in cities and villages outside Warsaw as well.

13. Hashomer Haza'ir. This youth movement published eight periodicals, the largest number of all the youth movements, and attached great importance to the educational

value of the press. The central figure in the Hashomer Haza'ir press was Shmuel Breslav, a movement leader and lecturer who was also active in the "Oneg Shabbat" archive and was a founder of the Jewish Fighters Organization. The Hashomer Haza'ir press remained faithful to its pioneering Zionist ideology. It supported the Soviet Union, although it criticized that country's attitude toward the Jewish problem and Zionism.

Neged Hazerem ("Against the Stream") — begun in March 1940, was at first an internal organ devoted to descriptions of past activities, in Polish. Later, it included Hebrew and Yiddish columns, and became the movement's ideological publication. It addressed the broad public, and was one of the most serious periodicals in Warsaw.



"Neged Hazerem" — Hebrew-Yiddish periodical in Warsaw

Plomienie (Polish, "Flames") — begun in September 1940 by the Tel-Amal division of the movement, to combat apathy by stimulating self-awareness.

Becheszkat Halail ("In the Dark of Night") — a pedagogical newspaper published by the Tel-Amal group.

El Al (Polish, "Upward") — a bimonthly begun in April 1941 by the scouts division of the movement, espousing the pioneering Zionist cause and also the hope for a communist solution to eliminate evil and war from the world. It included reports on the movement's activities, the pioneers in Eretz Israel and Histadrut activities, as well as compositions by members.

Iton Hatenu'ah ("The Movement Newspaper") — three anthologies of selected material from *Neged Hazerem* and *El Al*, each over 100 pages long, published from December 1940 onward, smuggled to various parts of Poland.

Jutrznia (Polish, "Dawn") — a political weekly published from February 14 to April 18, 1942, intended for the general ghetto public. It contained war news and commentary, ideological articles, appeals for resistance, reports on the suffering in the ghetto, attacks on the Judenrat and news from Eretz Israel.

Przedwiosnie (Polish, "Early Spring") — a continuation of *Jutrznia* after the "Night of Blood" of April 1942, as a camouflage against surveillance. In June it began appearing in

Yiddish with a new name, *Der Oifbroiz* ("The Eruption"). A week before the mass **Aktion** of July 1942, it appeared in Polish once again, titled *Zarzewie* ("Whispering Embers").

A daily news sheet began to appear during the second half of 1941 when the need to keep the public informed could no longer be met by a weekly.

14. Dror-Hehalutz. This was the second-largest youth movement publisher, with five periodicals. The movement was affiliated with Po'alei Zion (ZS) and the Kibbutz Hame'uhad movement in Eretz Israel. It functioned in most of the cities and towns of Poland, especially among working-class young people. Its publications reflected the movement's strong affiliation with the worker's movement in Eretz Israel, and were also pro-Soviet, though less extreme than Hashomer Haza'ir. They also included the works of poets and writers, signed anonymously or with underground names. The papers were smuggled into other ghettos by movement members.

Dror ("Freedom") — a Yiddish periodical begun in early 1940.

Dror Wolnosc (Polish, "Dror — Freedom") — a parallel publication begun at the same time.

Yediot ("News") — Yiddish weekly that replaced *Dror* after the "Night of Blood." It reported on the situation of Jews throughout Poland, on **Aktions** in the various Jewish communities and later on the first murders of Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. It warned that this was only the beginning of a planned program of destruction, and carried early reports on the death camps.

15. Gordonia. This pioneering Zionist movement, which had been based in Lodz and other cities, reflected a moderate Social-Democratic ideology and criticized the extremism of the leftist youth movements. Its periodicals were:

Slowo Mlodych (Polish, "Young People's Commentary") — begun in October-November 1940. The movement's major organ, it contained military and political articles, articles on the Jewish people and Eretz Israel, discussions of educational problems in the ghetto and reports on the destruction of the Jewish people, pleading for assistance from the free world. It too managed to reach Jewish communities throughout Poland.

Osdoyer (Yiddish, "Forbearance")

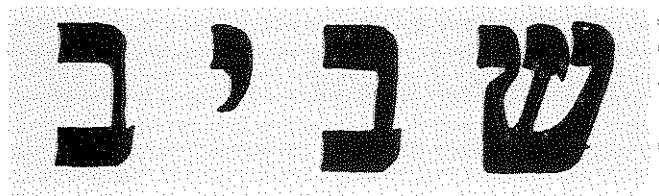
Pochodnia (Polish, "The Torch")

Z Problematyki Ruchu W Chwili Obecnej (Polish, "Current Movement Problems") — June 1942.

16. **Hano'ar Hazioni.** This pioneering Zionist youth movement was affiliated with the Ha'oved Hazioni movement in Eretz Israel and the leftist wing of the General Zionists.

Yedioteinu ("Our News") — 1940, reported about Eretz Israel and the movement abroad, and was widely distributed outside Warsaw.

Shaviv (Hebrew, "Spark") — a unique newspaper in the ghetto, begun in December 1940, written in high-level Hebrew. It dealt with serious Hebrew cultural issues, national commemorative events and biographies of important personalities, as well as with Zionist issues, developments in Eretz Israel and educational problems.



The Logo of "Shaviv"

17. **Betar.** Part of the leadership of this Zionist youth movement, affiliated with the Revisionists, returned to Warsaw after having escaped, as was the pattern in other youth movements.

Hamedina ("The State") — August 1941. This Yiddish anthology commemorated the first anniversary of Ze'ev Jabotinsky's death, and was unique in that it was printed and not mimeographed.

Magen David ("Star of David") — the movement's ideological periodical, appeared in Yiddish from February-March 1942 onward. It observed that the movement's prewar fears for the future of the Jewish people in Europe were tragically realized, and stressed that the only solution to the Jewish problem was the establishment of a Jewish state.

Morituri te salutant Judeo! (Latin, "The Doomed Salute You, Jew!") — a publication that included pieces by Uri Zvi Greenberg and other movement ideologists.

The Main Themes in the Underground Press

All of the movements in the ghetto were singularly unified on the immediate issues of the Judenrat and of communal welfare. Their differences lay in the political and ideological areas, which were essentially a continuation of their movements' positions

before the war. Overall, there was a shift toward the left in most of the movements as a result of the role of the USSR once it began to fight Germany.

Interestingly, the underground press focused more on political and military news and on general ideological questions — e.g., the relationship with Eretz Israel, Zionism and socialism — than on internal ghetto developments. This may have been because a) there was a great need for reliable outside information, which also served as a distraction from daily suffering, and b) the underground press, bitterly critical of the handling of the ghetto situation, was unable to change it, and devoted itself, therefore, to outside issues.

From mid-1941 onward, coverage of the fate of the Jewish communities in the east and the centers of annihilation intensified, side by side with the development of the idea of armed resistance.

1. **Description of Life in the Ghetto.** The press attacked the social inequality that developed in the ghetto between the small proportion of the population that managed to save some of its assets, and the starving masses. A class of fences, informers and smugglers sprang up and profited through illegal sales of the Jews' meager belongings to Germans and Poles. Another target of criticism was the selective way that lists for forced-labor camps were made up. Most of the Jewish bourgeoisie managed to evade these roundups through bribes, while the masses were the essential victims.

Starvation, plagues and the mounting death rate in the ghetto were reported extensively.

2. **Attitude to the Judenrat and its Institutions.** The entire press blamed the Judenrat and its institutions for a large measure of the misery in the ghetto. The selection methods for forced daily labor and for the labor camps, with the attendant ransom tax, were attacked in particular as a cynical barter in human lives. The press warned the Judenrat members that their day of reckoning would come. The Jewish police force was singled out for its corruption and cruelty, accused by the press of being a tool in the service of the Germans. The newspapers pointed out that each new Judenrat decree, especially those pertaining to forced-labor lists, was a source of additional income for the police, acquired from bribes.

3. **Analysis of the War.** There were significant differences of opinion between the various political movements on this subject, based on their ideologies. For example, the leftists refused to differentiate between fascism and National-Socialism, on the one hand, and the existing capitalistic regimes on the other. They considered the war a struggle between two

imperialistic systems, similar to World War I, and dismissed slogans of freedom and democracy as mere hypocrisy. They believed that the international working class should remain neutral and take advantage of the situation to create working-class regimes. Once the Soviet Union entered the war, the left abandoned this neutral stand and supported the Soviet side. The Bund, on the other hand, differentiated from the start between the relatively benign English regime and the cruel German regime and, although it agreed that the proletariat was exploited by both, advocated eliminating the more dangerous enemy.

Differences of opinion were particularly sharp on the Jewish question. The Bund, for example, ignored the special treatment of the Jews by the Nazis for a long time, claiming that there was no basic difference between the Jewish situation and that of other oppressed peoples, and that the Jewish proletariat should ally itself with the Polish proletariat rather than focus on overall Jewish solidarity. They changed this position only in 1942. The Po'alei Zion (ZS), on the other hand, grappled with the special situation of the Jews from the start.

4. Eretz Israel and the Future of the Jewish People After the War. This topic was central in the Zionist press, on two levels: ideological analysis, and news about Eretz Israel. Reports about events in Eretz Israel reinforced faith in Jewish existence and a Jewish future.

Ideologically, the question of the future of the Jews after the war was argued vigorously from one perspective by the Bund, and from another by the Zionist press. The Zionist movement was pessimistic about a Jewish future in liberated Poland, in view of ongoing grass-roots anti-Semitism. The separation of the Jewish people from its homeland was the root of its problem, the Zionist papers wrote, asserting that a national revival was possible only in Eretz Israel. The leftist Zionist movement envisioned the Jewish national revival as socialist in nature. Hashomer Haza'ir stipulated that the Anglo-Saxon dominance of Eretz Israel must be replaced by cooperation with the Soviet Union. The Revisionists stressed the error made by the masses of Jews who did not immigrate to Eretz Israel before the war. The General Zionists emphasized the importance of international recognition for a Jewish state, as well as the victory of democracy in order to guarantee the rights of Jews throughout the world.

The Bund and the Polish Socialists opposed these views, insisting that emigration was not the only solution to the Jewish problem and that integration was still viable.

The social and political awareness — often radical — that was expressed in the underground press was an important factor in preparing the population for the ordeals of evacuation and organized resistance that were to come.

The Role of the Press in Reporting the Fate of the Jews

1. The "Night of Blood" and the Underground Press. Armed SS soldiers entered the ghetto on the night of April 17, 1942, removed Jews from houses whose addresses they had and murdered 52 people in the streets. The "Night of Blood," also called "Bartholomew's Night," was thought to be a punishment aimed at the underground, possibly at the underground press in particular. The chairman of the Judenrat, Adam Chernikow, appealed to the underground to cease publication, lest a collective punishment be imposed on the entire population.

Instead, the underground leaders intensified press activity, up until the mass Aktion three months later. They were convinced that the "Night of Blood" was not aimed at the illegal press but was part of the larger Nazi plan to destroy the Jews. The press became more radicalized and began calling for resistance.

2. Policy for News Reports. In addition to being a credible source of political and military news, the underground press filled an important role in dispelling rumors disseminated by Gestapo agents to confuse the ghetto population. When the impending physical annihilation of the population was known to be a certainty, the press tried to impress the truth upon the people, destroy their illusions and motivate them to act. It reported in detail on Aktions elsewhere as well.

3. The Call for Resistance. The idea of armed resistance emerged in the underground press with the intensification of the process of destruction. Some commentators stressed the importance of the participation of the Jews in the general struggle of the oppressed nations. Others stressed the necessity of a counterforce to the horrifying murder of the Jews of Poland.

On July 3, 1942, 110 Jews were shot in retaliation for cases of "disobedience" and resistance to the German police, triggering a sharp response in the press and a call for revolt. Reports of impending danger to Eretz Israel from the German forces in North Africa at that time, and the callup of Jewish fighters in Eretz Israel, added intensity to the appeal for action.

By reporting the news of the fate of the Jews throughout occupied Europe, and by calling upon the Jewish population to shake off its apathy, the underground press prepared the community for the impending mass Aktion and for eventual armed resistance and revolt.

Dr. Kermish's article is based on his work as editor of a major publishing project on this subject for Yad Vashem.

THE PRESS IN NAZI CAPTIVITY

JOSEPH ALMOGI

Soon after we returned home from Nazi captivity in Germany in the summer of 1945, we began summarizing our experiences as Jews from Eretz Israel who had been British prisoners of war in Nazi labor camps for four years. After a few weeks with our families, during which we enjoyed the surprisingly pleasant conditions in Eretz Israel then, as compared to the situation in liberated Europe, work was begun by the Labor movement and the Haganah archives on collecting various kinds of information from the returning POWs, which became the basis for speeches, articles and books that appeared at that time.

During my years in captivity, I had served in various commanding and representative capacities in several labor camps. Eventually I was chosen by our colleagues in the main British prisoner camp — Stalag 8B — to take responsibility for the 1,500 Jewish, and several hundred Arab, prisoners from Eretz Israel who were scattered in labor camps that were offshoots of Stalag 8B throughout Upper Silesia. Unfortunately, when I was hospitalized and operated on in a German hospital during the final weeks before liberation, I lost all the diaries I had kept, but I was pleased that a great deal of material was brought to the archives by our POW colleagues, so that it was in Eretz Israel that we saw nearly the complete picture.

The truth was that I was surprised by the amount of written material that I discovered in the archives — newspapers, newsletters, bulletins, songs and plays, and Zionist histories.

The capture of 1,500 Jewish soldiers from Eretz Israel by the Germans in Greece in the spring of 1941 came as a shock to the small Jewish *yishuv*. It should be noted that some 15,000 Jews from Eretz Israel had enlisted by then, and about 10% of this force was now facing an unknown fate.

The "Agency-ers"

The composition of the Jewish POWs differed from the overall makeup of the population in Eretz Israel. Of the 1,500 enlistees, some 200 had responded immediately to the appeal to enlist made by the Jewish Agency, and were considered highly motivated Zionists and fighters. They were nicknamed "Agency-ers" by the other POWs. On the other end of the scale were some 200 marginal types who had been unemployed, were looking for adventure and had a pronounced anti-establishment outlook. The rest — the majority — were young immigrants who had been persecuted by the Germans throughout all of Europe and, arriving in Eretz Israel, did not yet find their place and so volunteered for the British army. It was their fate to be captured in uniform by their persecutors. Some of these young men had higher education, yet most of them were not yet familiar with Eretz Israel and did not have a command of Hebrew.

After a difficult and dangerous transfer from Greece to Germany, we achieved recognition as Palestinian Jews in the British army in German captivity, following an unequivocal declaration by the British command that any harm done to the Palestinian prisoners would be considered a breach of the international convention on prisoners of war. Still, we had no doubts that even under the limits of the convention the Germans could harm us and even murder us, as they had done to certain ethnic groups in other camps.

After a short acquaintance with the internal British POW command, we decided that in order to survive with dignity in those terrible conditions, we would adopt totally different standards of conduct from those of the non-Jews. From the start, the Germans tried to discriminate against us in the most vulnerable area in POW life — preventing receipt of food packages, which were sent by the Allies through the Swiss Red Cross. It was only after the representatives of the large camp refused to accept their packages as well, and after two days of negotiations in German headquarters, that the entire camp achieved a victory as a consequence of its solidarity.

This first confrontation proved to everyone involved that in order for the Germans to treat us according to the Geneva Convention, it was essential that the thousands of other Allied POWs back us up in our struggle as British prisoners against discrimination. We therefore had to conduct ourselves with special integrity.

Fortunately, the tightly knit "Agency-ers" decided upon a difficult mission in the German prison, under the worst possible conditions: turning the large, motley group into a unified contingent of proud Jews who spoke Hebrew; learned about Eretz Israel so as to become integrated into it; trained in various

specialties; were involved in the cultural life of the huge camp and earned various awards; and were exemplary representatives of POWs of the British Empire.

A Newspaper Named "Lesson"

One of our methods to create a link between the various POW camps and disseminate information was the internal press, which helped raise national as well as personal morale. The Nazis simmered over the "paradise" they were allowing the POWs, while the others envied the packages which we received from time to time, but neither population took any particular interest in our cultural life. We could therefore allow ourselves the pleasure of a free press, which we enriched by information we received from BBC broadcasts on our home-made radio. We also utilized Polish civilians as sources of news, and occasionally anti-Nazi German work managers, with whom we traded news we had received on our radio.

I still cannot grasp how we managed to produce so much historical material. When we went over it all afterward in Eretz Israel, we realized that our people had dredged from their memories an enormous quantity of Jewish history. Viewed in retrospect, the sense of national mission which had developed within us by the time we returned home had been fostered to a large extent by the Hebrew press in our Nazi captivity.

It seems to me that this prison output bears witness not only to what happened to us, but also to what we felt and thought at the time.

The first newspaper appeared in the labor camp a half-year after we were taken prisoner. It was named *Shi'ur* ("Lesson"), under the assumption that the German censor would think that we were dealing with pedagogical material and not a POW newspaper.

It included an emotional description of how we were captured:

The land turned into hell; only yesterday we walked about proudly outside the beautiful city, and today we were a fleeing army, closely pursued. We sank to the level of wild animals, hiding just like them in the mountains. We hid from the enemy by day, and at night we sought help where we could.

Another segment lamented:

It was for naught.

The boats sailed away secretly at nightfall, their twinkling lights growing more distant, and we were left like sheep without a shepherd, facing a living nightmare. We prayed for a miracle, but none appeared. The magic staff did not dry up the sea.

No Peace in the Mapai Family

With the passage of time, the name *Shi'ur* was changed to *Bamezar* ("In Distress"), the format of the newspaper was greatly improved and the scope was expanded considerably. In the issue dated 13 Iyar 5703 (May 15, 1943), we find an editorial devoted to "Generl Kisch" (actually, Col. Frederick Herman Kisch, head of the political department of the Zionist administration in Jerusalem during the 1920s), who had fallen in action a month previously in the western desert of North Africa while serving as chief engineering officer of the Eighth Army.

The issue also carried a column entitled "Proper Hebrew"; riddles; and a column entitled "Not Essential But Interesting to Know" ("A person's hair grows at the rate of 7 cm. a year. A nail that falls off will grow back within 11 days.").

A newspaper named *Be'et Uve'et* ("By Pen and Spade") was published in the Gleivitz camp, where conditions were particularly difficult. It was there that the Eretz Israel prisoners first met Jewish survivors from Poland. The third issue, dated 29 Tishrei 5704 (October 28, 1943), contained a piece by the editor, titled "Two and a Half Years":

We lived through them and they passed over us. At first, there were hard times that brought us to despair. But we were a people that was used to suffering, and we found the strength to overcome. Actually, two and a half years are a short period in a lifetime, and pass like the blink of an eye. Yet it is worthwhile expressing the awareness and experiences we gained in enemy territory.

We also initiated a wall bulletin in a labor camp as part of the overall effort to retain our Jewish identity. The paper published all the news that I gleaned from the BBC, from Eretz Israel reporters and even from rumors. A single issue appeared daily, yet I think that in terms of the public's enthusiasm and loyalty, it was unparalleled in the labor camp and its environs. Some of our colleagues would read it the moment they returned from work, even before washing up and changing their dirty clothes.

Some of the news items in it were culled from regular information surveys of fellow-prisoners. For example, a letter received by a friend, Shlomo Sela, from Ziaman Aharonowitz (later, Zalman Aranne, minister of education) in 1943 contained this sentence: "There is no news in the family. Berl and Tabenkin are not on good terms." I don't know what the German censor made of this family and the relationship between the two individuals mentioned. But our wall bulletin was saying that there was no peace in Mapai and that the controversy between the leaders of the party, on the one hand — David Ben-Gurion and Berl Katznelson — and the B faction led by Yitzhak Tabenkin, on the other, was still ongoing.

A Single Strong Desire: Revenge!

In March 1943, before leaving the camp, I collected all the issues of the wall bulletin that I had kept with my things, put them in an iron container and buried it in the yard, where, no doubt, it is waiting for us to this day.

A long time later, I learned that the men who remained behind continued publishing the wall bulletin, and that one of them even managed to save the 500th issue, dated July 9, 1944. When I found this issue in the Labor archive in Tel Aviv, I was moved by its lead article, which included this segment:

This day will be a day of glory for all the prisoners of Zion. We will celebrate a jubilee in our camp and a holiday within our midst. Today our camp "diary" has reached number 500. We shall rejoice in what we have produced... and, if several hundred days is not very much in the life of man, for us it is enormous, because we live behind barbed wire, deprived of our culture, cut off from Hebrew.... Now that we have reached number 500, we feel only joy. We are entitled to say that we erred fortuitously. We dispelled fears and overcame all the difficulties, and even in this bitter captivity the Hebrew language will not vanish from our mouths, because our love for it is as strong as death. An eternal fire will burn within us and will not be extinguished.

It is fitting that we say something about the first issues of the diary and about the founders. It was first headed by Sergeant Joseph Carlenboim [Almogi], who was in charge of our camp then. His heart was wise and his hands were skilled.

Newspapers were published elsewhere too. *Niv Banekhar* ("An Expression in a Foreign Land"), which appeared in one of the coal-mining camps, told its readers, in an article titled "Our Revenge":

We do not exactly know the extent of the destruction of European Jewry at this time, but we can say with certainty that it is tremendous — perhaps greater by far than any human being of this generation can imagine. There is great destruction of property, and greater destruction by far of life. Hundreds of thousands have been lost from the face of the earth [who can blame the editors of that paper for not assessing the true proportions?], and the survivors are ill, exhausted and in distress. By day they say: We wish for night, and by night they wish for day.... The loss is great, and people will not be able to compensate for what is gone in a year's time and even in ten years' time.... In reacting to the tragedy, to the atrocities done to the people by the

tyrants of this generation, a single strong desire wells up: Revenge!

Another newspaper, *Omer* ("Statement"), informed its readership in voweled text which surely was never submitted to the censor, about the failed conspiracy against Hitler.

Everything that happened in Germany during the last 48 hours is still shrouded in fog, and, typically for this country in this situation, the politics of rumors are blossoming.

The "meisters" are whispering... the French and the Russians are smiling and winking at their jobs. For the price of a cigarette, someone found out that armed guards are patrolling Berlin. Friedrichstrasse is besieged. There are waves of arrests, especially of highly placed personalities. It is still too soon to know if this "miracle from heaven" by which the bastard was saved from certain death while everyone around him was blown to bits, is actually a new version of the blowing up of the Reichstag, staged for foreign and domestic purposes in order to further tighten the rope of enslavement and cruelty around the necks of the inhabitants.

The importance of the Hebrew language was held high, as evidenced by a segment from the newspaper *Bemahanenu* ("In Our Camp"), which was published in an unknown camp on January 13, 1945:

It is all well and good to cry: "Speak Hebrew!" but allow me to express my doubts that we have thus fulfilled our obligation to the language.

Language is one of the elements that make us into a nation. Every passing day brings us closer to our return to our country. Today, we mix bits of all the languages present here in Silesia into our speech. It is unnecessary to cite examples. Each of us should listen to how he speaks when he tells his friend a story about work. I am certain that everyone who thinks about this will feel ashamed of himself. Once and for all, let us put an end to this careless neglect. Let us begin to fulfill our duty to our language. We won't fulfill it by scolding "Speak Hebrew!" Each one of us must try to combat the bastardization of the language; erase Silesia from ourselves; try our hand with one another for an hour a day in composing a proper style.

As I mentioned, upon liberation, some of our loyal colleagues managed to bring the underground newspapers to Eretz Israel, and because of their efforts we have this unique testimony.

THE "SPARK" THAT WAS NOT EXTINGUISHED / Shlomo Shafir

This article tells the story of an underground newspaper that appeared first in Kovno, Lithuania, under Soviet rule, then in the Kovno Ghetto under the Germans and finally in the Dachau-Kaufering concentration camp in Germany up until liberation in April 1945. The author was the last editor.

Toward the end of 1940, some five months after Lithuania was annexed by the Soviet Union under the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement, a Hebrew-language underground publication, *Nitzotz* ("Spark"), began appearing. It was sponsored by the newly established Irgun Brit Zion (A.B.Z.) organization, which was founded by graduates and students of Hebrew and subsequently Yiddish high schools and Zionist youth movement activists who opposed the anti-Zionism of the Communist regime and of Komsomol, the Communist youth organization. A.B.Z. sought to fill the void created by the silencing of Zionists, and was dedicated to Hebrew culture and language along with Zionist awareness.

Nitzotz, like A.B.Z., managed to survive for nearly five years until the end of World War II, publishing a total of 42 issues. After the occupation of Lithuania by the Germans in 1941, *Nitzotz* continued to appear in the Kovno Ghetto, and when the ghetto was liquidated and the several thousand survivors sent to the Dachau-Kaufering camp, the paper continued there.

The first editor, who was also the founder of A.B.Z., Shimon Graz, was an upperclass student at the Reali Gymnasium, a leading member of Hano'ar Hazioni until 1940 and personally religiously observant. He was caught by the Soviets while trying to cross the border to Iran en route to Eretz Israel in the winter of 1941-42, and died in jail. During the ghetto period, the editors were Hayim Tiktin, a graduate of a Hebrew gymnasium and a student at Vilna University who had a Labor Zionist background, and later the young poets Shraga Aharonowitz, also a graduate of a Hebrew gymnasium and a former member of Betar, and Yizhak Katz, a Bnei Akiva activist. The author of the article, a classmate of Graz, served as managing editor of the newspaper during the ghetto period and its editor in Dachau-Kaufering, where he was sent in July 1944.

In order to avoid detection, the paper was written by hand during all three periods. Strict secrecy was maintained during the Soviet period both in the organization and in the circulation of the newspaper. Articles, written mostly by graduates and upperclassmen of the gymnasia, were devoted to Hebrew culture and language, opposition to communist assimilation, news of Eretz Israel and reports on the worsening condition of

the Jews in neighboring Poland.

After the German occupation of Lithuania and the first wave of murders of Jews, the Jewish community was concentrated in the Kovno Ghetto, where *Nitzotz* reappeared in October 1941. It ran monthly until the spring of 1944, producing 28 issues during this period. Reflecting the concerns of A.B.Z., the paper continued to focus on Hebrew culture, as well as on the moral welfare of its members in their degrading environment, the efforts for Zionist fulfillment after the war, the goal of Zionist unity and the demand for a Jewish state. It also reported on the organizational activities of the membership. Practical issues of self-defense in the ghetto were dealt with in a separate A.B.Z. newsletter, *Shalhevet* ("Flame"). *Nitzotz* also included occasional pieces on topics of interest to the group of religious members who had joined A.B.Z.

Each issue was copied by hand, with 15-30 carbon copies. They were distributed and passed from hand to hand or read out in groups, then destroyed.

Most of the ghetto survivors were sent to Dachau-Kaufering in Bavaria in July 1944, where they were engaged in forced labor and lived in tents and huts. There, the author's colleagues asked him to try to resume publication of *Nitzotz*. With the help of friends in the camp administration office, he managed to get paper and carbon, and produced a monthly of 6-10 copies, written secretly. Eventually, members of other Zionist movements, and even non-Zionists, contributed articles to the newspaper. The five issues from the camp that were preserved reflect such questions as the trial and punishment of individuals and nations who played a role in destroying the Jewish people, as well as compensation of survivors. Emphasis was placed on the importance of reaching Eretz Israel, although at least one author expressed a non-Zionist viewpoint. Poetry was also published. A notice of a Hebrew club meeting on Feb. 23, 1945, brought 60-80 inmates, the author recalls.

Shortly after liberation, *Nitzotz* was renewed in the Landsberg DP camp, this time by hectograph duplication. Later, it was published in Munich by a more advanced mimeograph method. In November 1945 it became the organ of the United Zionist Organization and the Noham movement of Germany, and appeared in print until 1948 — the only Hebrew-language periodical to be published by survivors in Europe. The author edited it until he settled in Eretz Israel early in 1948, shortly before the establishment of the state.

"AGRICULTURAL CIRCULAR" — AN UNDERGROUND PIONEERING PERIODICAL IN HOLLAND / Yigal Binyamin

In May 1940, when the Nazis conquered Holland, close to 800 young pioneering members of the Zionist movement were undergoing agricultural training there in preparation for settling in Eretz Israel. Most of them had come from Germany and other Central European countries, while 20% were from Holland.

The training program had been organized by various sponsoring organizations with differing political ideologies. A month after occupation, the Jewish Center for Professional Training — called "The Center" — was established to coordinate all the Zionist and training organizations with the aim of preserving the institution of the training camps in the new circumstances.

But, unlike in Germany, where the restrictions on the Jewish community were imposed gradually, over a six-year period, the new rules in Holland were extreme from the start. Emigration was no longer the goal of the masters.

The Center became part of the Jewish Council for Amsterdam, established by order of the Germans, in February 1941, and in the fall of that year all Jewish organizations were officially banned.

Deportations began in July 1942, at which time the pioneering underground was founded — the only Jewish group in Holland which organized an effective and lasting underground.

The pioneering movement in Holland published a monthly *Agricultural Circular* for its trainees from August 1940 to July 1942. Written in Dutch, with German addenda for trainees whose Dutch was poor, it averaged 13 pages, with most of its material devoted to agricultural branches found in Eretz Israel then, including translated material from literature published in Eretz Israel and some material on Dutch agriculture. There was also material on historic aspects of agriculture in Eretz Israel, as well as technical Hebrew terminology.

The monthly was intended primarily for those trainees who had been placed on private farms and who, with the occupation,

needed supportive contact. While the first two issues of August and September 1940 defined the periodical as a "publication," with an "editorial office," the issues that followed revealed a subtle but significant change: the publication was now a "course," and letters were to be sent to a "correspondence address." By then, the Germans had banned the Jewish-sponsored press, although they allowed the publication of professional literature.

With all Jewish organizations banned a year later, in September 1941, the address of the *Circular* became the Jewish Center for Professional Training located in the Amsterdam diamond exchange, and in January 1942 the *Circular* became the *JCB Agricultural Department Correspondence Course*. The last issue of the *Correspondence Course* appeared in July 1942, when the mass deportations began. During all of 1941, though, when the Holocaust began for the Jews of Holland, groups of hundreds of young Jews, including some of the agricultural trainees, were rounded up and sent to their death in the Mauthausen concentration camp and in Westerbork.

During this entire period, the *Agricultural Circular*, and later the *Correspondence Course*, focused entirely on questions of agricultural experimentation and technical matters. It is difficult to say whether this indicated an inability to face reality, or remarkable bravery. Perhaps both analyses are valid. What is certain is that the later work of the Jewish underground depended on resilience and constancy, qualities which could not be developed overnight. These qualities were the result of a gradual process of identification with an ideal, which was reflected in the work of the *Agricultural Circular*.

Moreover, during this period of over two years, between May 1940 and July 1942, when the population lived in an atmosphere of constant uncertainty and increasing fear, normalcy in daily life was essential in order to preserve sanity. The *Agricultural Circular* contributed to that sense of balance by preserving its readers' resilience.

'HELLO, FRIDAY': LAUGHING IN THE GHETTO / Dan Re'im

An underground satiric weekly, *Salom na pátek* (Czech, "Hello, Friday"), began appearing in Theresienstadt, the "model ghetto," in April 1943. Even now, 48 years later, its sarcastic articles and caricatures, which appeared in 16 issues, are still humorous. Edited by an engineer named Oswald Bauer and his friends who worked in the ghetto technical department, it described the hunger, crowding and disease of the ghetto with irony, without illusions and with complete awareness that the future was predetermined to end in transports east to the death camp.

Yet the paper's black humor transcended time and place and is still fresh. It was a combination of macabre Jewish humor and typically Czech Schweikian mockery of the bully. Although most of the writers and readers of *Snap*, as it was called, were sent to their final destination a short time later, they left behind a legacy of wild laughter. Some 50,000 Jews were crowded into one square kilometer in the village of Terezin under unbearable conditions, but Bauer and his friends chose laughter as their solace.

Only one typed copy was produced, with the "subscribers" arriving at a certain room in order to read it.

The group that published the weekly consisted of several engineers and architects who had actually volunteered to come to the picturesque village of Terezin, lured by the promise of

building a rural family camp and the guarantee of weekend leaves.

The "Classifieds" included humorous matchmaking proposals filled with sexual innuendos. Articles satirized the ubiquitous yellow star, the separation of the men from the women, the crowding of dozens of people to a room, which led to desperate efforts to find some privacy, and the malnutrition. Clippings from the Czech press were reproduced, although the punishment for bringing newspapers into the camp was severe. The Nazi ploy of luring Jews who still remained in Germany to a "spa" — Terezin — for which they sold all their possessions, was another subject for biting satire.

The next to last issue, in March 1944, contained a curriculum vitae that turned into a "curriculum mortis," tracing all the efforts of a fictitious Jew from Prague to live, first by acquiring education, then by becoming Germanized, then by becoming a true Czech, followed by radical Zionism, then conversion to Catholicism and ultimately transport to Theresienstadt and on to the death camp.

Curiously, although the editors did not define themselves as Zionists, the last issue of *Snap* in the spring of 1944 conjured up an "eastern" dream of palm trees, camels and a thousand and one nights.

UNDERGROUND, WITH EXCLAMATION POINTS: THE ILLEGAL COMMUNIST PRESS IN ERETZ ISRAEL / David Melamed

Although the Communist Party during the pre-state period was always outside the national consensus, it is part and parcel of the history of Eretz Israel. Typical of the communist movement throughout the world, the Communist Party of Eretz Israel attached great importance to having its own newspaper for collective organizational and propaganda purposes, and devoted considerable effort and funds to putting out a Hebrew paper. After several initial efforts starting in the 1920s, *Kol Ha'am* ("The Voice of the People"), subtitled "The Palestinian Communist Party Organ," began appearing in 1937, occasionally printed, mostly mimeographed.

In 1919 the left wing of Po'alei Zion published several journals in Yiddish, and from 1926 to 1931 the Palestinian Communist Party published a Yiddish newsletter. The Communist Youth Alliance published a Hebrew newsletter, *Hehazit* ("The Front"), in the early 1930s, and *Ha'or* ("The Light") appeared from 1930 to 1939, although it abandoned the Palestinian Communist Party line in 1936 in favor of the Trotskyite point of view. *Ha'or* had actually begun in 1925 as a socialist publication, and later moved over to communism.

The Palestinian Communist Party was declared illegal by the British mandate authorities in 1921, and functioned clandestinely

until 1941.

Kol Ha'am, the official organ of the party, struggled with financial and security limitations that were the lot of the party as a whole. The quality of the printing and the editing was poor, and the editors and writers were anonymous. On the other hand, there was a plethora of enthusiastic slogans and exclamation points.

The paper followed the Soviet line. It gave prominence to the Jewish-Arab controversy, attacking the Mandate authorities and siding with the Arabs. It focused on workers' struggles in Eretz Israel and attacked the Histadrut sharply. It also reported on revolutionary activities throughout the world and developments in sister Communist parties. In the issue of November 1937, which commemorated the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR, an article titled "Long Live the USSR — It Has Solved the Jewish Problem!" declared that life there had become easier, happier and more satisfying. Another article, "Zionist Leaders and the USSR," attacked the Zionists in Eretz Israel for exploiting "imperialistic" censorship of the "progressive" press in order to defame everything related to the USSR.

Every issue of the paper included exhortations to the readers to pass on their copy to other readers, in view of the limited means at the disposal of the publishers to produce extra copies.

Starting in 1938, the newsletter indicated that it was now published by the "Jewish Section of the Palestinian Communist Party," the first indication of a political split, and ran an increasing amount of Yiddish material in the paper.

The pro-Arab stance of the newspaper was reflected in many articles, including an item in a 1938 issue which lauded "the partisan commander" Abdul Razeq, who was, in fact, the leader of an Arab gang which robbed and murdered Jews during the riots of 1936-39.

The leaders of the Zionsit Left were attacked constantly by *Kol Ha'am* as "provocateurs," "agents of the British Police" and "demagogues."

With the Nazi invasion of Russia, the Communist line in Eretz Israel changed and the authorities' attitude toward the party improved. Party members who had been imprisoned were released, and propaganda activities were permitted. The party became legal, and *Kol Ha'am* was published and sold openly. In 1944 it was granted a license by the authorities.

The paper became a weekly in 1946, and for the first time printed the names of the staff members and the editorial address. The party was anxious to turn it into a daily, a hope which was realized in 1947.

THE ZIONIST ASPECT OF THE AGUDAT YISRAEL PRESS /Joseph Fund

Founded in 1912 as a reaction to the secular Zionist movement, Agudat Yisrael later underwent various ideological changes. Although it is viewed by the public as an anti-Zionist movement, examination of its ideological positions, as reflected in its press, will show that this view is oversimplified and actually incorrect.

The first Agudat Yisrael newspaper, *Haderekh* ("The Way"), appeared in 1912 in Frankfurt, in Hebrew, with the motto: "Agudat Yisrael's goal is to solve the Jewish community's daily problems in the spirit of Torah and mitzvah." An important part of its content was devoted to listing contributors to Eretz Israel causes, reflecting activity that paralleled that of the Zionist movement, although Ahudat Yisrael did not present this area as central to its platform. Another early periodical was *Der Israelit*, a German-language weekly which began as a general Orthodox publication and later added a supplement published by Agudat Yisrael. A column entitled "Eretz Israel"

carried reports about developments in the new *yishuv*, mostly critical of the secular society there.

Digleinu ("Our Flag"), a Hebrew newsletter begun in Warsaw in 1920, was "an ultra-Orthodox literary anthology devoted to matters of the young ultra-Orthodox and their federation," whose motto was: "The young believers of Israel have joined together to defend their status, the path of the Torah and tradition, and to work side by side with their elders in all matters pertaining to enhancing the aura of the Torah and strengthening religion." It also repeated the Agudat Yisrael motto, adding, significantly: "...daily problems in our country and in our Holy Land..." The young Agudat Yisrael wing, then, had elevated the issue of Eretz Israel as a central goal. *Digleinu* outlined two challenges: to produce ultra-Orthodox literature for educating the young generation and protecting them from the influence of secular literature, and to teach the Hebrew language correctly, not profanely, as the secularists did.

Eretz Israel Blatt ("The Eretz Israel Paper") was published in Yiddish in Warsaw in 1925 by the Polish Agudat Yisrael. Its first issue contained columns on news from Eretz Israel, as well as a column devoted to teaching English and Hebrew in preparation for settling in Eretz Israel. Its editorial discussed political problems in the Jewish *yishuv* and predicted pressures by the British and the Arabs to decrease Jewish immigration. Its solution was large-scale Jewish immigration and settlement. Another major article, by Dr. Yitzhak Breuer, a world Agudat Yisrael leader from Germany, called for making the topic of Eretz Israel the central goal of the movement. Other articles dealt with descriptions of economic development in Eretz Israel and problems of immigration. Significantly, announcements on the last page offered plots for sale in different parts of Eretz Israel and advice on visa and other immigration arrangements. These themes paralleled Zionist movement themes.

In 1932, a similar Yiddish paper, *Eretz Israel*, appeared in Poland once again, published by the "Eretz Israel Center of Agudat Yisrael of Poland." Its motto was: "The *Yishuv* Fund is the financial arm of Agudat Yisrael to develop the *yishuv* in Eretz Israel on the basis of Torah and faith." This paper too called on the Agudah public to immigrate to Eretz Israel and build it up, and criticized the mainstream Agudat Yisrael for allowing the Zionist movement to monopolize this challenge.

While in the early 1920s the Agudat Yisrael leadership tried to maintain a neutral position on Eretz Israel, in an effort to attract anti-Zionist groups, in the 1930s the "Zionist" wing in Agudat Yisrael grew and demanded priority for the Eretz Israel issue and cooperation with the Zionist movement.

A new paper, *Darkenu* ("Our Way"), appeared in Hebrew in 1934, sponsored by the world center of Agudat Yisrael. It included a column called "Eretz Israel," which ran enthusiastic descriptions of the development of the country. The fact that the paper appeared in Hebrew was revolutionary, and was explained as necessary to reach a wider audience, although in fact it was a competitive device aimed at the Zionist movement.

The first Agudat Yisrael paper in Eretz Israel, *Kol Yisrael* ("Voice of Israel"), appeared in 1923. Shortly thereafter, Rabbi

Moshe Blau, the Agudat Yisrael leader in Eretz Israel and new editor of the paper, outlined its goals: "To inform the entire ultra-Orthodox world about what is happening in Jerusalem and in Zion, and about the position of loyal ultra-Orthodox Jewry in Eretz Israel...which expresses its brave opposition to the various guardians of Judaism." Blau was devoted to the education of his community, and to avoiding confrontation with the Zionist movement.

A rift developed between the old *yishuv* faction of Agudat Yisrael and the new *yishuv* faction, with the latter publishing its own paper, *Haderekh* ("The Way") in 1942, espousing a more moderate point of view and greater involvement in the economic and political life of the Jewish people in Eretz Israel.

Hayoman ("The Diary"), begun in 1948 just before the state was established, aired various points of view within Agudat Yisrael, particularly on the question of political participation in the temporary government that was being established. After the founding of the state, it called for the resignation of Agudat Yisrael from the government and a return to its independent principles, and became a vehicle for opposition to the existing Agudat Yisrael leadership. After a protracted legal struggle over the license to publish the paper, prompted by internal political frictions involving Po'alei Agudat Yisrael, the paper was discontinued.

It was soon followed by the daily *Hamevasser* ("The Herald"), which emphasized that it represented all streams within Agudat Yisrael, although in fact it reflected only the leadership. Po'alei Agudat Yisrael began publishing its own paper, *Hakol* ("The Voice"), in 1949, replacing *Hayoman*. Like its predecessor, it too called for the resignation of Agudat Yisrael from the government. The mainstream Agudat Yisrael then decided to open a daily to replace the defunct *Hamevasser*, called *Hamode'a* ("The Informer"), in 1950. These various papers represented the struggle within the movement between the leadership, which advocated cooperation with the Zionist movement and integration into the political process — a position which eventually won out — and the opposition, which advocated isolation.

BEN-GURION — SCHOCKEN: A CORRESPONDENCE

Gershom Schocken, the owner and editor-in-chief of *Ha'aretz* for over 50 years, died in December 1990. A pillar of Israeli journalism for the past two generations, he expressed his opinions in his paper and in letters, including correspondence

with Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. The article surveys various political, social, ethical and journalistic issues raised in that correspondence.

In response to a letter received from Schocken, B. G. outlined his thoughts on the journalist's responsibilities in a letter of Jan. 4, 1949. He viewed the journalist as a "public educator and guide" who must set an example by his sense of responsibility to his vocation, a quality which he found sadly lacking during those critical times.

In an exchange of letters in February 1958, after a secret visit by Chief-of-Staff Moshe Dayan to Germany had been leaked to the press and caused a government crisis, B. G. wrote to Schocken underlining his view that while the state exists to serve its people, the individual is part of society and the state must protect society as well. This involves taxation, for example, as well as security measures. Thus, man is never totally unrestricted, for he cannot be allowed to harm society, B. G. said. A newspaper, like an individual, must also be restricted, and is not free to publish anything at all. Schocken, in reply, defined individual freedom as basic human rights, which must be unrestricted — i.e. freedom of thought and of self-

expression — although he agreed to limitations for reasons of vital state security. B. G. then asserted that the state's delicate network of foreign relations was no less vital to state security than military affairs, and must also be kept secret sometimes. He pointed out that the basis of this secrecy had been clearly defined and had been agreed to by a committee of newspaper editors.

In a letter to Schocken in November 1960 concerning the forthcoming appointment of the chief Ashkenazi rabbi, about which *Ha'aretz* had reported that B. G. favored the IDF chief chaplain, Col. Shlomo Gonen, B. G. emphasized his resolve not to become involved in rabbinic affairs. That kind of involvement "degrades the dignity of the rabbinic as well as that of the state," he wrote. "I am not a religious man, but the honor of Jewish tradition and religion is dear to me, and I am not prepared to assist those who defile religion, whether consciously or unconsciously, or those with personal or party axes to grind," B. G. asserted.

THE EVENTS OF THE HOLOCAUST DURING 1939-1942 AS REFLECTED IN "HA'OLAM" / Amir Horkin

Ha'olam ("The World"), the organ of the World Zionist Organisation, was first published in Koeln, Germany, in 1907, with Nahum Sokolov as editor, and was a Hebrew supplement of the German-language movement newsletter. A weekly, it continued to appear nearly consecutively in various places and under various editors until 1950.

After several years in Koeln, the magazine was transferred to Vilna, where it was edited by Alter Druyanov. With the outbreak of World War I, it moved to Odessa and after that to London, where it was edited by Avraham Idelson. In 1922 it was published in Berlin, where it was enlarged and was later edited by Moshe Kleinman. Then it moved back to London. The magazine's basic problem was the absence of a fixed budget from the Zionist Federation.

Following the transfer of the administrative offices of the World Zionist Organisation and the Jewish Agency to Jerusalem in the early 1930s, a decision was made to transfer the magazine as well, and although this was opposed by such leaders as Sokolov, the move was made in 1936. However, lack of budgetary backing from the WZO continued to be a major problem. *Ha'olam* was discontinued in 1950.

During 1939/40, *Ha'olam* published 48 issues of 16-20 pages each, but devoted a total of only 26 news items to the subject of the Holocaust of European Jewry, of which 22 items were direct news items and four were attributed items. Most of these items were placed toward the back of the magazine. Only three items on the Holocaust appeared on page 2, and all three were attributed. Furthermore, most of the relevant headlines were general and only hinted at the content. Most of the items were not datelined; four were vaguely dated (e.g., "now"). The few items that were datelined had been printed an average of nine weeks after the attributed date of the event described. The content of the items covered a wide range of anti-Jewish acts perpetrated by the Nazis in the occupied territories, including registering Jews, confiscating property, degradation, torture, arrest, exile, forced labor, slave labor camps, concentration camps, death by disease and starvation and group murder of Jews by the dozens and hundreds. But very few items reported the most serious acts — the murder of thousands of Jews.

In short, there were few news items about the Holocaust in *Ha'olam* in 1939/40, and those that were published were not emphasized. These items took up only 2.6% of the issues

rinted during this period, and could certainly be called marginal.

During 1940/41 the magazine published 49 issues of 16 pages each, but again, only 27 items dealt with the Holocaust, of which 19 were direct news items and eight were attributed. About half were printed on pages 1-6 and half on pages 7-16. Only five appeared on the first page — three of them in lead articles as attributed news. Most of the items were two columns or less.

On the other hand, nearly all the items now appeared under old headlines. General expressions attesting to the severity of Nazi acts and the difficult position of the Jews — "tragedy," "destruction," "Holocaust," "decimation" and "annihilation" — were included in a number of articles, as during the previous year. Descriptions of Nazi acts included the terms "beatings," "robbery," "exploitation," "enslavement," "deportation," "destruction," "financial damage" and "degradation," but did not mention systematic destruction or the Holocaust in the sense that these terms are understood today.

Only one item during 1940/41 contains self-criticism about the complacent attitude of the yishuv on the question of the Holocaust of European Jewry. Generally, as in the previous year, there were few news items on the Holocaust in 1940/41 — an average of 0.55 per issue. The items that did appear were lost in the mass of coverage of the immediate problems and reoccupations of the yishuv, and took up only 3.3% of the issues.

During 1941/42, the magazine published 59 issues of 8 pages each, with 77 items dealing with the Holocaust, of which 59 were direct news items and 18 were attributed. About half the items appeared on the first pages and the rest on the back pages. Most were featured with large headlines that were explicit, and used such expressions as mass death from starvation and disease in the ghettos, executions by shooting machines and deportation

with the final destination annihilation. For the first time, reference was made to the world scope of the threat to the Jewish people, the systematic annihilation of European Jewry by the Nazis and projections of the great losses to the Jewish people by the time the war ended.

Again, there was only a single self-critical piece about the indifference of the yishuv toward what was happening in Europe.

Most of the items on the Holocaust during the 1941/42 period appeared from May to December 1942, and included explicit details about the methods of annihilation of Jews. Still, *Ha'olam* dealt with a wide range of other topics during that period, especially topics related to the yishuv and the British presence, devoting only 8.5% of its space directly to Holocaust news. While this was a significant increase from previous years, it reflected, in the opinion of Professors Walter Laqueur and Yoav Gelber, a disregard for news reports about mass annihilation that were circulated during the first half of 1942.

This information gap, delays in publishing the information and minimizing the importance of the information can be explained by several factors: 1. wartime obstruction in transmitting information, as well as British censorship in Eretz Israel; 2. poor communications between *Ha'olam* and its editor, on the one hand, and the Zionist leadership on the other, which was reflected in non-transmission of information; and 3. skepticism about the information itself because of its shocking nature.

The picture which *Ha'olam* conveyed about the Holocaust during 1939-42 reflected only partial coverage of the true events. This coverage was characterized by: 1. delays of weeks or months in publishing news items; 2. non-publication of reports of certain events; 3. downgrading the importance of the items by meager allotment of space, placement and headlines; and 4. increased reportage from mid-1942.

THE LOCAL KATTOWITZ PAPER / Joseph Chrust

The city of Kattowitz became famous in Zionist and Jewish history because of three important events that took place there: the first conference of the Hovevei Zion movement in 1884, the founding convention of the Agudat Yisrael movement in 1912 and the world convention of the Revisionists in 1933, when that movement split in two. Although the Kattowitz Jewish community was never larger than 9,000, it was unique.

Kattowitz rapidly grew from a village to a prosperous city during the mid-nineteenth century as a result of coal-mining and iron-mill development initiated largely by Jews who immigrated from Germany. Later, Jews also arrived from Russian-controlled Poland and Austrian-controlled Galicia. For a while, there were two separate Jewish communities: German-speaking and Yiddish/Polish/Russian-speaking, but in time

they became unified. A biweekly local Jewish paper was begun in 1932, printed in both Polish and German, and lasted probably until World War II, although copies are preserved only until 1936. Unlike periodicals that appeared in other Jewish communities in Poland, which were either private business ventures or vehicles for publishing some individual's works, the Kattowitz paper was initiated by a devoted member of the community, Eliahu Abrahamer, in order to service all of its needs.

Abrahamer made an exceptional contribution to the community in many areas: he established a working tax system, a burial society and free medical services, and laid the groundwork for the legal legitimacy of the community, along with extensive contributions to the formal and informal educational systems.

Each issue of the paper contained synagogue announcements and material about all the organizational activity in the city: social, economic, sports and youth. It also contained commercial items which reflected intensive Jewish business activity that helped turn Kattowitz from a provincial town to an exciting city, although Jews comprised only about 10% of the population.

The paper also publicized numerous anti-Semitic incidents, as well as defamation cases initiated by Jewish groups, reflecting increasing anti-Semitism in Poland during the latter 1930s. In addition, there were a significant number of cases of Jews who converted to Christianity, and whose names were enumerated in the newspaper.

"SIKKOT" — THE STORY OF A HUMOROUS AND SATIRIC PERIODICAL IN ERETZ ISRAEL / Nili Kopilowitz

Joseph Bass, a graduate of the Technion in architecture who had immigrated to Eretz Israel from Poland in 1936, was a part-time caricaturist for *Davar* and *Ha'aretz* when he decided to begin a satiric weekly in 1940. He chose the name *Sikkot* ("Pins"), a translation of the *Shpilki*, which was the name of a satiric paper that Bass remembered from Poland during the period between the wars.

Based in Tel Aviv, the magazine had a circulation of about 2,000 on holidays and less on regular days. Bass, who was the editor, faced a language problem in that only a limited proportion of the population read Hebrew in the 1940s. He struggled with financial problems from the start, and eventually was forced to close the magazine in 1945.

About 20% of the magazine was taken up by advertising, some of it designed by Bass in caricature style. Many of the columnists contributed their work free of charge. Sometimes, such friends of Bass' as Shlonsky, Tchernikovsky and Klarchkin contributed pieces.

A caricature by Bass on a social or a war-related issue always appeared on the cover page. A weekly satiric column, "The Depths of Seven Days," was written by Y. Amodai (Ya'akov Resnik), while the column "Letters From the Child Elhanan to His Friend Hanan," written by the author, dealt with family situations from the point of view of a child. "That's the Way They Write Here" was a column that focused on other newspapers' shortcomings. "Political Satire" was written by Raphael Klatchkin. "Have a Good Week" was a review of

international relations by the military commentator, Joseph Schwick. Other columns included material on the history of Hebrew literature, jokes, satires on immigrants, jokes in vowelized Hebrew for newcomers, army humor and humor abroad.

The issue of the world war was dealt with extensively. An increasing number of caricatures of Hitler appeared as the war progressed. The allies were also a constant theme. A caricature of Roosevelt and Churchill riding on top of a giant turtle bore the caption: "Help for European Jewry is coming slowly."

Sikkot was very much a Tel Aviv paper, focusing on the city and its institutions and criticizing its bureaucracy. National issues such as food shortages were also targets for satire, as were such subjects as the bourgeoisie, patriotism and price increases. Interestingly, the British were not particular targets, possibly because of anticipated censorship problems, but more likely because Bass appreciated their attitude toward humor.

Although *Sikkot* constituted only a small chapter in the history of Eretz Israel journalism, this satiric magazine was important because it ran for nearly six years consecutively and offers us a great deal of information about the events and especially the mood of the period. Its cynicism guarantees that the picture conveyed is not prettified. With that, the magazine's criticism obviously stems from an affection for Tel Aviv, the country as a whole and the people. It is the story of the World War II period told with a smile.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Shalom Rosenfeld: head of Journalism Studies Program and the Institute for Research of the Jewish Press, Tel Aviv University; a founder of *Ma'ariv* and its editor-in-chief, 1974-80.

Amos Regev: news desk editor, *Yediot Aharonot*.

Raphael Mann: news desk editor, *Ma'ariv*.

Avi Weinberg: news desk editor, *Hadashot*.

Dr. Joseph Kermish: researcher and historian; published books about the Holocaust of Polish Jewry; expert on the Ringelblum archive; a founder of the Yad Vashem archive in Jerusalem.

Dr. Shlomo Shafir: editor of the magazine *Gesher*, published by the World Jewish Congress; member of the editorial staff of *Davar* for 35 years; engaged in research of the pre-and post-Holocaust period.

Dr. Avraham Greenbaum: senior lecturer, Department of Jewish History, University of Haifa; researcher at the Dinur Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Dr. Mordecai Naor: lecturer in journalism, Tel Aviv University; author and editor of books on the history of Eretz Israel; editor of *Qesher*.

Yigal Binyamin: research student, Department of History of Israel, Bar-Ilan University, studying the history of the pioneering Zionist movement in Holland; former member of the Jewish underground in Holland during World War II.

Joseph Almogi: a leader of Mapai; former member of Knesset and cabinet minister; head of the Eretz Israel prisoners of war in Nazi captivity during World War II.

Dan Re'im: journalist.

David Melamed: writer specializing in research of the history of Israel and the Hebrew press; published many articles on these subjects.

Dr. Joseph Fund: wrote Ph.D. dissertation at Bar-Ilan University on Agudat Yisrael, Zionism and the State of Israel.

Amir Horkin: M.A. student in political science and business administration, Tel Aviv University.

Nili Kopilowitz: M.A., Jewish history, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; graduate of the Journalism Studies Program, Tel Aviv University.

המחברים

שלום רוזנפלד : ראש התוכנית ללימודי עיתונאות והמכון לחקר העיתונאות היהודית בעולם, אוניברסיטת תל אביב. מייסדי "מעריב" ועורכו הראשי, 1974-1980.

עמוס רגב : ראש דסק החדשות, "ידיעות אחרונות".

רפאל מן : ראש דסק החדשות, "מעריב".

אבי ויינברג : ראש דסק החדשות, "חדשות".

ד"ר יוסף קרמיש : חוקר והיסטוריון. פרסם ספרים בנושא שואת יהודי פולין; מומחה לארכיון רינגלבלום; ממקימי ארכיון "יד ושם" בירושלים.

ד"ר שלמה שפיר : עורך כתב העת "גשר" של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי; חבר מערכת "דבר" במשך 35 שנה; עוסק במחקר היסטורי של תקופת טרם השואה ואחריה.

ד"ר אברהם גרינבוים : מרצה בכיר, החוג להיסטוריה של עם ישראל, אוניברסיטת חיפה; חוקר במרכז דינור, האוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים.

ד"ר מרדכי נאור : מרצה לעיתונאות באוניברסיטת תל אביב; כתב וערך ספרים רבים בתולדות ארץ ישראל; עורך "קשר".

יגאל בנימין : תלמיד מחקר במחלקה לתולדות ישראל, אוניברסיטת בר אילן. חוקר את תולדות התנועה החלוצית בהולנד מראשיתה. חבר המחותר היהודית בהולנד במלחמת העולם השנייה.

יוסף אלמוגי : מראשי מפא"י. היה חבר כנסת ושר בממשלה. שימש כראש השבויים הארץ ישראלים בשבי הגרמני במלחמת העולם השנייה.

דן רעים : עיתונאי.

דוד מלמד : איש ספרות, העוסק בחקר תולדות הארץ והעיתונות העברית. פרסם עשרות מאמרים בנושאים אלה.

ד"ר יוסף פונד : כתב עבודת דוקטור על הנושא "אגודת ישראל" מול הציונות ומדינת ישראל באוניברסיטת בר אילן.

אמיר הורקין : תלמיד לתואר שני במדע המדינה ומנהל עסקים, אוניברסיטת תל אביב.

יוסף כרוסט : עיתונאי, עורך ומתרגם.

נילי קופילוביץ : בעלת תואר מ"א בהיסטוריה יהודית, אוניברסיטת העברית, ירושלים; בוגרת התוכנית ללימודי עיתונאות, אוניברסיטת תל אביב.