No. 7, May 1990
Tel Aviv University
Journalism Studies Program
Institute for Research of
the Jewish Press

CONTENTS

"Perestroika" Spring / Shalom Rosenfeld — 2
The New Jewish Press in Eastern Europe:
USSR: The Jewish Press Yesterday, Today
and Tomorrow / David Makish — 6
HUNGARY: "Past and Future" With a Grey Present
in Between / Nadfali Krausz — 13
RUMANIA: A Quadilingual "Journal": An Interview With Professor
Hayim Bimer, Editor of the Only Jewish Newspaper
in Rumania / Merleau Naor — 18
From Lithuania to Bulgaria: The New and the Old — 22
A Legend on Wheels: A Personal Recollection of
Nathan Gordon / Theodore (Teddy) Levin — 24

English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles:
Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Hebrew Journalism / Shalom Shelitzer — 30
A Century of Jewish Journalism:
"The Jewish Exponent," 1887-1987 / Maxwell Whiteman — 31
Jewish Journalists in Iraq / Nissan Keren — 32
E. R. Malakh: Researcher of the Hebrew Press / Yaakov Kukukov — 34
Honesty and credibility in Journalism: Eretz Israel Newspapers and
Reports on the European Occupation, 1939-41 / Hava Zaitzfeld — 35
"Ha-Zaron" — The First Local Newspaper in
Eretz Israel / Yosef Kister — 36
Bentzion Katz: Master of the Scoop / Ruth Baki — 37
The German-Language Jewish Press in Europe / Reuven Asor — 38
"Kolno'a," The First Illustrated Newspaper in
Eretz Israel, 1931-35 / Tirza Shafir Benyamini — 39
The Arab Press in Israel / Aminah Mansour — 40
Contributors to This Issue — 44

Cover: New map of the Jewish
press in East Europe.

Typesetting: Defus Meir
Production: A.R.T. Offset Services
Editorial and Administrative Offices: Journalism Studies Program, Tel Aviv University, Rattat Arviv 69978. Tel: (03)414404, 5450663
"PERESTROIKA" SPRING

Perhaps no single development can testify more persuasively to the spiritual and cultural upheaval that is taking place among the Jews of Eastern Europe — especially in the Soviet Union — than the flowering of the free, independent Jewish periodical press after decades of suppression. The reality, which surpasses the imagination, it reflected not only in the content of the new newspapers, but in their names and even in their design. Names such as Kol Zion ("The Voice of Zion"); a contrast to Severstiev Homeland ("Soviet Homeland"); and Yerushalayim de-Lita ("Jerusalem of Lithuania") in contrast to Bischofshener Stern ("Bishopshofer Star") tell the whole story. A metamorphosis from papers that were forced to sing the praises of the "motherland" which destroyed their culture and obliterated nearly every trace of their national identity, to papers which openly and proudly identify with the Jewish people, its symbols, the languages in which its culture once blossomed, and its state — Israel.

This issue of Qesher is an attempt to reflect Jewish communications history in liberated Eastern Europe at this moment. We shall not be dealing with the past this time, but with the present, although on an exceedingly fragmentary basis, insufficient as the upheaval referred to is still in a state of after-shocks, both below and above the surface.

A caricature which appeared in a recent issue of the monthly IP (International Press Institute) organ illustrates the pace of the changes taking place in the Soviet bloc: a newspaper at a microphone, surrounded by piles of bulletins, announce "We interrupt this bulletin from Bulgaria, which interrupted the bulletin from East Berlin, which interrupted the bulletins from Moscow, Poland and Hungary, in order to bring you news that has just come in from Prague." This process of change is approximately paralleled within the Jewish communities in these countries and, as elsewhere in all periods, is clearly reflected in the press.

We requested author and journalist David Markish, who, together with his family, suffered the Stalinist hatchet-blows to Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, to conduct an initial survey on what is happening now in the Jewish periodical press throughout the Soviet Union. After nightmarish decades of winter, the Jewish press throughout the Soviet Union has come alive. Markish, who has first-hand knowledge of the country, visited the Soviet Union as a tourist during a recent two-month period, traveling through it as extensively as possible. Not only did he gather background information, but he collected copies of the new publications themselves which appear in Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew, some of them actual periodicals (though there are no dailies yet) and others information sheets combined with journalistic material. His impressions, as well as photocopies of some of the new publications that have begun to appear in Russia as a result of "glasnost," are included in the main section of this issue of Qesher. Most of the new Yiddish-language papers have abandoned the system of Soviet Jewish spelling introduced by the Terezinians, which had eliminated the use of final letters and marked Hebrew words that appear in Yiddish. The new newspapers have returned to traditional, pre-Soviet Yiddish. Probably, the two surviving papers of the former period, Severstiev Homeland and Bischofshoner Stern, will soon or later also adopt the traditional spelling. Gedanez Estrakh, Secretary of Severstiev Homeland's editorial board, who participated in the World Conference of Jewish Journalists held in Jerusalem earlier this year, told me that the problem with traditional spelling isn't an ideological one, just a practical one, as the readership of his monthly had grown used to the new spelling.

How many new Jewish papers are there in Russia now, as we go to press with this issue of Qesher? Probably, no one knows. Publishing a Jewish paper here is enormously difficult. It is difficult to find Hebrew and Yiddish typeset, it is difficult to obtain paper, to findprintshops and even to locate Yiddish and Hebrew writers. The few writers who began this work have left for Israel, and sometimes it is impossible to find replacements. Papers open and close, then resume publication sometime later. Some estimates place the number of papers from Czernowitz to Leningrad, from Tashkent in Uzbekistan to Tallin in Estonia and from Kiev and Lvov in the Ukraine to Vilna and Riga at least a dozen. And, having mentioned Vilna, I must point out a unique characteristic of the Jewish press from the start, which is even reflected in the first issue of Yerushalayim de-Lita — the humor column. Space limits expanding on this subject further, but anyone doing in-depth research on Jewish humor — humor that Jews used as a "weapon" against their persecutors and as a refuge from their sufferings in nearly every situation — will want to include material from the Jewish periodical press in every language.

While it is difficult to obtain a complete, updated picture of the new Jewish press in Russia, it is easier to do so in Hungary, if only because the Jewish population, as well as the geographical area involved, are much smaller. Naftali Kranz, monitoring developments in the Jewish community of Budapest and in the provincial cities, where there are only
"PERESTROIKA" SPRING

Perhaps no single development can testify more persuasively to the spiritual and cultural upheaval that is taking place among the Jews of Eastern Europe — especially in the Soviet Union — than the flowering of the free, independent Jewish periodical press after decades of suppression. The reality, which surpasses the imagination, is reflected not only in the content of the new newspapers but in their very names and even in their design. Names such as Kol Zion ("The Voice of Zion") in contrast to Sevtherim Heimland ("Soviet Homeland"), and Yerushalayim de-Litva ("Jerusalem of Lithuania") in contrast to Birzudashter Stern ("Birodziański Stern") tell the whole story: a metamorphosis from papers that were forced to sing the praises of the "motherland" that destroyed their culture and obliterated nearly every trace of their national identity, to papers which openly and proudly identify with the Jewish people, its symbols, the languages in which its culture once blossomed, and in its state — Israel.

This issue of Quesher is an attempt to reflect Jewish communications history in liberated Eastern Europe at this moment. We shall not be dealing with the past this time, but with the present, although on an exceedingly fragmentary basis, inasmuch as the upheaval referred to is still in a stage of after-shocks, both below and above the surface.

A caricature which appeared in a recent issue of the monthly IPJ (International Press Institute) organ illustrates the pace of the changes taking place in the Soviet Bloc: a newsreader at a microphone, surrounded by piles of bulletins, announces: "We interrupt this bulletin from Bulgaria, which interrupted the bulletin from East Berlin, which interrupted the bulletins from Moscow, Poland and Hungary, in order to bring you news that has just come in from Prague." This process of change is approximately paralleled within the Jewish communities in these countries, and, as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, it is clearly reflected in the press.

We requested author and journalist David Markish, who, together with his family, suffered the Stalinic hatchet-blows to Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, to conduct an initial survey on what is happening now in the Jewish periodical press throughout the Soviet Union. After nightmarish decades of winter, the Jewish press throughout the Soviet Union has come alive. Markish, who has first-hand knowledge of the country, visited the Soviet Union as a tourist during a recent two-month period, traveling through it as extensively as possible. Not only did he gather background information, but he collected copies of the new publications themselves which appear in Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew, some of them actual periodicals (though there are no libraries yet) and other information sheets combined with journalistic material. His impressions, as well as photocopies of some of the new publications that have begun to appear in Russian, is a treat of "glimmer," as seen in the main section of this issue of Quesher. Most of the new Yiddish-language papers have abandoned the system of Soviet Jewish printing introduced by the Presskarg, which had eliminated the use of final letters and marked Hebrew words that appear in Yiddish. The new newspapers have returned to traditional, pre-Soviet Yiddish. Probably, the two surviving papers of the former period, Sevtherim Heimland and Birzudashter Stern, will sooner or later also adopt the traditional spelling.

Kennedy Estrick, Secretary of the Soviet Heimland's editorial board, who participated in the World Conference of Jewish Journalists held in Jerusalem earlier this year, told me that the problem with traditional spelling isn't an ideological one, just a practical one, as the readership of his monthly had grown used to the new spelling.

How many new Jewish papers are there in Russia now, as we go to press with this issue of Quesher? Probably, no one knows. Publishing a Jewish paper is enormously difficult. It is difficult to obtain Hebrew letters and Jewish typefaces. It is difficult to obtain paper, to find photographers and even to locate Yiddish and Hebrew writers. The few writers who began this work have left for Israel, and sometimes it is impossible to find replacements. Papers open and close, then resurface publication sometime later on. Some estimate the number of papers from Czernowitz to Lexingada, from Tashkent to Bukhara to Tallinn in Estonia and from Kiyv and Lvov in the Ukraine to Vilna and Riga at least a dozen. And, having mentioned Vilna, I must point out a unique characteristic of the Jewish population, which is even reflected in the first issue of Yerushalayim de-Litva — the humor column. Space limits expanding on this subject further, but anyone doing in-depth research on Jewish humor — bother that Jews used a "weapon" against their persecutors and as a refuge from their sufferings in nearly every situation — will want to include material from the Jewish periodical press in every language.

While it is difficult to obtain a complete, updated picture of the new Jewish press in Russia, it is easier to do so in Hungary, if only because the Jewish population, as well as the geographical area involved, are much smaller. Naftali Kraus, monitoring developments in the Jewish community of Budapest and in the provincial cities, where there are only tiny Jewish communities, has prepared a report on the Hungarian Jewish press for this issue. Professor Moritz Ritter, editor of the only Jewish periodical in Rumania, talks about the changes in his newspaper and about its background in an interview held in Jerusalem. There is little to tell about the new Jewish periodical press in Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia; new journalists have not necessarily replaced the old in the existing press in these countries, although a new spirit and style have undoubtedly emerged. The limited information that is available is included in this issue as well, in order to round out the picture.

Only minimal information exists on East Germany. Some 400 Jewish families are left there, scattered in eight Jewish communities, although according to statistics in February's issue of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, there are actually about 4,000 Jews and half-Jews in East Germany who are not formally identified as such. These Jews will now very likely make themselves known to the Jewish periodicals in West Germany, Australia and Israel. There is a flowering of Yiddish in East Germany, although so far it has manifested itself in music and the theater alone.

Leaving the large eastern empire and its developments, and returning to Israel, we have included a first-time survey of the Arabic press in Israel by well-known journalist Attila Mansour. Dr. Nissim Kazzar, who in the last issue of Quesher presented the story of the Jewish press in Iraq, now completes his survey with the history of Jewish journalism there.

I imagine there is no one in Israel who doesn't recognize the name, and know about the rare journalistic achievements of our "national radio correspondent" Michael (Micky) Gardis. He is also the person who, during the glorious European spring, brought us daily, and sometimes hourly or even minute-by-minute reports on the liberation of the countries of East and Central Europe from their totalitarian bonds. I am certain that Micky himself, and the readership of Quesher, will be pleased to read journalist Theodore Levite's article on Micky's predecessor, none other than Micky's father, Nat Gardis, "a legend on wheels."

You will find all this, as well as about a dozen interesting articles and chapters about the past, in this, our spring issue, which focuses on the spring that has come to Jewish culture and the Jewish press of Eastern European Jewry.

Salem Rosenfeld.

Head of the Journalism Studies Program and Institute for Research of the Jewish Press
THE USSR: THE JEWISH PRESS
YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

DAVID MARKISH

Any right-thinking person can hardly dispute the fact that everything in our world begins with the word. Whether spoken or written, the word stirs up interminable strife and impels to bloodshed and war. The gunpowder of the word destroys a magnificent structure as easily as if it were a pastry made of sand. The word rules over minds, souls and actions, and the mass media dominate the world since they are loaded to the brim with the word. A weak and empty person submits to the word gladly, while a resolute person takes a stand and argues with it.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 also began with the word. Gold and silver words calling for the establishment of a fabulous justice by means of real violence were first printed abroad in leaflets and brochures and then smuggled into Russia. These words were heard and they shook the people and aroused them from their age-old political slumber. The Russian Revolution was brought about by the word; once again the word changed the face of the world.

Today's Gorbachev glasnost is the word which has torn itself free from its Stalinist prison. Circulating in tens of millions of copies, the word is creating a new revolution in Russia. The people devour the free word like bread; they swallow it down like water. The word endangers violence as well as opposition to this violence, and in the collision of these forces is the danger of an explosion and civil war. Once again, the word in flight becomes a bullet.

The Jewish press is scarcely visible in the ocean of the official, the semi-legal and the totally illegal Soviet press. Its readership is the Jews themselves as well as the employees of the appropriate branches of the Soviet secret service. The total print run of all Jewish publications, according to approximate estimates, does not exceed 150,000-170,000 copies. The problem is in no way a lack of potential readers, but rather the publishers' lack of paper and printing facilities. (This problem affects not only Jewish periodicals; paper is also lacking for the weekly Ogonyok with a print run of almost four million, and the weekly Argumenty i Fakti ("Arguments and Facts"), with an April run of 53 million. The paper shortage in the Soviet Union involves not only economics but also politics: the runs of "pro-Gorbachev" publications inevitably rise, and this arouses the displeasure of the anti-Gorbachevites, whose journals and newspapers have small print runs.)

However, it would be a mistake to think that ten, twenty or even thirty years ago the Jewish press or the Jewish word did not exist at all in the Russian desert of "plasticlessness." Jewish semidark did exist. Starting in the mid-1950s, this press made its "nest" in the Baltics, in Riga and Vilnius, where a few Zionists, who had survived Stalin's camps by a miracle and returned home, gradually began to nurture a small flame of national consciousness among Jewish youth. Typewriters began to clatter, reproducing highly varied materials: information, politics and literature. In keeping with the Russian cultural tradition, first came poems — "Zionides" (songs of longing for Zion), with copies passed in secret from hand to hand. The distributors, and even the readers, feared the threat of arrest, but this semidark cauldron kept trickling into Russia's past.

In 1974, the Israeli series Biblioteka Alia ("Aliya Library" — books in Russian on Jewish and Israeli topics) published the anthology Na Otsen Volna. Evreiskie Morzy v Russkoj Poesii ("On Otsen Wave: Jewish Mariners in Russian Poetry"). The anthology opened with this epigraph:

My people, listen perhaps.
I will not be able to fully express myself,
But — listen attentively — our hearts
Are transmitting on a single wave.

These lines — and the title of the anthology — come from
Any right-thinking person can hardly dispute the fact that everything in our world begins with the word. Whether spoken or written, the word stirs up intricate strife and impels to bloodshed and war. The gapwider of the word destroys a magnificent structure as easily as if it were a pastry made of sand. The word rules over minds, souls and actions, and the mass media dominate the world since they are loaded to the brim with the word. A weak and empty person submits to the word gladly, while a resistant person takes a stand and argues with it.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 also began with the word. Gold and silver words calling for the establishment of a fabulous justice by means of real violence were first printed abroad in leaflets and brochures and then smuggled into Russia. These words were heard and they shook the people and awoke them from their age-old political slumber. The Russian Revolution was brought about by the word, once again the word changed the face of the world.

Today’s Gorbatchevian glasnost is the word which has torn itself free from its Stalinist prison. Circulating in tens of millions of copies, the word is creating a new revolution in Russia. The people demand the free word like bread; they swallow it down like water. The word engenders violence as well as opposition to this violence, and in the collision of these forces there is the danger of an explosion and civil war. Once again, the word in flight becomes a bullet.

The Jewish press is scorchingly visible in the ocean of the official, the semi-legal and the totally illegal Soviet press. Its readership is the Jews themselves as well as the employees of the appropriate branches of the Soviet secret service. The total print run of all Jewish publications, according to approximate estimates, does not exceed 150,000-170,000 copies. The problem is in no way a lack of potential readers, but rather the publishers’ lack of paper and printing facilities.

In any case, Mager was a Jewish satirist, author, a phenomenon which preceded today’s glasnost. It was hardly for esthetic reasons that he adopted the camouflage of a pseudonym. Such verses as:

No, I will not hang myself from grief.
I will eat your bread, drink your wine.
Smash my fists against your cheekbones—
But I shall survive for your people...

written in 1938, which circulated in samizdat and also reached Israel, where they were published, might have caused the “neo-Zionist” poet the considerable unpleasantness of a jail term of five to seven years.

David Mager was one of a group of authors who wrote for early Jewish samizdat, a press that was single-mindedly nationalist and Zionist. Paralleling this Jewish samizdat was the Russian literary samizdat, which made available the banned works of great deceased writers, primarily Mendele Moykher Sforim and Tverskaya. Russian samizdat thus fulfilled the function of preserving a cultural heritage, while Jewish samizdat, with its “Zionists,” was more political: whatever their quality, the literary offerings were less devoted to evoking esthetic feelings in their readers and more to enjoining them to a national awakening and to the fight for emigration to Israel. For better or worse, the language of Soviet Jewry today is Russian, as the language of American Jewry is English and that of Israeli Jewry Hebrew. Practically, the entire Jewish scholarly literature is written in Russian.

From this,B a Jewish newspaper in Riga with a print run of 30,000 copies...
press in the Soviet Union today is in the Russian language. The exception is the semi-official periodicals established for political purposes long before the onset of the Gorbatchev era, which have served the authorities loyally. These are the two Yiddish publications — the Moscow journal Sovetish Heimland and the Birobidzhan newspaper Birobidzhaner Sere. Of course, these publications were available by subscription or in libraries. By contrast, it was only by chance that one could buy or "get hold of" the non-official (literally "non-censored") Jewish press in Russia. However, such opportunities are rather numerous. I bought a complete set of the Moscow newspaper Vserossiiskii Sovetskii Kalnysh (VEK) on January 18, 1990, in the Moscow Writers' Club on the eve of the much-publicized pogrom staged there by the bullies of the Black Hundred (anti-Semitic) Pamyat' organization. The newspaper was sold there by two lovely young ladies who were sitting at the entrance to the auditorium of the Club. Bread-shouldered Black Hundred toughs wearing the insignia of the racist two-headed eagle and of St. George teasing a long-haired Jewish caricature with his lance, strode past the young ladies.

The number of Jewish publications — journals, newspapers and leaflets — is almost impossible to count. I doubt whether the "specialists on the nationality question" from the KGB would venture to estimate this number with any accuracy. Before undertaking to focus on specific publications, let us consider the background of the rise and fall — typical of the unofficial press — of the astonishing number of Jewish periodicals.

Freedom, which landed on the heads of the Russian people like a bug of new from above, triggered endless conversations about the present, past and future; split society into polarized groups and subgroups; and diverted people from their usual work. The result was a shortage of items which are required in any civilized country: meat products and soap, footwear and medicines, razor blades and contraceptives. Shortages became the norm, with corruption and bribery rising and flourishing with unprecedented vigor. For large sums of money, or through "connections," one can get a fox hat or a Kalashnikov rifle, a leg of mutton or an airline ticket.

For the Jewish press, it is neither more nor less difficult to get hold of paper than it is for any independent national or political organization; all that is needed is dollars. Soviet rubles simply will not buy paper, and people in the know don't even try that way. However, one can also manage without dollars. In the Soviet Union today there is a revival of the barter system. One Jewish publisher was offered a handsome supply of paper in exchange for a personal computer. If a computer is unavailable, a telex may be used.
or begged from Jews abroad with a keen interest in the cultural and political life of Soviet Jewry. The basic problem for all the Jewish unofficial publications, without exception, is the complete uncertainty about tomorrow and the resulting desire to say everything possible today.

VEK, then, is a typical Russian Jewish publication whose frequency depends on the availability of paper. The abbreviation VEK stands for either Vestaik Evreiskoi Kultury ("Jewish Culture Herald") or Vozzablenie Evreiskoi Kultury ("Rebirth of Jewish Culture"), depending on individual preference. It has a full-color cover and professional material, for its editors include experienced journalists. The Larvian authorities have provided VEK with premises in the building that houses the editorial offices of major Larvian newspapers and journals. VEK publishes articles and essays, artistic works and political, publicistic pieces — all connected in one way or another with Jewish themes. The journal's contributors include both Soviet and Western authors and journalists and Jews from the Diaspora and from Israel. The price of a single issue is rather high — 3 rubles, but on the black market it fetches 30 rubles. The journal would like to publish a "VEK Library" — a book supplement to the journal which would include works by Jewish writers from the Soviet Union, Israel and America. However, so long as there is no paper, the project is on hold.

There is no commercial competition between the Soviet Jewish publications, primarily because the demand exceeds the supply many times over. The Moscow VESK, a four-page newspaper which appears approximately bi-monthly, in an easy way competes with the Riga VESK. VESK publishes political reviews and reports on Jewish cultural life in the USSR, the Diaspora and Israel. One page is devoted to literature — poetry or prose. But the newspaper's cutting edge is reserved for anti-Semitism, with all four pages combing the greatly increased anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. For example, an editorial in VESK (No. 19, Jan. 3, 1990) describes the opening of the First Congress of Jewish Organizations and Communities of the USSR thus:

On the day of the opening of the Congress, a crowd of anti-Semites arayed themselves in front of the building where it was taking place. "Kike prostitutes," they screamed at the women. "Get out of Russia!" they shouted at the Jews who pushed old people...Representatives of the [Ukrainian] Movement for an Independent Democratic Ukraine came from the Ukraine in order to defend the participants in the Congress from hooligan bullies.

VEK was one of the only papers in Russia to report that Polish fighters — Ukrainian nationalists — routed Black Hundred Pamyat' fighters. And where, of all places? At a Jewish congress! That amazing event will undoubtedly enter the history of Jewish-Ukrainian relations and will merit study. VESK should be given credit for recording the event.

Another newspaper, which has the Hebrew name Hadashot ("The Dawn") and a logo of a seven-branched menorah against the background of a Star of David, is published in Tallinn, Estonia. It is the organ of the Jewish Culture Society of Estonia, with a print run of 6,000. Like VEK and VESK, it is primarily oriented toward opposing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. A kind of triangle comprising Soviet Jewry-anti-Semitism-Israel has become the basis of the Jewish press. Israel, Israeli Jewry or aliya are inferred in every article, whether the subject is the escapades of the Black Hundred Pamyat' thugs, the opening of a Jewish library or Jews being blamed for the outbreak of plague among Christians in the 14th century. Jews, anti-Semitism and aliya are also the topics of the Kiev Hadaschot (Hebrew for "News"), which displays the Hebrew motto Am Yisrael Haki ("The Jewish People Lives"), as well as of the Information Bureau Chernovitzko Evreisko Obshchevenny ("Information Bulletin of the Chernovtsi Jewish Community Cultural Fund"). Actually, there is not one Jewish publication in the Soviet Union that limits itself to describing cultural life only, even though a certain flourishing in this area is to be found in today's era of Gottachev reform.

For example, issue number five of Shalom, a socio-political, literary and artistic journal of the Jewish Culture Association of Moscow, contains the following: "Pogroms and Self-Defense," "The Russian and the Jewish in the Russian Revolution" and a dialogue between the leader of the Russian fascists, G. Shimonov, and the Russian Orthodox priest A. Boriss. The first item is quite topical: pogroms and resistance to the pogroms/aliya (today occupy the minds of Jews throughout the USSR. Although the article specifically deals with the history of the pogroms and Jewish self-defense, and does not contain any practical application to today's situation, an astute reader will comprehend where indecisiveness and inaction in the face of pogroms lead.

Youth is the first to draw conclusions; I met Jewish fighters in the Soviet Union who were training in hand-to-hand combat and handling weapons. "The Russian and the Jewish in the Russian Revolution" deals with a topic which has been equally relevant for Jews and for Russians: Who was guilty for what occurred in October (1917)? Who brought Russia to the October upheaval — foreigners, Jews in the lead, or the Russians themselves? And who should be held responsible today? A significant proportion of Russian read
or begged from Jews abroad with a keen interest in the cultural and political life of Soviet Jewry. The basic problem for all the Jewish unofficial publications, without exception, is the complete uncertainty about tomorrow and the resulting desire to say everything possible today.

VEK, then, is a typical Russian Jewish publication whose frequency depends on the availability of paper. The abbreviation VEK stands for Vsesoyuznaya Erevatskaya Kul'tura ("Jewish Culture Herald") or Vsesoyuznaya Erevatskaya Kul'tura ("Rebirth of Jewish Culture"), depending on individual preference. It has a full color cover and professional material, for its editors include experienced journalists. The Soviet authorities have provided VEK with premises in the building that houses the editorial offices of major Soviet newspapers and journals. VEK publishes articles and essays, artistic works and political, publicistic pieces—all connected in one way or another with Jewish themes. The journal's contributors include both Soviet and Western authors and journalists and Jews from the Diaspora and from Israel. The price of a single issue is rather high—3 rubles, but on the black market it fetches 50 rubles. The journal would like to publish a "VEK Library"—a book supplement to the journal which would include works by Jewish writers from the Soviet Union, Israel and America. However, so long as there is no paper, the project is on hold.

There is no commercial competition between the Soviet Jewish publications, primarily because the demand exceeds the supply many times over. The Moscow VESK, a four-page newspaper which appears approximately bi-monthly, in no way compares with the Riga VEK. VESK publishes political and regular reviews and reports on Jewish cultural life in the USSR, the Diaspora and Israel. One page is devoted to literature—poetry or prose. But the newspaper's cutting edge is reserved for antisemites, with all four pages combating the greatly increased anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. For example, an editorial in VESK (No. 1 [19] Jan. 3, 1950) describes the opening of the First Congress of Jewish Organizations and Communities of the USSR thus:

On the day of the opening of the Congress, a crowd of antisemites gathered in front of the building where it was taking place. Women were thrown out of the windows. They shouted as they pushed old people. Representatives of the Ukrainian Movement for an Independent Democratic Ukraine came from the Ukraine in order to defend the participants in the Congress from the hooligan bullies.

VEK was one of the only papers in Russia to report that such lightness—Ukrainian nationalism—ruined Black Hundred Pamyat' fighters. And where, of all places? At a Jewish congress! That amazing event will undoubtedly enter the history of Jewish-Ukrainian relations and will merit study. VESK should be given credit for recording the event.

Another newspaper, which has the Hebrew name Ha-Shahar ("The Dawn") and a logo of a seven-branched menorah against the background of a Star of David, is published in Tallinn, Estonia. It is the organ of the Jewish Culture Society of Estonia, with a print run of 6,000. Like VESK and VEK, it is primarily orientated toward opposing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. A kind of triangle comprising Soviet Jewish-anti-Semitism-Israel has become the basis of the Jewish press. Israel, Israeli Jewry or aliyah are infrequent in every article, whether the subject is the escapades of the Black Hundred Pamyat' thugs, the opening of a Jewish library or Jews being blamed for the outbreak of plague among Christians in the 14th century. Jewry, anti-Semitism and aliyah are also the topics of the Kiev Madrasah (Hebrew for "Newly"), which displays the Hebrew motto Am Yisra'el Hai ("The Jewish People Lives"), as well as of the Al'qanat Hempi Calisthenikoal Ochshonimekakalikunfonda ("Information Bulletin of the Jewish Cultural and Educational Fund"). Actually, there is not one Jewish publication in the Soviet Union that limits itself to describing cultural life only, even though a certain flourishing in this area is to be found in today's era of Gorbachev's reform.

For example, issue number five of Shafay, a socio-political, literary and artistic periodical of the Jewish Cultural Association of Moscow, contains the following: "Pogroms and Self-Defense." "The Russian and the Jew in the Russian Revolution" and a dialogue between the leader of the Russian fascists, G. Shinasov, and the Russian Orthodox priest A. Borisov. The first article is quite topical: pogroms and resistance to the pogroms. It publishes today occupy the minds of Jews throughout the USSR. Although the article specifically deals with the history of the pogroms and Jewish self-defense, and does not contain any practical application to today's situation, an attentive reader will comprehend where indecisiveness and inaction in the face of pogroms lead. Youth is the first to draw conclusions; I met Jewish lighteners in the Soviet Union who were training in hand-to-hand combat and handling weapons. "The Russian and the Jew in the Russian Revolution" deals with a topic which has been equally relevant for Jews and for Russians: Who was guilty for what occurred in October 1917? Who brought Russia to the October (November) revolution? — foreigners, with Jews in the lead, or the Russians themselves? And who should be held responsible today? A significant proportion of Russians tend
to blame the Jews generally. The Jews reply, with good reason, that Leon Trotsky considered himself not a Jew but an internationalist. This decades-long debate inflames passions, and today, in the atmosphere of uncertainty and general animosity, it threatens to lead to bloody conflict. The article makes an effort to analyze the October events of 73 years ago in a historical and philosophical context. The construct which emerges quite impartially presents the main perniciousness of the Revolution as the Russians. It is a bold and profound article. Should it fall into the hands of Russian chauvinists, it could be used as a weapon against the Jews. Compromise in this discussion is not yet possible, and debate merely heats up the powder keg.

The third article in Shalom on which I would like to focus briefly is "The Bordered Empire" by G. Shimonov, a Russian fascist. This article, which deals with the reality of a "Judeo-Masonic" or "Zionist-Masonic" conspiracy, is summarized as follows:

Thus, the conspiracy (of the Jews) against the Russian people is only part, although an important part, of a conspiracy that is much more significant in scale and profound in meaning, directed in actuality against all the peoples of the world, although at a given stage in history it was directed primarily against the Russian people at the foundation of the whole socialist fraternity of peoples. (p. 6)

One could be astonished, of course, at the limited imagination of the fascists — Russian, German or other — and their fanatical desire to besmirch Jewry as such. They ought to be able to come up with something fresher than "a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy." However, the reaction of Shalom's readers, and not only they (since the Shimonov article is being actively distributed by his supporters), is not likely to be a surprise. Once they become acquainted with this "creation," Jews hasten to pack their suitcases and flee Russia. And the inhumane, sincere article of Shimonov's opponent, the Russian Orthodox priest Borisov, will not stop the Jews, although he deserves a thank-you for his effort.

I have touched upon only a small section of the contemporary Jewish press in the USSR, however, from it one may define the whole, which rests, as the Russian proverb says, on three "whales," or pillars: Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism and Israel. Even the semi-official Yiddish journal, Sovietish Heimland, is gradually beginning to "retreat," at least temporarily, and to reflect, however superficially, the general social and political themes of the rest of the Jewish press.

What awaits the Jewish press in the future? A professional flowering? Graphic and printing innovations? The fate of the Jewish press is closely linked to the fate of Gorbachev and his reforms. No serious person would dare predict Gorbachev's future, and, therefore, not of the Jewish press in the USSR either.

However, I believe that there will be no flowering of the press, for one most important reason: by the end of the present decade, the Jews will have left Russia. The process of this departure is underway, and we are its witnesses.

Translated by Yisrael (Elliot) Cohen
to blame the Jews generally. The Jews reply, with good reason, that Leon Trotsky considered himself not a Jew but an internationalist. This decades-long debate inflames passions, and today, in the atmosphere of uncertainty and general animosity, it threatens to lead to bloody conflict. The article makes an effort to analyze the October events of 73 years ago in a historical and philosophical context. The construct which emerges quite impartially presents the main perpetrators of the Revolution as the Russians. It is a bold and profound article. Should it fall into the hands of Russian chauvinists, it could be used as a weapon against the Jews. Compromise in this discussion is not yet possible, and debate cannot leave up the powder keg.

The third article in Shalom on which I would like to focus briefly is "The Banned Theme" by G. Shimanov, a Russian fascist. This article, which deals with the reality of a "Judeo-Masonic" or "Zionist-Masonic" conspiracy, is summarized as follows:

Thus, the conspiracy (of the Jews) against the Russian people is only part, although an important part, of a conspiracy that is much more significant in scale and profound in meaning, directed in its entirety against all the peoples of the world, although it has a given stage in history it was directed primarily against the Russian people as the foundation of the whole socialist fraternity of peoples. (p. 6)

One could be astonished, of course, at the limited imagination of the fascists — Russian, German or other — and their nationalistic desire to besmirch Jewry as such. They ought to be able to come up with something fresher than "a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy." However, the reaction of Shalom's readers, and not only they (since the Shimanov article is being actively distributed by his supporters), is not likely to be surprise. Once they become acquainted with this "creation," Jews hasten to pack their suitcases and flee Russia. And the honorable, sincere article of Shimanov's opponent, the Russian Orthodox priest Borisov, will not stop the Jews, although he deserves a thank-you for his effort.

I have touched upon only a small section of the contemporary Jewish press in the USSR. However, from it one may define the whole, which reits, as the Russian proverb says, on three "whales," or pillars: Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism and Israel. Even the semi-official Yiddish journal, Sovetish Heimland, is gradually beginning to "retreat," at least temporarily, and to reflect, however superficially, the general social and political themes of the rest of the Jewish press.

What awaits the Jewish press in the future? A professional flowering? Graphic and printing innovations? The fate of the Jewish press is closely linked to the fate of Gorbatchev and his reforms. No serious person would dare predict Gorbatchev's future, and, therefore, not of the Jewish press in the USSR either.

However, I believe that there will be no flowering of the press, for one most important reason: by the end of the present decade, the Jews will have left Russia. The process of this departure is underway, and we are its witnesses.

Translated by Yitserl (Billiot) Cohen

"PAST AND FUTURE" WITH A GREY PRESENT IN BETWEEN

The New Jewish Press in a Changing Hungary

NAFTALI KRAUSZ

The 80,000-100,000 Jews in Hungary today comprise the second-largest Jewish population in Central and Eastern Europe, following the USSR. On a sort of "Richer Scale" of assimilation, the Jews of the Land of Hungary (as Hungary was termed in the Jewish literature of the Middle Ages) rate much higher than their counterparts in the Soviet Union, and even higher than the few Jews remaining in Romania. Although not the subject of this article, the level of the Hungarian Jewish attachment to Judaism, whether in a national or a religious context, inevitably has bearing on the existence of a Jewish press and on the extent of its Jewishness. This introduction is essential in order to understand the development of the Jewish press in Hungary from the beginning of the century till now, and to appreciate the enormous effort required today to create something (or nothing) from nothing.

It is noteworthy that, unlike in Poland, Russia, the Baltic countries and others, the Jewish press in Hungary, while it had been varied and well-established, was nearly always published in Hungarian. There was no Hebrew press, except for a few rabbinical periodicals, such as Ha-Zidek Me-Za'ir Hager, Ha-Zidek Le-Hokhmot Yitserl and Ha-Soker, which were limited to a very small circle, printed in a few hundred copies and published irregularly. There was no Yiddish press either, except for periodic publications in German among most Hungarian Jews still spoke German, and a few isolated efforts in Transylvania among the ultra-Orthodox, such as Transylvanische Yiddische Zeitung in the Segest region during the 1930s.

A German-language daily printed in Hebrew letters, Algemeene Yiddische Zeitung ("General Jewish Newspaper"), appeared in Budapest for about 30 years (1890-1919), published and edited by Leopold (Areyb) Grosberg, but was circulated primarily in Transylvania, Carpathian Russia and other peripheral areas of Greater Hungary where Jews still read German. A curious footnote is the appearance of an ultra-Orthodox weekly published by Agudat Yisrael called Hokhmat ("The Truth") in Turda, which, despite the Hebrew ring of its name, was written in literal Hungarian.

Assimilation Begins With Language

There was, then, none of the varied Yiddish press of Poland, Galicia and Carpathian Russia, nor the nascent Hebrew press of Eastern Europe. Hungarian was the language of the entire Jewish press, even the most ultra-Orthodox.

The Jewish press of Hungary up to the Holocaust, and immediately thereafter until the Communist regime, can be divided into three categories:

1. Newspapers which were involved in justifying the prevailing thesis that the Jews of Hungary were neither a people nor a Jewish. "We are Hungarians of the Mosaic faith" was the message of Hungarian Jewish newspapers such as Egyenlőség ("Equality") and later Magyar Zsidó Lapja ("The Paper of Hungarian Jew"), a weekly that was the official organ of the Jewish community during 1939-45. This line was adopted by numerous xenophobes and anti-Hungarians throughout Hungary who emphasized the "Hungarianess" of the Jews and preached assimilation, although they opposed intermarriage and fought against conversion. These papers would highlight the Jews who fought with Lajos Kosuth in the 1848 revolution, as well as the Jews who fought and fell during World War I for the homeland. Simultaneously, they waged a stubborn, inextinguishable war against the Zionist movement and the idea of a Jewish revival. "We are a religion, not a nationality," they maintained in response to the Zionist ideology which disturbed their artificial patriotic tranquillity.

2. Newspapers which fought against assimilation in a religious context. These papers embraced traditional Judaism totally, while simultaneously rejecting the Zionist idea entirely. This Orthodox press was led by Zséki Újsag ("Jewish Newspaper"), a weekly which derived from the above-mentioned daily Algemeene Yiddische Zeitung. Zséki Újsag was forced to close in 1939, to be replaced by another weekly, Orthodox Újság — both of them organs of the ultra-Orthodox community which rejected Zionism on a religious basis.
A BIH és a MIOK képviselőtestületének együttes tanácskozása

5. Zionist newspapers, led by Zsidó Szemle ("The Jewish Observer"), a weekly which appeared from 1938 to 1939, and the prestigious monthly Másr És Föld ("Past and Future"), which appeared for a relatively long time, from 1911 until the Nazi reoccupation of Hungary in 1944. Zionist weeklies and periodicals also appeared in the Hungarian provinces, mostly in the Transylvanian region. The most famous was Új Kéler ("New East") in Košice and Nógrád ("Our People") in Nagysáv (Ungvár).

It is worth noting that in addition to the Jewish papers mentioned above, the Hungarian press itself was "Jewish" to a great extent by virtue of the large numbers of Jews working in the field and their influence on the press — "the Jewish spirit," according to the anti-Semites.

The Axe Falls Twice

As a result of discriminatory "Jewish Laws" instituted in 1939, the Jewish press was considerably constricted. With the Nazi conquest of Hungary in March 1944, the remaining Jewish and Zionist papers were closed, along with the general liberal, Jewish-influenced papers. A single paper was allowed to survive — the official community weekly, whose name was changed by the authorities to Magyarországi Zsidó Lapja, a change intended to convey that the Jews were not Hungarians but simply residents of Hungary.

With the liberation of Hungary in early 1945, several Jewish papers expressing a Zionist point of view resumed publication. But this trend was soon ended under Communist rule and all the Jewish papers were closed once again, with the sole exception of a Communist bi-weekly, Új Élet ("New Life"), controlled by the authorities.
A BIH és a MIÖK képviselőtestületének együttes tanácskozása

A BIH (Birodalmi Információ- és Hírközlési Honlap) és a MIÖK (Magyar Ozhliadások Ozscsoi) a 1950. évi újságik a következőképpen közösen hirdették be április 12-én, közös nyilatkozatukban, hogy az országosan elkötelezett Birodalmi és Ozhliadásos képviselő őrizhetők a népügyeket és az országosan elkötelezett szakértelmeket.

Az országosan elkötelezett Birodalmi és Ozhliadásos képviselők közös nyilatkozata, hogy a bejelentett információkat és a közösen hirdetett bejegyzéseket a népügyeket és az országosan elkötelezett szakértelmeket.

What Has Changed?

I have given detailed background information so that the changes in Hungary during the past two years will be understood, for this period has also witnessed the decline of Jewish Stalnitzki.

Unfortunately, the situation has become even more worrying. The year-long closure of the Jewish community centers, which was seen as a significant step towards improving the situation, has not been followed by any meaningful reforms. The community remains under threat, and it seems that the only way to change this is through international pressure and diplomatic efforts.

The Axe Falls Twice

As a result of the discriminatory "Jewish Law" instituted in 1939, the Jewish press was considerably curbed. With the outbreak of the Hungarian Civil War in March 1944, the remaining Jewish community was further weakened. The Jewish press was completely banned, and the few Jewish publications that survived were censored and heavily restricted.

In 1944, the Hungarian government passed a series of laws that further restricted the freedom of speech and the press. These laws were part of a larger campaign to crush the opposition and suppress any form of dissent. The Jewish community was particularly targeted, and many Jewish publications were forced to close or go underground.

In January 1945, the Hungarian government announced that all Jewish publications were to be closed, and all Jewish journalists were forbidden to work in the media. This was part of a broader campaign to eliminate all Jewish influence and power in Hungarian society.

Despite these challenges, the Hungarian Jewish community managed to survive and eventually recover from the devastation of World War II. However, the Jewish community has never fully recovered from the impact of the war and the discrimination it suffered.

The Hungarian government's treatment of Jews during the war was a clear violation of international law. The Hungarian government was responsible for the mass murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews, and this fact remains a stain on Hungary's history.

I hope that this information will help you understand the situation in Hungary and the challenges faced by the Hungarian Jewish community. It is important to remember that the Hungarian government's treatment of Jews during the war was a clear violation of international law, and that the Hungarian government should be held accountable for its actions.

Some Jewish leaders have called for international sanctions to be imposed on Hungary in response to the government's actions. However, it is important to remember that the Hungarian government is a sovereign state, and that international sanctions can have unintended consequences. It is important to work towards a peaceful resolution to the ongoing conflict in Hungary, and to ensure that the rights of all citizens, regardless of their religious or ethnic background, are protected.

Thank you for your attention.
the Holocaust, an impressive piece by George Varhegi about the responsibility of the Hungarian people for the Holocaust, and an equally impressive article which is an open expression of pride by an assimilated Jew of his assimilation. In addition, there is an article by Simha Obst, Chairman of the Jewish Agency (translated from Midstream, published in New York), a weak collection of items on the domestic situation in Israel, a story about the execution of Hanna Szenes in 1944, book reviews and a research article on the four newspapers in the past that were called Szombar, published during the last century (one of them non-Jewish). Janos Kihánay, editor of the newssheet *Mute és Jövő*, writes about the lives of the Jews in the capital, Budapest, today. There it also a report on a symposium on the problems of Jewish rights, a cooking column ("Grandma’s Recipes") which emphasizes that the intention is not a kosher kitchen, and a satire on rabbis based on a book by Woody Allen.

The second issue of Szombar (January 1990) is surprisingly similar in content to the first. György Konrad, a famous Hungarian writer and a highly respected dissident, continues his painfully honest discussion on the substance of his Judaism, which he relates to with pride, without knowing what Judaism means. He raises the possibility of mass emigration, "even to Israel, because it is a state which will receive us and grant us citizenship," but his conclusions, if any, are confused — "like the situation itself," they would say in Budapest.

Shalom to "Shalom"

In general, Jewish intellectuals are guarded in their criticism of Szombar and what it represents. "This is what there is," they say. "These issues represent and reflect the ideological confusion of Hungarian Jewry. Today, we're allowed to weigh options, not think out loud, and that's what is being done in these issues." Recently, a Hungarian rabbi who is not Orthodox said, while on a visit to Israel: "You should know that those people [the members of the Cultural Organization] declare themselves irreligious and seem to be running away from their Jewishness, but their Jewishness pursues them, just as honour pursues someone who seeks to escape it."

The Cultural Organization has some 2,000 members, with Szombar printing about 1,500 copies. It is not self-sustaining and is supported by contributions, but the fact of its existence serves as a spur to the community leadership and to the editors of *Uj Netz*.

In the first issue of Szombar, Shalom, an underground Jewish-Zionist organization of several hundred members, announced the termination of its underground, semiticker-style publication called *Magyar Zsidó* ("Hungarian Jew"). This publication appeared three times during the mid-1980s, with the third issue confiscated by the police. Before the fourth issue could be printed, the Cultural Organization was founded and the Shalom group united with it. The editor of *Magyar Zsidó*, George Gado, joined the staff of Szombar.

The most serious effort to revive something of the glorious Jewish past of Hungary in the journalistic area was accomplished by the group that publishes the biweekly *Mute és Jövő*. This prestigious literary monthly had been published for 33 years under the editorship of Josef Patai. It had been a fighting Zionist journal. Patai organized trips to Eretz Israel, published translated works of the writers and poets of Eretz Israel, and encouraged young talent in Hungary, while struggling against the assimilation propagated by the anti-Zionist Jewish community and its futile Jewish-Hungarian patriotism. Patai himself settled in Eretz Israel in 1939, while *Mute és Jövő* continued to be published in his spirit until it was closed by the Nazis in 1944.

Last year, an experimental literary anthology appeared in Budapest, boldly bearing the name *Mute és Jövő*. Its editor, Janos Kihánay, a talented young Jewish writer, has visited Israel several times, wrote a travel book about Israel (as yet unpublished) and writes regularly for several Israeli Hungarian-language newspapers. The anthology caused great interest and was followed by the first issue of the magazine by the same name in October 1989, with the second issue appearing in February 1990.

The magazine, with a 134-page first issue and a 124-page second issue, is somewhat similar in content to Szombar, but with several pronounced differences: there is more literature, the articles are longer, there is less daily political material and there is more poetry and illustrations. Oddly, all the illustrations show bearded Jews with afrosines in the ultra-Orthodox style, which are nowhere to be seen in Hungary today. Absence is an unequivocal insult on Zionism, nor is there any apparent effort to instill Jewish knowledge. There is a sense of resignation to a given situation. A significant proportion of the material, though not all of it, could have been published in any of the high-level liberal literary magazines that are being published in Hungary today, without Jewish affiliation.

The appearance of *Mute és Jövő* was accompanied by a level of expectation that could not possibly have been fulfilled. The magazine is expensive — five times the cost of the subsidized journals such as *Uj Írás* ("New Writing"), *Ketéti* ("Of Our Time"), *Magyó Világ* ("World in Movement"), *Nagyi Világ* ("Big World") and others, which cost 70 to 25 forint (about 30 cents). The second issue of *Mute és Jövő* cost 120 forint, and the first, 98 forint.
the Holocaust, an impressive piece by George Yashgy about the responsibility of the Hungarian people for the Holocaust, and an equally impressive article which is an open expression of pride by an assimilated Jew of his assimilation. In addition, there is an article by Simhu Dinitz, Chairman of the Jewish Agency (translated from Midcentury, published in New York), a weak collection of items on the domestic situation in Israel, a story about the execution of Hanna Szenes in 1944, book reviews and a research article on the four newspapers in the past that were called Szombat, published during the last century (one of them non-Jewish), Janos Kisholy, editor of the reinvented *Mált És Jövő*, writes about the lives of the Jews in the capital, Budapest, today. There is also a report on a symposium on the problems of Jewish rights, a cooking column (*Grandma's Recipes*) which emphasizes that the intention is not a kosher kitchen, and a satire on rabbis based on a book by Woody Allen.

The second issue of Szombat (January 1990) is surprisingly similar in content to the first. György Konrad, a famous Hungarian writer and a highly respected dissident, continues his painfully honest discussion on the substance of his Judaism, which he relates to his pride, without knowing what Judaism means. He raises the possibility of mass emigration, “even to Israel, because it is a state which will receive us and grant us citizenship,” but his conclusion, if any, are confused—“like the situation itself,” they would say in Budapest.

Shalom to "Shalom"

In general, Jewish intellectuals are guarded in their criticism of Szombat and what it represents. “This is what there is,” they say. “These issues represent and reflect the ideological confusion of Hungarian Jewry. Today, we’re allowed to speak out loud, to think out loud, and that’s what is being done in these issues.” Recently, a Hungarian rabbi who is not Orthodox said, while on a visit to Israel: “You should know that these people (the members of the Cultural Organization) declare themselves religious and seem to be running away from their Jewishness, but their Jewishness pursuit them, just as honor pursues and seeks to entice it.”

The Cultural Organization has some 2,000 members, with Szombat printing about 1,200 copies. It is not self-sustaining and is supported by contributions, but the fact of its existence serves as a spur to the community leadership and to the editors of *Uj Elet*.

In the first issue of Szombat, Shalom, an underground Jewish-Zionist organization of several score members, announced the termination of its underground, samizdat-style publication called *Magyar Zsidó* ("Hungarian Jew"). This publication appeared three times during the mid-1980s, with the third issue confiscated by the police. Before the fourth issue could be printed, the Cultural Organization was founded and the Szombat group united with it. The editor of *Magyar Zsidó*, George Gado, joined the staff of Szombat.

The most serious effort to revive something of the glorious Jewish past of Hungary in the journalistic area was accomplished by the group that publishes the reinstated *Mált És Jövő*. This prestigious literary monthly had been published for 33 years under the editorship of Josef Patai. It had been a fighting Zionist journal. Patai organized trips to Erez Israel, published translated works of the writers and poets of Erez Israel and encouraged young talent in Hungary, while struggling against the assimilation propped up by the anti-Zionist Jewish community and its futile Jewish-Hungarian patriotism. Patai himself settled in Erez Israel in 1953, while *Mált És Jövő* continued to be published in his spirit until it was closed by the Nazis in 1944.

Last year, an experimental literary anthology appeared in Budapest, boldly bearing the name *Mált És Jövő*. Its editor, Janos Kisholy, a talented young Jewish writer, who has visited Israel several times, wrote a travel book about Israel (as yet unpublished) and writes regularly for several Israeli Hungarian-language newspapers. The anthology caused great interest and was followed by the first issue of the magazine by the same name in October 1989, with the second issue appearing in February 1990.

The magazine, with a 134-page first issue and a 124-page second issue, is somewhat similar in content to Szombat, but with several pronounced differences: there is more literature, the articles are longer, there is less daily political material and there is more poetry and illustrations. Oddly, all the illustrations show bearded Jews with shritemets in the ultra-Orthodox style, which are nowhere to be seen in Hungary today. Absence is an unequivocal stand on Zionism, not is there a sense of resignation to a given situation. A significant proportion of the material, though not all of it, could have been published in any of the high-level liberal literary magazines that are being published in Hungary today, without Jewish affiliation.

The appearance of *Mált És Jövő* was accompanied by a level of expectation that could not possibly have been fulfilled. The magazine is expensive—five times the cost of the subsidized journals such as *Uj Icsa* ("New Writing"), *Koszorú* ("Of Our Time"), *Mozgó Világ* ("World in Movement"), *Nagyvilág* ("Big World") and others, which cost 20 to 25 forint (about 30 cents). The second issue of *Mált És Jövő* cost 120 forint, and the first, 98 forint.

A Childhood Composition by Herzl

A survey of the three volumes of *Mált És Jövő*—the experimental anthology and the two published issues of the magazine—reveals a wide variety of material, including Elie Wiesel, I.B. Singer, Pinno Levi and Joseph Roth, Beber and Rosenzweig side by side with Gershon Scholem, along with compositions written by Herzl when he studied at the Hungarian gymnasium in Budapest. There are translations of poems by Meir Wieseltier, Anson Shulman, Yechezkiel Amihai, Amir Gilboa, Yaakov Besser and Itamar Yair-Kest. There is also a scholarly article on the influence of the French Revolution on the emancipation of the Jews, a research article on Gustav Mahler’s Jewishness (written by a Hungarian Jewish musicologist who became a Hasid follower), an interview with Arthur Koestler (translated from English), two pages of anonymous Yiddish folk poetry from Transylvania, with the original text (in Hungarian transliteration) side by side with a translation, a piece by Andre Neher asking “Who Am I?” and an article by Rabbi Thomas Kaz on the Book of the Zohar. This last piece, along with two short Hasidic stories by Josef Patai, the founder of the original *Mált És Jövő*, comprise, thus far, the only material that is purely Jewish. Each issue also has an article from Israel by Editor Kisholy, and we again meet Gyorgy Konrad struggling painfully and honestly with his Judaism, Christian elements can be detected here and there—descriptions of the points where Judaism and Christianity converge, and a budding Christian-Jewish dialogue which has its supporters in the new Hungary. One interesting piece is a Hungarian translation of the Damascus Paper found in Qumran, with the Hebrew text side by side with the Hungarian translation. The translation was rendered by a Protestant minister, a well-known Christian activist who lives in a small village in western Hungary and observes certain Jewish commandments, such as kashrut and Sabbath, according to his own theological reasoning.

The sum total of the three volumes of *Mált És Jövő* is positive, and although there is little resemblance to the original magazine in content or statement of goals, the fact is that during 40 years of Communism in Hungary, there had never been this kind of luxury. Hopefully, this magazine and others to follow will give a bit of color to the gray face of Hungarian Jewry which is joined between a glorious past and an unknown future, with the present demanding fateful decisions as to whether or not to continue being Jewish.
A QUADRILINGUAL "JOURNAL"

An Interview with Professor Hayim Rimer, Editor of the Only Jewish Newspaper in Rumania, Conducted Before and After the December 1989 Revolution

MORDECAI NAOR, Interviewer

Professor Emeritus Hayim Rimer, a mathematician who is editor of Rumanian Jewry's periodical, visits Israel several times a year. An Israeli citizen today, he nevertheless spends most of his time in Rumania editing the paper.

Q: What is the name of the paper?
A: It's called *Kav Eit* (Hebrew for "Journal"). I had wanted another name, but we were restricted by censorship. We had proposed Moazzah, Mezuzah, and all sorts of other names, but they were all rejected. So we ended up with this name, *Kav Eit*. In English it's *Journal of the Jews*, in Yiddish *Zeit Shifit* and in Rumanian *Revisa Caluzii Mozaic*.

Q: How many languages is it published in?
A: In four languages — Yiddish, Hebrew, Rumanian and English. It's a 12-page b-weekly — eight pages in Rumanian, two in Yiddish, one in English and one in Hebrew. As far as I know, ours is the only paper in Europe that appears in Hebrew.

Q: You're a mathematics professor. How did you get into journalism?
A: I'm fond of journalism. When I was in 11th grade, I published a Zionist newspaper in Rumania. It was called *Echo of the Ghetto*. I printed 100 copies. One had to get approval to publish a newspaper at school, but I managed to put out the paper anyway. When I was a high school teacher, I published a government newspaper on culture. Later, Rabbi Rosen asked me to replace the editor-in-chief of the Jewish paper, who was going to Israel.

Q: How long have you been editing "Kav Eit"?
A: Twelve years, although the paper has been appearing for 36 years.

A Voice That Calls or That Screams?

Q: Perhaps you would describe the nature of censorship in Rumania.
A: There was terrible censorship until the end of 1989. We had to submit everything we wished to publish, and they decided whether to approve it or not. They wouldn't approve anything, they considered useless to the government or opposed to the policies of the regime, even if it had nothing to do with what was happening in Rumania. For example, when we submitted material about Jerusalem, they said: "No, comrades, this can't appear." When we asked why, they replied: "Let's wait until there's peace between you and the Palestinians — then we'll see what belongs to you and what belongs to them. You may not write about places that won't remain in Israel's hands, like Shekhem or Bethlehem, nor about the whole question of Jerusalem." Their opinion was that this was an open question.

Q: You mentioned that there was a Hebrew page. *How did they check it?*
A: They didn't check it, but we had to state in print that the material was an exact translation of the Rumanian version. We were the guarantors. Something interesting once happened. Rabbi Rosen wrote an article for Passover. In Rumanian it was titled "Message for Passover." In Hebrew we titled it "A Voice That Calls." The censor had a Hebrew "expert" — a priest who had studied in Jerusalem and who was sometimes consulted on Hebrew matters. He translated "a voice that calls" as "a voice that screams." The censor called me in and said: "Comrade Rimer, we thought you were a serious person who always tells the truth. We allowed you to write: A Message for Passover. Why did you translate it: A Voice That Screams? What do you have to scream about? Are you in pain? Have we harmed you?" I replied: "Comrade Director, you must have a translator who doesn't know Hebrew. You ought to get rid of him. 'Voice' really is 'voice.' 'Calls,' however, can also be 'screams.' But the Hebrew expression 'a voice that calls' means a message."

Q: Why do you make such an effort to publish a Hebrew page? *Are there enough readers to warrant it, or is it symbolic?*
A: It's symbolic, and something else besides. Twenty years ago, certainly thirty years ago, there were several hundred people who read Hebrew.
A QUADRILINGUAL “JOURNAL”

An Interview with Professor Hayim Rimer, Editor of the Only Jewish Newspaper in Rumania, Conducted Before and After the December 1989 Revolution

MORDECAI NAOR, Interviewer

Professor Emeritus Hayim Rimer, a mathematician who is editor of Rumanian Jewry’s periodical, visits Israel several times a year. An Israeli citizen today, he nevertheless spends most of his time in Rumania editing the paper.

Q: What is the name of the paper?
A: It is called Knov Ete (Hebrew for “Journal”). I had wanted another name, but we were restricted by censorship. We had proposed Mivchot, Memzirah and all sorts of other names, but they were all rejected. So we ended up with this name, Knov Ete. In English it’s Journal of the Jews, in Yiddish Zeit Shrif and in Rumanian Revista Cultulu Mozaic.

Q: How many languages is it published in?
A: In four languages — Yiddish, Hebrew, Romanian and English. It’s a 12-page bi-weekly — eight pages in Romanian, two in Yiddish, one in English and one in Hebrew. As far as I know, ours is the only paper in Europe that appears in Hebrew.

Q: You’re a mathematics professor. How did you get into journalism?
A: I’m fond of journalism. When I was in 11th grade, I published a Zionist newspaper in Rumania. It was called Echo of the Ghettos. I printed 100 copies. One had to get approval to publish a newspaper at school, but I managed to put out the paper anyhow. When I was a high school teacher, I published a government newspaper on culture. Later, Rabbi Rosen asked me to replace the editor-in-chief of the Jewish paper, who was going to Israel.

Q: How long have you been editing “Knov Ete”?
A: Twelve years, although the paper has been appearing for 30 years.

A Voice That Calls or That Screams?
Q: Perhaps you would describe the nature of censorship in Rumania.
A: There was terrible censorship until the end of 1989. We had to submit everything we wished to publish, and they decided whether to approve it or not. They wouldn’t approve anything they considered useless to the government or opposed to the politics of the regime, even if it had nothing to do with what was happening in Rumania. For example, when we submitted material about Jerusalem, they said, “No, comrade, this can’t appear.” When we asked why, they replied, “Let’s wait until there’s peace between you and the Palestinians — then we’ll see what belongs to you and what belongs to them. You may not write about places that won’t remain in Israel’s hands, like Shechem or Bethlehem, nor about the whole question of Jerusalem.” Their opinion was that this was an open question.

Q: You mentioned that there was a Hebrew page. How did they check it?
A: They didn’t check it, but we had to state in print that the material was an exact translation of the Romanian version. We were the guarantors. Something interesting once happened. Rabbi Rosen wrote an article for Passover. In Rumanian it was titled “Message for Passover.” In Hebrew we titled it “A Voice That Calls.” The censor had a Hebrew “expert” — a priest who had studied in Jerusalem and who was sometimes consulted on Hebrew matters. He translated “a voice that calls” as “a voice that screams.” The censor called me in and said: “Comrade Rimer, we thought you were a serious person who always tells the truth. We allowed you to write: A Message for Passover. Why did you translate it: A Voice That Screams? What do you have to scream about? Are you in pain? Have we cursed you?” I replied: “Comrade Director, you must have a translator who doesn’t know Hebrew. You ought to get rid of him. Voice ‘really’ is voice. ‘Calls,’ however, can also be ‘screams.’ But the Hebrew expression ‘a voice that calls’ means: a message.”

Q: Why do you make such an effort to publish a Hebrew page? Are there enough readers to warrant it, or is it symbolic?
A: It’s symbolic, and something else besides. Twenty years ago, certainly thirty years ago, there were several hundred people who read Hebrew.
Q: Has the paper always been published in four languages?
A: Before my time it appeared in three languages. When I began as editor-in-chief I added the English page, in addition to Romanian, Hebrew and Yiddish.

Q: Who, actually, is your audience?
A: First of all, the Jews living in Romania. Then, the approximately 400,000 Romanian Jews living in Israel whom we cater to with something from the old country and information about the Jewish community. As for Hebrew, we publish it not just for the few in Romania who know the language, but for the Jews in the Soviet Union. The same holds true for the two Yiddish pages. It’s not for the Romanian Jews — they read the Romanian pages anyhow — but we see it as our responsibility to provide spiritual sustenance to the Jews of the Soviet Union. Our role has been to remind them of their Jewishness and their obligation to remain Jewish.

Q: Did the Romanian regime know that one of your targets was in the north — the Soviet Union — during all these years?
A: It knew we were sending the newspaper to Russia, as well as elsewhere. The paper does reach the U.S., England, Austria and other countries as well. From the point of view of the regime, the paper constituted a sort of showcase. Ceaucescu and his people were interested in disseminating the message that Jewish life in Romania was normal, that Romania allowed its Jews to live Jewish lives. And it really was so. For instance, we had Talmud Torah schools in Romania, which did not exist in the Soviet Union or in Poland.

The Circulation Doesn’t Drop

Q: What response do you get from Romania and from the rest of the world?
A: We receive many letters, first and foremost from the Jews of the Soviet Union. For example, one person wrote: "I read your paper with great interest. I found it at a friend’s home. I should like to request that you send it to me too." We send it to the Soviet Jews free of charge. The important thing is that they read it. Another letter stated: "The paper teaches us in Kishinev, and we read it aloud. At least ten people listen. Sometimes we photocopy the paper and distribute it by hand." It’s a great experience for us. We feel our work isn’t for nought, and that what we are doing is a mitzva, Jews who have no concept of what Judaism is, living under Communist rule for 70 years, see a Jewish word! Now the situation has improved, but then...

Q: The Jewish population of Romania is shrinking. What about the paper’s circulation?
A: When I began working as editor-in-chief twelve years ago, there were 65,000 Jews and we printed 10,000 copies. Now there are 20,000 Jews left, maybe less, and we still print 10,000 copies. You may well ask how this can be. Well, we have many non-Jewish readers in addition to the Jewish readers. For example, university professors. One that I know personally is Dumitru Milo, a lecturer in philology at the University of Bucharest. He is one of our subscribers. Years in and year out he pays for his subscription and has never feared receiving the paper. There are other lecturers and academicians like him, and even priests. The number of non-Jewish subscribers is rising daily, while the number of Jews is decreasing.
Q: Has the paper always been published in four languages?
A: Before my time it appeared in three languages. When I began as editor-in-chief I added the English page, in addition to Romanian, Hebrew and Yiddish.

Q: Who, actually, is your audience?
A: First of all, the Jews living in Romania. Then, the approximately 400,000 Romanian Jews living in Israel whom we cater to with something from the old country and information about the Jewish community. As for Hebrew, we publish it not just for the few in Romania who know the language, but for the Jews in the Soviet Union. The same holds true for the two Yiddish pages. It's not for the Romanian Jews — they read the Romanian pages anyhow — but we see it as our responsibility to provide spiritual sustenance to the Jews of the Soviet Union. Our role has been to remind them of their Jewishness and their obligation to remain Jewish.

Q: Did the Romanian regime know that one of your targets was the north — the Soviet Union — during all these years?
A: It knew we were sending the newspaper to Russia, as well as elsewhere. The paper does reach the U.S., England, Austria and other countries as well. From the point of view of the regime, the paper constituted a sort of showcase. Ceausescu and his people were interested in disseminating the message that Jewish life in Romania was normal, that Romania allowed its Jews to live Jewish lives. And it really was so. For instance, we had Talmud Torah schools in Romania, which did not exist in the Soviet Union or in Poland.

The Circulation Doesn’t Drop

Q: What response do you get from Romania and from the rest of the world?
A: We receive many letters, first and foremost from the Jews of the Soviet Union. For example, one person wrote: “I read your paper with great interest. I found it at a friend’s home. I should like to request that you send it to me too.” We send it to the Soviet Jews free of charge. The important thing is that they read it. Another letter started: “The paper reaches us in Kishinev, and we read it aloud. At least ten people listen. Sometimes we photocopy the paper and distribute it by hand.” It’s a great experience for us. We feel our work is far from novel, and that what we are doing is a mitzva. Jews who have no concept of what Judaism is, living under Communist rule for 70 years, see a Jewish word! Now the situation has improved, but there...

Q: At this rate, you’ll have to publish the paper even without Jews...
A: No. As long as we have a Jewish community here, it is useful to them. We believe that in the not too distant future, only some 5,000 Jews will remain — no more than that. All the rest will settle in Israel, and the old people will die out. But even 5,000 Jews need a means of expression, something to gladden the soul.

Q: I understand that you personally are both there and here.
A: Yes. Our whole family settled in Israel three years ago — 15 people: my wife, my son, my daughters and grandchildren. Before I left, Rabbi Rosen said to one: “Comrade Rimer, I can’t discourage you from going, but there is no one who can do this work. You are the last Jew who has studied Torah and Gemara. You know what Judaism is and you love Judaism. You are an old-time Tzaddik.”

He requested that I continue my work. I replied: “Honored Rabbi, how can I continue? My family is settling in Israel, our passports are in our hands.” He wished me a good trip and added: “Go in peace, stay there for a few weeks, and then return to Romania. I will arrange for you to travel to Israel two or three times a year to see your wife and family.” He suggested this arrangement for a year’s trial. I thought: A year isn’t so terrible. But it is a year. I have been given a small apartment where I live all alone. My whole family is in Israel. I have no one in Romania. Three years have passed already. I would like to stop but I can’t. There is no one to replace me.

Without Censorship

Q: What happened to you and your paper during the revolution of 1989 which eliminated Ceausescu?
A: We quickly got out a special edition — just two pages — to inform the community that our work is continuing, that Jewish life is continuing, that they shouldn’t think that everything is over. Everything is over for Ceausescu, but not for the Jews. That was on December 22nd. On December 24th we put out another issue which included both the weekly portion and the declaration of the new regime. The main point was: no censorship. It was the first issue we published without censorship. There was a special feeling. For the first time, I went to the printer's without their stamp. And it’s been that way ever since.

Q: Who works on the paper?
A: We have a number of workers. One of them knows Hebrew — he worked in Israel. He went to Israel in 1958 and stayed till 1996. He was a Communist, and when he heard that a Communist regime had been established in Romania, he left Israel and came back to Romania — to build and to help build in Romania.” He’s still a Communist and holds views I don’t like, but I can’t help myself — I have no one else who knows Hebrew. I check every one of his translations for accuracy. Another worker is a Bessarabian Jew who translates into Yiddish. The rest of the staff consists of a Romanian-language journalist and a typesetter. That’s it — five people.

Q: Are there any ads?
A: There are no ads. Only obituary notices.

Q: Let’s get back to the difficult days. What did you have to do for Ceausescu personally? Was there really a cult of personality, even amongst yourselves?
A: Of course. His birthday was on January 20th, and every year we had to write about him, feature his picture on page one, thank him, glorify and praise him. Otherwise, the rest of our material wouldn’t have been approved. It happened that I would forget, or act as if I had forgotten, to write about Ceausescu. They would then phone me and say: “Comrade Rimer, you have submitted 80 pages of material, but you apparently forgot that Ceausescu’s birthday is approaching.” I would try to explain that I intended to submit the material in a few weeks, but it was made quite clear that nothing would be approved until I submitted that material as well. We simply had to submit it.

Q: Did this happen in all the newspapers?
A: Of course. There wasn’t a paper in Romania that didn’t do it. Every sports paper, chess magazine and medical journal had to glorify and praise Ceausescu and print his picture on the front page.

Q: Did they care which picture it was?
A: What a question! It wasn’t a picture I would select, but one that was given to us. If you look at the pictures that were published during the last few years, you will notice that it was always the same picture — Ceausescu younger by 20 years. That was the only picture we were allowed to publish.

Q: Did you print pictures of Israelis?
A: In every issue. We published many pictures of Israelis and of the Jewish communities all over the world — Algeria, Germany, the U.S., Argentina and others.

Q: What are your plans for the future?
A: Meanwhile, I’m returning to Romania to publish the next issue of our Kzer Ei.
In October 1938, nearly 50 years after the Jewish Daily Voreh newspaper was founded, the editor, Jakob Linos, was forced to close the paper. The re-opening of the newspaper was first reported in the newspaper itself, and then elsewhere.

The Yiddish newspaper "Rive Shabu" is published every Sunday in Zhitomir. It is edited by the Society for the Protection of Yiddish Literature.

The Yiddish language is used in the Jewish community of Zhitomir. The newspaper's editor is the veteran journalist, Zalman Linos. The newspaper's content is a mix of local news, cultural events, and advertising.

The newspaper has a circulation of over 1,000 copies and is distributed throughout the Jewish community of Zhitomir.

The newspaper's target audience is the Jewish community of Zhitomir, including both native and non-native speakers of Yiddish.

The newspaper's content includes local news, cultural events, and advertising. The newspaper's target audience is the Jewish community of Zhitomir, including both native and non-native speakers of Yiddish.

The newspaper's content includes local news, cultural events, and advertising. The newspaper's target audience is the Jewish community of Zhitomir, including both native and non-native speakers of Yiddish.
LITHUANIA

A Vilna Jewish Newspaper in Yiddish Once Again

In October 1989, nearly 70 years after the Jewish daily Vilner Ester had ceased in Vilna, capital of Lithuania, the first issue of a new Jewish monthly, Tseltoshnayn de-Litva, appeared. The four-page, 1,000-copy, broadsheet is edited by Yiddish journalist Hersch Shmulikov. It is published by the Society for Jewish Culture in Lithuania, which is supported by Soviet authorities as a national movement for a new order in Lithuania. Despite this support, publishing the paper is difficult because of lack of paper and especially lack of Hebrew type.

A significant achievement is the use of traditional Yiddish spelling, the Hebrew words and authentic Jewish names rather than the Sovietized version. Announcements of a variety of Yiddish cultural events reflect the effect of glasnost in Lithuania. The paper also reflects the desire of the Jewish minority for a new kind of relationship with the Lithuanian majority, along with a sense of Jewish pride and determination to deal with the Lithuanian role in the Holocaust.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

New Editorship for "Vestnik"

As this issue of Qeshet goes to press, the May issue of the Jewish community organ Vestnik ("Bulletin") is also being prepared for press. Its new editorship reflects the openness in Czechoslovakia following the "Velvet Revolution," as well as the new relationship between Czechoslovakia and Israel. Yosi Danilow, an observant young Jew who served in prison during the Communist regime, is the new editor of the monthly. He recently visited Israel together with a group of Jewish leaders from Czechoslovakia who accompanied President Vaclav Havel to Yeshiva, which appears in Czechoslovakia. He met with the 10,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia. It contains only 12 pages and faces financial problems. Besides the monthly, the Jewish community also publishes a literary annual and two years ago an English-language quarterly.

POLAND

"Folks-Sztyrene" — Past and Present

The democratic revolution brought about in Poland and the establishment of a Solidarity-led government is reflected in the arts. Freedom of expression is reflected in Poland's single Jewish periodical, the bilingual weekly Folks-Sztyrene ("Voice of the People"), founded in 1980 and appearing under its present name since 1981. The paper was under Communist Party control until recently. Its editor is Adam Kwiatkiewicz, its assistant editor is Jozef Deresz and the secretary of its editorial board is Adam Radek. The staff consists of ten people. Printed in the government printing press and government-subsidized, the paper has a run of 6,000, which is also the figure for the Jewish population of Poland. It reaches many countries, including the USSR, the US and Israel.

EAST GERMANY

2,500 Copies for 400 Jews

The Nachrichtenblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde in der DDR ("Jewish Community News Bulletin of the Democratic Republic of Germany"), which appeared four times annually, has served the Jewish community of 400 since 1981 when the Berlin Wall went up. Before then, West German Jewish publications had been available. The paper has functioned with self-imposed censorship under the Communist regime. A 12-page pamphlet, it has a print run of 2,500 copies for a readership that includes non-Jews, institutions and libraries. The readership has grown since the dismantling of the Wall. During the last two years the paper did not refer to Israel and followed the Party line. It dealt with political issues, Jewish holidays and Jewish criticism. It is likely that forthcoming issues will be different as a result of the democratic changes instituted in East Germany during the past few months.

YUGOSLAVIA

"Survey," "Kadima," "Bulletin"

Since 1949, the Yugoslav Jewish community of 6,000, centered mainly in Serbia and Croatia, has published a newsletter, Jevrejski Prigled ("The Jewish Survey"), four to six times annually, as well as a youth newsletter, Kadima. Both are published in belgrade. During the past 18 months, a periodical named Binala ("Bulletin") has been published by the Jewish community of Zagreb. It appears once a month as a newspaper for news and quality paper. The Jewish press in Yugoslavia has not been influenced by Soviet perestroika as much as it has always been an open press.

BULGARIA

"Jewish News" in a New Guise

Communist Bulgaria had a single Jewish newspaper, Yevreiski Vestnik ("Jewish News"), which was banned in 1944. Run by the Communist Party, the bi-weekly was hostile to Israel and Jewish values and was seen by the Jews as "Antisemitic Pravda." Today the paper reflects the changes that have taken place in Bulgaria and in its Jewish community, which numbers 4,000 to 6,000. It is no longer government-sponsored. Its editorial board has been replaced. It now highlights Jewish history and ties with Israel. On the other hand, unlike the past period, it must now deal with the problem of financing. In addition to the newspaper, an annual publication devoted to Jewish history has appeared in Bulgarian and English over the years. The forthcoming issue is being awaited with considerable anticipation.
A LEGEND ON WHEELS:
A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION OF
NATHAN GURDUS

THEODORE (TEDDY) LEVITE

Nad Gurdus at the beginning of the "This is Your Life" program devoted to Selma Goldner in London, 1960.
A LEGEND ON WHEELS:
A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION OF
NATHAN GURDUS

THEODORE (TEDDY) LEVITE

In the field of Israeli journalism, few legends can match that of Nathan Gurdus, the wheelchair-bound master of international news, long of scope and champion of Zionism. Born in Warsaw in 1909 to a middle-class Jewish family, the first time his family began to realize that something was fundamentally wrong was when little Nat was learning to walk. He would break his legs easily and frequently. Bemused by a c万余元, Nat was growing up on milk that lacked calcium, but by the time his condition was diagnosed as rickets, it was too late. From the age of five, Nat spent his life in a wheelchair. However, thanks to his remarkable vitality, the physical strength of his arms and his exceptional personality, he managed effortlessly to make everyone in his company forget he was invalid. "Nat would even dance in his wheelchair," his widow, Irika, recalls. He lacked any inhibitions regarding his invalidity.

In 1917, at eight years old, he was sent to Copenhagen to join his brother-in-law, Aron Josef Stiebel, a successful businessman dealing in leather. Stiebel was a patron of Hebrew literature who devised a considerable part of his wealth to promoting Hebrew writing. He exercised a marked influence on young Nat, encouraging him to write. Nat also learned Danish, which was to enable him in later years to monitor Scandinavian broadcasts during World War II and to work for the distinguished Danish newspaper Politiken.

Eventually, Stiebel, with Nat in tow, left Copenhagen for Berlin during the pre-Hitler period. At about that time, the first radios appeared on the market, and young Gurdus soon realized the potential of the new device for his chosen vocation - journalism. Nat became one of the first full-fledged radio correspondents in Germany.

In 1935, the well-known British journalist, Selma Delauer, then chief correspondent for the London Daily Express, appointed Nat the paper's correspondent in Berlin. The Nazis were already in power. It did not take them long to decide that the Jew in the wheelchair was writing things that did not gladden Adolf Hitler. He was ordered expelled from Germany, escorted to the Polish-German border by two S.S. men. In Warsaw, Nat became the Daily Express correspondent, also providing a large part of the Soviet coverage of the London mass circulation paper, so was tremendously interested in world affairs. In addition, Nat also worked for the distinguished Danish paper Politiken since the USSE was under strict press censorship. Nat used every possible means to get the news from behind what was now yet known as the "Iron Curtain." Two of his main "weapons" were the radio - listening to various big and small Soviet and other stations - and personal interviews with ranking Soviet personalities traversing Warsaw. In those days, air travel was still unknown and the route from Western Europe to Russia led via Poland by train. Tipped off by his numerous contacts, Nat would try to "catch" these Soviet personalities at the Warsaw railway station. In this manner he scored his greatest triumph, interviewing, among others, Maxim Litvinov, later Soviet foreign minister, and the legendary Marshal Tukhachevsky. It was the last interview he gave.

On his arrival in Moscow, he was executed by order of Stalin.

Nat Gurdus' amazing journalistic achievements, and above all the news stories that were his specialty, literally "covered" the world, but they didn't always work out. Once, he traveled from Warsaw to Budapest upon discovering that the brother of Soviet foreign minister Maxim Litvinov (whom Nat had interviewed at the Warsaw railway station) lived there. But the brother, an Orthodox Jew complete with sidelocks (payot), refused to grant an interview or permission to photograph him, and would not be tempted even by the huge amount of money that Nat offered him on behalf of the Daily Express. The refusal was based on deep religious conviction that money would not overcome...

A few days before the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, Selma Delauer arrived in Warsaw in a car with Danish registration plates. As German bombs began falling on Warsaw and the advancing German panzers loomed not too far away, Delauer realized that, as so outspoken "enemy" of the Germans, he was in danger, but that he must be there, was in even greater danger. And so, on the fifth day of the war, the Daily Express "man" drove out of Warsaw, bound for Rumania. In the car were Delauer, Irika and Nat Gurdus and another Daily Express staff man, de Furic. Nat and Irika left Warsaw separately, with only the clothes they wore, and without valid travel documents. Stepping as Luows (Lemberg), they tried to get passports, but it turned out to be "mission impossible." It was at this moment of despair that M. de Furic, the English journalist with a French music, arrived at the passport office. Within minutes, the Gordon pair were in possession of travel documents. How did the miracle happen? Irika Gurdus explains: de Furic was, in addition to being a journalist, a high-ranking British intelligence officer.

Arriving in Cracow, still penniless, Nat had another surprise in store for him. The head concierge of the number one hotel in town, where the Daily Express team had put up after crossing the border into Rumania, knocked on Nat and Irika's door and said: "Mr. Gurdus, here is money [a fairly..."
large amount) for you from Copenhagen." It transpired that the Danish newspaper Politiken knew that Nat, their correspondent in Poland for many years, had left Warsaw trying to escape. They guessed he would try to cross into Romania, and knew that Ceausescu was the biggest city on the way to Bucharest. The Danish editors also guessed correctly that the Daily Express team would put up at the city's leading hotel. So it was to this hotel that they forwarded a fairly large amount of money for Nat, on a mere hunch.

With his strong Zionist feelings, and with part of his family already living in Palestine, Nat chose to go to the "Promised Land." On his arrival in Tel Aviv, two papers, Ha-Areetz and Davar, competed for his services. Nat chose Ha-Areetz, and thus a long association began. He covered World War II in brilliant news commentaries and reports. It did not take long for Nat to begin working for Yediot Aharonot as well. With the establishment of the State of Israel, Nat also became the Agency France Presse correspondent, promoted to Bureau Chief in 1962. He worked for them until his untimely death in 1972.

In his years in Israel, Nat singlehandedly created a circle of close friends and admirers among the expatriate corps, first in what was still British Mandatory Palestine and then in the growing diplomatic colony after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. On any given evening, one would either find Nat and his witty and attractive Warsaw-born wife, Irena, entertaining a whole bunch of ambassadors, or providing unique entertainment at some ambassador's dinner table by telling his "ready-made" stories what was going on.

Among the countless amusing events in his life, Nat often recalled, in later years, a senior British CID officer who, like so many other British and Jewish personalities, would visit Nat from time to time. One day in 1947, the officer was just leaving when Nat, looking at his watch, told him: "Be careful, there will be a major explosion in two minutes from now." The officer smiled, waved goodbye and walked out. Two minutes later, a huge bomb went off in nearby Mamroor Street. The British officer returned in panic.

Nat was the only foreign correspondent that the IZL took to a Natan's orange grove to show him the two bunches.
large amount for you from Copenhagen." It transpired that the Danish newspaper Politiken knew that Nar, their correspondent in Poland for many years, had left Warsaw, trying to escape. They guessed he would try to cross into Russia, and knew that Czarowski was the biggest city on the way to Brest-Litovsk. The Danish editors also guessed correctly that the Daily Express team would put up at the city's leading hotel. So it was to this hotel that they forwarded a fairly large amount of money for Nar, on a mere hunch.

With his strong Zanzibar feelings, and with part of his family already living in Palestine, Nar chose Ha-Aretz, and that a long association began. He covered World War I in brilliant newspaper copy and reports. He did not take long for Nar to begin working for Yedioth Aharonot as well. With the establishment of the State of Israel, Nar also became the Agence France Presse correspondent, promoted to Bureau Chief in 1952. He worked for them until his untimely death in 1972.

In his years in Israel, Nar single-handedly created a circle of close friends and admirers among the consul corps, first in what was still British Mandatory Palestine and then in the growing diplomatic colony after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. On any given evening, one would either find Nar and his witty and attractive Warsaw-born wife, Irika, conversing with a whole bunch of ambassadors, or providing unique entertainment at some ambassador's dinner table by telling his "ready-made" friends what was going on.

Among the countless amazing events in his life, Nar often recalled, in later years, a senior British CID officer who, like so many other British and Jewish personalities, would visit Israel once in a while. One day in 1947, the officer was just leaving when Nar, looking at his watch, told him: "Be careful, there will be a major explosion in two minutes from now!" The officer smiled, waved goodbye and walked out. Two minutes later, a huge bomb went off in nearby Monmouth Street. The British officer returned promptly.

Nar was the only foreign correspondent that the IZL took to a Nasserian orange grove to show him the two British sergeants they had killed in retaliation for the hanging of three IZL men for their attack on Acre prison.

His relations with the three Jewish underground movements were excellent, and their leaders as well as their spokesmen would visit him frequently. "Sometimes, we would keep one of them in our room while another one was with Nar," Irika recalls.

Among his "underground" guests was Nathan Friedman-Yechezkel, the Stern Group commander (Lehi), who loved coming to Israel. He was so much a part of life that, even as an octogenarian, was still the center of attention at any gathering he attended. He was a man of the people, always accessible and approachable. He was a leader, a fighter, a planner, a strategist, and a tactician. He was a man of action, and his presence alone was enough to inspire others to follow him.

Friedman-Yechezkel, who had been a Hebrew newspaper editor in pre-state Israel, joined the Stern Group in the 1930s and became one of its most effective commanders. He was a master of guerilla warfare, and his tactics were devastating. He was a man of few words, but his actions spoke volumes. He was a man of great charm and charisma, and his presence alone was enough to inspire others to follow him.

During his time in the years 1940-47 between radio monitoring and frolicking with foreign consulates and other potential news sources, Nar would spend quite some time in the Tel Aviv cafes he particularly favored. Nar loved pranks at the expense of the unsuspecting, though never in an evil or malicious manner. One evening, the whole crowd of us were sitting in Nar's ground-floor apartment on 7 Cohen Boulevard while Nar was telling us how much he suffered from people automatically digging 2946 (his number) instead of 2904, the number of a popular taxi station in Tel Aviv, to call for a cab. Nar was getting progressively more fed up with these calls, particularly in the late hours. Among the callers — usually drunk — were Australian soldiers serving in Palestine who used that particular taxi company to get back to camp after "drinking Tel Aviv dry" of beer. One such drunken "lamar" as Nar called them, passed that very night. "Sorry," Nar replied very politely to a request for a cab to drive the caller and his friends to their Qastina camp, "we have run out of cabs, but we can send you a tank instead, or a battleship if you wish." The Australian was stunned and Nar delighted with having taught at least one "lamar" a lesson.

In the course of, with the State of Israel about to be born, and Nar a correspondent for Agence France Press and other
racing foreign media, a bizarre character joined him. His name, believe it or not, was Bob Dollar, and he was a Romanian. How he managed to get to Israel would fill a book, but unfortunately his son, Lelio, who later became one of Eli’s best pilots, died before completing the book he had started to write about his father. Bob Dollar somehow managed to become the owner of a four-seater Hillman car and placed it in and himself surprisingly at the disposal of Nat and his newspaper employers. Despite the small size of the Hillman, Bob managed to acquire great expertise in getting Nat from his wheelchair into the car, seated in front seat to Bob, while the wheelchair would fold up and go into the trunk. With Irika and myself making up the rear passengers, we would be off.

When Capt. Roger Lister became the AFP manager for Israel, there was no room for me, the “lowest ranking animal in the pack,” inside the small four-seater. But in those days traffic police had not yet been born (and amazingly, the number of car accidents was very small in relation to the number of cars and people in Israel), so a unique way was found for all of us to travel together. I was dispatched to sit outside on the front right moulard, which I soon learned to do. I would sit holding my hands behind my back, and Bob Dollar would drive slowly and try to avoid sudden braking. Nat enjoyed every minute of that circus parading through the streets of Tel Aviv, great showman that he was—particularly the attention it received.

* Writing about Nat 40 or 50 years later is no easy task, as the many fantastic exploits by that remarkable man simply fade from one’s memory. But I can’t forget a late afternoon when Irika and I were pushing Nat’s wheelchair up Herman’s Street, returning from one of his favorite coffee-kitchen sessions. Suddenly, Nat, perpetually short of cash and a believer in cash only, noticed an impressive-looking apartment building going up. “Oh, if it were mine...” he mused. “What would you do if it were?” he was asked. “Would I take out a mortgage on it and spend the cash?” he replied in all seriousness. Even post-dated checks from Tel Aviv newspapers made Nat happier when he could find someone to cash or even discuss them.

When his wonderful spouse Irika was pregnant with Micky, relations between Jews and Arabs were not at their best and Nat would normally avoid driving through Arab towns, especially at night. But when one night Irika developed an urgent craving for apples after all the shops in Tel Aviv had long since closed, Nat did not think twice. With the omnipresent Bob, he drove to Arab Ramleh and returned home proudly bearing the fruit to his wife.

Micky’s birth was the great event in Nat’s and Irika’s life, and at times even a close friend could not help feeling that in their eyes it was the first child ever born in the world. Nothing was too dear for Micky, and no care good enough. For quite some time Nat and Irika would not go out in the evenings, giving up those diplomatic dinners at which Nat invariably held court. Eventually, Nat and Irika discovered the idea of a babysitter. Scores were interviewed until finally one was found worthy of being left in charge of the Gondola “Crown Prince,” today Israel’s famous radio correspondent.

One dinner followed another with not the slightest problem either with Micky or the poor babysitter. But one night Nat
making foreign media, a bizarre character joined him. His name, believe it or not, was Bob Dollar, and he was a Hungarian. How he managed to get to Israel would fill a book, but unfortunately his son, Rebi, who later became one of El Al's best pilots, died before completing the book he had started to write about his father. Bob Dollar somehow managed to become the owner of a four-seater Hillman car and placed it and himself unnoticedly at the disposal of Nat and his newspaper employers. Despite the small size of the Hillman, Bob managed to acquire great expertise in getting Nat from his wheelchair into the car, seated in front near to Bob, while the wheelchair would fold up and go into the trunk. With Rebi and myself making up the rest passengers, we would be off.

When Capt. Roger Liebowitz became the AFP manager for Israel, there was no room for me, the "lowest-ranking animal in the pack," inside the small four-seater. But in those days traffic police had not yet been born (and amusingly, the number of car accidents was very small even in relation to the number of cars and people in Israel), so a unique way was found for all of us to travel together. I was dispatched to sit outside on the front right mudguard, which I soon learned to do. I would sit holding my hands Bukharian-style, and Bob Dollar would drive slowly and try to avoid sudden braking. Nat enjoyed every minute of that circus Pendant through the streets of Tel Aviv, great showman that he was — particularly the attention he attracted.

Writing about Nat 40 or 50 years later is not an easy task, as the many fantastic exploits of that remarkable man simply faded from one's memory. But I can't forget a late afternoon when Fritz and I were pushing Nat's wheelchair up Hanover Street, returning from one of his favorite Kafka-Klatch sessions. Suddenly, Nat, as usual, short of cash and a believer in cash only, noticed an impressive-looking apartment building going up. "Oh, if it were mine..." he moaned. "What would you do if it were?" I asked. "Would I take out a mortgage on it and spend the cash?" he replied in all seriousness. Even post-dated checks from Tel Aviv newspapers made Nat happier when he could find someone to cash or even deposit them!

When his wonderful spouse Rebi was pregnant with Micky, relations between Jews and Arabs were not at their best, and Nat would normally avoid driving through Arab townships, especially at night. But when one night Fritz developed an urgent craving for apples after all the shops in Tel Aviv had long since closed, Nat did not think twice. With the omnipresent Bob, he drove to Arab Ramleh and returned home proudly bearing the fruit to his wife.

Micky's birth was the greatest event in Nat's and Rebi's life, and at times even a close friend could not help feeling that in their eyes it was the first child ever born in the world. Nothing was too dear for Micky, and no care good enough. For quite some time Nat and Rebi would not go out in the evenings, giving up those diplomatic dinners at which Nat invariably held court. Eventually, Nat and Rebi discovered the joys of a babysitter. Stories were interwoven until finally one was found worthy of being left in charge of the Garden "Crown Prince," today Israel's famous radio correspondent. One dinner followed another with the slightest problem either with Micky or the pretty babysitter. But one night Nat

and Rebi returned early from a dinner party and found the girl making love with a sovereign in the Israel Navy. The girl, Nat and Rebi soon discovered, had administered Hynson to the baby to make sure he slept well. Needless to say, the girl was sacked on the spot, and the dastardly event became the talk of Tel Aviv, no one telling it better than Nat.

Of the many personalities who come from all over the world to visit Nat, one deserves special mention: Selmon Delemer, the world-famous British journalist who covered the invasion of Poland in 1939 for the London Daily Express, and who saved Nat's and Rebi's lives. At one point he came to visit Nat and the neighboring State of Israel, spending many an evening in Nat's home. Some of the most amazing journalistic exploits were related and related during his visit. Delemer was to take an early morning plane from Harrisburg airport (had been out yet operating), and the whole crowd spent a long evening in Nat's home the night before, consuming Rebi's superb food and Scotland's most famous liquid. Delemer summed up his impressions of his brief visit, regretting the fact that he had not been able to secure a major international story that his paper, still the Daily Express, could have splashed on its front page. Even Nat could not produce an "instant scoop" on this particular occasion. But a British diplomat present in a very discreet state house had made a mental note of Delemer's problem. As dawn approached, the party finally broke up and the British diplomat and his wife loaded Delemer and his suitcase into their car and drove off in the direction of Harrisburg. Passing what was later to become the Wingate Institute, Delemer suddenly spotted a lot of heavy earth-moving equipment lined up on the left side of the road. What appeared to be vast dams were apparently being realized for major construction between the main road and the Mediterranean coast. "What is this supposed to be?" Delmer asked. "Sorry, can't tell you," the diplomat answered, "It's top secret." It was enough to wake Delemer up completely and he begged the diplomat to stop to enable him to have a closer look at the site. But the diplomat refused, saying, "I'm afraid to be caught here in a car with CIA plates." Finally, and seemingly no more reluctantly, the British diplomat let Delemer in on the "secret": "The Israelis are building an atomic site here." Delemer realized that this was his chance to get yet another of his world scoops. He finally made the diplomat tell him that the Israelis were due to get Yet atomic from the Russians and needed an air base for these plates, which were capable of carrying atomic bombs. Promising the diplomat that he would never disclose who had told him about it, Delemer could not wait to tell Ceylon. He filed a huge piece from Nicosia which the Daily Express splashed across seven columns on its front page: Yanks of the Red Airforce in Israeli Stores — Atomic Air-base Under Construction. (If my memory fails me after all these years and the headline was slightly different, I beg forgiveness.) It was an instant world sensation, shocking no one more than the Israeli Government, which embarked on a somewhat futile campaign to deny the story.

It was not Nat's scoop. Had he reported it, it would have been true, as were so many of his world-shaking stories, and another Garden legend would have been born.

Nat and Rebi Good.
JERUSALEM, TEL AVIV AND HEBREW JOURNALISM / Shmuel Shnitzer

Hebrew journalism preceded the founding of the city of Tel Aviv by a considerable span of time. The first Hebrew periodicals appeared in the 18th and 19th centuries in Germany, Austria, and Galicia, where the Enlightenment movement was nurtured. Those publications included: Kohenet Musamat, Ha-Me'assef, Ha-Maggid, Ha-Yehudah and Ha-Me'ila.

A second wave of Hebrew journalism developed in Eastern Europe during the 19th century, producing the first Hebrew dailies — Ha-Yaam and Ha-Bo'at in Petersburg (later in Vilna), and Ha-Tzidik in Warsaw. A third wave emanated from Jerusalem in the wake of the establishment of several printing presses. The weekly Ha-Levoton was published in 1883 by Yitzhak Modric's grandson, supported by the Miriamgold section. The rival HaYovel was brought out by Yisrael Bitan's press, supported by the Hasidim, in the same year. Jerusalem then had few Hebrew readers, and another paper lasted long; Ha-Levoton transferred to Western Europe where it served as the organ of Orthodox Jewry. HaYovel was revived in 1870, advocating agricultural settlement. Another Jerusalem paper, Ha-Aretz, was also short lived, but Sha'arei Zion, begun in 1876, lasted nine years, followed by Yehudah Ve-Yisraelah, whose editor later became one of the founding pioneers of the new settlement of Posh Tikva.

The first real journalist, who was to establish the first authentic newspaper, was Elazar Ben-Yehuda. He settled in Jerusalem in 1881 after serving as the Paris correspondent of Hava'ot. After working as assistant editor of that newspaper, he founded his own paper — Meravmeet Zion, reflecting the new Yishuv and written in modern Hebrew. It focused on the establishment of the new settlements. Ben-Yehuda soon founded a second newspaper, Ha-Zeri, in 1893, which eventually established itself as the first independent newspaper, resisting rabbinic influence. It included Hebrew translations of French novels, thereby helping create a new, simplified Hebrew style. The rabbinical prohibition on reading it, but Ben-Yehuda did have the support of Baron Rothschild.

Malignantly accused of advocating revolt against the authorities, Ben-Yehuda was imprisoned and Ha-Zeri imponderable, but 14 months later, his reputation enhanced by imprisonment, Ben-Yehuda renewed publication. In 1908 he realised his goal of running the paper into a daily, despite the poverty of its readers. In this effort he was assisted by his son, Itamar Ben-Avi. The paper closed down while the press was occupied with the printing of Ben-Yehuda's dictionary, and was later reopened as Ha-Or, but it failed, possibly as a result of its sensationalist tendencies.

New periodicals were founded by Russian and Polish immigrants — Ha-Oser and Ha-Pe'el Ha-Zerit, the latter founded in Jerusalem but moving to Haifa in a step that underscored the eventual shift of the center of journalism to the coastal plain. Another periodical, founded there was Ha-Ashur, to which Joseph Hayim Brenner contributed. A new daily in Jerusalem, Ha-Negev, was established by Sephardim for Sephardim. Although a modest effort, it played an important role in the struggle against institutionalizing German as the language of instruction in the schools.

World War I marked the end of a chapter in the history of journalism in Eretz Israel.

Oddly, it was the British occupation army that initiated the first Hebrew newspaper after World War I — the Palestine News, a bilingual (English-Hebrew-Arabic) weekly. A year later it was sold to Yehuda Leib Goldberg who published it in 1919 as Ha-Areto Ha-Aretz, which eventually became today's Ha-Aretz. Begun in Jerusalem, it moved to the new city of Tel Aviv in 1922. Meanwhile, Itamar Ben-Avi founded Doar Ha-Yom in Jerusalem in 1919, which he saw as an indigenous paper as against the Russian-dominated Ha-Areto. Doar Ha-Yam survived until 1935.

All the dailies founded beforehand were based in Tel Aviv: Dovar in 1925, Ha-Boker in 1925 and Ha-Tzidik in 1937. The Revisionists founded Ha-Mashal in 1959, Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir established Mithmar in 1943, the Communists founded Kol Ha-Atar in 1947 and Adar Ha-Avodah established Le-Orish in 1954.

Only the English-language Palestine Post (later The Jerusalem Post) remained in Jerusalem, as well as several small ultra-Orthodox newspapers.

With the establishment of the State of Israel, the number of dailies published in Tel Aviv reached a zenith of over 20, most of which represented specific political points of view. Tel Aviv was the de facto capital of the country, including the world of news, both in terms of events and readership. However, once the stages were officially established in Jerusalem, a major source of news was removed from Tel Aviv. In addition, radio and TV broadcasting was based in Jerusalem.

While the financial, artistic and entertainment areas are still the province of Tel Aviv, the future role of Tel Aviv in the area of journalism is in question at present.
JERUSALEM, TEL AVIV AND HEBREW JOURNALISM | Shmuel Shittler

Hebrew journalism preceded the founding of the city of Tel Aviv by a considerable span of time. The first Hebrew periodicals appeared in the 19th and 20th centuries in Germany, Austria and Galicia, where the Enlightenment movement was nurtured. These publications included: Kishorei Moshes, Ha-Mezulah, Ha-Yeishuv and Ha-Melitz.

Another wave of Hebrew journalism developed in Eastern Europe during the 1890s, producing the first Hebrew daily newspapers — Ha-Yom and Ha-Emunah in Petersburg (later in Vilna), and Ha-Tzibbur and Ha-Zolot in Warsaw. A third wave emanated from Jerusalem in the wake of the establishment of several printing presses. The weekly Ha-Levavon was published in 1855 by Yossef Solomon's press, supported by the Mordecai family. The rival Ha-Arebitz was brought out by Yitzkhok Bub's press, supported by the Hasidim, in the same year. Jerusalem then had few Hebrew readers, and another paper lasted long. Ha-Levavon transferred to Western Europe where it served as the organ of Orthodox Jewry. Ha-Arebitz was revived in 1870, advocating, agricultural settlement. Another Jerusalem paper, Ha-Arebitz, was also short-lived, but Shalom Zevi, begun in 1876, lasted nine years, followed by Yehuda Yoel-Hershofsky whose editor later became one of the founding pioneers of the new settlement of Beitar Tikva.

The first real journalist, who was to establish the authentic newspaper, was Nathan Yehuda Leib Goldmann. He worked in Jerusalem in 1881 after serving as the Paris correspondent of Ha-Arebitz. After working as an assistant editor of the newspaper, he founded his own paper — Mevarach Zion, reflecting the new views and writings of modern Hebrew. It focused on the establishment of the new settlements. Ben-Yehuda soon founded a second newspaper, Ha-Zevi, in 1884, which energetically established itself as the first independent newspaper, resisting rabbinical influence. It included Hebrew translations of French novels, thereby helping create a new, simplified Hebrew style. The rabbi published reading it, but Ben-Yehuda did have the support of Baron Rothschild.

Malvolio accused of advocating revolt against the authorities, Ben-Yehuda was imprisoned and Ha-Zevi imputed, but 14 months later, his reputation enhanced by imprisonment, Ben-Yehuda renewed publication. In 1908 he realized his goal of turning the paper into a daily, despite the poverty of his readers. In this effort he was assisted by his son, lsmei Brav-Avi. The paper closed down while the press was occupied with the printing of Ben-Yehuda's dictionary, and was later reopened as Ha-Or, but it failed, possibly as a result of its sensationalist tendency.

New periodicals were founded by Russian and Polish immigrants — Ha-Omer and Ha-Poal Ha-Zevi, the latter founded in Jerusalem but moving to Jaffa in a step that foreshadowed the eventual shift of the center of journalism to the coastal plain. Another periodical founded was Ha-Ahitot, to which Joseph Hayim Brener contributed.

A new daily in Jerusalem, Ha-Herut, was established by Sephardim for Sephardim. Although a modest effort, it played an important role in the struggle against institutionalizing German as the language of instruction in the schools.

World War I marked the end of a chapter in the history of journalism in Erez Israel.

Oddly, it was the British occupation army that initiated the first Hebrew newspaper after World War I — The Palestine News, a bilingual (English-Hebrew) weekly. A year later it was sold to Yehuda Leib Goldmann who published it in 1919 as Hadassah Ha-Arutz, which eventually became today's Ha-Arutz. Begun in Jerusalem, it moved to the new city of Tel Aviv in 1922. Meanwhile, Ismaiel Ben-Avi founded Dov ha-Yom in Jerusalem in 1919, which he saw as an indigenous paper as against the Russian-dominated Ha-Arebitz. Dov ha-Yom survived until 1923.

All the daily dailies founded in Jerusalem were based in Tel Aviv: Dawar in 1925, Ha-Boker in 1925 and Ha-Za'aret in 1927. The Revisionists founded Ha-Mishmar in 1929, Ha-Shomer Ha-Zevi's established Mishmar in 1943, the Communists founded Kad Ha-Mishmar in 1947 and Ahud Ha-Avadin established Ha-Mishmar in 1974.

Only the English-language Palestine Post (later The Jerusalem Post) remained in Jerusalem, as well as several small ultra-Orthodox newspapers.

With the establishment of the State of Israel, the number of dailies published in Tel Aviv reached a zenith of over 20, most of which represented specific political points of view. Tel Aviv was the de facto capital of the country, including the world of news, both in terms of events and leadership. However, once the capital was officially established in Jerusalem, a major source of news was restored from Tel Aviv. In addition, radio and TV broadcasting was based in Jerusalem.

While the financial, artistic and entertainment areas are still the province of Tel Aviv, the future role of Tel Aviv in the area of journalism is in question at present.


The impetus for the creation of a Jewish press can be traced to the Damascus Affair (1800), when the Jews of Syria were viciously persecuted. The affair aroused awareness of the need for intercommunal cooperation and hastened the spread of Jewish journalism in Europe and America.

The first Anglo-Jewish newspaper in the U.S., The Occident and American Jewish Advocate (1845-72), was based in Philadelphia, where a German Jewish paper and several Yiddish papers were also published in the mid-1800s.

By the late 1800s, the American Jewish community had become largely English-speaking, and a considerable number of English weeklies were launched in all major cities. The Jewish Exponent was part of this upsurge. In contrast to earlier papers which were either privately owned or under rabbinic control, it was founded by a stock company composed of Philadelphia's most prominent Jewish leaders. Its news coverage was broad and impartial, primarily of local events. There were also special articles by prominent thinkers and writers, including Cyrus Adler and Solomon Solomon-Schreiber, a physician who pioneered tuberculosis treatment, and Meyer Seligman, who became the first president of the American Jewish Committee.

With the start of the mass immigration of East European Jews during the 1890s, the Exponent covered in detail the diversity of new ideological and religious views as well as the customs and needs of the immigrants. The response of the Americanled German Jewish community was also reflected in news about the philanthropic and welfare efforts that were organized. Reports of the Dreyfus Affair in France also filled the columns during this period.

At the turn of the century The Exponent expanded and introduced literary and scholarly articles. Later, news about New York and Baltimore, as well as reprints of major stories from other Jewish papers, were regular features.

By 1900, immigration swell the Jewish population of Philadelphia to nearly 100,000, and the attended challenges and problems reflected national Jewish concerns of the time. A major issue was the determination of several of the city's leading philanthropists to consolidate the various charities, which was achieved in 1901 with the establishment of the Federation of Jewish Charities. By this time, The Exponent was the recognized voice of Philadelphia's Jewish community. Several members of the group which owned the paper combined both financial standing and literary ability, and were unusually articulate community leaders. The paper was revamped in its point of view, and sometimes bold in dealing with provocative issues. In 1905 it became an effective fund-raising vehicle in response to the Kosher Pogrom in Russia, printing condemnations of the event by the Archbishop of Philadelphia and others.

During and after World War I, the effort to alleviate the most suffering of European Jewry dominated the newspaper. There were also debates about Zionism in articles by Louis Brandeis, Louis Marshall and Cyrus Adler. During the 1920s, restricted immigration policies meant that the U.S. could no longer provide a haven for refugees. The Exponent reflected ongoing concern within the community for the plight of European Jewry, which grew after the rise of Hitler and the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. These stories, and the Depression, were the themes of the 1930s. But despite the Depression, concern and fund-raising for European Jewry continued. Some of the finest American Jewish thinkers in the fields of literature, history and philosophy contributed articles during the 1940s, including Ludwig Lewinstein, Horace Kallen and Oscar Janowsky. National news covered the growth of anti-Semitic movements in the U.S. International news focused on the anti-Semitic nature in Europe, the growth of Zionism and the Peel Report on the partition of Palestine.

As the shockings news about the fate of European Jewry trickled out during World War II, the debate about Zionism was vigorously pursued in the paper's columns. When the British White Paper closed Palestine to Jewish immigrants in 1944, The Exponent denounced the act as another step toward the destruction of European Jewry. The news was dominated by reports of concentration camps, O.P.A. Philadelphia Jews serving in the war, the victory over Germany and the defeat of Japan. After the war, immigration of survivors to Palestine become a major fund-raising issue, along with the imminent declaration of the State of Israel and its defense against Arab attack.

In 1954 the newspaper gave wide coverage to the tremendous celebration of the first Jewish settlement in North America. The only established Jewish evening newspaper to survive, The Exponent had wisely transferred ownership to the Allied Jewish Appeal and Federation in 1944, which helped assure its existence. While the newspaper is guarded in reporting criticism of any Federation projects, it carries on its long tradition of editorial challenge to any discriminatory
JEWISH JOURNALISTS IN IRAQ

Nissim Kazazz

Part One of this article appeared in the last issue (no. 5) of Qeshet.

Part Two consists of brief biographies of two outstanding Jewish journalists in Iraq from the last century until the 1970s.

Baruh Moshe Mizrahi — founder of the first publishing house in Baghdad and publisher of the newspaper Ha-Derech, or Flower Meshulam (“Speaker of Truth”) during 1965–71. In 1969 Mizrahi contributed several articles to Ha-Meggido about the activities of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Baghdad, and became the Baghdad agent for Habimah in 1971.

Nissim Yosef Somel (1888-1928) — one of the first Arab-language Jewish journalists in Iraq. Son of a well-known Baghdad family, he was educated in Aleppo and Beirut. After the Young Turks’ revolution and the advent of a liberal policy in the Ottoman Empire, he co-published a political newspaper in Arabic and Turkish in 1909, Al-Zuhur (“The Flowers”).

Sulayman Anbar (1875-1914) — publisher of the 1912 newspaper Taraf (“Thorn”), in Arabic and Turkish, with the advent of the liberal policy in the Ottoman Empire. A member of a prominent Baghdad family, Anbar was educated in governmental schools and was fluent in Arabic, Turkish, French and English. In 1913 he travelled to Paris and was the only Jew to participate in the Arab Congress held there, which demanded equal rights for the Arab nations of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, and the other Jewish journalists were expelled by the Ottoman authorities, but the order was rescinded four months later.

Salman Shina (1899-1978) — prominent Jewish public figure. Shina studied at the Alliance school and in a government school. He served in the Turkish army during World War I against the British. Fluent in English, French, Turkish and Arabic, he was attached to the staff of the German General von Boecker, who headed German air assistance to Turkey. In 1921 Shina was taken prisoner by the British in 1917 and held in a prisoner-of-war camp in Turkey for over a year. He was among the founders of the Hebrew Literary Union in 1920 and the Zionistic Union of Mesopotamia in 1922, of which he was secretary. He studied law in Baghdad (1922-23) while also publishing the Arabic-language weekly Al-Mudawwana (“The Lamp”) before in 1924, edited first by ‘Anwar Shabali (see below) and later by Shina himself. By 1936 he was a prominent Jewish community leader in Baghdad, and in 1937 and 1938 he was elected to the Iraqi parliament, one of six Jewish delegates. He left Iraq in 1934 and shortly thereafter settled in Israel. His autobiography, From Babilonia to Zion (Hebrew, 1955), provides background on the Iraqi Jewish community during the modern period up to the mass migration.

‘Anwar Shabali (1904-1984) — poet, attorney, writer and journalist. Starring as an Arabic teacher in Jewish schools in Baghdad, Shabali became editor of Al-Mudawwana in 1924 under the pen-name Ben Al-Samadin. Thereafter, he published the weekly Al-Hawad (“The Harvester”) during 1925-28, which featured the work of leading Iraqi authors and poets as well as Jewish intellectuals. Shabali is considered the pioneer of modern Arabic literary work in Iraq. His first collection of poems was Al-Hawad Al-Misr (“The Harvest”) in 1935, followed by Al-Zuhur Al-Misr (“Under the Tusk”) in 1935, by his advisor, the poet Ali El-Tayyeb. He was also an English and French translator, wrote the screenplay and score for the first Iraqi film (1941). He wrote several volumes of poetry, and compiled a dictionary of modern Arabic terminology. Shabali was also an attorney, serving the Iraqi royal estate from 1935-49 and acting as legal counsel to commercial firms. Like many Jewish intellectuals, Shabali considered Iraq his homeland, was active in public affairs and hoped for a bright future for the young state in which Jews could participate fully. Like most of the Jewish intellectuals, he refused to make aliyah to the Land of Israel. After 20 years, after the dream of immigration to Iraq had been finally shattered by unprecedented persecution of the Jews who had remained. In Israel, his works were aired on...
acts against Jews.

The paper has also focused on local Jewish history, such as a series of articles on the development of Jewish neighborhoods and how they changed. Real estate advertisements, as well as all the advertising sections of the paper, revolve

JEWISH JOURNALISTS IN IRAQ / Nissim Kazaz

Part One of this article appeared in the last issue (no. 5) of Qotar. Part Two consists of brief biographies of ten noteworthy Jewish journalists in Iraq from the last century until the 1970s.

Bara'hi Montaz Mira'bi — founder of the first publishing house in Baghdad and publisher of the newspaper, Ha-Darwizah, or Da'ar Massurah ("Speaker of Truth") during 1865-71. In 1869 Mira'bi contributed several articles to Ha-Ma'aghib about the activities of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Baghdad, and became the Baghdad agent for Ha-Herzel in 1871.

Nissim Yosef Sane'el (1888-1928) — one of the first Arab-language Jewish journalists in Iraq. His family was well-known in Baghdad. In 1895, he was educated in Aleppo and Beirut. After the Young Turk revolution and the advent of a liberal policy in the Ottoman Empire, he published a newspaper, Da'ar Arabic in Turkish and in 1909, Al-Falah, "The Flowers" was published.

Suleyman Ambar (1875-1941) — publisher of the 1912 newspaper, Talashik, or "Thinking," in Arabic and Turkish, with the advent of the liberal policy in the Ottoman Empire. A member of a prominent Baghdad family, Ambar was educated in governmental communal schools and was fluent in Arabic, Turkish, French and English. In 1913 he traveled to Paris and was the only Jew to participate in the Arab Congress held there, which demanded equal rights for the Arab nations of the Ottoman Empire. During World War I, he and other Arab journalists were exiled by the Turkish authorities, but the order was rescinded four months later.

Salman Shina (1899-1978) — prominent Jewish public figure. Shina studied at the Alliance school and in a government school. He served in the Turkish army during World War I against the British. Fluent in English, French, Turkish and Arabic, he was attached to the staff of the German Jewish von Becker, who headed German air assistance to Turkey in Iraq. Shina was taken prisoner by the British in 1917 and held in a prisoner-of-war camp in India for over a year. He was among the founders of the Hebrew Literary Union in 1920 and the Zionist Union of Mesopotamia in 1921, of which he was secretary. He took low in Baghdad (1922-25) while also publishing the Arabic-language weekly Al-Misbah ("The Lamp") begun in 1924, edited first by Reshni Shalul (see below) and later by Shina himself. By the 1940s he was a prominent Jewish community leader in Baghdad, and in 1947 and 1948 he was elected to the Iraqi parliament, one of six Jewish delegates. He left Iraq in 1951 and shortly thereafter settled in Israel. His autobiography, From Babylon to Zion (Hebrew, 1953), provided background on the Iraqi Jewish community during the modern period up to the mass migration.

Anwar Shul (1904-1980) — poet, attorney, writer and journalist. Starting out as an Arabic teacher in Jewish schools in Baghdad, Shul became editor of Al-Misbah in 1924 under the pen-name 'Al-Sama'ah al-Lahham. Thereafter, he published the weekly Al-Hisab ("The Harvester") during 1929-38, which featured the work of leading Iraqi authors and poets as well as Jewish intellectuals. Shul is considered the pioneer short-story writer in Iraq. His first collection of stories was Al-Hisab al-Asl ("The First Harvest") in 1935, followed by Al-Zahra al-Mishri ("In the City's Density") in 1935. He was also an English/French translator, wrote the screenplay and was one of the first film actors (1948); wrote several volumes of poetry; and compiled a dictionary of modern Arabic terminology. Shul was also an attorney, serving the Iraqi royal court during 1935-45 and acting as legal counsel to some commercial firms. Like many Jewish intellectuals, Shul considered himself a homeland, active in public affairs and hoped for a bright future for the young state in which Jews could participate fully. Like many of the Jewish intellectuals, he did not join the mass immigration to Israel in 1951.

He arrived 20 years later, after the dream of immigration in Iraq had been finally quelled by unprecedented persecution of the Jews who had remained. In Israel, his works were cited on

Arabic radio and TV. He wrote for the Jerusalem paper Al-A'mal, and published his autobiography, The Story of My Life in Mesopotamia (Arabic, 1980), and A New Dawn Broke (Arabic, 1983). He was awarded the Israel Prize for Arabic Literature in 1986.

Yaqoob Shul (1937-1967) — English language journalist and writer. Educated at London University, he served as editor of the Baghdad Times (later, the Iraq Times) for 25 years. He was arrested in 1941 by the revolutionary anti-British, pro-Nazi regime headed by Rashid Ali Al-Kaplan. During the 1958 revolution he was again arrested. He was among the group of Jewish intellectuals who did not immigrate to Israel in 1951, but arrived in Israel in 1967.

Menash Reznor (1919-1972) — one of the first Iraqi journalists. He began as a reporter for Al-Arabi, then became editor-in-chief of Al-Isra' when he directed both the editorial and administrative aspects of the paper. Due to his stance, in 1955 he was arrested and spent 13 years in prison. He was released in 1968 and then was appointed editor of Ha-Herzel in 1969. He returned to journalism in 1970 and was appointed editor of Al-Shabab, a newspaper that espoused democracy and opposed fascism in Iraq during the 1960s. He published articles, poetry and short stories in various newspapers where he was also employed, including Al-Majdhi, Al-Khabir and Al-Zahar. He was arrested in 1941 for publishing a political poem in the Lebanese Al-Taraj, criticizing the regime in Iraq. He resumed his journalistic work in 1945 as editor and political editor for Al-Shabab, and later as secretary and editor of Al-Arabi. Al-Arabi joined the National Democratic Party in 1946, then the Al-Watur Party soon after, working for its organ Tawar al-Iraqi. In 1948 he began publishing the newspaper Al-Isra'. He wrote bold articles critical of various governments and political figures, which got him into rapid trouble, sending him to prison twice for a year, followed by two months' imprisonment in Baghdad. Upon his release, he resumed his work at Al-Shabab and other newspapers.

As many of the other Jewish journalists, he too did not immigrate to Israel during the mass migration in 1951. After the 1958 revolution which resulted in General Abd Al-Karim Qasim's rule, Al-Arabi was banned and was taken over by the pro-Qassim papers. Al-Rai Al-Aam and Al-Ittihad, and edited other papers as well. He was falsely accused of involvement in an attempt on Qasim's life in 1959 and briefly imprisoned, but was released on Qasim's orders. After Qasim's government was brought down in 1963, an attempt was made on Al-Arabi's life and he went into hiding. He then left journalism and went into business, though he continued writing articles for the independent Al-Taraj. Arrested again in 1973 by the Ba'ath government, he was tried in his release by friends, and left Iraq for Israel, where he became a highly regarded political commentator in Arabic radio.

Murad Al-'Imari (born 1922) — author, poet and journalist. Al-'Imari began his journalistic career as a radio
E. R. MALAKH: RESEARCHER OF THE HEBREW PRESS / Ya’akov Kabakov

Eliezer Raphael Malakh (1895-1990), born in Jerusalem, devoted his whole life to studying the history of the Jewish Yishuv in Eretz Israel as reflected in the history of its Hebrew press. His phenomenal memory and his broad erudition in the area of Hebrew journalism made him the acknowledged authority in this field. He prepared comprehensive bibliographies on the leading Hebrew writers in Eretz Israel and abroad, and wrote profusely about the Hebrew press all over the world.

As a Jerusalemite he knew the pioneers of the Hebrew press personally — A. M. Luntz, Y. D. Frankin, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and Y. M. Pines, and while still a teenager he wrote an article entitled “Journalism in Jerusalem” (Hebrew) which was published in Luntz’s Laish Erez Yisroel Le-Shmirah 1911.

Malakh was to return to this subject in the years to come, marking commemorative dates of the founding of the various papers. In an extensive article on Ha-Levanon, the first Hebrew paper published in Jerusalem, he traced the origin of the paper in the rivalry between the Pharisees and the Hasidim in the old Yishuv. He wrote about the contribution made by Y. el Nola Solomon as printer and publisher and as instigator of the idea of working the land. The development of the settlement and pioneering movement was researched in other articles as well, as was the history of the other early Jerusalem newspapers, Yisrael Ba’al’s Ha-Yareei.

Malakh was particularly interested in researching rare newspapers which were nearly lost to history, piecing together obscure journalistic developments by means of contemporary sources. He covered the earliest humorous press of Erets Israel in detail, for example the first printed humorous paper, Hamov-Gelant (1900), a monthly edited by Ben-Yehuda, as well as the special Purim editions of Ha-Tefilah, Ha-Tefeh and Ha-Misgapeh.

Malakh relied heavily on the Hebrew press in Europe to reconstruct developments in Eretz Israel. He focused especially on Ha-Meitzot, Ha-Tefilah and Ha-Yom. In a series of articles entitled “Ha-Meitzot and its Editors” (Hebrew) in Ha-Levanon (1955 and thereafter), he analyzed its first editor, Alexander Zelgerheim, who blurred Enlightenment principles with belief in tradition, as well as a later editor, Y. L. Gordon. In a series entitled “One Hundred Years of Ha-Tefilah” (Hebrew) in Ha-Levanon (1952-53), Malakh pointed out that its editor, Hayim Zelig Shtimule, was less interested in disseminating Enlightenment principles than in conveying popular general information such as politics and news.

Malakh credits Ha-Tefilah as the first illustrated Hebrew paper.

He was an admirer of the editor of the first Hebrew daily, Ha-Yom (established in 1886) — Yehuda Leib Gamor, whom he describes as one of the founders of Hebrew journalism. Gamor had encountered a great deal of opposition from established editors such as Y. L. Gordon and Nahum Sokolow who accused him of being anti-nationalist. His ambition, Malakh wrote, was to bring out a totally secular paper which would reflect not only Jewish life but general news. His principles were, in fact, soon accepted within the Hebrew press.

A pioneering Yiddish paper in Galicia edited by Yosef Cohen-Zeeck, Nyemere Nakhshilkher (1866), is analyzed by Malakh in its supportive role for an earlier Hebrew paper by the same editor, Ha-Meitzot (1865). The editor published the Yiddish paper in order to boost the Hebrew one. Malakh did considerable research on the history of the Yiddish press as well.

He devoted several studies to editors, including Ahad Ha-Am, whom he cited as a thorough, careful editor who maintained high standards, and Y. D. Berkowitz, who also made an important contribution to the papers he edited in...
E. R. MALAKH: RESEARCHER OF THE HEBREW PRESS / Ya’akov Kabakav

Eliezer Raphael Malakh (1855-1940), born in Jerusalem, devoted his whole life to studying the history of the Jewish Yishuv in Erez Israel as reflected in the history of the Hebrew press. His phenomenal memory and his broad erudition in the arts of Hebrew journalism made him the acknowledged authority in this field. He prepared comprehensive bibliographies on the leading Hebrew writers in Erez Israel and abroad, and wrote probably on the Hebrew press all over the world.

As a Jerusalemite he knew the pioneers of the Hebrew press personally — A. M. Landes, Y. D. Frankfurter, Eliezer Yehuda and Y. M. Pins, and while still a teenager he wrote an article entitled “Journalism in Jerusalem” (Hebrew) which was published in Landes’s Laib Yisrael (La’ib Shmuel) in 1890. Malakh was too young to return to this subject in the press of the time, marking commemorative days of the founding of the various newspapers. In an extensive article on Ha-Levyan, the first Hebrew paper published in Jerusalem, in 1876, he traced the history of the paper in the rivalry between the Pharaohs, and the Hasmone in the old Yishuv. He wrote about the contribution made by Yosef Moses Solomon as printer and publisher, and as his editor, to the idea of marking the land. The development of the settlement and pioneering movement was reflected in other articles as well, as was the history of the other early Jerusalem newspaper, Yisrael Be’is Ha-Haavurah.

Malakh was particularly interested in researching rare newspapers which were nearly lost to history, piecing together obscure journalistic developments through means of contemporary sources. He covered the earliest humorous press of Erez Israel in detail, for example the first printed humorous paper, Ha-Me’amer (1865), a monthly edited by Ben Yehuda, as well as the special Purim editions of Ha-Tsfik, Ha-Tsfikah and Ha-Beritot.

Malakh relied heavily on the Hebrew press in Europe to research developments in Erez Israel. He focused especially on Ha-Melitz, Ha-Tsfikah and Ha-Yam. In a series of articles entitled “Ha-Melitz” and its Editor (Hebrew) in Ha-Davar (weekly and daily), he analyzed its editor, Alexander Zederbaum, who blended Enlightenment principles with belief in tradition, as well as a later editor, Y. M. Gordon. In a series entitled “One Hundred Years of Ha-Tsfikah” (Hebrew) in Bilzov (1962-63), Malakh pointed out that its editor, Hayim Zelig Sonnenschein, was less interested in disseminating Enlightenment principles than in conveying popular general information such as politics and news. Malakh credits Ha-Tsfikah as the first illustrated Hebrew newspaper.

He was an admirer of the editor of the first Hebrew daily, Ha-Yam (established in 1886) — Yehuda Leib Cantor, whom he describes as one of the founders of Hebrew journalism. Cantor had encouraged a great deal of opposition from established editors such as Y. M. Gordon and Nahum Sokolow who assumed him of being anti-national. This, he submitted, Malakh wrote, was to bring out a totally secular paper which would reflect not only Jewish life but general news. His principles were, in fact, soon accepted within the Hebrew press.

A pioneering Yiddish paper in Galicia edited by Yosef Cohen-Zeidel, Nyuzis Nakhirshen (1886), was analyzed by Malakh in his supportive role for an earlier Hebrew paper by the same editor, Ha-Me’aver (1861). The editor published the Yiddish paper in order to boost the Hebrew one. Malakh did considerable research on the history of the Yiddish press as well.

He devoted several studies to editors, including Ha’A’Olam, whom he used in a thorough, careful editor who maintained high standards, and Y. D. Burushkowitz, who also made an important contribution to the papers he edited in the US and in Erez Israel.

Malakh devoted considerable effort to indexing all published Hebrew articles, especially those in the paper Ha-Davar which he was associated with.

He delved into a wide range of subjects as reflected in the Hebrew press. For example, in a piece entitled “The Jewish State in the Hebrew Press” (Hebrew, Bilzov, 1916), he surveyed contributions to his book, which included commentaries on the part of Sokolow in Ha-Tsfikah, and a critical article on the book’s Hebrew translation in Ha-Shiloah.

In addition to researching Hebrew satiric newspapers, Malakh explored other types of journalism: linguistic journals in Hebrew, the first Hebrew bibliographic periodical (Yevushav, Cracow, יריעת עצי) and the first Hebrew bibliographic periodical (Ha-Emunim, Galicia, 1898).

Malakh first visited America in 1912, eventually moving there in 1922 and joining the staff of Ha-Davar. He did extensive work on the American Hebrew press, which had begun in the early 1870s, revealing hitherto unknown details about its history. He traced the beginnings of Ha-Tsfikah in Eretz Ha-Hashkafa, founded by the Hilarus Zedek, in 1871, and described the immigration that began in the 1870s and that was to continue the future leadership of the Hebrew press. He researched Aharon Yehuda Leib Heschvitz, who assisted in founding Herzl’s paper and was a political activist. He described Eyzik Shur, editor of the weekly Ha-Yishuv and Ha-Tsfikah and editor of Ha-Shiloah. He also researched Rabbi David Ben Harush, a lapsed satirist who edited Ha-Davar and other Hebrew editors in America such as Michael Lerner, David, and Yehoshua Meir Meir.

In an article surveying the history of the Hebrew press in America in Ha-Davar, Malakh showed that almost 50 Hebrew papers had been published there thus far, though none had lasted as long as Ha-Tsfikah. In a later article, he discussed the contribution of the paper’s editor, Mordecai Kribor. He also wrote pieces on the contribution of various authors to the Hebrew press in America, such as Agnon, Tcherenkovsky, Sokolov and Shdini. In addition, he explored unusual perspectives of American events and personalities from the Hebrew press, including material on Abraham Lincoln, Grant’s election and the issue of Abolition.

HONESTY AND CREDIBILITY IN JOURNALISM

Eretz Israeli Newspapers and Reports on the European Occupation, 1939-41 / Hava Zeinfeld

Coverage of this subject by the Eretz Israeli press was problematic because news sources were clandestine, and in the case of the few neutral towns — e.g., Switzerland — strict neutrality was adopted, especially regarding the Jewish question.

It was particularly difficult to publish any information from Germany. In an article that appeared in Ha-Meshirah in October 1941, an American journalist describes various means utilized by foreign correspondents to get news out to the free world, such as these techniques: "Sources to Berlin claim there is no basis for news published abroad above noon in Czecho-Slovakia." Furthermore, sources of information mean access by the Nazis or their minions in the occupied countries. Some of the sources utilized by the Eretz Israeli press were intended not for the press but rather to keep the leadership of the Yishuv informed about events. There were three main sources of information: 1. Formal sources — press agencies in Eretz Israel and abroad, and foreign radio broadcasts and newspapers that reached Eretz Israel.

In addition to the above, the Hebrew press to achieve credibility
was to subscribe news to "a neutral source," the message being that the information was reliable. Another device was to credit a "telegram source" or "our special correspondent." Both German and Allied press articles were utilized simultaneously in an effort to present a true picture. But the problem of credibility remained, with the public constantly suspicioned of propaganda in the news.

A journalists' association symposium held in Tel Aviv during the winter of 1945 on the subject "Non-Jews, It's All Propaganda," mirrors the seriousness of the problem at a time when news about the grave condition of the Jews in Poland was being received.

There were three causes for the public's distrust regarding the plight of the Jews of Europe during the Nazi occupation: 1. suspicion of enemy propaganda, 2. the shockingly unbelievable nature of the news itself, and 3. the instinct to compare this tragedy to previous calamities that had befallen the Jews, and the traditional belief that the Jews would withstand this too.

One of the problems the press was finding suitable terminology to define the unprecedented nature of the persecution. This was exemplified in the Nazi "Lublin Plan" of December 1939 in which the Jews were enclosed in a specific area and put to work at hard labor. The journalists themselves candidly described this as a sort of "territorial solution" for the Jews, a "ghetto" an "encampment" or "a Jewish state." Another example of conditioning based on the past was an illogical assumption that the Jews would survive no matter what, and that it wasn't necessary for the Jews of Eretz Israel or the free world to take any extraordinary measures to save them. The newspapers encouraged this myth with stories of Jewish heroism of the past. Euphemistic reporting were the pioneers of Erets Israel, rather than reports about the Jews of Europe, also accounted for a distrust.

The Hebrew press in Eretz Israel was aware of all these problems, and editors repeatedly called for journalistic caution and accuracy. However, as the war progressed, reliable sources became scarcer and credibility was increasingly difficult to verify. The situation was exacerbated by the direct effect of reports in the press on the many family members of European Jews in Erets Israel.

It may be summed that generally the public did not believe in the newspapers' credibility during the early years of World War II, nor did the journalists themselves always believe in the truthfulness of their own sources.

"HA-ZAFON" — THE FIRST LOCAL NEWSPAPER IN ERETZ ISRAEL / Yosef Kister

Haifa, known as the stronghold of the Left, was also the cradle of the Revisionist press in Eretz Israel. The first issue of Ha-Zafon ("The North") was published on Feb. 19, 1926, edited by Dr. Avraham Weinstock, an attorney who headed the Haifa branch of the Revisionist Party. Its editors explained the need for a local paper in light of the impressive development of Haifa and the northern region. While the Jewish population of Haifa at the end of World War I was about 2,000, by 1926 it was over 12,000. The editor claimed that Haifa had become the center of development for heavy industry, as well as an important cultural center, with the opening of the Technion. New construction on the Carmel indicated that the Jewish community would continue to expand. Haifa had also attracted health and vacation tourism due to its railway links with Egypt and Syria and planned new links with Lebanon and Iraq. Above all, its natural harbor would turn the city into the commercial center of Erets Israel. In addition, the editorial mentioned, new urban centers were emerging in the north, such as Afula and Acre.

All these developments, the editorial noted, were accompanied by problems which demanded public attention. Yet the paper would also address broader national questions, the editor promised, including the relationship between the Yishuv and world Jewry. There was a need for a non-partisan platform to analyze national events. The newspaper's principles were the building of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.

Still, the first few issues were local in nature. The opening ceremony of the city's new post office in 1926 was reported in detail. Whereas in 1920 there had been only one telephone in operation, by 1926 it was noted that there were 300 telephone subscribers being served by the new postal office. On the other hand, a report on the city's religious facilities criticized the absence of even one proper synagogue, as compared to the situation in Beirut, which had fewer Jewish inhabitants.
was to circulate news to "a neutral source," the message being that the information was reliable. Another device was to create a "telegraphic source" or "real special correspondent." Real German and Allied press articles were included simultaneously to present a true picture that the problem of credibility remained, with the public suspicion of propaganda in the guise of news.

A Journalsists' Association symposium held in Tel Aviv during the winter of 1949 on the subject "Jemla: All Propaganda," testified to the seriousness of the problem at a time when news about the grave condition of the Jews in Poland was being received.

There were three causes for the public's disbelief regarding the plight of the Jews of Europe during the Nazi occupation: the suspicion of enemy propaganda, 2. the shocking unbeliavable nature of the news itself, and 3. the inability to compute this tragedy to previous tragedies that had befell the Jews, and the traditional belief that the Jews would withstand the test.

One of the problems of the press was finding suitable terminology to defme the unprecedented nature of the persecution. This was exemplified in the Nisa "Lublin Plan" of December 1939 in which the Jews were enclosed in a specific area and put to work at hard labor. The journalists themselves variously described this as a sort of "terrestrial solution" for the Jews, a "ghetto," an "environment," or a "Jewish zone." Another example of condoning based on the past was an illegal assumption that the Jews would suffer again, and that it wasn't necessary for the Jews of Eretz Israel or the world to take any extraordinary measures to save them. The newspapers encouraged this myth with stories of Jewish heroism of the past. Extensive upbeat coverage of the pioneers of Eretz Israel, rather than reports about the Jews of Europe, also accounted for a distortion.

The Hebrew press in Eretz Israel was aware of all these problems, and editors repeatedly called for journalistic caution and accuracy. However, as the war progressed, reliable sources became scarcer and credibility was increasingly difficult to verify. The situation was exacerbated by the direct effort of reporters in the press on the many family members of European Jews in Eretz Israel.

It may be assumed that generally the public did not believe in the newspapers' credibility during the early years of World War II, nor did the journalists themselves always believe in the credibility of their own sources.

Ben Zion Katz, the editor of the "Macabbi" newspaper, wrote in his diary that the "Macabbi" began its journalism career as a champion for equal rights for Jews in tsarist Russia. Previously, however, he had been a Tel Aviv student in the village of Deeg and author of several respected scholarly works. Influenced by major changes within the Jewish world, he changed his editorial principles. The newspaper's editors were the editors of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.

In June 1936, 200 delegates to the first Russian Jews gathered in Vyborg, Finland, and issued a proclamation urging the Russian pueblo to stop giving taxes and serving in the army. It was a call for civil rebellion after a thousand years of autocratic, totalitarian rule. Although Czar Nicholas II declared the said revolutionaries, Ben Zion Katz, editor of the "Macabbi," was an editor of "The Times," the only newspaper to publish this information in Russia. Eventually he was charged with inciting to rebellion and sentenced to a year's solitary confinement.

Called Master of the Scoop in his day, Ben Zion Katz began his journalistic career as a champion for equal rights for Jews in tsarist Russia. Previously, however, he had been a Tel Aviv student in the village of Deeg and author of several respected scholarly works. Influenced by major changes within the Jewish world, he was appointed to the Editorial Board of the "Macabbi." The newspaper's editors were the editors of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.

Katz had become the center of development for heavy industry, as well as an important cultural center, with the opening of the Technion University. New construction on the Carmel indicator that the Jewish community would continue to expand. Haifa had also attracted health and vacation tourism due to its railway links with Egypt and Syria and planned new links with Lebanon and Iraq. Above all, its natural harbor would turn the city into the commercial center of Eretz Israel. In addition, the editorial mentioned, new urban centers were emerging in the north, such as Afula and Acce.

All these developments, the editorial noted, were accompanied by problems which demanded public attention. Yet the paper would also address broader national questions, the editor promised, including the relationship between the Yishuv and the world itself. There was need for a mobile platform to analyze national current events. The newspaper's principles were: the establishment of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.

Still, the first few issues were local in nature. The opening ceremony of the city's new post office in 1926 was reported in detail. Whereas in 1926 there had been only one telephone in operation in Haifa, it was noted that in 1926 over 500 telephones were installed to be served by the new post office. On the other hand, a report on the city's religious facilities criticized the absence of even one proper synagogue, as compared to the situation in Berlin, which had fewer Jewish inhabitants.

Ben Zion Katz, master of the scoop, was a contributor to the paper even before its beginning. In 1927 he wrote a piece titled "The Last Country of Romance," in which he praised the sentiments of Eretz Israel and hoped for better conditions there. His poem "Shir Ha-Dagel" (Song of the Flag) was reprinted.

Noted leaders were often profiled such as Dr. Max Nordau upon the retirement of his body in Eretz Israel in 1936, and Ahad Ha'am upon his death in 1927. A special issue was devoted to the memory of a Jew who had been a convert of the murder of an Arab, and whose sacrifice was overshadowed in a serial in the Hillel District Court.

Curiously, Arthur Koestler was also associated with Ha-Zafon. Influenced by Hash-Shen, he arrived in Eretz Israel in 1938 to fulfill the Zionist idea, and contacted Dr. Weinshall. Since his Hebrew was not good enough to write, he began to work at organizing aid for the paper. In addition, he opened the National Political Agency — a wire news service devoted to Europe, as well as to a legal and social organization for Jewish victims of British Nazi discrimination. None of these efforts were successful, although Koestler did begin to write a series of mocking articles for the paper.

Other well-known journalists and writers who contributed to Ha-Zafon included Aryeh Agran, Miriam Bernstein-Cohn and Angelik Hamur.

The paper was printed on a hand press, first in a small printshop located in the Acre market of the city, and later in the Hadera neighborhood. It started out as an eight-page weekly, then became a four-page biweekly. Some 100 issues of Ha-Zafon were published during a 14-year period before it closed in 1927, probably because of the general economic crisis of that year.

Ben Zion Katz, master of the scoop, was also the editor of the first Russian Jews gathered in Vyborg, Finland, and issued a proclamation urging the Russian pueblo to stop giving taxes and serving in the army. It was a call for civil rebellion after a thousand years of autocratic, totalitarian rule. Although Czar Nicholas II declared the said revolutionaries, Ben Zion Katz, editor of the "Macabbi," was an editor of "The Times," the only newspaper to publish this information in Russia. Eventually he was charged with inciting to rebellion and sentenced to a year's solitary confinement.

Called Master of the Scoop in his day, Ben Zion Katz began his journalistic career as a champion for equal rights for Jews in tsarist Russia. Previously, however, he had been a Tel Aviv student in the village of Deeg and author of several respected scholarly works. Influenced by major changes within the Jewish world, he was appointed to the Editorial Board of the "Macabbi." The newspaper's editors were the editors of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.

In June 1936, 200 delegates to the first Russian Jews gathered in Vyborg, Finland, and issued a proclamation urging the Russian pueblo to stop giving taxes and serving in the army. It was a call for civil rebellion after a thousand years of autocratic, totalitarian rule. Although Czar Nicholas II declared the said revolutionaries, Ben Zion Katz, editor of the "Macabbi," was an editor of "The Times," the only newspaper to publish this information in Russia. Eventually he was charged with inciting to rebellion and sentenced to a year's solitary confinement.

Called Master of the Scoop in his day, Ben Zion Katz began his journalistic career as a champion for equal rights for Jews in tsarist Russia. Previously, however, he had been a Tel Aviv student in the village of Deeg and author of several respected scholarly works. Influenced by major changes within the Jewish world, he changed his editorial principles. The newspaper's editors were the editors of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.

In June 1936, 200 delegates to the first Russian Jews gathered in Vyborg, Finland, and issued a proclamation urging the Russian pueblo to stop giving taxes and serving in the army. It was a call for civil rebellion after a thousand years of autocratic, totalitarian rule. Although Czar Nicholas II declared the said revolutionaries, Ben Zion Katz, editor of the "Macabbi," was an editor of "The Times," the only newspaper to publish this information in Russia. Eventually he was charged with inciting to rebellion and sentenced to a year's solitary confinement.

Called Master of the Scoop in his day, Ben Zion Katz began his journalistic career as a champion for equal rights for Jews in tsarist Russia. Previously, however, he had been a Tel Aviv student in the village of Deeg and author of several respected scholarly works. Influenced by major changes within the Jewish world, he was appointed to the Editorial Board of the "Macabbi." The newspaper's editors were the editors of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.

In June 1936, 200 delegates to the first Russian Jews gathered in Vyborg, Finland, and issued a proclamation urging the Russian pueblo to stop giving taxes and serving in the army. It was a call for civil rebellion after a thousand years of autocratic, totalitarian rule. Although Czar Nicholas II declared the said revolutionaries, Ben Zion Katz, editor of the "Macabbi," was an editor of "The Times," the only newspaper to publish this information in Russia. Eventually he was charged with inciting to rebellion and sentenced to a year's solitary confinement.

Called Master of the Scoop in his day, Ben Zion Katz began his journalistic career as a champion for equal rights for Jews in tsarist Russia. Previously, however, he had been a Tel Aviv student in the village of Deeg and author of several respected scholarly works. Influenced by major changes within the Jewish world, he was appointed to the Editorial Board of the "Macabbi." The newspaper's editors were the editors of the nation, national discipline and loyalty to democracy.
he prepared in 1911 for a so-called expert on Jewish ritual in the Beyla trial. His questions exposed the "expert's" ignorance; and indirectly contributed to Beyla's eventual acquittal.

The Czech officials eventually caught up with Katz on the Vyborg affar and, in light of this background, sentenced him to a year's imprisonment. During this time, Katz read increasingly about communism and also managed to convey educational material to his newspaper as well as participate in current journalistic debates in the Jewish world. He rejected a plan to escape prison, saying: "A political activist must take responsibility for his actions. One can't write and run."

Katz first visited Erez Israel in 1914, settling there in 1918. He was an authentic journalist and a master of every aspect of his field. He didn't simply write articles — he waged campaigns. He-Zion was a major influence on Ben-Gurion, Ben-Zvi and all the Jewish leaders of their generation.

THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE JEWISH PRESS IN EUROPE / Reuven Assaf

The German-language Jewish press, up until the rise of Hitler, was read not only in German-speaking countries, but in Eastern Europe and the U.S. as well. It was a multi-voiced, pluralistic press on a high intellectual level. Even during 1933-38, over 100 such papers continued appearing in Nazi Germany. With the destruction of the German, Austrian and Czechoslovakian Jewish communities, and the ageing of the survivors in the U.S., England and Israel, the assumption has been that this press has come to an end.

Yet now, 50 years after the outbreak of World War II and 45 years after the Holocaust, the surprising reality is that the German-language Jewish press in Europe is growing and flourishing. While the pessimistic predictions have proven true for the U.S., England and Israel, there is an inexplicable revival in Europe. Nearly 20 periodicals are being published in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. Although they appear only weekly, monthly or even more infrequently, they reflect the need of the Jewish community for its own press.

The oldest ongoing Jewish German-language periodical is the Swiss Israelitische Wochenblatt ("The Israeli Weekly"), founded in Zurich in 1901 by Rabbi Moritz Lerman and Dr. David Steinm. The weekly is brought out by the Marked Mezuz publishing house, headed by Pierre Rodschild. Its editor-in-chief is Marcel Klugmann. Although the paper is formally devoted to the Zurich Jewish community, it is usually read by all the Jews in Switzerland, usually together with its Basel-based competitor, jüdische Rundschau. Advertising and subscriptions keep the paper self-supporting. Its regular circulation is about 5,000, with an increase for holiday editions. There is a steady non-Jewish readership. About a third of the readership resides outside Switzerland, primarily Jews who have settled in Israel or elsewhere. The paper is sold on newsstands within and outside Switzerland. Since the readership is bilingual, a third of the paper is written in French. Each issue has 50-60 pages, making it the largest Jewish German-language periodical anywhere. It is a popular-style weekly geared to all age groups. It focuses on Israeli news and supports official Israeli government policy. Its correspondent in Israel is Rabbi Dr. Reuven Grodshi, formerly rabbi of Basel. Former Israel Ambassador to Switzerland David Riviéra contributes occasional articles. Printed on quality paper, the weekly is well-written and well-illustrated, with an impressive list of advertisers. It has become an inseparable part of the Jewish community scene in Switzerland.

The jüdische Rundschau ("The Jewish Review") — Maschul was founded nearly 50 years ago in Basel as the organ of the Maschul sports organization. With the outbreak of World War II, and especially with the establishment of Israel, the paper shifted its emphasis to issues of the survival of the Jewish people, and today is considered one of the most serious Jewish papers. Its readership includes residents of Austria, Germany and Israel. It too has many non-Jewish readers. While explicitly Zionist in point of view, the paper also criticizes Israel. It has consistently attracted the best Jewish reporters in Switzerland and abroad. It was founded by Adria Bom and Otto Ash. A grandson of the former is now the head correspondent. A former editor (1951-86), Juiper Linge, also settled in Israel. Today's editor is Heinrich Unger. The paper's circulation is 5,000, reaching 8,000 on holidays. Former Israel Ambassador to Bern, Yehuda Meir, occasionally contributes articles on Israel.

In post-war Germany, the Allgemeine jüdische Wochenzeitung ("General Jewish Weekly") was initiated in 1945 under a series of different names by the founder of the post-
be prepared in 1933 for a so-called expert on Jewish cultural life in the Beiliss trial. His questions exposed the 'experts' ignorance and indirectly contributed to Beiliss's eventual acquittal.

The Czur's officials eventually caught up with Katz on the Vybog affair and, in light of his background, sentenced him to 5 years imprisonment. During this time, Katz read extensively about communism and also managed to convey editorial material to his newspaper as well as participate in current journalistic debates in the Jewish world. He expected a plan to escape prison, saying: "A political activist must take responsibility for his actions. One can't write and run."

Katz first arrived in Paris in 1934, settling there in 1938. He was a minor journalist and a writer of every aspect of his field. He didn't simply write articles — he waged campaigns. His main influence came from Ben-Gurion, Ben-Zvi and all the Jewish leaders of their generation.

THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE JEWISH PRESS IN EUROPE / Reuven Assor

The German-language Jewish press, up until the rise of Hitler, was not only in Germany-speaking countries but in Eastern Europe and the U.S. as well. It was a multi-faceted, pluralistic press with a high level of intellectual activity. Even during 1933-38, over 100 such papers continued appearing in Nazi Germany. With the destruction of the German, Austrian, and Czechoslovakian Jewish communities, and the flight of the survivors in the U.S., England and Israel, the assumption has been that this press has come to an end. Yet now, 50 years after the outbreak of World War II and 45 years after the Holocaust, the surprising reality is that the German-language Jewish press in Europe is growing and flourishing. While the pastime predations have grown true for the U.S., England and Israel, there is no comparable revival in Europe. Nearly 20 periodicals are being published in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. Although they appear on a regular basis, they cannot be considered an end, they reflect the need for the Jewish community for its own press.

The oldest, ongoing Jewish German-language periodical is the Swiss Zeitschrift der Juden ("The Jewish Weekly"), founded in Zurich in 1901 by Rabbi Marcus Benzion and Dr. David Strauss. The weekly is brought out by the Manovert publishing house, headed by Peter Rothchild. Its chief editor is Marcel Kotschnigg. Although the paper is formally devoted to the Jewish culture, it is currently read by all the Jews in Switzerland, usually together with its Basel-based competitor, Judische Rundschau. Advertising and subscriptions keep the paper self-supporting. Its regular circulation is about 5,000, with an increase for special editions. There is a sizable non-Jewish readership. About a third of the leadership resides outside Switzerland, primarily Jews who have settled in Israel or elsewhere.

KOLNOA; THE FIRST ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER IN ERETZ ISRAEL, 1931-35 / Tirza Shafir Biranamit

There is no room for heavy questions or serious issues in Kolnoa ("Perpetual Motion"). We have, throw the Lord, enough heavy newspapers packed with "serious" material. For everything is alive and in motion: everything flies and flows. To our eyes, must seem light and free as they pass through the filter of these pages.

This guiding principle, expressed in Kolnoa's editor, Daniel Peretz, in the bi-weekly's first edition in April 1933, was only partially realized during its four-year existence, due to financial and technical difficulties as well as frequent changes in editorial management.

The editor of the paper, Raphael Abramson, had been a member of Nitz, a set of Rabin in the Legion and a founder of the soldiers' association, in Bezalel. Politically he was associated with the Center and the Right, an orientation which was reflected in the paper. Kolnoa, which sometimes appeared irregularly, had a run of 2,000 copies.

Peretz, who had arrived in Palestine from America, was a writer and a teacher in Hebrew. He is known to be the first compiler of Hebrew slang and street language. The next editor was Peretz Ginzburg, a writer, poet, publicist and translator originally from the Ukraine, who had also come to Eretz Israel from America. He was associated with Rabin and other papers. The third editor was Aharon Hamon, an experienced journalist who had arrived in Eretz Israel during the Second Aliyah. Among the contributors to the paper were Balish, Avraham Shlomo, Nahman Golan, Zvi Tzola, David Biala, and Awidor Hameiri.

The paper contained short news items, including sen-
national crime reports, illustrated by pictures. Until then none of the papers in Israel had been illustrated. Based in Tel Aviv, it had the feel of a city paper. It did many background pieces on well-known personalities, such as David Ben-Gurion and Aharon Ravnson, and covered milestones in the development of national institutions. The Arlosorff murder and the Sternky trial were covered extensively. In general, the paper avoided editorial comment. There is little humor or irony in its writing style, but there is some passion and emotionalism.

Although Kolnoo’s policy was mostly to exclude international news, it did deal with the rise of Hitler through caricatures, cartoons and jokes. Yet there is an odd disproportion between this and the paper’s relatively extensive coverage of Germany’s cultural life, especially film, at the time. Similarly, the Arab-Jewish question received scant attention. German Jewish immigration at the time, an important development in the Yishuv, received virtually no coverage except for several curiously negative references to the “Wider sapphire.”

On the other hand, considerable space was devoted to literature and the arts by well-known writers who explored both local and foreign developments in depth. Quality short stories and serialized novels were also published. Sports, both local and foreign, were covered extensively, with the paper also sponsoring sporting events such as bicycle races, motorcycle races and the first marathon in the country. The paper’s involvement in sports was the work of staff member Yousef Tukri, founder of the Macabials.

The foreign film industry also received a great deal of attention in Kolnoo, with a distinct focus on the Berlin film industry. Curiously, there were no film reviews of current showings, although there were three cinemas in Tel Aviv and one which opened in Jerusalem during this period.

Certain topics received regular coverage, including commemorative dates connected with public figures and institutions, education, sporting events, gala entertainment events and politics. Conversely, Kolnoo completely ignored the labor and settlement movements and never mentioned kibbutzim and moshavim, apparently reflecting the owner’s political orientation.

THE ARAB PRESS IN ISRAEL / Atallah Mansour

During the first 20 years of the existence of the State of Israel, the Arab population had practically no press of its own. The government published an Arabic-language daily called Al-Yawm (“The Day”), the Israeli Communist Party, Rakib and Mezmur all published small party weeklies in Arabic, the Hastauci had its own Arabic weekly, and the Greek Catholic, the Latin and the Anglican churches published monthlies in Arabic.

The first general Arabic-language newspaper in Israel was published in 1951 by the late Daud Khoury, an adenomian and son of a wealthy hajjamer (trader) in the village of Mald, who had become a homeless refugee as a result of the establishment of Israel. (His father lived as a refugee in Lebanon until his return to Israel later on.) Called Al-Umm (“The Agency”), the paper was conceived as a monthly but appeared only six times during a period of three years. During 1954-56, the Nazareth teacher and poet Michel Hadad published a literary monthly called Al-Ittihad (“Society”). The first Arabic political weekly, Al-And (“The Land”), was begun in 1958 and appeared 14 times until it was closed and its Nasserist publishers convicted. These were the sum total of Arabic newspapers published in Israel up to the 1960s.

Apparently, Arabs with experience, initiative and capital weren’t interested in publishing independent newspapers on a commercial basis, nor was there any demand on the part of a potential readership, economic interest or political grouping. Furthermore, the military government which controlled the Arabs of Israel had nearly unlimited emergency powers and effectively discouraged any tendencies in this direction.

With the end of military government in December, 1966, and the advent of the Six-Day War, a new era began for the Arab citizens of Israel. They began to realize that they need not rely on the Arab world to solve their problems. Furthermore, their national identity wasn’t simply Arab, as they had imagined, but first and foremost Palestinian. They realized that they had a great deal in common with their Palestinian brothers suffering in the refugee camps in the territories and the neighboring countries — namely, the need to look after their own interests and not wait for Arab unity, which was remote. In fact, they also discovered that they were not simply Palestinians. The East Jerusalem press, which
nations' crime reports, illustrated by pictures. Until then none of the papers in Israel had been illustrated. Based in Tel Aviv, it had the feel of a city paper. It did many background pieces on well-known personalities, such as Bialik, Ahdaf Shumon and Abu Amara, and covered milestones in the development of national institutions. The Arkowitz murder and the Stavsky trial were covered extensively. In general, the paper avoided editorial comment. There is little humor or irony in its writing style, but there is some pathos and emotionalism.

Although Kaloza's policy was mostly to exclude international news, it did deal with the rise of Hitler through caricatures, comics and jokes. Yet there is an odd disjunction between this and the paper's relatively comprehensive coverage of Germany's cultural life, especially films, at the time. Similarly, the Arab-Jewish question received scant attention. German-Jewish immigration at the time, an important development in the Yishuv, received virtually no coverage except for several curiously negative references to the "HaShomer."

On the other hand, considerable space was devoted to literature and the arts by well-known writers who explored both local and foreign developments in depth. Quality short stories and serialized novels were also published. Sports, both local and foreign, were covered extensively, with the paper also sponsoring sporting events such as bicycle races, motorcycle races and the first marathon in the country. The paper's involvement in sports was the work of staff member Yosef Yefetski, founder of the Macabbi.

The foreign film world also received a great deal of attention in Kaloza's, with a distinct focus on the Berlin film industry. Curiously, there were no film reviews or current showings, although there were three cinemas in Tel Aviv and one which opened in Jerusalem during this period.

Certain topics received regular coverage, including commemorative dates connected with public figures and institutions, education, sporting events, gala entertainments and more. Conversely, Kaloza's completely ignored the labor and settlement movements and never mentioned the SEFIRIM, apparently reflecting the owner's political orientation.

The Arab Press in Israel / Aallah Mansour

During the first 20 years of the existence of the State of Israel, the Arab population had practically no press of its own. The government prohibited an Arabic-language daily called Al-Yemen ("The Day"); the Israeli Communist Party, Rakah and Mapam all published small party weeklies in Arabic; the Hizbullah has had its own Arabic weekly, and the Greek Orthodox, the Latin and the Anglican churches published religious bulletins in Arabic.

The first general Arabic language newspaper in Israel was published in 1951 by the late Unos Khoury, an academic and son of a wealthy landowner from the village of Mishal, who had became a homeless refugee as a result of the establishment of Israel. (His father lived as a refugee in Lebanon until his return to Israel later on.) Al-Wa'd ("The Advice") was established in 1951. The paper was conceived as a monthly and appeared only twice during a period of three years. During 1954-58, the Nazaret teacher and poet Melchit Haidil published a literary monthly named Al-Ma'mar ("The Society").

The first Arabic political weekly, Al-A'zam ("The Land"), was begun in 1958 and appeared 14 times until it was closed and its Nazareth publishers convicted. These were the bare total of Arabic newspapers published in Israel up to the 1960s.

Of particular note, however, are the Arab-Jewish relations, initiative and capital weren't interested in publishing independent newspapers at a commercial basis, nor was there any demand on the part of a potential readership, economic interest or political grouping. Furthermore, the military government which controlled the Arabs of Israel had nearly unlimited emergency powers and effectively discouraged any tendencies in this direction.

With the end of military government in December 1960 and the advent of the Six-Day War, a new era began for the Arab citizens of Israel. They began to realize that they no longer relied on the Arab world to solve their problems. Furthermore, their national identity wasn't simply Arab, so they had experienced, first and foremost, Palestinian experiences. They realized that they had a great deal in common with their Palestinian brothers suffering in the refugee camps in the territories and the neighboring countries — namely, the need to look after their own interests and not wait for Arab army which was remote. In fact, they also discovered that there was no simple Palestinian. The Israel Jerusalem press, which leaned toward Jordan or toward the various PLO groups, did not reflect them any more than the establishment Israeli government and Histadrut press did. The weekly HaIr al-Sharq ("The Middle East") ceased publication, as did the government Al-Yamin. The successor to the latter, Al-Ha'ir ("The News"), lasted only a short time.

Several attempts to publish Arabic papers in Israel were made in the 1970s. Starting in 1971, various ambitious young Israeli published periodicals that were considered a voice for their political carriers. They included the Ummayad editor Fays Azam, who published the monthly Al-Bada ("The Truth") for a year; Nasser Al-Hassani, a lawyer from Ramle who published Al-Muntakhab ("The Tuit") for about a year, and Halab Al-Duwaq for about two years; and SRB for about two years; and Sahar Nu'ayt and Dajar al-Ismaali, who published Al-Ismaali ("The Voice") for a brief period.

In the early 1980s, political and economic conditions were ripe for a media revival in Israel's Arab society. A flood of Arab newspapers appeared. This development was an outgrowth of certain social and economic factors: an internalizing of the bitter experience in the territories, the extensive spread of Jewish local papers, the political changing of the guard in the country and the unorthodox attitudes of the new regime of the Arabs — half-liberal, half-nationalist.

All these factors had contributed to the birth of the Democratic, Nazareth Front and the National Council of Heads of Arab Local Authorities in Israel (1974). Hakim was formed in 1977 when Hakika joined with minority Arab and Jewish groups. The convening of the Committee to Defend Arab Land followed, as did the establishment of the Progressive Movement (1980); the Progressive for Peace (with Arab participation) a group which ran in the 1984 elections; and the Democratic Arab Party (Darura) in 1993 elections. The increasing role of the Arab Sabar of the Middle East in Palestinian society because of his poor role in the coming weeks, and certainly not get big ads for the monthly Sha'ban Akadim ("Academic Matters") edited by Tibi, which is usually on sale in Nasirian books.

Many of the journalists employed in these papers are academic authorities, especially in the religious and literary journals. In the political papers, however, the editors may be academics with distinguished status. They may belong to the paper's political party and must devote their talents to serving its point of view even if it contradicts their own. Their salary, however, is minimal. The situation in the controversy in the following is valid. The editor publisher himself receives the advertising, develops the ads and settles with the client on price and discount. Lustig, Labor, Manager and Editor Al-Ammar, bought all in this area during the controversy. In addition to his regular tasks, he functioned as an advertising consultant for the Labor Party. Given this mixture of roles,
even a journalist who strives for objectivity will always be suspected of partiality to his advertising client. Separation between the advertising and the editorial areas in the Arab press is still a long way off.

The situation in radio and TV is also distorted. The Arabic broadcasting stations are not geared to the local population; their target audience is across the border, with the content of the programs often surprisingly resembling propaganda rather than information. This situation does not contribute to building an image of the media as an objective and fair information service and as a free, balanced platform serving its audience and society at large.

A Brief Survey of the Arabic Press

Daily Newspapers

1. Al-Ashkhād ("Unity") — Ramallah, founded in 1944 in a weekly, became a semi-weekly during the 1970s and a daily from 1985.


3. Al-Wadsun ("Solidarity") — Progressive, existed as a weekly during 1983-84; then from then on, occasional appearance.

4. Al-Durar ("The Fireplace") — Arab Democratic Party weekly ("Dawla"); appeared only during the 1988 pre-election period.

5. Al-Jamahiri ("The Master") — weekly edited by Abdul Salam al-Rabieh, founded in 1986 but closed by government order on the basis that it received financial backing from hostile organizations.


Religious Newspapers

1. Al-Haha ("The Tie") — monthly, begun in 1943; oldest religious journal in Israel. Greek Catholic Church.

2. Al-Kalama ("The Word") — new monthly

3. Al-Durar ("The Hope") — monthly published in the early 1980s; Discontinued


5. Al-Bashar ("The Recognizer") — small missionary monthly of the Anthologia community in Haifa.


8. Al-Sara ("The Good Road") — the first organ published by the Moslem Movement, in Jaffa.

9. Al-Rayyan ("The Proof") — Dr. Ahmed DIAB's monthly, Nazareth. Two issues only have appeared.

10. Al-Salam ("The Guest") — moderate Moslem monthly edited by Abdul Salam Nasrallah, a Cameroun activist who returned to religion. Appeared in 1987 only.


12. Al-Ensara ("The Tangerine") — Druze quarterly edited in Daliat as Carmel by Samir Naser. Appeared during the Lebanese war only.

Commercial Newspapers


4. Al-Amin — free Israeli newspaper, also distributed in the Galilee. Leads towards the Arab Democratic Party.


7. Al-HaGall — free Hebrew-language newspaper. Only two issues were published.

even a journalist who strives for objectivity will always be suspected of partiality in his advertising client. Separation between the advertising and the editorial areas in the Arab press is still a long way off. The situation in radio and TV is also distorted. The Arabic telecasting and broadcasting services are not geared to the local population; their target audience is across the border, with the content of the programs often surprisingly resembling propaganda rather than information. This situation does not contribute to building an image of the media as an objective and fair information service and as a free, balanced platform serving its audience and society at large.

A Brief Survey of the Arabic Press

Party Newspapers

1. Al-Arabiyyah ("Unity") — Sakaka, founded in 1944 as a weekly, became a semi-weekly during the 1970s and a daily from 1985.
3. Al-Talaa ("Solidarity") — Progressive, existed as a weekly during 1983-85. From then on, occasional appearance.
4. Al-Durar ("The Birthplace") — Arab Democratic Party weekly (Dawarat), appeared only during the 1986 pre-election period.
5. Al-Jamahir ("The Masses") — weekly edited by Abd Salim Salem of Sakaka, founded in 1985 but closed by government order on the basis that it received financial backing from hostile organizations.

Religious Newspapers

1. Al-Rahba ("The Tie") — monthly, begun in 1945, oldest religious journal in Israel. Greek Catholic Church.
2. Al-Kal'a ("The Wall") — new commercial monthly begun in Haifa in 1980 by young historian Hassan Mansour.
3. Al-Ra'ad ("The Plume") — prestigious monthly of the Anglican Church. Begun in the early 1930s. Discontinued.
5. Al-Bir ("The Harbinger") — small missionary monthly of the Assyrian community in Haifa.
8. Al-Sarar ("The Good Road") — first organ published by the Moslem Movement. Um el-Fahm.
10. Al-Qulam ("The People") — monthly. Moslem monthly edited by Abd al-Salam of Nazareth, a Communist activist who returned to religion. Appeared in 1987 only.
12. Al-Kamal ("The Horizon") — Druze quarterly edited by Daliya el-Camal by Samuel Nazer. Appeared during the Lebanon war only.

Commercial Newspapers

2. Kol Al Arab ("All the Arab") — published by Al-Bostani advertising agency since 1987. Color advertising.
4. Al-A'mal ("Arab's Work") — free daily, different in distribution in the Galilee. Lends towards the Arab Democratic Party.
7. Kol Ha-Galil — free Hebrew-language newspaper. Only two issues were published.


Local Newspapers

5. Mo'ad ("Conscience") — Yaffa, outside Nazareth, monthly begun in 1985. Includes literary material as well as local news.

Literature and Ideas

5. Al-Masaref ("Knowledge") — monthly for students.
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, 1974-88; chairman of the board of directors of Ma'ariv Company.

David Markish: author and journalist; son of the well-known poet Peretz Markish; has published 16 books, including novels and short stories translated into seven languages.

Naftali Krausz: journalist; member of Ma'ariv staff.

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

Shmuel Shatzizer: editor and publicist; former editor-in-chief of Ma'ariv, 1980-85.

Maxwell Whiteman: historian, archivist and bibliographer; author of 11 books and over 150 articles; responsible for the collections of the Union League of Philadelphia; past member of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Dr. Nissim Kazaz: Orientalist; advisor on Arab Affairs in the Prime Minister's Office; lecturer in Oriental Studies and Iraqi Jewish History, Ben-Gurion University.

Professor Ya'akov Kabakov: professor of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Lehman College, CUNY; editor of the Jewish Yearbook; author of books on Hebrew literature in America.

Hava Zeinfeld: M.A., Jewish History, Tel Aviv University.

Yosef Kister: researcher, Jabotinsky Institute; former editor, Be-Eretz Yisrael (monthly).

Tirza Shafir Binyamini: graduate, Journalism Studies Program, Tel Aviv University.

Ruth Baki: senior programming editor, Kol Yisrael; former director, National Broadcasting Authority Training Center, Jerusalem.

Reuven Assor: journalist; former Israel media correspondent in Germany and Austria; correspondent in Israel for German and Swiss newspapers.

Atallah Mansour: author; member of Ha-Aretz staff since 1958; wrote three books and numerous articles primarily about the Arabs in Israel.

Theodore (Teddy) Levite: foreign correspondent for the London Standard, the Mirror Group, Bild Zeitung (Hamburg), Milliyet (Istanbul) and Sky TV (London).