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INSIDE KESHER 46

FROM DREYFUS TO DESTRUCTION / Gideon Kouts

“From Dreyfus to Destruction: Media and Antisemitism”—that’s the unifying theme of this issue. Articles and documentary material on this topic appear in “*Kesher* Front Page” and in the Documentary section as well. Antisemitic manifestations and media occupation with them as they develop are as timeless as antisemitism itself. From the standpoint of the Jewish media researcher, one may distinguish between attention to the antisemitic media and press, their messages, and their techniques, on one side, and Jewish media that analyze and combat the phenomenon on the other. We chose the 120th anniversary of the eruption of the Dreyfus affair in France, a milestone in the birth of modern antisemitism in Europe and its manifestations in the media—which proceeded down a road of no return to its ghastly apocalypse in the Holocaust and the annihilation of European Jewry.

The articles in “*Kesher* Front Page” concern themselves with “the Affair.” Gideon Kouts investigates the influence of Zionist ideology on the responses of the European Jewish and Hebrew press to the onset of the Affair. Yosef Lang depicts the coverage of the affair in the Yishuv press as a mirror of the Yishuv’s attitudes toward France. Uzi Elyada examines the framework of coverage of the Affair by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda’s newspaper *Ha-Tsvi* in an interview by Nahum Slouschz with the writer Émile Zola, author of *J’accuse*—an important landmark in the evolution of the Hebrew press in pre-state Israel. And in Europe, Agnieszka Friedrich recounts the reflection of the Affair in the antisemitic newspaper *Rola*. Malgorzata Domagalska expands the discussion of media expressions of Polish antisemitism to the dystopic fiction about “Poland under Jewish control” that

appeared in Polish journals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Next, from antisemitism to anti-Zionism: Simon Meyers describes how the British Catholic press construed the “Zionist threat” as the British Mandate for Palestine was being approved. Menachem Keren-Kratz writes about Hirsch Leib Gottlieb, a pioneer of the Hebrew and Yiddish press in Hungary, who also fought antisemitism by means of satire. Raquel Stepak recounts the technique used by the Yishuv publication *The Poland Issue*, back in 1940, to tell the Holocaust as it was occurring in Europe: by commemorating the terminated communities. In the Documentary section, Haim Grossman recounts the story of a supportive postcard that a Jewish family in Romania sent to Lucie Dreyfus, wife of the libeled Jewish captain. The Documentary section deals at length with antisemitic cartoons in interbellum Poland through the medium of an exhibition titled “Foreign and Unpleasant,” put on at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw; in articles by the curators Grzegorz Krzywiec and Dariusz Konstantynów; and in Palestine in Rachel Hart’s article about antisemitic cartoons in the Arab press during the Arab uprising in 1936, which were influenced by the antisemitic press in Europe. In 1895, as the Dreyfus affair in France commanded headlines in that country and elsewhere, émigré French antisemites published a newspaper of their own in Brazil, an issue of which was found by the researcher Valeria Guimaraes.

Also in *Kesher* is the first of two articles by Moshe Pelli about the Viennese journal *Bikurim* in 1864–1865. Michal Shahaf investigates the London *Jewish Sabbath Journal* in

Kesher, a scholarly journal devoted to the history of the press and media in the Jewish world and in Israel, is published twice yearly by The Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication at Tel Aviv University. *Kesher* seeks to publish original research articles and academic reviews on all subjects relating to the history, endeavors, and influence of Jewish media and media people, from a multidisciplinary perspective. All articles are peer reviewed blindly by experts, members of the Journal’s Advisory Board and, if necessary, externally. Articles should be submitted in Word to presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il. A reply will be given within three months. Articles should not usually exceed 8,000 words. The bibliography and notes should appear at the end of the article. Citations should follow the conventions of your discipline.

The editorial board invites reviews of new books in the journal’s areas of interest and proposes such reviews itself. *Kesher* also publishes a list of recently approved doctoral dissertations and master’s theses along with abstracts of no more than 250 words in length (for master’s theses) and 500 words in length (for doctoral dissertations).

1855 and its readers. Hanah Bareket-Glanzer writes about the ruthless competition that went on between what Nahum Sokolow termed the two “leviathans” of the Yiddish press in interbellum Poland—*Haynt* and *Moment*. Eran Eldar probes Ben-Gurion’s complex attitude toward Tel Aviv as reflected in the press. Tal Strasman-Shapira publishes initial findings of a study of written sources about an edifying attempt by a committee of editors to censor suicide and rape stories in the Israeli press. Yigal Bin-Nun writes about the planning and implementation

of information campaigns in the United States for the right of Moroccan Jews to emigrate to Israel. We continue in this issue to interview prominent veteran media personalities about the history of the Hebrew press—this time with one of the most important shapers of the Israeli press, Uri Avnery.

The regular sections, too, present readers with material that, we hope, will quench their thirst and stimulate their interest until the next issue comes out.

THE POWER OF IDEOLOGIES: THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE DREYFUS AFFAIR IN THE HEBREW AND JEWISH PRESS IN EUROPE / Gideon Kouts

On October 15, 1894, a Jewish officer in the French General Staff, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, was arrested in Paris on charges of treason and passing secret information to the enemy. Tried behind closed doors on December 19–22, 1894, before a military tribunal, he was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. His appeal was promptly rejected. On January 5, 1895, in a humiliating public ceremony conducted in a countrywide atmosphere of unbridled antisemitism, Dreyfus was stripped of his rank. On February 21, 1895, he was transported to Devil’s Island (French Guiana, off the coast of South America) to serve his sentence. This concluded the first phase of the Dreyfus affair, which eventually flared anew in 1896 and ended only in 1906 with the full exoneration of the accused officer when evidence showed that he had been the victim of an infamous conspiracy.

French Jewry’s two main newspapers at the time, *Univers Israélite* and *Archives Israélites*, were cautious in their treatment of the affair in its first phase. While they linked the trial to antisemitism, their premise was that it was the affair that had engendered the antisemitic outburst, and not antisemitism that had caused the conspiracy. Ideologically, both newspapers were intent on defending emancipation, republicanism, and the full integration of Jews in French society as primary values that the affair must not be allowed to be endanger.

In contrast, the main Jewish newspaper in Britain, the *Jewish Chronicle*, came out firmly in defense of Dreyfus and suggested that French antisemitism was indeed a cause of the affair. However, in a reflection of widely held national and cultural perceptions of France in Britain then (as today), it also cited other deficiencies of France and its judicial system as relevant.

Analysis of the coverage of the initial phase of the affair in the Hebrew press in Europe and Eretz Israel reveals the importance of the ideological orientation of each publication,

especially in terms of its Zionist or non-Zionist point of view. The Zionist press—the St. Petersburg-based *Ha-Melits* and the Kraków-based *Ha-Magid* (both reflecting the Hibbat Tsiyyon ideology)—argued trenchantly that Dreyfus was innocent and that he was clearly the victim of a malicious plot that reflected the entrenched nature of French antisemitism. In contrast, the non-Zionist Warsaw-based *Ha-Tsefira* (edited by Nahum Sokolow, later an ardent Zionist), convinced of the Jews’ bright future as enfranchised citizens in the countries of Europe based on the French example, tended to accept Dreyfus’s conviction and, by so doing, to justify the premise that the Jews’ behavior affects the ebb and flow of antisemitism.

The coverage of the affair by the Hebrew press also mirrored the rivalry between the two Hebrew dailies in Europe at the time, *Ha-Melits* and *Ha-Tsefira*. *Ha-Melits* had the upper hand because its ideology was borne out by events, while *Ha-Tsefira*, like most of the rest of the Jewish (and non-Jewish) press, misread the historical truth. The rivalry was also personal, between two major figures in the history of the Hebrew press: Nahum Sokolow, editor of *Ha-Tsefira*, and Abraham Ludvipol, Paris correspondent for *Ha-Melits*. Ludvipol emerged the winner in this contest for reasons including the two papers’ different notions of how to practice journalism. *Ha-Melits* reported from the scene of the event; *Ha-Tsefira* used material that Sokolow obtained via various channels of communication, with all the inherent limitations and distortions involved.

As a Zionist activist who criticized the position of the French Jewish mainstream, Ludvipol was convinced from the beginning that Dreyfus was innocent and that the affair was an antisemitic conspiracy. His diary, published in the *Ahiasaf Yearbook* in 1898, shows the shaping of his opinion on the affair and his fast understanding of the historical truth, as expressed in his

articles in *Ha-Melits*.

Significantly, when the affair resurfaced in 1896, Sokolow hired Ludwipol as *Ha-Tsefira's* correspondent in Paris, and it was he who covered the next phase of the trial for that paper.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR IN THE PALESTINE HEBREW PRESS / Yosef Lang

Between 1894 and 1906, France was embroiled in tumult over a set of treason trials known collectively as the “Dreyfus affair.” The hero of the affair, the French-Jewish military officer Alfred Dreyfus, denied the accusation categorically but was prosecuted anyway, sent to Devil’s Island, brought back, and retried again and again. Others were put on trial as well, foremost Émile Zola. The affair enflamed and divided the country, nearly brought on a civil war, almost destroyed the regime, and threatened neighboring monarchies.

Dreyfus’ Jewishness drew racist anti-Jewish elements and antisemitic reactions that confounded the Jews of France and fellow Jews everywhere, including Palestine.

From the 1860s onward, many Jews in Palestine had studied French and become acquainted with French culture by attending institutions of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. After Baron Edmond de Rothschild of France extended his patronage to the Jewish farming communities of Palestine) in the 1880s and placed them in charge of officials who had been raised on French culture, French was also taught in these communities’ schools and outstanding pupils were sent to France for further studies. Even after the communities were handed over to the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association in 1900, they remained under French influence, if only due to occupational and commercial interests between Ottoman Palestine and France. Zionist societies and associations that stayed in touch with Palestine (where the Yishuv, the Jewish community, was 50,000–60,000 strong at the time) were established in Paris and other cities.

Two regular weekly newspapers (*Havatselet* and *Ha-Tsvi*) appeared in Jerusalem during these years; several journals came onto the scene later. *Havatselet* made little reference to the Dreyfus affair, whereas Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, owner of *Ha-Tsvi*, *Ha-Or*, and *Hashkafa*, and a passionate Francophile, found it an important matter to agonize over.

Thus, from January 1895 onward, *Ha-Tsvi* devoted special departments to the Dreyfus events, e.g., “What Happened to Dreyfus?” and “Trial of the Army Officer Dreyfus.” Ben-Yehuda sided with Dreyfus from the outset and trusted that the officer’s innocence would be proved. He strove to persuade his readers that the French army was not tainted with antisemitism

By doing this, Sokolow enhanced the professionalism of his publication and, with the renewal of the trial, the circulation of *Ha-Tsefira* passed that of *Ha-Melits*. Later, *Ha-Tsefira* would metamorphose into the main organ of the Zionist movement.

and published reportage that sought to blur and obscure the bitter truth that had come to light in France. He soon realized, however, that the enlightened French nation had committed a terrible blunder and hoped that it was merely a passing nightmare occasioned by the actions of a few bad apples.

This placed Ben-Yehuda, like many Jews, in a quandary. Obviously, supporting Dreyfus was tantamount to accusing the French army and state of misconduct. For this reason, he tried to skirt the events in France for a while and turned the spotlight toward Austria and the successful election campaign of the antisemite Karl Luger.

Ben-Yehuda was concerned about the antisemitism that threatened the Jews of France and Europe at large; he feared that it would also attack the Rothschild family, patron of the Yishuv. Rothschild, however, held his silence. When the failed assassination of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild became known, the Palestine farming communities celebrated, prayed for the family’s wellbeing, and feted the Rothschild brothers.

Public opinion crossed its watershed with the publication of Bernard Lazare’s book *A Judicial Error—the Truth about the Dreyfus Affair* (November 1896), which transformed “the Affair” into a markedly Jewish cause. As Lazare viewed the matter, Dreyfus was tried not as a traitor but as a Jew. Ben-Yehuda lauded Lazare, of course, especially since Senator Scheurer-Kestner had just proved that the charges against Dreyfus were groundless. Abraham Ludwipol, correspondent of *Ha-Tsvi* in Paris, described the connection between “the Affair” and Herzl and his *Judenstaat* and celebrated Lazare as the savior of French Jewry.

On January 13, 1898, Émile Zola addressed his open letter, “J’accuse,” to President Félix Faure on the pages of *L’Aurore*, protesting the injustice that had been done to Dreyfus. In the aftermath of the letter he was prosecuted, convicted of libel, and sentenced to a prison term and a fine. Zola’s trial made it easier for many to speak freely about the injustice that Dreyfus had suffered, and Zola himself, the non-Jewish hero of the Republic, became a widespread object of empathy.

Ben-Yehuda was initially horrified by the prosecution of a towering personality such as Zola and regarded it as evidence of

grave moral decline. He issued leaflets about Zola's sentencing in his newspapers and distributed them in the streets. To keep abreast of developments in France, he introduced a new transmission technology to his newspaper. Learning about Zola's eventual exoneration, he wrote, "Let us not despair; justice will ultimately appear and Dreyfus will also be acquitted. After all, he was punished solely for being Jewish." The urban and rural intelligentsia in Palestine was thrilled by Zola's miraculous deliverance and raised funds to send him a gift as an expression of their gratitude. The money was collected at the offices of Ben-Yehuda's newspaper.

Later on, Ben-Yehuda met with Clemenceau in Paris (1899) and, "in the name of all the Jews in Palestine," thanked him for his efforts on Dreyfus' behalf. During his visit he also met with Bernard Lazare, who had been occupied with the Dreyfus affair. When he found out about Dreyfus' release on September 19, 1899, Ben-Yehuda wrote to his wife, "What amazing things are happening in France right now! How far the truth has come from the time of Zola's trial to the present! Zola [...] was a true prophet [...] in the land of freedom of the press! Happy is [that land], a hundred, a thousand times over, happy is she!" (November 1899).

Ben-Yehuda's exultation was premature. In his retrial in Rennes, which was expected to put an end to the embarrassing affair, Dreyfus was re-convicted but pardoned. "Dreyfus was released," *Havatsselet* intoned, "but justice was not done."

On November 17, 1899, Ben-Yehuda's newspaper opined hopefully, "The silver in the firmament has begun to glow [...] with the rays of the dawn of justice." Little did the publisher know that it would take six additional years for justice to truly appear. After the Supreme Court acquitted Dreyfus, Ben-Yehuda, writing on behalf of the Francophiles in Palestine, described July 13–14, 1906, as "days of total victory for truth and justice in France and among humankind at large."

The public uproar ignited by the Dreyfus affair and its offshoots in France and elsewhere, and their effects on the French regime and the neighboring monarchies, did not engage the passions of the Jews of Palestine, as the newspapers of the time attest. The affair, which had suspended such a dark cloud over the loyalties of Diaspora Jews and had kindled antisemitic

sentiments and actions, left them somewhat indifferent. Ben-Yehuda, horrified by the affair in its first few years, packed *Ha-Tsvi* and *Hashkafa* with an uninterrupted flow of information and opinion (his own) in the belief that the Yishuv's intellectuals would find them of interest. In contrast, J.D. Frumkin, the publisher of *Havatsselet*, and his successor, his son Gad, kept a low media profile and kept their views to themselves. The readers of both papers hardly reacted to the violation and miscarriage of justice that had been revealed and preferred to wait for the affair to end. The readers of *Havatsselet* were probably much more apprehensive about the fate of East European Jewry than about that of the Jews of France and northern Africa. Still, the question remains: were they afraid to speak out because they feared it would bring harm on the Jews of France or of Palestine, or did they refrain from responding so as not to anger "the Baron," the Alliance, ICA, and other organizations? We found no unequivocal answer. From the standpoint of the Jews in Palestine, the "positive" heroes of the affair were Zola and Lazare. Dreyfus himself refrained from speaking publicly about his national and Jewish sentiments and his attitude toward Zionism and Palestine was reserved and vague. One could rather easily identify with the moral personalities and actions of Zola and Lazare, relate to the affair through them, and take strong positions that were difficult to express against the conduct of government and military officials and personalities who served pronouncedly internal French causes while flouting their antisemitism. This may explain why these two men served as natural objects of empathy in Palestine and elsewhere. The fate of the Rothschilds served as an indirect channel of expression; it allowed the Jews of Palestine to express support, empathy with the persecution of Jews at large, and disgust with the hostile climate in France. The affair seems to have preoccupied a small group of intellectuals as opposed to the public at large. The following remark by Itamar Ben-Avi illustrates this well: "Our home, of course, was full of noise and commotion most of Friday night and the following day on the occasion of Ben-Yehuda's articles about this great event. The whole town—Jews, Arabs, and also Christians—took part in the debates."

ELIEZER BEN-YEHUDA'S *HA-TSVI* INTERVIEWS ÉMILE ZOLA / Uzi Elyada

The article centers on the genre of the journalistic interview, which evolved first in the American press and then in the European press in the second half of the nineteenth century. Emile Zola's interview with the Jerusalem newspaper *Ha-Tsvi* in late December 1899 appears to have been the first journalistic interview given specifically to a Hebrew-language newspaper in Eretz Israel.

The article examines the context in which *Ha-Tsvi* published the interview with Zola in early January 1900 and followed it with a second interview in April of that year. First analyzed is the transformation of Zola into a national hero and a tortured martyr in the Yishuv's eyes due to his active and courageous intervention on behalf of Alfred Dreyfus in 1897–1899. The article then traces the flow of information about the Dreyfus trial and Zola's activity from France to the Jerusalem newspaper

and notes the difficulties in reportage and local public opinion that restricted and impeded this flow.

Zola's two interviews with *Ha-Tsvi* in 1900 are then compared with an interview given by Zola in 1895 to the Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*, which *Ha-Tsvi* published in translation. The comparison illuminates two interviewing techniques. Nahum Slouschz, who interviewed Zola for *Ha-Tsvi*, turns out to have been more spirited and forceful than his Viennese counterpart, turning the interviews in *Ha-Tsvi* into an impressive multivocal and polysemic demonstration. In their course, an ideological confrontation is arranged between Slouschz, a Zionist nationalist, and Zola, an exponent of Jewish assimilation. Thus, the confrontation transforms the interview into a colorful, raucous, and entertaining spectacle that reinforces the popular nature of Ben-Yehuda's newspaper.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR AND WARSAW'S *ROLA*, 1894-1906 / Agnieszka Friedrich

The article deals with the Dreyfus affair in Polish Anti-Semitic journal *Rola*. *Rola* reported the affair extensively, openly confirmed the hypothetic guilt of Alfred Dreyfus and interpreted 'the affair' as a justifiable response of anti-Semitism to the growing Jewish power in the West. Following the verdict sentencing Dreyfus to deportation *Rola* wrote that 'this hideous criminal' was convicted despite the powerful efforts of his Jewish family. The indication of the supposedly obvious connection between Jewish identity and social privilege was designed to provoke distaste for the unjustifiably high position of assimilated Jews in European societies. *Rola* discredited Dreyfus as a Jew who was devoid of honor, and who would rather think about his escape after the punishment. In the end of 1897 the French public was informed that Dreyfus was not the culprit, but Major Esterhazy, who was the most likely author of the notorious

"bordereau," upon which basis Dreyfus was sentenced. As a result, the affair underwent a rapid turn, and the columns of *Rola* were filled with texts on this topic. *Rola* editor Jan Jeleński has expressed his conviction that despite the millions of Franks which were available to the Jewish syndicate, the Jews would not succeed. In fact, he saw the whole matter as an indication of the success of anti-Semitism. The appeal proceedings in 1899 were received with hostility by *Rola*. When the affair fully concluded in 1906, Jeleński did not respond and his publication touched on the acquittal of Dreyfus only once, deeming him a traitor. Jeleński and his colleagues were always convinced of the Dreyfus's guilt. They consequently undertook attempts at generalizing the example and using it as a proof of the unchangeable otherness and enmity of Jews in European societies.

WARSAW UNDER JEWISH RULE: THE FUTURISTIC IMAGE OF WARSAW IN POLISH ANTISEMITIC FICTION AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY / Malgorzata Domagalska

In 1817, the Polish thinker and writer Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz wrote his novel *Moszkopolis. Rok 3333, czyli sen nieslychany* [Moszkopolis. Year 3333 or the incredible dream], in which he envisions a future Warsaw under Jewish rule.

The hero of the story has a dream about time travel in which he visits Warsaw in 3333. The city, now called Moszkopolis, is ruled by King Mosze XII. Although the hero can hardly recognize the area that he remembers from the past, he notices

that most inhabitants of the “black kingdom” are Jews. True to the negative stereotype of the Jew and “Gentile aesthetics,” he feels that the city has been decorated and rebuilt in an awful “Jewish style.”

Not only does the lampoon portray Jews as usurpers and dishonest interlopers, it also creates the vision of Poland that subsequent antisemitic journalism and writings would call “Judeo-Polonia.”

The scheme of Niemcewicz’ plot was imitated by additional authors of antisemitic fiction in the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries. A case in point is *David’s Dream* (1883), a short story set in the Polish capital in 2082. The Jewish protagonist lives in a palace and his servant bears the significant name Wladyslaw Jagiello, after a great Polish king. Antoni Skrzynecki (Werytus) pursues this concept a utopia titled *Warsaw in the Year 2000*. The novel expresses a subtle imperative: only by exiling or strictly separating Jews from Poles can the ominous future be obviated. Skrzynecki offers such a solution in his next novel, *Odzydzona ojczyzna* [The Jewed Homeland], published in 1914.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE “ZIONIST THREAT” IN THE BRITISH CATHOLIC PRESS 1917–1922 / Simon Mayers

At the turn of the 20th century, the British Catholic press abounded with vituperative stereotypes and myths about the Jews. By the third decade of that century, these calumnies had found an additional target: the Zionists. The article investigates representations of the “Zionist threat” to Britain, to the Church, and to Jesus, no less, in Britain’s five leading Catholic periodicals in the five years between the Balfour Declaration (coupled with General Allenby’s entrance to Jerusalem) (1917) and the establishment of the British Mandate in pre-Israel Palestine (1922). It plots the evolution of Catholic pundits’ thinking from indifference to ambivalence to hostility as Albion, just having wrested the city of the Crucifixion from the Turks, ostensibly capitulated to the modern-day Christ-killers. That is, instead of returning Jerusalem to Christendom (albeit in its Protestant manifestation—a problem that concerned the Vatican more than it did the British Catholics)—HMG proposed to promote the establishment of a Jewish national home in the Holy Land.

Direct contacts between Zionist leaders and Catholic pundits, and clergy, meant among other things to clarify the two parties’ understanding and expectations of each other, are described as well. Despite these détente efforts and attempts in the British Jewish press to interpret them positively, British Catholic opposition to Zionism and its aims gathered strength during the period reviewed until the last journal that had professed some sympathy for Zionism recanted. Although the writers themselves—sometimes basing their remarks on statements by the highest-ranking Catholic clergy in Britain—denied harboring animus toward, let alone prejudice against, the Jews as such, their rhetoric, although circumscribed in outright hostility, often reflected insinuations culled from the antisemitic inventory. By the spring of 1922, these expressed were befouling British–Vatican relations and figured importantly in postponing the ratification of the League of Nations mandate.

HIRSH LEIB GOTTLIEB—A ONE-MAN NEWSPAPER EMPIRE / Menachem Keren-Kratz

Maramureş (Hungarian: Máramaros) was a county along the northeastern border of the Hungarian monarchy. Jews, usually immigrants from nearby Galicia, accounted for up to one-fourth of its population. The Jews of Maramureş were known for their Hasidic and pious lifestyle: They spoke Yiddish, wore traditional clothes, and covered their hair—men and women alike. Almost all followed religious law (the *halakha*) and took guidance from their rabbis. They spurned modernity and ignored the government’s decree to enroll children in public schools that taught general subjects. Instead, they sent both boys and girls to *cheder*, where only the holy books were used.

Hirsh Leib Gottlieb was born in Sighet, the county seat, in 1829. Raised in the traditional religious manner, he remained an observant Jew all his life. Reaching adulthood, he followed in his father’s footsteps and became a *badchan* (jester), soon earning renown as a brilliant comedian and the author of humorous booklets. His natural curiosity, however, inspired him to broaden his cultural horizons. He taught himself German and began reading modern Western prose, poetry, and philosophy. In his late forties, he embarked on a second career, one through which he would influence the lives of the common Jews of Maramureş. From 1878 to the eruption of World War in 1914,

he was involved in the writing, editing, printing, and distribution of some ten different newspapers.

In these newspapers, he promoted modern ideas including Jewish nationalism, women's rights, the expansion of the traditional educational curriculum, the introduction of modern literature, and criticism of corruption among rabbis and community officials. Gottlieb was a keen Zionist and promoted

this ideology through his media. All these un-Orthodox ideas evoked the rabbis' wrath; accused of heresy, he was banned from performing at public events and eventually had to leave town. Several years later, he returned and continued to publish his newspapers even into his eighties. At the time of his death after passing the age of 100, he was one of the most recognized and beloved literary figures in Maramureş.

THE POLAND ISSUE (AUGUST 1940): A MILESTONE IN COMMEMORATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES DURING THE HOLOCAUST / Raquel Stepak

The Poland Issue, published in August 1940 under the auspices of the periodical *Moznaim*, constituted the immediate reaction of Hebrew writers in the Yishuv (pre-state Israel) to news about the fate of East European Jewry. Based on the medieval tradition of *memorbuchs* (books of remembrance), it came in response to the realization that Jewish culture in Poland was being devastated and may be viewed as an initial attempt at commemoration during the Shoah. The Hebrew writers regarded themselves as a link in the chain of generations, one that carried the living memory of the very reality that was being destroyed. Hence their wish to record this memory for their generation and posterity. The community of authors in the Yishuv published several memorial projects during World War II, but *The Poland Issue* was the first.

The Poland Issue was the initiative of Yaakov Fichman, the editor of *Moznaim*, who wished to gather leading authors' writings on one subject: Polish Jewry. Some of the most prominent intellectuals of the time contributed, including Martin Buber, Joseph Klausner, Rabbi Binyamin, Asher Barash, and Dov Shtok (later: Sadan). The focal point of the issue is its literary section, which consists mainly of short stories, poems, and articles reflecting the authors' memories of Polish cities and towns.

The Poland Issue is a historical and literary memorial to the all-embracing Jewish culture and life that Poland had once known. It stresses the prodigious contribution of Jewish culture in Poland, then being obliterated, to the development of Hebrew culture and literature in Eretz Israel.

BIKURIM (1864–1865): “FOR THE BENEFIT AND THE SPIRITUAL ENJOYMENT OF LOVERS OF HOKHMAT YISRAEL AND OUR HOLY TONGUE” / Moshe Pelli

BIKURIM, Part I.

Bikurim was published in two volumes (256 and 244 pages) in 1864–1865 under the editorship of Naphtali Keller (1834–1865), a poet and a writer, following the demise of several Hebrew journals published in the 1840s that had attempted to renew and emulate the much-admired *Bikurei Ha'itim* (1820–1831).

Seventeen important writers and scholars of the time contributed to this impressive literary and learned journal in *belles lettres* and scholarly studies. This article reviews several of the most important contributions. The themes of the articles are diverse: book reviews, Jewish history, Haskalah, civil rights, Jewish festivals, Jewish education, Jews in Austria, Galicia, Morocco and Sweden, Hebrew language, Bible, Mishnah,

Talmud, prose, poetry, satire, and prayers, among others. Several Haskalah luminaries, such as Moses Mendelssohn and Judah Leib Ben Zeev, are cited and discussed, as are leaders such as Moses Montefiore.

A contribution by the noted scholar Adolf (Aaron) Jellinek lists various ways in which the Talmud has been studied throughout the ages and criticizes the frequent use of casuistry (*pilpul*) in this endeavor. Another article by Eisik Hirsch Weiss, a major scholar in the field, addressed the history of the Eighteen Benedictions (*Shmoneh Esreh*).

An important section is devoted to biographies of Talmudic and Mishnaic sages and to the life story of a more recent figure,

an early Maskil, the father of the author and editor Meir Halevi Letteris, written by his son. The journal breaks new ground by including a necrology section, with obituaries of recently deceased important personalities.

A major contribution is David Gordon's detailed review of the civil condition of the Jews in the world (European countries as well as Turkey and Morocco). Articles about the economic and legal state of the Jews in Galicia and Sweden yield a wealth of information on world Jewry at the time. Of special interest is

a report on Drohobycz, where Jews worked in the oil industry and in various artisan trades, doing very well but lagging in their Jewish education.

Naphtali Keller himself contributed an editorial, an introduction to the new journal, a review of newly published books, an article on the Jewish community of Vienna, and a poem on Moses Montefiore. The author A. B. Gottlob published a satiric story in rhymes.

THE JEWISH SABBATH JOURNAL AND ITS FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS IN THE ANGLO-JEWISH COMMUNITY IN 1855

/ Michal Shahaf

The Jewish Sabbath Journal (JSJ), published in London in 1855, was "a Penny Magazine for the Young" initiated by an Anglo-Jewish woman, Marion Hartog (*née* Moss, 1821–1907). In executing her project, the founder and editress needed the public's help. Thus, while Hartog was the main author, advertising manager, and salesperson, others took part in the journal's communication circuit not only as readers and writers but also as sponsors, lobbyists, and/or marketers. Additional figures in the Anglo-Jewish print media world furthered the enterprise in other sundry ways.

The article surveys the involvement of the Anglo-Jewish community in JSJ's life in two periods: a four-month promotional campaign for the journal and its publication period.

The JSJ campaign was waged in the Anglo-Jewish press via letters to the editors and lists of donations to a fund that had created for the establishment of the journal. Analysis of these lists and letters shows that support for the future *Sabbath*

Journal was considered a mission in educational philanthropy. Half of the subscribers were community and educational workers and/or their wives and relatives. Many donors were women.

The community and the editress continued interacting during JSJ's publication phase, as seen in the JSJ correspondents' section and contributions by several reporters and advertisers. Most of these participants, termed "JSJ Friends," were also community workers who wished to promote the education of the young. Only few were among the intended readers, Jewish youth. Outlying communities, particularly those in Liverpool and Manchester, were well represented in the geographical distribution of JSJ's friends and co-operators.

Notwithstanding the "JSJ Friends" and their exertions, the journal lasted only four months and one week. The Anglo-Jewish readership did not embrace the publication; its apathy and indifference forced Hartog to close her *Jewish Sabbath Journal* down.

FRATERNAL RELATIONS OF LOVE, JEALOUSY AND RIVALRY: THE STRUGGLES BETWEEN *DER MOMENT* AND *HAYNT*

/ Hannah Bareket-Glanzer

In the period between the world wars, hundreds of newspapers targeted the Jewish minority in Poland in general and in Warsaw in particular. *Der Moment* and *Haynt*, two evening newspapers in Yiddish, were the kingpins of the Jewish press in Warsaw. Both were nonpartisan, both were effectively the only papers that appeared continuously from the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century to the outbreak of World War II, both had similar circulation, and both targeted the same audience. These similarities may have been the cause of the

constant clashes between the two editorial staffs, clashes that became legendary among Polish Jews.

In the newspapers' early years, the chief editor of *Haynt*, Samuel Yatzkan, regularly mocked both the contents and the special promotions (e.g., a raffle of land near Warsaw for Jewish settlement) of the rival paper, *Der Moment*. Later, the two editorial staffs started to slander each other, impugning each other's trustworthiness, intellectual credentials, and, specifically, writing proficiency. During the Warsaw municipal elections

that took place in the last years of World War I, the reciprocal defamation verged on criminal accusations or at least suggested deplorable behavior.

With the re-establishment of independent Poland in 1918, the two newspapers were divided on how to respond to the new state's censorship demands, which prohibited the publication of acts of hate against Jews: the editors of *Der Moment* urged compliance with these demands while their counterparts at *Haynt* championed public disclosure of such acts. As each side articulated its arguments at length, heated debates and reactions erupted among readers, who perceived the opposing editorial position as a personal attack against the editors of their newspaper.

It seems that until the first half of the 1920s, the rivalry between *Der Moment* and *Haynt* did trace to personal motives.

The ideological rivalry began to emerge only in the mid-1920s, when Icchak Grinbaum took over as chief editor of *Haynt*. Mutual defamation waned in the 1920s as the worsening plight of Polish Jewry and the need to fight for the civil rights of Jewry at large bridged the differences somewhat. Thus, amid escalating antisemitism in Poland, the Jewish newspapers again enlisted in the defense of the persecuted Jewish population.

The contention between these newspapers may be likened to a sibling rivalry—strife between two essentially similar sides that aspire to stand out and to justify their respective ways. However, it is not totally out of the question that the papers pursued the rivalry to attract readers and instill newspaper reading habits among the Jews of Warsaw—habits that were not part of their daily lives until the twentieth century.

“LET THEM GO TO RURAL SETTLEMENT”: DAVID BEN-GURION AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD TEL AVIV AS REFLECTED IN THE PRESS / Eran Eldar

Tension between the city and the rural-settlement sector took hold at the beginning of the modern Return to Zion, and Zionism ideology gave the latter preferential treatment. Zionism's attitude toward Tel Aviv, however, was special and ambivalent both before and after the establishment of the state. Once statehood was achieved, Tel Aviv lost some of the power, the political status, and in turn the autonomy that it had enjoyed under the British Mandate. Instead of those advantages, an open struggle broke out among the national leadership, the central government, and the municipal administration—a persistent struggle that

was covered in all organs of the Israeli press, some of which were partisan. The article examines, reviews, and analyzes these newspapers' coverage of the clash between the municipal and central governments and its impact. From this vantage point, too, it draws conclusions about the attitude of David Ben Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel from the Mapai Party, toward Tel Aviv and its leadership, which until 1959 belonged to the largely urban-bourgeois General Zionist Party—an attitude that had a major impact on the city's development and independence.

SELF-CENSORSHIP ON SUICIDE AND RAPE: AN UNUSUAL DECISION BY THE EDITORS COMMITTEE IN 1960

/ Tal Strasman-Shapira

On January 10, 1960, two senior newspaper editors—Arie Dissenchik (chief editor of *Ma'ariv*) and Gershom Schocken (his counterpart at *Ha'aretz*) held a meeting in Tel Aviv. The two editors constituted a special subcommittee of the Editors Committee that had been appointed to make an unusual decision in favor of self-censorship. The decision set limits on the quantity and contents of published articles on the subjects of suicide and rape.

The self-censorship decision was made after a period in

which hundreds of thousands of immigrants from different countries and cultures had come to Israel. The composition of the country's population underwent many changes during that time in terms of its nature and its political, social, and cultural characteristics.

The article is part of a doctoral dissertation currently being written for the Department of Jewish and Hebraic Studies at the Paris 8 University in Paris, under the supervision of Professor Gideon Kouts. It examines the background and aspects of the

process behind this decision in order to determine whether the decision was implemented and, if so, whether the amount and

types of articles affected the amount and types of suicides and rapes that occurred.

PRESS CAMPAIGNS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR MOROCCAN JEWS' RIGHT TO EMIGRATE / Yigal Bin-Nun

Even before Morocco declared its independence in March 1956, the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the World Jewish Congress fretted over the fate of Moroccan Jewry. Many Israeli emissaries tried to persuade the Moroccan leaders to allow the Jews freedom of movement. They met not only with associates of the king but also with representatives of parties of the left and the right. The Moroccan government, however, was troubled particularly about harm to the country's economy in the event of large-scale Jewish emigration because, due to their French education, Jews held important positions in public administration and business. To avoid this damage, Israeli officials, invoking

the myth of Jewish control of the U.S. government and great American-Jewish power in the American economy, proposed a solution based on American-Jewish business investments in Morocco. During the visits of King Mohammed V and his son Hassan II in Washington, Israeli envoys and representatives of Jewish organizations organized a special worldwide press campaign to impress the Moroccan government with American Jewry's capacity to mobilize investors for such projects. In August 1961, Israel and Morocco concluded an agreement for the organized evacuation of most of Moroccan Jewry.

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