THE JEWISH PRESS THAT WAS



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Accounts, Evaluations and Memories of Jewish Papers
in pre-Holocaust Europe

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THE JEWISH PRESS THAT WAS

The World Federation of Jewish Journalists and the Editorial Board of THE JEWISH PRESS THAT WAS pay tribute to the memory of the following contributors to this volume:

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Abraham Zack

ARYEH BAR — IN MEMORIAM

As this volume was rolling off the press, the said news came through of the death of its editor.

Aryeh Bar (Mandelbrot) was born in Warsaw in 1904, received a thorough Jewish and general education and graduated in Philosophy from the University of Warsaw. He began writing for the Jewish press in Poland at an early age, and in the 1930s was appointed Director of the J.T.A. offices in Warsaw. When World II broke out and Warsaw was occupied by the Germans, Bar escaped to Vilna where he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and exiled to Northern Russia where he spent many years in various prisons. In 1946, he returned to Poland and from there made his aliyah to Eretz Israel where his wife Miriam, who was a wellknown pianist in Poland, awaited him.

In Israel, he began working in the J.T.A., and shortly afterwards received an appointment as news editor in "Haaretz". He subsequently joined the editorial staff of the Mapai evening newspaper "Hador", and when this publication closed down, joined the editorial staff of "Davar", with which he was connected until his retirement in 1969. At the time of his retirement, he was editor of "Dvar Hashavua", the weekend magazine published by Davar newspaper.

Aryeh Bar was a man of many parts; he had an encyclopedic knowledge of things Jewish and general. He also mastered many languages which he put to good use in his translations of important works into Hebrew. He was awarded the Tchernikovsky Prize for his translation of the works of Freud into Hebrew.

A man of great modesty, of kindly disposition and outstanding gentility, Aryeh Bar was the epitome of an enlightened Jew to whom nothing that is human is strange. He was loved and revered by all who knew him.

H. S.

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CONTENTS

Yehuda Gotthelf
The silenced voice of a people from the Preface to the Hebrew Edition 9

Note to the English Edition 11

Yitzhak Gruenbaum
Haint: Memoirs and evaluations 17

Chaim Finkelstein
Struggles of a Jewish Daily 34

Moshe Sneh
Yesterday without a morrow 44

Mendel Mozes
Der Moment: Beginnings of a Jewish Daily 57

Abraham Zack
Ups and downs of a daily 64

Mark Turkow
Between two world wars 79

Mark Kahn
Last discords 86

Shalom Yedidiah
Moment's noon paper 88

Nathan Yellin-Mor
IZL's short-lived daily 89

Shmuel Rotstein
The ortodox press in Poland 97

J.S. Hertz
Folkszeitung, a Jewish Socialist daily 113

Chaim Yaari
Zionist labour dailies 122

Moshe Erem
Periodicals of the Zionist left 132

Menachem Flakser
Unzer Express, a popular daily 139

Pola Appenszlak
Nasz Przeglad: Warsaw Polish-Jewish dailies 145

Shalom Yedidiah
Piata Rano 149

Moshe Sneh
Nowe Slowo 150

Eizik Remba
The Hebrew press in Poland between two world wars . . . 153

Arie Bar
Making Jewish News: The Jewish Telegraphic Agency . . . 173

Melech Rawicz
"Tlomackie 13" Home of Jewish writers and journalists . . 205

Rachel Auerbach
A last visit 218

Haya Lazar
Dailies in "Jerusalem of Lithuania" 223

Abraham Zbar
Papers in Bialystok 237

Dov Rabin
Grodno Press 238

Elhanan Horowitz
Lubliner Togblat 241

Yitzhak Brat
In Volhynia and Polesia 243

Mordechai Sinar
A weekly in Mezritch 247

A. Wolf Jasny
The Jewish press in "Manchester of Poland" 249

S.Z. Shragai
Periodicals in Chenstochov 257

David Lazer
Nowy Dziennik: West Galicia's Polish-language Jewish Daily 259

Shimon Samet
East Galician Jewish Press 273

Yehuda Slutzki
The Jewish press in USSR, 1914–1938 279

Eliahu Porat
Baltic Jewish dailies: Latvia 297

Gershon Elimor
The Jewish press in Lithuania 311

Herbert A. Strauss
The Jewish press in Germany, 1918–1939 (1943) 321

Meir Färber
Austrian Jewish periodicals 354

Ezra Markovitz
Jewish periodicals in Czechoslovakia 361

S.J. Herrendorf
"... Where stones spoke Yiddish ..." 366

Aaron Alperin
The Yiddish press in Paris 371

Nathanel-Tony Garyn
Jewish French-language periodicals 376

Yosef Michman
Netherland's Jewish weeklies 380

Yom-Tov Levinsky
Jewish newspapers in Belgium 386

Saul P. Colbi
Italian-Jewish press 393

Werner David Melchior
Scandinavian Jewish periodicals 397

David Schön
Hungary's Jewish Press 403

Meir Zayit
The Jewish press in Rumania 417

Yakir Eventov
Jewish Periodicals in Yugoslavia 431

Raphael Ben-Shoshan
Jewish newspapers in Bulgaria 435

Shalom Reuven and Gershon Hel
Salonika: a prospering Ladino press 439

The silenced voice of a people

From the Preface to the Hebrew Edition

by its Editor Yehuda Gotthelf

The present decade marked the 300th anniversary of the Jewish press. *Gazeta de Amsterdam* which appeared in 1675, is generally regarded as the first Jewish paper. Its language —Ladino—the Jewish-Spanish dialect, shows that it was intended for exiles from Spain and Portugal and for Marranos. The first paper in Yiddish was *Dienstogishe un Freitogishe Kurent,* which appeared (1680) at first twice weekly, and subsequently once a week under the name of *Dienstogishe Kurent.* Amsterdam was then the main centre of Diaspora Jewry, since both Sephardi Jews (many of them Marranos) who had fled the Inquisition, Ashkenazi Jews, who had fled from Poland and from the pogroms of Bogdan Chmielnitzki, as well as Jews who had emigrated from Germany in search of a more liberal field of activity for trade and spiritual life, had concentrated there.

Subsequently, the spread of the Jewish press in the Diaspora was slow, whether on account of technical and linguistic difficulties (a flowery Hebrew, a Germanised Yiddish, etc.) or on account of the much reduced pace of public life in that period. However, in the era of the Haskalah (Enlightenment) and subsequently also in the period of national and social awakening, activity in this sphere gained momentum, at first in Western Europe (Germany) and later on in Eastern Europe (Galicia, Russia, Congress Poland, Lithuania, Romania, etc.). At first this was mainly a periodical press—anthologies and collections which made their appearance from time to time. Only in the second half of the 18th century was there a sprouting of an informational and publicistic journalism that reacted to topical events, although it devoted extensive space also to literature and popular science.

The first Hebrew paper in Russia was *Hamelitz,* which began appearing as a weekly in Odessa in 1860. The first Hebrew daily *Hayom* appeared in 1886. In that year both *Hamelitz* and *Hatzefira* were transformed into dailies. At the beginning of the 20th century *Hazman, Hatzofeh* and *Haboker* also put in their appearance as dailies. The Hebrew press, however, had to contend with tremendous difficulties, and not only on account of the political situation (in the year of the 1905 Revolution all the Hebrew papers in Russia ceased their appearance).

The first Jewish paper in Poland, *Der Beobachter an Der Weichsel* appeared in Warsaw in 1823 in Yiddish and Polish.

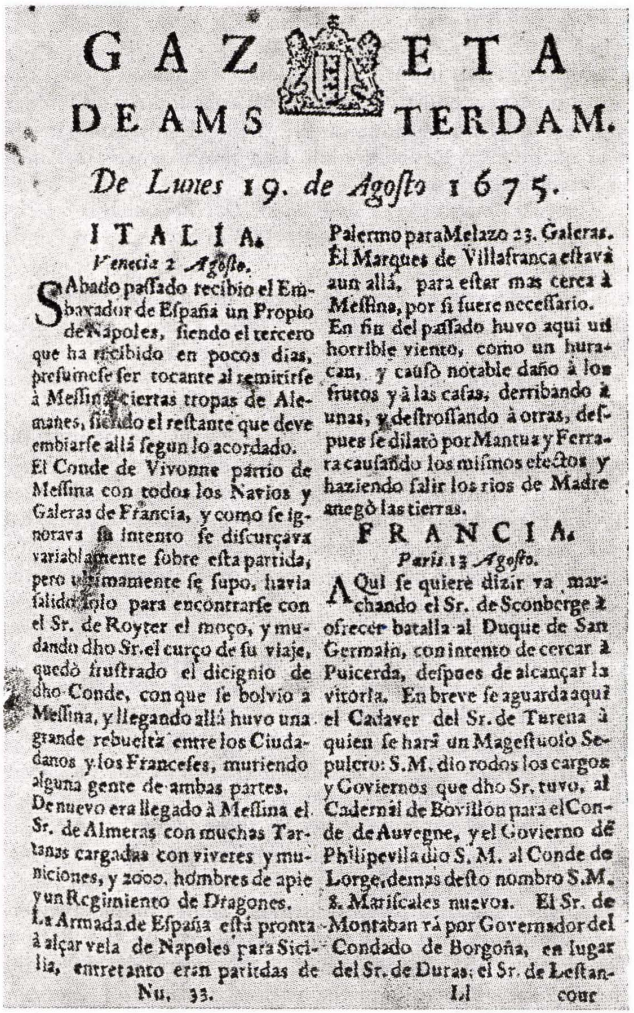
In 1903 the first Yiddish daily *Der Fraind* was founded, and after various gropings by additional dailies—*Der Weg, Der Telegraf, Yudishes Togblat*—the Yiddish daily press began to crystallise and expand and its principal organs, *Haint, Moment* and others, gained a very wide circulation.

The Hebrew daily press could not hold out against the spontaneity of the press in the vernacular of the Jewish masses in Eastern Europe, although *Hatzefira* continued its struggle and was published with various intervals, whether as a daily or a weekly, down to the year 1931. Leading Hebrew writers, in their desire to address themselves to the Jewish masses, also began contributing regularly to the Yiddish press.

This press reached its climax in the period between the two World Wars. Following years of suffocation and stagnation, great public-cultural forces which had been latent in various Jewish communities broke out in a storm. The Jewish journals began claiming freedom of activity even "before receiving official sanction to do so". Despite stress and poverty there sprang up in those days hundreds of associations, clubs, libraries and political parties, and on top of them all a Jewish press. The world between the two World Wars was beset by a feverish ideological and public awakening: the hopes that had been engendered by the Balfour Declaration; the disappointments that were rife following the October Revolution; the various versions of Zionism, Socialism, Bund, Socialist Zionism etc. The world was seized by a great belief after World War I, and little did we realise

that before the traces of World War I would be obliterated preparations would be made for a new and more savage conflagration.

In the period in question, Polish Jewry occupied prime



GAZETA DE AMSTERDAM.

De Lunes 19. de Agosto 1675.

ITALIA.

Venecia 2 Agosto.

SAbado passado recibio el Embaxador de España un Propio de Napoles, siendo el tercero que ha recibido en pocos dias, presumese ser tocante al remitirse à Messina ciertas tropas de Alemanes, siendo el restante que deve embiarse allá segun lo acordado.

El Conde de Vivonne partio de Messina con todos los Navios y Galeras de Francia, y como se ignorava su intento se discurçava variablemente sobre esta partida, pero ultimamente se supo, havia salido solo para encontrarse con el Sr. de Royter el moço, y mudando dho Sr. el curço de su viaje, quedò frustrado el dicignio de dho Conde, con que se bolvio à Messina, y llegando allá huvo una grande rebuelta entre los Ciudadanos y los Franceses, muriendo alguna gente de ambas partes.

De nuevo era llegado à Messina el Sr. de Almeras con muchas Tartanas cargadas con viveres y municiones, y 2000. hombres de apie y un Regimiento de Dragones.

La Armada de España està pronta à alçar vela de Napoles para Sicilia, entretanto eran partidas de Palermo para Melazo 23. Galeras.

El Marques de Villafranca estava aun allá, para estar mas cerca à Messina, por si fuere necessario.

En fin del passado huvo aqui un horrible viento, como un huracan, y causò notable daño à los frutos y à las casas, derribando à unas, y destrossando à otras, despues se dilatò por Mantua y Ferrara causando los mismos efectos y haziendo salir los rios de Madre anegò las tierras.

FRANCIA.

Paris 13 Agosto.

AQui se quiere dizir va marchando el Sr. de Sconberge à ofrecer batalla al Duque de San Germain, con intento de cercar à Puicerda, despues de alcançar la vitoria. En breve se aguarda aqui el Cadaver del Sr. de Turena à quien se hará un Magestuoso Sepulcro: S.M. dio todos los cargos y Goviernos que dho Sr. tuvo, al Cadernal de Bovillon para el Conde de Auvegne, y el Govierno de Philipevilla dio S. M. al Conde de Lorge, demas desto nombro S.M. 8. Mariscales nuevos. El Sr. de Montaban rá por Governador del Condado de Borgoña, en lugar del Sr. de Duras: el Sr. de Lestan-

Nu. 33. Ll cour

First Jewish Newspaper in the World; Ladino, Amsterdam 1675

of place in the field of journalism. In the years of Poland's independence no fewer than 23 Jewish dailies appeared in that country in Yiddish, Polish and Hebrew, and in almost every town in Poland there appeared weeklies devoted to social, cultural, economic and political problems. The five centres of the Jewish press were Warsaw, Lwow, Krakow, Vilna and Lodz. Daily papers appeared also in Lublin and Bialystok. The capital Warsaw, however, occupied a central place, since before the outbreak of World War II no fewer than 10 daily papers made their appearance there. Warsaw, however, was destroyed to a greater extent than all the cities of Europe, and on its destruction and the Holocaust that overtook Jewry in Poland and other parts of Europe, the curtain rang down on the ramified Jewish press.

The Jewish press in the Diaspora played a role unique of its kind. In the lack of an all-embracing organisation or parliamentary platform for all the Jewish communities, the Jewish press served as a true mouthpiece for the interests and desires of the Jewish masses and for the moulding of Jewish public opinion. For its readers, the Jewish paper served not only as a source of information, comment and amusement; the readers sought in the newspaper not only information and sensation but also defence, consolation and guidance as to their path in the future. Indeed, the Jewish newspaper reflected the life of the Jewish community, expressed its cogitations, pains and sorrows and gave vent to its aspirations. The Jewish newspaper extricted the Jew from his lethargy and passiveness and gave him a measure of pride. It served as a sort of guide, mentor and institution to which Jews turned in order to pour out their hearts. It did not remain satisfied with the function of observer but fought the battles of the Jewish masses for their right to work, to a livelihood and to life itself.

Jewish suffering was reflected from every column of the Jewish newspaper—the news items, the articles, the feuilletons. They were permeated with the hope for a better life in Eretz Israel. With very few exceptions (particularly the anti-Zionist organs), the whole of the Jewish press evinced an active or sympathetic attitude to Zionism and the information concerning events in Eretz Israel occupied a leading place in the newspapers; side by side with the defence against the enemy from without, the Jewish press put up a struggle on the internal front against the assimilationists,

against those who denied the right of the Jewish people to national resurgence.

The Jewish journalists did not remain satisfied with a purely professional approach to their work, for the sake of earning a livelihood. In professional ability they did not fall short of their colleagues in the general press, but looked upon journalism not as a profession but as a mission—a mission to arouse the people to struggle and creativeness.

Before the appearance of the Jewish press militant assimilationist circles began gaining sway over the Jewish communities. The Jewish press in overwhelming measure took the part of the democratic public forces who put an end to the hegemony of these would-be dictators. It also continued its fight against discrimination and injustice on the part of the authorities. It advocated a modernisation in communal life; it fought against slogans of liquidation, against manifestations of "fossilisation", for national political objectives, for the implementation of the Zionist idea.

The Jewish press contributed to the sprouting of a Jewish literature. In the Gentile world, writers generally gained fame by the fact that their works appeared in book form. Many Jewish writers gained publicity mainly through the assistance of the Jewish daily press which often printed their writings in serial form.

It is the Jewish press that set on foot the public movements, the political parties and organisations and shaped their ideological image.

The Jewish people is scattered and splintered, but through the medium of the Jewish press Jews everywhere came to participate in the joys and sufferings of their brethren in all countries.

We shall never know how many readers of the Jewish press there were among the six million Jews who were destroyed in the Holocaust, but we do know that they were very many. Their number was far greater than the number of copies of the papers that were actually sold. No Jew ever read a paper alone. While in the act of reading he would be surrounded by other Jews—on his right and his left, both in front and behind him—Jews who always craned their necks in order to catch a glimpse of the printed line. And how they read their paper! It was not merely a light-minded and cursory skimming through the columns, as is the wont of the reader in the large cities of the world, who


קורנט תמז

ה' אוינושט

דינשטאנישי

ד"ו כנחם

טייטש לנד

First Yiddish Newspaper, Amsterdam 1680



№ 1

DOSTRZEGACZA

Nadwiślańskiego.

z Warszawy Dnia. 3. Grudnia 1823.

דער באבאכטער
אן דער ווייכסל

זוארשויא 1823 יאר דרייטן דעצעמבר

WIADOMOSCI KRAJOWE

Kommissyia Rządowa Przychodow i Skarbu

W zadość uczynieniu przepisowi Art. 7. postanowienia Xiecia Namiestnika Królewskiego z dnia 22. Lipca r. b. w Dzienniku Praw w Tomie VIII zamieszczonego, następuiące rozporządzenia dotyczące się Xiąg handlowych i Xiążek konnotacyynych, przez trudniących się handlem w Królestwie Polskiem utrzymywać się winnych, do wykonania wskazuie.

§. 1. Dopełnianie przepisów prawa Artykułami 8. 9. 10 i 11. Xięgi Kodexu handlowego obięty ch, wszystkich w ogół Kupców obowiązuiących, zostawać będzie pod szczególnym nadzorem Władz Skarbowych:

Brzmienie Artykułów tych iest następuiące.

Artykul 8. „Każdy Kupiec powinien utrzymywać Dziennik, któryby przedstawiał dzień po dzień długi, tak mu należne, iako też od niego winne,

נאכריכטען פאם אינלאנד

ווי רעגירונגס קאמיסיאן דער אינקיפפס אזוי רעס שאפעצעס (קאמיסיס רעטמי מיסקאמבו)

אין ערפֿילונג דעם 7 טען פּאראגראף פֿון קייסערלעכען

8 טען (דעסען פּרויו) פּונקט 8 טען , אויך הויפּט פֿון דעם

מען בעשטעטיגט דער המצלחה פֿון

(קאמערציאל־גיט) וועלכע דורך קייסערליכע

מוזן מיטגעטיילט ווערן ,

§. 1. דורך פּאראגראפֿן דער נעזעצן־בוך

וועלכע מען זאלן פּראקטיקירן 8 . 9 . 10 11

דעם המנהגים קהילות ז טען פּאראגראף

מוזן קייסערליכע פון פּאליציי

פֿערפֿלעכטעט , ווי פּונקט

(רמזור) דער פּאראגראפֿן פֿון

דורך־געגאנגען פּראקטיקירט ווערן ווי פֿאלגט

8 . אין יעדער קויפֿמאן מיטס פֿערי

(קאמערציאל) לי פֿירהרן מען וועלן ער פֿון

אין יעדן פּאינקט אוים , וועלכע זיי רען (קונות) דורך ער

First Jewish Newspaper in Poland; Yiddish-Polish, Warsaw 1823

scans the headlines and generally remains satisfied with several sensational news items, sports news, etc., and then speedily throws his paper into the wastepaper basket. The Jew who did not read his paper from beginning to end felt as though he had wasted his few coppers on it. He read the lines and, on account of the censorship, also between the lines. And when the head of the family returned home from his daily chores, he would sit down to read out the article of his favourite writer to the members of his family.

The Jews are a strange people. They did not go to the public houses and drink to inebriety, but read newspapers.

And how did they read? The journalists and writers who contributed to the papers had not only loyal readers but actual admirers, like Chassidim who clung to their Rebbe. And when it happened that a leading journalist would leave a paper in order to join another, he would be followed by thousands of his readers. The readers would follow their favourite publicists with the utmost seriousness, react in Letters to the Editor whenever they thought that the writers were contradicting themselves, changing their opinions, or were far too hazy in explaining their attitudes.

The Jewish press was overwhelmingly a non-party press, but it did not lack ideological direction. Every paper had its own ideology and public trend. Although it was not a commercial press, there were times when business flourished. Seeing, however, that it did not have an eye on profit, there were almost no Jewish papers that glided into the abyss of the "Yellow press". On the contrary *Haint,* for example, which commenced by publishing novels of doubtful value, through which it tried to blaze a path for itself to the masses, very speedily changed its direction and became a paper of high standard—the central ideological organ of Polish Jewry.

In the last decade before the Holocaust, at the beginning of the 1930s, there set in a considerable deterioration in the financial situation of the Jewish newspapers. The economic dispossession of the Jewish population which led to steady impoverishment, the oppression of the censorship and the frequent confiscations of issues of the papers which put up a fearless fight against the authorities, the rise in expenditure of the papers in the wake of growing competition—all this led to the fact that even the large papers could not hold out and so were expropriated from their private ownership and transformed into cooperatives in which all the workers in the enterprise—members of the editorial staff, the administrative workers and printing workers were partners.

As already mentioned, the Jewish press was varied and divisible according to trends and objectives. Nonetheless, it rallied in the year 1916, when World War I was at its height, in the Writers and Journalists Association, whose centre at No. 13 Tlomackie Street in Warsaw became a home word throughout the Jewish Diaspora. The home of

Y.L. Peretz, which for many years had served as a centre of literary life, was silenced on his death, and it was necessary to fill the gap. In "Tlomackie 13", the barriers between writers and journalists fell, since here all those who earned their living by the pen, including residents not only of Warsaw but also of other cities (Krakow, Vilna, etc.) and even Jewish writers from distant countries who visited Warsaw from time to time, in order to imbibe the atmosphere of "Tlomackie 13", united. This house also became a centre for intellectuals of all kinds (artists, actors, cultural workers, political leaders, etc.). These club premises were by no means permeated by an idyllic atmosphere. Struggles both altruistic and selfish were conducted there. People argued, debated and quarrelled there, just as in a family. In general, however, they constituted one world.

The Jewish newspapers gave expression to the opposing stands of the various public forces. At the same time, however, they created a Jewish national front which often overcame the spirit of party schism.

The curtain has rung down also on "Tlomackie 13". We find some consolation, however, in the fact that the spirit of that house has been transferred to "Beth Sokolov" in Tel Aviv and has possibly attained even a higher standard of national and public responsibility as is befitting the Journalists Association in the independent State of Israel.

From the review undertaken in 1972 by Joseph Frankel on behalf of the Cultural Department of the World Jewish Congress, we learn that even at present there appear throughout the Jewish world no fewer than 954 Jewish periodicals, of which 32 are dailies (12 in Hebrew, 11 in Yiddish and one each in English, French and German, and six in other languages).

According to lists prepared by YIVO (the Jewish Scientific Institute) there appeared in the last years before the outbreak of World War II in independent Poland alone, 230 periodicals in Yiddish, of which 27 were dailies, 100 were weeklies, 24 were fortnightlies and 58 monthlies. The overwhelming majority of these papers appeared in Warsaw.

To this press, which appeared in the years between the two World Wars, to their editors, their journalists and readership who met their death at the hands of a cruel and relentless enemy, we owe a great national debt.

This book presents to the reader monographs and articles

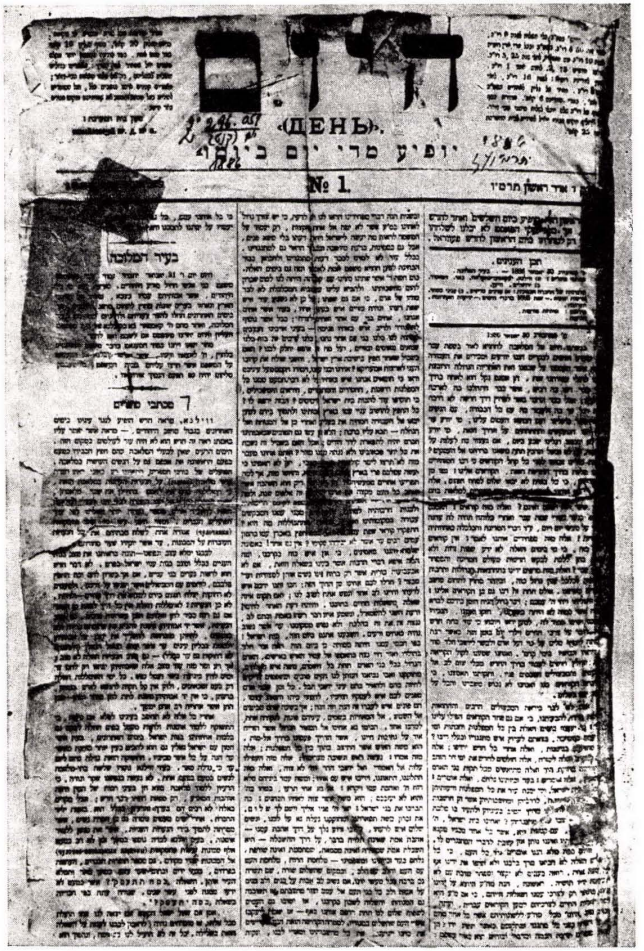

הַמֵּלִיץ

בין עם ישרון והממשלה, בין האמונה והחשכלה.

Hamelitz, *First Hebrew Weekly in Russia; Odessa 1860*

on this press and on the principal periodicals in the countries of Europe that were mercilessly destroyed by the wild beast of Nazism.

On account of the change in editorship while the present volume was being prepared, and the dispersion of the contributors throughout the world, there has been an insufficient measure of uniformity in regard to form and content. This book is not to be regarded as a collection of researches. The opinions expressed in the articles are solely those of their writers.


הדרום

«ДЕНЬ».

№ 1.

Hayom, *First Hebrew Daily; February 12, 1886*

NOTE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

The melancholy note on which every chapter in this book ends is indicative of the reason for the decision taken by the World Federation of Jewish Journalists in the late 1960s, to set up a memorial to the Jewish press whose existence was rudely interrupted wherever the Nazi army trod in Europe. The stifling of the collective Jewish voice was the opening Act in the Holocaust tragely.

The preparation of the English edition of this volume (the Hebrew edition appeared in 1973 and the Yiddish version in 1975) necessitated a certain re-arrangement and re-editing of the material. Basically, however, it differs from the original only in detail, although it is more concentrated, mainly on account of the fact that stress was laid more on focusing the material on the state of the Jewish press in the period between the two world wars and on the information required for a clarification of its historical background. The digressions from the original text did not in any way alter the general character of this collection of articles, since most of the material is based on the personal memories of journalists, active workers and shapers of this press, and only a mall amount of the material is based on historical research, documentation and archival records. Editing did not necessitate any changes in the overall picture, or alterations in what at first glance may appear to be an unbalanced distribution of the information. In the English version too, more than half the articles are devoted to Jewish periodicals in Eastern Europe. This proportion more or less reflects the situation obtaining in the period under review. Suffice it to mention that of the three dozen or so Jewish dailies published in Europe shortly before the outbreak of the War, only two appeared in Western Europe and in Yiddish at that, so that they, too, were intended for the East European reader. (In Poland alone, about 25 daily papers appeared at the time.)

The editor of the English edition would like to record his indebtedness to a number of friends for their assistance in preparing this volume for the press. First and foremost to Mr. Haim Shachter, who translated the essays and articles from the Hebrew (with the exception of the monograph on the Jewish press in Germany, which was written in English by Professor Herbert A. Strauss of City College

of the University of New York). Mr. Shachter was also called upon to do a considerable amount of editing in the course of his translation work. The Editor also wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Uri Lavi, Assistant Manager of the Jerusalem Post press, not only for a beautiful piece of workmanship but also for the long-suffering patience that he evinced for the numerous changes introduced during the various stages of type-setting and printing, and last but not least, to Mr. Ze'ev Apelbaum, formerly secretary of the Journalists' Association in Jerusalem, for his assistance in the final stages of preparation of the volume for the press. Mr. Apelbaum also compiled the index.



Meeting of Editorial Board of Haint *in 1933*

THE JEWISH PRESS IN POLAND

HAINT: Memoirs and evaluations

Yitzhak Gruenbaum

When I returned to Warsaw from Petrograd one year after the Bolshevik Revolution, Poland was still under German occupation and there was as yet no indication of the end of the German regime which came a number of months later, and in the wake of which the Polish Republic was to arise. The Zionist Organisation, the conduct of which I was to take over, in the capacity of Secretary General, brought out at the time two weeklies—*Hatzefira* in Hebrew and *Dos Yudishe Folk* in Yiddish. I was appointed Political Editor-in-Chief of the two organs.

Haint had experienced evil times. During the years of the German occupation the paper failed to find its proper path, and less so on the rise of the Polish Republic. Its political stand was akin to that of the Zionists and the neo-assimilationists who exerted efforts to arrive at an understanding with Polish circles, particularly with aristocrats-Endeks (members of Right Wing antisemitic Polish National Democratic Party)—the circles to whom the Germans then transferred authority by degrees. *Haint* was no partner in the short-lived "romance" with the Germans who, for some time, gave support to the Folkists and promised the Jews extensive personal autonomy, schools where the language of tuition would be Yiddish, a central representative body, etc. This friendship was not long-lived.

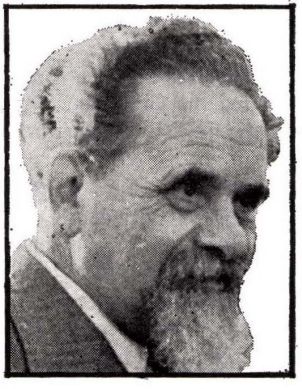
But Folkism under the leadership of Noah Prilutzki, H.D. Nomberg and S. Hirschhorn, continued to enjoy the sympathy and support of the wide masses of Polish Jewry. This was brought about by the struggle waged between the Folkists and the Jewish Civil Committee which had reached an understanding with the Polish Committee and agreed to reduce the Jewish representation in the first elections to the Warsaw Municipal Council. The Folkists came out against this compromise and their list emerged victorious in the national Curia. *Haint* supported the Civil Committee and consequently large sections of the Jewish masses turned their back upon it.

Prilutzki became the hero of the Jewish masses in Warsaw. The Warsaw Municipal Council was the only large open arena for political discussions and Prilutzki's appearances in this Council against the antisemites and their anti-Jewish proposals greatly enhanced his popularity since the Zionist representatives had their hands tied through the compromise agreement for the elections. They also took into account the situation under the occupation and so reacted much more moderately to the antisemitic speeches and antisemitic policy. The Jewish masses in Warsaw looked upon that as an act of cowardice and sycophancy—they failed to understand the reason behind this conduct. After all, they said, the authority was in the hands of the Germans who declare equality of rights for the Jews while the Municipality often infringed on their rights. Why the fear?

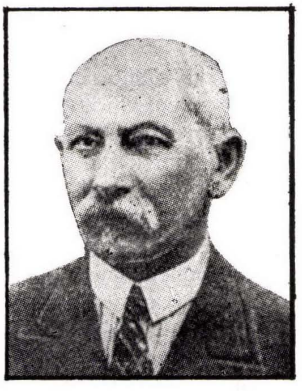
It fell to my lot to change this policy and that, incidentally, aroused consternation in the Zionist camp. A policy was adopted of conducting a struggle for equal civil rights and for Jewish rights as a national minority. At the same time, however, we endeavoured not to exaggerate in our national demands and to beware of demagogy. The Folkists were not choosers in this respect.

Immediately on the rise of the Polish Republic (November, 1918) the above-mentioned weeklies became dailies and the Zionist leadership took the initiative in the sphere of internal and external policies. In matters of external policy, the Zionist Organisation came out with the demand to convene a general Jewish conference which would re-

present the whole of the Jewish people in Poland and draw up civil and national demands that would be submitted by the Jewish representation in the Constituent Parliamentary Assembly of Poland. The Jewish Convention was also to announce its affiliation with the Jewish representations that were then established in various countries for the purpose of organising a Jewish delegation to the Peace Conference. This all-Jewish representation was to demand full equality



Yitzhak Gruenbaum



S. J. Yatzkan

of rights for the Jews in countries where there were still limitations on their rights and to fight for Jewish rights in all places where large Jewish masses were resident and were demanding such rights. The Jewish representation was called upon to struggle for Jewish rights to national revival in their national homeland—Eretz Israel.

Almost all the Jewish parties were opposed to this platform—with the exception of the Mizrachi and Hitachdut Parties—and averted its implementation. Large masses of non-partisans supported the platform. Instead, therefore, of convening an all-Jewish Conference elected by all the Jews, there was no outlet but to remain satisfied with a conference which had the participation of representatives of the larger towns and cities in Congress (or former Russian) Poland and Western Galicia. After thorough deliberation the Conference adopted the proposed platform and elected a provisional Jewish National Council.

The Provisional Council submitted its lists to the Constituent Assembly of Poland, and of the 12 mandates allotted to the Jews, 7 were elected from this list (an eighth delegate, Dr. Yitzhak Schipper, candidate of the Poalei Zion (Right) Party, joined the Council later). Of the remaining four delegates, two represented Agudat Israel and two the Folkists.

Haint supported the National Council but its principal organs were *Hatzefira* and *Dos Yudishe Folk* and it very soon transpired that these two papers with almost the same tendency had no prospects of holding out, so that at the suggestion of the publishers of *Haint,* they merged after brief negotiations and the new paper appeared under its old name *Haint.* The collaborators of *Dos Yudishe Folk* entered the united editorial board in which there remained almost all the previous editorial staff of *Haint.* At my request the editor and publisher, S.J. Yatzkan, resigned. He did not look upon that as a tragedy and our relations continued to be friendly as hitherto. Yatzkan realised that he could not continue to be the editor-in-chief of the principal organ of the Zionist Organisation in the new Poland.

I find it necessary to say a few words here about Yatzkan. He was a Hebrew journalist who had worked on *Hamelitz* and afterwards for many years on *Hatzefira.* Yatzkan was an ardent Zionist and a faithful follower of Herzl. When Herzl announced that he had come up against a blank wall in Constantinople, Yatzkan accepted the Uganda plan as the only outlet, and even before the 7th Zionist Congress became a Territorialist and passed through the brief history of Territorialism until the movement petered out in its futile searches for some suitable territory for a Jewish State and Galvestone's migration plan.

In the days of the first Russian Revolution of 1905, Yatzkan resigned from *Hatzefira.* The paper kept itself going with the utmost difficulty then and very soon closed down. During the days of the struggle between the Russian Duma (Parliament) and the Tzarist regime, Yatzkan founded a small paper in Yiddish. The paper was priced at one kopeka, the smallest unit in Russian currency, and so it immediately acquired an extensive readership. Yatzkan showed himself to be a man who had a deep understanding of the Jewish masses and proved himself to be a very gifted journalist and editor. His paper was of a different character from the Yiddish papers that were then published in Petersburg (present-day Leningrad), Vilna and Warsaw. In his little

paper he would give daily a short survey of international political events, in which he quoted the main telegrams and other sources. The reader was afforded a clear picture of the situation at the time. His publicistic articles, however, were more in the nature of "outcries" than of informative commentary, based on argumentation. His words shocked his readers, and either repulsed or attracted them but they could not remain unconcerned.

Togblat, a paper which also cost one kopeka, came out for several years and then made room for a larger paper, *Haint*. The new paper took the readers by storm. The boulevard novel, which Yatzkan introduced into his paper in serialised form, attracted the mass reader, particularly the women who had previously not been in the habit of reading papers at all. The plots revolved around "blood curdling" and "love" affairs in Warsaw and drew the interest of the simple readers who identified themselves with the fate of the heroes. Often telephone calls would be received in the editorial offices from readers who wanted to know what would be the fate of the hero or heroine in the novel over whose head the author had a sword hanging. The readership grew from day to day and the greater majority of it came from the popular masses.

Of course, there were people who levelled stringent criticism against *Haint* and its serialised novels. Yatzkan, however, remained unaffected by this criticism and continued to follow in his self-appointed path. But no sooner did he realise that the paper had won a place for itself among the readers than he began to enrich the paper with better and more serious literary material. He invited the best Jewish writers to contribute to his paper. Y.L. Peretz, David Frischmann, Hillel Zeitlin and Shalom Aleichem were regular contributors to *Haint,* and of the younger writers, Shalom Asch and many others were given publicity in the paper which gained them popularity with its readers.

I personally attracted Yatzkan's attention only after the paper *Fraind* moved over from Petersburg to Warsaw. I was a regular contributor to that paper.

One day Yatzkan accosted me in the street and invited me to write for *Haint*. He said that he liked the articles that I wrote for *Fraind* on Polish affairs. Yatzkan already then realised that a paper appearing in Warsaw has to deal with Polish affairs. I refused his invitation.

I was not attracted to *Haint*. There was something repulsive in the articles it published on antisemitic manifestations, on antisemitism and "progressiveness" which then appeared in the Polish arena—not so much from the point of view of content as from the point of view of their "vociferousness" as we then described the tone of things. These articles reeked with an atmosphere of strangeness mixed with contempt, as though their writers wanted to hint to the Poles: why all this conceit and peacockery of yours? Aren't you enslaved to the Russians just as we Jews are?

In Polish society *Haint* had a bad name as had many other Jewish papers. Yatzkan was notorious. In the election campaign to the fourth (and last) Duma, *Haint* had come out in support of the Zionist stand, and thanks to the paper the Jewish Election Committee and the Jewish electors agreed to vote for a simple Polish labourer, a Social Democrat, if only not to make possible the election of one of the antisemitic candidates, the National Democrat (Endek) Roman Dmowski, or the Progressive Kucharzewski.

In the period of the German occupation the attitude of *Haint* towards Poland grew more moderate. Yatzkan had clear memories of the courting by the Russians of the Poles, nor did he forget the boycott of the Jews, which was the Polish answer to the defeat of their candidates in the elections to the Duma in Warsaw. He also remembered the antisemitic instigations in the first year of the War. Yatzkan supported the idea of arriving at a Polish-Jewish understanding in the elections to the Warsaw Municipal Council so as not to call forth a still sharper reaction on the part of the German occupation authorities if the Jews assumed the same attitude as they had done in the fourth Duma elections and turned their back upon the Poles who were desirous of demonstrating the solidarity of all the citizens.

When I assumed editorial responsibility for *Haint* I was forced to demand Yatzkan's resignation from the editorial board because it was hard for me to hope for harmonious cooperation on his part. The new *Haint* had to open a new period in the life of the paper. Its purpose was to become the principal organ in the struggle for Polish Jewry and for Polish Zionism.

Haint was first of all a political instrument for expressing the needs of the Jewish masses. It served the people in

its struggle against the attempts to limit its rights and constantly laid bare the injustice of the new Polish authorities through acts that affected deleteriously the Jews as individuals as well as Jewish communities, national and cultural institutions. In the main, the paper combated attempts to oust the Jewish community from the country's economy —a policy that guided not only the actions of the large party of the Polish bourgeois but one that was adopted also by the peasant parties and the cleriral section of the Polish proletariat. The paper shed light on the new Jewish policy and taught the masses in Poland to realise that they are part of the large Jewish nation and that in the great democratic countries throughout the world the Jews had obtained equality of rights, that they wield great influence in such countries and that the Jewish people can and is prepared to make use of such influence in the struggle against Jewish oppression everywhere. The paper taught its readers to realise that it is necessary for them to fight for justice and for their rights, for an honourable human and national existence, for the national development of the Jewish masses within the frontiers of the Polish State. But the paper was not afraid to stress that objective conditions hemmed in the possibilities of such development. For a minority lacking any territorial basis in the country, a minority whose sons are scattered only in the towns and townlets and from the economic point of view fulfil only the functions of middlemen, that such a minority is subservient to its situation and that this factor is decisive in determining its power of opposition and determines its place in the population generally.

A national minority that does not constitute a majority in any part of the country is not capable of revolting; at best, it can only demand the implementation of its civil and national rights which do not in any way undermine the sovereignty of the majority people that is in power—the majority that created the country, developed it and defended it with all its powers.

This principle brought the paper into sharp conflict with the Folkist movement that endeavoured to convince the Jewish masses that Poland would be forced to accept the most far-reaching demands for personal autonomy. No non-Jewish national minority had any interest in such autonomy because the other minorities were territorially concentrated and aspired to regional autonomy if not to complete independence in their desire to unite with the national groups—each minority with its own people beyond the frontiers of Poland.

Incidentally in the first years of Poland's independence, prime of place was occupied not by the question of national rights. The Polish parties and the Polish masses were drunk with their newly acquired independence and attacked the economic positions of the Jews, refusing to recognise equality of rights. On the one hand the Polish Parties and the Government feared the Jewish influence in America and England and on the other the Bolshevik Revolution that was winning victories in Russia. They also greatly exaggerated Jewish influence in both the East and the West and did not try to hold in check the masses who wished to oust the Jews from their economic positions and to force them to acquiesce in the function of second class citizens—people who had no alternative but to adapt themselves to the needs of the ruling people and to serve as a plaything in its hands as it saw fit.

Haint used to publish all the questions submitted in the Sejm (Polish Parliament) regarding attacks on the Jews, the pogrom in Lwow (Lemberg), the excesses against the Jews in Western Galicia and the "acts of heroism" on the part of the "armed gangs", as they used to call the soldiers of General Jozef Haller's army in the districts of Posen, who used to harass the Jews, cut off beards and earlocks of observant Jews, etc. The Jewish press did not remain silent over any attacks on the Jews; it used to publish the speeches by the Jewish Deputies in the Sejm as well as articles expounding the statements in Parliament; it used to explain the situation and supply information to the Jewish and non-Jewish world about what was being done to the Jews in Poland.

Jews now felt that they were not abandoned to their fate, that the evils committed against them were not being hushed over, that the guilt of the authorities was being exposed and that the Government was being held responsible for the acts committed. Jews no longer agreed to suffer terrorism in silence and their spirit did not fall. They did not ask for mercy; they did not excuse their actions and acquiesce in the situation but demanded jus-

tice and their rights. The eyes of the outside world were wide open to the situation. Jews wielded influence in other countries and enquiry commissions were sent out to Poland from the United States and England. Particular importance was attached to the enquiry instituted by an Allied Commission.

This Commission reached its conclusions and made recommendations which, it is true, were not entirely to the liking of the Jews, but nonetheless served to ward off the attacks. Jews no longer felt themselves to be degraded. They no longer had the feeling of being a group that could be trampled upon without fear of the consequences.

Haint also did not remain silent when the war broke out against Bolshevik Russia and again the soldiers of the Polish army at the instigation of the general staff began anti-Jewish excesses, especially after the withdrawal of the Polish army from Kiev and Minsk. Parliament was paralysed at that time and the military censorship ruled unhindered. But the publicists in *Haint* not only defended the Jews but laid blame for the situation at the feet of the authorities, demanded an enquiry and the revelation of the truth.

Even in the most critical moments the paper did not cease regarding the authorities as responsible for the situation, especially at the time when the Polish army warded off the attacks of the Red army and the Jews were accused of acts of treason, as it were, during the short period of Bolshevik occupation.

When the attacks upon the Jews and upon their honour, during the first years of independence, were warded off the Polish parties began to realise that one had to recognise the constitutional equality of rights of the Jews in the country. But the majority of the bourgeois parties and the Rightist wings of the Labour and Peasant Parties sought ways and means of turning these constitutional principles into a dead letter. It was necessary, therefore, to enlighten the Jewish public to the fact that rights do not mean only written laws and that they had to fight for the full and unconditional implementation of these rights. However, in actual fact, conditions were set for the Jews as always, and in all places where the Jews lived in large numbers and were segregated in their form of life and observance of their religion, they spoke in their own language, enjoyed a culture of their own and were organised in communities of their own. A theme for attack was the question of Sabbath rest for the Jews and their very demand to allow Sabbath observers to conduct their businesses on Sunday (with the exception of the hours of prayer in the Churches). In this instance, the Government could fall back on conditions in the countries of freedom of Europe and America where Jews ceased closing down their businesses on Sabbaths and Festivals and kept Sunday as a day of rest together with the rest of the population. This was in actual fact a lost battle since all the parties in Poland were in favour of the limitation which, on the face of it, entailed an abolition of the principle of equality. After all, the Jews were not forbidden to observe their Sabbath. The clerics defended the prohibition of trade on the Sunday for religious reasons, whereas the bourgeois parties wanted to enforce upon the Jewish merchants the alternative of either losing two days of trade a week or desisting from observing the Sabbath, whereas the workers and the peasants were interested in exploiting the Sunday for amusements and political meetings and so not allow people the possibility of making their purchases in Jewish shops on that day or of "drinking in Jewish restaurants".

Haint conducted an information campaign, revealed the true reasons behind and the anti-Jewish intentions of the law—which was to break the power of economic resistance of the Jews which had been weakened already before with the loss of the Russian market which, in the past, had been the basis of their economy.

The Jewish Deputies in the Sejm openly called upon the Jews to demonstrate their rebellion, and *Haint* supported their call. But it was the Orthodox circles of Agudat Israel, who remained unconcerned in the struggle; they relied upon the observant sections that they would not desecrate the Sabbath and would choose to rest for two days a week.

The Sunday rest law came into force and until the second half of the 1930s this law remained an objective for the struggle of the Jewish Deputies in the Sejm who demanded that it should be changed. *Haint* stood at the forefront of those who made this demand in the Jewish press. The struggle failed, but in administrative practice

certain facilities were granted to artisans who worked in closed workshops, to schools and to Jewish institutions, for these remained open on Sundays and on Catholic holidays.

Another point which constituted an attack on the equality of rights of Polish Jewry, was the *Numerus Clausus*—the introduction of a certain percentage for Jews in institutes of higher learning. The real intention behind this was to hit the emergence of a Jewish intelligentsia. In the first third of the 20th century there was an increase in the Polish-linguistic assimilation of this Jewish stratum. Nonetheless there was also a tendency for a rise of national elements among them, whether on account of the strengthening of Zionism or on account of the spread of Socialism, whether in the Bundist or the Zionist form. On the other hand, the influences of Polish-national assimilation among the Jewish intellectuals waned and very few vestiges of it remained in the circles of great business. Agudat Israel at first tried to cooperate in the struggle for political rights, but very soon came to the conclusion that in order that its religious demands might be met, it was more expedient for it to seek appeasement with the Polish Government.

On this front the attack took the direction of doing everything possible in order to prevent an increase in Jewish intellectual circles and in order to throw all the liberal professions open to competition by members of the Polish intelligentsia. The draft law submitted to the Sejm was intended to introduce a certain quota for the admission of Jews to the various faculties and particularly to the liberal professions which were not under the supervision of the administration, such as lawyers, pedagogues, members of the various technical branches, but in the main it was intended to limit the number of Jews in medicine and in dentistry and to no smaller degree to veterinary medicine. Here, too, the struggle was most intense, and on this front the Socialists sided with the Jews. *Haint* and all the other Jewish papers devoted themselves wholeheartedly to this struggle which would undoubtedly have failed to succeed if not for the echoes that it aroused abroad. In countries abroad there was an understanding for the Sunday rest law but the enlightened world found it difficult to understand the reason for the closing of the schools of higher learning to Jews, for national or religious reasons. Poincaré, the President of France, wrote to the President of Poland warning him against any infringement of the principle of equality of rights. The law passed the first two readings in the Sejm, but did not come up for a third reading.

Nonetheless its principles were applied in practice through directives issued of their own accord by the authorities of the schools of higher learning. The number of Jews admitted to the universities, and particularly to the faculties of medicine, dropped from year to year. The Faculty of Philosophy which promised a much smaller income to its graduates did not limit the number of Jewish students. Nor were there any limitations in the Faculty of Law since the number of lawyers was always regulated by decisions of the Courts of Justice and the Lawyers' Associations. The schools of education and of the various technical professions introduced various limitations, although Jewish engineers always met with difficulties in obtaining work in factories, and entrance to Government employment was always entirely closed to Jews.

Through these steps the authorities hoped to break down Jewish opposition which found its highest expression in the elections to the First Legislative Assembly in 1922, in the Bloc of National Minorities. This opposition, however, was not broken before a mass and cruel terrorist movement was launched against the Jews, including fiscal terror and, whenever need arose, even physical excesses.

The Constituent Assembly which was elected in January 1919 passed not only the new Constitution of Poland but also an election law to replace the provisional law which governed the election to the Constituent Assembly. The new election law now embraced the whole of Poland and its eastern border regions, parts of Byelorussia and the Western Ukraine, which were annexed to Poland on the basis of the Peace Treaty signed with the Soviet Union at Riga. The authors of the first election law, members of the First Provisional Government of Poland, were afraid of the decisive power of the national democracy (Endecja) and endeavoured to ensure a proper representation for the Leftist parties. The law laid down the principle of proportional elections and created large electoral regions in the majority of which there were seven or eight Deputies and in some even as many as ten or eleven mandates. Such division of

mandates opened up large prospects for the Jews, but these prospects were not exploited. The Jewish parties opposed the unity proposal of the National Council and submitted lists of their own for the elections. In the large cities of Warsaw and Lodz the Jewish candidates emerged successfully, but the Jewish votes were splintered in many electoral regions which would have gained for the Jews many mandates if their lists had been united. The number of Jewish Deputies elected to the first Sejm was far smaller than the provisional Government had thought would be returned.

The authors of the new election law feared even more from the national minority and wished to reduce as far as possible the number of Jewish Deputies and the representatives of the Socialists and the peasants of the Left. It was only in Eastern Galicia that the electoral geography saw to having large electoral regions so that the number of Polish Deputies would not be smaller than the number of Ukrainian representatives. In electoral regions of only five or six mandates there were no prospects even for united Jewish lists. For that reason the Jewish representatives conducted a staunch struggle against this electoral geography, both in the Preparatory Committee as well as in the Sejm Plenary.

Haint always reported to its readers about what was being done in this direction and published the speeches that I delivered in the Legal Committee and afterwards in the Plenary, as well as articles in which electoral affairs were explained. The Jewish citizen realised that the struggle was being conducted for the defence of Jewish positions and for the warding off of an antisemitic attack. The struggle was a dramatic one and the Jews followed it with great suspense. The main reason in my argument was that in this struggle against the tendency to reduce to a minimum the Jewish representation in Parliament we would have no alternative but to create a bloc of national minorities. Just before the last vote on the election law I said in the Sejm that this bloc would indeed arise but my statement met with ridicule and one of the most influential members of the Endek faction, the priest Lutoslawski, replied jestingly that I was boasting in vain. In the visitors' gallery of the Sejm there was a young Ukrainian from the town of Chelm listening to the debate. When I finished my speech from the Sejm rostrum and left the hall, the man came up to me and expressed his agreement to the idea. We contacted the Ukrainian Committee in Chelm as well as Byelorussian and Lithuanian Committees in Vilna and Germans from the regions of Lodz and Posen. Talks were started immediately also with the representatives of the Jewish parties, but before long it became clear that only the Hitachdut, Mizrachi and Agudat Israel would join the Jewish national bloc. The two Poalei Zion factions of the Right and the Left refused to support the bloc. The most stringent opponents of the national bloc, however, were the Folkists.

In their newspaper a sharp controversy was in progress. Noah Prilutzki accused the national bloc that it was entering into a union with erstwhile pogromists against the Jews, with members of the Petlura gang, and shaking hands that were reeking of Jewish blood. They accused the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians and the Lithuanians of planning separatist machinations, that they had among them masked Communists, and hinted at the Germans that they were receiving their directives from Berlin.

Haint rejected all these accusations and revealed their futility. The opponents tried to convince people that a general Jewish bloc, embracing all the parties, even without the Socialists, would gain a feasible representation in Parliament, and also hinted that Polish public opinion regarded the efforts to introduce to the Sejm representations of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and the Germans as anti-State activity.

In innumerable articles *Haint* rejected these stories. An information campaign was conducted through mass meetings in all the large cities and in the townlets. At first the Jewish masses were sceptical of this daring act. Jews feared that it might lead to a deterioration in relations between the Jews and the Poles. But, by dint of the information campaign conducted from the columns of *Haint,* as well as orally, it became increasingly clear to the Jews that a minority bloc would extricate the Jewish public from its political isolation and that such a bloc was likely to become a guide to the minorities to acquiesce in the Polish statehood which now became an established fact. The principle of establishing the bloc also stressed the possibility of conducting a peaceful struggle for the rights of the minorities, which were part and parcel of large nations concentrated in countries of their own that were neighbouring on Poland,

so that the bloc would be transformed into the only means of liberating irredentist movements.

The minority bloc won a decisive victory. The Jews gained 17 mandates in the Sejm and eight mandates in the Senate. Two mandates were allocated to Jewish national lists in Western Galicia (Krakow and Rzeszow, or Reisha, as it was called by the Jews) which were not connected with the bloc and another 15 mandates for the Sejm and four for the Senate were obtained in Eastern Galicia, in regions where the Ukrainians boycotted the elections to Parliament. Such boycott brought great benefit to the Jewish electors since the abstention of the Ukrainians led to the fact that fewer than ten thousand votes were needed for the return of a Deputy, whereas in other regions over 15,000 votes were needed for each mandate.

Among the candidates of all the other Jewish parties Noah Prilutzki was able to safeguard his own mandate, and so the Jews had 34 Deputies in the Sejm and 12 in the Senate. All of them were united in a joint Jewish faction ("the Jewish Kolo", or Circle, as it was called). Prilutzki did not join the faction. Together with the remaining Deputies elected on minority lists, there were about 100 non-Polish Deputies and Senators, and the number aroused absolute fear among the Polish parties. The President of the State was elected at a joint meeting of the two houses of Parliament and the minorities bloc through its vote helped in the election of Gabriel Narutowicz, the candidate put up by Pilsudski, the Socialists and the Leftist peasants. The masses, who were instigated by the Endeks, tried to prevent the swearing in of the President, who was elected with the aid of the minority groups, but seeing that their attempt failed, a painter by the name of Eligiusz Niewiadomski shot at the President and killed him.

The Jewish press led by *Haint* denounced the assassination and the political principle behind it, under which only the Polish majority has the right of decision on matters of state. The argument was that the acceptance of such a principle would bring about a degradation of the minorities to the status of second-class citizens.

In place of the President who was assassinated, Stanislaw Wojciechowski (who was subsequently to be deposed in the Pilsudski revolt of 1926) was elected. Voting for him were the Polish majority—a united bloc of the Right and the Left. The votes of the minority bloc lost their significance.

The new President appointed General Sikorski to the Premiership. Sikorski's first move was to annul any possibility of creating a permanent bloc of the minorities that would be capable of influencing legislation and policy. He turned, first of all, to the Slav minorities, to the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians. A whole theory was evolved consolidating the need and possibility of arriving at an understanding with the Slav minorities which were linguistically close to the Poles and concentrated territorially. There was talk of creating an autonomous government based on the Constitution, and seeing that the Constitution foresaw a sort of self-Government for the various regions (Wojewodztwo) the proposal was mooted of the possibility of expanding it to regional autonomy. This principal, it was argued, could not however be applied to the Jewish and to the German minorities who were scattered over all regions in the Republic.

Nonetheless, Sikorski who was himself a Galician, established contacts with the Jewish Deputies who represented the Jewish electors in Galicia and who did not like their links with the Ukrainians; although when they went to the elections they made sure of a certain undertaking on the part of the secret Ukrainian Committee that these would not employ terror against the Jewish candidates, in return for which, the Deputies promised the Ukrainian Committee to publish a declaration in the Sejm concerning Galicia as a separate political unit which had to be granted autonomous rights. Meantime, however, it transpired that the prospects of the Ukrainians in the countries of the West had dropped considerably, and so the Galician Deputies did not keep to their promise, and withdrew from their former policy of maintaining a neutral attitude towards the Polish-Ukrainian conflict and began seeking an understanding with the Polish regime. Sikorski remained satisfied with their withdrawal from their neutral stand in the conflict and, incidentally, it was also then that the Endeks began an attack on the attitude of the Jews to higher education—an attack that was described above.

All these problems were themes for the weekly articles that I published in *Haint* and for the publicists and the other collaborators in the paper. The reader was always given a clear picture of the process of the Jewish struggle and

of the attitudes of the Government and of the Polish parties, and so came to have a thorough knowledge of the objectives of the struggle. One thing, however, remained an enigma for the reader: why was there no unity among the Jewish representatives in Parliament and why had the Zionists of Galicia a different approach to the problems on the Agenda, and why didn't they want to be partners to the policy based on a solidarity among the oppressed minorities?

In May 1926, Pilsudski organised a rising of part of the army and ousted the National-Democrat Government. In common with the whole of the Jewish press, *Haint* received the rebellion with feelings of joy. The fall of the Endeks, who were supported by the clerics and the victory of Pilsudski, aroused great hopes.

Pilsudski had gained fame as an energetic and sagacious statesman who realised that Poland cannot fall back on the policy of suppressing the national minorities who constitute close to 40% of the population. It was also known that he had then withdrawn from Socialism or, as he put it, he had "dismounted from the Socialist train at the station called The Independence of Poland," and his colleagues continued the journey without him. It appeared that immediately after the rebellion he would dissolve Parliament, which had a Rightist majority, and organise new elections. The Constitution, however, prevented the dissolution of the houses of legislation and Pilsudski, after his victory, wanted to accord legalisation to the revolt. He first of all wanted to introduce amendments to the Constitution that would strengthen the Government and the administrative regime so that he might afterwards dissolve Parliament and, in the new elections, his party would gain a majority of seats. He knew that the Endeks and the peasants of the Right—those whom he had subdued in the rising of May, 1926—would support a reform of the Constitution because they believed that in the ultimate analysis they would gain from the limitations on the authority of Parliament. The Socialists and the peasants of the Leftist majority, on the other hand, opposed any limitation of the authority of Parliament. They feared a strong regime on the part of the administration—any administration in fact, and particularly an administration that had achieved overwhelming power in government through revolt, but which refused to implement its revolutionary platform.

The Jews, and particularly those who rallied around the National Council and the Zionist Organisation, did not hide immediately after Pilsudski's rising their doubts concerning the acts of the victors. In many articles I wrote about Pilsudski's unintelligible act of leaving behind an inimical Parliament whereas new elections would undoubtedly have brought a great majority to the victor in the revolt which lasted for only a few days and ended in a small number of victims. Apparently, however, Pilsudski feared a "deepening" of the revolt and the unleashing of forces which he was not certain that he could hold in check.

Many hoped that Pilsudski's first government would implement the progressive platform towards the Jews and the minorities generally, and would also introduce social-economic reforms. The Government, it is true, announced such intentions and stressed that it opposed negotiating with citizens of the State, and for that reason it was also supported by the Jewish representation although the Deputies from Galicia did not believe that Pilsudski would remain in power for very long. And so, for some time they refused to admit that their orientation for conciliation ("Ugoda") had failed because the National-Democrat Party had turned its back on its representatives in the Government.

The publicists in *Haint* made clear the intentions of the new Government, which had changed its attitude towards the Jews as citizens of equal rights, and although it abrogated several of the limitations which supported the conducting of schools with Yiddish or Hebrew as the language of tuition, nonetheless refrained from fulfilling our demands.

This fact weakened the positive attitude towards the Government. Meantime differences of opinion arose with the Pilsudski camp. Towards the end of the Parliamentary term of office and with the approach of the new elections, I had an opportunity of clarifying the intentions of the regime in regard to the demands of the Jewish minority. It transpired that the fulfilment of the needs of the Jews occupied last place in the long list of reforms promised. For the time being they asked us to arm ourselves with patience and so we decided to continue the policy of the minorities bloc.

This time, however, it was much more difficult to carry the plan through. The prospects of attaining a Jewish representation worthy of the name waned still further

when the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia decided to participate in the elections so that instead of 15 Deputies, we had hopes of achieving not more than four or five mandates. Owing to the disappointment caused by the Pilsudski Government, the influence of the Communist Party among the Ukrainians as well as among the Byelorussians, who were resident in former Russian regions, grew. Among the Jewish population, too, the belief in a national minorities bloc was greatly weakened.

All these problems were enlightened from all angles in the columns of *Haint*. Other ideas, too, found expression. The editorial board enabled Dr. Osias (Yehoshua) Thon to defend the stance taken by the Galician Deputies in the paper. *Haint* could not be accused of narrow-minded partisanship.

The attitude of the Government to the organisation of the minorities towards the elections was negative, especially in the border regions in the East of the country. The administration adopted various ways of infringing on the Jewish population and did not hold in check terrorist gangs organised for action against the Jews. In Congress Poland (Russian Poland until 1914) Government officials threatened to take oppressive measures against Zionists and Jews generally who were suspected of intentions to vote for the national minorities bloc. Nonetheless, the outcome of the elections were better than the Government had foreseen. Eight Deputies to the Sejm and four Senators were elected—half of them thanks to the national bloc. In Eastern Galicia only three Deputies to the Sejm were elected, and in Krakow only one. Of the other parties, only Agudat Israel received one mandate, in Warsaw.

That was the last appearance of the national minorities bloc in Poland. In the second Sejm the Government party did not enjoy a majority and it became increasingly clear that Pilsudski and his party were tending to the Right and aspiring to get rid of Parliamentary supervision. In the Sejm a sort of bloc of Socialists and peasants of the Left was created and the Endek faction supported it. The Jewish Deputies took part in this struggle against the danger of a dictatorship by one party. The only exception were the Jewish Deputies from Galicia who began to present the Government as positive insofar as possibilities existed for the Jews in Poland.

The Parliament elected in 1928 was dissolved immediately after its election. There were new elections in 1930 in which the Government gained the desired majority. Again there was no possibility of setting up a national minorities bloc.

Terror was rampant against the opposition parties and particularly against the Jewish opposition. *Haint* received an order from the Government not to publish any articles in favour of the national elections list and threatened closure if it should contravene the order. Even before that the authorities from time to time impounded the issues of *Haint*. The Zionists from Galicia refused to unite in one national list with the Zionists from the former Russians regions. The Jewish masses could not withstand the terror. Nonetheless, and despite all the means adopted by the Government, about 40,000 Jews voted for my candidature in Warsaw. This number was sufficient for only one mandate. A second mandate was obtained in Lodz, thanks to several thousand votes cast by Germans. Now the end came to Polish Jewry's militant policy. The four Deputies elected from the former Austrian regions constituted a majority in the Jewish representation and so could conduct a policy of appeasement with the Pilsudski Government without hindrance. Before long the Government adopted a policy of economic oppression against the Jewish population, and in the end, the policy of antisemitic limitations became overt.

In Paris a Jewish world representation, which had been prepared before World War I and the revolutions in Eastern Europe, was organised with the assistance of the Jewish Congress Movement in the United States. Jews from the principal countries of residence were represented on the Committee of Jewish Delegations, which was centred in Paris, but obviously the main role was played by the United States delegation, whose members had approached President Wilson and his advisers. The opinions of this delegation on Jewish matters always aroused serious attention. But this delegation was not the motivating force behind the activities of the Paris Committee. The delegation from the countries of Eastern Europe always formulated the demands of the Jewish masses in their respective countries, and one of them represented the Jewish National Council and its faction in the Polish Parliament. Explaining the

Jewish cause on the world arena was always an important theme in *Haint's* publicistics. From this point of view importance of principle was attached to the various provisions of the Versailles Peace Treaties and the Appendices to them, which related to the defence of the rights of the national minorities. *Haint* used to stress the importance of international guarantees in the struggle for the equality of national rights, and, in particular, the value attached to the support of World Jewry. Polish Jewry felt that they were not alone in their struggle for civil rights.

Polish society, however, looked upon such intervention on the part of world Jewry in Poland's affairs with much disfavour, and the antisemitic camp called the Jewish international factor "The Anonymous Power". In the Sejm they were in the habit of launching rabid attacks on this "Power", having in mind of course the Jewish Deputies who supplied world Jewry with information on the situation and advised them on what action to take. In one of my speeches in the Sejm, I said that the Jewish leaders in countries abroad were not in need at all of any particular information on the situation in order to be able to react against the injustice that was being done to the Jews since it was sufficient to read the cables that the foreign press printed and which originated in the news agencies, in order to learn about the "hellish" conditions in which the Jews of Poland were living. My remarks caused an uproar in the Sejm and the Speaker reprimanded me and told me, while making use of expressions from the Bible, to shake off the Polish dust from my feet.

Haint reacted sharply to this debate, protested against the reprimand and defended the principle of unity among the Jewish people who were scattered all over the world, and the principle of mutual defence of Jewish communities in various countries.

The Sejm ratified the treaty concerning national minorities despite the Leftist opposition, but it was clear that no heed would be paid to it. In the Constitution there were two provisions which were formulated rather hazily, under which the obligations under the Treaty were to serve as a guarantee of the principle of safeguarding minority rights. The treaty, however, was not published in the Book of Laws; it was only at the time of the War with the Soviet Union that the treaty was published to signal a more favourable attitude toward the Jews. But no one as much as expected that the treaty would be of any practical help. Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Colonel Jozef Beck, announced at a meeting of the League of Nations, that the Minorities Treaty was not binding on the Government of Poland. He regarded it as a special honour and privilege for himself to wipe out this "blot" on the honourable name of Poland.

Even before the rise of the Endeks (the Rightist Party of the National Democrats) to power, I remarked on the fact that the Deputies of Agudat Israel and the representatives of the merchants grew increasingly displeased with the policy of the Opposition and were dreaming of a rapprochement with the Government. From this point of view they were working hand in hand with the Deputies from the former Austrian regions who generally supported the policy of appeasement with any Government that was similarly prepared. They opposed the policy of the minorities bloc on principle, and demanded that stress be laid on the tendency of serving Polish state objectives. At one time the representatives of Agudat Israel and the merchants did join the minorities bloc because they knew that unless they did so they would bring about a loss of Jewish mandates. They personally, however, would certainly not gain by the fact. This time, however, they found that the best outlet for themselves was to join the Deputies from Galicia. I no longer remember what proposal I had made which led to the fact of its being rejected by the Galician Deputies, the "Agudah" and the Merchants. It was then that I gave up my leadership and handed it over to Dr. Leon Reich, the Deputy from Galicia, who had long since expected such a turn, and I left immediately for my first visit to Eretz Israel where I spent six weeks.

While on my way to Eretz Israel I read reports about the negotiations conducted by Dr. Reich and Dr. Thon with Professor Stanislaw Grabski and Count Alexander Skrzynski (the Foreign Minister). It concerned an agreement consisting of two parts. The first part was published and consisted of twelve paragraphs which concerned various matters, namely matters of religion, the rights of communities, etc. The second part, which concerned Jewish demands on questions of policy and economics, was not

published. The principal paragraphs had the addition of characteristic remarks concerning actions to be taken by the Jews which, if found to be pleasing to the Polish side, would lead to the concessions formulated in a secret protocol to be submitted. The two parties agreed to those concessions.

This came to be known some time later when the Jewish disappointment came to light and when it was clear that the main objective was declaratory. The impression that the information made on the world was that an understanding had been reached between the Polish Government and the Jewish representation in Parliament; the fact was received with great joy in the Jewish press and especially in Jewish political circles in America and in the world generally. The Polish papers published the declarations, made note of the fact that an agreement had been reached and then passed over to other matters.

Haint published a series of articles in which the situation was analysed, and rejected the opinion put forward by the boastful elements that a new phase in Jewish-Polish relations had been opened, and proved that from the point of view of the principal problems no change had set in in the situation of Polish Jewry. Many months passed before the truth came out and it became clear that the whole matter of the *Ugoda* (conciliation) was intended merely to bring about a division in the Jewish and Zionist public and to create a new camp of Jews who, from now on would be relying on the goodwill of the Government and would serve it faithfully, doing in fact whatever any Polish Government demanded.

This was also the reason that these circles were sceptical of Pilsudski's revolt and his attempts to gain the sympathy of the majority of the people. But no sooner did the new regime prove that it was strong enough to suppress all opposition than these circles hurried to demonstrate their loyalty to the new Government.

The short period during which the third regular Sejm was in power (1928–1930) was the period of the last phase of the Jewish political struggle which also coincided with the last attempt to maintain the principle of cooperation between all the national minorities. The Parliamentary struggle against the Government under the leadership of Ignacy Daszynski (leader of the Polish Socialist Party, PPS) proved fruitless. The leaders of the Pilsudski rebellion thought more about consolidating their own rule than about meeting the needs of the oppressed sections of the people, and still less about meeting the needs and just demands of the national minorities. They feared that if they set out to introduce radical reforms, their rebellion would bring about real revolutionary changes. And so the rulers themselves brought about the fact that the tendencies towards irredentism and Communism increased among the Slav minorities. It was then that the Government showed a strong hand towards them and so, feelings of hatred towards the minorities. In the Jewish camp this policy gave rise to demoralisation, fatigue and apathy.

At the same time the fears of Jewish influence in countries of Western Europe and America waned among Polish society. The Endek press was consistent in its efforts to show that, as compared with the situation in the first years after World War I, the sympathy for the Jews had waned considerably in the world as well as the readiness to come to their aid. Moreover, in countries of Eastern Europe and particularly in Poland, there was established a sort of balance in the attitude towards the Jewish population. There were no attacks on the Jews, the attitude towards the Jews, vis-à-vis the external world was correct, particularly in Government Ministries, and the Government also promised that it was safeguarding the principle of equality of rights for the Jews. In the year 1930, still in the term of office of the third Sejm, the laws dating back to the Tsarist regime and Austrian rule which limited the rights of the Jews, were finally abolished after efforts which continued for years. Unlike the past, the regime did not reject Jewish businessmen and merchants, and in Agudist circles as well as in Zionist circles in Galicia, one would often hear the view that one could not conceive of a better Government in Poland than the existing regime insofar as the Jews were concerned.

The Jewish opposition was shoved into a corner. This situation saved it from persecution but not from terror in time of elections when this opposition was thoroughly defeated. Among the Jewish parties which were loyal to the Government, the fear of the loss of Jewish mandates ceased altogether. They accepted the view advanced by the leaders of the Pilsudski camp that no importance whatever be

attached to the number of Deputies representing the Jewish population in Parliament and that if the Government would be favourably inclined towards the Jews it would fulfil their demands and requests regardless of the size of the Jewish faction in Parliament.

The Endeks now realised that their time had come. The ruling party was at strife with the Left and with the peasants and could not remain entirely isolated in Polish society, so it readily admitted to its ranks people who had passed over from the Rightist Endek camp, gave them positions in the legislative institutions and the Government and desisted from combating their demands especially insofar as the Jews were concerned. Classical expression to this new attitude on the part of the Government was given by the Minister for Home Affairs General Skladkowski, who, in a speech in the Sejm, formulated the Government's outlooks on the Jewish question. There was no need of antisemitism and of Jewish oppression, but an economic struggle against the Jews was desirable. Such a struggle, the Government opined, would not infringe on the principle of equality of rights of the Jews but would assist the Polish bourgeois to gain the upper hand over the Jews, and it was the duty of the Polish Government to support the economic development of the Polish middle class, even at the expense of the Jews.

In this way the ruling party adopted the principles in the platform of the antisemitic Endek party, and, before long, it drew closer to it from this point of view. There remained only one disturbing factor in the process of the complete merger of these two parties, in fact a principal factor, and that was the concern that the reins of government remain in the hands of Pilsudski's loyal supporters, and after his death, in the hands of his principal assistants.

I was no longer in Poland when Pilsudski's heirs amended the laws governing elections and trimmed the outcome of the elections to meet the desires of the Government. I left Warsaw in 1932, spending almost one year in Paris, and in the year 1933 I was elected by the Zionist Congress in Prague to the Executive of the Zionist Organisation and came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel. From Paris I returned to Warsaw only for the session of the Sejm which considered the budget—the only session of Parliament throughout the year. At this meeting, I delivered a short speech and then returned to Paris. I could no longer, of course, come to Warsaw from Jerusalem, but as in the years past, I contributed an article weekly to *Haint*. That year Abraham Goldberg, editor-in-chief of *Haint* throughout the years ever since Yatzkan's resignation, died. He had been editor of the paper and its devoted leader. He saw to everything connected with its content and influence. He regarded the



Abraham Goldberg



Osias Thon

paper as more than an organ of public opinion. He looked upon it as a motivating and rousing force. More than once he used to say that "our small Jewish world is far too quiet—it must be roused from its lethargy". Goldberg always had the knack of picking on the central problem of the time and of organising a journalistic campaign around it. He had his fingers constantly on the pulse of Jewish public life and always knew how to arouse interest in the problems of its existence.

Goldberg played a great part in bringing about peace in the Zionist Organization, which, in the period of the struggle over the enlargement of the Jewish Agency, had been split into two factions—"Al Hamishmar" and "Et Livnot" (Time to Build). The problem at issue was that of attracting non-Zionist circles, especially in America, to the work of building up Eretz Israel. The idea was Weizmann's, for he believed that in this way he would be able to strengthen the Zionist Organisation both politically and financially.

Weizmann's proposals gave rise to a sharp controversy in the World Zionist Organisation. There were some who feared that by seeking the cooperation of the rich and the prominent, the Zionist Organisation would lose its popular character and its democratic structure.

This struggle was most intense in Poland since it was connected with the character of Aliyah to Eretz Israel. The financial reforms introduced by the Grabski Government undermined the foundations of the Jewish community and removed the ground from under the feet of very many Jews, artisans and petty tradesmen. There was a strong Zionist conviction among these masses, and when the economic foundations were removed from under their feet, there was a strong wave of Aliyah among them to Eretz Israel where they hoped to be able to continue their mode of life in Poland, to settle in the towns and engage in their urban occupations. These tendencies in Aliyah gave rise to a sharp debate about the functions of town and village in that period of revival in building operations in Eretz Israel.

Things reached a head at the fourth Zionist Conference in Poland and the Zionist leadership was taken over by the "Et Livnot" faction which supported the enlargement of the Jewish Agency and urban aliyah. The "Al Hamishmar" faction went into opposition and conducted a sharp struggle against the new leadership and its objectives.

In this struggle *Haint* remained neutral. It did not want to lose its character as a non-party Zionist paper, open to all trends in Zionism. That policy was most natural and as the political editor-in-chief of the paper, and as leader of the "Al Hamishmar" faction, I did not oppose this policy of *Haint*. In actual fact, however, the "Al Hamishmar" faction wielded great influence on the paper, much more than did the other trends.

Goldberg observed the paper's neutral policy but came to realise that the struggle created an ever-widening division between the opposing factions and was undermining the very nature of the Zionist Organisation. He demanded, therefore, that our struggle should in no way affect the organisational unity of the Zionist Organisation and so launched a peace campaign from the columns of *Haint*. The efforts proved successful and a coalition leadership of the Zionist Organisation in Poland was formed. This peace, however, did not hold out for very long. The "Et Livnot" faction seceded and left the administration in the hands of "Al Hamishmar" which was joined by a group of non-party leaders headed by Goldberg.

In the 1928 elections, the candidature of Goldberg for membership of the Sejm was put forward and so for the first time he established personal contacts with the Zionist masses in the provincial towns who were readers of *Haint*. In actual fact it was only then that he had an opportunity of learning how great was the importance attached to the paper and to its educational influence. He was not, however, elected. In his electoral zone the Jewish votes cast for the national bloc list were insufficient to return a candidate.

In the election campaign of 1930 the authorities suppressed the voice of *Haint*.

After Goldberg's death a collective editorial board was set up, but this did not in any way change the character of the paper.

I followed the struggle within the Zionist Organisation and in its organ *Haint* from afar. The articles that I now published in the paper were of a much quieter nature. They were more of the nature of ideas of an observer: sociological conclusions rather than directives, declarations, guidance. I was a member of the Zionist Executive and so obviously I paid greater attention to the problems concerning the building up of Eretz Israel. The first years were years of large Aliyah, great enterprise and speedy integration of the new immigrants. Most of the new Olim now came from Germany where the Nazi revolution had gained the upper hand and the war of annihilation of the Jews commenced—first in Germany itself, and afterwards in the whole of Europe.

Jews throughout the world tried to react to the war of annihilation by launching an economic boycott. The world at large protested against the oppression, demanding the opening of gates for the refugees from Nazi terror. There was still no talk about the expulsion of Jews. But in Germany itself, the first attempt in that direction was already made since the Nazi regime expelled the Jews who were Polish citizens and who resided in Germany.

The Polish Government opened its country to the deportees and the Jews organised the necessary aid for them. Emergency committees were set up. In the international

arena, the Polish Government now undertook the task of defending the oppressed Jews, and Dr. Thon regarded it as his duty to express the appreciation of the Jewish representative body and of Polish Jewry to the Government for its humanitarian attitude to the oppressed. All the leaders who were loyal to the Government devoted their efforts to action against Germany, under the patronage of the Polish Government. Compared with Hitler's government, the Polish government now assumed the image of a regime friendly to the Jews.

People started rumours that on the initiative of Poland the idea of a campaign against Nazism was now current in Western Europe and that Poland would be charged with the task of implementing this mission of Justice and of humane treatment towards Jewish citizens.

It did not take long, however, before all these expectations dissipated. Strong forces arose in Western Europe and in America which pinned their hopes on Nazi Germany and regarded it as the principal factor for holding Communism and the Soviet Union in check. People remained satisfied with an expression of sympathy for the victims and waited to see how the situation would turn out. Poland now faced a dilemma. If it was impossible to join the West against Nazi Germany, perhaps it would be best to join Germany?

After the death of Pilsudski, the attitude of the government towards the struggle against Germany cooled. The Jews, who were loyal to the regime, sensed the change at once and felt that their hands had weakened. Even previously, Polish merchants and agents of German firms rejected the Jewish call to join the boycott against Germany. Now they reminded the Jews that in the past Jewish merchants had refused to support the anti-German campaign in support of Polish objectives.

Incidentally, the Polish bourgeoisie was the backbone of the Endek camp and the sympathy with Nazism among the latter was far too great. It found in it a political reflection of its own image, and there was nothing to distinguish the two except for the fact that, unlike the Nazis, it did not have the courage to draw the final conclusions from its attitude towards the Jews. Indeed, Nazi victory in Germany brought the Polish Endeks increased courage and they began preaching for the expulsion of the Jews from Poland. Their argument was that there would be no force in the world to come to their aid and that the attitude of the great powers towards Nazi Germany was proof enough for the correctness of their conclusions.

It was no easy matter for *Haint* to be roped into the anti-German campaign under the patronage of the government. The paper refused to suppress the Jewish claims against the government, one of its reasons being that a good attitude towards oppressed Jews abroad does not go hand in hand with the policy of suppressing Jews in Poland itself. The paper warned against being carried away by a veneer of assistance to oppressed Jews in Germany and, indeed, before long the correctness of the stance taken by *Haint* became apparent. Days came when the governments of Germany and Poland drew closer to one another and Goering was received in Poland as a guest of honour.

By then, however, the wave of antisemitism had assumed proportions beyond the government's ability to hold it in check. The Endeks now realised that they could attack the Jews openly without let or hindrance since the government would be placed in a very tight corner if it had to defend the Jews against "patriots". The campaign commenced in the schools of higher learning in which Endek professors held sway. Antisemites very shrewdly exploited the autonomy granted to institutions of higher learning and so organised attacks on Jewish students without fearing the reactions of the authorities. The instigated youth began attacking the Jewish students. The Jews defended themselves, and in Vilna and Lwow two Polish students were killed. These were declared national martyrs and now the slogan was adopted of locking in the Jewish students in a sort of ghetto. Disturbances and fist fights broke out in the lecture halls but most of the professors did not intervene. The rectors did not succeed in introducing order but at the same time did not summon the police, and even when bloody disturbances broke out the police did not dare infringe on the autonomy of the institutions of higher learning. But the student masses went out also to the streets where they attacked the Jews. Attempts were even made to break into Jewish streets and quarters. There, however, the pogromists had to meet strong opposition from Jewish porters and carters. The Polish masses, however, were not carried away by the leaders of these pogroms.

The Polish Government did not summon courage to take stringent steps against the leaders of these disturbances but rather exploited the situation in order to limit the autonomy of the universities and of gaining sway over them. The opposition, even the Socialist opposition, feared to infringe on the hallowed principle of academic freedom despite the fact that the Senates of the institutions of higher learning did not allow any foothold to any lecturer or professor suspected of Socialist leanings. *Haint* had no doubts as to the nature of the situation and demanded that the Government annul the autonomy of the universities and held it responsible for the situation taking hold there. The Government, the paper argued, cannot remain satisfied with averting disturbances in the streets, it must take stringent measures in order to uproot them in the lecture halls of the schools of higher learning.

But limitations on autonomy were not of very great help. The Government acted very cautiously. Meanwhile, the Endeks came out with the demand to deprive the Jews of their positions in small trade, to oust Jewish pedlars, etc. from the markets. Their intention was to enable the poor peasants who lacked land to go to the towns and villages and engage in petty trade themselves—in other words, to deprive the Jews of their livelihood.

From here the road to pogroms, first in the townlets where the Jews, as it were, held sway, was not very long. Journalists and public speakers began evolving a new theory under which the Poles were entitled to organise "rebellions" against the Jewish majority in the Polish townlets. The Jews tried to defend themselves, but the police always sided with the attackers and acted against the Jews who defended themselves, placing them under arrest. Even the Courts looked upon the self-defence of the Jews as a contravention of the law, as an act of provocation against the attacking Poles.

The Government found itself in a tight spot. On the one hand it did not want to conduct a struggle of any consequence against the radical antisemites in the Endek camp but, on the other hand, it could not accept their extremist antisemitic principles and so it resorted to all sorts of ideas and tricks whose ultimate aim was to bring about a large reduction as far as possible in the Jewish population in Poland. At the League of Nations the government supported the Zionist demands and revealed a sympathetic attitude to Jabotinsky's plans concerning an organised exit of the Jewish masses to Eretz Israel. It also showed interest in the German plan to send the Jews to Madagascar. It was aware of the fact that all these plans and ideas could not be implemented; nor did it want to embroil itself in a dispute with the British authorities who, at that time, introduced increasingly greater limitations on Jewish immigration to Eretz Israel so as to win the support of the Arabs. But it believed that it would in the meantime succeed through its futile plans to assuage rising spirits and to weaken the influence of the radical antisemites and show that it was seeking ways and means of organising Jewish emigration from Poland.

The hubbub around the question of Jewish emigration aroused fear in the editorial departments of the Jewish newspapers. They were apprehensive of the fact that a positive attitude towards the idea of large-scale Jewish emigration as a means of solving the Jewish problem in Poland might prove harmful to the Jews and serve as a prop to the antisemitic idea of getting rid of the Jews. Clearly, *Haint* was far from denying facts of life and particularly the need of Jewish emigration. But the paper maintained indefatigable opposition to a policy whose objective was to oust the Jews and embitter their life. The stance taken up by the paper and its writers was that the Jews have to emigrate and want to emigrate, but at the same time must defend themselves against the threatening sword that was being wielded unceasingly over their heads. Their demand was to put an end to the anti-Jewish terror.

At about the same time the Government tabled a draft bill intended to deprive the Jews of an important branch of livelihood and at the same time to embitter Jewish life generally. Mrs. Pristor, a prominent member of the governing party in the Sejm, suggested a ban on Shechita—the Jewish form of animal slaughter. A fierce struggle developed around this machination to deprive the Jews of their religious freedom—a machination that had a clearly economic aspect behind it—to oust Jews from the cattle and meat trade. The Jewish representatives who were in fact appointed by the Government chose to remain oblivious of their true standing, and, despite government support in principle of the draft law, the Jewish Deputies in the Sejm

came out sharply against this intention. The government refused to go to extreme lengths as proponents of the law, and so decided to limit Jewish Shechita to the actual needs of the Jewish population for kosher meat. In this way the Government wanted to undermine the monopoly enjoyed by the Jews in the meat trade, since those portions of the meat which were unpermissible for Jewish consumption were sold to non-Jews.

This was the last chord in Polish legislation directed against the Jewish population, for the authorities that emerged with Pilsudski's rebellion as a force against the Endeks were transformed into a factor which began to implement the plans and aspirations of the party for which antisemitism was a primary principle.

The Zionist Organisation boycotted the elections to the last Sejm of Poland as did all the Leftist parties of the country. Nonetheless there were Zionists also in the former Russian regions of the country who received government appointments to the Sejm together with Agudat Israel, the merchants and the Zionists of Galicia.

The Jewish Sejm Deputies could put up a fight for Jewish rights, but they were unable to combat the Government. And so the Jewish masses also turned their backs upon them, and in the elections to the Municipal Councils and to the Jewish Community Councils, the Bund now began to win one victory after another. This development proved to be a great disappointment for the Zionist Movement. The authorities persecuted *Haint* and silenced its voice of protest. The paper could no longer call for a policy of struggle as it had done before. The makers of Jewish politics were now headed by people who were loyal to the Government, who sought compromises and were keen on lucre, and their main concern was to try not to lose favour with the authorities.

Meantime, the skies of Europe became overcast and Nazi Germany kept on gaining in strength. The political horizon was dark indeed, and the danger of war became more tangible from day to day. At Munich, Czechoslovakia was abandoned to the Nazis, and Poland, too, found an opportunity of tearing off, with Germany's assistance, a strip of mountainous terrain from the country whose friends had in the past turned their backs upon it. Berlin divided Czechoslovakia, and Poland wanted to convince itself that Slovakia, which was cut off from Prague, would seek the proximity of Warsaw. This region, however, found a road to the heart of Hitler.

Now the turn of Poland arrived. The Berlin-Warsaw friendship ended on a sombre note. Germany demanded that Danzig and the Prussian Corridor be returned to her. Clearly it was Berlin's intention to enslave Poland. And now the Jews of Poland were threatened with the fate that had previously visited the Jews of Austria, Czechia and Slovakia.

In one of its last issues, *Haint* managed to publish an article entitled "Only not Munich!" That was a sort of last testament to the readership of the paper which throughout its existence had fought for justice and rights for the Jews. Within one month all the hopes that Poland, which would fall back on France and Britain, would be able to stand up against Hitler's armies evaporated. The conquering Germans captured Poland, and, on the basis of a pact between Berlin and Moscow, the Slav regions of Poland were taken over by the Soviet Union. Within a few days the extent to which the rot in the Republic, through the fault of its last Government, had reached, revealed itself. The Jews of Poland were handed over to the Germans and before long the demoralisation in the Jewish leadership began to find expression.


HAJNT

5 Januar 1916.

Haint, *daily, Warsaw, issue of January 5, 1916*

Struggles of a Jewish daily

Chaim Finkelstein

Haint's thirty years history may be divided into three distinct periods: the first, from the time of the paper's foundation until World War I; the second, the years of the War, and lastly, the years between the two World Wars.

In the initial period of its existence, *Haint* laid the foundations of a modern Jewish newspaper. Various sections were introduced which had previously been neglected in the Jewish press, or about which the Yiddish or Hebrew newspaper-reader did not know. Considerable space was allotted to reports from near and far, from Warsaw and from the provinces as well as from far-flung Jewish communities throughout the world.

During the years of the first World War, the paper underwent a crisis on account of the general situation which was difficult from both the political and economic points of view and under the conditions of the Russian regime. During the period of the German occupation of Poland, the paper succeeded in delineating a proper stand towards the problems arising as a result of reigning conditions.

The third period, which was the last in the paper's history, was one of prosperity. *Haint* achieved the standing of being the recognised spokesman of Polish Jewry.

The first Sejm (Parliament) of independent Poland adopted the Constitution of the new country in 1921, and from the point of view of its formulation, served as an example of democratic legislation. Equality and liberties were assured to all citizens—the right to work, the right to parliamentary representation, etc. In theory, the Jews of Poland had become citizens enjoying equality of rights in all spheres. However, things were so only on paper, especially as the election regulations, i.e. the law governing parliamentary elections, was so formulated that the minorities, and particularly the Jews, could return only a very limited number of Deputies to the Sejm and the Senate by far smaller than was due proportionately to the 3,000,000-strong Jewish community which constituted more than 10% of the general population of the country. The intention behind it was to ensure complete hegemony to the Polish population.

The representatives of the national minorities decided, therefore, to take up the challenge presented by the reactionary forces in Poland and to try through concerted effort to thwart the attempts at infringement of their civil rights. Yitzhak Gruenbaum came out with the plan of uniting all the national minorities in one electoral bloc. From the practical point of view, his proposal was to set up in each electoral region one united list of national minorities, the first man on such a list being the representative of the minority which in that particular district had the largest number of electors. The idea was taken up at once by all the minorities —the Germans, the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians, the Lithuanians, the Russians and, of course, the Jews. The election campaign was a fierce one, but, from the point of view of results, the victory gained by the minorities exceeded all expectations. The Jews in particular reaped success. The bloc returned 100 members, of whom 46 were Jews— 34 Deputies in Parliament, and 12 Senators.

Haint lent enthusiastic and unqualified support to the minorities' bloc. The devoted efforts exerted in the 1922 election campaign were a "period of glory" in the history of the paper and for its staff. Whatever the paper did in later days, and the struggle that the paper conducted against the injustices of the Polish regime towards the Jewish citizens of the country, derived from that historical elections struggle.

Throughout the elections campaign, the paper worked under the constant pressure of threats to its collaborators and under the pressure of material oppression directed against the publishing house. The Government regarded the Jews as having initiated and organised the bloc, and the authorities could never forgive the paper for its role in the elections campaign and there was no end to the number of issues impounded by censorship.

In the year 1925 until the middle of 1926, the Jewish public in Poland, and *Haint* with it, were drawn into the stormy controversy regarding the plan of understanding (or agreement) between Poles and Jews—a sort of compromise known by its Polish name of *Ugoda*. The initiative came from the Government and the intention behind it was seemingly to try and find some compromise in regard to the

Jewish problem in Poland. Government circles apparently came to realise that the bad name gained by Poland throughout the world served as a hindrance in obtaining the vital credits abroad of which the country stood so much in need.

The negotiations were conducted in secrecy, but it was well known that they were conducted by Dr. Osias (Yehoshua) Thon and Dr. Leon Reich with Stanislaw Grabski, the Minister of Education. The news had spread abroad that the Government made the *Ugoda* conditional, among other things, on the demand that the Jews publish a declaration that they are loyal citizens of the State and its frontiers. It was not clear, however, what benefit would accrue to the Jews from all this, and no one could learn anything from the Government as to its intention to put a stop to the boycott and its oppressive measures. There were hazy promises that the Government would "devote attention" to Jewish interests, but what this implied was never made clear.

It should be borne in mind that Poland's frontiers were not ratified by the Great Powers before March, 1923. The Ukrainians, particularly in Eastern Galicia, refused to acquiesce in the fact that the Poles imposed upon them—namely, that the regions of Eastern Galicia were included within the frontiers of Poland. The Ukrainians revolted, threw bombs, organised various acts of sabotage and terror against the Polish authorities. But instead of seeking a compromise, the Government began oppressing the Ukrainian population still more and aroused fiery hatred against the regime.

It was clear that in actual fact the *Ugoda* was not intended for the benefit of the Jews. The Government apparently intended to catch two birds with one stone—to pretend to the outside world that a change for the better would set in in Government policy towards the Jewish population, and at the same time (possibly this was of still greater importance to the Government), to exploit the Jewish declaration of loyalty as proof that the Jews were approving of the country's frontiers.

Dr. Reich and Dr. Thon wanted sincerely and truly to believe in the good intentions of the Government, yet the *Ugoda* had created a serious division among the Jewish public in Poland and views were sharply divided. The deputies from Eastern Galicia were clearly in favour of the *Ugoda,* whereas the Deputies from the districts which had in the past formed part of the Russian Empire were sharply opposed to it. Russian Jews, who had been brought up in an atmosphere of struggle against Tsarist oppression, could not place any confidence in hazy promises that were given tacitly behind closed doors. Not so the representatives of Galician Jewry who had been brought up in the calm and patriarchal atmosphere of Austria-Hungary under Emperor Franz Joseph II. They really and truly believed that much more could be achieved through compromise, intercession and "protektsia" than through an uncompromising struggle on principles. Gruenbaum and the other opponents of the *Ugoda,* saw no reason for relying on the goodwill of the Government to change its attitude towards the Jews and to treat them as equal citizens with the remaining sections of the population. They were also opposed to the very proposal that, of all the national minorities, the Jews alone should demonstrate their loyalty to the state of Poland and its frontiers and publish a special declaration.

From the very beginning, *Haint* was opposed to the *Ugoda* scheme. The paper published Dr. Thon's articles but the attitude of the editorial board was that the Jews would not gain anything from the pact, that the Government was only anxious to serve its own interests and had no intention whatever of improving the situation of the Jews.

The *Ugoda* was a theme for discussion at public meetings throughout the country. The controversy lasted for many months, becoming increasingly more stormy and continued until Jozef Pilsudski seized the Government in May 1926 and, on July 9th of that year, the Prime Minister Kazimierz Bartel announced that the Government would not enter into any agreements with the Jews. And so the "Jewish-Polish understanding" ended on nothing.

But years passed before the rift in the Jewish society was healed. Members of the Jewish Parliamentary faction from Galicia, and with them the leaders of Agudat Israel and of the large merchant class, showed themselves to be increasingly unwilling to struggle for Jewish rights. They followed ways of their own, through old-time methods of intercession, in order to wrest any concessions from the Government. But even such opportunistic activity did not lead to any change in the situation of Polish Jewry.

The history of *Haint* in independent Poland is closely bound up with the personality of Yitzhak Gruenbaum—a connection from which stemmed the paper's political platform in the struggle for Jewish rights. Gruenbaum believed that in political life nothing can be gained gratis and that struggle is the only way of obtaining equality of rights for the Jews. He warned that the price to be paid would be a heavy one, but he argued that there was no escape from the sacrifices that the Jewish community would have to make in its struggle.



J.M. Neiman



Yosef Gravitzki

Gruenbaum was an ardent supporter of the "Helsingfors Platform" which was adopted by the Russian Zionists in November 1906. (Helsingfors was the Russian name of Helsinki, capital of Finland, which was then a Principality on the frontiers of the Russian Empire.) That platform came out with the idea that activity for Eretz Israel and the struggle for Jewish rights in the countries of their dispersion are mutually inter-linked, and that Zionist implementation is inconceivable unless the Jews in the countries of their domicile in the Diaspora achieve equality of rights.

During the War, Gruenbaum was resident in Petrograd (present-day Leningrad) but at the end of September 1918, he returned to Poland and took over the administration of the Zionist Organisation. He also became the editor of the two weeklies *Dos Yudishe Folk* and *Hatzefira,* which was brought out by the Zionist Organisation. When Poland was liberated, the two weeklies became daily papers. *Dos Yudishe Folk* did not do well financially, and the Zionist Organisation did not have the means to support the paper although the Zionist leaders refused to have it closed down. And so the idea was evolved of merging the two papers. It was thought feasible that *Haint* should take over the thousands of subscribers of *Dos Yudishe Folk* so that the Zionist Organisation might have an important organ at its service.

The two papers merged under the political editorship of Gruenbaum, and the first issue of *Haint* after the merger came out on January 1st, 1920 and a new chapter was opened in the history of the paper.

Yitzhak Gruenbaum, the statesman, formulated in clear terms the ideas which *Haint* conceived in its early days. No one in Polish Jewry before him was able to rely on such a large measure of support and no one after him wielded such great influence as Gruenbaum did. He was held in great veneration by the people. In election campaigns, or wherever he used to come in order to report on the political situation, or in his public appearances on Zionist affairs, whether in Warsaw or in any of the other Polish towns, Gruenbaum was always received by large crowds of Jews who sought his proximity. He always gave them strength to continue their struggle for existence.

Gruenbaum's style was heavy, just as his speeches were long. Nonetheless he always held his audiences spellbound. His personality reflected strength and determination as well as conviction of the justice of the Jewish cause which he defended. His audiences listened attentively to his speeches which lasted for hours, just as they devoured every word that he wrote in *Haint.* His supporters looked up to him as their leader; his opponents levelled stringent criticism against him, but could not disregard him.

Whoever thumbs through the *Haint* annuals, since the period of Gruenbaum's activity, comes to realise that Gruenbaum never tired of his efforts to improve the situation of Polish Jewry. He also realises how great and how deep was the hatred for Gruenbaum. Whenever he rose to speak in the Sejm, the Endek Deputies used to make a commotion. One had to be possessed of a tremendous amount of courage and of conviction in the justice of the Jewish cause in order to be able to withstand the brutal scenes in the Sejm.

The Friday issues of *Haint* and the issues brought out on the eve of Jewish festivals generally carried Gruenbaum's articles. He had a keen sense for topicality and his reactions to the events of the day were swift. Often the censorship used to impound the issues in which Gruenbaum's articles appeared — ostensibly not on account of that particular article but on account of some other "sin" in the issue, because as a member of the Sejm, Gruenbaum's article enjoyed immunity. But *Haint* did not enjoy immunity and the censorship did not find it difficult to cook up a reason to impound the issue.

After the May 1926 Pilsudski revolt, Gruenbaum realised the fact that this indicated the end of the Parliamentary regime in Poland. He had a feeling that under the new regime it would not be possible to struggle for equality of rights for the Jews, and that in actual fact there was nothing more for him to do in Poland. He resigned his position as Chairman of the Jewish faction in Parliament, and subsequently also gave up his mandate and left Poland.

In the period between the two World Wars, opinions in the Zionist Movement throughout the world were divided on two basic issues: Chaim Weizmann's plan to seek the cooperation of non-Zionist factors in the building up of Eretz Israel and to invite them to become equal partners in the Jewish Agency (the "fifty-fifty" proposal), and the British plan for the partition of Palestine.

Gruenbaum was radical also in his Zionism. He fought for the democratic principles of the Movement and regarded the Weizmann proposal as leading to the weakening of the organisational basis of Zionism and vehemently opposed it. On the question of partition he was a stalwart supporter of the plan in all his speeches and articles.

Haint's stand on these two problems was close to that of Gruenbaum. In order to preserve the nature of the paper as the organ of the whole of the Zionist Movement, the paper published side by side articles for and against partition, and so offered its readers an opportunity of weighing the pros and cons of the proposal and of drawing their own conclusions.

In the year 1933, Gruenbaum was elected a member of the Zionist Executive by the 18th Zionist Congress in Prague, and came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel together with his family. But he did not sever his connections with *Haint*. The paper used to receive from him regularly articles on the life of the Yishuv and on the problems of the Zionist Movement. On rare occasions he used to react also to events in Poland, but only as an observer from afar.

The administration of the newly-established Polish State welcomed the appearance of *Haint* by closing it down almost on the morrow of the State's resurgence. The paper



Nehemia Finkelstein



Shalom Asch

was punished in this way for having published details of the pogrom in Lwow. The emergence of Poland as a politically independent State was accompanied by a wave of anti-Jewish excesses, the pogrom of Lwow being the bloodiest of all — it continued from November 21–23, 1918.

Even according to the official announcement by the new regime, which was most certainly far from being exact, 64 Jews were killed, hundreds of Jews were wounded and the large synagogue of Ziolkiewska Street was burned down and pillaged. Pogromists also pillaged the possessions of many Jews. The same communiqué confirmed that 500 families had remained without a roof over their heads and about 2,000 families had lost their livelihood.

Haint was closed down and its responsible editor, Aaron Gavze, was arrested "for having besmirched the good name of the Polish State". The following day the paper appeared under the name *Der Tog,* but again it was forbidden to write anything about the acts of murder and pillage.

Immediately on the opening of the Sejm, early in 1919, the Jewish Deputies submitted a question, demanding the Government to investigate the pogrom in Lwow and to punish those responsible for the excesses. According to the regulations, all Parliamentary material including speeches by Deputies, questions, etc., enjoyed immunity and could be published without limitation. In this particular case, however, the censors informed the papers that they were forbidden to publish the question raised in Parliament about the pogrom in Lwow. *Haint* decided to disregard the prohibition and to publish the full text of the question, and in this way to inform the public about what had happened in Lwow. The paper was, therefore, closed down and so appeared daily under a different name — *Nayer Haint, Nayer Tog, Unzer Tog,* etc., until the day came when *Haint* was again permitted to appear under its own name. It should be observed that this process of changing the name of a paper was not just a simple formal act. One had to submit an application to the authorities and the new responsible editor had to register and sign an undertaking agreeing that he would shoulder responsibility for the material printed, and would take various other formal steps. This process had to be repeated by the paper several times a month.

In an effort to circumvent the oppressive measures, the paper tried to adopt a style of using hints and roundabout language. For example, it referred to pogroms as "events" or "tiffs". Soldiers were described as "armed persons" and "people in uniform" referred to policemen who themselves took part in the attacks on the Jews or looked on with unconcern on the attacks on the Jews and the pillage of their property. But even this proved of no avail, and there was no end to the threats on the paper or to its confiscation. *Haint* was the only Jewish civilian paper that did not accept the "good advice" of the censorship as to what to print or not to print.

In the wake of the war between Poland and Bolshevik Russia, the months of 1919/20 were a period of much bloodshed for the Jews. Hundreds of innocent Jews were killed and thousands were wounded in the disturbances that broke out in all parts of the country. Jewish houses were destroyed in innumerable towns and townlets. Polish soldiers and their allies, members of the gang of Hetman Petlura, and of General Bulak-Bulachowicz, competed with one another in their acts of murder and pillage of the Jews. The anti-Jewish terror continued for a long time after the end of the war with the Bolsheviks. The physical terror was joined now by oppressive economic measures, whose objective was to destroy the Jews economically. The Governments kept on changing, but orders of confiscation and other punitive measures were taken incessantly against the paper. There were instances where the paper was confiscated several times a day, one edition after another.

A standing order by the censorship was that immediately they commenced printing an issue, the publisher had to submit the first copies off the press to the censor, and if he found any material that he did not like in the paper, he would contact the editorial department immediately, announcing that the issue was being impounded for such and such a reason. This procedure saved the paper considerable damage because the rotary press had not yet printed many copies or, if the time schedule allowed, the editorial department would wait for the censor's reaction before giving the rotary press a green light. In such instances, it was possible to make a new layout for the issue by deleting the material forbidden and so begin printing the next edition, and the damage would not be very great. At times, there was only a "symbolic" impounding of the paper. The censor would announce the impounding of the issue only on the following day, several hours after the paper had been sold on the streets or sent to subscribers.

The situation was much worse if the censor held up his decision until after the whole of the first edition (intended for the Provinces) was printed, packed and sent to the railway station for despatch. In that case, there would be policemen waiting at the station in order to confiscate the parcels. The editorial offices would intercede with the censor again and again to give his decision as soon as possible, but to no avail. His reply was that there was no preliminary censorship in Poland for printed material, and that the editor himself had to know what to refrain from sending down to the printing press. This form of censorship was most hurtful, and was also expensive. The editorial board had to guess which news item or article would be frowned upon by the censor. If he fared to guess, then even the next edition ran the risk of being impounded.

The confiscation of Friday and the eve of Festival editions

proved most costly. Every such edition of *Haint* ran into 16 pages and had a circulation of between 60,000–70,000. Each such edition usually brought in about one third of the paper's weekly budget, and the impounding of such an edition brought the paper serious financial losses, especially if the censor refrained from handing down his decision until after the edition was printed, or refused to disclose the reason for his decision. Many years the censor remained satisfied if the forbidden lines or article were removed from the columns of the paper, thus leaving empty spaces in the edition subsequently printed. Then came the instructions not to leave blank spaces in the paper, so that the forbidden material had to be substituted by other news items or articles. The authorities apparently did not want the readers to know about the suppression of news.

Nor were these steps by the censorship the only means of punishing *Haint*. They resorted to another method which came to be known as "unsafe ceilings", a method resorted to by the authorities in 1928 during the first elections to the Sejm after the May Uprising of Marshal Pilsudski. His party submitted an independent list which included two or three Jews. The intention was to attract votes which would have gone to the Jewish parties. *Haint* combated the Government candidates and supported the lists of the legitimate Jewish parties, and so called forth speedy Government reaction.

One day a group of about 25 government officials entered the editorial offices without previous warning, made a great noise and commotion and announced that they had been sent by the Warsaw Municipality's building commission in order to examine whether arrangements in the printing shop were in keeping with the regulations, to see whether the ceilings in the various rooms were safe, whether the floors were strong enough, whether the staircases were firm enough, and so and on. It was patently clear that the authorities had decided to have their own back on *Haint* on account of the stand it took in the elections, and that the examination undertaken by the officials was a sort of warning of what might happen to the paper if it did not toe the government line.

Work was held up and all the members of the staff followed the examinations, and the examiners did not show any inclination to hurry over their work. They proceeded very slowly to investigate conditions, each man according to his special assignment and afterwards they began to speak to one another in undertones, shaking their heads and communicating in mysterious whispers and writing notes in their notebooks; then one or two of them began measuring the ceilings and the floors, the windows and the doors and the piping. The examination continued for a whole day, and when they finally left no one knew what actually lay in store for the paper. But nothing happened and no one heard anything further about it. Yet a clear hint had been given that the paper had better behave properly.

After Pilsudski's death, when his heirs conducted Poland along Fascist and racist lines, there were several physical attacks on *Haint*. Gangs of hired hooligans would shatter the windows of the building, some of them would even forcibly enter the house, smash tables and chairs, spill the type of articles that had been set up or damaged the type-setting machines. The police never "succeeded" in tracing the attackers. Editorial workers would also sometimes be the victims of this terror, they would be threatened by telephone of harm to their person or to their children, etc. At that time a group of Zionist youth had organised in order to stand watch over *Haint*.

More than once the members of the editorial board were threatened to be sent to the Bereza Kartuska camp, where the Government concentrated under inhuman conditions, political opponents, without investigation and without trial. The censor would hint at such possibility in unequivocal terms. He would telephone in order, as it were, to clarify some matter of little importance and, by the way, enter into a long conversation in the course of which he would find a suitable opportunity of saying something like: "Do you think it would be pleasant for me if you were to be sent to Bereza Kartuska?" Then, he would advise *Haint* to cease being obstinate. . .

During the years of rapprochement between Poland and Hitlerite Germany, the authorities would impound editions of *Haint,* not only for publishing things against the flirtation between the two governments but also for publishing material against the oppression of Jews in Nazi Germany.

As a result of these oppressive measures, *Haint's* financial situation became unstable. Business was good. The paper's circulation, and that of the other publications brought out by its publishing house, was large, but its coffers were empty.

The cooperative was forced to set up a special fund in order to cover the damage caused by the incessant confiscations. For this purpose, there was a special item in the budget amounting to 3% of the current income as a reserve fund for the partial coverage of these losses.

Haint had a readership which could be said without exaggeration to have been unique in the whole of the press of Poland, and not only the Jewish press throughout the world.



Aaron Gavze



Noah Finkelstein

The readers flooded the paper with letters asking all sorts of questions and there was nothing in *Haint* to which the readers did not react. Hundreds of letters used to arrive daily, not only from Poland but also from the whole of Europe and Eretz Israel, and even from out of the way places, such as Java.

In the period between the two World Wars *Haint* served as the central political instrument of Polish Jewry. It fell back on the unbounded loyalty of its readers and, in the course of time, became a public institution. No. 8 Chlodna Street, was a well-known address in Jewish public life in Poland. Many plans of literary, artistic or public importance were conceived there and put into effect through the assistance of *Haint* and its collaborators. The most important of these projects were *Schul Kult* and the *Rescue Committee.*

The purpose of *Schul Kult* was to create a network of Jewish national schools where the language of tuition was Yiddish and which had an extensive curriculum for the study of Hebrew and the Bible. The purpose of the *Rescue Committee* was to assist the masses of Jews in distress who had been deprived of their economic bases as a result of the oppressive measures of the Government. Members of the paper's editorial board were the founders of both institutions, and the first deliberations were held in the *Haint* offices.

Schul Kult addressed itself to the national factors among the Jews and primarily to the Zionists. The educational institutions where Yiddish was the language of tuition were, until then, run by Bundist circles, which opposed the furtherance of Jewish tradition generally and of Zionism in particular. *Haint* conducted a fierce struggle against these schools and, in its editorial offices, the need was often deliberated of strengthening the Jewish national spirit in the curricula of the Yiddish schools. A lot was written in *Haint* against the Yiddishist pedagogues, under whose influence the school pupils became estranged from the Jewish past and from the concepts of national Judaism. In the second half of the 1920s, the opposition to this type of school took on concrete form under the influence of *Haint,* and in circles permeated by a Jewish national consciousness, particularly in Warsaw, plans were evolved for a school of the bi-lingual type—an educational institution where the language of tuition would be Yiddish, but which would provide extensive tuition in Hebrew and in Judaism.

The plan aroused the attention of well-known cultural workers, writers and pedagogues, and in July, 1928 the founding meeting of the new organisation called "Schul un Kultur Farband", generally known by its abbreviation *Schul-Kult,* took place. The first manifesto of the organisation was printed on the front page of *Haint* and was signed by 23 cultural workers, of whom 13 were members of the *Haint* staff.

In the first school year—1930/31—the organisation was joined by 25 schools, which embraced 3,592 pupils and 100 teachers. In Vilna, the organisation was joined by a school with eight classes for boys and girls. In addition, the network included 15 kindergartens (708 children), 82 libraries (10,000 readers). The Right wing *Poalei Zion* party lent its patronage to the organisation. The new educational organisation had to fight hard against the Yiddishists as well

as against the extreme Hebraists, who opposed the bi-lingual character of its schools. The *Schul-Kult* institutions always laboured under a paucity of means but kept its schools going until the outbreak of World War II.

The other organisation established on the initiative of *Haint* was of a charitable character. The *Jewish Relief Committee* was founded in aid of the *Schul-Kult* schools at a time when Polish Jewry suffered from the economic stress and the taxation policy of the Government, which hit hard the Jewish shopkeepers, artisans, merchants and industrialists. Whoever was unable to pay what was demanded of him had his property, his goods, his machinery and furniture seized. The "Grabski cart" used to take Jewish property for public auction and sell it for a pittance.

Thousands of Jews were turned into paupers and whoever had any prospects of emigrating escaped from Poland. It was in those days that the Aliyah, especially of middle class Jews which came to be known as the "Grabski Aliyah", was started for Eretz Israel. Many were in need of public aid. Stress and despair reigned among the Jews and suicides were recorded every day. The victims of the Government's policy were generally wealthy people in the past who became impoverished overnight.

The *Haint* initiative of setting up a Relief Committee was taken in order to save Grabski's victims from starvation. The first consultations for the founding of this public body were held in the *Haint* offices, to which an invitation was extended by well-known public figures. The meeting also approved the name of the organisation which adopted the motto: "Whoever is not in need himself must assist his fellow Jews".

The *Relief Committee* made a name for itself not only in Warsaw but also in other towns in Poland, where similar institutions were established. The Warsaw Committee brought out stickers at 20 groszy a piece and it became a matter of prestige for every Jewish family to affix to its window at least one such sticker every week. These stickers were one of the most important items of income of the Committee.

The first of the Committee's reports was published six months after its foundation and the importance of the paper's initiative came to light immediately. In *Haint* of September 2, 1926, we read the following figures: in the six months' activity, applications for relief were received by the Committee from 14,000 families, of which 5,188 were examined and 4,437 were approved. In the period of this report the Committee laid out 625,672 Zloty in loans for constructive purposes and another 103,476 Zloty on emergency relief.

In the course of time the Committee concentrated almost entirely on small interest-free loans to shopkeepers and needy artisans whom such credit enabled to regain their feet again. Many thousands of families were assisted in this way.



A.S. Lyrik



Moshe Indelman

No. 8 Chlodna Street had a long tradition of Jewish cultural activity in Poland. Apart from *Haint,* the house issued other publications, daily newspapers and periodical literature (also in Polish and Hebrew), books by the "Yehudia" publishing house, etc. This publishing house developed greatly, thanks to *Haint* and brought out, among other publications, "The History of the Jewish People" by Graetz in popular Yiddish translation, various religious books, creations in Jewish and European literature, popular science books, a popular medical weekly ("The House Doctor") etc. Thanks to advertisements in *Haint* and to the efforts of the paper's many agents, in Poland (in over 1,000 Jewish communities) as well as abroad, Yehudia's publications were disseminated in scores of thousands of copies in Poland and abroad.

Nehemia Finkelstein was one of the leading figures in that

beehive of activity known as No. 8 Chlodna Street. He was the Treasurer and Trustee of many cultural institutions as well as of private people who used to deposit money with him for doweries, as well as inheritances. Jewish literary, theatrical and artistic affairs always engaged the attention of *Haint,* and people in the literary and artistic world who were in need of the paper's support, often met at Nehemia Finkelstein's home. Under his supervision the library and archives of "Hazomir", a musical association, were preserved at No. 8 Chlodna Street for many years after its liquidation. Here, too, were kept the archives of the Yiddish writer Jacob Dinezon, which contained important literary treasures.

The summer of 1939 was a period of terror for Poland but for the Jews it was a veritable nightmare. They suffered from the terror of the Polish Fascist gangs as well as from the "legal" oppression of the authorities of all grades, from the Cabinet Ministers down to the local officials, for the lower their grade the more fierce were their oppressive measures. No one paid any attention to Jewish protests. On the other hand, the threat of the oncoming war grew more intensely from day to day. The situation became unbearable and the fear for the morrow well-nigh insupportable. Meantime, however, life continued "as usual", and made its own demands. Several members of the paper's staff left for their regular vacations in the summer, for there was need to relieve the tension in which the Jewish journalists always lived and which, during these weeks, was greater than usual, for no one knew what the next day would bring.

I spent my vacation in the townlet of Kazimierz (Kuzmir in Yiddish) on the banks of the Vistula, and was visited by my friend Raphael Szefer, Director of the Palestine Office in Poland. The latter was particularly perturbed by the situation of his brother-in-law, Benzion Chilinovicz, a member of the editorial board of *Moment.* Szefer gave me some details about the situation in the *Moment* because it had been taken over by the Revisionists who turned the paper into a party organ, which situation induced Chilinovicz to seek ways and means of leaving the paper, whose Parliamentary correspondent he was. I told Szefer that in certain circumstances the fate of *Moment* was likely to also visit *Haint.* The co-operative had leased the paper from its former owners who had old debts which they used to pay off regularly in monthly instalments. It was likely, however, that the authorities would employ the same trick against *Haint* as they had done in regard to *Moment.* People who curried favour with the authorities were likely to buy off the debts and the new creditors would then insist that they be paid in one lump sum. Since such payment could not be made, the paper would be taken over by these people and so *Haint,* like *Moment* previously, would become an instrument in the hands of the Government.

Szefer realised that the danger was real, and thinking aloud he said that it was worthwhile taking the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation into the secret. *Haint* was the most important daily paper that the Zionist Movement had in Europe, and if it was allowed to fall into inimical hands, it would be a great loss, not only for Polish Jewry but also a serious blow for the Zionist Movement. It could be assumed that the Zionist Executive would not refuse to extend its assistance to *Haint,* if it realised the danger that lurked for the paper. Szefer advised me to leave for Geneva, where the 21st Zionist Congress was to convene, in order to raise the matter in conversations with the Zionist Executive.

On August 22, I undertook the mission on behalf of *Haint* to the Geneva Congress and was never again to see the members of my family who were overtaken by the fate that had befallen Polish Jewry. Only the youngest of my children, Aviva, was saved and she presently resides with her family in New York.

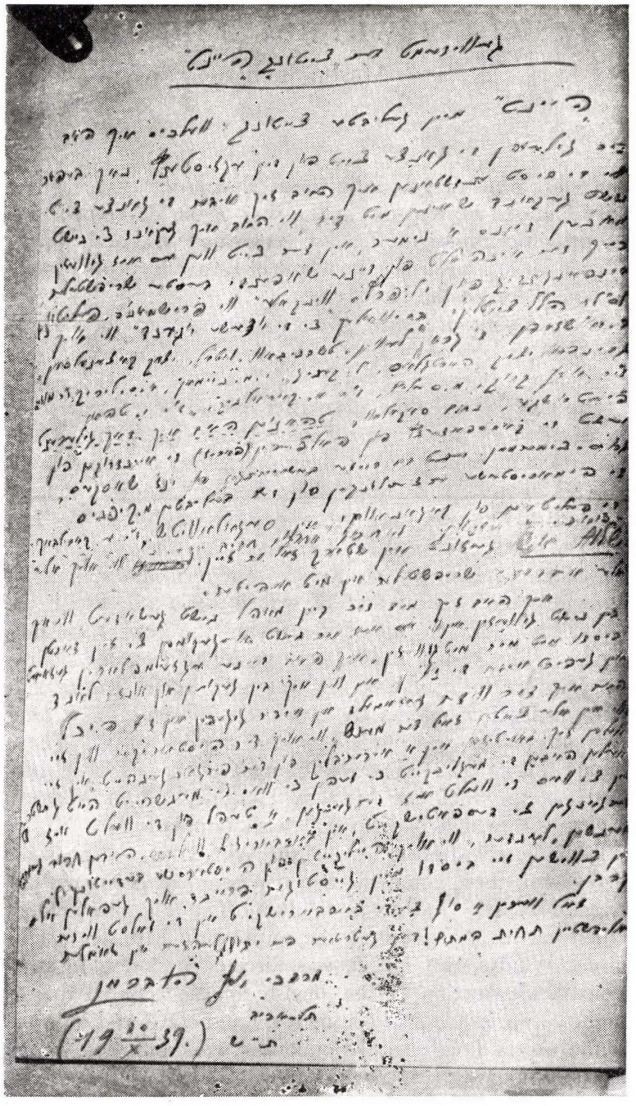
In the first days of the War, *Haint* made every effort to come out regularly, but its scope was reduced to only two pages and the paper was sold only in Warsaw. The country was in turmoil. The Government institutions had been undermined, the trains did not function and one province after another was occupied by the Germans so that it was impossible to despatch the paper to the provinces. There was hardly any income for the paper and no money to pay the wages of the workers, who were the breadwinners for over 125 families in Warsaw alone. There was also the danger of going out into the streets. The Germans bombed the capital, and only very few of the workers were able to come to the editorial offices.

In the second half of September, the last days of *Haint* were rung in. Only a handful of people were able to reach the editorial offices—Aaron Einhorn, Moshe Indelman (Yinnon), Aaron Gavze and Nehemia Finkelstein. There was also Moshe Grossman, a young man who worked in the paper's administrative department. They all either lived at Chlodna Street or nearby. During bombardment the people used to go down to the shelter in the cellars of the house.

The last issue of *Haint* came out on September 22. Only Moshe Grossman succeeded in reaching the paper's offices that day and on his way he had to pass over many ruins of houses destroyed by the bombs. He set up two pages of the paper and added a chapter of the psalms in Jehoash's translation into Yiddish. It is doubtful whether this last issue of *Haint* has been preserved anywhere.

Immediately on the German occupation of Warsaw, the Gestapo undertook searches in the homes of Einhorn, Indelman, Yeushson and myself. Gestapo men also came to the editorial offices of the paper and turned the place into a shambles in the course of their search. They smashed the furniture and the fittings in the editorial offices and in the print shop, but they left the machinery intact. These were subsequently transported to Germany.

Moshe Indelman was interrogated for several days at the Nazi Police Headquarters about the political orientation of *Haint,* its collaborators, about the anti-German boycott, for which the paper conducted a strong propaganda. In the end Indelman was arrested and sent by the Gestapo to a small townlet on the Polish-German frontier. Conditions there were terrible. At the end of January, 1940, however, Indelman was released and returned to Warsaw. The paper's management placed at his disposal an emigration certificate and he and the members of his family came to Eretz Israel.



Letter of tribute to Haint *by a Tel Aviv reader, October 1939*

Yesterday without a morrow

Moshe Sneh

It would be no exaggeration to say that *Haint,* the Yiddish daily founded in Warsaw in the year 1908, developed into the principal organ of the last generation of Polish Jewry (and in large measure of the whole of East European Jewry) —the last before the Holocaust.

My acquaintance with *Haint* dates back to the end of World War I.

The new Poland that arose after World War II came to be regarded, by the Western Powers generally and by France in particular, which lent it their patronage, as a first rank bulwark against "the danger of Bolshevism". Indeed, Poland fulfilled this task at the time and even conducted the last military battle in the War of Intervention (1918–1921) of the allies against Soviet Russia. In the atmosphere of chauvinist nationalism and of war hysteria the Polish reaction raised the slogan of identifying the Jews with Bolshevism. The Polish armies were guilty of excesses against the Jews in the course of the war with Soviet Russia and their instigation against the Jews left its signs for a long time after that war ended in the signing of the Peace Treaty (Riga 1921), which handed over to Polish rule extensive areas of the Western Ukraine and of Western Byelorussia, which had large Jewish populations.

Immediately after the end of the War, when the pogroms died down, there commenced a campaign of economic oppression of the Jewish population. The taxation system which carries the name of the antisemitic Minister of Finance, Wladyslaw Grabski, was directed intentionally towards the destruction of the Jewish middle class so that it might vacate its place in commerce, handicrafts and industry to the excess Polish rural population which flowed to the cities. A process of impoverishment of Polish Jewry set in, which grew continuously more acute. At the same time the road was closed to employment in the Polish industry to Jewish workers and to the members of the impoverished petty bourgeois families who were in need of productivisation. At the same time the road was closed or limited to young Jews to the practical branches in the institutions of higher learning.

Finding itself under stress, the Jewish public in Poland was forced to conduct a struggle and to voice opposition. It had at its disposal only two mouthpieces—its Parliamentary representation and the press. Here *Haint* fulfilled an historical mission. It brought to light every act of discrimination towards the Jews as a community and as individuals, it made demands, it reprimanded the oppressors and also gave encouragement to the oppressed Jews, calling upon them to stand up for their rights.

I recall, as a child in a small Jewish townlet, waiting at the station for the arrival of the train from Warsaw and swallowing every line in the Jewish paper. I shall never forget the issues of *Haint* which left such an indelible impression on my consciousness and on my feelings to this very day, in that they imprinted on my young soul the truth about the fate of our people, its suffering and its greatness, its stress and its hopes.

I shall never forget—I was a child of ten at the time—the description in *Haint* of scores of young Jews in the town of Pinsk, who were lined up against a wall and shot by Polish soldiers under command of their superior, who sentenced them to death without trial and without investigation as "Bolsheviks who had held a council of war" while they were all members of a Zeirei Zion organisation, who by chance had met in the house of one of their members in the evening (of the year 1919) when the Polish army captured Pinsk from the Bolsheviks (incidentally it is in the memory of these martyrs of Pinsk that Kibbutz Gvat was established in Israel). I shall never forget the description in *Haint* of the stormy debate in the Polish Sejm on this event, the appearance of Yitzhak Gruenbaum in that debate and the appointment of a Parliamentary Enquiry Commission which had two Jewish Deputies on its membership. *Haint* was not only a militant paper, it was also an educator. In large measure I regard myself as one of *Haint's* pupils who, in the course of time became its editor.

. . . Or take the Jablonna affair. When the Polish-Soviet Russian War reached its height (1920), the Polish author-

ities demanded of the students to volunteer for the army. Jewish students, too, volunteered, but the Polish army placed no faith in the young Jews who were also suspect of sympathy for Bolshevism, and so they sent all the volunteers to a detention camp near to townlet of Jablonna. *Haint* made the name Jablonna into a symbol of the Polish-Jewish tragedy. If they had not volunteered they would have been branded as deserters; now that they had volunteered they were branded as suspects. The Jewish situation had no outlet. . .

Take the elections campaign to the Sejm in 1922. The nationalist majority in the first, constituent Sejm, resorted to the trick of so arranging the electoral areas and the distribution of the mandates that the representatives of the Jews and of the other minorities should not succeed in being elected. On the initiative of Yitzhak Gruenbaum a National Minorities Block was set up, which represented about 40% of the general population in Poland, and so broke the evil decree. It was a trick against a trick. I recall the enthusiasm, the devotion and the zeal with which *Haint* conducted the elections campaign for a just representation of the Jewish minority. It was a campaign not only against the shameful administrative steps taken by the authorities who wished to infringe on the rights of the minorities, but also against the manifestations of fear and cowardice on the part of Jewish circles who did not want to annoy the ruling power. . . The Jewish minority, and with it the other national minorities, gained a sizeable representation in the Polish Sejm. One of its first activities, in December 1922, was the election of the first President of the Polish Republic. At the first vote the minorities presented in demonstrative fashion a candidate of their own—Professor Baudouin de Courtenay, a Pole of French extraction, and a man of progressive outlook. In the second vote the national minorities factions cast their vote for the candidate of the Polish Leftist Centre, Professor Gabriel Narutowicz, too a man of liberal outlooks, who was elected. The national Polish reaction (the Endeks) and the Christian reaction (the Chadeks) could not swallow this affront. How was it possible, they said, for a Polish President to be elected not by a "pure" Polish majority, but through the decision of Jews and other "strangers". It was under the influence of this poisonous propaganda that a Polish painter


№ 1. HAJNT

דיינט

First issue of Haint, *January 22, 1908*

Eligiusz Niewiadomski, assassinated President Narutowicz at the Academy for the Arts where he came for the official opening of an art exhibition.

Black days had come for Poland generally and for the Jews in particular. *Haint* conducted the struggle against depriving the representatives of the national minorities of their right to tip the balance in favour of one side or another.

After the assassination of Narutowicz, the Rightist reaction consolidated itself in the regime of Poland. For the economic and social crisis that descended upon the country in the 1920s, it found a "solution" in depriving the Jews of their economic position. The Minister of Finance, Wladyslaw Grabski, introduced an arbitrary taxation system which ruined merchants, artisans and the small and medium sized industrialists, who were generally Jews and formed the majority among the Jews. *Haint* stood up against the inimical regime and defended the Jewish existence that was destroyed. Its struggle was desperate but nonetheless aroused admiration. It was a lost but courageous battle. Many of the Jewish middle-class who had become impoverished undertook Aliyah to Eretz Israel (the so-called "Fourth Aliyah"). But the economic conditions in Eretz Israel were very difficult at the time. Many among the "Grabski immigrants" failed to be absorbed and returned to the vale of tears. It was then necessary to strengthen the power of resistance of the Jewish public. It was necessary to render it immune to the microbes of despair. And this work was done by *Haint*.

The Polish regime was rotten. Nationalism and clericalism marked the ideology that governed the country. Corruption characterised the country's administration; helplessness was



Literary collections marking the 20th and 30th anniversaries of Haint

an outstanding trait of the coalition agreements between the Rightist and Centre parties, and in this dark situation, anti-semitism reared its ugly head without restraint and without shame. It was against this background that Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, who had previously retired to his rural home at Sulejowek, staged a military insurrection and forced the President and the Sejm to give approval to the government that he set up, even though he filled in that government only the task of Minister of War. This rebellion entered Polish history under the name of "The May Coup", since it broke out on May 13, 1926, and the camp that supported Pilsudski came to be known under the name of "Sanacja" (healing), a slogan under which he carried through the uprising.

Together with all the oppressed and underprivileged classes in Poland at the time, together with all the democratic factors, including the extreme Left in Poland, the Jewish public, and its organ *Haint,* gladly welcomed the upheaval and pinned great hopes upon it in that it regarded it primarily as a removal of the hated Endek regime. It very soon, however, transpired that these were vain hopes and that Pilsudski had only changed one ruling class for another without in any way altering the reactionary nature of the regime and the external and internal policy. The disappointment with the Pilsudski regime and the "Sanacja" turned into a bone of contention among the Jewish public, and *Haint* played a decisive role in this phase.

The rift arose around the attitude to the Pilsudski regime. The Parliamentary representative of East Galician Jewry, headed by Dr. Leon Reich, of Lwow, and of Western Galicia, headed by Dr. Joshua Thon, of Krakow, tended to support the Pilsudski regime in the hope of obtaining from him certain facilities for the Jewish population. The Jewish Sejm Deputies from the districts of Congress Poland, the eastern border regions which, in the past, belonged to Russia (as distinct from Galicia which had been conquered by the Austro-Hungarian Empire), headed by Yitzhak Gruenbaum, did not place any confidence in these vague promises which were flaunted daily by reality and therefore, took up an oppositionist stand towards the Pilsudski regime. As for the Jewish labour parties, these did not succeed in obtaining any representation in the Sejm or the Senate, and this was both

an outcome of and a reason for their limited influence on Jewish public policy in Poland. The ultra-religious circles (Agudat Israel) and the wealthy classes (Merchants Association), under the leadership of Waclaw Wislicki, were among the regular supporters of every government. The main struggle for the line taken up by Jewish policy was conducted, therefore, between the two branches of the Zionist Organisation in Poland—the conforming and compromising "Gali-



Aaron Einhorn



H.L. Zhitnitzki

cian" wing, and the staunch oppositionist "Congress" wing. This struggle stood at the centre of the political life of the Jewish public throughout the years, from the Pilsudski revolt until the outbreak of the Second World War.

Haint, it is true, allowed the spokesmen of the two political trends to present their views and their reasons to the reading public, and the weekly articles by Yitzhak Gruenbaum and Joshua Thon appeared side by side in the Friday editions of the paper, but the stand taken up by the editorial board of the paper was clear and unequivocal: support of the radical oppositionist line. The articles and feuilletons of M. Yustman (B. Yeushson) in support of the consistent struggle for Jewish rights against the antisemitic governments and the debate with "Agudat Israel" and the editorial board of *Moment,* which always supported a compromise with the regime, were marked for their great zeal and journalistic ability.

It did not take long before the Pilsudski regime revealed its true nature. Pilsudski reached an agreement with the kin of the ancient Polish aristocracy and the large estate owners mainly in the Eastern frontier regions. They feared the loss of their estates in the event of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia becoming annexed to the Soviet Union, and so served Pilsudski as an assured public basis for his anti-Russian orientation. At the same time they also served him as allies in his method of oppression and expropriation taken up by his government towards the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peasants, and so a public prop in the competition between the "Sanacja" and "Endecja" camps. Pilsudski, who had given up the democratic values of his youth when he headed the "Revolutionary Faction" of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), came into open rift with the Sejm over the parliamentary system which was in vogue in Poland and based on the pattern of the Third French Republic, and took up clear Fascist stands, launching an outright attack on the workers and the peasants, on the national minorities, on the remnants of democracy. It is not surprising, therefore, that against such background antisemitism flourished, serving as a mouthpiece for the political and social tension that reigned in the country and as an instrument in the hands of the ruling reactionary forces in order to divert the hungry from their struggle for bread and the oppressed from their struggle for liberty.

The Jewish situation grew from bad to worse, and the struggle against the policy of the regime, which assumed the form of a Fascist dictatorship, became increasingly difficult. A wide gap was created between the tendency to political and social radicalism among the Jewish masses and the Jewish youth, and the tendency to adaptation and moderation among the leading circles in the official Jewish public leadership. On the other hand, many among those who had for many years supported the radical and oppositionist policy and who came mainly from the petty bourgeois circles broke down and passed over to the other side of the barrier. In the 1931 parliamentary elections, although Gruenbaum himself was elected to the Sejm, his list generally suffered defeat. The number of Jewish representatives in the Sejm and in the Senate was greatly reduced, and among those remaining, the majority supported the Government.



Newspapers, journals and other publications of Haint

In view of the reduced Parliamentary platform it was necessary to expand the publicistic and journalistic platform in the Polish language so as to address directly the Polish public and the Jewish intelligentsia in a language that it understood, seeing that the knowledge of Yiddish had greatly diminished among the young generation. There were three large Jewish papers in the Polish language in Poland — *Nasz Przeglad,* in Warsaw; *Chwila* in Lwow, and *Nowy Dziennik* in Krakow.

Not one of them, however, took up a political line parallel to that of *Haint*. With the active participation of *Haint's* editor, Abraham Goldberg, a new daily paper in the Polish language *Nowe Slowo* was established in Warsaw in the year 1931. At first, Dr. Abraham Insler, of Lwow, was invited to become editor, but in view of financial difficulties, the publishers of the paper had gradually to dismiss all the members of the editorial staff, and the editorship of the paper was relegated to me. The whole of the editorial staff consisted of two students at the Warsaw University—I was a medical student, and the other was a law student, Bronislaw Straubaum (later Dov Tibbon, a lawyer in Jerusalem). The financial difficulties increased and the daily paper in Polish had to close down. It was then that the *Haint* publishing house began bringing out in Warsaw a Polish weekly *Opinja,* which later changed its name to *Ster.* And so, in 1931, I entered the *Haint* house through its branches in the Polish language (I was subsequently invited to join the editorial staff of *Haint* in 1934).

It was at that time (the year 1932) that Yitzhak Gruenbaum left Poland. He remained entirely isolated among the Jewish representatives in the two houses of the Polish Parliament, and the only one who represented the strictly oppositionist line to the Pilsudski regime, and so no longer found any function for himself in this field of activity. After a short transition period in Paris, he turned to a different sphere of activity in Eretz Israel, as a member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation (and the Jewish Agency) in Jerusalem.

The rise of Hitler to power in Germany (at the end of January 1933), cast terror even on the ruling circles in Pilsudski Poland. Indeed, some sort of rapprochment with the Soviet Union had taken place, and within there was a sort of relief of the tension towards the Left, which had taken its first steps towards a "popular front" and began bringing out a daily organ *(Dziennik Popularny).* These signs of putting up a stand against the danger of Hitlerism

aroused some echo also in the Polish-Jewish relations. Regrettably, however, this process did not last for very long, and came to an end very speedily.

On January 26, 1934, a "non-aggression pact" was signed between the Hitler and Pilsudski governments. For Poland this heralded a far-reaching Fascism and a spiritual enslavement to Hitlerism and a tremendous strengthening of anti-semitism.

Beside the ruling Pilsudski party, which was reorganised on new, almost Fascist foundations as OZON (Oboz Zjednoczenia Narodowego = National Unity Camp), there arose completely Fascist organisations — ONR, "Falanga" — which instigated against the Jews in strictly Fascist fashion. Indeed, anti-Jewish excesses throughout the country became more frequent and the authorities did not even try to halt them. They announced that they did not in fact support these outbreaks but only an economic struggle in order to oust the Jews from their economic positions and make room for the Poles. In addition to the pogroms, the economic boycott, and the "numerus clausus" for Jews in institutions of higher learning, there appeared a new racist manifestation — separate benches for Jewish students in the universities. Millions of Polish Jews lived in strangulation, in poverty, in terror and in the feeling of helplessness.

But even in this unbearable atmosphere, the Jewish public in Poland was divided into two opposing camps — the one which collaborated with the regime, and the other which rose in opposition to it.

The camp of collaborators with the Pilsudski authorities — the Zionists of Galicia, Agudat Israel, the Merchants Association headed by Wislicki, was now joined by a new force which took prime of place — the Revisionists of the Jabotinsky camp. The slogan of Jewish "evacuation", which was cast by Jabotinsky into the Jewish world, was received with great satisfaction by the Polish authorities, who looked upon it as a Jewish confirmation of their aspirations and demands for an exit of the Jews. Indeed, this slogan had no practical significance on account of the gates of entry being closed to Jewish migration in all the countries of the world, including Eretz Israel, where the British Mandatory authorities cruelly limited Jewish immigration, especially in the Hitlerite Period. But, among considerable sections of the Jewish public which lived in despair, the slogan of "evacuation" aroused an illusion of a speedy emigration, and so weakened the power of Jewish opposition to the ruling inimical policy. The Polish authorities at that time supported the Revisionist organisations ("Brit Hechayal", Betar) and actually handed them over sovereignty in the Jewish community.



Readers in a Warsaw Park

The organ of the opposing tendency was *Haint*. This paper gave expression to the Jewish opposition to the policy of the Pilsudski regime, both in general affairs, external as well as internal, and in matters directly affecting the Jewish

population; both in instances of deprivation, discrimination and oppression, as well as in the general line of placing the Jews in the position of strangers who have to vacate their position. *Haint* fought for an opening of the entrance gates of countries with small populations for Jewish immigration, and primarily for Jewish immigration to Eretz Israel, but negated the slogan of "evacuation" which urged Jewish emigration without assuring them of a place of entry and the right of entry.

Ever since Yitzhak Gruenbaum left Poland, I assumed the leadership of the Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation, and, among other things, had to delineate the political line of the Jewish opposition to the regime under the new conditions. The National Minorities bloc, which had been founded by Gruenbaum, had ceased to exist, and with several of them no cooperation on the part of the Jews was possible any longer. The German national minority had come under the influence of the Nazi theories. The Ukrainian national minority tended in part to strike a union between Western Ukraine (held by Poland) and the Eastern (Soviet) Ukraine, while others strove for the establishment of a separate Ukraine with the assistance of Hitlerite Germany. In general, with the outbreak of a new World War looming large, the territorial national minorities began evolving plans for the geo-political changes most desirable for them, whereas the Jewish minority had an entirely different objective — a struggle for civil and national rights within the framework of the Polish State. This objective was organically linked with the struggle for democracy within the State and for an annulment of the friendship with Hitlerite Germany in foreign policy. Such a struggle was conducted in Poland by the Leftist forces in both town and country, and the only orientation on which the Jewish opposition to the regime could base its policy, was the orientation of the Polish Leftist opposition. Indeed, this was the line that I delineated on behalf of the Central Committee — while *Haint* (together with the weekly in the Polish language *Opinja-Ster*), constituted the platform from which I conducted the information and propaganda for this line — first as the writer of articles and subsequently as member of the editorial committee and as political editor of the paper.

In that period *Haint* faced a very difficult struggle. The authorities sought every pernicious way of hurting the paper. One such means was the censorship. There was no preliminary or preventive censorship in Fascist Poland; only censorship after printing. On the face of it, this seems to be more democratic. But, in the hands of the authorities it served as a means of actually ruining the paper. The first issues off the press used to be sent to the censor and he would hold up his reply until the late hours in the night when the whole of the edition was already printed *(Haint's* circulation exceeded 70,000 copies a day), and it was only then that the censor would announce his disqualification of the issue on account of one news item or one article in it, and very often on account of a single sentence or word. Not only was it necessary to print the whole issue again, with the required correction, but the paper missed the trains that took the parcels to some 100 towns and townlets along the railway lines in all districts of Poland. Such method of material destruction of the paper would undoubtedly have led to its being closed down were it not for the deep understanding and the wonderful discipline evinced by the readership which realised the reason for the delay and eagerly awaited its paper which arrived a day late. Each copy of *Haint,* used to pass from hand to hand, from house to house and from family to family. In many instances two or more families used to share a subscription for *Haint* so that the number of its readers topped the 1,000,000 mark.

The struggle became particularly exacerbated when *Haint* called upon the Jewish public to boycott the Sejm elections in September 1935. These were the first elections after Pilsudski's death and the first to take place on the basis of the new Constitution drawn up especially for Pilsudski as virtual head of the State. It was a Constitution that made a laughing stock of Parliamentary democracy. *Haint* was the only general Jewish newspaper which was non-Socialist but, at the same time, advocated a boycott of the elections together with the Leftist camp. There was hardly a day when the censorship would not impound the whole edition of *Haint* but the paper and its staff were not silenced.

A particularly serious clash with the authorities took place when *Haint* conducted its campaign against the prohibition of the Jewish method of slaughter — *Shechita.* The draft

law of the authorities actually insulted the Jewish religion and degraded the Jews in the eyes of the Poles, and embittered their lives. But the more the authorities persecuted *Haint,* the more the Jewish masses rallied around the paper, avidly lapping up its words of wrath and anger against those who instituted pogroms against the Jews, who issued evil decrees against them as well as its message of consolation and hope which was drawn from the sources of Jewish history and the vision of Jewish redemption.

Haint indited a particularly glorious chapter in its anti-Fascist struggle. Now, I say anti-Fascist and not anti-Hitlerite, because *Haint* took up a definite stand also against Italian Fascism, not to speak of the Fascist-antisemitic regimes in Rumania, Hungary, etc. Throughout the phases of the Civil War in Spain, *Haint* took up a consistent line of identification with the Republican anti-Fascist front. *Haint* also played a leading role in the Jewish boycott activities (economic, cultural, etc.) against Nazi Germany, which had been declared by a general public committee of Polish Jewry and spread throughout Jewish communities the world over.

Despite the chauvinist and militarist atmosphere that accompanied the annexation of the Cieszyn (Teschen) region from Czechoslovakia or the propaganda accompanying the conquest of Kovno, *Haint* expressed a clear dissociation from these military adventures, which were directed by the rulers of Nazi Germany, so as to impair Poland's alertness.

However, *Haint's* struggle over many years, in the defence of the rights of Polish Jewry, for the strengthening of their opposition and for the deepening of their national consciousness and pride, was not in vain. This struggle contributed much to the education of the Jewish masses, which, years later, brought forth the leaders of the ghetto revolt and the underground fighters in the forests.

The struggle for equality of rights for the Jewish public was but one of the fronts in which *Haint* was engaged, for *Haint* was the principal Zionist paper in the ramified Zionist press throughout the Diaspora. Life in Eretz Israel, the activities and problems of the Yishuv in Eretz Israel, its achievements and struggles, were faithfully reflected in *Haint.* Its readers knew everything on the morrow of any important event that took place in Eretz Israel and received enlightenment about the economic, cultural and political struggles of the Yishuv in articles sent in by the paper's special correspondents in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, as well as in articles by writers who were fully conversant with the situation in the country. But *Haint* fed its readers not only with information about what was taking place in Eretz Israel, but also with ideological food, which strengthened the firm ties of Polish Jewry with Eretz Israel. On the



Menachem Kipnis



Yitzhak Schipper

ideological front *Haint* faced a wide range of concepts and opposing outlooks: assimilation, Agudat Israel, Bund, Folkism (headed by Noah Prilutzki, one of the editors of *Moment).* Haint was undoubtedly a first rank medium for the Zionist education of the Jewish public. It educated its readers not only for a love of Eretz Israel, but also for Aliyah, pioneering and self-defence. It mobilised the Jewish masses to contribute generously to the funds for the building up of Eretz Israel, and whenever need arose, to stage demonstrations and to undertake political activity against the inimical British Mandatory authorities. Very often, appeals were addressed by the Jewish community in Poland to the Yishuv in Eretz Israel for assistance and expressions of solidarity, and there was not a single appeal that *Haint* did not support, nor was there any support that was achieved without the medium of *Haint.*

In the 1920s, a split occurred in the Zionist Organisation in Poland, expressing itself in the establishment of two fac-

tions: "Al Hamishmar" (headed by Yitzhak Gruenbaum and Dr. Meir Klummel), and "Et Livnot" (headed by Leon Levite and Dr. Joshua Gottlieb). There were three points of difference between these two factions: support of the moderate policy adopted by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, as President of the World Zionist Organisation, towards the British Government; support for the expansion of the Jewish Agency by handing over half the seats on its institutions to leaders from America and other rich countries; the demand to reduce the assistance given by the Zionist funds to the Kibbutz Movement and Chalutz Aliyah and to divert the budget and the immigration certificates, mainly to the middle classes and to private economic enterprises (the stance of "Et Livnot") — as against opposition to the political leadership of Dr. Weizmann and a demand to step up the struggle against the British Mandatory authorities; opposition to an annulment of the democratic character of the Zionist Movement through a numerical parity in the Zionist institutions between itself and a small number of outstanding individuals belonging mainly to the Jewish plutocracy in America; support of the hegemony of the Chalutz Movement and the Labour Movement in Aliyah and the building up of the country (the stance of "Al Hamishmar").

Haint's editorial board could not officially take sides in this dispute and its columns were open to a debate between the two rival factions. Generally, the sympathy of the editorial board was with the "Al Hamishmar" line. When the relations in the Zionist Organisation reached a crisis stage, the editor-in-chief of *Haint,* Abraham Goldberg, set up a central faction of "independents" which endeavoured to compromise between the opponents and bring about unity. But, when his efforts failed, the balance was tipped in favour of "Al Hamishmar" and the bloc formed by the two factions constituted an overwhelming majority against "Et Livnot". Having remained in the minority, the "Et Livnot" faction began drawing closer to the centres of the Zionist Organisation in Lwow (Dr. L. Reich) and in Krakow (Dr. J. Thon), also in questions of Jewish policy towards the Polish Government. In the course of time the "Et Livnot" found its road in the World Zionist Movement towards the Rightist wing in General Zionism (known as "Brit Olamit" or Zionists B), whereas the majority bloc of "Al Hamishmar" and the "independents" who constituted the Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation drew nearer to the Leftist wing in General Zionism (which was known as "Hitachdut Olamit" or Zionists A), reducing the differences with Dr. Weizmann. In all these struggles, *Haint* served the progressive tendency, at the same time preserving freedom of debate.

Whereas the rift between "Al Hamishmar" and "Et Livnot" created a storm in the 1920s, in the 1930s a storm arose between the Revisionist camp, established by Jabotinsky, and the Chalutzic, Labour camp. In this quarrel the Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation in Poland, and with it, its organ *Haint,* occupied a foremost position in the Leftist camp. The division between these two camps was marked all along the front:

a) Jabotinsky attacked the Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz Israel, the Labour Settlement Movement, the Chalutz Movement, the class consciousness of the labour parties, the freedom to strike, the values of symbols of Socialism (the Red Flag and May 1st), the link between Zionism and Socialism. In all these matters, the radical faction "Al Hamishmar", which held sway in the Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation, combated Jabotinsky Revisionism, and *Haint* served as a mouthpiece also in this struggle.

b) Jabotinsky's disciples in Eretz Israel split the Hagana and set up the I.Z.L., began breaking the general discipline in the Yishuv in the years of the disturbances and taking retaliatory action against the Arab population without discrimination between pogromists and guiltless parties. Echoes of this split reached the Jewish public in Poland and aroused sharp differences of opinion. Obviously the Central Committee and with it *Haint,* supported the policy of Hagana, and opposed the propaganda conducted by I.Z.L. emissaries from Eretz Israel and their local supporters.

c) The link between the Revisionist Movement and the regime of the Pilsudskiite Colonels could not be swallowed by the democratic Jewish public, especially by the labour parties and the radical Zionist Central Committee, which stepped up its oppositionist line to the authorities in face of increased antisemitism and their friendship

towards Nazi Germany. In return for the propaganda conducted by Jabotinsky and his party in the international arena for the handing over of the Palestine Mandate to Pilsudskiite Poland, as well as for the evacuation of the Jews from Poland, the Polish Government lent support to the Revisionist organisations and actually handed over to them, particularly to "Brit Hechayal" and Betar, sovereignty over the Jewish public. *Haint* played a principal role as a paper explaining and combating such serious manifestations.

These differences were particularly intensified after the 18th Zionist Congress (Prague, September 1933) when a limited coalition was formed by the labour factions in Eretz Israel, the Radicals ("Al Hamishmar") and Zionists A, against the Revisionists, the Mizrachi and Zionists B. In the wake of this Congress, Jabotinsky split the World Zionist Organisation, setting up the "New Zionist Organisation". Against the background of this development, the editorial board of *Haint* informed Jabotinsky, who used to publish his articles as an outside contributor in the paper, that it could no longer serve as a medium for his views.

Gruenbaum's departure from Poland (1932) and the death of Abraham Goldberg, the editor-in-chief, (1933), greatly weakened the guiding political nucleus of *Haint's* editorial board. On the initiative of Moshe Justman (B. Yeushson), the editorial board invited me to contribute regular weekly articles, and after a short while, I was coopted as a full member of the editorial staff, being elected Political Editor — a task which tallied with my function as Chairman of the Central Committee. The only political rival to us, on the editorial board, was Dr. Joshua Gottlieb, leader of "Et Livnot", who later entered the Sejm with the support of the Government. In the wake of Jabotinsky, he, too, passed over from *Haint* to *Moment*. In keeping with its political alignment, the editorial board of *Haint* invited the leaders of the Histadrut—the Labour Federation in Eretz Israel and its elected representatives (David Ben Gurion and others) — to present their views from the columns of the paper which became the central organ of all the progressive forces in the Zionist Movement at that time.

In view of all these changes, *Haint* developed into the Jewish mouthpiece in the campaign against Nazism and Fascism, in opposition to the reactionary and antisemitic Polish regime, in the struggle against Jabotinskyite Revisionism and in the struggle for the immediate establishment of a Jewish State. This latter struggle assumed particular significance upon the publication of the Report of the British Royal Commission, headed by Lord Peel, on the Palestine problem and its solution (1937). Lord Peel's Partition Plan, as a concrete programme, could not be accepted by any Jew, but the very idea in principle of ending



Moshe Yustman



Chaim Finkelstein

the British Mandate and of setting up a Jewish State in part of Eretz Israel, had many advantages. The Debate that arose for and against Partition was actually a debate between immediate political independence and the continuation of the Mandatory regime. *Haint* supported the immediate establishment of a Jewish State, not only by dint of the disappointment with the British Mandate but also by dint of the despair of Jewish reality in Poland and in Eastern Europe generally.

When the Jewish State actually emerged in Eretz Israel, *Haint* was no longer in existence and the overwhelming majority of its readers had been claimed by the Holocaust, but *Haint's* rights as a protagonist of the Jewish State should always be recalled.

Haint still managed to raise the voice of Polish Jewry, in the war against Hitler, during the first days of the Nazi invasion of Poland. Only several days past and Warsaw,



Haint, *one of its last issues, August 28, 1939*

the capital of Poland, was completely in ruins, so that the publication of newspapers was rendered impossible. The curtain rang down also on *Haint*. The Nazi invaders remembered to visit the *Haint* offices on No. 8 Chlodna Street, where they dismantled the printing press and transferred all the printing machines to Germany.

The staff was disbanded. Some of the *Haint* workers were killed in the War and in the Holocaust; some escaped to America or to Western Europe; others have found their way to Israel. The political lines of the paper also took different directions. The line I personally adopted led me far away from my colleagues on *Haint's* editorial board, but, to this day I retain happy memories of the *Haint* family as a whole and of all its members as individuals. I cannot remain silent, however, about two members of the staff who are no longer.

Moshe Yustman (B. Yeushson, Ichele) was a believing and observant Jew, who headed the campaign against the rule of the Rabbis and the religious functionaries and the Agudah keyworkers in the Jewish communities, against the knuckling under by the ruling forces from within to those in power from without. A wealthy Jew from a wealthy family, he dabbed with his pungent pen at the Jewish plutocrats who remained oblivious of the poor among their people, who were subjugated to the people in office, and at the enemies of Jewry... Never a party man, and always refraining from activity and representation in any public framework, he zealously fought the battles of the political group in whose uprightness and sincerity he believed. He was a Jew who was fully immersed in the sorrows of his people, pained at the suffering of the world, both far and near, a man who brimmed over with laughter, scorn and



M. Ron (Danzigerkron)



Simcha Pietruszka

humour in his "Political Letters", which used to survey important international events for the Jew in the Polish townlet ... A learned Jew, he gleaned from "Our Old Treasurehouse", pearls of wisdom and morals for the young generation, for the simple man, so as to lighten the road to uprightness for them... A silent man by nature, he had an eloquent pen. We were friends, yet we did not spend much time in conversation. It was only when both of us were refugees in Kovno that we developed a fiery dialogue. It was with the greatest difficulty that I convinced him, almost forced him, to extricate himself from that refugee camp and go on Aliyah together with us, to Eretz Israel — against his desire not to move too far away from the members of his family who had remained behind in occupied Warsaw. He arrived to Eretz Israel but his heart was broken with sorrow and yearning.

Abraham Goldberg, the editor, was not a master of writing but of editing. He was a master of layout and struc-

ture of the paper; a master in discerning the differences between synonyms, between allied terms. For example, he knew but little Polish but when I submitted to him an article that I had written for the paper in Polish, he would stop at some expression and say: Here one must use some other word. I don't know it, all I know is that it exists... and he would not rest until I found the necessary word... We travelled together to Prague to the 18th Zionist Congress.



J.S. Goldstein



Ber Kutcher

He fell ill and suffered great pain. I remained at his bedside day and night. It was his desire that he should have a physician and a friend by his side in his strange surroundings. It transpired that he suffered from cancer in his spinal column. Shortly after his return to Warsaw from the Congress, death relieved him from his suffering. To this day, I recall his advice and instructions in matters of editing and I generally follow them. Obviously I am not the only one to do so. Abraham Goldberg died not a lonely man.

Haint means "Today". Indeed, *Haint* had a yesterday, but it is no longer with us today and it has no morrow, neither for itself as a paper, nor for the public which it served as a mouthpiece.

After World War II, after the annihilation of the six million, and the defeat of Hitlerism, a new regime arose in Poland, a popular democratic regime, a Socialist regime. This regime regarded it as its duty not to allow the burning ember of Jewry to become extinguished; a Jewish-Public Committee was set up, a Jewish paper was established in Warsaw, a Jewish theatre, under the direction of Ida, daughter of Esther-Rachel Kaminska, was established, a Jewish Historical Institute was set up. We said to ourselves: This is not a morrow but it is an eternal light to the yesterday.

But suddenly an evil wind arose which snuffed out this candle too. 1,000 years of a common Jewish-Polish history came to an end. A more fitting end could not be conceived in the imagination and conscience of the rulers of Warsaw of the year 1968. But the remnants, the survivors of Polish Jewry, scattered all over the world, continue to spin the golden thread of their history far from the Vistula.



Editorial Board of Moment, *1912*

DER MOMENT: Beginnings of a Jewish daily

Mendel Mozes

Zvi Prilutzki, Hillel Zeitlin and Moshe Justman were the three pillars of *Der Moment* on its foundation. Prilutzki, the initiator of the paper, was the pioneer of modern Jewish journalism. The writer and thinker, Zeitlin, left his impress on this new paper from its very inception, while Justman (B. Yeushson — Ichele) was one of the most popular feuilleton writers in the Yiddish press in Poland until its liquidation on the outbreak of World War II.

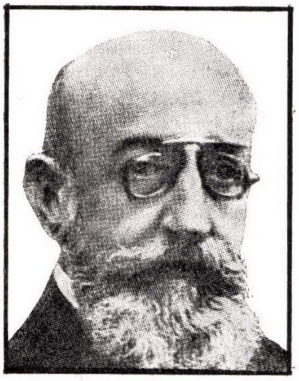
What is known as Congress Poland, that is, the regions occupied by the Russian Empire until World War I, was at the beginning of the 20th Century the cradle of modern Jewish journalism, which reached an impressive stage of prosperity in the period between the two World Wars. The permit to bring out a new paper in Poland depended on the decision of the authorities in St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, and, as long ago as 1903, Prilutzki initiated efforts to receive such a permit for a Yiddish paper in Warsaw. But such a permit was issued only on April 17, 1905, the year of the Russian Revolution, from the office of Swiatopelk-Mirsky, the Minister for Internal Affairs in the Czar's Government.

The first issue of the first daily paper in Yiddish — *Der Weg,* appeared in Warsaw under the editorship of Zvi Prilutzki on August 14, 1905. Among the list of its contributors we shall mention the names of well-known writers at the time — J.L. Peretz, Shalom Asch, David Frischman and H.D. Nomberg. Circumstances, from the point of view of circulation, were fairly good, and in 1906, when the first Russian "Duma" was opened — that was the name of the legislative body of the Russian Empire, which had very limited authority — *Der Weg* appeared in close to 15,000 copies, which was by no means a small circulation at that time. Nonetheless, the paper was not long-lived. When the political reaction in Russia grew in strength, the Yiddish paper, like all organs, since their political basis was a demand for civil rights, served as a target for oppression on the part of the authoritarian regime. Added to this were differences of opinion among the editorial staff. In February 1907, the owners of the paper were forced to close it down.

About six months later there began appearing in Warsaw a new daily paper in Yiddish — *Unzer Leben* — whose editor, as he appeared in name, was Mordechai Spektor. In actual fact, however, it was edited by Zvi Prilutzki. This moderate middle-class paper gained for some time support among the Jewish petty bourgeois and Chassidic circles in Poland — Jews who disliked the sensational and vociferous character of *Haint.* Apart from that, *Haint* had the presumption to be the paper of all Russia. Not so *Unzer Leben* which limited its interests to what was taking place in Warsaw and the Polish Province. Prilutzki used to publish in the paper a daily column called *Der Moment,* in which he dealt with current political matters. This column gained great popularity among the readers of the paper. Spektor used to describe in his feuilletons Jewish life in Warsaw, taking as the background for his descriptions his "walks in the Saxonian Park" (the largest public park in the Polish capital). It was in *Unzer Leben* that Moshe Justman took his first steps in journalism. Later on, he became one of the most popular writers among Yiddish readers in Poland.

The circulation of *Unzer Leben* was fairly large, but the competition with *Haint* depleted its financial resources, and its economic situation deteriorated from month to month. In those days *Haint* had already secured a strong position in the Jewish community, whereas shortly afterwards *Unzer Leben* had an additional competitor, the daily newspaper *Der Fraind* which had been transferred from St. Petersburg to Warsaw — the centre of the largest Jewish community in Russia. The richest among the papers of the time, *Haint* was "yellow" and sensational, and the reader of good taste refused to remain satisfied with articles written in it by Hillel Zeitlin (Letters to the Youth) on more delicate themes.

The idea of bringing out a new Jewish paper took on concrete form on Zeitlin's decision to withdraw from *Haint* and the parallel decision taken by Prilutzki to part from *Unzer Leben*. The editorial staff of the new paper had Zvi Prilutzki and his son, Noah, Hillel Zeitlin, David Druk and A.H. Scheps (known by his pet-name A. Alami, editorial secretary until 1913, when he emigrated to America). The name of the paper — *Der Moment* was taken from the



Zvi Prilutzki



Shmuel Janowski

daily political column of Zvi Prilutzki in the paper from which he resigned.

The first issue of the new paper appeared on November 5, 1910. The editorial office was situated at No. 1 Dzika Street (subsequently Zamenhof Street), on the third floor. Needless to say, there was no lift there. The material for print was set at Dluga Street, and the pages for printing were transferred to the printing press at Warecki Square in one of the Christian quarters of Warsaw. Obviously the conditions of work were difficult and business was not flourishing.

Nonetheless, the circle of readers grew increasingly and this expansion was brought about by the fact that the paper had inherited a very effective administration from another Jewish paper — *Die Naye Welt*. The publisher of this paper, whose name was Milstein and was a fur merchant by occupation — had already lost 40,000 rubles in the business, and so he liquidated it and handed over the inventory which consisted of a rotary press, typesetting installations as well as the editorial offices which were closed down and lists of the paper's subscribers to *Moment*. Following this deal, *Moment* was transferred from its offices on Dzika Street to the offices at 38 Nalewki Street, in the Jewish business centre of Warsaw, the address occupied by the paper's editorial offices until its very last day.

However, despite the rise in circulation and income, the paper's existence was not yet consolidated, and it was forced to search for new partners-investors in the business. This was by no means an easy task, and so considerable interest attaches to the circumstances that led to the investment of capital in the paper. Nahman, the youngest of Prilutzki's sons, subsequently a physician in Bialystok, was then a pupil in the first Jewish high school in Warsaw, which was at that time headed by the well known pedagogue, Magnus Krynski. Prilutzki's colleagues on the parents committee of the high school, were among others, Chaim Pruzansky and Eliezer Zylberberg, "wealthy men" in Jewish Warsaw. The contacts between the three on high school affairs developed into a partnership. In due course, they were joined also by Krynski and so *Judishe Presse,* the publishing house which was due to bring out and finance *Moment,* was founded.

In *Moment* of April 9, 1911, there appeared an advertisement about the founding of the publishing house — "A company of experts of large financial means" — for the purpose of improving the paper "from the technical, literary and informative points of view". The financial means, however, were actually very modest — several thousand rubles in all — and although the circulation increased to about 10,000 copies on weekdays and 15,000 on Fridays, it was not enough to consolidate the paper on firm foundations, and the little money that the partners took in gave out very soon.

But the paper was saved from an unexpected direction. The Warsaw population, and particularly the Jewish population, at that time suffered from a serious housing shortage. In the issue of June 15, 1911, we come across the following advertisement in the paper: "At the request of our readers the paper takes the initiative of combating the exorbitant price of housing by founding a new colony". This came about as follows: For purposes of "combating the high cost of housing", the paper *Moment* purchased from a certain estate owner a large stretch of land in the Milosna

district near Warsaw. That estate owner was engaged in a plan of erecting a garden city on the site; he had also laid out a park there, and several building sites were intended, according to the agreement with the land owners, for the readers of the Jewish paper to be raffled according to coupons printed in each issue of the paper. A series of articles in *Moment* stressed the importance of Jews living in a semi-rural area, and the paper also promised to assist the readers in obtaining cheap bank credits for the erection of a house and garden.

The advertisement not only drew the eye but attracted also rich Jews. Readers gathered these coupons and brought them every month to the administrative offices of the paper. The people hoped to draw a winning ticket for a cheap house—and this hope almost doubled the readership of the paper which reached 20,000 copies on weekdays.

The "colony at Milosna" never arose. Not a single house was built there and not one reader of *Moment* settled in the "bosom of nature". But ever since that unsuccessful enterprise the paper continued to be a serious competitor of *Haint*.

The relative consolidation of the paper enabled it to compete with the successful *Haint* also by increasing its staff. It now had other writers and journalists on its staff, including M. Spektor, J. H. Zagorodzki, Moshe Justman, Josef Tunkel, Shmuel Janowski and others.

Another means of competition was that the paper began publishing "serialised" novels—something that it had not done in the first years of its existence. The first two novels that appeared in serial form in every issue of the paper in 1912 were "The Jewish Minister" and "By Fire and Sword".

The Beilis blood libel, the echoes of which reached every part of the Jewish world, obviously created a storm among the Jews in the Russian "Pale of Residence", including the most densely populated Jewish community in the Czarist Empire—that of Poland. The paper, which published news from the courtroom in Kiev, was then the daily bread of Jews throughout the land. *Moment* set up a bureau of its own in the Court building, and the paper's correspondents, Meir Grossman, Shmuel Janowski and the Russian Jewish journalist Meisels, despatched daily telegrams to the editorial offices reporting the proceedings of the trial. The paper did not spare any expenditure and the telegraphic material published from the trial was more comprehensive than that of any other Jewish paper. This telegraphic material was supplemented by daily articles on the proceedings of the trial.

The copious reports carried by the paper about the proceedings of the trial in Kiev added to the business conflict between *Haint* and *Moment* and the mutual mud-slinging that these Yiddish papers published did not add to the honour of the Jewish press.

In a series of articles, for example, *Haint* slandered the owner of the Jewish High School, Magnus Krinsky, who was also one of the owners of the publishing house that brought out *Moment* and, in the issue of March 29, 1920, we find a report about the trial proceedings. Yitzhak Gruenbaum appeared for the defendants S. J. Yatzkan and N. Finkelstein, and in his speech for the defence, he did a disservice to his clients (according to the reporter of the competing paper) since he is supposed to have said: "True, in Yatzkan's article against Krinsky there were sharp expressions which any intelligent person would take as insulting, but it must also be borne in mind that *Haint* was a popular paper which sought a readership among the masses and such a paper is not in the habit of using the delicate language of the salon. *Haint* has a style of its own, and any disparaging remarks printed by this paper should not be taken as disparaging. In addition, one must realise who Yatzkan is, and in what surroundings he had been brought up. His surroundings did not know of any other style. Yatzkan had been brought up on the Talmud, and students of the Talmud who argue and vie with one another make use of even sharper language."

The mutual insults finally made headlines also in the Polish press, and this did not bring honour to the Jewish public as a whole. It was then that public figures decided to step in and demanded an end to the whole insulting business. An arbitration body was set up in order to settle the dispute, composed of Dov Stavsky, Yitzhak Gruenbaum, Heshel Farbstein and Halevy Lewin-Epstein. The arbitrators, however, stipulated that the two parties must first of all put an end to their mutual mud-slinging. Seeing, however, that this condition was not adhered to, the arbitration did not go beyond mere wishful thinking.

The Beilis trial was a disaster that affected the whole of Jewry, but Polish Jewry had specific troubles of their own, and from this point of view a basic turn for the worse set in in the year 1913, when the antisemitic movement in Poland began conducting an organised economic boycott campaign against the Jews of the country, so much so that the Jewish community was faced with the danger of economic disaster. The struggle conducted by the assimilationists also left its impression on the situation of Polish Jewry in the autumn of 1914 before the outbreak of World War I. The arena of this struggle were the autonomous Jewish institutions—the community councils in which the assimilationists ruled with a high hand, and opposed the demands of the Jewish national intelligentsia.

On these two fronts—the one against the economic boycott movement of the antisemites and the other against the campaign conducted against the authority of the assimilationists in the community councils—*Moment* participated with great vehemence. In the struggle against the assimilationists it was Zeitlin who gave the tone. But Zeitlin did not spare his rod from the Chassidic circles which constituted the majority of *Moment's* readership. For example, in an article entitled "The Jewish Women of Warsaw" (January 1, 1912) Zeitlin writes: "I have had occasion to come across Jewish women in Warsaw who have not the least knowledge of Jews and Judaism, Jewish girls who are ashamed of their Jewishness, Jewish girls whose sole desire is to look like non-Jewish women ... It was only in Warsaw that I saw Jewish girls hurrying with great zeal to see antisemitic plays in the theatre, and who are brought to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by them... Only in Warsaw is it possible for Leo Belmont (a Jewish renegade and Polish writer) to be the idol of Jewish girls."

In this matter of combating assimilation at the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, one may mention an episode that puts the people who were responsible for *Moment* in a positive light. In anticipation of the election campaign for the fourth "Duma", the idea arose among assimilationist circles in Warsaw of making use of a Jewish paper for their ends. They had no love for Yiddish or "Jargon" as they called it, but they appreciated the power of a Yiddish paper on the eve of elections. It was their tactic to come out with the slogan of "a Jewish-Polish entente" on the eve of the elections. The leaders of this assimilationist group were well-known to the Jewish public —Dr. Hertz, Bernard Lauer, Dr. Henryk Nussbaum and others, and the idea of a "Jargon" paper was adopted also by the liberal Polish publicist and friend of the Jews, Ludwig Straszewicz, editor of *Kurier Polski,* who believed that a Yiddish paper in an assimilationist spirit could contribute much towards blunting the differences between the Jews and the Poles.

While on the look-out for an influential Jewish paper, the assimilationists turned to *Moment* and offered the publishers the sum of 75,000 rubles—a sizeable amount in those days—by way of "subsidy" to the paper, in return for which it was to print in the framework of its column "Freedom of Debate"—a series of articles and reports in an assimilationist vein, in preparation for the "Duma" elections. But although the paper's financial affairs were none too rosy, the publishers rejected the proposal there and then, and brought public shame upon the proponents.

By way of characterising the Polish-Jewish reader of the time, it is worthwhile mentioning what came of the proposal. The assimilationists decided in the end to bring out a "Jargon" paper of their own, and on April 1, 1912, the first issue appeared in Warsaw of a paper called *Nayes.* This first issue was in no way different from other papers intended for the Jewish reader, but no sooner did the "Duma" election campaign commence than the cat was let out of the bag. The paper began conducting propaganda for the candidacy of Jan Kucharzewski, who had long since gained notoriety in Warsaw as a rabid antisemite. The Jewish reader turned his back on the new paper immediately and it stopped publication after only seven months, causing great losses to its publishers.

The public campaign against the assimilationists was headed on the editorial staff of *Moment* by Noah Prilutzki, who was then a little-known writer. In the campaign that he conducted, there came to the fore the foundations of the Folkist Populist Movement for the organisation of which as a separate party Prilutzki was soon to lay the foundations. There may be some interest in the fact that the news about the formation of the Party was first published in a Polish paper—the popular *Kurier Poranny*—in whose issue of

September 17, 1912 the information appeared about the organisation of a group of Jewish radicals who were very close in their political stand to the "Populist Movement" ("Narodniki") of Russia. This group, the paper wrote, set a Jewish "Populist Party" which would campaign for the election of a progressive deputy to the Duma from the Warsaw electoral region. According to the Polish paper, "the Jewish 'Folkists' aspire to that not only out of purely Jewish interests, but for the welfare of the whole region." In reproducing this item from the Polish paper, *Moment* pointed out that "we are unaware of the source of the report carried by *Kurier Poranny,* just as we don't know about the existence of Jewish populist groups." But already a week before, in the issue of September 10, Noah Prilutzki, the founder to be of the Folkist Party, published an article in which he formulated at length the principles of the Movement which he was to head, and which played a certain role in the life of the Jewish public for a period of several years after the establishment of the new Poland.

The Jews of Warsaw participated *en masse* in the elections of the electors who were due to choose the Warsaw Deputy to the Russian "Duma". The Jewish electors refused to vote for the antisemitic candidate, Kucharzewski and gave their vote to the Labour candidate, the liberal Jagiello. This served to arouse the ire of the Polish nationalist camp, headed by the "National Democrats" (Endeks) still more and they announced a stiffening of their economic boycott against the Jewish population.

From then until the outbreak of the World War, in the autumn of 1914, the question of the struggle against the economic boycott, which was launched by the Polish Nationalist Movement against the Jews, stood at the centre of Jewish journalism. To begin with, some believed that the boycott would not hold out for very long as, for example, the writer Y.H. Zagorodzki, tried to prove. In his article of November 12, 1912, he argued that "the boycott would very soon explode" because its economic foundations are weak and he called upon the Jewish merchants to bear in mind one thing—to offer their clients good merchandise and to ask the lowest price possible for it. The client, Zagorodzki wrote, always has his money in mind, and despite the calls that come out for the boycott, he will continue to patronise the Jewish shopkeeper who offers his goods at a lower price than the Polish merchants, sometimes at 25%–50% less. But Zagorodzki and all those who thought like him, erred, and as we have mentioned, the theme of the boycott against the Jews was not droped from the columns of the Jewish press. From the end of 1912 and throughout the year 1913, we come across in almost every issue of *Moment* information in its column entitled "The Boycott Movement in Warsaw", the names of Polish firms and businesses that published advertisements in the organ of the boycott movement *Dwa Grosze* (the paper of the Endeks). This information in a Jewish paper served as a hint to Jewish merchants as to which Polish merchants and companies the Jews should avoid maintaining business relations with. The anti-Jewish boycott movement which increasingly grew in intensity, had its repercussions not only in the other regions of imperialist Russia but also in foreign countries, and in each issue of *Moment* we come across reproductions of articles from progressive papers in Russia and abroad, levelling sharp criticism against the boycott campaign in Poland. This antisemitic boycott propaganda gave rise not only to a silent counter-boycott campaign of antisemitic-Polish institutions and businesses, but also led to the establishment of economic organisations intended to serve Jews. The first step in this direction was the establishment of a Jewish bank, the main function of which was to grant credit to Jewish merchants and manufacturers.


Der Moment.

דער מאמענט

Moment, *daily, Warsaw, issue of March 16 1935*

It would appear, however, that the veiled propaganda conducted by the Jewish press for a counter-boycott was not very effective.

Almost the whole of the Polish press at the time was anti-semitic, and so the need arose for the Polish-reading Jews to have a newspaper which was free of the anti-Jewish poison. Indeed, in the beginning of 1913 a large daily paper began appearing in the Polish language—*Przeglad Codzienny,*—which promised to be "liberal, non-partisan and to defend equality of rights for the Jews". The editor of the new paper was Stanislaw Mendelson (scion of Rabbi Akiba Eiger, while his wife Maria was the daughter of Nahum Sokolow). In the past, Mendelson had been active in the underground of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and for some time he had hidden outside the frontiers of Congress Poland on account of persecution by the Tzarist gendarmerie. In due course, however, he severed his connections with the Polish Socialists and returned to Warsaw.

Right from its inception, Mendelson's paper revealed assimilationist tendencies and aroused the opposition of Jewish intellectual circles with nationalist tendencies. In *Moment* of June 8, 1913, Noah Prilutzki sharply attacked Mendelson's paper.

"We don't know much about him nor had we heard anything bad of him, but what we do know about him is sufficient. Throughout his life the man had wandered from one strange camp to another, and had often switched flags, never at any time taking up the Jewish flag." Incidentally, Prilutzki pointed out that Mendelson's paper did appear on the Passover but not on the Christian Easter, despite the fact that all the readers of the paper were Jews.

The incitement at boycott had meanwhile spread throughout Czarist Poland and in the small towns and townlets the campaign assumed the form of cruel attacks upon the defenceless Jews. In the village of Planow, near the town of Wielun (south-west of Lodz), Polish peasants had set fire, on May 28, 1913 to the house of a local Jewish shopkeeper and seven people lost their lives in the conflagration.

In an article entitled "Wielun" on the first page of the June 2nd issue of *Moment,* Noah Prilutzki writes: "Kishinev, Homel, Kiev, Odessa, Bialystok, Siedlce... and now a new name has been added to history—that of Wielun. It is more horrible than any of the pogroms that preceded it. These were not drunken hooligans, people whose occupation was murder, but very sober people who acted in cold blood according to a plan set out in detail beforehand. This was the most cruel of all pogroms that we have known to this day."

Whoever thumbs through the old issues of *Moment* of that period comes across a news item from time to time which tells us that not all was black, even in the campaign to boycott the Jews. Thus, for example, we read in the Warsaw column of January 18, 1913; "Christian waiters who had come to the Kesselman restaurant (a popular meeting place at the time for commercial circles in the Polish capital) ... in order to work in place of Jewish waiters who had been dismissed, refused to enter their job after learning that their Jewish comrades had not left their place of employment of their own free will. Yesterday there was not one waiter left in the restaurant and Kesselman was forced to serve his clients himself".

Until the World War the information in the Jewish papers of Warsaw was very meagre. The Russian telegraphic agency was the sole source of information about events in the Empire. This service, however, was not very effective, apart from the fact that it was expensive. For that reason *Moment* was in the habit of copying news items from the large papers in Warsaw, like *Kurier Warszawski,* which used to publish telegrams from its correspondents, or copy news items from the Berlin papers. Still worse was the situation in regard to information from the Jewish world. Most of the news of this kind reached the paper by mere chance. In the issue of July 14, 1913, for example, *Moment* tells in a "telegram from St. Petersburg" (!) about an act of hooliganism in Vilna in which a Jew was murdered in a municipal park.

The paper used to carry information from time to time about Jewish life in America, copied from the Yiddish papers in New York or in articles by A.H. Scheps-Alami, the *Moment* correspondent who had migrated to America. Information from Eretz Israel was no better. Thus, for example, we find in the issue of October 5, 1913, a telegram from Vienna which read: "According to a telegram from Constantinople, the Turkish Government had abolished the

'Red chit' which all religious (!) Jews immigrating to Eretz Israel had to carry". The paper adds that "this is a great success for the Jewish community in Eretz Israel". In the issue of February 22, 1914, *Moment* published the first cable received direct from Jaffa about the visit of Baron Edmond de Rothschild to the Jewish colony, in which we read *inter alia* that, in the course of his visit to Jaffa, the Baron stepped off at the new Jewish quarter of Tel Aviv where he visited the Hebrew Gymnasia, listened to the lessons given in Hebrew and expressed satisfaction. On the completion of his visit he was accompanied by the loud acclaim of the Jewish population of Jaffa and of delegations from the "Colonies". The cable from Jaffa bore the signature of Yitzhak Ben Zvi, who was subsequently to become the second President of the State of Israel.

Right from its inception *Moment* offered its readers "literary prizes" and in its issue of July 8, 1913, for example, the paper announces a large prize to its subscribers — the collected writings of Mendele Mocher Sepharim in seventeen volumes. These prizes, consisting of the writing of the leading Yiddish literary figures or translations from Hebrew literature, were given to the readers either free of charge or at very low cost.

Until the outbreak of the War in 1914, the advertisement page was very meagre. Jewish merchants and industrialists apparently did not attach any great importance to advertising in the paper, and most of the advertisements in *Moment* as in all the other Jewish papers of the time, were "specifically Jewish" — such as for prayer books, copies of the Bible, the Jewish theatre, schools or chadarim, or remedies for "Jewish illnesses". However, in the period of the Polish economic boycott of Jewish trade, a Jewish tobacco company (the issue of July 9, 1914) published an advertisement about its products in... Hebrew. The advertisement ran as follows: "Son of Man! See with your eyes and hear with your ears and set your heart to the fact that the 'Golf' cigarettes are better than any other kind produced by other factories. Ask for them and you will be convinced that they are excellent in all respects: in their good taste, and in their pleasing aroma. Do not go to glean in any other field". By "any other field" the hint was, of course, clear.

On the outbreak of the War, at the beginning of August 1914, the Jewish scene in Poland began to change. Large waves of Jews who were driven out by the Military Command from the frontier regions with Germany began flocking to the large cities. The antisemitic movement, the leaders of which were people of pro-Russian orientation, now received new weapons — false reports to the Military Command about "Jews being the friends of Germany and acting as spies". When the War broke out only two Yiddish papers appeared in Warsaw: *Haint* and *Moment* and in the conditions of the War the despatch of the papers to the provincial towns became increasingly difficult. Before long these two papers also ceased publication, not on account of difficulties of despatch but because of the hue and cry raised by the Polish antisemites that in actual fact the Jews were bringing out papers in a language which was none other than a "spoiled German" and, on July 18, 1915, the Chief Commander of the Russian Army on the Polish Front, the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaevitch (uncle of Czar Nicholas II) issued an order to close down the two papers in Yiddish. On that very same day the police confiscated copies of the two papers on the newsstands in the streets.

That marked the end of the Jewish press under the Czarist regime. About three weeks after the closing down of the paper, on August 5, 1915, the defeated Russian Army retreated from the Polish Front and some three days later, on August 8, there already functioned in Warsaw a press bureau of the German occupation authorities. This bureau issued an order immediately for all the papers, both Polish and Jewish, to renew their appearance. The head of this bureau, the secret adviser of von Kleinov, summoned the editors of all the papers to his office on August 8, and announced that "Germany was fighting the Russian Army and not the peace-loving population". In order to maintain law and order it deemed the assistance of the press to be of great importance. At that meeting, von Kleinov also announced that the authorities forbade all incitement in the press by one section of the population against the other. For that reason it would not put up with antisemitic propaganda, just as Jewish papers would be forbidden to attack Polish papers. Shortly afterwards the editorial offices of the papers were called upon to furnish the press bureau with the list of names and of the pen-names of all their journalists

who wrote for the Yiddish papers and to give the various fields in which every journalist engaged. The announcement said that this was needed for "statistical purposes". Clearly, however, its intention was entirely different.

In October 1915, the "liberal" von Kleinov issued an order that the Jewish papers must publish the War Communiqués of the German Military Command in the German language, albeit in Hebrew characters. The reason was that the German censor did not understand Yiddish very well. The real intention, however, was to "accustom" the Jewish reader to read German. I had the opportunity at that time to come into contact with two censors of the Jewish press. One was called Stein and the other Arnold. Herr Stein was a typical Prussian Junker who, later on, in the days of the Hitler regime, was appointed Gauleiter in one of the German Provinces, while Herr Arnold was a Minister of Protestant Church who, on the face of it, was a man of kindly appearance and conduct. In actual fact, the two of them were agents of the German Secret Police and their function was to report everything they knew about the Jewish press and the workers on the papers. Incidentally, both Stein and Arnold had a good knowledge of both spoken and written Yiddish, and the pretext for publishing the War communiqués of the German Command in the German language was a pure lie.



Some members of editorial board of Moment *(centre, Hillel Zeitlin)*

Ups and downs of a daily

Abraham Zack

Der Moment and *Haint* were the backbone of the Jewish press in Poland. 38 Nalewki Street and 8 Chlodna Street were the most popular addresses in Jewish Warsaw. They were not only newspaper offices but very important institutions which played a role of prime importance in the Jewish community. These papers moulded Jewish public opinion in the middle classes. The Bundist *Folkszeitung* had only a limited leadership among the proletariat while *Moment* and *Haint* wielded decisive influence on the wide middle class masses. There were homes where the two newspapers were read regularly. The ordinary Jew found in these two papers especially in the enlarged Friday editions all the replies to the problems that beset him. The Friday issues were more often like journals, which provided an assortment of all the best in journalism—stories, serialised novels, poems, publicistics, feuilletons, essays, etc.

The regular staff members of the editorial board of *Moment* was very large. Its editor in chief was Zvi Prilutzki, and in addition to his son, Noah Prilutzki, the members of the internal editorial staff included, some for longer, other for shorter periods, Hillel Zeitlin, H.D. Nomberg, Z. Segalowitz, M. Spektor, A. Alami (the latter two before World War I), Josef Heftman (Emanuel), Dr. Joshua Gottlieb, S.J. Stupnitzki, J.H. Zagorodzki, Josef Tunkel (Der Tunkeler), Moshe Justman (B. Yeushson, Ichele), Ber Karlinski (Karlinius), Joshua Perla, S. Hirschhorn, N. Schwalbe (the latter two were at the same time also on the staff of "Nasz Pzeglad"), Shlomo Bieber, Abraham Zack, Marc Turkow, Shmuel Janovsky, Benzion Hilinovitz, J.J. Propus, and many others.

Apart from the regular members of the editorial staff of *Moment,* contributions to the paper were made, some frequently and others at rarer intervals, and at various periods by Mendele Mocher Sefarim, Shalom Aleichem (obviously before World War I), Abraham Reisin, Josef Opatoshu, Zalman Schneur, and many, many others.

Haint was connected with the Zionist Organisation and was regarded as the semi-official organ of Zionism. *Moment* was throughout its existence a non-party general Jewish national paper—with the exception of its last period of existence—and about that we shall write in the course of our story.

The circulation of *Moment* experienced ups and downs. The thing was dependent on conditions and on various factors in Jewish life. There were times when its circulation reached the figure of 150,000. This was so in the year 1913 during the Beilis trial in Kiev, which stormed the Jewish world. In the period between the two World Wars, there was a brief period when the paper attained the sizeable circulation of 100,000. From this point of view, *Haint* was *Moment's* competitor. At times, the circulation was dependent on light and exciting novels which "attracted" the popular reader. The custom of introducing exciting serialised novels in the Yiddish press began before World War I, at the time when S.J. Yatzkan was editor of *Haint,* and reached its heights "conquering the Jewish readership" through its pornographic novel ("In the net of sin"). It is interesting that the man who "sewed together" this pornographic story was the writer A.L. Yakubovitz, who wrote in Yiddish and in Hebrew. This novel at the time aroused reaction in Jewish literary circles, and the noise created did not prove futile. The novels that were subsequently published in *Haint* were more "modest" . . . But the custom of printing novels in a lighter vein had already gained permanence in the Yiddish press.

This "tradition" was continued by the two papers, *Moment* and *Haint,* also in the period between the two World Wars. In *Moment* the novel "Barg Arop" (Downhill) indicating a moral deterioration, gained great success, and attracted the mass reader. It was signed by three stars (serving as a sort of pen-name for the well-known prose writer, Joshua Perla). The writer had "caught the principle" and succeeded in arresting the interest of the reader, especially the women readers. They used to lap up his output with breathless suspense, and used to await the continuation of the story as it appeared in the next day's issue of the paper. The story is told of one of the readers, who knew one of the members of the editorial staff, who telephoned him during the night wanting to know what had happened to one of the heroes in the next chapter . . . Her curiosity had caused her sleeplessness . . . The novel gained many readers for *Moment.*

But *Moment* used to publish in serial form, in its Friday issues, also literary novels and longer stories. For example, the greatest success was reaped by "Noah Pandre", the series of stories by Zalman Schneur about Shklov, and mainly his historical novel "The Emperor and the Rabbi", which was written in a delicate, literary style and garnished with his authentic Schneurite piquancy.

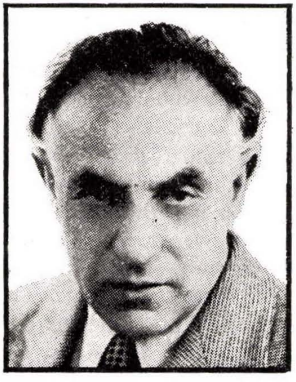
In general, *Moment* preserved the limitations of a solid and serious paper. Zvi Prilutski had in mind also the orthodox circles, the traditional Jewish home, whose paper *Moment* was. Apart from Hillel Zeitlin, whose articles often revolved around religious themes, there was also a religious tone in the writings of the "Mizrachi" leader, Rabbi Yitzhak Nissenbaum, Yehudah Yefet and others, who introduced a tinge of Torah and Rabbinic sayings into their articles.

The solid image of the paper was given to it by its collaborators, members of the editorial staff, important publicists, writers of great standing and essayists of fame. The enlarged Friday editions were impressive also by their rich publicistics, by their literary articles, theatrical reviews, etc. For purposes of literature and theatrical reviews, *Moment* introduced a special page for the arts, under the editorship of B. Karlinius, which was devoted to book reviews, essays, theatrical criticism, etc. At times the page was adorned by a poem from the pen of Itzik Manger or some other poet. Karlinius edited this page until the year 1935. From that time and onwards it was edited by the writer of these lines.

As already mentioned, *Moment* was a non-party national paper and in its pages all the national trends in the life of the Jewish people found expression—all except the extreme Left. It was a paper for the ordinary, everyday Jew, for the middle classes. In the main, two trends—Zionism and Folkism (of the "People's Party") found expression in the paper, and their mouthpiece was father and son, Zvi and Noah Prilutski. Zvi Prilutski was a Zionist from early youth, a veteran Hovev Zion in his native town Kremenitz, and later in Czarist Petersburg. He also wielded influence to the effect that the paper served as a platform for the Zionist ideal with which many of its contributors were connected.

Folkism was represented on the paper, apart from Noah

Prilutski and the members of the staff, by H.D. Nomberg, S.J. Stupnitski, S. Hirschhorn, Michael Suritz and others. As a publicist, Hillel Zeitlin was a Folkist, who sometimes tended to Territorialism, but he never in practice joined this trend. In actual fact, Zeitlin did not attach himself to any party framework. He always radiated love to everything that was beautiful and lofty in Jewish public life. Twice a week, on weekdays, he would write leading articles in which he



Abraham Zack



Noah Prilutski

reacted to topical questions. But the theme of his publicistic articles, which he used to publish in the Friday editions, was always connected with matters of spirit. In these articles Zeitlin revealed himself as the great Jewish thinker and humanist.

Each one of the well-known writers in *Moment* had his own circle of sworn readers. Some tended to the writing of Zeitlin, others to that of Nomberg, who contributed the column "Table Talk", which was replete with sharp-witticism and appeared in the Friday edition. Others again enjoyed Noah Prilutski's essays on the arts, the theatre, on language; some were devotees to the "political talks" of Ichele, articles in which the author commented on the week's political events in the style of the Beth Hamidrash; some were attracted by Schneur and his stories of Shklov—his "Noah Pandre" and the exciting chapters of his "The Emperor and the Rabbi". Women would be faithful readers of the light romantic stories of Z. Segalowitz, and many enjoyed the humouresques, the feuilletons and parodies of Tunkeler and the page of humour, satire and caricature under his editorship.

The following that some of the writers had in the paper often proved also the paper's bane. For example, in 1925, when B. Yeushson (Ichele) passed over to *Haint,* this popular writer took with him several thousand readers to the competing papers. The circulation of *Moment* dropped and this made itself felt in the paper's budget. In some measure the paper repaid *Haint,* when ten years later Dr. Joshua Gottlieb left *Haint* and passed over to *Moment.* This step was followed later on by Z. Jabotinsky.

In its heyday *Moment* experienced some good times. (The paper's publishers were a company officially known as "Nasza Prasa", meaning "Our Press"). The partners in the paper's ownership—Zvi Prilutski, Noah Prilutski, Eliezer Zylberberg, Chaim Pruzanski and Abraham Pruzanski—received a sizeable income every month, apart from dividends when the Balance Sheet was drawn up at the end of the year, and sometimes also in the course of the year. The members of the staff also drew good salaries. This was seen to by the Trade Unions. From this point of view, the printers' Trade Union served as an example, for it established sizeable salary scales for printers and type-setters. In no other trade did workers in Warsaw earn more than printing workers in the publishing houses of *Moment* and *Haint.* Apart from fixed wages, they were paid also for overtime, even for extra minutes that they put in. Wits used to say that print workers in either of these papers earned more than Cabinet Ministers . . .

The professional council attached to the Jewish Writers Association tried to follow in the wake of the Print Workers Union, as did also the Administrative Workers Union; nonetheless, the writers were less "exacting" towards the publishers, and the parties always arrived at a compromise so that the journalists lagged behind the print workers insofar as pay was concerned. The Jewish Journalists Syndicate constituted a section of the general Syndicate in Poland, but the wage scales of the Jewish Printing Workers Union served as a basis for its own scale. For example, an editor received the same pay as a layout man (which was the highest scale), technical workers (such as translators

and proof readers), the same scale as linotype setters. This was the minimum. At the time of the inflation in the 1920s, when the value of the Polish Zloty had dropped considerably and the wages of the workers used to rise automatically in accordance with the cost-of-living index, as published by the Central Office of Statistics, as well as under pressure from the Trade unions, the workers in the paper used to receive weekly a large packet of bank notes, so large that it was actually necessary to parcel it up. There was no room in the pockets for so large a pile of paper.

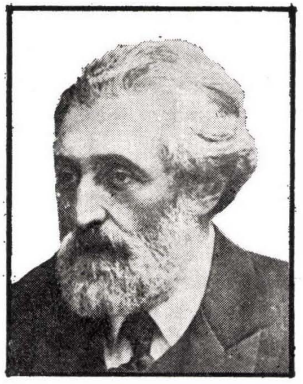
Apart from the inflated budgets for wages, the cost of producing the paper also rose owing to the increase in staff in each of the three departments. The editorial board had also to pay full wages to the sick and the invalid. There were over 30 workers on the editorial staff, but the staff on the paper's administration, in the print shop and in the despatch department also increased. The dismissal of any worker involved the payment of sizeable compensation: he had to be paid nine months' wages and another month's wages for each year of work—the amounts were always large and the staff of workers grew constantly.

In addition to these outlays, there were the sizeable fees that all the correspondents abroad and the numerous reporters in Poland received. *Moment* secured the services of writers in all parts of the Jewish world, who were professional journalists. In Poland itself, the paper had correspondents in Lodz, (Lazar Kahan), Bialystok, (Pesach Kaplan), Vilna, Lwow and in many other Jewish centres. In special cases *Moment* used to send its reporters out to countries abroad.

H. D. Nomberg was the first of *Moment's* wandering correspondents. It was not the paper that sent him out. Nomberg knew no rest and so he travelled from place to place—to Berlin and North America, to Argentina, to Eretz Israel and even to the Soviet Union. The description of his travels in *Moment* were most interesting. He gathered his reports also in book form—one on Eretz Israel (1925) and two on America (the northern part of the Continent and Argentina).

The dynamic member of *Moment's* editorial staff, Marc Turkow, also undertook many missions for the paper. He frequently toured Eretz Israel, North America, South America and the Soviet Union.

For several year *Moment* had the participation also of S. An-sky. After World War I, he left Vilna to settle in Warsaw and at once he established contacts with *Moment* in which he published memoirs about the destruction of Galicia, his ethnographical travels in various Jewish communities and memoirs in general. An-sky always had something to tell his readers, for he had led a stormy life as a Russian revolutionary writer, as a member of the "Narod-



S. An-sky



Chaim Pruzanski

nik" camp, who were in the habit of "going out to the people". But these were things of the distant past. The "Jewish spark" had long since been rekindled in An-sky's soul, and he ceased to serve strange gods. Since then, his life was devoted entirely to his people. In the course of his tours, on ethnographical missions, An-sky had imbibed the sorrow of the destroyed synagogues and houses of study, of scrolls of the law that had been desecrated. An-sky gathered all these exhibits as authentic evidence about the desecration of Jewish life. During the World War he had gathered many stories and legends in the destroyed Jewish townlets, a large treasure of folklore. It was apparently these travels that gave him the material for "The Dybbuk", the play that made such a deep impression throughout the world—but that was already after the author's death . . .

Four of the important members of the editorial staff of *Moment* served as members of the Polish Sejm during one or other term of office of this House of Representatives. In

the first Sejm there sat Noah Prilutski and with him S. Hirshhorn of the Folkist Party. In the second term of office there was Nomberg, who also represented this Party, and in the years 1935–1939 Dr. Joshua Gottlieb was a member of the Sejm. Noah Prilutski often made a name for himself by his speeches against the antisemites. He was a lawyer by training and a speaker of great eloquence, and the questions that he raised in regard to the misdeeds of the antisemites caused great discomfort to the authorities. Joshua Gottlieb made only one speech in the Sejm . . .

Like all the Jewish papers in Poland, *Moment* also served as an arena for the struggle against the antisemitic misdeeds of the Endecja (Right-wing) and of the Sanacja (followers of the Pilsudski regime), and their ideologists in the Polish press and against their appearances on all public platforms—the Sejm, the Senate, the Warsaw City Council, and other municipal bodies.

In 1924, *Moment* began bringing out a noon edition by the name of *Varshever Radio.* It was a popular paper, edited in much lighter form and intended for the masses. The first page always had a banner headline, right across the page, with several subheadings. If there was no sensational news one day or other, it had to be "manufactured". The dynamic editor of the noon paper, Shmuel Janovski, was assisted by a whole team who used to supply material —piquant reports and descriptions of Warsaw life, a light novel, translations of stories from world literature, humouresques, "daily ditties", songs together with the music, topical hits, etc. Dance songs, especially for the Tango, were the *dernier cri* in Jewish Warsaw in the 1920s.

For a long time *Varshever Radio* published in serial form a piquant novel on the Vienna Royal Court entitled "The Mysteries of the Viennese Court". It was adapted by S. Gottlieb, who had formerly been *Moment* correspondent in Lwow. After S. Janovski's death, Gottlieb became editor.

Varshever Radio also had a large circulation. It was much cheaper than the morning paper, and its circulation often surpassed that of *Moment.* But the noon paper was not a paper for advertisements; the basis for its existence was its circulation. In extraordinary instances *Radio* used to bring out also an evening edition, consisting sometimes of only two pages.

For some length of time *Moment* used to bring out a sports paper, edited by Yitzhak Bornstein, the paper's regular sports reporter. He used to report not only on football games, wrestling, circus performances, etc., but also on chess competitions. *Sport Zeitung* had several reporters and used to appear once weekly on Fridays. But this paper, too, had numerous readers among the youth of Warsaw in those days.

Moment sometimes experienced good times and sometimes slack times. The competition with its main rival *Haint* induced the owners to seek various ways and means of acquiring readers and advertisments. One such way was the giving of prizes: books, free trips abroad, etc. Readers would cut the coupons from the paper and so an attraction was created for a regular readership. These ruses, however, were only a temporary expedient. More effective and basic means were called for. On the one hand, the economic crisis that hit the Jews more than the non-Jews in Poland, especially after the death of Jozef Pilsudski, when antisemitism took off its "white gloves", and on the other hand, the inflated budget of *Moment,* the surplus of staff in all its departments, the burden of having to pay salaries to the sick and the invalid, weighed heavily upon it. As time went on, these difficulties took on a form which endangered the paper's very existence. The enterprise had five owners, and each one of them lent his patronage to his own people, and in place of the invalids, it was necessary to engage new staff.

One of the owners of the paper, Chaim Pruzanski, a man of initiative and foresight, came out with a venturesome idea in those difficult days. The paper's offices were located in an old and dingy building on 38 Nalewki Street, and Pruzanski set out to erect a new building for the enterprise on a site in the third courtyard of that vast block of houses. In addition to the ground floor and the cellars, Pruzanski wanted to erect a building of two storeys. The existing building was dingy and very neglected. But where were the means to come from? The owners had many creditors who exacted high interest and *Moment* enjoyed a good name and could receive loans as it wished, especially as it paid as much as 2% per month. In this connection, a very foolish step was taken. The paper did not purchase the building site for the new building, but came to an agree-

ment with the owner to the effect that when the new house would be erected the paper would pay the owner some sort of rent ... for its own building.

There was another step that Pruzanski took with the connivance of the other partners, and this even exceeded in dimensions that of erecting the new house. Several of the rich Polish papers—particularly *Kurier Czerwony,* which was very popular and had a large circulation, used to appear in several colours. Pruzanski therefore decided that *Moment* must also spring a surprise on its readers and succeeded in convincing his partners, and then set about implementing the idea. He established contacts with "Graphica", a firm in Berlin which represented some of the largest enterprises in Munich which produced the most modern rotary printing presses. The mediator was one called Risch, representative of "Graphica" in Warsaw, from whom the Berlin firm received the best recommendations possible about "Nasza Prasa", the publishers of *Moment.* In the end it turned out that the paper received a large rotary printing press of the most modern type and in addition another two modern linotype machines, for the whole of which he had to pay "only" $72,000.

Hardly had the erection of the new building been completed than the owners began giving great publicity to the innovation. *Moment* received the new machines that were installed on the ground floor of the new spacious building. Experts arrived from Munich who installed all the machinery with German exactitude. On account of the credit that *Moment* enjoyed, favourable terms of payment were arranged, to be commenced only after several years—at the beginning of 1933. Chaim Pruzanski, like the other partners, believed that by then the paper would amass wealth ...

The paper's staff spread over the spacious offices and everything appeared as befitted a great European paper. The editorial offices and the administration were located on the second floor; the print shop (six linotype machines, cases of type font, matrix presses) occupied the first floor, the rotary press was located on the ground floor, while the distribution department occupied the spacious cellars.

On the first Friday, after *Moment's* removal to its new premises, the paper appeared adorned with several splendid illustrations in colour and this constituted an outstanding event. It is true that since then the paper's circulation had grown slightly and its appearance made an impression on the Jewish readership, but the increase in circulation was not sufficient to balance the inflated budget for the salaries of the large staff and the high interest. In addition, there was the competition by *Nasz Przeglad* in the Polish language, which, following in the footsteps of *Moment,* ordered a rotary press of the same type from the same Berlin company, and so became a serious competitor also to other papers in Yiddish.

Meantime, the owners of *Moment* learned that the rotary press was sold to *Nasz Przeglad* at much more favourable terms than to them, and so voiced complaints with the Germany company that favoured their competitor. The outcome was that "Graphica" compensated *Moment* by granting it a loan of $10,000 ... But, in this way, the paper's debt to the Berlin company grew to $82,000! ... The crisis was by no means alleviated.

In this critical period for *Moment,* an event of fateful consequences occurred. Chaim Pruzanski had died of a heart attack and the situation of *Moment* deteriorated still further. While seeking ways and means of cutting down expenses, the owners thought of reducing salaries. This led to a rift with the Trade Unions, which declared a strike, which continued for several weeks. In the end, the Unions were forced to agree to a compromise. This happened in the year 1930.

Towards the end of 1930, Eliezer Zylberberg, a "Mizrachi" leader and one of the owners of the paper, called a meeting of the editorial staff and announced in dramatic tones: "Gentlemen, we have called you together in order to inform you frankly that the enterprise is on the verge of bankruptcy. We can no longer carry the heavy burden. We propose that the editorial staff, together with the workers in the other departments, take over the enterprise on a cooperative basis and that we, the owners of the paper, continue to work as ordinary members of the cooperative, without any special rights. If the workers on the paper do not agree to our proposal, we shall have no alternative but to declare bankruptcy. That is the only way out..."

His announcement stunned the gathering and no one as much as uttered a syllable. All were dumbfounded, and Zylberberg continued: "We are handing over everything

to you ... the installations, the new rotary press, the linotype machines, the type-setting machines, etc. . ."

"Together with the debts ..." one remarked in pawkish humour.

"Of course, together with the debts," the lawyer Michael Suritz retorted, and continued to give a legal explanation of the proposal. "It is proposed that we take over both the credit and the debit side of the business."

But the thing was clear, even without his explanation. Spirits fell. Some of the members tried to ask questions, but Zylberberg announced in unequivocal terms: "Why argue? We have weighed the matter in all seriousness before convening you. Maybe we should have done so a long time ago, but that cannot be helped now. This is the situation. Consult with the other workers and give us your answer."

The editorial staff retired to another room in order to consult. Opinions were divided. Not everyone seemed to believe that a cooperative would save the situation. The following day, a meeting was called of the members of all the other departments of the paper. Not one of the paper's owners was present. Suritz reported on the situation and on the proposal put forward by the paper's owners.

It was clear that the decision would be taken in this spirit: everyone shied away from the idea that the paper would be suspended even "temporarily" because no one could foresee for how long this "suspension" would continue.

And so they arrived at a clear decision: We are founding a cooperative, and, early in 1931, the new cooperative, under the name of "Nasza Prasa" was founded as the publishers of *Moment*.

The administration of the cooperative consisted of three people, each a representative of the paper's departments. The first step of the administration was to cut salaries by almost a half ... The former owners of the paper also received half of their former basic salaries. The second step concerned the improvement of the paper's budgetary situation. All the creditors were called in, one after another, and informed by the administration of the situation. They were told that no way out could be seen unless they renounced their interest so that there was hope of saving the capital. The creditors, therefore, had no alternative but to agree to the cooperative's proposals.

Zvi Prilutski, the editor-in-chief, remained at his post even under the new management, but he had, at his side, a collegium of three, who were entrusted with the job of administering editorial affairs.

The editorial board continued to maintain contacts with all outside staff, both in Poland and abroad, and the paper maintained its former standard. It continued to publish the contributions from well-known writers. The pay cuts applied also to outside workers—insofar as they accepted the verdict. Zalman Schneur, for example, always demanded his regular honorarium on the threat of stopping work. In general, however, the writers acquiesced in this situation of the paper with which they had had sentimental connections for many years.

The professional council of the Journalists Association used to intervene only in instances of temporary workers who used to substitute for members of the staff on leave, or in cases of illness. The council insisted on these substitutes being unemployed members of the Union and, on no account, permanent members of the staff. There were always unemployed journalists who might be called "professional unemployed", but the economic development of *Moment* was not exceptional for very soon, the other Jewish papers *Haint, Unzer Express*—also became cooperatives.

It fell to my lot to serve on the Cooperative's management many times, at various intervals, but altogether for several years.

The administration was charged with many functions—care for the proper distribution of the two papers, advertisements, etc., and there was always need to cut down expenses.

Moment's most important initiative was the publication of a new paper in Polish called *Nowy Glos* (New Voice). The business side of the two Polish papers appearing in Warsaw was very good. There was a proposal, therefore, that the *Moment* publishing company should bring out a new Polish paper. The new rotary press was ready for work and was capable of turning out even as many as five papers.

The well-known Polish-Jewish publicist, Dr. Abraham Insler of Lwow, was invited to become editor, while the Polish-Jewish poet, Roman Brandstätter, was invited to become chief assistant to the editor. Several other young

Jewish journalists who wrote in Polish, were also engaged. Being closely attached to our papers in Yiddish, *Nowy Glos* had rich sources of information which we received and correspondents. There was no difficulty in finding room for several additional people in our new house, and so there was no very great risk involved in bringing out the new paper.

The paper took on a pleasing format. The leading article was always written by Dr. Insler, who used to react to topical problems arising in Poland and abroad. By general consensus, the paper was worthy of a large circulation, but from the business point of view, it lacked the main thing—advertisements. It was difficult to enlist advertisements for the paper. Business and industrial circles are conservative by nature. *Nowy Glos* was virgin soil and ploughing was difficult. Nonetheless, the Polish paper appeared for close to two years, thanks to the large technical staff of our enterprise. Were it not for that the new paper would most certainly not have lived for so long.

The year 1933 was fast approaching, and before long it would be necessary to begin repaying the instalments on account of the $82,000 that the paper owed to "Graphica" in Berlin. The management began correspondence with the Berlin company. From their Warsaw representative the Germans were already aware that the paper had meanwhile been turned into a cooperative, and now, as the year 1932 was about to end, the administration informed the Berlin firm betimes of the difficult economic situation and of our readiness to come to Berlin before the first payment was due ... Our friend and mediator in Berlin was Dr. Samuel Weinberg, a member of the staff of the Encyclopaedia Judaica which Dr. Nahum Goldmann brought out in Berlin. I was a member of the delegation sent by the management. The other two people with me were Josef Heftman and J.J. Propus. It was in our interest that the delegation should be composed only of writers.

One day in December, at an early hour in the morning, we were awaited at the Sharlottenburg railways station in Berlin by Dr. Weinberg. And in the afternoon, we set out to meet the representatives of "Graphica". We held a strong card in hand insofar as "Graphica" was concerned. The Germans had shown complete confidence in *Moment,* and when the contract was signed they did not secure for themselves in the contract ownership rights over the machines in the event of bankruptcy. If they had taken care to secure legal guarantees, they could by law have claimed back all the machinery that they had sold to *Moment.* Seeing that they did not do so, they had no greater rights than those of the other ordinary creditors. The upshot of it was that under the existing situation Polish law granted them third place in the scale of priorities, and only after the income tax authorities had collected their share and all the workers on the paper had received their wages for the many months that had gone by, could the "Graphica" people take their place alongside the other creditors of *Moment* and receive their share from the official receiver—and in the best of cases would receive a mere pittance.

We described the situation as it actually was to the German creditors.

"Our concrete proposal is to pay 50% of our debt in instalments over a period of ten years, otherwise the enterprise will be ruined and everything will be lost..."

The Director could not suppress his excitement and rose from his chair.

"Must we therefore lose everything?"

"Why, everything? We workers on the paper, it is true, have lost everything, and are now receiving famine pay. But, in this way, we have saved if not the whole of the capital that you invested in the machinery, at least part of it."

The whole thing had taken the Germans by surprise. The scholarly Dr. Weinberg passed me a note to the effect that it would be best to interrupt the conversation so as to give the Germans time to cool down.

So, each of us rose from our places and said that we had still another matter to deal with and would come another time...

The Germans remained silent and in tense atmosphere accompanied us to the door.

We decided that it would be best for Dr. Weinberg to go there alone and to negotiate with them as a third party. He was a Berliner and knew the mentality of these people better than we did. Indeed, Dr. Weinberg called on the Germans and warned them that if they put our promissory notes on the market we would declare ourselves bankrupt,

with all the ensuing results, and that we would found a new paper on the ruins of *Moment*. Dr. Weinberg prepared the ground well and, at our second meeting with the Directors of "Graphica", they spoke in different tones. These men of affairs became more yielding. The final agreement was that the cooperative undertook to pay 60% of the $82,000 debt, over a period of about ten years, in monthly instalments of $400. All that "Graphica" demanded was that we



Y. Perla



H.D. Nomberg

make the payments in dollars and not in Polish currency.

All that remained for us to do was to draw up the formal agreement and Dr. Weinberg brought us in touch with Dr. Sammy Gronemann, a writer and lawyer of repute, who was President of the Zionist Congress Tribunal. Gronemann drew up the legal document and all ended well. That was at the end of December 1932. A month later Hitler rose to power.

The cooperative exerted every effort in order to arrive as far as possible at a balance of the budget. We paid the debts within the limits of the new conditions, including the instalments to "Graphica" (of $400 a month). Everything was done in order to maintain the good name of the paper among the suppliers of paper and ink. *Moment* owed large sums also for these materials.

The paper continued to try its luck at announcing various prizes, including free trips to Eretz Israel. This was made possible through an agreement with a certain travel agency which for a long time received a lot of publicity in the paper. These prizes brought us a considerable number of new readers.

The prizes managed to improve the situation somewhat but, in actual fact, all these efforts were mere palliatives: the budget was not stabilised, nor really balanced, and the heritage left by the former owners of great debts weighed heavily on the enterprise. Nor was the situation improved by a further cut in wages. All the workers on *Moment* were now forced to tighten their belt, and whoever could was forced to look for additional income on the side. The wives of some of our staff began learning a trade—sewing, corset making, etc., at the "ORT" school. Hundreds of families lived a life of poverty but they continued to cling to the paper. Sentiments linked them to the enterprise. After all, it was a paper and not something that one could discard at a day's notice in exchange for something more profitable. That was the approach not only of the writers and journalists but also of the workers in the other departments.

Early in 1937 the management summoned the supervisory council for urgent consultation. They analysed the situation, weighed the future prospects, and arrived at the decision that something decisive must be done. It was no longer possible to remain wallowing in the mud. The cooperative, too, was approaching bankruptcy. . .

Our colleague Michael Suritz, a lawyer by training, sat permanently on the supervisory council, and Noah Prilutski, a jurist, who had previously been one of the owners of the paper, was also invited to the meeting. After listening to their views, it was decided to call a meeting with the participation of several financial experts. On their advice it was decided to apply to the court to appoint a supervisor of the enterprise. This arrangement would enable us legally to declare a moratorium and avert bankruptcy in the hope that in the course of time we would be able to arrive at some understanding with the creditors and so the court supervision would be withdrawn.

And so indeed we did. It was not at all easy to take this step, but we had no alternative. This painful surgical operation was a last resort. . .

Thanks to the efforts of people of influence, the changes

were made without difficulty. The court treated our application favourably and appointed the lawyer Mark Kahan as supervisor of the enterprise. He was, it is true, a man of Revisionist leanings, but we were pleased with the fact that the appointee was a Jew...

So long as Advocate Kahan acted as supervisor on behalf of the court, his attitude to the administration was loyal and even friendly. The management continued to conduct the affairs of the paper, and maintained constant contacts with the supervisor. Indeed, our situation was considerably alleviated. The main concern of the enterprise was now to increase circulation and the volume of advertisements in the paper.

During the period of court supervision we once received Zeev Jabotinsky at guest of the editorial board. He was a regular contributor of ours after he had severed relations with *Haint*. He had come to Warsaw as guest of the Revisionist Party and several public appearances had been arranged for him in the Polish capital. It was only natural, therefore, that he should be received in the editorial offices of the paper which used to publish his brilliant articles regularly.

Jabotinsky arrived in the company of two of his colleagues in the Party—Josef Klarman and Dr. Wdowinski. All the members of the editorial board assembled and the guest was received with all due respect and reverence.

A lively discussion with the guest arose, revolving around Eretz Israel, the Diaspora, the British Mandate, the curb on Aliyah, the situation of the Jews in Poland, antisemitism.

The Jewish public in Poland had at that time been aroused to storm by Jabotinsky's plans for "evacuation". These plans were also the subject of his calls on various Ministers in the Polish Government. The Polish Government was actually pleased with these proposals. By all means, they said, let these Jew-boys leave for whatever destination they want. The slogans: "Jews to Palestine! Jews to Madagascar!" filled the air of Poland at the time.

Jabotinsky's campaign aroused angry reactions in extensive circles in the Polish-Jewish community. It was interpreted as giving assistance to Polish antisemitism instead of opposing it. No one believed in Jabotinsky's dark forecasts. Surely, they said, Jabotinsky is not a clairvoyant, a man who can foresee real danger ... the danger of Nazi Germany... His prophecy evidently revolved around pogroms, and surely one can defend oneself against these by means of a properly prepared self-defence. Not only Jabotinsky, but for a long time not even the Jews in the ghettoes, believed that the extermination camps would ensue. Many of the victims began to realise that only as they faced the gates that led to the gas chambers



Zalman Shneur



B. Karlinski

But let us return to Jabotinsky's visit to the editorial offices of *Moment*. It was clear that the question of "evacuation" would be the main topic of discussion with him. Incidentally, there was one of Jabotinsky's articles lying in the chief editor's drawer at the time, and it did not deal with a general subject, as always, but with the question of "evacuation", and the editorial board had held up its publication. All those who spoke at the reception did so in quiet and friendly terms, expressing their views on the burning questions of the day—Noah Prilutski, Hillel Zeitlin, S.J. Stupnitzki and others. A series of questions and answers ensued.

"What awaits the Jews of Poland?" Jabotinsky was the first to ask. "An economic boycott? Pogroms... Antisemitism is stronger than the Jews, and the government sides with the antisemites. The Jews have an outlet—emigration ... Aliyah ... mass Aliyah to Eretz Israel. That should be the only slogan of *Moment* to the Jews of Poland."

Jabotinsky said: "Aliyah, mass Aliyah" and not "evacuation"—the word that aroused such great unrest among the Jewish masses.

"Mass Aliyah?" one of those present asked, "at a time when the Palestine Office on Marianska Street receives only a handful of certificates for distribution? . . ."

"What do I care about certificates!" Jabotinsky became a little more heated up. "We must storm the closed gates of Eretz Israel. The Mandatory authorities are not the owners of our land . . . Basta! . . ."

As he uttered the word "Basta" he banged his fist on the table. The people in the room exchanged perplexed glances. The aged Prilutski remained silent. His face was slightly flushed, as was always the case when he grew excited. He was always known for his quietness and moderation.

Prilutski launched a theoretical debate with Jabotinsky and developed his views in regard to "Doikeit" (the Yiddish catchword for the view that the place of the Jews is "here", in their present places of residence), in regard to the struggle for the rights of national minorities, including the Jewish minority, in Poland, Jews must not run away from their enemies but fight for their position and combat antisemitism. . .

Dr. Gottlieb somewhat relieved the tense atmosphere. He said that in actual fact *Moment* was fighting on two fronts: against the antisemitic outbreaks in Poland and against the closed gates in Eretz Israel. He himself was fighting all the time on these two fronts, and almost all the Jewish publicistics in Poland were doing the same.

The reception in his honour disappointed Jabotinsky, especially since his article on "evacuation" had been held up. The upshot of it was that Jabotinsky for some time stopped sending articles to the paper.

Before long a change set in from this point of view. It happened in the year 1938.

The court supervision led to good results and the *Moment* family had reason to hope for better times. . .

The administration of "Nasza Prasa" arrived at the conclusion, that it was time to take steps to abolish the court supervision. It was clear that towards that end one must first arrive, by means of compromise, at some settlement with the creditors. Indeed, negotiations were started with each of the creditors individually. The guiding line in explaining the situation was that the settlement of debts was to the benefit of both the paper and the crediors. The principle put forward was to cut the debt by half, and the remaining sum would be paid off by the enterprise in regular instalments. The logic behind it was clear. The first to suffer were the members of the paper's staff who had lost more than half of their wages. Every worker on *Moment* now earned, at best, only a third of what he had received previously, and the creditors were given an opportunity of saving half their capital. In actual fact there was a return to the dialogue that we had with "Graphica" in Berlin . . . and, like them, the Warsaw creditors were at first angered but in the end, each arrived at the conclusion that one must save as much as possible from the conflagration . . .

Towards the conclusion of the negotiations with the creditors, our lawyers Prilutski and Suritz began sounding out the prospects of abolishing court supervision.

But the court supervisor had other intentions.

One day, early in 1938, the commercial court announced that *Moment* had gone bankrupt . . . and there was nothing to do against this verdict . . . It was not clear who exactly had led to this verdict . . .

The objective, too, was clear: the court supervisor, the Revisionist Mark Kahan, wanted to transform *Moment* into a Revisionist medium and he attained his desire. He himself was appointed Receiver of the company that had gone bankrupt. In other words, he became complete owner of the enterprise. . .

The scene changed immediately. It was no longer the members of the cooperative management that now occupied the director's room but the Receiver himself. He spent several hours daily in the office dealing with current matters affecting the enterprise. Having introduced his changes in the administration, Kahan began introducing "reforms" in the editorial board.

The editor-in-chief, the aged Zvi Prilutski, remained formally at his post, but on account of his age and physical infirmity, he would come to the editorial offices only on rare occasions. On the face of it, the editorial board functioned as it had done before, but in actual truth it had no say at all, and in the end the board broke up entirely. Dr. Gottlieb, who belonged to the "Et Livnot" faction, had

friendly relations and collaborated fully with the "new regime".

Before long, the Receiver brought in several new people of his own Party to the editorial staff. First of all, Josef Klarman. After some time, the poet Uri Zvi Greenberg arrived from Eretz Israel. He had made a name for himself in the early 1920s as a Yiddish poet and in Eretz Israel he had gained fame as one of the leading poets in the country. Greenberg was also an active Revisionist leader and its spokesman in the Party press. He began writing leading articles in *Moment* almost daily. These were extremist articles in the Revisionist Party spirit, couched in aggresive tones. His style was bombastic, full of slogans and warnings, and strong accents. He deprecated the Jewish Agency and the leaders of the Zionist Organisation, both of Mapai and of the centre wing in Eretz Israel and the Diaspora.

Josef Klarman was a journalist of his own Party, and he kept to the "Party line", supplying *Moment* with Revisionist material. At one and the same time, Klarman was also the "watchful eye" in the editorial office... True, the members of the editorial staff wrote whatever they wanted to write, but the Revisionist tone became predominant. In the editorial offices there was a lot of secret whispering against the new leadership, but there was no way out—the Receiver was now the boss... If things reached a head and there would be a severance of relations with him, he could choose to stop the publication of the paper and announce the sale of the enterprise's assets... Mark Kahan had the power to govern the editorial board as he saw fit. Behind the scenes he had the support of the civil authorities. Indeed, the affairs were to the liking of the antisemitic regime in Poland. Here was a Jewish paper in Warsaw—and a paper of great popularity at that—preaching openly that the Jews must emigrate from Poland...

Jabotinsky, who previously used to send one article a week, or essays on general topics to the Friday edition of the paper, now began contributing two more smaller articles, which were actually leading articles on political themes, written in the spirit of pure Revisionism as though the paper was now his Party organ. The Revisionist leader and journalist Dr. Josef Schechtman, also began sending articles from New York, written in a Party spirit, as did Dr. Wolfgang von Weisel.

For all practical purposes, *Moment* was now the platform of the Revisionist Party, despite the fact that formally it still claimed to be a non-Party and independent paper, and neither Hillel Zeitlin nor S.J. Stupnitzki, most certainly not Noah Prilutski, had altered the tone of their writing. But in *Moment,* they could no longer come out against the opinions contained in the Revisionist articles. There was no longer any freedom of writing in the paper. Publicists, however, were able to do this in other Jewish papers in Warsaw where there were sharp attacks on the transformation that Moment had undergone, despite the stand of the members of the editorial board, and thanks only to the support given behind the scenes by certain factors in the regime...

The tension in the editorial department increased and Noah Prilutski was the first to resign from the board. When he was already outside, he filed a claim against the Receiver for transcending his authority by changing the policy and line of the paper. The Receiver did not, of course, remain idle and acted with the assistance of behind the scene factors, so that the trial never came to an end.

Nor were economic differences with *Moment* lacking. Ever since the paper became a Revisionist organ, its circulation began to drop. The Receiver again chose the path of least resistance and cut down the truncated salaries still further. The Unions would not agree and the Writers Union was the first to declare a strike at *Moment*. The strike continued for three weeks and here the best opportunity presented itself to the Receiver of announcing a public auction of the assets. But he did not do so. He wanted to keep the paper for his Party at all costs.

During the strike the workers on the paper brought out a one-time strikers' paper, in which an announcement was published by the editorial board concerning the situation. By orders of the Governor of Warsaw, however, the paper was impounded at an early hour in the morning.

In the end, the strikers emerged victorious in this economic dispute (psychologically the dispute was not only economic...), and returned to work. To say that they were victorious would be an exaggeration because their salaries were pitifully small. Were it not for the fact that the Revisionists were interested in the paper's continued existence in that it was now their paper, matters would most certainly have end-

ed in the liquidation of the "Nasza Prasa" publishing company. When the strike was over, two other members resigned from the editorial board.

The year 1939 was one of dramatic tension for the Jews of Poland, and not only for them. On the one hand, German Hitlerism was on the ascent and threatened the whole of Europe, and, it goes without saying, that Jews everywhere in the world were stricken with terror. On the other hand, there were the events in Eretz Israel, the Arab terror, the bloody struggles daily and the victims that fell on both sides. The Mandatory authorities had given in to Arab pressure and cut down Jewish immigration to the country still further. Jews who had escaped from Hitlerite Germany found the gates of Eretz Israel closed to them. In answer to the numerous protests, the British administration came out with a "White Paper", which limited the immigration schedule to a trickle, so that only few people could enter the country.

The "White Paper" aroused sharp reaction in the Jewish world, and in Eretz Israel itself, the Arab terror was stepped up. At the same time, opposition from the Revisionist Underground Movement mounted.



Various Jewish newspapers in pre-Holocaust Europe

In *Moment* of April 20, 1939, Dr. Joshua Gottlieb marked off the number of Jews killed in Eretz Israel in the three years that had passed, and found that they amounted to 496. I am quoting from the few issues of *Moment* that I found in the YIVO archives in Buenos Aires.

These few issues of *Moment* show how the Jewish world was moved by the tragedy besetting the wanderers. But the non-Jewish world remained unconcerned by the tragedy of the Jews wandering over the high seas with no country willing to accord them shelter, while the gates of Eretz Israel were locked.

A leading article by Gottlieb, in the issue of June 13 (under the heading "The Dog at the door of the foodstore") is devoted to the "White Paper", in which Britain is deprecated for conducting a tyrannous policy: "The British Government is acting indeed, as the Governor of Kenya put it: 'We are like dogs at the door of a store-house—we do not eat ourselves and do not permit others to eat'."

At the same time *Moment* reflected the increasing tension in the world, leading to the conflagration that was about to break out, as indeed it did, on September 1, when German planes appeared in the blue skies over Warsaw and began raining death over the city...

The Hitlerite invasion brought the "Final Solution" to *Moment* already in the first dramatic month of September.

At first, the Warsaw papers came out daily although the work of putting them together was difficult because Warsaw was almost entirely cut off from the provinces and from the outer world. All the papers were now faced with the task of raising the morale of the population. The Jews, like the Poles, were engaged in various parts of the city in digging trenches for the defence of the town and the people at "13 Tlomadska Street" also went out to do their stint. Segalowitz, Gottlieb, Perla, Stupnitzki and others took hoes with them as they left the Journalists Association premises.

On September 6, the large-scale evacuation of Warsaw commenced. Hundreds, in fact thousands of people, almost all of them Jews, left the town laden with rucksacks, prepared to undertake their wandering. Often German planes would open fire on the wanderers on the highways, which were strewn with the bodies of Jews...

Together with this stream of evacuees, several Jewish

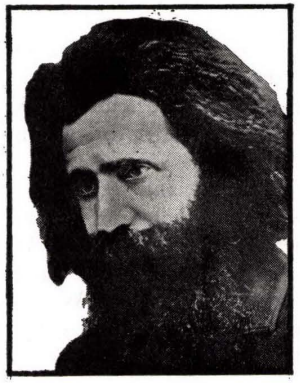
writers and journalists also left. In the *Moment* editorial offices, only some five or six active workers remained who, at first, brought out both the large morning paper as well as the afternoon paper, and afterwards only the morning paper, in reduced format. True, there remained behind also workers of the older generation, such as Zvi Prilutski, Hillel Zeitlin, S.J. Stupnitzki and others. But, owing to the danger of attack from the air, these people did not come to the office at all. Nor was their presence necessary because the reduced paper no longer published any articles or feuilletons —only news items concerning the process of the War, which alone interested the tense readership.

Already during the first days of the War, the official Receiver disappeared from the offices of *Moment,* and Uri Zvi Greenberg had also left Warsaw. Before leaving Warsaw, Mark Kahan did not forget to leave behind instructions in writing that the paper was being suspended . . .

We, the small group of workers who had remained behind, introduced a "Revolution", and in face of the historical period, decided to bring out the paper. We even informed the Judge-Commissar—a Pole who supervised our enterprise that had gone bankrupt—of our decision, and he gave his assent: "Do as you think best," he said, "and may you be judged by history."

The attacks from the air became more intense and cruel from day to day. At every alarm people used to go down to the shelters. Various parts of the city were in flames. There were times when only two or three people would arrive at the editorial offices because, owing to the incessant alarms, it was actually impossible to go out into the street. I lived nearby and so came to work daily.

Among the active staff there were some of the younger people: such as Appelbaum, Benzion Chilinovitz etc. On some days only one single person arrived at the editorial offices, yet the paper used to appear sometimes only with one printed side, but it used to appear in the streets. In the courtyard below many paper vendors used to stand waiting, and no sooner did it come off the rotary press, than they would snatch it up for distribution. Hardly had they passed through Nalewki Street only than all their papers were snatched up before it could reach more distant streets. The same was true of the other Jewish papers. We had only three sources of information for our reports—the radio, the City Commandant's office and the Polish papers in Warsaw. Seeing that news was scanty, we would publish it under display headlines, but in those fateful days, every passed through Nalewki Street only than all their papers at that time became local papers since there was no contact with the provinces owing to the bombing from the air. All means of communication were cut off, trains did not run and attacks were incessant.



Hillel Zeitlin



Shalom Rosenfeld

Following the "putch" we elected a committee of three to conduct the limited business side of our enterprise. We introduced a new system of dividing the daily income—by forming "a sort of commune" . . . The income was not large now, because the circulation was very small and the paper did not leave the precincts of Warsaw. The workers actually ran a great risk in coming to work and no one knew what the morrow would bring. It was decided, therefore, to divide the little income that came in among the workers. Actually no one, except those who actually had a hand in putting the paper together, came to work. Walking in the streets was a great risk.

At our intervention the Kahan bakery facing our house on Nalewki Street used to supply bread to the active workers on the paper—a loaf for each man a day. Incidentally, the owner of the bakery was the father of our official Receiver, and so deemed it a duty to show some kindness to us during

these tumultuous times when foodstuffs had already given out. Every morning Kahan would supply a quantity of bread to the editorial offices, sufficient for distribution among the workers, and so the people would almost always return from work carrying a loaf of bread under their arms—a sort of war booty of theirs . . .

The New Year issue of *Moment* had been prepared for the press but did not come out.

On that eve of Rosh Hashana things were unusually quiet. As always at 8 o'clock in the morning, Braun and I were at our desk in the editorial department and several hours later the paper's two pages were ready for matrices.

All of a sudden the air raid sirens sounded, and over the radio the announcer's voice was heard: "Alarm for the City of Warsaw. . ."

Swarms of planes were seen in the sky and the walls of our office building trembled with the explosions nearby. From somewhere one could hear anti-aircraft guns. We glanced heavenward from the window. No Polish planes could be seen, nor British planes which the people of Warsaw expected would come to our aid. Every evening the City Commandant Starzyinski would console the population that these would arrive at any moment.

All of a sudden our building began shaking with the nearby explosions. Columns of smoke could be seen from the roofs of the houses on Nalewki Street. A panic arose. People could be seen running for shelter in our building. Our cellar housed our despatch department.

The whole of the Jewish district was enshrouded in flame and smoke. Towards evening, when the bombing subsided and we emerged from the cellar to return to our homes, the whole of Nalewki Street was in pandemonium. The masses had lost their balance of mind. There was shouting and wailing all around; people pushed one another in the clouds of stifling smoke.

In the evening I sat by my radio and again heard the voice of Starzyinski, the mayor of Warsaw announce . . ."

"Again, flames rose to the skies of Warsaw . . ."

Strarzyinski was giving details about the destruction in the Jewish district. Hundreds of people had been buried under the debris of the destroyed houses . . . 300 German bombers had dropped their loads on to the streets of the Jews . . .

The cruel attacks from the air were repeated day after day. During the day there was bombing from the air and during the night there was bombardment from heavy guns. The siege of Warsaw was becoming more intense. Death lurked for the population at every hour of the day . . . *Moment* continued to appear for the few days intervening between Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. During the short intervals between one attack and the other, the few members of the editorial department—the last of the Mohicans—would appear at the office, and speedily get up the two pages of the paper—the last pages to appear.



Y. Gottlieb



Z. Segalowicz

Something urged me even on that Yom Kippur day to go and see what was taking place at 38 Nalewki Street. I passed by smoking houses and in the third courtyard of the building a "surprise" was awaiting me. The premises of *Moment* were half-burnt. Only the first floor and the cellar had been saved from destruction, and so the linotype machines and the modern rotary press had remained intact . . . But for whom?. . .

And so the history of *Der Moment* came to an end and together with it that of the other Jewish papers in Warsaw.

Between two world wars

Mark Turkow

It's a specific trait of the modern Jewish press that it has never been satisfied with serving as a channel of information in Jewish and general affairs and in reflecting daily events. From its very inception the Jewish press throughout the world served also as a forum for modern Jewish literature and as a platform for leaders of Jewish thought, and for the Jewish national, social, cultural and religious ideas. The classicists of modern Jewish literature—from the time of Mendele Mocher Sepharim, followed by J.L. Peretz and Shalom Aleichem, down to Shalom Asch, Abraham Raisin, Opatashu, and many, many others—all of them reached the masses of their readers, not through their books but primarily through the medium of the Jewish newspapers which served as the first publishers of their literary creations.

The same is true also of Jewish thinkers and political leaders, and most certainly of several literary critics, not to mention political leaders of all trends in Jewish life.

But the Jewish newspapers in Poland, particularly in the stormy years between the two World Wars, were marked by an additional trait: the editorial offices of the Jewish newspaper became, by dint of circumstances, also institutions for the general Jewish public, centres for political, social and ideological clarification, and foci for deliberations and even quarrels. The editorial board of the Jewish newspaper became a point of concentration for everything connected with Jewish public life, regardless of whether it served as an organ for a certain political line, as was true of most of the Jewish newspapers in Warsaw, or whether it was a paper like *Der Moment* which was a non-party daily, which used to throw open its columns to people of various outlooks.

Many people had certain claims against *Moment* on account of this general Jewish policy. They said that it lacked a definite policy, that it was bereft of an ideological backbone, although there were some who regarded that as a great advantage, since particularly on that account, the paper was able to place its column at the service of people of various ideological views on topical questions. Today, this is a question of historical interest, and whoever wants to analyse the differences of opinion in this regard from the historical perspective must necessarily arrive at the conclusion that, despite all its possible drawbacks, *Moment* nonetheless followed the path that was the right one at the time. In the given circumstances, this line served as a very important factor in educating the Jewish reader to becoming a conscious partner in the bitter struggle for Jewish existence in Poland.

A few examples will serve to bear out the truth of what has just been said. During World War I, when Poland was occupied by the German Army, and pseudo-democratic possibilities presented themselves for municipalities and for Jewish communal authorities, there arose in Jewish life in Poland the central political figure of Noah Prilutzki, philologist and excellent literary critic. He was one of the owners of the paper and among its principal publicists. In his youth, Prilutski had been a Zionist, but in the course of time he became an opponent of Zionism, organised the poor Jewish masses, artisans and petty traders and founded the Folkist (populist) Party.

In the course of time, already in the period of liberated Poland, first in the Warsaw Municipal Council and afterwards as a Deputy in the Polish Sejm, Prilutzki gained fame among the Jewish masses. His public activity found expression not only in his public appearances, at mass meetings, etc., but also in his publicistic articles in *Moment*. In the editorial offices he had loyal adherents—respected contributors to the paper, who were also activists in the Folkist Party, such as H. D. Nomberg and the historian Shmuel Hirschhorn (both of them at one time members of the Polish Sejm), B. Hilinovitz, A. Grafman and others. But he also had opponents to his views among the editorial staff —people who sharply attacked his anti-Zionist views. First among these were Joseph Heftman, Moshe Justman (Yeushson), Nathan Szwalbe as well as several contributors of note who were not members of the editorial staff.

The strongest expression for this publicistic struggle in the paper was given in 1922 on the occasion of the elections to the new Sejm, after Gruenbaum had created his famous Bloc of National Minorities in Poland. In due course, this idea failed utterly on account of the perfidy of the German

and Ukrainian partners but, when it was first set up, the bloc formed an important factor in the struggle with the Polish reactionary forces.

Another important event was the entrance of Zeev Jabotinsky as a contributor to the publicistic section. He used to launch sharp attacks on the official policy of the World Zionist Organisation and, for that reason served as a target for the barbs of several of the paper's staff who were active in the various Zionist parties, as well as of other members of the editorial staff.

When Jabotinsky began to preach in favour of his infamous slogan "Evacuation" (at the time when the Jewish masses had nowhere to emigrate to; neither Palestine nor other countries were willing to open their gates to Jews) the contributors to *Moment* came out almost without exception against these plans which lacked all realistic bases and which the Polish antisemites gladly exploited against the Jews.

This forced Jabotinsky to leave the paper although, after some years, he returned to it again together with other Revisionist leaders. But this was already in the days when the paper was taken over by the Revisionists with the assistance of the Polish Courts.

Here I should like to stress the fact that despite *Der Moment's* being a general Jewish paper, unattached to any particular political party trend, it nonetheless took up a militant stand in favour of clear-cut ideas in Jewish life. The paper served as a free platform for all matters dealing with Jewish public responsibility, whether on the internal front or in the struggle against antisemitism, which reigned supreme in Poland.

Incidentally, it should be stressed that the paper's readership consisted not only of the older generation in Poland between the two World Wars, but that Jewish youth, too, read Yiddish newspapers. True, the tendency of linguistic acculturation was strong in Polish Jewry, and various Jewish newspapers in the Polish language were established. The circulation of the Yiddish papers also dropped in the years preceding World War II, but these facts do not in any way detract from the importance of the Yiddish language press in moulding the image of the young generation from among whom the fighters in the ghettoes and the partisans in the forests emerged.

The development of the Jewish papers in Poland was strewn with impediments and it experienced both ups and downs.

The economic foundation of the Jewish paper was the reader, who was either a subscriber to the paper or bought the paper on the streets. That is why there was a sharp competition between the papers over the reader on whom the paper's existence depended.

From this point of view, the papers had to resort to various ruses in order to attract the reader. From its very inception *Haint* based its existence on novels of tension, which were often written by well-known Jewish writers (who published these creations of theirs either anonymously or under pen-names). *Moment* tried its luck by offering various prizes to its readers. At times these were mere promises: the reader had to win a prize through lottery and these were generally not held. And so *Moment* had to follow the example of *Haint* and publish novels of great tension, adapted to the mentality of the man in the street.

In the course of the years a sound foundation was laid for the economic existence of the paper and the prizes now took the form mainly of important literary creations, such as the collected writings of well-known Jewish writers. Thanks to this, Jewish literature as well as translations of world literature gained a circulation among thousands of Jewish homes.

In the 1920s, when the British Mandatory regime placed impediments in the way of Jewish immigration to Eretz Israel, the papers organised tours of the country and many of the participants in these tours remained permanently resident in the country. This was true, particularly, in the years of the Fourth Aliyah, known as the "Grabski Aliyah", when the Polish Government's taxation system (introduced by Finance Minister Grabski) brought economic ruin to the Jewish middle class in Poland. These tours were always accompanied by a member of the editorial staff, who described the journey and indirectly served also as an effective medium for the Aliyah of hundreds of Jews from whom the limitations on immigration imposed by the Mandatory authorities deprived of the possibility of "legal" Aliyah. Among the "tourists" of this type were whole families as well as many young people who found no future for themselves in Poland. Many respected families, including people of great

renown in present-day Israel, were among the participants in this "tourism", and *Moment* must claim credit for its organisation.

Every important event in public life, general or Jewish, wielded its influence on the circulation of the Jewish paper. One concrete example is the Beilis trial in Kiev in 1913 when *Moment's* circulation rose suddenly to some 100,000 copies. It was the feeling actually of every Jew that the outcome of this trial would determine the fate of the Jewish masses in the Russian Empire of the time, on account of the exploitation of the legal proceedings for antisemitic propaganda throughout Russia.

Twelve years later, in 1925, during Poland's independence, a Jewish student, Stanislaw Steiger, who had been accused of throwing a bomb at the President of the Polish Republic, Stanislaw Wojciechowski, stood trial at Lwow. For the six weeks of the trial, *Moment* like all the other Jewish papers, had a whole staff of reporters and correspondents who reported by telephone to the editorial offices in Warsaw on the proceedings of the trial. In addition, the paper sent out a different correspondent daily to the Court in order to write up his impressions of the proceedings of the trial.

Important news, which was of special significance for the fate of the innocent Jewish student, was transmitted to the readers in special editions which appeared in addition to the two regular editions of the paper — in the morning and at noon. (*Radio* was the name of the noon paper brought out by *Moment.)* This was also the case with special editions brought out in connection with other events of importance in the life of the Jewish public.

In such cases, the Jewish journalist became a public emissary in matters affecting the life of the Jewish public in general. It is possible to give many examples but I shall limit myself to one fact which, too, is connected with the Steiger trial. When the trial was at its height in Lwow, and one after the other witnesses for the prosecution appeared before the jury — claiming that they had seen with their own eyes how Steiger had "thrown" the bomb at the car of the President of the Republic — in those very days Gershon Swet, a journalist who wrote in Yiddish and Hebrew (as well as in Russian and German) and was then *Moment* correspondent in Berlin, revealed that the assassin of the President was a young Ukrainian nationalist by the name of Olszanski, who had then fled to Berlin and subsequently emigrated to Havana, capital of Cuba.

It was not worthwhile for the prosecutor at Lwow to accept this revelation and so he endeavoured to give it the appearance of a journalistic sensation of the usual type. A long time passed before the authorities became convinced that it was not Steiger (who was immediately acquitted by the jury) but the Ukrainian Olszanski who was actually the man who had thrown the bomb (which, incidentally, did not hit the President's car).



Yosef Tunkel



Mark Turkow

I was then only 22 years of age and was present during the Court sittings over a period of six weeks as permanent correspondent of *Moment.* Now what does such a young journalist do? He does not say anything to anyone but, at dawn, one day, mounts the train that takes him to the small townlet of Chirow in Galicia, in order to see the parents of the true assailant. Olszanski's father was the priest of the local Greek Catholic Church, also a Ukrainian nationalist and by no means a lover of the Jews. When the Jews in the townlet learned that I was due to visit the priest, a commotion arose and they tried to deter me from going to him lest I suffer some mishap. But I did not know the concept of fear, I called on the priest and interviewed both him and his wife—the mother of the assailant. No importance today attaches to the fact that they did not want to say anything

about their son and argued that they had no knowledge whatever of the matter — but the fact that they did not know where their son was, only confirmed the conjecture of the disappearance of the true assailant. Obviously, I need not dwell on the strong impression that my description of the visit to Olszanski's parents in *Moment* made on the Jewish public.

Such circumstances always led to the steep rise in the circulation of newspapers. In those days *Moment* scored a record. It printed over 100,000 copies on weekdays, and up to 150,000 copies on Friday.

And then there were trials not only in Poland. In the trial of Shalom Schwartzbart in Paris, following his assisination of the Ukrainian Hetman Semion Petlura, or the trial in Switzerland of the Jewish student from Yugoslavia, David Frankfurter (the son of a rabbi) who had shot the Nazi Gauleiter Gustlof in Davos, Switzerland, *Moment* like other Jewish papers, sent out special correspondents to report in detail on the proceedings of the trials which were of great importance for the Jewish national life and for the struggle for the honour of the Jew.

It was not the financial consideration that was decisive for the paper — neither in days of joy or sorrow, and not the estimated income of the enterprise that came up for consideration by the people who got up the paper. It was a question of prestige, of a sense of responsibility which led to the necessity of giving the reader the necessary information concerning matters affecting Jewish life in Poland.

In the debate that has been in progress in recent years between members of the old generation and the young, the reprimand (or at least the argument) is often adduced that we men of the former generation are to this day held in the vice of the ghetto stands of days gone by. It is difficult to imagine a more erroneous impression. The Jews and the Jewish press in Poland of the period between the two World Wars are the best proof of that.

What I say here about *Moment* — the paper with which I was connected in the years between the two World Wars, may be said of all the Jewish papers in Poland. However, in certain spheres *Moment* fulfilled pioneering tasks and was the initiator of enterprises or innovations that served as an example for other papers to follow. There were also instances where the initiative came from other papers and *Moment* followed in their wake.

All the Jewish papers regularly maintained weekly supplements for literature and the arts. In *Moment,* the editor for many years of this supplement was B. Karlinski, and when he contracted a dangerous illness the editorship of the supplement was entrusted to the poet Abraham Zack. The supplement reported on all matters of interest, not only in Jewish literature but also in world literature, in the field of the theatre and the plastic arts.

Special sections were devoted to economic matters which were of the greatest importance to the Jewish merchants. In the years of increased emigration from Poland, the paper introduced a special column for migration affairs, in which the readers received advice. The purpose was primarily to avert the candidate for emigration falling into the hands of all sorts of "mediators" and swindlers. There was a special section for theatre, cinema, etc. Commentaries on question of law, taxation, etc., as well as replies to numerous queries addressed in these matters were published in a special section. Dr. Naehman Prilutzi was in charge of the section devoted to health.

Every paper had a humouristic section, and in *Moment* it was conducted by the grifted humourist Josef Tunkel ("Der Tunekeler"). Humour was a tradition in Jewish life.

The youth evinced great interest in sport and *Moment* was the first Jewish paper to introduce regular reporting on sports events in Poland and the more important sports events throughout the world. In the course of time, other papers, too, followed *Moment*'s example. The first sports reporter in the Jewish press was Yitzhak Bornstein, the son of a Gur Chassid, for whom sport was the be all and end all. When he joined *Moment* as a sports reporter, Bornstein still wore the typical Chassidic kapota. Before long, however, he divested himself of it.

Each section of the paper had its own experts. The police-news sections, for example, had a reporter of its own in the person of M. Pomeranz, who gained such proficiency in the work that he subsequently became the reporter for one of the largest Polish newspapers, and from this point of view, served as an example of the standard reached by the Jewish press in Poland.

Jews have always been chess lovers, and every chess tourn-

ament received detailed description and comment from experts. In *Moment* the column was edited by S. Weisbart, who, in his time, had made a name for himself in the chess world.

When the radio came to Poland, the paper did not remain satisfied with publishing radio programmes. Professional technicians would publish in the paper popular informative articles and so brought this new communications media to the understanding of the ordinary reader. In general, it should be said that the efforts in the field of popular science played a prominent role in the Jewish press, and in *Moment* articles on scientific themes were written by two people, one, Yitzhak Shapiro who had a wide knowledge of scientific subjects, and the other, Alexander Z. Cohen, who was a leading classical scholar.

After World War I, civilian aviation was introduced, but for a long time people treated the "flying machine" with great distrust. In 1923, the writer of these lines was one of the first Jewish journalist to "run the risk" of a flight — it was the first flight from Warsaw to Danzig in a four-seater Junkers plane, which was then in use in the Polish Air Force. His description of this aerial "adventure" was a great innovation for the readers. Before long, however, people got used to the idea and air flights became everyday affairs.

Although *Moment* was from its very inception the paper of the petty bourgeois, its readers nonetheless evinced interest in what was taking place in the Labour Movement. Young professionals, who themselves were far removed from the social orientation of the paper, from time to time surveyed developments in the Labour Movement. Among others, the two brothers Pinhas Schwartz and Herman Kruk, young journalists and keyworkers in the Bund, engaged in this work and reported on labour problems, demands for increased wages, strikes, etc. (In World War II, Kruk pined away in an Esthonian SS extermination camp.)

It fell to my lot to be *Moment*'s first regular reporter from the law courts (and, because of that, for the whole Jewish press in Poland). This is certainly no more than an episode, but it is worthwhile dwelling upon because it is characteristic of the development of the Jewish press in Poland.

The reporters of the Jewish papers would go to report on trials only in instances where they concerned specific Jewish affairs. General trials, even though they may have been of interest to the Jewish readers, used to be reported on the basis of reports in the Polish press, or on copies of reports submitted by Polish journalists who, though they may have been Jews, had no contacts whatsoever with Jewish public life. The journalist Alexander Koenig, for example, the regular reporter from the Courts for the important Polish newspaper *Kurier Poranny,* used to submit reports also to *Moment.* But the articles by these journalists had no "Jewish tone" in them. During the first period of my work on *Moment,* (when I still received payment per line), I was advised to go to the Courts and to report on interesting trials in criminal, economic and political matters. Thus, for years on end, I was the paper's Court reporter, and this work served as the inception of my journalistic career. As time passed, *Moment*'s example was followed also by other Jewish papers in that they had come to realise that many trials were in need of a "Jewish tinge", unlike the reports submitted by non-Jewish reporters.

As for myself, my work of reporting from the Law Courts proved to be a veritable academy. The work brought me into close contact with the heroes of events of greater or smaller importance in the life of the country, with people in politics and in other public spheres, and often I came into contact with some of the most important personalities in the political life of Poland in those days. I may be permitted to say that at times we Jewish journalists had an opportunity also of wielding influence through such contacts over matters that affected the interests of Jewry generally.

I will mention yet another trial. In the dock was Eligiusz Niewiadomski, painter and Professor of Art, who, while opening the annual exhibition of painters at the Art Museum in Warsaw, in December 1921, shot the first President of the Republic, Gabriel Narutowicz, only because he had been elected also by the votes of the Jewish Deputies in the Sejm and Senators. The antisemite Niewiadomski refused to acquiesce in the idea that the President of Catholic Poland had been elected by the votes of Jews. He was sentenced to death, sentence was carried out in the Warsaw fortress.

Among the prominent trials in Poland, mention should also be made of the Brzesc (Brest) trial, at which the accused were the leaders of the political opposition to the Pilsudski regime including the leader of the peasants, Wincenty Witos, who was many times Prime Minister, the So-

cial Democratic leaders, Herman Lieberman (a Jew from Galicia), Norbert Barlicki (first Minister for Internal Affairs in liberated Poland, and Stanislaw Ciolkosz, and Catholic leader and former Deputy Prime Minister Wojciech Korfanty, and others. We used to report not only from trials in Warsaw but, if need arose, we used to travel to report about political trials in more distant places in Poland because it was our view that the Jewish reader must receive reports written by Jewish journalists, in whom they had greater faith that their descriptions were written from the point of view of Jewish public interest.

In 1938 I represented *Moment* at the Peace Talks between Poland and Lithuania in Koenigsberg (now Kaliningrad). Another Jewish journalist, Jafris, represented the Jewish paper in Kovno. There were quite a number of Jewish journalists there but they represented non-Jewish papers in various countries. At the conclusion of the Koenigsberg Conference, the Prime Minister of Lithuania, Valdemaras, who headed his country's Peace Delegation, invited two journalists from Poland to visit Lithuania — the invitation was intended to be a gesture of goodwill and friendship on the part of Lithuania towards Poland. The invitees were the well-known Polish journalist from Vilna, Stanislaw Mackiewicz, editor-in-chief of *Slowo* (subsequently Prime Minister of Poland in exile), and myself as representative of *Moment.*

The Jewish journalists were represented at all sessions of the League of Nations in Geneva. During the first years, *Moment* was represented there by the well-known political commentator, Nathan Szwalbe. Afterwards, Szwalbe represented only the Jewish paper in Polish *Nasz Przeglad,* while, for eight years on end, I would travel to the League of Nations sessions as *Moment* reporter.

It goes without saying that we reviewed internal affairs in Poland together with the representatives of the general press, also in the municipalities as well as in the Sejm and Senate. Apart from reporting on the deliberations we supplied also commentaries. This should be mentioned in particular because, under the conditions of the censorship of the press in Poland, it was forbidden to write about most of the antisemitic attacks in the country.

It is also worthwhile mentioning that Jewish journalists used to go out to towns or townlets during antisemitic disturbances or actual pogroms, and through such visits used to encourage the frightened Jewish residents to return to normal life.

I personally often visited such Jewish communities in times of disturbances and even at present, after the passage of so many years, I am hardly in a position to evaluate the importance of these visits. Under the protection of my press card, as parliamentary correspondent, I came into contact not only with the Jews who were the victims of the pogroms but also with the local representatives of the regime. Obviously, it was not always possible fully to reflect such visits in the reports published in the paper, since the censorship prevented it by impounding the issues that had paid no heed to its prohibitions.

Here I must mention that the Jewish journalists were members with full rights in the National Journalists Associations of Poland and participated in the activities of their Committees. Dr. Joshua Gottlieb, Bernard Singer, Nathan Szwalbe and others represented the Jewish journalists in Poland at International Journalists Conferences, but as representatives of the Polish Delegations to such Conventions, they appeared always as representatives of the Jewish Journalists and as defenders of their viewpoints.

Der Moment existed for thirty years. On the one hand, the paper reflected the tragedy of Jewish life in Poland and, on the other, that community's splendid role in all spheres of the Jewish national idea. Jewish public life in Poland was multi-faceted. It had much pathos and consciousness of ultimate goal, and the Jewish newspapers contributed much to the enrichment and vibrancy of such life.

I have already said that a Jewish newspaper in Poland, and in particular a large Jewish daily in Warsaw, was an institution, and there is no exaggeration or professional boasting in such a statement. The papers did not remain satisfied with the fact that their publicists expressed their views or showed initiative in their articles, but in times of emergency, the journalist was called upon to be the advisor of public figures, or to serve as a medium for fund-raising campaigns for local or general national purposes.

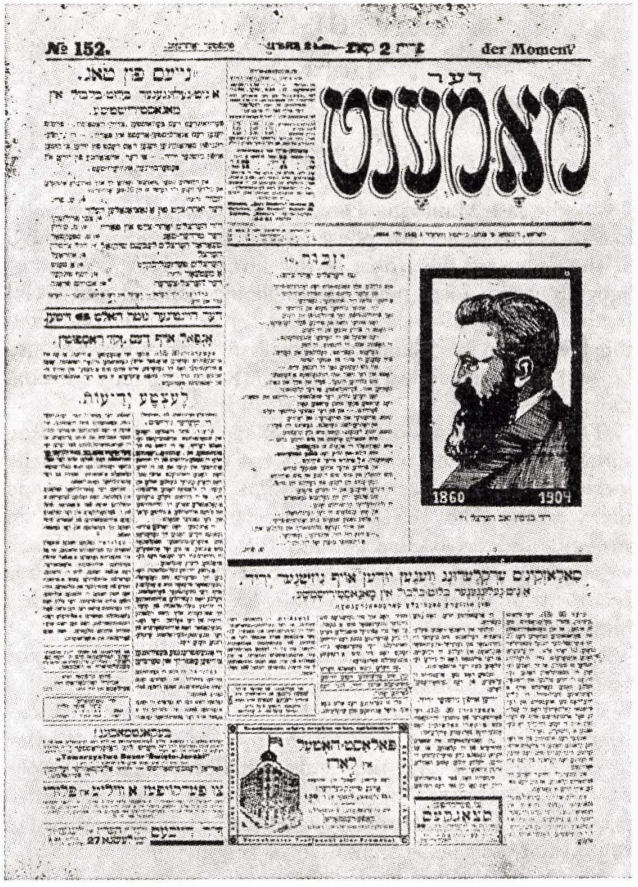
I will quote several examples which, though not important in themselves, are enlightening. After the disturbances in Eretz Israel in 1929, *Moment* and *Haint* announced a

spontaneous fund-raising campaign to aid the victims. Some sort of competition arose as to which of these two papers would succeed in raising more money.

A large-scale assistance project was undertaken during one winter in the 1930s. The poor population suffered from the cold and there were instances of children being frozen to death. *Moment* applied to the municipal authorities and received an allocation for a quantity of coal for the heating of the houses of the poor who lived in cellars or attics. Cards were distributed for coal and food commodities. I remember making a tour of the poor districts inhabited by the Jewish population in Warsaw in the company of the poet Z. Schneur, and distributing cards for coal and food. We mounted dark staircases to attics and descended to damp cellars in which we witnessed heart-rending scenes of poverty. Schneur described this tour in his masterly fashion, and I have no doubt that his description contributed to a stepping up of this relief activity.

The paper represented the spirit of the Jewish idea and every paper did that in its own fashion, but often the activity reflected far beyond the framework of the paper. I will mention one out of many concrete examples in the history of Polish Jewry in the period between the two world wars.

With the outbreak of the Hitlerite disaster in Germany, the fear arose that for various reasons each party would launch initiative of its own and that each movement or group of private people, keyworkers at various levels, would undertake activities which, in the end, might cause injury to the United Jewish National Front against Nazism. This fear found clear expression in the stand taken up by the Jewish middle class press. In order to avert the danger of confusion, the Jewish Journalists Association convened a meeting of the leaders of all the Jewish parties, economic bodies and responsible leaders, at its offices on 13 Tlomackie Street, and, at its initiative, a united body was set up for the Jewish-national struggle against the oppression of the Jews in Germany. The Committee that was set up at that meeting (and which, for reasons of principle, was not joined by the representatives of the Jewish Socialist parties) was the basis for launching the economic boycott of Nazi Germany. Certain Jewish leaders doubted whether it was possible to implement such a difficult task, but the united stand of the


№ 152. der Moment

1860 1904

Issue of Moment *marking 10th anniversary of Herzl's death*

middle class Jewish papers actually forced the boycott upon the organised Jewish public, and this stand served as the source for action against individuals who wanted to break the boycott, or who actually broke it for reasons of their own private gain.

Such was the strength of the Jewish press in Poland in the period between the two World Wars.

Last discords

Mark Kahn

I was the last Managing Director of *Moment* and I should like to clarify a certain phase in the paper's history which at the time sent the whole of the Jewish public in Warsaw agog. It was a focal point at which the political and social forces, possibly also the economic forces which conducted the Jewish life in Poland met, and had its repercussions also beyond the immediate circle of events that directly affected the paper.

The newspaper owners did excellent business. They were shrewd businessmen who entered the publishing branch by mere chance. However, the inflation caused unrest among the workers. The Jewish Labour Movement increased in strength and crystallised around the Trade Unions which were given mainly to the influence of the "Bund". Pay was relatively high, and workers on a paper enjoyed a fairly high economic standing.

When inflation came to an end in the middle of the 1920s, and deflation set in, which rendered ready cash a rarity, the papers began to feel the burden of the expenses that they had to bear. And so, the owners of *Moment* came to the conclusion that they must cut down manual labour on their enterprise. They contacted the large German concerns which manufactured type-setting machines and began to negotiate for a mechanisation of production.

Parallel to the negotiations for the acquisition of modern machinery, negotiations were in progress with the owners of the house at 38 Nalewki Street which housed its editorial offices of the paper for the purpose of erecting in its back courtyard a new building to house the editorial offices and the modern print shop. Indeed, the new building of *Moment* was erected at the cost of millions of Zloty — about one million dollars. When the new building stood in its place and the owners wanted to dismiss workers, the Trade Union put up stringent opposition to any people in the enterprise being thrown out of work. Financial affairs began to deteriorate and when the owners found it impossible to balance income and expenditure, they turned to the paper's Workers Committee and proposed a new deal.

"We are willing to give up the ownership of the paper," they said, "and will continue to work on it each one at his own job, and you will be working like us. Let us organise a Cooperative together in order to take over the management. We shall elect a Directorship as well as a Management for the editorial staff. Our pay will be the same as that of a senior worker today and, together, we shall shoulder the responsibility for the enterprise."

From the point of view of Polish law that was an illegal machination. It was impossible to turn an enterprise, which laboured under a large deficit from the point of view of assets and working capital, into a Cooperative. One had to declare bankruptcy or sell the enterprise to some capitalist who had the necessary investment capital to open a "new page". The Cooperative was founded with a very small investment capital. Every one of the workers on the paper undertook to acquire a share valued 100 Zloty, as compared with a debt burden of millions which weighed heavily on the enterprise. The deal in itself received the support of the Trade Unions, and the Cooperative was registered according to law.

The Cooperative's administration believed that the economic crisis would end and that it would be able to repay its debt. It also signed a contract with Dr. Joshua Gottlieb who had left *Haint* on account of political differences and was appointed Political Editor of *Moment*. Under this contract, he enjoyed a different status from that of the other members of the editorial staff, who used to elect the "Editorial Committee" from among its members, and bestowed upon him the authority of "elected editor".

The Zionist leaning of the paper received expression during the time of the Stavsky trial. In the Arlosorof trial (June 1933) *Haint* stood by the Zionist Executive, whereas *Moment* threw open its columns to Zeev Jabotinsky. In those days, the paper's circulation reached new heights and its financial situation improved greatly. When the trial ended, tension in the Jewish community dropped and the paper's circulation began to wane again. It dropped still further when Jabotinsky found himself forced to leave the editorial board, following political differences with the paper.

In 1937, the financial resources were seriously depleted. So

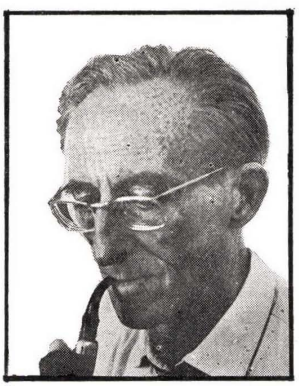
the Management began to have recourse to money lenders, who asked for securities which the Cooperative could not supply.

Moment then turned to two well-known Jewish public leaders—Michael Szereszewski, the well-known banker, and Maximilian Friede, an influencial businessman in the paper branch. These two people served as judges in the District Court since, according to Polish law, trials were conducted before a professional judge as well as two civilian judges appointed to the task as representatives of economic circles. When the administration of the enterprise applied to the Court, the decision was taken to appoint Judge Szereszewski as Supervising Judge and myself as Lawyer supervising the activities of the administration.

Several weeks later it transpired that the legal step taken by the administration was to no avail. The decision of the Court, it is true, postponed the repayment of debts to suppliers, bankers and other creditors. The main debt, however, accrued from the circulation of promissory notes, on which the workers of the enterprise were signatories, and no one could prevent the holders of these notes from taking action against the signatories. On the other hand, an examination of the books undertaken at the insistence of the Court, revealed all the legal and accounting drawbacks that stemmed from the system of circulating the notes. It also transpired that the Cooperative had been founded illegally. There was no way out, therefore, but to declare bankruptcy. The Court appointed me Official Receiver, whereas the Supervising Judge, appointed by the Court, was Judge Szereszewski who disqualified himself on account of his being a creditor in view of the loan that he had granted the paper's administration at the time when he was consulted.

And so Mr. Iwaszewicz, who had been head of the sugar cartel in Poland, a man of considerable means, who enjoyed a leading status in Poland's financial circles, was appointed Supervising Judge. Jointly with him, we worked out a plan for the running of the enterprise and for the creation of a special fund that would enable a repayment of the debts that weighed heavily on the workers. According to this plan, the workers were to receive 50% of their salaries in cash, whereas the remaining 50% would go towards the establishment of the Fund, in order to avert legal steps against the workers.

This is not the place to deal with the legal complications and the difficulties that had to be surmounted in order to carry the plan through. But while introducing the new order through the cooperation between the members of the former administration and the workers, it transpired that the enterprise could also be profitable. Dr. Joshua Gottlieb took over the editorial management and invited Uri Zvi Greenberg to become a permanent member of the editorial staff.



U. Z. Greenberg



Z. Jabotinsky

Subsequently, cooperation was renewed also with Zeev Jabotinsky. Circulation rose, and with it, also the income of Zloty a month, we now attained a running profit of from zloty a month, we now attained a running profit of from 20,000–25,000 Zloty a month, and the enterprise which had been in a state of bankruptcy now become one of the most flourishing concerns.

The whole of this story refers to the background against which this phase in *Moment*'s history arose. The phase itself revolved around a fierce political struggle against "Revisionist domination" of the paper. The struggle continued for months on end and stood at the centre of public interest in Polish Jewry. At one time, a general strike broke out in *Moment* and the paper failed to appear for 22 days. However, the workers themselves soon realised that they were working against themselves, and so the strike ended.

It was then that the paper's period of great glory set in. The paper's staff began to believe that it would extricate

itself from the burden of debt and at the same time ensure for themselves a source of honourable livelihood. But the outbreak of World War II put an end not only to these hopes. Along with the destruction of Polish Jewry were destroyed all its cultural enterprises, among them *Moment*. After the war news came through that the German enterprise that had supplied the machinery to the paper had received them back on account of unsettled debts. The large rotary press was transferred to Germany where it served to print the Nazi paper *Der Voelkischer Beobachter*. After the German defeat it printed the paper issued by the American occupation forces.

MOMENT'S noon paper

Shalom Yedidiah

At the end of the summer of 1935, when I was editor-in-chief of *Chwila Wieczorna,* an evening paper brought out by *Chwila,* the organ of the Zionists in Eastern Galicia, in Lwow, I was invited by the *Moment* administration to come over to Warsaw and take over the editorship of *Varshever Radio,* the evening paper published by the Cooperative of the *Moment* workers.

An evening paper in Warsaw differed from the Jewish morning papers in that it did not deem itself bound to any political or party line within the Jewish public but had in view the daily problems of the wide section of the masses which it served with great loyalty.

The greater majority of the Jewish public in Poland felt, in the period preceding World War II, that the ground under its feet was being removed, and so began to evince deep interest in the possibilities of Aliyah to Eretz Israel.

If one were to sum up the main headlines in the evening paper during the last years before World War II, the topics on the one hand, were the various manifestations of anti-semitism over all their economic and social bearings, and on the other, news from Eretz Israel including "illegal" immigration.

Here is one out of many examples reflecting the status of the paper and its influence on the masses of its readership.

One day, a telephone appeal was received at the editorial offices of *Varshever Radio,* from Minsk-Mazowiecki for urgent assistance. It was in the early hours of the morning before the paper was closed, and it was on a Thursday.

The person at the other end of the line announced in trembling tones: "For the last week already members of hooligan bands have been running amok in our town. All shops are closed. Bakeries do not function, and many of our citizens are actually starving. Please rush assistance."

This cry for assistance that reached our editorial offices appeared the same morning on the first page of the paper.

Varshever Radio was generally on sale in all parts of the Jewish quarter of Warsaw at 11 o'clock in the morning. At 12.00 noon trucks laden with bread from all bakeries in town began flowing to the courtyard of *Moment,* all ready to carry bread to the Jews of Minsk-Mazowiecki.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the whole of the caravan of trucks set out, accompanied by members of the editorial staff of *Varshever Radio* to the "besieged" Jews of that townlet. On arrival to the main street, we found "Comrade Artur" (Artur Zygelbaum) who was engaged in rescue work, and personally supervised the distribution of bread sent by Warsaw's bakers to the Jews of the townlet for the Sabbath.

Another — and last — example of the status enjoyed by the paper in Jewish society. World War II broke out on Friday, September 1. Sunday, September 3, the Polish Telegraphic News Agency published an "encouraging" piece of news to the effect that the Polish Cavalry had broken into the area of East Russia. Several hours later, however, the whole debacle suffered by Poland during the first days of the War was realised. On the Monday it was clear that the authorities intended evacuating Warsaw and *Varshever Radio* hinted at that in its news items on the first page.

That evening, the mass flight commenced of tens of thousands of Jews from Warsaw. They moved towards the unknown as the Holocaust lurked for them on their way....

On weekdays, *Varshever Radio* appeared in four pages in large format, and on Fridays in six to eight pages. The first

page of the paper was always devoted to local news and to news from all parts of the world, while the middle pages consisted of commentaries and light reading material. Serialised novels and feuilletons appeared on the last page of the paper.

The members of the editorial staff who participated in the daily work were: J. Karlinsky (brother of the writer B. Karlinsky-Karlinius), who now works on *Forwards* in America, Alexander Rosenfeld (son of "Bonche" the humourist), who was later to be one of the active fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt, and J. Janowski (son of the first editor of the paper, who now lives in the United States).

In addition, the news staff of the paper had the participation of the brothers Zylberberg: B. Zylberberg — Kaspa (who died in Tel Aviv in 1971) and N. Zylberberg (a present editor of *Dos Wort* in Paris).

The writer Pinhas Katz, was responsible for the third page of the paper, which was devoted entirely to reports on Jewish life in the Polish provincial towns.

The literary section of the paper that appeared on Fridays had the participation of the writers Joel Mastboim, Z. Segalowicz, Yehoshua Perle and others.


Der Moment

26 Januar 1916

Moment's *noon paper during WWI, issue of January 26 1916*

IZL'S short-lived daily

Nathan Yellin-Mor

Di Tat was a paper in Yiddish appearing in Warsaw, but it was much more than that. Being the organ of the Irgun Zvai Leumi (IZL) in Eretz Israel, it was, among other things, one of the various weapons used by the IZL. It was anchored in the reality of Eretz Israel and dealt with its problematics, since scores of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of the Jewish youth in Poland in the late 1930s, took a greater interest in what was happening in Eretz Israel than in matters relating to their places of residence.

The two people on whose knees *Di Tat* was born were Abraham Stern (Yair) and Samuel Merlin.

I first met Abraham Stern in 1937 in the house of Abraham Stavski, who came to Warsaw after being exonerated by the British Court in the Arlozoroff murder trial. For underground purposes, he was no longer Abraham Stern to me, but Yair. I, too, ceased being called by the name registered in my Identity Card. I had another name—Benjamin—one of the many names that I was to assume in my Underground career, in years to come.

One day, as I was travelling by train from South-West Poland to one of the cities in the East, I stopped over for a few hours in Warsaw. When I reached the densely populated Jewish streets, my ear caught the cries: "Eretz Israel in flames". A Jewish urchin ran up to me and shoved a leaflet into my hands. It contained information about the activities of the IZL in Eretz Israel and an inflammatory


Nr. 72

DI TAT

Di Tat, *IZL daily, Warsaw, April-September 1939*

article against the so-called restraint, and for reaction. It was patently clear to me that it had been brought out by Samuel Merlin.

Merlin and I first met in 1935. It was then that he arrived in Poland from Paris in order to organise in Warsaw the secretariat of the Presidium of the New Zionist Organisation, in which he served as Secretary General. It was then decided that the supreme institution of the Revisionist Movement should no longer be located in a distant capital—Paris or London, where there were few Jews, but in Warsaw, the centre of European Jewry. He, too, joined the IZL and placed himself at the service of Yair.

Yair was not in Poland when Merlin brought out the first leaflet. He used to divide his time between Eretz Israel and Europe. After the appearance of the first leaflet, others followed, each time under some other "burning" name, in accordance with the law governing printed matter brought out without a permanent permit. When Yair arrived, he congratulated him on the initiative and suggested that these one-time leaflets should be transformed into a regular organ of the Organisation. It was decided to bring out a paper under the name of *Di Tat* (The Deed) twice weekly, in an endeavour to transform it eventually into a daily, and Merlin and I were placed in charge of the paper.

It was no easy matter to switch over from leaflets, which appeared at irregular intervals, to a paper appearing twice weekly. The leaflets were carried on the waves of the enthusiasm of its editors and distributors, but a permanent paper could not rest on enthusiasm alone. It was necessary to set up an organisation for distribution, for subscriptions and their collection for despatch and for the keeping of accounts. Before long, there rallied around *Di Tat* a group of devoted young people who, like ourselves, looked upon the paper as an important weapon for the objective that had captivated every ounce of their being.

The official administration of the paper was entrusted to Abraham Emper, a young man who had been brought over from Wolhynia in the early '20s of his life. In actual fact, Emper's main task was the concentration of the various IZL branches, whose numbers steadily increased and reached dozens. In this respect, he was subservient to the emissary of the organisation sent out from Eretz Israel.

The practical work was entrusted mainly to Arieh Boiko, who was known to everyone as Leibele, a young lad who had not yet turned 20, who also hailed from a small townlet in Wolhynia and who was a member of one of the IZL branches. He worked as accountant on the paper and did many other things, too.

Nahum Zapitzki was placed in charge of despatch. He was the youngest of them all for he had not yet turned 17. He came from the townlet of Lida in the district of Vilna, and was a member of Betar. He came to Warsaw because he had nothing to do in his native town. He wanted to go on Aliyah to Eretz Israel but he had also lacked the money to cover the expenses of the journey. Nahum could work for many hours on end without fatigue. He also knew how to organise his work properly. I took a liking to him and regarded him as most loyal to the cause. In due course, under changing conditions, I was to be greatly disappointed in him.

Whether for reasons of underground custom, to which I had grown accustomed and which became second nature to me, or because out of some feeling which I cannot explain—at all events, when I had to publish the name of the responsible editor, as required under law, I decided to print in place of the double surname, only one name, that which was not generally known in public. When the name N. Yellin appeared as responsible editor, very few even among my close friends and associates could identify me as bearer of that name. This fact stood me in good stead when, as a refugee in Vilna, the time came for me to hide my activities in the framework of the IZL from the eyes of the Soviet authorities. Thanks to that, too, I received an exit permit.

The problems of material, editing and layout of the paper did not worry us. Samuel Merlin had had considerable experience in journalism—first in Kishinev, Bessarabia, and subsequently in Paris. I, too, had a certain love for printers' ink and for the smell of seething lead since my youth. Yair promised us that we would receive regularly from the IZL in Eretz Israel, not only information about activities that would make sensational headlines, but also material such as articles and reports, and the promise was fulfilled. At least once a week, sometimes even more frequently, we would receive envelopes containing reports from the Organisation's News Service. We had the authority to write up news items and stories on the basis of this material.

The articles and reports had to be translated from Hebrew into Yiddish, while the material supplied by the News Service had to be written up. In addition, there was need of considerable other material in order to fill the four large pages which were fixed as the format of the paper in its new metamorphosis. One had to write that material and almost the whole of that job fell to me. Very often, whole issues of the paper appeared in which the material from main head-



Samuel Merlin



Nathan Yellin-Mor

line down to the last line, was handed over to the typesetter in my own handwriting.

Against the background of the situation then obtaining and the yearning of scores of thousands of Jews to go on Aliyah to Eretz Israel, we maintained a very fierce struggle with the official leaders of Polish Jewry. They were opposed to "panic" and they were opposed to Zeev Jabotinsky who called for an evacuation of Polish Jewry. The propaganda that was conducted against him was wild and untramelled. He was accused of adding grist to the mills of the anti-semites, of sowing despair, of adventuresomeness. *Di Tat,* too, was attacked for its praises of the activities of the IZL in Eretz Israel, and for calling upon Polish Jewry to leave their places of residence and to set out for Eretz Israel. From the pages of *Di Tat* we conducted bitter and difficult debates against the newspapers that assuaged feelings, against the Bundist *Folkzeitung* and against the Zionist *Haint*. We made no differentiation between them. In our eyes the Bundists and the Zionists were partners in the crime of sowing illusion and of endangering the Jewish masses.

We continued to bring out *Di Tat* twice weekly but, at the same time, we made progress in our preparations to bring out the paper as a daily. In the issue of February 28, 1939, the first announcement was published that *Di Tat* would appear as a daily as from April 18, 1939.

We received encouragement from Abraham Stern whose journeys from Eretz Israel to Poland and back, became more frequent. We were also extended advice and assistance as far as possible by the Polish members of the Irgun, who rallied around the monthly *Jerozolima Wyzwolona* (Jerusalem Liberated). This circle was composed entirely of members of the liberal professions. Quite a few among them came from entirely assimilated surroundings—from natural or conscious assimilation. The living spirits in this circle were Henryk and Lilka Strassman.

In large measure the preparations for the daily *Di Tat* were made in the home of the Strassman couple. The announcement about the appearance of *Di Tat* as a daily, called forth speedy reaction on the part of the Jewish journalists in Warsaw, who were swayed by our opponents, against whom we came out with an ideological-political struggle in each issue of ours. In an official letter we were informed by the Committee of the Journalists Association that we must enter into negotiations immediately with them about the employment of professional journalists, who were members of the Association, otherwise everything would be done so that *Di Tat* should not appear as a daily paper.

We felt that we could not wriggle out of the matter simply without paying attention to this warning. The negotiations with the Association were conducted by Samuel Merlin. At first the Association demanded that we employ four professional journalists. In the end, an agreement was reached on two. We asked that they submit a list of candidates so that we might select from among them the people whom we found most suitable. Only two names were submitted. One, whose name I have forgotten, was a member of Bund, while the other called Opoczynski was a member of Poalei Zion. The Bundist announced immediately that he would not be a hired hand of *Di Tat*. Opoczynski appeared for an interview. He worked in journalism for a livelihood.

He was a pleasant man of good temperament. He explained that he was in dire need of work and we were prepared to employ him. Thus Opoczynski, a member of Poalei Zion began to work with us. As editor, it was I who fixed the nature of his work. At first I set him to do translations of neutral material. He translated mainly from Polish and from Hebrew. He would come up to me, hand over the material he had translated and ask for additional work. I explained to him that the material that remained to be done was of a nature that might arouse his ire, on account of his outlook, so I had necessarily to deal with it myself. So he remained without work sitting idle in the editorial offices.

The problem was solved in a manner that I had not expected. Several weeks after he had begun his work, Opoczynski came up to me and asked to be allowed to translate stuff that I had so far refrained from referring to him—articles of serious dispute and sharp attack on the leadership of the Yishuv, on the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi (National Council of Palestine Jews), on the Zionist Organisation and especially on his Party—Mapai—and the "Haganah". I passed over to him a bundle of material without asking about the reason for the change. When this material, too, proved insufficient to fill his day's work, Opoczynski began showing initiative of his own. He used to scan the Hebrew press from Eretz Israel, mark material which in his opinion was worthwhile translating or re-writing, and expressed readiness to do so. I willingly agreed. We found him to be a diligent assistant who knew his work and, in particular, a man of conscience who never tried to do anything that was opposed to the policy of the paper.

When, after some time, there began to appear an evening paper of Poalei Zion, in direct opposition to our paper, Opoczynski made what may be regarded as a confession to me. He had been invited to work on the competitive paper of his Party, but refused. He said to me: "I have worked on various newspapers so far, including papers of my own Party. Believe me if I tell you that I have never had opportunity of working in such a pleasant, human and colleagual atmosphere as obtains in this paper here. I have also a better understanding for your point of view, having learned it at close quarters. I see no compulsion of conscience in the work that I am doing for this paper".

I have not heard anything about Opoczynski since we parted and I don't know what his fate was. I remember him with feelings of gratefulness and appreciation.

The publication of *Di Tat* as a daily paper called for numerous arrangements again—technical, organisational and editorial—for eight pages daily instead of four—twice a week. On Fridays, we would bring out twelve pages.

We entered into an agreement with the large printing works of the daily *Moment*. When this paper found itself in financial difficulties and stood on the verge of bankruptcy, a business administrator was appointed by the Court in the person of Mark Kahn, who was an activist in the Revisionist Party. We decided to bring out two editions: one for Warsaw, which would be on sale in the streets at 4.00 p.m., and the other for the larger and smaller provincial circles, which would reach its readers in the early hours of the morning, together with the other morning papers.

The problem of material for, and the composition of the paper also required a new solution. We could no longer limit ourselves to concentrating the whole of our interest on the Eretz Israel issue alone. We had to furnish the reader with a paper that would supply him with information on all spheres of interest to him, which he received also from some other paper, so as to avert his necessity of having recourse to another paper. Most of the matters were arranged by Merlin. He would be on the go from morning till night, meeting with people and institutions, conducting negotiations, arguing, being incensed and falling almost into despair. It had been arranged between us that he should do the layout of the Warsaw edition whereas I would be responsible for the provincial edition, which would differ from the former insofar as news columns were concerned.

The first issue appeared exactly as planned. The printing shop was situated at the end of Nalewki Street, in the heart of the Jewish district of Warsaw. The copies of the paper were quickly distributed among the vendors who were for the most part young children. Merlin and I went out into the streets to see how the Jew hurrying to his business reached to the cries of the vendors, who announced the name of the paper and the main headline. Jews purchased the paper and became engrossed in it. Some vendors returned after a while when their stock gave out, in order to receive additional papers.

The good sales encouraged us. I edited the news items

that had come in meanwhile, and sent them down to be set up in print. The second edition, too, was ready in time. The despatch department worked at a pace. The paper was sent out to all places on the map. How would the reader outside Warsaw react? We could learn that only some days later. Meantime, it fell to my lot also to prepare the Warsaw edition and from then on, I used to spend most of the hours of the day and night in the editorial offices. Sometimes I would return to my room only to wash and change my clothing. The hours for sleep and rest were reduced to a minimum.

The editor of the Warsaw section of the paper was Leibl Rodal, aged about 30, a member of a rich family in one of Poland's provincial towns. He had been correspondent for daily papers from his youth, and loved the profession. He had been a member of the Revisionist Party from his youth, and joined the IZL when the paper was founded. Rodal had assistants as reporters. One of them was Leibl Bein, a devout Jew, who worked regularly on *Unzer Express*. He subsequently came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel.

The amusement section was entrusted to the well-known Jewish humourist Josef Tunkel who was popularly known by his pen-name "Der Tunkeler". He edited the humouristic column in *Moment,* and for us he worked for what was only a token salary. Although he never lent his name to the column, quite a few among our readers must have recognised his unique style.

The appearance from time to time of another man of special traits used to cause us amusement. He was Urke Nachalnik, a former convict who had spent many years in prison. When he was liberated he discovered that he had a bent for story-telling, and so he began writing his memoirs of the crime world and of prison life. His writing aroused considerable interest and was lapped up by the afternoon papers. Eventually he began to write stories from life, generally in serialised form, for our paper. Their plots were complex and exciting. He had to write under an assumed name for us. He signed his stories "Der Vanderer" (The Wanderer).

We found it necessary to strengthen also the publicistic side of the paper, and that was enriched by the articles and surveys of Aba Ahimeir. After serving many terms of longer or shorter duration in Palestine prisons, he married and the two of them came to Warsaw. For Ahimeir that was veritable exile since, if he had remained in Eretz Israel, he would undoubtedly have gone to prison time and again. His name was well-known in the widest circles of the nationalist youth. His writing for *Di Tat* was a veritable treasure and the readers very soon found out who it was that hid behind the assumed name of "J. Ben-Shamai" and who it was that wrote the "Notes of Bar-Yohai". According to Yair's request,



Jehoshua Yevin



Aba Ahimeir

Ahimeir did not transfer to *Di Tat* his battles against socialism as an idea, even though he criticised the action of the socialist leadership in Zionism and in the Yishuv. His articles were originally written in Hebrew but, in the course of time he tried to switch over to Yiddish. Yet even in this language, to which he was not accustomed, one could discern his characteristic incisive and aggressive style.

At times, Warsaw used to be visited on organisational matters by people who could be "milked" for material for the paper. Thus, for example, I was able to get out of Eri Jabotinsky a story in serial form about his experiences in prisons in Eretz Israel. Although he was Zeev Jabotinsky's son, Eri had views of his own and independent opinions which were opposed to the line of political diplomacy of Zeev Jabotinsky, and the line of military diplomacy of Abraham Stern. Very few people knew about this opposition at the time, but Eri Jabotinsky clearly sided with the view of Yair. He remained Yair's admirer even after his murder.

In our paper Eri published stories from prison, which generally made exciting reading.

Eri Jabotinsky signed his articles "Hash-Baz". On the same theme, another series of memoirs was published in *Di Tat* by a colleague of his, who went by the name of "Yerushalmi". He was none other than Leib Schneursohn. He was older than any of us and I think that already then we called him "grandpa". He was a member of the Chabad Chassidic dynasty and, indeed, was a Chassid down to the marrow of his bones. He would either praise people whom he loved and trusted to the skies, or deprecate whomever he hated. A native of Hebron, he settled in Jerusalem after the Hebron massacre in 1929, and was wounded as he was standing at prayer by the Western Wall. He came to Poland as an emissary of the Irgun, in order to raise money for the IZL and made a tour of all the towns and townlets in the country, inspiring his audiences with stories about the new life in Eretz Israel, the activities of the IZL and the preparations for the great struggles ahead. His stories did not lack exaggeration, but they fired the imagination of his audiences.

Among the visitors to the editorial offices was the poet Uri Zvi Greenberg, who lived in Warsaw, first as editor of the Revisionist weekly *Di Velt* and subsequently as regular contributor to *Moment*. His pungent pen knew no mercy. He would call his opponents by names which very soon became popular swear words. He would dub the opponents of the national movement "Sanbalats" after Sanbalat the Samaritan who wanted to halt the rebuilding of the Temple in the days of the Return to Zion in Ezra's time.

The atmosphere that reigned among the staff of *Di Tat* will be borne out best of all by the relations with the printing workers on the paper. Most of the printing workers in Warsaw were members of the Bund, and their opposition to the ideals of the IZL was actually irrational. They regarded Aliyah to Eretz Israel as a desertion from the Front and any talk about the conquest of Eretz Israel by the strength of arms actually unbalanced them.

When the administration of *Moment* press got up the team of workers for *Di Tat* the candidates announced their refusal. But following pressure from their trade union, four printing workers and two layout men were placed at our disposal for all hours of the day. To begin with, their attitude to the paper was markedly inimical but, as time passed by, it changed. I shall never forget one of them who was an extremist but, at the same time, the most intelligent among them. He not only set up the material but read it. I would hand him over the publicistic articles which he read before beginning to work. I noticed the first change in him in the way he spoke. His voice, which to begin with, was cold and sharp, softened in the course of time. He began asking questions not only in regard to form but also in regard to content. About four months after we began working in the same print shop, Hershel asked me to give him several minutes for a brief conversation, and with lowered eyes, he asked me not to think that he had changed his views from one extreme to another. He still believed in Socialism and in its hallowed humane ideas, but ever since he began working with us, a change had nonetheless taken place in him. Most of all, he had grown tired of living in Poland. He had grown tired of society, of everything. He wanted to begin life anew and so, why not go to Eretz Israel or Palestine—as he called it? I did not want to pressure him, and asked: "And what do you want of me?" He replied: "I know you are dealing with 'illegal' immigration to Palestine. Send me in one of your transports. No one here must get to know about my preparations to leave, but surely, you are used to conspiracies. . .". I promised to do what I could for his Aliyah. He managed to make the first preparations but not to complete them and to go on Aliyah. What had happened to him? There is no reply.

From Eretz Israel there kept on arriving depressing political news and joyous news about the activities of the IZL. The issue of May 20, for example, carried the banner headline: "Barricades and machine guns in the streets of embattled Jerusalem". That was the reaction to the publication of the "White Paper". Aliyah was almost completely stopped and there were decrees upon decrees without a spark of hope. The text of the "White Paper" was brought to the notice of the newspapers by the J.T.A. and Palcor News Agencies. We did not subscribe to either of them, but we could not appear without giving the contents of that document. I therefore asked my friends on *Moment* to show me the material received on this matter for half an hour's perusal. I managed to re-write the material so as not to accuse us of using the information without permission.

I was already aware that these were the last numbers of our paper. We determined that Friday August 25, 1939 would be the last time our paper was issued. This issue appeared without a parting article.

Two days after the closing down of *Di Tat,* I received a proposal from the editorial board of *Moment* to serve as their night editor. I accepted. I had to look after the news pages only. I regarded the task as of a temporary nature until I received an immigration permit for Eretz Israel. But I little imagined that the appointment would be so brief, since World War II broke out on September 1.

The orthodox press in Poland

Shmuel Rotstein

As far back as the Sixties of the last century the idea was current among orthodox Jewish circles of maintaining a press of their own. That was the period of the periodicals published by the Enlightment Movement which wielded a great influence on the large masses of Jews. The spiritual leaders of the orthodox Jewish masses sensed the danger of a secular press sowing doubts in the hearts of many as to matters connected with religion and faith.

The first attempts to bring out orthodox periodicals were made over 150 years ago. One of the early pioneers in this field was the Rabbi of the Jewish community in Altona, Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger (1798–1871), the fierce fighter of the Reform Movement in Germany, who came out with a sharp attack against the first Conference of the Reform at Braunschweig (1848). In his native city he published for several years a monthly in the German language called *Der Zion Wächter* (The Watchman of Zion), which carried a Hebrew supplement entitled *Shomer Zion Haneeman.* In this periodical he conducted a fierce fight against assimilation and the Reform Movement. His disciples were the famous Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, the organiser of modern orthodoxy in Germany, Rabbi Azriel Hildesheimer, the founder and director of the Seminar for Orthodox Rabbis in Berlin, and others.

Subsequently, about 100 years ago, there began appearing in Jerusalem the periodical *Halevanon* (1863), which is regarded as the pioneer of the Hebrew press. The paper was two years later transferred to Paris, where financial difficulties brought about its merger with *Israelit,* a periodical which was published in Mainz, Germany, under the editorship of Rabbi Dr. Meir Lehmann (1831–1973), who was regarded as the father of orthodox publicistics and of religious Jewish belles lettres.

On the initiative of the Rabbi of the Jewish community of Krakow and members of the Austrian-Hungarian Parliament — Rabbi Shimon Sopher, and the Rebbe of Belz, Reb Yehoshua Rokach, there was founded in Galicia the religious party of "Machazikei Hadat" (1897) which, immediately on its foundation, began bringing out its organ *Kol Machzikei Hadat,* a weekly published in Lwow (Lemberg). Several years later, a similar attempt was made by the Rabbi of the Jewish community in Poltava, Russia, Rabbi Eliahu Akiba Rabinowitz. In 1901, Rabbi Rabinowitz founded the monthly *Hapeles,* which gained fame for its militant character. Four years later, Rabinowitz renewed the publication of his periodical in the form of a weekly called *Hamodia,* with the approval and support of the Rebbe of Gur and the Rebbe of Lubavitch. *Hamodia* regarded as its special mission to combat the cultural programme and the plan to capture the communities by the Zionist Movement and its orthodox arm, the Mizrachi, despite the fact that Rabinowitz had himself been one of the Rabbis who participated in the first Zionist Congress.

However, in Poland, which was the largest centre of orthodox Jewry, the idea of bringing out a Jewish paper had not yet ripened, despite the fact that the first Rebbe of Gur, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir Alter (1785–1866) was the first to foster the idea of "bringing out an orthodox paper of our own". It should be pointed out that the first Rebbe of Gur played an active role in the public life of the Jewish community generally, and was one of the supporters of the first 1831 Polish revolt against the Russian regime. After his death, during the office of his grandson and successor to his leadership, Rabbi Arie Leib Alter (1847–1905), the idea of bringing out an orthodox periodical was dropped. Torah learning was the sole occupation of this Rebbe who devoted all his attention to the education of an elite class who would devote all their strength to the study of the Torah and would not be overly involved in the affairs of the masses. When the leadership of the Gur dynasty was taken over by his son, Rabbi Abraham Mordechai Alter, the efforts were renewed to implement the dream of his grandfather, and already in

the first year of his office — 1905 — they set about planning an orthodox paper.

In those days *Hatzefirah* held sway over the Jewish readership. The founder of the paper, Chaim Selig Slonimski, was already dead and its editor was Nahum Sokolow, the prodigy of Wyszygrod. Already then he was a man who had "withdrawn" from his original milieu; nonetheless Chassidic circles looked upon him as one of their own. As related in these circles, the house of Gur invited Nahum Sokolov to the home of the Rebbe's brother, Rabbi Moshe Bezalel Alter, and in the course of the meal they proposed a "deal": the Gur Chassidism would read *Hatzefirah* and lend it its support if it would be "free of rubbish". To this Nahum Sokolow replied: "What to you is rubbish is 'fine flour' for others . . .". That was the end of the conversation, and nothing came of the 'deal'. But it was there and then that the youngest of the Rebbe's sons, Reb Mendele, announced: "I will bring out a paper".

Reb Mendele set to work at once and first of all began a search in orthodox circles for people who were not only versed in Jewish law and had a deep religious consciousness, but who were able to write and had a leaning to controversy. His choice was very small. In the end he found a candidate in the distant town of Bendzin in the person of Yitzhak Leib Wolnerman. In actual fact, he was a teacher by profession who taught Talmud and "Poskim" (Jewish Law) to young men about to be married, and sometimes also engaged in matchmaking. He was, however, a shrewd and clever writer and undertook the editorship of *Hakol* which was to be the first religious periodical. In order, however, to be able to bring out the publication he had to seek the assistance of teachers and writers who had leanings towards "enlightenment". Wolnerman promised to close an eye to this, but nonetheless undertook to supervise every line produced by these hired pens, and so succeeded in bringing out his paper for a period of one-and-a-half years.

Hakol came out on Fridays. It was written in Yiddish but also had a Hebrew supplement. Like all the papers published in those days, *Hakol* was set up by hand. Setting machines in Hebrew characters was still a dream in those days, so that the publication of each number was beset by great difficulties. However, the Chassidic masses had some reservation insofar as an orthodox paper was concerned. The very idea of bringing out a paper was foreign to the mind of Chassidic Jews. Family men were beset by financial worries and they could pay no regard to a daily paper. As for the young unmarried Chassidim, the accepted view was that they had to spend their time in the "Beth Hamidrash" (House of Study) and not waste it on such "tomfoolery" as a newspaper. As for the women, the girls in Chassidic families had to remain closely attached to their mothers who had to direct their conduct and training in preparation for marriage, so that they had no time left for newspapers.

In actual fact, however, things did not turn out to be exactly like that. True, a large proportion of the young men still followed in the path of their parents owing to the atmosphere that reigned in the Beth Hamidrash and the Chassidic "Stiebel" (House of Prayer) in which they gained all their experience and eschewed all modern ideas that the modern press and literature disseminated. But there was no such guard for the young women so as to keep them aloof from the spirit of the revolution that reigned outside their homes. In the towns and villages in the Jewish pale of residence there were still no orthodox schools for the education of Jewish girls, nor were there any circles in which the girls could live their life in relative "perfection". But the thirst for knowledge and enlightenment had always been strong among Jews so that when the barriers from within were loosened there was no shelter against the influences of modern literature and of the Jewish press that called for revolt against the old forms of life.

True, there was a very thin stratum of intelligent young women of deep consciousness already in those days, but the language in which they gained knowledge was Polish or Russian, and it was Polish and Russian literature that inspired them. They had the greatest admiration for strange heroes from whom they drew their joys and sorrows and the parents for whom that reading material was a sealed book could not supervise the spiritual food consumed by their daughters. Many were the tragedies in Jewish homes in which the daughters began to stray along paths from which they never returned. The "disease" assumed the proportions of an epidemic and it was only then that the orthodox circles began to realise that the only remedy lay in the production of orthodox Jewish literature and of an orthodox press of their own.

Immediately after the founding conference of the World "Agudat Israel" (Katowitz, May, 1912), the Orthodox keyworkers in Poland applied themselves seriously to the establishment of an orthodox daily paper in Yiddish. The main initiator and actual instigator was again the Rebbe of Gur, who came out with the explicit announcement that he regarded an orthodox paper as a medium for the strengthening of Judaism and of religion, of averting manifestations of Jewish religious perversion as well as a medium leading to political independence, so that orthodoxy might occupy its due place in public life in accordance with the scope of its influence on the Jewish masses. Consequently the members of the liberal camps could no longer put up an appearance as the sole representatives of Polish Jewry. From previous attempts that had failed he knew that such an enterprise would involve considerable amounts of money and so he attracted several rich Jews to the project.

But in those days a permit from the Tsarist authorities was necessary and such a permit could be obtained only from the Ministry of the Interior at St. Peterburg. This was by no means easy, especially as the concessionaire for the existing Jewish papers always stood on guard and did everything in their power—and in Tsarist days that was most "effective"—in order to hold up the granting of the necessary concession. In order to do so it was sufficient to induce some minor official by the well-known "means" to hold up the application which was to make a long journey through the hierarchy of officialdom until it reached the desk of the Minister himself, who, according to the law, had to sign the licence.

Meanwhile news came through of the meeting organised by the Rebbe of Gur. Publicity was given also about many other meetings convened for the same purpose, and about the intervention in St. Peterburg, as well as about special emissaries sent out there. This induced many publishers of Jewish papers to begin thinking about the needs of meeting the request of orthodox Jews and of bringing out for them a paper that would placate them and meet their tastes.

The very active journalist and writer, S.J. Yatzkan, editor and publisher of *Haint,* did not lose much time over consideration and computations, and supplied the Chassidic masses with a paper which, in his view could meet the needs and desires of those readers. *Die Kopike* (Yiddish for Kopeka, the smallest coin in Russian currency), was the name of the new paper which *Haint* publishing house brought out, its first number appearing on August 10, 1912. The price of the paper was also 1 Kopeka, whereas other Yiddish papers were priced at 2 Kopekas.

The Chassidic world, however, had no confidence in the man who disseminated "The Bloody Tunnel" (the name of one of the pornographic novels serialised in *Haint*) and now put on the mien of a God-fearing Jew. It was no secret that the owners of *Die Kopike* were also the owners of *Haint.* That is why the paper was not long-lived. But orthodoxy did not rest. They did everything in their power in order to mobilise funds and to exert influence so as to receive the necessary concession for a paper of their own.

Indeed, the day came when the concession for the new Jewish paper in Yiddish called *Der Jude* arrived. This was early in the year 1914. They rented office premises, got up a staff of officials and set about organising an editorial staff for the paper. Rabbi Shlomo Josef Zevin, who was then Rabbi of the Jewish community of Novozipkov in Bielorussia, an ardent follower of Chabad Chassidism and a man of extensive rabbinic learning and of considerable literary ability (the late editor of the "Talmudic Encyclopedia" in Jerusalem) was appointed editor. However, in August 1914 the First World War broke out and all the preparatory work proved to be wasted.

It was especially from the beginning of the period of German occupation of Russian Poland that the need for the publication of an orthodox paper began to be increasingly felt. On the liberation of Poland from the cruel Russian regime, several of the limitations in the public sphere were removed and the Jewish community began to exploit the newly-gained measure of freedom to the fullest extent. Parties arose, associations and clubs were formed, and groups with various goals and ideas in view were organised. Jewish towns and townlets now became arenas for intensive activity by party emissaries, by lecturers and disseminators of culture who endeavoured to gain adherents to various ideologies and slogans. For the greater part these were representatives of anti-religious tendencies who called upon the Jewish youth to rid themselves of the "old mould" of religious belief and to assimilate into the non-Jewish surroundings. The Chassidic "Stieblach" and houses of study were now depleted and

the new club-houses and associations attracted ever-increasing audiences. Children no longer paid regard to the wishes of their parents, especially as the members of the older generation stood perplexed at the changes of the times and at the policy of the new regime, and in many cases the youth were now the breadwinners for the family.

The despair of the orthodox Jews was indescribably great. In their hour of anxiety, they looked upon the representatives of orthodox Jewry in Germany, Rabbi Dr. Pinhas Cohen of Ansbach and Rabbi Dr. Emanuel Carlebach of Cologne, who had come to Poland with the German occupation authorities as Military Chaplains who served the religious needs of the Jewish soldiers in the German Army, as veritable messengers from Heaven. These Rabbis endeavoured to establish contact with the religious public figures in Polish Jewry so as to help organise the "Agudat Israel" Movement which had been forbidden during the time of the Russian regime. These rabbis had close contacts with the occupation forces and thanks to their efforts succeeded in introducing order in communal life.

In those days, the orthodox party, called "The Orthodox Association", was founded; later on it assumed the name of the orthodox party in Germany, "Agudat Israel". The leaders of the Association demanded of the German rabbis that they use their good offices with the German authorities in order to grant a permit for an orthodox daily paper. They regarded the non-religious press and secular literature as the factor whose influence increased among the Jews and so led to that estrangement of the Jewish youth from their roots.

Lodz, which was the second largest Jewish community in Poland, had been occupied by the German Army several months before Warsaw, and in order to influence the Jewish population in that city and attract them to the occupation authorities, the Germans brought out a Jewish daily paper in Yiddish. The Lodz paper began appearing under the editorship of a leader of the Folkist Party, Lazar Kahan. When Warsaw was occupied by the German Army, the paper—*Yudishes Togblat*—was transferred to the Polish capital.

The rabbis from Germany, Dr. Cohen and Dr. Carlebach, then went to the head of the Press Department of the German Military Government, and pointed to the fact that the Folkist Party, which was leaving its impact on the paper, was an entirely unimportant trend within the Jewish public, whereas orthodoxy, which represented more than half the Jewish population in the country, had no press organ of its own in order to explain its attitudes and represent its interests in the public. The rabbis, therefore, suggested that the semi-official paper in Yiddish appear under orthodox management so as to be able to bring to public notice the attitudes of orthodox Jewry to matters affecting Jewish life, just as the members of other large Jewish parties were able to do through their own organs.

The German occupation authorities weighed this proposal, and brought it to the notice of the Governor General of former Russian Poland, von Beseler, who finally gave his assent, but on condition that organised orthodoxy in Germany undertake to cover part of the cost of the paper and its deficits.

One day in March 1916, an announcement appeared in *Yudishes Togblat* to the effect that the paper was due to stop publication in order to make room for a new Jewish paper. The following day the new Jewish paper called *Dos Yudishe Vort* made its appearance. It was an organ representing the interests of Jewish orthodoxy in Poland.

Nahum Leib Weingot, the son of the Rabbi of Lipna, was appointed editor of the new Orthodox paper. A fighter for Torah-true Judaism and a man of considerable literary ability, he had previously written for several orthodox papers and published books and pamphlets of his own, rousing orthodox Jews to endeavours to enhance the prestige of the Torah and of the Jewish religion. Weingot was well versed


Judisze Wort.
דאס
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Niedziela 8 grudnia
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Dos Yudishe Vort, *first Orthodox daily, Warsaw, 1916–1918*

in the intricacies of Jewish journalism and literature in Germany, from which he drew inspiration and which served as his training ground in writing. That is why he published in his paper also articles by orthodox Jewish leaders in Germany and thinkers such as Dr. Samson Raphael Hirsch, Dr. Yitzhak Breuer, Dr. Joseph Wohlgemuth, Dr. Naphtali Hertz Ehrmann and others, all of whom belonged to the orthodox Jewish camp in Germany. He also allotted room in his paper to the historical and topical novel of Dr. Meir Lehmann, the Rabbi of Mainz and author of scores of novels and stories that fed the minds of many generations of Jews in Germany and which were received with no less enthusiasm among Polish and Lithuanian Jewry who read them in Yiddish translation.

But translations from orthodox-German sources were not enough to make up a daily paper. Weingot was therefore forced to engage professional journalists—Jews who were not necessarily orthodox themselves, but over whose writing the editor kept a watchful eye.

Before long, *Dos Yudishe Vort* became one of the leading papers in the Jewish community. The paper's success was due to the fact that it presented its readers with the best and most up-to-date information. There was a strict censorship during the War, particularly in occupied territory. In matters pertaining to the War, it was forbidden to publish anything other than official communiques. *Dos Yudishe Vort,* however, used to receive from the Press Department of the Military Government the latest editions of German papers, such as "Berliner Tageblatt", "Vossische Zeitung", "Frankfurter Allgemeine", and from Vienna, "Die Neue Freie Presse"—all these, one day before they were received at the editorial offices of the other papers. The German papers were not subject to such strict censorship. It was also permissible to translate articles and passages from them on condition that the source was mentioned.

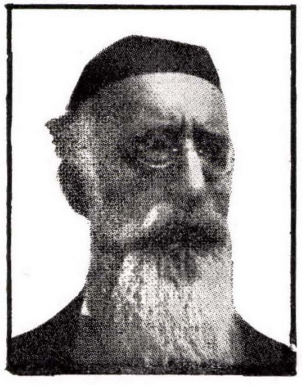
Great was the joy of the orthodox circles in Poland, particularly of the younger religious generation, at the fact that they had a daily paper of their own. People used to congratulate themselves on meeting in the street. Chassidim received every new issue of the paper with special joy and after reading it from page to page folded it up and preserved it as a valuable asset. The young people enjoyed the exciting novel of Dr. Lehmann which was serialised in the paper. The more serious-minded among the readers greatly admired the religious-philosophical articles of Hirsch, Breuer, Wohlgemuth, Weinberg and others. The influence of the paper spread very quickly among orthodox Jewry and gifted young men were induced to try their hand at writing.

The Rebbe of Gur made an impassioned appeal to his followers in particular, and to orthodox Jews in general, to read the paper, to purchase it and to give it every support. However, it is interesting to note that the Rebbe in his epistle revealed political perspicacity since he disassociated himself from the pro-German political tendencies which found expression in *Dos Yudishe Vort,* under the influence of the German Rabbis. Orthodox Jews were aroused not only against the pro-German policy of the paper; in time points of difference arose in the spiritual field as well.

The idea of combining Torah education with general enlightenment, which found great support among orthodox German Jewry and was the policy adopted by Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, Dr. Hildesheimer and their disciples, may possibly have been good for German Jewry, for it was fostered by what is known as the "Frankfurt School" whose influence is noted to the present day among West European Jewry. For the Chassidic Jews in Poland as well as for the Jews of Torah learning in Lithuania, this school appeared not only strange but to a certain extent also harmful. It was effective in Western Europe at a time when the Reform Movement attracted the greater majority of the Jews, leaving behind only a mere handful of Torah-true Jews, things reaching such a head that even Rabbi Israel Salant, the founder of the famous "Mussar" system in Jewry and one of the foremost Torah scholars in Lithuanian Jewry, gave his open support to the system of "Torah with secular learning". His own personal opinion, however, was that there was some danger in transplanting this system among East European Jewry, the public for whom Torah learning and Torah observance was the source of life. This was also the opinion of the authorities among East European Jewry, mainly the Rabbis and leaders of Chassidism.

Now, the public figures among them began to realise the importance of organisation. At the same time, however, they came to realise that the German garb was not particularly suitable for the Chassidic Jew of Poland and Galicia

and that here, other organisational forms, more adapted to the nature of Jewry in these countries and based on foundations of Torah and Chassidism, were needed. And so public figures began to divert the Orthodox Association "Agudat Israel" in a different direction so as to remain oblivious of the directives and requests of the German Rabbis. *Dos Yudishe Vort* therefore no longer satisfied the minds of these circles who began seeking ways and means of liberating



Nathan Birnbaum



A. M. Rogovoi

themselves from the tendencies to which the paper sought to attract adherents through the material that it printed.

With all that, *Dos Yudishe Vort* was a publication of historical importance for orthodox Jewry in Poland, since it assisted in training pioneers in religious writing,—such journalists as David Flinker, Abraham Mordechai Rogovoi, Shmuel Rotstein, Yerucham Fischel, Spitalowitz (L. Schiff) and others.

Among the religious writers for whom *Dos Yudishe Vort* served as the ground on which they commenced their literary career, mention should be made of Moshe Feigenbaum, a Chassidic young man of the townlet of Modzice who began publishing in the columns of *Dos Yudishe Vort* pictures of Jewish life in the Jewish townlet—pieces which attracted the attention of the reader by their pleasant style and descriptive ability. In his pictures of Jewish life in the Shtetl, Feigenbaum described the half-empty Beth Hamidrash, the "Stiebel" which few people frequented, the lonely scholar. He also described the disappointment of the "Apikorsim" (the non-believing rebels) upon whom the writer called to return to their source—the old Beth Hamidrash.

Moshe Feigenbaum was in the habit of travelling from his townlet Modzice to Warsaw in order to purchase stock for his little shop. During one of these journeys by train he was set upon by a Polish hoodlum who hit him on the head. He took ill and was bed-ridden for a long time and finally died at the age of 28.

During the last years of occupation the German authorities showed a heavier hand, removed all the agricultural produce from Poland and withheld raw materials from the local industries, etc., so that the livelihood of Jews engaging in commerce and industry, handicrafts and in mediation was undermined. Famine and disease spread throughout the country and the large towns were particularly hard hit. Bitterness against the German occupation authorities increased steadily. From the inception of the German military defeats on the battlefields, the censorship of the press grew more stringent and the political articles that continued to appear in *Dos Yudishe Vort* together with the philosophical writings and works of research no longer pleased the readers, most of whom belonged to the Chassidic sect. And so a movement arose which demanded of the Agudah to wash its hands of *Dos Yudishe Vort* and the policy that the paper adopted, and to found a paper of its own.

This movement was headed by Meshulam Kaminer, a very energetic and shrewd man, a scholar and an ardent protagonist of Torah-true Judaism. He was a fiery and eloquent speaker, a good debater and a gifted organiser, a man of initiative, and so there was little wonder that before long Kaminer became the chief spokesman of the recently-founded Agudat Israel Party and in due course was elected Agudah representative at the Versailles Peace Conference, although he did not speak any European language and spoke even Polish with difficulty.

Without much ado Kaminer set about founding a weekly called *Der Yud*. He was appointed editor of the paper and even succeeded in winning over some collaborators from *Dos Yudishe Vort*. First among them was Yitzhak Shapira who felt that the foundations of the daily paper were being undermined. Shapira wrote leading ar-

ticles, political articles and even articles on topics of faith and religion for the weekly under several pseudonyms. With the assistance of a collaborator of Yitzhak Shapira's calibre, Meshulam Kaminer could think not only about bringing out a good weekly but also conceived the idea of a daily paper.

The Rebbe of Gur gave his blessing to *Der Yud* and so the success of the new periodical was assured. The weekly was couched in a popular yet militant style and its main function was to debate with the "secular" papers. It attracted also new writers.

In *Der Yud* the independent mind of the God-fearing Polish Jew found expression. In certain measure these articles introduced a certain measure of clarity into the lives of the Jewish masses in that period of historical "twilight" which was characterised by haziness. But *Dos Yudishe Vort* continued to appear even after the end of the War in November 1918 when the German occupation authorities had left the country and took with them the paper's Rabbinic patrons, Cohen and Carlebach.

Nahum Leib Weingot, a stiff-necked Jew by nature, did everything in his power to keep the paper going. Its deficits, however, grew from day to day. The support given by rich German Jews, who were members of "Agudat Israel" were no longer forthcoming, and on February 14, 1919 the paper ceased appearing.

No sooner was Dos *Yudishe Vort* closed down than *Der Yud,* under the editorship of Meshulam Kaminer, began to appear as a daily paper.

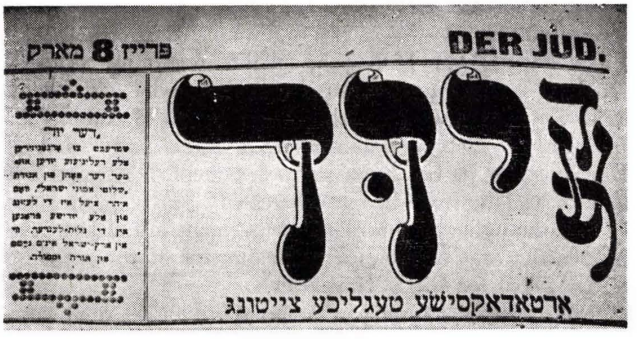
Those were difficult and stormy days for Polish Jewry. On the emergence of independent Poland a wave of anti-semitism and Jewish oppression swept the country. The authorities began transferring the traditional market days to the Sabbath so as to deprive Jews of their livelihood and to molest them in various other forms. There were anti-Jewish excesses in the cities of Pinsk, Lwow, and Minsk-Mazovieck, initial pogroms which forboded ill. Many Jews lost their livelihoods and it was no easy matter to bring out a Jewish paper in a period like this. But Meshulam Kaminer was a stubborn man and did not give in to difficulties, even though he was forced to invite several professional journalists who did not belong to the orthodox camp. For some time, the parliamentary correspondent of the paper was a "stranger" (Shimon Spiegel) until the task was taken over by David Flinker who, on account of his work in the Sejm (Polish Parliament), had to divest himself of his Chassidic garb and small traditional cap, and don modern clothing and a "secular" hat.

Der Yud appeared sometimes with longer or shorter interruptions and contributed much to moulding the political-public organisation of the religious Jewish community in Poland, and ultimately that of "Agudat Israel" as the organisation came to be known in the last years before the outbreak of the War.

It goes without saying that from the technical and professional-journalistic points of view, *Der Yud* lagged behind other Jewish papers: it simply could not compete with them. It was, therefore, necessary from time to time to organise fund-raising campaigns with the assistance of the Rebbe of Gur, who always stood on guard and looked after the existence of the paper, since the Rebbe regarded the publication as an important pillar of religion.

In the wake of the first lengthy interval in the appearance of *Der Yud,* a Krakow Jew, Reb Moshe Deutscher, member of the famous family of printers in Krakow, who was subsequently to become a member of the Polish Senate, entered on the scene. As a printing expert Deutscher was of the opinion that the paper's failure was due to its bad printing.

When Reb Moshe Deutscher was appointed director of the press the collaborators on the papers thought that the paper was now secured financially and so began clamouring



Der Yud, *Orthodox daily, Warsaw, 1918–1926*

for better conditions, higher pay, the regular payment of salaries, etc. The administration, however, found no possibility of meeting these demands, and so a strike broke out in the paper. But stubborn men of the Kaminer and Deutscher type are not frightened off by strikes. Kaminer undertook to produce the paper himself and Deutscher saw to it that the issue appeared in time.

Kaminer was a self-taught man and did not have much secular knowledge. He lacked even a sufficient knowledge of Polish and when forced, as editor and copywriter, to translate material from the Polish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin or from the Polish press, he lacked the knowledge required to understand the material or the subjects treated. Sometimes, therefore, the translation transmitted the exact opposite of what the original conveyed. Quite a number of journalistic curiosities have been gleaned from those days, but upon Kaminer these faux pas had the effect of water off a duck's back.

The strike lasted for six weeks and all that time Kaminer worked alone in editing and copywriting for the paper. In the end several public figures intervened and mediated between the publisher and his workers until they returned to work. Meantime, however, the paper had suffered damage which could no longer be repaired. Its circulation fell, its income was reduced and finally, in the year 1926, the publishers were forced to close down.

It should be mentioned that several writers and thinkers, like Judah Leib Orlean, Alexander Zusha Fridman, I. B. Akerman, Shmuel Rotstein, Abraham Mordecai Rogovoi, Moshe Mark and others took their first steps in literature in the columns of *Der Yud*.

A colourful figure among the collaborators of *Der Yud* was Dr. Lavi Nemcowicz. A native of Lublin, who had studied in Berlin, Nemcowicz was the chief assistant of Rabbi Meir Berlin in the Hebrew organ of the Mizrachi party—*Haivri*. In due course he became a sharp opponent of Zionism and in *Der Yud* he published controversial articles, particularly against the policy of the Zionist Movement in the Diaspora. Nemcowicz was the founder and director of the orthodox High School for Girls "Havazelet".

Rabbi Tuvia Hurwitz was the rabbi of a small community in the Galician town of Majdan Kolboszwski, the scion of a famous dynasty of Chassidic Rabbis. During World War I, he went to Vienna where he met Dr. Nathan Birnbaum. His influence on Birnbaum was great and it was he who led to Birnbaum's whole-hearted return to orthodox Judaism. Hurwitz preached spiritual elation, edited the periodical "Divrei Haolim" and headed a group of immigrants to Eretz Israel. For some time Birnbaum was Secretary General of "Agudat Israel" when its centre was in Vienna.

Der Yud was closed down, but Meshulam Kaminer did not despair. He decided to try and bring out a paper at his own cost, and in order to save expenses, he decided to try and bring out the paper two or three times a week and with limited staff. He even transferred the editorial offices to his own spacious dwelling—No. 11 Pawia Street. He arranged several type-setting boxes in one of the rooms and put some elderly type-setters to the job. Whatever they did not manage to set up he handed over to the printing shop of the Schriftgiesser family.

The young orthodox writers whom Kaminer invited to the work used to stand and write their copy on writing stands made of rough boards which Kaminer did not even trouble to paint over. Kaminer himself supervised all the work, and this engaged his attention day and night. He would often get out of bed in the dead of night in order to write down some idea that suddenly flashed through his mind, or to set up in type straight from thought some leading article for the forthcoming issue of the paper.

With all the initiative that he showed, however, Kaminer did not succeed in maintaining his paper for very long, and when he was elected to the post of Director of the Jewish Community Council of Warsaw and took over the direction of the community's educational enterprises, he gave up his career of writer and editor and so *Der Yud* was closed down.

Orthodox Jewry in Poland again found itself without a paper. Those were stormy days, both in Poland, where millions of Jews lived, as well as in Eretz Israel which began to occupy an increasingly important place in Jewish hearts as the land of their hopes and future.

In 1929 there were bloody disturbances in Eretz Israel as a result of the Mandatory Government's policy of "divide and rule". The terrible massacre at Hebron where bloodthirsty Arab mobs broke into the Yeshivah and butchered

several score brilliant Yeshivah students, created a storm in the Jewish world. At the end of that year the Second World Congress of Agudat Israel took place in Vienna with the participation of many of the leaders of religious Jewry and particularly of numerous delegates of orthodox Jewry in Poland. At this Congress a special committee on press affairs was elected and it was charged with the planning of a daily paper in Poland which was then the great centre of orthodox Jewry in Europe. Resolutions were passed and people were appointed to implement the task. The general feeling, however, was that nothing had been secured and the delegates on returning from the Congress were convinced that it was their duty to begin everything anew.

Great, however, was the surprise of these leaders on learning, when they returned from Vienna, that a group of orthodox writers had founded a cooperative for the publication of a religious paper, and that on the eve of Rosh Hashana of the year 1929, the first issue of the paper whose name was *Dos Yudishe Togblat,* had made its appearance.

It came about as follows. On the initiative of a group of writers, in cooperation with Reb Mendel Kaminer, a relative of Reb Meshulam, a merchant and a former estate owner, a shrewd man of great initiative and a person of noble lineage, in that he was the uncle of the Rebbe of Gur, a consultation was held in his house of orthodox journalists and writers and several administrators. It was decided at the meeting to set up a cooperative for the purpose of bringing out an orthodox daily paper. The cooperative was joined also by several printing workers.

But, how did it come about that printing workers, who were members of the Printers Union, which was under the influence of the Bund agreed to join a cooperative of a "clerical" enterprise? The leaders of the Printers Union, headed by Lozer Klog, sensed the serious crisis that was about to beset the Jewish press. Apart from the results of the increasingly great stress among the Jews, in the wake of the Polish Government's policy of economic discrimination, there were objective factors at work. The mechanisation of the printing profession was making headway with the introduction of type-setting machines for Jewish papers, and many workers, who were engaged in hand-setting, lost their livelihood. Particularly hard hit were the older printing workers who, at their age, could no longer learn the art of machine setting.

The leaders of the Printers Union realised that there was no way of maintaining the positions of the hand setters except by transforming the Jewish papers into cooperatives, and indeed, in the course of time, all the Jewish papers in Warsaw were transformed into cooperative enterprises. Obviously, therefore, when the initiators of the paper, which



Mendel Kaminer



A.Z. Fridman

was a cooperative from its very inception, approached the Printers Union for manpower, for people prepared to join the enterprise as members of the cooperative, the leaders of the Printers Union greeted the proposal with enthusiasm and a team of printing workers got together and agreed to work on the paper on a cooperative basis.

From its very inception *Dos Yudishe Togblat* was published as an independent paper rather than as a party organ, although the paper supported the interests of religious Jewry and of the Agudat Israel Movement. Likewise, the orientation of *Togblat,* unlike that of the orthodox papers that preceded it, did not fall back on fund-raising activities. The paper did not appeal to its readers to buy the paper and to support it by way of a religious duty, but rather tried to enlist a readership through its interesting and informative content, and from this point of view did not lag behind other papers.

However, there was one thing in which an orthodox

paper could not compete with other Jewish papers, and that was the erotic factor in the serialised novels which, in those days, served as a foundation of every daily paper. In his editorship, however, David Flinker created in *Togblat* a new type of serialised novel—a novel of a thriller-type based on important events in Jewish life in modern times, such as the Beilis trial, etc. He himself wrote these novels, which were always compelling. He used a pen-name "Der Umbakanter" (The Anonymous). Thanks to these novels in serialised form, the circulation of the paper increased and, at one time, reached the figure of 30,000-40,000 copies.

An important part of the paper was taken up by a series of Chassidic stories entitled "In the Chassidic World" by M. Nissenson (the pen-name used by S. Rotstein). The content and form of these series—each series was devoted to a certain Chassidic dynasty and the stories appeared in the Friday edition of the paper—attracted many Chassidic readers, even among the older Chassidim, and in the courts of the Chassidic Rebbes they succeeded in arousing sympathetic repercussions.

Reb Mendel Kaminer was a good administrator. He placed the paper on sound economic foundations. The modest wages of the workers were paid in time and the assistants did their work with devotion. This enabled the paper to appear regularly for ten full years until the outbreak of World War II.


DOS JUDISZE TOGBLAT

יודישע טאגבלאט

Dos Yudishe Togblat, *Orthodox daily, Warsaw, 1929–1939*

Togblat, too, commenced publication with the blessing of the Rebbe of Gur. He even lent the publishers the sum of about $10,000, which loan was returned to him within a short period.

From its inception, and throughout the period of its publication, *Togblat* was, as we have mentioned, an independent orthodox paper, and not an official organ of any party. For that reason, sharp differences of opinion used to arise from time to time between the leaders of the Agudat Israel centre and the editorial staff of *Togblat* which followed the line of policy that it mapped out for itself and refused to accept directives from outside. It followed, therefore, that *Togblat* determined the policy and the Agudah leaders had willy-nilly to accept the line.

Dos Yudishe Togblat regarded itself as the paper of Jewry generally, and not of a certain group. Eretz Israel and everything connected with the country, as well as activities in the Jewish homeland, occupied an important place in *Togblat,* which, in large measure contributed to the great devotion shown by orthodox Jews in Poland to the land of their ancestors. This work was headed by the paper's correspondent in Eretz Israel—Benyamin Mints (member of the Knesset and Minister of Posts in the last government of David Ben Gurion). He settled in Eretz Israel in the early 1920s, and was fully conversant with the problems and affairs of the country.

It was with great love and sympathy that he described the Yemenite Jew and brought out the good and specific traits in him. Mints' gifted pen succeeded in "revealing" to the Jewish reader in Poland also other types of Jews from distant and exotic corners of the world.

Thanks to *Togblat* the Poalei Agudat Israel commenced practical activities for the establishment of Kibbutzim and Moshavim in Eretz Israel and also founded training farms in Poland and Rumania. The paper also called upon Jews to emigrate to Eretz Israel and to strike root there, although the possibilities for religious Jews to go to Eretz Israel were very limited since out of the number of certificates (immigration permits) issued by the Mandatory authorities to the Jewish Agency, Agudat Israel over all its ramifications used to receive, after extensive struggles, only six per cent.

In the pages of *Togblat* expression was given to every-

thing of interest to the intelligent, conscientious and observant Jew. He could find in the paper articles covering a wide range of subjects of interest to the intellectual — from themes of Torah learning or subjects dealing with the Jewish festivals, written by Rabbi Shimshon Shtockhammer (member of the Warsaw Rabbinate who, in the days of the Nazi occupation, revealed exemplary conduct and devotion and whose name has been perpetuated as one of the most heroic figures in the ghetto), to essays on an important work in Polish or world literature, on which Dr. Heschel Klepfisz used to lecture and write. The paper also had special columns devoted to commerce and entertainment

As an emissary sent out by *Togblat,* Benyamin Mints undertook a journey to Spain, where he visited historical sites connected with the splendid past of the Spanish Jewish community before the expulsion in 1492.

When *Togblat* grew and became economically consolidated, it entered premises of its own at 40, Leszno Street where it set up a type-setting plant equipped with large and modern typesetting machines. Those premises also housed the editorial offices of the paper and the administrative department. In the type-setting hall they also did the layout of the paper, but *Togblat* did not have a printing press of its own and so a porter with a hand-barrow was engaged on a permanent basis to carry the pages of the two editions — the first edition for the provincial towns in the evening paper, and the Warsaw edition at 3.00 in the morning — to the printing shop at No. 2 Leszno Street which was owned by a Polish paper. It was there that *Togblat* was printed and from there it was sent out to subscribers and for sale in the streets.

This arrangement eventually proved to be of practical value and beneficial from the political point of view. As from the middle of the 1930s the Polish Government drew increasingly closer to Hitler, and Jewish papers which were constantly under supervision were often subject to danger when their printing houses were "found" to be unsuitable for printing, as it were, because of danger to work in an enterprise whose structure "was about to cave in" or "whose roof had sprung a leak" etc. *Togblat* was printed in a gentile printing shop and so was in a certain measure immune from such "dangers".

When *Togblat* was established, the inter-Jewish party struggle grew more acute and this found clear expression in the pages of the Jewish press. In particular the war between the Zionists and the members of the Agudah grew sharper when the Jewish Community Council in Warsaw was taken over by the Agudah majority and the Community Council was headed by Eliahu Mazur. There were also people within the Agudah camp who hurled



I.B. Akerman



Rabbi S. Shtockhammer

stones at *Togblat.* The paper, however, had a strong patron in the person of the Rebbe of Gur who sought every opportunity of giving expression to his sympathy for it. On Rosh Hashana, for example, an announcement would often be made in the Beth Hamidrash of the Gur Chassidism, before the blowing of the Shofar, concerning the Rebbe's desire to support and strengthen *Togblat.*

I shall now describe some of the members of the editorial board of *Togblat* who left their impact on the paper.

Abraham Mordechai Rogovoi was by nature a man of fiery temperament, and easily incensed and roused to enthusiasm. He was full of Chassidic fire, but having been brought up in a Yeshivah that followed the system of "Mussar" he was in the habit of toning down his criticism of his opponent even in the sharpest of controversies. His was the figure of a pure-hearted man with extraordinary qualities and brimming over with a deep love for his people. In actual fact Rogovoi was a teacher and peda-

gogue. He devoted most of his time to research. Among other things, he translated the "Eight Chapters" of Maimonides by way of an introduction to the "Ethics of the Fathers", the book of morals of the Jewish people, and published the work in serial form in *Togblat*. Engaged in public affairs from early youth, he was one of the founders of Poalei Agudat Israel. In addition to his work on *Togblat,* Rogovoi, in his last years, was founder and director of a commercial school in the Beth Jacob school network for girls and he was also among the founders of an orthodox summer hostel for children attending religious educational institutions.



Benyamin Mints



M.B. Sokolow

Isaac Ber Akerman was marked for his "cold" logic. In his articles he tried to convince his readers by his objectivity, treating problems from the point of view of an onlooker. For some time he was also a member of the Warsaw Municipal Council, edited an Agudah weekly at Piotrkow and was active in the Cooperative Credit Movement of the Agudah.

Wolf Lipsker was by nature a gentle poet and in his youth had written a considerable amount of poetry in Hebrew. He was a sharp controversialist who measured up to his opponent down to the very end. Deep inside, however, he was a simple-hearted and upright man. In Hebrew he wrote a large monograph on the "Noda Biyehuda" (Rabbi Ezekiel Landau of Prague) and a novel entitled "The Lost Writing" based on a legend about this great Tora interpreter (one of whose descendants Lipsker was). He wrote a perfect Hebrew and contributed to *Diglenu* brought out by Alexander Zusha Fridman.

Michael Ber Sokolow was an excellent technical assistant in all editorial work, and no one could measure up to him from the point of view of assiduity in his work. He was also a gifted story-teller and wrote many descriptions of life in the Jewish Shtetl. In his writing he uplifted the type of the "Am Ha'aretz" (ignoramus) and often rose to artistic heights. The struggle between the spiritual and the material found clear expression in his work, and some of his stories are worthy of a place of honour in Jewish literature. B. Sokolow was secretary of the "Nahalat Yaakov" Association, founded by the Rebbe of Yablona, Rabbi Ezekiel Taub, in the early 1920s, and accompanied a group of Chassidism, who went on Aliyah to Israel and settled in what is today Kfar Chassidism.

Hillel Zeidman was secretary of the Orthodox faction in the Sejm. Thanks to his work he was closely associated with Agudah politics and published reports and evaluations of activities in the Polish house of legislation on questions affecting the Jews. He was particularly active at the time of the decrees against "Shechita" (Jewish method of slaughter) under the legislation tabled in the Sejm by the notorious Mrs. Pristor. Several publications were brought out about the humane nature of the slaughter of animals in accordance with Jewish law, and Zeidman himself published an extensive essay on the subject. Another important work by Zeidman, brought out by a famous Polish publishing house, concerned the development of the Talmud and of Talmudic study from the close of the Talmud until the establishment of the Hachmei Lublin Yeshivah. In the last years before the war, Zeidman was in charge of the Jewish community archives in Warsaw, and in this office he played a most important role in the Ghetto during the Nazi regime. After the War he published in Yiddish and in Hebrew a diary of the Warsaw Ghetto.

Elimelech Shaier, a native of Galicia, was a great Hebraist. He also had a sharp eye and could delve deep into the human soul. He wrote many stories with a psychological basis, as well as essays which were subsequently published in book form. He also collaborated in editing the

Hebrew weekly *Darkenu* which the World Agudat Israel brought out in Warsaw under the editorship of Alexander Zusha Fridman.

Alexander Zusha Fridman was a born leader. His speeches fired the masses and his writing was marked by clarity. He was nonetheless imbued with an implicit faith. He was the author of many learned books, and the editor of such periodicals as *Diglenu* and *Darkenu*. Fridman brought out "Der Torah Kvall" (The Fountain of the Torah) in five volumes, consisting of an anthology of sayings and interpretations of the Torah ranged according to the weekly portion of the Torah — a work that came out in many editions. He also translated into Yiddish the "Messilat Yesharim" (Path of the Righteous) of Moshe Chaim Luzzatto.

Dr. Mordechai Rosner was the scion of a noble family of Tarnopol, a man of wide learning and a knowledge of many languages. He immersed himself in various sciences and brought to his readers a knowledge of scientific discoveries and new inventions. He had a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, German, English and French. For some time he was editor of the Polish weekly *Echo Zydowskie,* which was published as a supplement to *Togblat*. Rosner lectured on Jewish history at the Institute for Jewish Teachers in Warsaw.

One of the most important collaborators on *Togblat* was Dr. Nathan Birnbaum. On the occasion of Birnbaum's 60th birthday, a group of religious writers brought out the "Birnbaum Festschrift", which included much material contributed by many religious writers and thinkers. In the early thirties members of the group succeeded in inducing him to move from Vienna to Poland where he toured many towns and townlets, and called upon the Jews to "repent". His patriarchal figure, his fiery language and the legends spread around him during his lifetime, added to the success of his public appearances. Birnbaum, who in the past wrote under the pseudonym of "Matityahu Acher", was the secretary of the first Zionist Congress in Basle, and the initiator of the Yiddish Conference in Czernowitz, Bukovina, then in Austria-Hungary. He was an "Apikoros (unbeliever) whose heart had turned to faith". In *Togblat,* two others who had tended in a direction opposite to that of Birnbaum, took their first steps. They were religious poets who passed over to the Communist camp. They were Shmuel Nadler and Israel Emiot.

Shmuel Nadler was born in Galina, a townlet in Eastern Galicia, where he was the pupil of Rabbi Meir Shapira, who was Rabbi of the local community before being called to the Rabbinate of Lublin. Nadler had marked literary gifts and when only eighteen years of age, he brought out a "Festschrift" in honour of his teacher, in which he evinced extraordinary gifts in prose and poetry. Since then he wrote numerous poems, the most important among them being



Mordechai Rosner



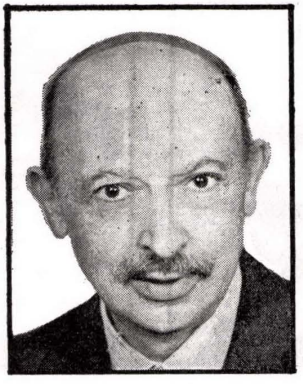
B.Z. Pessler

"The Symphony of the Baal Shem Tov", parts of which, published in *Togblat,* left a great impression on the literary world and particularly in religious circles.

One day, in the winter of 1934, Nadler happened to be visiting Warsaw and without previous announcement called at the editorial offices of *Togblat* where he had a talk with the members of the editorial board, to whom he announced that he was due to lecture that evening at the Journalists' Association. That was, of course, an opportunity of inviting the members of the editorial board to the lecture.

While the latter looked askance at the fact that this novice from the provinces had received an invitation to lecture from the platform of the Journalists' Association, they nonetheless accepted his invitation. In the course of his lecture he sprang a surprise with his views which were not only those of a non-believer but of an enthusiastic Communist who had shaken off all previously cherished principles which had inspired his poetry and his literary essays.

Shortly afterwards, Nadler left for Paris where he became the editor of the Yiddish Communist paper *Di Prese* and served Communism in writing and in speech with great loyalty. Apparently he gave up writing poetry because the dissemination of the Communist theory among the Jews of Paris took up all his time. He was very active during the Nazi occupation of France, brought out an illegal leaflet, wrote manifestos against the invader and worked in the



David Flinker

French Underground until he fell into the hands of the Gestapo who put him to death in August, 1942. After the War, his party colleagues affixed a memorial tablet to him at the entrance of the building which housed the editorial offices of *Di Prese*.

Another man who left the religious fold was Israel Emiot. He was born at Ostrow-Mazowiecki and brought up in the home of his grandmother who hailed from strictly orthodox Chassidic circles. In his youth he began writing poetry and subsequently published his writings in book form ("Between the Barriers", "From the Side", "Drops in the Ocean", "Man with Himself"). In *Togblat* he published popular stories based on motifs from the Shtetl. He was in the habit of coming to Warsaw frequently in order to purchase stock for his little store which he kept in his home town, and on the occasion of such visits he would call at the editorial offices to meet the members of the editorial board. Wearing his Chassidic garb and a small black beard, he appeared like one of the Chassidic fold. When the war broke out and the Nazis massacred 500 Jews, including his mother, on one and the same day, there was a sudden change in his outlook and conviction. He turned Communist and began writing poetry in adulation of "Comrade Stalin".

At the end of 1939, when the writer of these lines escaped from Warsaw to Bialystok, Emiot was already a recognised leader in the Communist Writers' Club where refugee writers found a roof over their heads and received a small financial subvention. When we met, Emiot warned me: "Listen to me and get out of here . . . this club is not for you . . .". To this day I feel grateful to him for his advice. Apparently he sobered in those dark days, but he no longer returned to his original roots. At present he is living in Rochester, New York, where he occupies a prominent place in the circle of Yiddish writers attached to the organisation known as "The Yiddish Cultural Congress". From time to time the ear can catch certain motifs in his poetry that recall his religious background.

In general Jewish affairs the paper followed the line of the community as a whole, although that often aroused opposition in religious circles which tended to follow the policy of "happy is the man who fears constantly".

This was so at the time of the establishment of the anti-Hitlerite Emergency Committee. *Dos Yudishe Togblat* immediately joined the emergency activities. At that time the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels came on an official visit to Warsaw. The Polish authorities demanded of the Jewish papers to evince a courteous attitude to the visitor. Consultations were held in the editors' committee of the Jewish Journalists' Association, and it was decided to pay no heed to this "friendly advice". Together with all the other Jewish papers in Warsaw, *Togblat* appeared on the day of Goebbels's arrival in Warsaw with three slogans printed in large red letters across its first page: DOWN WITH ANTISEMITISM! DOWN WITH RACISM! DOWN WITH THE HATRED OF MANKIND! Obviously all the Jewish papers were confiscated, but not before a considerable part of the edition had been disseminated before the order was received, particularly in the provinces.

Also in regard to the semi-official antisemitism of the

Sladkowski Government and its slogan: "Don't institute pogroms against the Jews, but . . . they should be hit economically" (the slogan became known by the keyword in Polish "Owszem") *Togblat* acted hand in hand with the other Jewish papers.

Anti-Jewish pogroms broke out in organised fashion throughout the country, particularly in the townlets of Przytyk, Minsk Mazoweicki, etc. The Polish censorship warned the Jewish papers that apart from the fact that too sharp protests on the part of the papers would lead to their confiscation, it could also lead to the closure of the printing shops and the arrest of the editors who would be sent to Bereza Kartuska (the location of the notorious concentration camp).

Following the pogrom at Przytyk the Court sentenced not the instigators of the disturbances but several Jews, members of the Jewish self-defence who defended their brethren. Following this sentence, the editors of all papers went into consultation and a uniform formula of protest was decided upon against the sentence at the Przytyk trial.

This time the Jewish papers were not closed down, apparently in order not to bring shame upon Poland in countries abroad. The authorities decided to investigate and to reveal the authors of the protest, in order to send them to Bereza. The investigation, however, did not succeed in revealing the "criminals".

On September 1, 1939 the Hitlerite armies invaded Poland, and the day the World War II started heralded also the inception of the destruction of Polish Jewry and of European Jewry as a whole.

It fell to the lot of the writer of these lines who, throughout the years was the responsible editor of *Dos Yudishe Togblat,* to bring out the last doleful issues of the paper during the days when the enemy planes sowed death and destruction in the Polish capital and particularly in its Jewish quarter.

The last issue of *Togblat* came out on September 6. It consisted of only two pages, carrying communiques from the battlefields, a declaration by the Mayor of Warsaw calling upon the population to rise against the enemy, to dig defence trenches, as well as a call to prayer and fasting by the Chief Rabbinate of Warsaw.

Among the permanent members of the editorial staff of



Moshe Mark-Prager



Shmuel Rotstein

Togblat who survived the bloodbath were David Flinker, Moshe Mark-Prager, Shmuel Rotstein, Hillel Zeidman and Dr. Heshel Klepfisz. None of the members of the paper's administration remained alive. Of the printing workers only one survived — Shlomo Halter, who died several years ago in Paris.

FOLKSZEITUNG, a Jewish Socialist daily

J.S. Hertz

On December 6, 1918, there began appearing in Warsaw a daily paper of the Bund Party. To begin with, its name was *Lebens-Fragen* (Life's Problems). With forced interruptions and changes in name, on account of repressive measures by the Polish Government, the paper continued its publication until September 23, 1939.

At the end of 1918 the Bund press already had a history of 22 years behind it. For a period of five-and-a-half years, until 1903, when the Tsarist Government permitted the publication of a Yiddish paper in Russia (*Der Fraind*), the periodical publications of Bund were the only periodicals in the Yiddish language throughout the Russian Empire. It was an illegal press set up and printed in underground conditions. After the 1905 Revolution, when limited conditions were created for the freedom of the press, Bund published a legal daily in Vilna, during the years 1906-1907. Later on, when the publication of this daily was forbidden, other weeklies and periodicals appeared. In 1917, following the second Russian Revolution, the Bund press in Russia expanded considerably (two dailies were brought out in Minsk and in Kiev), but the Bolshevist terror was to put an end to its publication. In Warsaw, in the years of the German occupation (1916–1918), there appeared the weekly *Lebens-Fragen.*

The Bundist daily, which was published in Warsaw in the period between the two World Wars, was actually published by the Bund Party and the whole of the editorial staff was composed of members of the Bund. *Folkszeitung* (for convenience sake we shall call it by that name although it often had to change its appellation), fulfilled the function of an ordinary daily paper intended for a wide reading public, although from the ideological and political point of view, it was bound to the platform and resolutions of Bund (*Algemeiner Yudisher Arbeiter Bund in Poilen* — the General Jewish Workers Association in Poland). Never at any time did differences of opinion or disputes arise between the journalists who worked on the paper and the publisher (the Party).

Folkszeitung differed markedly from all the other Jewish papers in Poland, not only in the ideological and political stance that it took up in general and Jewish matters, but also in its very nature as a paper. *Folkszeitung* was regarded, both officially and factually, as a workers' socialist paper. Its readership consisted of members of the working classes, wage earners, the working intelligentsia, poor artisans and the radical popular classes. In addition to conveying general information about affairs in Poland and abroad, and to surveying events in Jewish life, *Folkszeitung* published specific material of its own — information and surveys about the struggles of the Jewish, Polish and International Labour Movement.

The difference inhered not only in theme, in the collection and sifting of the material, but also in the explanation in the reasoning and in the tone of things. *Folkszeitung* was in opposition to the internal and external policy of all the governments that functioned in independent Poland in the years 1919–1939. It gave clear expression to its oppositionist views and, when need arose, with extreme sharpness. On account of this attitude, it brought upon itself a lot of trouble, but it knew to struggle against those who tried to hem in its path.

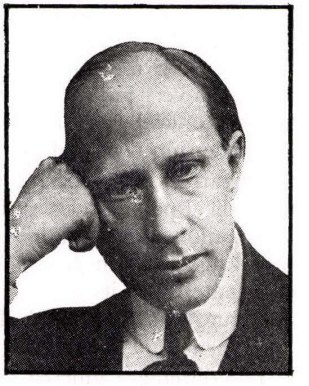
Folkszeitung's criticism was levelled on two planes — on the general social-political plane and on the Jewish plane. In the articles published in the paper, stringent opposition was voiced to the government's policy in the social-economic sphere, which tended to the detriment of the poor classes in the population. At the same time, criticism was levelled against the anti-democratic machinations.

Naturally, the bourgeois, or petit-bourgeois, Jewish press adopted an entirely different approach from that of the socialist press, in matters affecting social-economic problems. Things, however, were different where Jewish affairs were

concerned. The oppression of the Jews, the various injustices committed against them increased to such an extent that they could not be passed over in silence. But, even here, *Folkszeitung* proved to be "unique" in its general oppositionist stand, which was much more extreme and outspoken. The paper did not believe that by intercessionary means or marked submissiveness, it would be possible to change the government's antisemitic policy.



Beinish Michalevitch



Vladimir Medem

There was a marked differentiation in Jewish life in Poland. The Jews were greatly divided among themselves from all points of view, social and cultural, political and ideological. Their organisations and parties of all types were also numerous. In these struggles and clashes of interest, the stand taken up by *Folkszeitung* was often opposed to that of all the other Jewish papers. Indeed, even in questions affecting Jewish life, the paper would attack the various forms of Jewish establishment and the deeply-rooted forms of life, and present other tasks and models of conduct.

The Bund press was a consistent fighter for, and defender of, a secularisation of Jewish life — a tendency that was particularly marked among the young generation. The old, religious mode of life frequently clashed with the new, secularist style. *Folkszeitung* ardently defended the secular elementary school, the libraries and the cultural associations in the towns and townlets. Its writers always voiced the demand that the government and local authorities should



Bund dailies preceding Folkszeitung

grant recognition to, and support the secular Jewish network, and put an end to the attacks and attempts at suppression.

Folkszeitung defended the Bundist idea that Poland is not the country of one nation but of several peoples, since about one-third of the population consisted of national minorities, and these were entitled to demand not only their civil rights but their national rights, and certain forms of national autonomy. As for the Jews — the largest minority after the Ukrainians — it was only right that they should be accorded cultural-national autonomy.

A leading place in the paper was taken up by the struggle for the right to employment. The Jews were limited insofar as work as concerned. They had no place on the government and municipal service lists, nor were they employed on government and municipal work schemes. Generally, private Polish enterprises refrained from employing Jewish labourers and clerks. This shameful attitude was adopted actually also by many Jewish industrialists. The Jewish Trade Unions conducted a struggle against this discrimination, and their claims and demands, their information propaganda and in fact all their activities were given expression in the columns of *Folkszeitung*.

The poor Jew and humble labourer actually found himself in a narrow magic triangle — as a wage earner, consumer and tenant. The Bundist paper came in support of the workers in all their disputes with their employers. In the years of spiralling inflation and black-marketing in vital commodities, when the poor man was ground to even greater penury from day to day, *Folkszeitung* served as the arena for the struggle of the suffering masses.

As a paper with a clearly marked ideology, *Folkszeitung* has to conduct numerous struggles against the methods and policies of other Jewish circles. The main adversaries with whom the writers constantly debated and contended were the Zionists and the Orthodox. Nor were the Folkists and the Assimilationists spared the rod of this Bundist organ. The same was true of economic and cultural associations and charitable institutions, which were always under the influence of bourgeois tendencies.

The paper was a true mirror of the struggles of the Jewish Labour Movement. It threw its columns wide open to the various Trade Unions and served as a mouthpiece for their demands, struggles, strikes, etc. Other desirable "customers" of the paper were proletarian, cultural associations, sports clubs, cooperatives, migration offices and other labour organisations.

Considerable space was taken up in *Folkszeitung* by the struggle against the Communist Party. The Communist Party in Poland was founded in December 1918, through



Victor Alter



Henryk Erlich

the union of two organisations — the Left wing of the Polish Socialist Party and the Social-Democrat Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Previously, not one of these parties had wielded any influence on Jewish life. The new party gained wide support among the Jews, mainly among the workers, the working intelligentsia and the youth and, in some measure also, in other circles. It did not set itself any constructive goals and tasks in Jewish life. It had only one single interest — to exert its ideological and political influence on the masses and to gain sway over their organisations and institutions.

Although the Communist ranks included also sons and daughters of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois families, its main struggle was conducted among the labouring public. Its goal was to capture its trade unions and cultural organisations, to sow dissent among its ranks and to besmirch its leadership and ideologists. Other Jewish organisations — of merchants, shopkeepers, artisans and other bourgeois

and petit-bourgeois associations, were saved from the attacks and destructive activities of the Communists. It was on account of that that the Communist Party was beyond the scope of interest of the bourgeois Jewish press which paid attention to it only on rare occasions.

Folkszeitung also reported extensively about the Polish Labour Movement, its problems and activities. It frequently had opportunity to criticise some of the decisions and actions of the Polish Socialist Party — PPS — which adopted a lukewarm attitude towards certain Polish Governments and often acted improperly in Jewish affairs.



S.F. Shapiro-Blond



Yakov Patt

A special regular section was devoted by the paper to information and evaluations about Social labour movements in other countries. The years between the two World Wars were replete with ups and downs, with dramatic struggles, crises, splits and changes in the International Labour Movement. *Folkszeitung* used to survey these events, analyse the problems, criticise or defend the various steps taken.

The paper invariably warned against the dangers lurking from Fascism, Nazism and all other reactionary trends, for the world at large and for the Jews in particular.

Folkszeitung struggled hard for its existence. Two entirely different factors constantly threatened its continuous appearance — the poverty of its readers and the repressive measure of the Government.



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פאלקסצייטונג

Warszawa, czwartek 6 października 1932

פארחתמעט די דרוקערייז
פון דער „נ. פאלקסצייטונג"

Folkszeitung, *announcing the closing of its printing shop by the Government*



פאלקסצייטונג

דערשיינט ווידער

נאכן געצוונגענעם איבערריס כירט די „פאלקסצייטונג"
ארויס א כך ניעסן אין ציר ארבעט. דער אינפארמאציע-צענטער
חברט פצרפוקאמט, אלע אפטייקן, ליטעראריש,
טעאטער, קינא, ספארט, אינטערנאציאנאלע צרבעטער-בעוועגונג
א. א. ה. — חערן אויסגעבריסערס אוך אויסגעבעסערס.
„פאלקסצייטונג" — אין די אייניציקע ידיש טעגלעכע
סאציאליסטישע צייטונג
קויפט אוך פארשפרייט די „פאלקסצייטונג"

Red.-Wyd. & Geschäftsf. Prop. „N. Folkszeitung" Druk. „Di Welt", Warszawa, Nowolipie 7

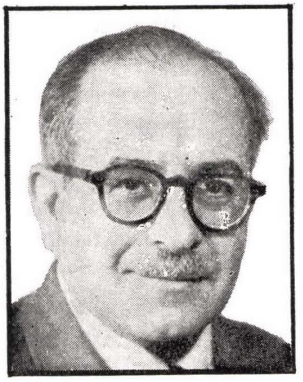
... and, after an interruption, the reappearing of the paper (1932)

The paper was established without capital and without a printing press of its own. It was set up and printed in the print shop of the Rom family, which was situated in the courtyard occupied by the well-known printers of Vilna, "The Widow and Brothers Rom", at 7 Nowolipie Street, Warsaw. But there was no point in bringing out a daily paper in a strange press, and so Bund decided on acquiring the printing shop. The money for the purpose was raised in America by Vladimir Medem in the early 1920s. Years later, the press was modernised. Type-setting machines were introduced as well as a large and improved rotary press. In acquiring this equipment, the paper had the assistance of Baruch Charny-Vladek, Managing Director of the New York *Forwards,* who before his emigration had been a Bund activist in Russia.

The ordinary income from subscriptions, sales and advertisements proved insufficient to cover the paper's expenditure. The readers were generally people of little means, some of them unemployed, who could not afford to buy a paper, and who would peruse it in club houses or reading rooms, or would buy it jointly with other readers. Income from advertisements was also small. Advertisers and advertising agents always claimed that the poor readers of *Folkszeitung* were not potential consumers, and so there was no point in advertising in the paper. Exceptions were the few firms who were out to attract customers among the poor classes, as well as shipping companies, since most of the emigrants came from labour ranks.

Folkszeitung overcame these difficulties in various ways. Wages were smaller than those usually paid at other papers. A wage scale was introduced with wider differentials for journalists and smaller ones for type-setters and printers, and when cash gave out wages were paid first of all to the printing workers and afterwards to the editorial staff. When a large deficit accrued and debts became insupportable, fund-raiding campaigns would be launched among the readers, and when that proved insufficient, help would arrive from abroad. From time to time, Bund leaders would undertake visits to other countries and launch fund-raising campaigns among the members and sympathisers of the Movement. During the last years of the paper's existence one had the feeling that its economic situation was more or less secure.

In the 1930s, Bund's influence rose. The status of its organisations and allied bodies became consolidated and the readership of *Folkszeitung* also increased. The improvement in the paper's economic situation was brought about in certain measure by the fact that the enterprise was turned into a Cooperative. In the first ten years of its existence, the paper laboured under chronic deficits which mounted to tremendous sums, and in the early 1930s the situation became unbearable. It was, therefore, decided to introduce a radical change in its economic ownership and this step brought an improvement. No change, however, took place in the editorial staff and in the composition of the other works. The Central Committee of the Bund reserved the right of determining the composition of the editorial board, and of delineating the general policy of the paper. The Cooperative succeeded in setting the paper on its feet.



Pinhas Schwarz



D.L. Neimark

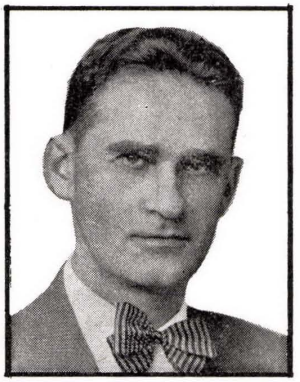
A much more serious danger threatened the paper's existence from the regime. Governments rose and fell but the system of repressing the organs of public opinion, so as to avert publication of facts and opinions that did not find favour in the eyes of the rulers, remained unaltered. All papers were subject to the supervision of the censorship, but none of them (neither Polish nor Jewish) paid so heavy a price for its oppositionist stand as did the Bund organ. The copies of the paper were impounded hundreds of times

and its publication was proscribed scores of times. It was then that the paper began to appear under different names.

When it first appeared on December 6, 1918, it was called *Lebens-Fragen*. On January 18, 1919, the Government forbade the paper's appearance, closed down the editorial and administrative offices and arrested the editorial



Victor Shulman



Emanuel Scherer

secretary Victor Shulman, the bookkeeper Israel Feldman and some 15 printing workers. The paper's appearance was renewed on January 31, 1919 and continued until it was closed down again on March 23, 1920. Until the end of July 1920 the paper was forced to change its name very often since the authorities closed it down time and again, arrested its editors and even impounded the print shop. The last attempt to bring out the paper was made on July 27 and then again the authorities issued an order to close it down and its responsible editor, Mania Eliasz, was sent to concentration camp.

From now on, it was no longer possible to bring out a daily paper. Hundreds of the Bund's activists were arrested in that year and sent either to prison or to concentration camps. There was a long interval between the appearance of the Bundist daily. The increased repression was in large measure an outcome of the stance taken up by the Movement towards the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–20. Bund opposed the Polish plans of occupation, the annexation of areas of the Ukrainian and Bielorussia, and at the same time rejected the invasion of Poland by the Red Army, in accordance with its principle that "Socialism cannot be brought on the bayonet of the Soviet Army".

When the renewed appearance of the paper was made possible in 1922, it assumed the name of *Folkszeitung*, but owing to repressive measures it had to keep on changing its name.

Naye Folkszeitung was the last name of the Bundist daily. Its first issue came out on January 18, 1926, and this link was maintained until the end, albeit with frequent orders of impoundment. But even this appearance suffered an interruption of more than a fortnight. On October 5, 1932, the authorities closed down the print-shop and prevented the paper's appearance. The Government's ire was aroused by the fact that a Socialist evening paper in the Polish language "Pismo Codzienne" made its appearance at that time. It was a joint publication of the Bund and of the Polish Socialists (PPS). This paper took up a sharp critical attitude towards the Government's policy. On no account did the authorities agree that the Jewish Socialists should address themselves to the Polish community and arouse ment decided to liquidate the enterprise. It sent out a technical Enquiry Commission to the place, which found certain "drawbacks" in the arrangements in the printing press. On October 22, 1932, *Naye Folkszeitung* was allowed to renew appearance.

It fell to the lot of *Folkszeitung* to be the last Jewish paper (and for a period of ten days the only Jewish paper) in Warsaw, on the eve of the destruction brought about by World War II. The last issue of the paper came out on September 22, 1939, the eve of Yom Kippur of 5700 — in besieged and bombed Warsaw.

The numerous orders to close down or impound the paper came as a reaction by the Government to the general oppositionist stand of *Folkszeitung*. The censor forbade the printing of whole or parts of articles. Orders of this kind were numerous, particularly in the 1930s, when the inimical policy against the Jews was aggravated and, at the same time, the hooligan excesses increased.

Whenever an order to impound the paper was issued, the police would lay hands on all copies that it succeeded in finding (in the press, at the railway station, at the Post Office or even with news vendors in the street). In such a case, a second edition would be brought out with white patches taking the place of the censored material. Sometimes, however, the censors would alter their methods and inform the editorial offices by telephone as to the news items prohibited for publication. If the paper was nonetheless impounded for the publication of some other article or for some other reason, it would issue orders not to leave any white patches in the amended edition and not to mention that this was a second edition.

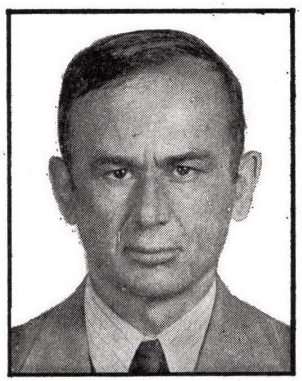
During the seventeen years of my work on the paper, whether as night or day editor, I had the opportunity of maintaining almost daily contacts with the censorship. Apart from extraordinary cases, these censors were Jews who maintained contacts with the editorial offices of the Yiddish papers. I had connections with three of them, but only with two among them did I meet face to face and get to know personally.

I had a long-standing connection with Daniel Steinbok, with whom I spoke on the telephone almost daily ever since 1923, but met personally only in 1928, when I called at the Government Commissariat in Warsaw in order to take out a passport. The official sent me to the Jewish censor in order to obtain his confirmation of the fact that I was a journalist (such confirmation would absolve me from a high fee for the passport). When Steinbok learned who I was, he called out "Oh, so you are Hertz from *Folkszeitung*." At first he began, as it were, in apologetic terms. He was sorry he had to cause a Jewish paper so much trouble, but what could he do? After all, he had to carry out the instructions of the authorities. But actually it was the editorial staff that was to blame for it. Why was it not holding it itself in check? After all, it wasn't a question merely of financial loss to the paper ... it was simply no good for the Jews ... and so on. I saw no point in entering into a debate with him on questions of principle. I simply replied that we could not desist from being what we actually were: we deemed it our duty to say what we thought was just and necessary.

At a later period, the Jewish censor was Dr. Samuel Szymkiewicz, who hailed from Zionist circles. I had the occasion of meeting him in the street only in September, 1939. A friend of mine who knew him, introduced me to him. After years of conversation over the telephone there was no longer any occasion to speak about censorship matters. In the city rising up in flames, and with exploding bombs thundering everywhere, the members of the editorial staff were preparing the last issues of *Folkszeitung*.



Y. Lescinski



J.S. Hertz

The third censor, M., I never met even once. He was only an acting censor and worked on Sundays and on Christian holidays. M., an officer in the Polish Secret Police, was also a renegade. But that did not prevent him from showing favours to *Folkszeitung* — in exchange for handsome sums of money. Whenever he received the printed issues, M. would telephone in to the editorial offices immediately and ask whether they did not contain any "forbidden material". We would, of course, assure him that everything was in order. He did not, of course, read the paper, whether for lack of time, or because his knowledge of Yiddish was limited, and also because he was in his cups most of the time.

In the 1930s, when the hooligan attacks on the Jews (called "excesses" or "extremist action") became a thing of daily occurrence, the censorship would ask the Editorial Board to pass over these matters in silence. It did permit

the publication of some news about excesses against the Jews, but forbade publication of others, and if the latter were printed, an order to impound the paper would be issued immediately.

So for a long time the editorial offices of *Folkszeitung* adopted the policy of holding over the publication of news about antisemitic "excesses" and of "prohibited" reports until the Monday edition of the paper, which used to be



M. Orzech



V. Kossowski

supervised by the censor M. This ruse succeeded for several years. Several news items of this type would be reproduced the following day by other papers. Endek papers did likewise for reasons of their own. As a defensive against orders of impoundment, the Endek paper would give the source of the news item — *Folkszeitung*. One day, an article appeared in an antisemitic organ, from a member of its Editorial Board, Jerzy Or (Orenstein — a notorious instigator of antisemitic acts and a renegade) in which he attacked the censorship for being strict with the nationalist Polish press while showing liberalism towards the revolutionary paper of Bund. In other words, the Government was guilty of discrimination in favour of *Folkszeitung*. Following this incident, we had to exercise greater care with our Monday issues, to be wary of publishing "prohibited" material or to camouflage it well.

The frequent impounding of the paper caused us of course serious financial losses and proved to be a great bur-



Weekly literary, sports and children's supplements of Folkszeitung

den on the economic situation of the paper. The outlays on paper, printing and transportation were doubled. Whenever the paper was impounded it would arrive in the Provinces a day late, which still further reduced the sale of the paper on the streets. Generally, the censorship would limit itself to impounding an edition of the paper and refrain from taking additional steps. In quite a few cases, however, criminal action would be taken against the paper. The responsible editor would be summoned to Court and sometimes sentenced to imprisonment for a certain period.

The general trend of the paper was, of course, in keeping with the attitude of Bund on political and social problems as well as on Jewish affairs. The paper, however, was produced by living people, differing from one another in character, education, scope of knowledge and sphere of interest. With all the common ideology there were differences in style and method of political comment between them.

The members of the Editorial Board were divisible into various categories. Supreme supervision was vested in the hands of a central committee of three appointed by the Executive Committee of Bund. In addition to these, there was also an editorial secretary. In the last 20 years of *Folkszeitung's* existence, Victor Szulman acted as editorial secretary.

For years the central board consisted of seven people: Vladimir Medem, Beinish Michalewicz, Henryk Erlich, Josef Leschinsky, Meir Wasser, Baruch Shefner and Leivik Hodes. Henryk Erlich was the longest of all at his post, and his influence on the policy of the paper was most noticeable. (Imprisoned by the Soviet Police after the outbreak of war, Erlich was executed by order of Stalin on December 4, 1941, along with Victor Alter, another prominent Bund leader.)

The Coordinating Committee held complete sway on the leading articles which would appear daily. Most of the pages in the paper, however, were devoted to topical material: reports on topical events, news from the world at large and from Poland, reports on Jewish life and on the Labour Movement. This was related to members of the editorial staff who were given a lot of freedom in the choice of the material and in its formulation. In this way, the ordinary rank and file of the editorial staff were able to leave their impact on the paper and to mould its character and image.

In addition to the members of the editorial staff, whose work on the paper was their professional occupation, there were other contributors — writers and reporters, who wrote on a regular basis or only on occasions. No other paper in Poland, whether Polish or Jewish, could compare with the organ of Bund, as to the number of its reporters. This is explained by the fact that Bund and its Youth Movement had branches in hundreds of towns and townlets throughout the country as well as in several cities abroad. Whenever an event of importance took place in these localities, the activists in these branches would report on the matter either by mail or by telephone. In the large towns, the paper had regular reporters who reported daily on events in their localities.



Baruch Shefner



Leivik Hodes

In addition to its daily paper, Bund in Poland brought out in the years 1919–1938 a number of local weeklies, organs of trade unions, youth papers and papers devoted to literature, sport and the cooperative movement.



Folkszeitung *"First Press Day"*

Zionist labour dailies

Chaim Yaari

The Eretz Israel Labour Movement in Poland made three attempts in the period between the two World Wars to bring out a daily of its own, and each time the attempt gained only partial success. The Zeirei Zion Party in Western Galicia succeeded in the first years of Poland's independence to bring out a daily paper. That was *Di Zeit* which began to appear in Krakow in 1919, under the editorship, first of Dr. Yehiel Halpern, and afterwards of Dr. Shaul Rieger. But the paper was not long-lived. The first attempt to bring out a national daily paper was made in Warsaw in the 1930s. On July 5, 1933, the *Dos Vort* made its appearance for the first time, but was closed down eleven months subsequently owing to lack of means. A year later, a more serious attempt was made to bring out a paper and *Dos Naye Vort* held out for 2½ years until it died in November 1937 from the illness that attacked its predecessor—lack of means. The third attempt was made in July 1939 with the appearance of *Folksvort* but, barely two months passed before the Nazis invaded Poland and put an end to the Jewish press.

The need for a daily paper for the Party and Movement grew more intense in the early 1930s, when two parallel processes set in—a deterioration in the economic and general conditions of Polish Jewry, which increased the flow of Jews, particularly of the Jewish youth, to the Zionist-Socialist camp, and the intensification of the struggle within the Zionist Movement, mainly between the Revisionists and the Labour wing—a struggle which reached its climax in the summer of 1933 with the murder of Arlosoroff and the elections to the 18th Zionist Congress.

In the 1930s Poland experienced a chronic economic crisis. There was heavy unemployment and as the bitterness among the labouring and peasant masses increased, the regime of Pilsudski and his successors grew more tyrannous. Antisemitism was almost the only bridge between the rulers and the ruled, down to the last days of independent Poland. The official policy was directed to creating a situation that would force the Jews to leave Poland, and the means employed were economic oppression, deprivation of civil rights, discrimination, spiritual oppression and pogroms. From the point of view of the attitude towards the Jews, the process of Nazification commenced in Poland long before it was invaded by the Nazis.

The situation of the three and a quarter million Jews became more tragic from day to day. They found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. On the one hand they were ousted out and on the other hand they had almost no place to which to turn. The world was closed to the Jews. True, Aliyah to Eretz Israel increased and reached a figure of 60,000 a year, but the few thousand immigration certificates that fell to the lot of Polish Jewry were a mere drop in the ocean.

As the Jewish situation in Poland deteriorated, three principal forces in Jewish public life became crystallised: "Agudat Israel" and several other groups, which hoped to assuage the anti-Jewish decrees through collaboration with the antisemitic regime which, for its part, helped them to gain sway over the Jewish institutions; the anti-Zionist Bund; the Radical Zionists of the Yitzhak Gruenbaum school and Poalei Zion Z.S., and the whole of the Labour Eretz Israel camp.

Simultaneously with these events, the internal struggle in the Zionist Movement grew more intense. After Hitler's victories in Germany, the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe found themselves trapped and little wonder that many of them began lending an ear to the Revisionists who accused the leadership of the Zionist Movement of acquiescing in the treacherous policy of the British in reducing Aliyah. The Revisionists and their leader Zeev Jabotinsky, came out with the slogan of "evacuation" in the Jewish world and maintained contacts with the Polish authorities, the nature and purpose of which no one quite knew. As though the problem was exit from Poland. Quite the contrary—the problem lay at the other extreme—entrance to Eretz Israel, and here the rulers of Warsaw could be of little assistance.

But the feelings of frustration did their work and many Jews flocked to Revisionism. In the early 1930s, Jabotinsky

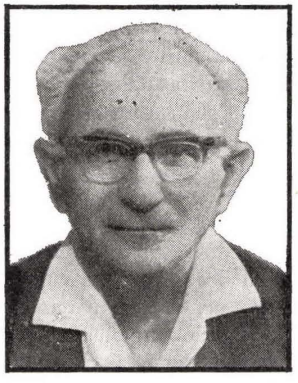
regarded the seizure of power in the Zionist Organisation as a possible reality; if not by the strength of his own Movement only, then through a Rightist Coalition that would include both the General Zionists B and the Mizrachi. The General Zionists were split and the onus of the struggle against Revisionism rested mainly on the shoulders of the Zionist Labour Movement.

This struggle reached its height in 1933 in the elections campaign for the 18th Zionist Congress, when the two decisive arenas in this struggle were Eretz Israel and Poland. The Revisionists who, in Eretz Israel, laboured under organic weakness, pinned their hopes on a victory mainly in Poland where they had large masses of sympathisers. Jabotinsky came to Poland and, with his great oratorical powers, thundered against Weizmann and the Labour Movement. He had at his disposal the *Moment* whereas *Haint* dilly-dallied. One of the central themes in the elections campaign was the question of the "Transfer", the project for saving the capital of German Jewry, over which Chaim Arlosoroff conducted negotiations in Berlin. Arlosoroff became a principal target for instigation, and insofar as the "Transfer" was concerned, there was not a single Jewish daily in Poland that defended it whole-heartedly.

The importance of the elections campaign in Poland for the 18th Zionist Congress will also be borne out by the fact that the leading personalities in the Labour Movement in Eretz Israel came over to lend it a hand. Chaim Arlosoroff visited Warsaw and appeared at a large public meeting about a month before he was murdered on the shores of Tel Aviv. David Ben Gurion came over for a prolonged period and actually stood at the head of the campaign. Then came Zalman Rubashov (subsequently Z. Shazar, President of Israel), Berl Locker and others. That was a struggle over the future of the Jewish revival enterprise, and Polish Jewry was called upon to throw its great weight into the balance. In this campaign, the Zionist-Socialist camp in Poland entered without a daily organ of its own.

Meantime, the shocking event of the murder of Arlosoroff (June 17, 1933, exactly a month before the elections to the 18th Zionist Congress in Poland) heated the elections atmosphere and brought it up to boiling point—yet the paper was nowhere near making an appearance. Ben Gurion, who was in Warsaw at the time, prodded the local leadership to begin the work, and in the end it was decided to run the risk and bring out a paper under conditions that doomed it in advance to lagging behind, to existence under great suffering and to a quick death.

The paper began to appear on July 5, 1933, 12 days before the date of the elections to Congress, and all looked upon it as an elections paper that would end its function the following day. Secondly, the paper began to appear



Yehiel Halpern



S.Z. Shazar

without any equipment of its own. The editorial offices were housed in a small room in the central offices of Hechalutz, while the printing press was situated elsewhere. Worst of all, however, the financial situation did not enable the paper to come out in more than one edition. The national papers appearing in Warsaw were generally published in two editions—one for the distant provincial towns and the other for the capital and its immediate environment. The first edition used to be closed about 7 o'clock in the evening so that it could be sent out by trains leaving during the night, whereas the Warsaw edition was closed at about 4 o'clock in the morning. The second edition always contained news that it was impossible to include in the first edition, and so a one edition paper did not stand great chances of being sold in and around Warsaw, in which about one-third of the Jewish community in Poland were resident. If anyone was seen in Warsaw holding the new paper in his hands, he must certainly have been a loyal

and disciplined member of Poalei Zion or Hechalutz. Thirdly, the limited budget reduced the format of the paper on week-days to four pages, whereas other Jewish papers appeared in six or more pages. There were no illustrations whatever in the new paper. Fourthly, with the exception of one man, the new paper had no staff with any experience of the name in the production of a daily. The only man on the editorial staff who was acquainted with the working of a daily paper was a member of the "Davar" staff and, in due course, its editor-in-chief—Zalman Rubashov. He was a famous figure in the Socialist Zionist Movement in the world—a fiery orator, a writer and journalist of great inspiration and he was summoned to Poland to assist in the Congress elections campaign and placed at the head of the paper's editorial staff.

Whereas the other Jewish dailies appeared in seven columns per page, *Dos Vort* appeared in five columns like *Davar* in those days. Differences of opinion arose immediately over the format of the principal headings on the front page. The Jewish papers in Warsaw generally ran banner headlines across the whole width of the paper, and the Poalei Zion people, who were more at home in Poland's journalistic world, wanted to follow this example. Under the influence of the emissaries of the Kibbutz Movement from Eretz Israel, the representatives of Hechalutz opposed this procedure on the grounds that they were too sensational, and so detracted from the seriousness of the paper. They wanted to bring out a paper different from the others.


Dos WORT
דאס וואָרט

Dos Vort, *Zionist Labour daily, Warsaw, 1935–1939*

They had their way for at least the first few months. These differences of opinion reflected also basic differences in approach to the function of the new paper. Some wanted it to be a paper like all the others, albeit with a clear idealistic approach, and to become a serious factor in general Jewish public life. Others, mainly members of Hechalutz thought principally about an internal organ of the Movement, directed primarily not to the anonymous reader in the street but to members of the Movement.

In this debate, the protagonists of modesty had the upper hand, even if only for the reason that the technical and financial conditions did not make possible serious competition for the support of the general newspaper reading public. Besides, in Warsaw and its immediate surroundings the paper was doomed to failure from the outset because here it always came to be regarded as yesterday's paper.

The editorial secretaryship was entrusted to Dr. Herzl Berger, subsequently a member of "Davar", while the editorial board included—N. Kanterovitz, M. Noy, L. Spizman, Zvi Kroy and Mordechai Alter, on behalf of Poalei Zion; Yehuda Gotthelf, who was then on a mission to Poland for Hakibbutz Haartzi, on behalf of "Hashomer Hatzair"; and the poet Moshe Bassuk who, by the side of Rubashov, dealt with the literary material and also edited the supplement on behalf of Hechalutz. Ben Gurion was a regular contributor down to the elections to Congress, and conducted a sharp debate with Revisionism. Nor were Jewish affairs in Poland and in the world at large entirely neglected. Already as early as its eighth issue the paper was impounded by the authorities on account of a news item about anti-Jewish pogroms in a certain Jewish townlet.

With all that, *Dos Vort* and subsequently *Dos Naye Vort* was the most Eretz-Israeli paper among the whole of the Polish-Jewish press. Current information from Eretz Israel, articles and reports on life in the country, stories from the pen of Eretz Israel writers, political news connected with the country, translations from "Davar", reports on activities the country, translations from *Davar,* reports on activities Youth Movements, reports from Hachsharah groups, filled most of the pages of the paper and left their impress upon it.

Dos Vort was the first Jewish daily that gave authentic expression to the Halutz Movement and repulsed the attacks of all those who rose up against the Hachsharah enterprise.

The paper gave a faithful description of life in the Hachsharah kibbutzim and the problems besetting them and explained the important function that these kibbutzim played as a preparation for the life of implementation in Eretz Israel.

Although the members of the paper's staff generally had to subsist on their work on the paper, volunteering was the main foundation of *Dos Vort's* existence. There was volunteering in writing, in the work of dissemination, perhaps also in the purchase of the paper and in monetary contributions. *Dos Vort* was particularly rich in reports from abroad—from Eretz Israel, from countries in Europe and America, but the writers were generally activists in the Movement who did not expect a cheque for the articles that they contributed. Only a small minority were professional journalists. It should be pointed out here that in this sphere of Movement activity, whether in the writing of articles or the delivering of lectures, a different notion pervaded public life in Poland from that that subsequently struck root in Eretz Israel many years ago. In Poland, we did not know what it was to demand an honorarium for an article in the Movement press, or payment for a lecture on behalf of the party. Public life was based mainly on volunteering. Obviously, whoever worked full-time in the party offices or in the editorial offices of the paper received a salary —but a very modest one.

From time to time we would bring out enlarged issues devoted to certain events such as Histadruth Day, Tel-Hai Day, the first of May, etc. These issues used to be printed in a larger number of copies and their distribution was handed over to hundreds of members of the Party's Youth Movements. The paper was not out to make profits—it ran deficits—and it lacked the staff necessary for mass circulation.

In the period of the 18th Congress elections, there was no time to pay any attention to the financial situation of the paper because the members of the management struggled daily in order to raise the money required for the purchase of newsprint or the payment to the printer. In those first weeks, the paper subsisted on its "initial capital", and this verve maintained it until after the Congress, which was held in Prague at the end of September, 1933.

The editor Z. Rubashov left for the Congress but did not return to Warsaw. From now on there was an editorial board and the paper adapted itself to the appearance of all the other Jewish papers, including banner headlines and six columns per page instead of four. This, however, was not of very great help, and by January, 1934, its financial situation deteriorated. It should be borne in mind that commercial advertisements, which occupy a leading role in the income of all normal papers, were a rare phenomenon in



Leib Spizman



Nahum Kanterovitz

Dos Vort. After the elections to Congress, the interest evinced by the Movement's institutions in Eretz Israel in the paper's existence in Warsaw and its assistance undoubtedly dwindled.

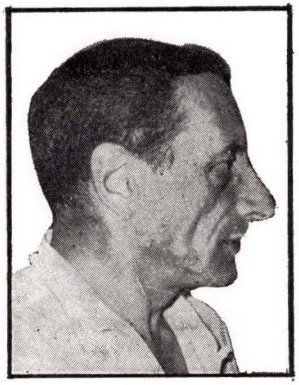
Time and again, the Movement in Poland launched internal fund-raising campaigns for the paper, but in the conditions of poverty that reigned among the popular classes from which the members of the Movement hailed, these campaigns could not solve the problem. At the end of May, 1934, the paper breathed its last. But not for long.

One year after the closing of *Dos Vort* in May 1935, there began to appear *Dos Naye Vort*. Incidentally, the year 1935 was also a Congress election year.

This time preparations were made more thoroughly in order to bring out the paper. Circulation Committees were set up, subscribers were acquired and a fund-raising campaign was launched again. L. Spizman was also sent out to Eretz Israel in order to acquire subscribers among the

members of the Movement who hailed from Poland and who were interested in following events in Poland in which many members of their families still lived.

This time the means at its disposal were sufficient to rent suitable offices for the editorial staff and the administration, and even to set up a type-setting plant with two linotype machines and a matrix press. The paper still lacked a printing press of its own. A rented printing press was situated



Herzl Berger



A.S. Juris

at 148 Marszalkowska Street, and a messenger would transfer the matrixes to that address by carriage. It was also decided to give the new paper a similar appearance to that of the papers, and to print six pages on weekdays and twelve pages on Fridays. More important still was the fact that there were to be two editions—one for the Provinces and another for the Warsaw district.

The first issue of the paper appeared on May 15, 1935, three days after the death of Pilsudski. The last, on November 24, 1937.

The writer of these lines began to work on *Dos Naye Vort* on the second week of its publication, and continued to work there until the paper was closed down. According to recommendations from Eretz Israel Dr. Jacob Helman of Riga, who was spending a period of political exile in Poland after Ulmanis became Dictator of Latvia in 1934, was appointed editor of the renewed paper. Helman, one of the leaders of the Labour Movement in Eretz Israel and a member of the Zionist General Council, had previously been editor of *Frimorgen* in Riga. Together with him, there arrived from Latvia and entered work on the paper, Dr. S. Levenberg, who was for some time secretary of the board, and J. Kitai, a veteran journalist and a man of letters.

Dos Naye Vort was also joined by members of the editorial staff of *Dos Vort,* with the exception of Herzl Berger who went on Aliyah to Eretz Israel. M. Noy also ended his mission in Poland and returned to Eretz Israel. New members of the editorial staff from Poland and a larger circle of contributors and reporters from abroad also joined the paper. The inculcation of the Zionist idea among new circles of the Jewish public in Poland, particularly among the progressive circles, brought people to the paper who, in the past, were not known to be associated with Zionism. The most important among these was Jacob Leschinsky who then lived in Warsaw and published in this paper very enlightening results of surveys which he undertook in a number of Polish townlets of Jewish life, their social composition, their means of livelihood, their economic situation, etc. The well-known writer S. Horoncik, published short and longer stories. The former member of the Vilna Actors' Company, Abraham Morewski, wrote on the theatre. The paper also published stories by Isaac Bashevis Singer.

The shadow of Hitler already spread over the whole of Europe. Whoever thumbs through the Polish-Jewish papers of these years has the feeling of being immersed in an ocean of blood and tears. The economic boycott which, in June 1936, was given official approval in the Sejm, played havoc with the Jewish community. There were bankruptcies of Jewish merchants and industrialists, suicides among unemployed and the destitute. The antisemites willingly accepted the then Prime Minister Skladowski's invitation to deprive the Jews of their bread, but they were not overawed by his "No" insofar as pogroms were concerned. In actual fact, the Government took up a forgiving attitude to those guilty of excesses against the Jews. In doing so it had some practical consideration. The Polish masses were deep to their necks in the mire of economic stress and foment in the country was rising. Arrests of Communists and trials against Communists, in which Jews played a prominent part, were things of daily occurrence. Time and again disturbances

broke out in various parts of the country, as well as clashes between workers and peasants and the police. In allowing pogroms against the Jews the Polish Government hoped to deflect the ire of the masses from against itself.

In thumbing through the issues of *Dos Naye Vort* of the year 1936, I was able to count about 60 Jewish settlements over the length and breadth of Poland in which anti-Jewish pogroms had taken place during that year. But these were only the most serious incidents that received notice in the press. Very many more were not published at all. But the paper of January 1937 was able to tell that in 1936 there were 348 cases of attack of varying degrees of intensity upon Jews, in the Bialystok district alone. One recalls the pogrom instituted by Polish peasants at the beginning of 1936 against the Jews of the townlet Przytyk, and afterwards an incessant series of attacks. To these one must add the cruel terror that reigned in the universities against Jewish students who refused to sit on "Ghetto benches".

Another form of oppression against the Jews was the filing of complaints with the police that one Jew or another had insulted the Polish people. Suddenly there broke out a plague of such "trials" and always there were "witnesses" who had heard with their own ears a Jew crying out "Polish swine", and the judge was always convinced of the trustworthiness of such witnesses. *Dos Naye Vort* relates that in 1936 there were 1500 such trials, and many Jews received heavy punishment—until the matter assumed proportions beyond all logic. In one instance, it transpired that the Pole who made the accusation was deaf, and in another that the accused Jew was dumb.

Dos Naye Vort fought vehemently against the policy of the dictatorial regime and encouraged the Jews to defend themselves and to maintain their stand. Like all Oppositionist papers, *Dos Naye Vort* was also persecuted by the authorities. Already its first issue was impounded and that marked the beginning of a long series of confiscations. In Poland there was no advance censorship. One was free, as it were, to print whatever one wanted, but whenever the first printed copy reached the Censor and he found something not to his liking there, the whole of the edition was confiscated. That was a very serious blow to the refractory paper. In January 1937 *Dos Naye Vort* told us that in the ten months of 1936 there were no fewer than 1869 confiscations of papers in Poland.

In the 2½ years of its existence, *Dos Naye Vort* conducted several internal Jewish struggles. In 1936 there were the elections to the 19th Zionist Congress, and in 1937, to the 20th Congress—the Congress which had to debate the Partition issue.

The Peel Commission Report, which included a recommendation for the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish State in a small part of it, and an Arab State in the major part of the country, stood at the centre of the Congress election Platform. All the Parties in the Zionist Movement were divided among themselves over the Partition issue as was the Labour wing. In the editorial offices of the paper, however, the majority favoured acceptance of the plan. The Labour wing in Poland gained a clear majority of the Congress votes.

Vort had no possibility whatever of sending out emissaries at its expense abroad or to maintain regular correspondents. Luckily, however, most of the members of the Editorial Board were active workers in the Zionist Movement and, whenever any one of them travelled abroad to attend some event on behalf of his organisation, he would report to the paper.

The Revisionists were by then outside the Zionist organisation and, obviously, did not participate in the Congress elections. However, they found other methods of activity for themselves, such as, for example, attacks on the Eretz Israel offices which engaged in organising Aliyah and in distributing Immigration Certificates. *Dos Naye Vort* came out vehemently against these acts.

In January 1937 a new problem cropped up—Territorialism suddenly rose from its grave. It happened this way: the French Minister for the Colonies announced that there were certain possibilities of settling Jews in the French Colonies. Several days later there was another sensation: the State of Haiti was prepared to absorb 1,000,000 Jews over a period of 25 years, on condition that the Jews themselves financed the operation. The hard-pressed and persecuted Polish Jew was prepared to clutch at a straw. So Jews purchased maps and sought out the location of Haiti and Tahiti, of Madagascar and Guiana, New Caledonia and the Hebrides. Our

paper warned the Jewish public against these false illusions and, indeed, the whole matter burst very soon, like a soap bubble. It transpired that in the French Colonies it was possible to settle only 90 families in three years... As for Haiti, it transpired that the whole matter was just a day-dream.

The paper conducted another struggle in the summer of 1936 on the occasion of the elections to the Warsaw Com-



Zvi Kroy



Jacob Leschinsky

munity Council, which were to be held on September 6, 1936. 44 Lists and 4,444 candidates—on an average one candidate for each 22 electors, were submitted. At first Bund decided to boycott the elections, but shortly before the date of the elections it altered its policy and jumped on to the wagon. The reason was the improvement of its status in the Jewish community and the prospects of its gaining good results. The outcome of the elections, indeed, justified the step. But the Poalei Zion Z.S. also gained reasonable success: for the first time the Party had a representation of its own on the Warsaw Community Council in that its first two candidates, Anshel Reis and Abraham Bialopolsky were returned, and when the latter was elected to the Executive, the third candidate on the list, Dr. Meir Peker, entered the Council. This victory, however, was short-lived, for three months later the Polish authorities dispersed the elected institutions of the Community and appointed in their place a Jewish Commisar by the name of Maurycy Meisel, a man who was active in the Jewish Merchants Association and who had close contacts with the authorities. At his side was an advisory body, which included members of the Agudah and several non-Party persons. *Dos Naye Vort,* like the other progressive Jewish papers, declared an outright war on the Commissar and his advisors, who collaborated with those who wanted to put an end to Jewish autonomy in Poland.

Several words now about the relationship between Bund and Poalei Zion, as reflected in *Dos Noye Vort.* Bund was the largest, the oldest, the most respected party in the Jewish labouring public, with a splendid past behind it of struggle against the Tsarist regime and of important achievements in the organisation of the Jewish workers in encouraging and nurturing the Yiddish language and culture and in the education of the masses for Socialism. At the same time, however, it was possessed of great pride and demanded a monopoly as "the only representative of the Jewish labouring classes", negating the rights of the other Labour Parties.

Poalei Zion Z.S., on the other hand, began its existence in Poland after the split in 1920, almost from scratch. It consisted of a small group of idealists, the small dimensions of which always served as a favourite theme for caricaturists. The members of Poalei Zion were always divided over the question of whether the Jewish future rested "here" (in the Diaspora) or "there" (Eretz Israel), between Socialism and Zionism, between Yiddish and Hebrew. The attitude of these members to the Bund was ambivalent; it was one of hatred and jealousy, of animosity and a desire to compare with it; of complete negation of its ideological path and an internal urge to gain its recognition. It was very important to them not to lag behind Bund in Socialist prononcements, in class purity, in anti-clericalism and in all the other traits of the true Revolutionary.

Folkszeitung, the organ of Bund was the only Jewish paper that appeared on the Sabbath. Pressure was exerted by these members on *Dos Naye Vort* that it, too, should appear on the Sabbath. The editor Dr. Helman, was not enthusiastic over the idea but gave in, in the end, and accepted the ruling of the majority. It fell to my lot to edit the Sabbath issue, on Fridays, which appeared in a four-page format but no more than three times — at the end of January and at the beginning of February, 1937.

Bund's conceit and its hatred of Zionism prevented any cooperation with Poalei Zion. Whenever it was ready to cooperate with Poalei Zion in any operation, it was on condition that no mention whatever be made of Zionism and Eretz Israel. Only once, in the whole of its history, did Bund agree to go to elections on a joint list with Poalei Zion. That was on the occasion of the elections to the Sejm, in 1930, when a Labour bloc was set up with the participation of Bund, Poalei Zion and the small Leftist group of "Independent Socialists".

We of the Poalei Zion derived great satisfaction from this joint appearance with Bund, in exchange for which we agreed to hide our Zionism and make do in the elections platform with a statement about "the need for dense colonisation for the productivisation of the Jewish masses". However, even with this concession, our list did not succeed in returning even one Deputy. In the course of time, having learned from experience, Poalei Zion no longer agreed to fold up its Zionist flag for the sake of Bund's non-too-beautiful eyes. In 1936, the initiative was taken of convening a Jewish Workers Conference against Fascism and anti-semitism. Since, however, Bund opposed the inclusion in the Conference Platform of a demand to increase Aliyah to Eretz Israel, the joint conference did not materialise, and preparations were made for two Conferences. The antisemitic Polish authorities saved us the shame of convening two conferences that competed with each other, in that it forbade both of them. On the eve of every 1st May, *Vort* would attack the "only representative" for his anti-Zionist veto on account of which the holding of a joint parade was made impossible every year. PPS was in the habit of inviting both the Bund and Poalei Zion to march in the 1st May parade, and when the Bund refused to allow Poalei Zion to carry pro-Zionist placards, the PPS had no way out but to select one of them. During the first few years it almost invariably picked on the Bund. But, in the 1930s, more and more branches of the PPS used to select the Poalei Zion.

Indeed, the PPS which, in its initial period, supported Jewish assimilation (among its leaders there were several Jews), began evincing in the 1930s increasing understanding and sympathy for the Socialist-Zionist idea and for Poalei Zion. I think that the first to break the ice was the writer Andrzej Strug, the spiritual leader of the PPS. The Sejm Deputy, Stanislav Dubois, of the younger generation in the leadership, once paid a visit to Eretz Israel, and on his return delivered scores of lectures on "the new life in the ancient land", contributing much to rendering the Poalei Zion "Kasher" in the eyes of the Polish Socialists.

The editorial offices of *Dos Naye Vort* had reporters in Warsaw who supplied information on Jewish life and items



S. Horoncik



Yechiel Lerer

on criminal cases. The reporter of *Dos Naye Vort* was Shlomo Feinkind, who dubbed himself "King of Reporters". His connection with the editorial offices was limited to his contacts with the editor of the Warsaw news column, and in the course of the year or so during which I edited this page, I spoke to Feinkind daily, sometimes twice a day, but never set eyes upon him. Everything was done by telephone. As for information on political life in Poland, and on events in the outer world, we always relied on the Polish Telegraphic Agency and on the Polish press.

I can recall only two Jewish journalists who had connections with the Polish political and government circles — Natan Schwalbe and Bernard Singer, both of them belonging to the Jewish paper in the Polish language *Nasz Przeglad*. Singer had a lot of information about what was taking place behind the closed doors of the government offices, and his articles consisted of a mixture of information, political chitchat and commentary. He was an opponent of

the Regime. Schwalbe engaged a lot in foreign policy, was closely connected with the authorities and its loyal supporters, whereas the official attitude towards the Jewish press generally was as towards a stepson. One episode with which I was connected succeeded in lifting the curtain somewhat over this attitude. One day I was informed in the editorial offices that an invitation had come from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs over the telephone that I should come to a



Chaim Shurer



Chaim Yaari

closed press conference that day. I was asked to attend the Conference and so I went. I looked around me and saw not a single Jewish journalist other than Schwalbe. The only other acquaintance that I met was a Jew from "Robotnik", the Polish Socialist Party daily. At a certain moment, a man came up to me and asked for my identity. I answered him and, when he asked how I knew about the Conference, I answered that a telephone message was put through to the editorial offices. The man made off but I had the suspicion that I was an uninvited guest. Obviously, I remained there until the end and listened to the boasting of the Foreign Office spokesman about the achievements of the Polish Minister Beck at the Session of the League of Nations. On my return to the editorial offices I was told that the Foreign Ministry had telephoned several times to ask how it was that I had come to the Conference. It transpired that one of their officials was guilty of an error in that he had invited us to a Conference not intended for the Jewish press.

There is another incident in the life of the Jewish press in Poland connected with Schwalbe's name. His paper *Nasz Przeglad* was among the most well-founded papers in the country. It was based on an increasingly large readership of Polish-speaking Jews, and as the only Jewish paper in the Polish language in Warsaw, it was obviously interested in preserving its monopolistic status. But one day members of the *Nasz Przeglad* staff turned in the utmost secrecy to *Dos Naye Vort* and proposed a merger of the two papers. That was nothing short of a sensation. The proposal was that *Nasz Przeglad* should continue appearing as a morning paper while *Dos Naye Vort* should appear as an afternoon paper. A series of meetings commenced and Schwalbe was the spokesman of *Nasz Przeglad*. These meetings were always held at the instance of *Nasz Przeglad,* at a large and expensive cafe whose regular patrons were also members of the "Seventh Estate". But after several meetings, the negotiations suddenly broke off without any conclusion having been reached. It was only after the lapse of some time that the representatives of *Vort* learned what was behind the *Przeglad* proposal. The *Przeglad* people had heard a rumour that *Moment,* which then owned the Yiddish afternoon paper, intended bringing out also an afternoon paper in Polish, in the hope that the new paper would strengthen its financial situation, and so, in order to frighten off *Moment,* they started negotiations, as it were, with *Vort* for the publication of an afternoon daily in Yiddish, and did so in "the utmost secrecy" at that large cafe house in the capital. But the moment they realised that *Moment* had given up its plans, they broke off negotiations with *Vort*. The story went around at the time that it was always the *Vort* representatives who footed the bill at these meetings. . . .

I continue to thumb through the volumes of *Dos Naye Vort* and from time to time come across news items and stories that recall to memory events long forgotten, or bring a smile to my lips, or leave me despondent.

In the issue of June 20, 1935, at the time that I edited the Warsaw News page, I found a news item under the headline: "A Good Pedagogue but a Bad Businessman". The item tells about a claim filed by the owner of a Hebrew School against a parent of one of its pupils for some act of fraud in connection with the payment of school fees. I

looked at the headline which was written by myself and suddenly I am struck as though by an electric shock. The owner of the school was none other than Haim Aaron Kaplan, victim of the Holocaust, whose Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto, published by "Am Oved" and "Yad Vashem" is on my library shelves. Could I, in June 1935, have realised whom it was that I presented as a good pedagogue and bad businessman?

Concerning an interesting — perhaps shocking — incident, we read in *Dos Naye Vort* of October 20, 1936: In preparation for the founding of the Philharmonic Orchestra in Eretz Israel, on the initiative of Bronislaw Huberman, 23 Jewish musicians were invited over from Poland, among them one of the conductors of the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra, Bronislaw Schultz, and his two sons, also musicians. I had a particularly soft spot for Schultz who, for many years, during the summer months, conducted the orchestra that played in the park in my native townlet of Ciechocinek, a summer resort, and here, the paper tells us, that when the formal arrangements were made for the Aliyah to Eretz Israel of these 23 musicians, it transpired that Schultz's two sons were Christians. The father apparently felt that his Jewishness was a hindrance to his musical career and so, in order to save his two sons from the same fate, he had them baptised immediately after their birth. Neither the father's pleas nor the intervention of Huberman himself were of any avail. The two sons remained behind in Poland because immigration certificates intended for Jews could not be handed over to renegades. Bronislaw Schultz came over on his own.

Dos Naye Vort had a clear Eretz Israel orientation or, to use the accepted term in those days, was clearly "Palestine-centred". Our readers always had a wide knowledge of life in Eretz Israel in all spheres. They knew that the middle class majority in the Tel Aviv Municipality wanted to deprive the thousands of residents, who were loyal to the Histadruth, of their franchise. They read in the paper that in Tel Aviv the erection was completed of the workers' housing estate on Frischmann Street of a complex consisting of 130 flats. They knew exactly what the theatres were presenting and what was written in the newspapers. Every departure of a group of olim always received a full write-up in the paper. Despite all the disappointments and troubles, those were days of wide interest in our life. I am particularly moved when I recall my years of work on the daily paper of the Movement. We did our work, as members of the editorial staff, in the consciousness of fulfilling a mission, and in an atmosphere of comradeship.

But *Dos Naye Vort,* too, had to struggle for its existence, and as the weeks and months passed by and the economic stress of the Jewish community in Poland increased, as the oppressive measures and the confiscations on the part of the regime increased, the economic situation of the paper deteriorated and its end drew near. The curtain finally rang down on November 24, 1937.

The question may be asked: why did *Dos Naye Vort* fail whereas such papers as *Haint, Moment, Togblat* of the Agudah, and the Bundist *Folkszeitung* continue to exist? There is no clear-cut answer to this question. One can only point to several factors which, according to logic, worked particularly in the disfavour of *Dos Naye Vort.* Our paper was not worse than the other papers. But it was the youngest, the least known to the public, and the least rooted in its consciousness. Secondly, our journalists lacked experience, publicity and professional renown—only a few belonged to the Journalists Association in Poland. Insofar as they were known, they were known more as public figures than as journalists. Thirdly, the public on which *Dos Naye Vort* fell back belonged to the weakest economic stratum in the Jewish population. The more well-founded middle classes, who read Yiddish and from which all the advertisements came, had for years been connected with *Haint* and *Moment,* and the religious sections among them, with *Togblat. Folkszeitung,* too, fell back on the more well-founded section of the Jewish labour classes, on the professional workers and people who enjoyed a permanent place of employment. Most of the Jewish Trade Unions came under the influence of Bund, and this fact, too, added strength to its favour. The readership of *Vort* was for the most part an amorphous public, the déclassé who lacked any security for the morrow and who saw their future in emigration and Aliyah. This public apparently had not the wherewithall to maintain a daily paper.

Dos Naye Vort, however, did not easily lift its hands in

surrender. It struggled hard for its existence and tried various ways of prolonging its life. One of these ways was turning the paper into a Cooperative. If I remember correctly, that was in the summer of 1937, several months before the end. What this transformation meant for the workers of the paper I will exemplify with myself. I was a bachelor at the time and, if I am not mistaken, my salary was round about 150 Zloty a month. That was all my income and, at that time, I lived in a rented room for which I paid 50 Zloty a month. Suddenly, without any preparation beforehand, the announcement was made one day that a Cooperative was being set up and that wages would be paid in accordance with the financial situation. I was told that from that day onwards my salary would be in the region of 33 or 35 Zloty a month. The shock was profound. The keyworkers in the Party tried in the course of time somewhat to improve our pay, but in the end they grew tired and the paper was closed down.

In the summer of 1938, when I was already in Eretz Israel, I heard that efforts were again being exerted to renew the appearance of the paper. Dr. Helman and Baruch Zuckerman engaged in the matter in the course of their visit to Eretz Israel and one day they invited me over for a talk and suggested that I return to Poland in order to work on the paper that was due to be renewed. A similar proposal was made to Y. Halpern, who had also meanwhile come on Aliyah. We did not accept the suggestion. The paper in its new metamorphosis began to appear under the name of *Folksvort,* only about two months before the outbreak of World War II, at the beginning of July, 1939. Through the efforts of Dr. Helman, a complete printing shop was acquired and the editorial offices, together with the printing shop, were situated on Nalewki Street, facing *Moment. Folksvort* appeared as an evening paper in small format. Dr. Helman continued as editor while W. Romanowski served as editorial secretary. The editorial staff was the same as that of *Dos Naye Vort,* with the exception of those who had gone on Aliyah.

The building in which the editorial offices and print-shop were situated, was destroyed in the bombing of Warsaw. Of the people connected with the paper, almost only those who had gone on Aliyah survived.

Periodicals of the Zionist left

Moshe Erem

Of the ten measures of woe and destruction that descended upon the world in September, 1939, the Jewish people took nine and outstanding in this suffering was the Holocaust of Polish Jewry, which was uprooted and never returned to its pristine glory. Moreover, whatever Hitler failed to accomplish was completed by "Socialist" Poland, in which the Jewish problem was fundamentally solved. Poland today is a country which implemented to the full the antisemitic vision of a "Judenrein" State. It is doubtful whether in the whole of the tearful history of the Jewish people there is such a perfect example of the obliteration of the existence of a Jewish community in the past. Five hundred years after the expulsion from Spain and the conversion of synagogues into churches, care is still taken to preserve here and there—in Cordova, Toledo, Tudela, Granada and Seville—Hebrew inscriptions, Jewish names, the remnants of gravestones and memorial tablets to Jewish worthies. In the Spanish universities, one can peruse the literary treasures of Spanish Jewry and make use of them for research purposes. In the monasteries of Poland, too, one can undoubtedly find a vast amount of material relating to Polish Jewry, but no mention of it is made nor does anyone trouble to examine it.

Everything is kept under lock and seal and only those who "keep to the line" are at liberty to peruse it. However, there are no areas closed to history, and its scrolls—scrolls of fire—cry out to us in prose and in verse, in cultural and literary creations of all kinds, in manuscript, in memorial documents and in the press. If one is anxious to know wherein our brethren drew their courage and strength to contend with the problems of the times, one need only thumb through the pages of the press of those days, which reflected the day to day death throes, the public struggles, the anguish and despair, the yearning and deep faith, the dreams and illusions of Polish Jewry. Each paper had its particular trend and strain. Each paper reflected its special taste and

each paper had its readers and adherents. Such was "Arbeter Zeitung", the organ of the Left Poalei Zion. At first, it was the organ of the undivided Poalei Zion and after the rift that set in, in the Movement, at the Vienna Conference (1920), it became the organ of the Left Poalei Zion.

The first issue of the weekly made its appearance on November 14, 1918, on the defeat of Germany, one year after the outbreak of the October Revolution in Russia, the repercussions of which reverberated throughout the world.

The paper was often confiscated by the authorities, closed down for some time and then made its appearance again until it was silenced in September, 1939. The paper made its incursions to the numerous townlets inhabited by the Jews of Poland, bringing to its thousands of readers the message of the Labour Movement and its evaluations of events in the world at large, in Poland, in the Polish Jewish Community and in all the countries of the Jewish dispersion. A special and honoured place in the paper was occupied by Eretz Israel—Palestine as it was popularly known. The echoes of life in Eretz Israel, the political and public struggles, the efforts at creativity and upbuilding in the country, were always reflected in the columns of the paper. Before long, *Arbeter Zeitung* became the central organ of the World Movement in addition to local organs. Just as the Jewish community in Poland was the heart of world Jewry, when a dividing wall arose between Polish Jewry and Jewry in Soviet Russia, so the Jewish press in Poland became the principal artery in the body of Jewry throughout the Dispersion.

The paper was fed by its readers, by reports which were sent to it in profusion, and sometimes in a few coarse lines giving details of life in the various Jewish communities. These reports served as a living bridge between distant communities, which became close and nearby. Its portals were always open to debate about ideas and ideals which were accepted as irreproachable, but in complete loyalty to the foundations of the Movement.


חברים, צו דער ארבעט פארן אויסבוי-פאנד!

№ 26 פרייז 35 גראשן ARBETER-ZAITUNG

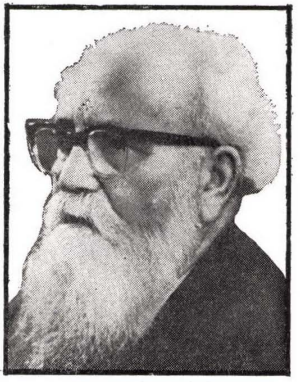
ארבעטער-צייטונג

Arbeter-Zeitung, *Left Poalei Zion weekly, Warsaw, 1918–1939*

Jacob Zerubabel was the undisputed leader of the group. Orator, journalist and gifted literary critic, he was the ambassador of the Movement to all countries of the Jewish dispersion. He left behind him a literary and publicistic harvest that was astounding in its strength and variety of themes. Zerubabel was one of the greatest exponents of the teachings of Ber Borochov, a leader and guide, who captured the heart of his audience by his fervour. A leader of the Socialist Movement from its inception in Russia and in Eretz Israel, to which he returned after his wanderings, he died in Tel Aviv a day before the outbreak of the Six Day War.



Nahum Nir-Rafalkes



Jacob Zerubabel

Nahum Nir-Rafalkes was the outstanding emissary of the Movement in all the stormy days that it underwent. He was its spokesman in its confrontations with the world Communist movement—the Comintern. Possessed of a sharp, analytical mind, his style was nonetheless simple and clear. He was a member of the Municipal Council of Warsaw. After settling in Eretz Israel, he became the representative

of the Movement in the national institutions. He was a Member of the Knesset from the first to the seventh, and for some time also served as Speaker of the Knesset. He was a clever and astute jurist. He died in Tel Aviv in 1968.

Yitzhak Lev took command of the professional struggles, questions of cooperation and municipal affairs, as a member of the Warsaw Municipal Council. He was among the builders of the Sports Organisation *Shtern* (Star). He also served as the liaison with the Polish Socialist Party—the PPS—over all its branches. Possessed of great organisational abilities, it was he who initiated the tourism project of Eretz Israel, in order to break through the barrier of the immigration certificates which were withheld from members of the Movement. He made his Aliyah to Eretz Israel during World War II and was one of the activists in "Aliyah Beth". He died in Tel Aviv.



Yitzhak Lev



Joseph Rosen

Joseph Rosen, an orator and journalist of rare ability, served as the spearhead of the Movement in its debates with opponents, particularly with the Yevsektzia and the Bund. He made a name for himself for the pungency of his expression, for his powers of debate, his zeal for the truth and for the uncovering of all manifestations of hypocrisy and of the servility of the "Yes" man. He made his Aliyah to Eretz Israel in 1932 and became one of the chief moulders of the Movement and the builders of its political line. He died in Tel Aviv.

Shachna Zagan was the organisational "dynamo" of the Movement. It was he who settled all disputes and led the Movement with a sure and steady hand, with understanding, always finding the "magic formula" that consolidated the party. By his wisdom and level-headedness, he made himself liked, even by his opponents. One of the leaders of the Warsaw Ghetto and of the Ghetto revolt, he met his death together with his family in the Holocaust.



Shachna Zagan



Jacob Kenner

Mordechai Buchsbaum was the most outstanding political figure in the party. He served as political commentator in *Arbeter Zeitung*. A representative of the Leftist wing, he was nonetheless a sharp opponent of "Leftist" diversion which nonetheless carried with it the germ of liquidation. His maximalist concept led him in opposition to the careful attitude evinced by many to a confirmation of the idea of Eretz Israel as a Jewish State, as far back as 1936. He met his death at Bergen Belsen.

Yitzhak Shipper, the great Jewish historian and sociologist, enriched the paper with his researches on the social changes in Jewish life, by his deep going analyses which were presented to the reader in clear and polished style. Counted among the leading political publicists, he was at home in Polish and in world policy. In due course he seceded from the Movement and joined the radical Zionist wing led by Yitzhak Gruenbaum. Until his last days he

maintained close relations with the Movement. He was killed in the Holocaust.

In Emanuel Ringelbaum, one of Shipper's gifted disciples and a follower in his path, people saw a splendid link in the golden chain of researchers into Jewish history and sociology. He was the living spirit in the Warsaw Ghetto and in Jewish public and cultural activity. Down to his last days, as he sat in a bunker, he engaged in describing the shocking martyrdom of the Ghetto. Ringelbaum's literary remains, which were saved from destruction, serve as the most faithful documentation of the Holocaust. He met his death together with his family in the Warsaw Ghetto.

A.S. Juris, the "wonder child" of the Movement, through his shining appearances and writing, added charming lightness to the paper and contributed to a refinement of the taste of its readers. After a long time he left the party to join Mapai. He undertook a mission to South America on its behalf. He died in Israel in 1971.

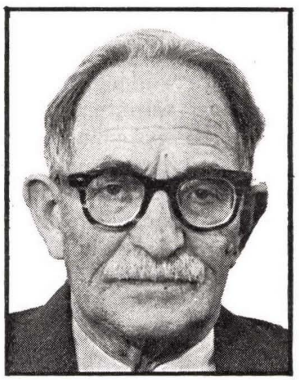
Shaul Amsterdam was a shining star on the political firmament of the Movement and was for a long time one of its principal spokesmen. In his time, he regard the teachings of Ber Borochov as the fullest incarnation of the Marxist concept in understanding the processes of the Jewish problem. He eschewed over simplification and a vulgarisation of the national problem and evaluated Borochovism as a universal contribution of great value to Marxist methodology. He was the emissary of the Movement in its debate with the Comintern but it was in the course of this mission that he deserted the Movement and passed over to the ranks of the Communist Party in Poland, reaching the highest places in the hierachy of the world Communist Movement until he, too, was poled by the axe of the horrible purges and lost his life in that he was accused of treachery and espionage like many in the highest ranks of Communism.

Gershon Gershuni, the youngest member of the group, a delicate soul, was possessed of wide learning, which he placed at the disposal of the Movement and its organ. Of moderate opinions, he at the same time was meticulous over every attempt to treat likely the precept of personal implementation—that of Aliyah to Eretz Israel. Most of his articles were devoted to a consolidation of the teachings of Socialist Zionism and to a criticism of the distortions in the Communist Movement. On his Aliyah to Eretz Israel, he gained a central position in the life of the Movement and all its metamorphoses. He died in Tel Aviv.

Yaakov Peterzeil, one of the editors of the youth paper of Poalei Zion, was a regular correspondent of *Arbeter Zeitung*. An expert in cooperation and social services, he was greatly beloved by the youth in whom he kindled the spark of "a love of Zion" in its literal sense; he came on Aliyah in 1924. Of weak physique, he accepted the "bap-



Yaakov Peterzeil



Moshe Erem

tism" of physical labour with great joy and excitement. In his party occupation he knew of no fatigue. It was he who initiated the idea of bringing out Poalei Zion collected papers and put the idea into practice. He undertook missions on behalf of the party abroad on several occasions, in order to cement close ties with Socialist circles throughout the world. On one hamsin day, however, his blood pressure rose inordinately high and he succumbed—in 1955.

Daniel Leibl (Alexander) was a thinker of rare order and served the Movement by his deep-going articles. A philologist, he was a researcher in the scriptures showing great intuition and universal knowledge. He was a translator par excellence. Coming on Aliyah in 1924, he tried his hand at physical labour but was very soon picked by the leadership of his Party to take over its organs in Hebrew and Yiddish and to conduct its information services generally. A meticulous editor and proofreader (he worked for many years on *Davar),* he died in Jerusalem.

Max Erik, a literary critic, whose essays aroused wide interest and admiration in Jewish literary circles, was foretold a glorious future in the forefront of literary criticism and linguistic research. He succumbed to the inducement of moving over to Minsk in order to take over the Chair in Yiddish literature at the University there. But he, too, was not spared the bitter fate of the purges and he met his death in prison or in a concentration camp.

Jacob Kenner, secretary of the Borochov Youth, was one of the editors of its organ. He disseminated the teachings of Poalei Zion throughout Galicia among the poor sections of the working youth, to whom he brought his message with great warmth. He contributed regularly to *Arbeter Zeitung* as spokesman of the youth, giving expression to its plight and yearnings. On the outbreak of World War II, he succeeded in making his way to the United States via the Far East. Late in life, he came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel and died in Tel Aviv.

Shmuel Edelman (Mulah) was one of the most wonderful figures in the Movement. A patron of Poalei Zion in Lodz, he worked with great modesty. He did not know what privacy was since the Party and its struggles were his lot in life. He came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel before the outbreak of the War and took over as something self-understood the secretariat of the World Union. He made every endeavour to create links with the survivors of the Holocaust who were wandering all over Russia and saw to their existence and encouragement. He died in Eretz Israel.

In this list we have not mentioned all the collaborators on the paper, who imbued it with their spirit, love and devotion. We shall mention only several names of people who more or less contributed regularly to the paper. From Eretz Israel was—Z. Abramowitz, J. Yitzhaki, M. Erem (who began writing for the paper as far back as 1919, when he arrived from Soviet Russia), V. Shimoni, the poets Papiernikov and Lev (member of Kibbutz Givat Hashloshah and the writers Joel Mastbaum, Izban and Zipor-Blei; from the United States—Bezalel Sherman and Abraham Rivotzki; from the Soviet Union—Baruch Eisenstadt (beforehand member of the Centre in Poland), Liema Rosenhaus, Meir Ger, Shlomo Heivin and Zelig Breisher; from Germany—Stiegler and Serpov; from England—Noah Barou; from France—Joseph Friedman; from Belgium—Abush Verber; from Argentine—Chaim Finkelstein.

Lastly, from the inception of the paper, before the split in the Movement, the paper had the privilege of the participation of Zalman Rubashov (Z. Shazar), who graced its columns with all the fervour of his soul, Mark Jarblum (Aniutin)—a guide through the complexes of international Socialist thought; Melech Neustadt (M. Noy) and Anschel Reiss—among the principal combatants for the wholeness of the Movement, who compromised between the Left and the Right but always kept the flame of Poalei Zion ideology burning and guarded it against injury and effacement.

The paper rested on three central themes: Zionism and Eretz Israel; a strengthening of the National pride of the Jews wherever they were; a yearning for the implementation of the Socialist vision.

There was not one issue of the paper that failed to instill in its readers a deep faith in the invincibility of the Zionist idea and of its creative enterprise in Eretz Israel and the upbuilding of the country. Its debate with the Bund, with the Yevsektsia, with the assimilationists, with those in the "Folkspartei" who tried to reduce the image of Eretz Israel, was the daily bread of the paper.

A central place in the paper was devoted to the national struggle of Polish Jewry. The debate between revolutionary Socialism and Socialist opportunism, the close connection with the October Revolution, criticism of political reality which infringed on man's right to freedom of thought, and above all, the deep shock during the period of the staged show trials, filled the pages of the paper. The achievements of the Revolution were always stressed but its failures were never covered up.



Jewish porters of Kutno, Poland, reading newspapers and discussing politics

UNZER EXPRESS, a popular daily

Menahem Flakser

Unzer Express appeared in Warsaw for 13 years, from August 26, 1926 until one of the last days of September 1939, at the inception of the destruction of the Jewish community in Poland.

At the time that *Unzer Express* made its appearance, there were five other Yiddish dailies in Warsaw, and if it was possible to press another paper into this density which, within a relatively short period, succeeded in acquiring a large readership, it was a sign that the new paper had a new orientation and characteristic.

Unzer Express was the first Jewish Cooperative in Yiddish in Poland. It was a partnership between the writers, the printing workers and the administrative staff. The attempt succeeded and, before long, the other Jewish papers in Warsaw had also to pass over to the Cooperative system with all the ancillary manifestations, both positive and negative, of the system.

Already from the point of view of its external appearance, the new paper differed from the other Yiddish newspapers. Its name was printed in Red, in the fashion of the popular newspapers in Poland. Its format was smaller than that of other papers but that was not at the expense of the material included, because the number of pages in each issue was larger. The most important thing of all, however, was that the price of the paper was some five (or ten) groschen less than that of its two important competitors—*Haint* and *Moment*. The Jewish masses in Poland were very poor and the difference in price served as an important factor in increasing the paper's circulation.

The changes that the paper introduced from the point of view of content were particularly marked. The editorial board stressed the news side of the paper and saw that the news was described in an interesting and attractive way. The language employed was simple both in the news section and in the comments. The articles on topical events were short. From its very first issue, the paper was a popular publication and its relationship to the reader was personal and intimate. The paper was independent and had no connection whatever with any party, and this fact placed it in a special category of its own.

Before long, the paper grew very popular with the drab Jewish masses, with the labourers and artisans, the small shopkeepers, the peddlers at the fairs, the carters and the working classes who were engrossed in a hard struggle for their daily bread.

I think I might say that *Unzer Express* removed the curtain from the life of the Jew in the large city, which was basically different from life in the old townlet of the God-fearing Jew. The paper uncovered the great changes that had taken place in the Jewish home the influence of whose head, the Chassidic father, over his children was now considerably reduced. They parted ways and took a different direction from that of their parents—some tending to Socialism or Communism and others to cheap assimilation, which, in actual fact, was only a superficial linguistic asimilation with their Polish surroundings.

Unzer Express was founded in the summer of 1926 by two men of initiative, Zakheim and Goldberg, and its name at first was *Varshever Express*. Things went smoothly for the first few weeks. The editorial staff was more or less consolidated and, by degrees, the idea crystallised of bringing out a paper that regarded it as its goal to serve the simple non-party and helpless Jew in his struggle against acts of social injustice, in standing by the side of the Jewish masses in their war against the antisemitism of the Polish people, and, at the same time, to support Jewish initiative in the establishment and maintenance of Jewish institutions for defence, economic assistance and culture.

Before long, however, the first dispute broke out which shed light on the ulterior motives of the publishers. It occurred one evening, when the writer of these lines was night

editor, and as he was preparing the following day's issue, he noticed that Goldberg had introduced, without the knowledge of the editorial board, a news item of several lines on the first page of the paper, which appeared somehow suspicious. It concerned the affair of the Rabbi of Radom who, despite opposition from members of his community, wanted to continue occupying his post. In the news item in question, there was an appeal by the Rabbi who, relying on the "authorities" asked for his re-election to the post, otherwise . . . and here there came threats which the night editor regarded as unbeseeming a Jewish paper, and so decided of his own accord to prevent its publication in the paper.

The following day the scandal broke out. The question that arose was, Who had the say here? Who was it that paid the workers and who was it that could give orders? Goldberg filed a complaint against the night editor with the Journalists Association—and, to his surprise, gained nothing by it, since the Association justified the action taken by the editor.

And so an end came to the ideal partnership. Immediately afterwards, the partners began to lag behind in their payment of wages, and when Thursday, which was payday, came round, Goldberg owed the workers their wages for the previous week. Disputes arose with the various Trade Unions that represented the various categories of workers and as the days passed by, it became increasingly clear to us that the publishers had erred in their calculations. Apparently they had expected money "from some source or other" which was not forthcoming, and to us it became clear without any doubt that the paper was hanging in thin air.

It was December. The paper had appeared for three months and we, the members of the staff, were clearly conscious of the contacts we had established with our readers. This contact was noticeable right from the first issue, and we did not want to acquiesce in the idea of the paper being closed down. And so the idea cropped up of trying to bring out the paper without Goldberg's assistance. True, we had no money, but neither had Goldberg. For weeks on end he had not paid us our wages.

The experiment we wished to undertake was new and daring, and had so far not been made by any Jewish paper. So tedious negotiations began. It was, of course, possible to rent a printing shop in order to set up and print the paper, and to pay it from the weekly income that sales would bring in. But it was impossible to bring out a paper without a stock of newsprint and money was needed for that. A certain sum was also needed for unforeseen expenditure. Finally, it was decided that whoever wished to enter the business as a partner must bring in his share of the capital. After consultations and calculations, it was decided that everyone would have to make an investment of 200 Zloty, which were about $40, according to the rate of exchange at the time, but where was this amount to come from. We had not received our wages at all during the last few weeks, and not one among us had such "capital" at his disposal. Many among us had to pawn family jewels in order to raise the sum required, but the money was raised and the Cooperative was founded. After the elapse of four weeks, our new paper appeared on January 9, 1927, under the name *Unzer Express*.

The Jewish population of Poland, which numbered upwards of 3,500,000, was sharply divided into various parties. Ever since the emergence of the new Poland, after World War I, the Jewish population was faced by a tragic and double task. Throughout the 20 years between the two World Wars, the Jews of Poland were subject to a chain of physical and spiritual persecutions. At the same time, they had to maintain a fight for the preservation of their Jewish image, for the upbringing of their children as conscious Jews and for the development of their own culture.

There was no uniformity of opinion among the Jewish leadership as to how to conduct the struggle for the rights of the Jewish masses. Thus, for example, the Bund thought that the magic word "Socialism" would help to kill the deep feelings of antisemitism that lived in the heart and soul of the Polish labouring masses, and that the only hope open to the Jewish workers was to collaborate with the Polish workers. If the latter did not want to hear about such cooperation, then it was necessary to convince them. . .

The leaders were, for the greater part, Zionists. The Balfour Declaration had been issued recently, but for the time being Aliyah was small, and so the Zionist leaders, too, were forced to concentrate their main efforts on current activities, on the daily struggle for Jewish rights. But opinions were divided as to the methods of the struggle. The respected

statesman Yitzhak Gruenbaum, for example, believed that it would be advisable to join the other national minorities in Poland and that through a united and strong representation in the Sejm it would be possible to wield influence on the affairs of state. But he remained oblivious of the basic difference in goals—a difference that separated one minority from the other, vis-à-vis the Polish State. Thus, for example, the Ukrainians and the Germans aspired to cut themselves asunder from Poland and to unite with their mother country. This immediately cast a shadow of suspicion on the Jews that they were conniving secretly to unite with the enemies of the country.

Other Zionist politicians, like Dr. Leon Reich of Lwow, and Dr. Joshua Thon of Krakow, wanted to transfer to the new Poland the traditions of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire—the policy of intercession, the system of "give and take". For some time Gruenbaum had the upper hand, but subsequently the system of Reich and Thon gained sway, and they were the chief spokesmen of the Jewish public. For the oppressed Jewish masses, the outcome made no difference, and from day to day the feelings of helplessness and despair increased.

There was another political trend among Polish Jewry—that of the People's Party—the Folkists. Theirs was not a mass movement, it was an ideological trend, the leaders of which argued that the Jewish masses had to develop their independent national life. Unlike the Zionists, they did not advocate an exit from Poland, but a struggle for their human and national life on the spot. This movement was headed by Noah Prilutski, a leader of great inspiration, and for several years the Movement successfully withstood the Zionist concept of Jewish policy in Poland until the Polish antisemites drove Prilutski out from the Sejm.

Among the founders of *Unzer Express* were two loyal disciples of Noah Prilutski—Lazar Kahan and Elhanan Zeitlin—who left their impress upon the paper throughout the years of its existence. Throughout that period, they were members of the editorial board, who wrote the editorial articles in the paper and formulated its public stance. The Folkist Movement was weak, but its spirit—as formulated many years previously by Professor Simon Dubnow—was the spirit of the paper, even without a written and formulated platform.

Aaron Zeitlin, the Yiddish and Hebrew poet, was one of the most important contributors to *Unzer Express*. Although he was never a member of the editorial board, he edited the Friday editions, which were generally twice as large as the weekday editions. Zeitlin also wrote weekly political reviews of events. He was one of the few in journalism in Poland who had a knowledge of English. His pen name "Politicus" was later taken over by other members of the editorial staff



Lazar Kahan



Elhanan Zeitlin

who wrote similar surveys. Aaron Zeitlin also used to write on important literary events in the Jewish world.

In *Unzer Express,* reportage occupied a more prominent place than in any other Jewish paper. From its first day, the paper laid stress on a review of daily events, on detailed reports of life in Eretz Israel, on descriptions of changing situations and on the daily struggles of the public and its various components. One of the best reporters on the paper was Leibl Bein. He was a special type of reporter. He was an adherent of the Rebbe of Piaseczna, and on Sabbaths one could see him in the court of the Rebbe wearing a silk kapota and streiml. But, no sooner did the stars appear on Saturday night, than Reb Leibl returned to his mundane life and occupation. He had a close knowledge of all strata of Warsaw Jewry, even of the underworld. Being an adherent of Chassidism, he knew all the "secrets" of the Chassidic "Stieblach" where life was no longer as strong as it had been in the past. In the paper he published a series of "stories from

the abyss of Warsaw", in which he revealed shocking scenes of Jewish life. He showed that the great stress of the Jews constantly undermined the noble traits which, for generations on end, had been the basis of Jewish family life.

Another star reporter was A. Lehrman. Unlike Leibl Bein, Lehrman reported on the "secular" side of Jewish life. Despite the great stress among the Jews, the general community evinced basic healthiness. Jews used to visit the theatres and



Leibl Bein



Moshe Nudelman

circuses, and took part in sports events. Lehrman succeeded most in his reports about the Jewish methods of amusement, about the life of the sons of Chassidic families who forsook their parental mode of life. Lehrman also wrote light and popular novels in which he generally revealed the unrequited dreams of the Jewish girl, of the poor working woman. The writer Moshe Zilburg who lived for many years in Vienna, also published popular novels in our paper for some time.

Good reporters are not necessarily good writers, and on our editorial staff were a number of writers who used to re-write the reports. They were Jacob Bornstein, Leib Dreikurs, Menahem Flakser and S. Klatz. These, together with Moshe Elbaum, also acted as night editors who assisted in preparing the paper for publication. The writer Ber J. Rosen was for many years the paper's reporter from the law courts. He also wrote reports on proceedings in the Sejm. The proofreaders on the paper were the writers Jacob Reisfeder and A. Kaveh (Vanwild).

Until his Aliyah to Eretz Israel, the Hebrew writer Ephraim Singer also worked as a proofreader for the paper.

For several years Dr. Abraham Glicksman and Bernard Singer wrote regularly for the paper. Glicksman was a type of "perpetual student". He attended many universities in Europe and shared his knowledge with his readers. Bernard Singer was at home in Polish culture and in the political bypaths of the country and of its politicians.

The very gifted writer Ephraim Kaganovski, could not find a more suitable platform from which to portray his heroes than this paper for the masses. The readers of the paper, it is true, served as his "dramatis personae" in many of his stories, in which they conducted their bitter struggle for their daily life.

The humourist Moshe Nudelman, took his first steps in literature in the column of *Unzer Express*. He edited the humouristic column of the paper, in which he published innumerable feuilletons and tried to bring a little levity into the Jewish homes.

These were members of the permanent staff, partners in the paper, who used to come to their work daily. Apart from them, however, the paper had numerous irregular contributors, among them noted Yiddish writers who used to publish their articles and essays mainly in the Friday and festival editions.

In his heyday, *Unzer Express* used to have a circulation of 60,000 on weekdays, and still more for the Sabbath and festival editions. In the conditions of dire poverty of the Jewish reading masses, sometimes as many as ten people used to join together for a subscription to the paper and read it "in turn". In other words, the paper was read by hundreds of thousands of men and women.

For some time *Unzer Express* brought out also an evening paper, which was circulated in Warsaw alone. Its name was *Ovent Kurier*. When this paper was confiscated its name was changed to *Varshever Kurier*. The well-known journalist R. Roisman, was engaged in the preparation of this paper.

No political party supported *Unzer Express,* nor did we conduct any propaganda for any political platform. We felt that the Jewish masses of Poland held on to the paper in which they sought some shelter for themselves. In order to realise to what extent the readers were attached to the paper one had only to enter the editorial offices of the

paper on any evening, for example, and see one of the paper's lawyers giving legal advice to readers.

Unzer Express was also the only paper that had special editions for the larger provincial towns. To these the internal pages of the paper would be sent out already printed, whereas the first (sometimes also the last) page would remain blank and the material printed locally consisted of news of local interest as well as local advertisements. In particular *Bialystoker Express,* under the editorship of the gifted journalist Asher Tshonowitz, reaped great success. This paper appeared for many years down to its tragic end.

Apart from that, the paper had regular correspondents in almost every town and townlet. In particular, mention should be made of our correspondent at Kielce, the young writer and public worker, Leibl Rodal, who participated in the public work of the Revisionist Party. He played an active role in the fighting in the Warsaw Gretto and as the writers of the history of the Ghetto subsequently related, Rodal died in an attic with a gun in his hand.

At this juncture, one should recall the memory of the members of the editorial board and the editors Lazar Kahan and Elhanan Zeitlin who were devoted mainly to the defence of the middle classes in the Jewish population. Lazar Kahan was connected for many years with the artisans and petty traders' associations. He participated in their meetings, had a knowledge of their problems and worries, and always employed the columns of the paper and its editorials for the defence of this nucleus of the Jewish people and to arouse them to the dangers that lurked for them in Poland.

Elhanan Zeitlin was a member of the Folkist school of thought, and often employed his pungent pen in order to voice the demand for the rights of the petty merchants and artisans, the pedlars and stall-holders at fairs, whose "fortresses" were always under attack from the Polish "patriots".

Elhanan Zeitlin was killed in the Warsaw Ghetto, whereas Lazar Kahan died in distant Shanghai in the course of his wanderings during the War.

Unzer Express was the first Jewish paper in Poland to introduce the type of reporting current in the American press, and in particular the more intimate approach to the reader and an interest in his personal problems.

Readers would often flood the editorial offices with letters on questions of health and the medical adviser of the paper Dr. Haim Kaufman, read all the letters with the greatest of patience and endeavoured to assist the readers as far as possible. He met his death in the Warsaw Ghetto together with his admirers and the readers of his advice in the paper.

The average reader of *Unzer Express* was not at home in the realm of music and art, but the Jewish man in the street had a yearning for beauty and for lofty spiritual values. Even the poor labourer and artisan read Jewish and world literature, filled the Jewish theatre halls and went to concerts and exhibitions. *Unzer Express* used to publish regularly reviews of important musical events, written by M.L. Kipnis-Osicki, and art reviews written by Benzion Gruenbaum.



Moshe Elbaum



Menahem Flakser

The well-known actress Shoshana, Lazar Kahan's wife, remained in Warsaw together with the families of the members of the staff who did not succeed in escaping from the capital in the first week of the War. She kept a diary until the day of her flight from Warsaw several weeks later. In her book entitled "In Fayer un Flamen" (In Fire and Flame, Buenos Aires, 1949), Shoshana wrote in her entry of September 11, 1939:

"In the first days of the War, the appearance of the papers in Warsaw was suspended. Everything was paralysed, but several days later the more courageous among the journalists summoned courage to return to their editorial offices and to bring out their papers. But most of the editors and journalists had escaped and there was insufficient manpower.

My brother-in-law Israel Kahan, who arrived from Lodz on Wednesday, September 6, at once stepped in to fill the place of his brother, my husband Lazar, and renewed the publication of *Unzer Express*. The act entailed great danger. At any moment the Germans were likely to break through the Front and to arrive in Warsaw, and everyone knew what that meant for a Jewish journalist. But Israel Kahan said: 'A journalist must run every risk and Jews now stand in need of the printed word: it will serve to relieve their despair'. He went out courageously to do his work. Tonight, Israel Kahan returned very late from the editorial offices. His head was in bandages. A brick had fallen upon his head from a demolished house, and he was in need of first aid".

My colleagues on *Unzer Express* who did not succeed in escaping from the slaughter field, all died. Not one of them survived.

Warsaw Polish-Jewish dailies

NASZ PRZEGLAD

Pola Appenszlak

To write about *Nasz Pszeglad** and its history, to paint a portrait of the numerous journalists and other workers on the paper and to evaluate its task; to take one's memory back to the drab day-to-day occurrences and to the important, festive and historical events—is for me as though I was writing an important chapter in my own life's story—the period of my youth. I was connected with the paper through both professional and family bonds as well as with ties of friendship. When this paper was liquidated at the beginning of the liquidation of Polish Jewry, immediately after the entrance of the Polish capital by the Hitlerite forces, there lived in Warsaw 330,000 Jews in a total general population of over 1,000,000. The readers of the paper were scattered over the whole of Poland and lived in large cities of considerable Jewish population, such as Lodz, Kalisz, Lublin, Bialystok, Vilna and scores of townlets in which the influence of the Yiddish press was greater than in Warsaw; yet, despite everything, they were influenced also by a reading of *Nasz Przeglad*.

The founders of the papers were journalists, writers and poets, men of ideas and public figures, who sought contact with the masses. It would be difficult to appreciate the function of the Jewish daily in the Polish language without a short preliminary survey of the past and the beginning of the Jewish press in that language. The fact that the first journal to reach the Jewish reader in Warsaw was in the Polish language shows that publications of this type had an historical role to play in the awakening of emancipation and national consciousness. This function as a factor in the dissemination of enlightenment generally, as well as a standard bearer of the ideas of general and national liberation, in the course of its development, changed intermittently and was not always positive from the point of view of our national interests. More than once, this press used to unite the streams of assimilation and often came out against the of the large city. The spread and rooting in of this press served as a reflection of the stand taken up by the more or less enlightened and assimilationist circles among the Jews of the large city. The spread and routing in of this press went hand in hand with the rise in linguistic assimilation among Polish Jewry. The number of Polish speakers increased even before World War I and it is of interest to note that one of the Jewish journals in the Polish language *Izraelita Polski* by name, was founded because of the need to answer back the antisemitic attacks in the period of the Polish revolt of 1830–31. This was the function of this press also when it sported the banner of Zionism and Jewish Socialism.

Beforehand, there appeared for the period of one year also a weekly in Yiddish and Polish. The Yiddish was actually a Germanised Yiddish, in Hebrew characters, and its editor was Antoni Eisenbaum, an enlightened Jew. The name of his publication being *Dostrzegacz Nadwislanski* (Observer on the Vistula). He was among the leaders of the Left in the progressive Polish camp and hence its great influence on the rulers of Poland who placed at his disposal the funds required for the publication of the weekly, which failed on account of the inimical attitude evinced by Warsaw Jewry to the editor, whose approach to the principles of Jewish tradition was negative in the extreme.

After 30 years, there was founded in Warsaw a weekly by the name of *Jutrzenka* (Morning Star), which appeared in the years 1861–63. The editor and founder of the paper was Daniel Neufeld, and it had the participation of H. Z. Slonimski, Alexander Kraushar, Henryk Nussbaum and others. This periodical is to the present day an historical document of great value, reflecting the trends among the Jewish intelligentsia at the time. On clearly religious questions, the tendency of the paper was conservative, while on social matters it was progressive.

* Pronounced *Nash Psheglond*.

In 1865, the weekly in the Polish language *Izraelita* appeared and for four years served as a disseminator of the Polish culture and national ideals among the Jews. Apart from a short period, during which its editor was Nahum Sokolov (1903–4), its main objective was to strengthen the spirit of assimilation among the Jews. Nahum Sokolov, on the other hand, advocated the study of Jewish culture, a love for the everlasting laws of Judaism and a love for



Natan Schwalbe



Jakob Appenszlak

the oppressed Jewish masses. *Izraelita* appeared until 1906, but after it was closed down its appearance was renewed again in 1915, under the editorship of Joseph Wasserzug, an extremist assimilationist who, in due course, converted to Christianity.

The years 1903–6 witnessed the founding of several Polish Jewish journals. These were years of struggle for the Jewish and Polish workers, years that were full of hopes for the social liberation of the Jews in a democratic Poland. At that time there appeared groups of young intellectuals in the Zionist Movement and the National Socialist Movement who, from the linguistic point of view, belonged to the Polish-speaking camp but did not have the possibility of obtaining a licence from the Russian authorities for the publication of a Zionist weekly in Warsaw. In the year 1906, the Zionist group founded the weekly *Glos Zydowski* (The Jewish Voice), under the editorship of Jan Kirszrot, and later under the editorship of Y. Gruenbaum and A. Hartglas.

More and more papers in Polish began to be read in Jewish homes in Warsaw. In particular, the reading public consisted of women who received their education in Jewish and Polish schools. For in Chassidic homes, the women were frequently the only members in the Jewish family that received a secular Jewish education. There appeared also the first daily in Polish—*Nowa Gazeta* (the New Paper), edited by an assimilationist Jew, Stanislaw Kempner. It was a liberal, progressive paper but not Leftist, and it differed from the Polish papers only in the fact that it combated antisemitism and Polish-National clericalism.

In 1913, there appeared in Warsaw, *Przeglad Codzienny,* under the editorship of Stanislaw Mendelson, a Socialist and former editor of Socialist periodicals. Mendelson drew nearer to Zionism and married one of Nahum Sokolov's daughters. He died before the outbreak of World War I, and the paper was closed down.

World War I, the policy of the Germans vis-à-vis the Jews in Poland, and subsequently the Russian Revolution, the pogroms in the Ukraine and in Poland, all succeeded in increasing the influence of Zionism and of the National Parties. The defeat of Germany and the liberation of the small peoples as well as the Balfour Declaration, brought about a tremendous development of the Jewish press and of the Jewish educational institutions in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish. However, the rise of independent Poland and the introduction of the Polish language in the elementary schools and the educational institutions in the new State, increased the need for a Jewish press in the Polish language. It was also necessary to put up a defence against Polish antisemitism and to enlist all the forces for the struggle for equality of civil and national rights.

The group that set up the Jewish daily in the Polish language began by founding a weekly in that language. It was a group consisting of people who were not connected with any specific political party, the only connecting link between them being an understanding for the dangers of assimilation which spread far and wide among the middle classes, and particularly among the Jewish intelligentsia of the two directions—among the Left, through the Socialist organisations, and among the Right through the intelligentsia that believed that antisemitism would disappear in

the new Poland and that cooperation between the Jews and the Poles was a rose-strewn path.

Among the founding group of *Nasz Przeglad,* the opinions that held sway among the Jewish community, were even more pronounced. The staff of workers closely connected with the paper, which at first was called *Nasz Kurier* were: Jakob Appenszlak, Natan Schwalbe, Saul Wagman, Florian Sokolow, Samuel Sokolow, Samuel Hirszhorn and others.

Only one of this group has survived. He is Samuel Wolkowicz who played an important role in organising the weekly and afterwards the daily *Nasz Kurier.* Wolkowicz, a very active and jolly man, differed from his colleagues also in his outlooks and in his approach to work. In outlook, he was a "Yiddishist" who supported the political group led by Noah Prilutski, for only its class outlook differentiated between them and the Bund.

Saul Wagman began his work on the paper by writing poetry and, in the course of many years, acted as secretary of the editorial board. His political outlooks were not clearly defined. He was influenced by the romanticism of Zionism and although he was brought up in a Chassidic home, he was under the influence of his three brothers who were marked Communists. One of them died in a Russian prison, the second died in Russia during the War and the third was counted among the leading Polish writers who took the name of Adam Wazyk. He had always been a Communist although he worked on *Nasz Przeglad* as a proofreader and editor of the film column.

Natan Schwalbe was a gifted publicist who stemmed from assimilationist circles and was interested mainly in economic problems and in international policy. He was the representative of the middle class circles among the enlightened Jewish readers who preferred to debate with the various ideological trends rather than to identify with them.

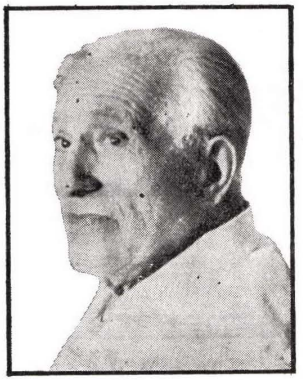
The most famous among the founding group was Jacob Appenszlak. He received his education in a Polish school and was brought up in an assimilationist home. After completing his secondary school education, he began his career as a gifted poet and continued as the theatrical critic of the most important Warsaw paper, *Kurier Warszawski.*

He joined *Nasz Przeglad* out of disappointment and protest. It was suggested to him that he should at least change his first name, if not his family name. For him that was the first official manifestation of antisemitism which was to increase in the course of time.

He began Zionist activity at public meetings, his appearance being markedly Byronic, his rich language and literary ability winning over the sympathy of the student youth, the intelligentsia and the masses of the paper's readers. In his youth he had no connection whatever with the



S. Hirszhorn



S. Wolkowicz

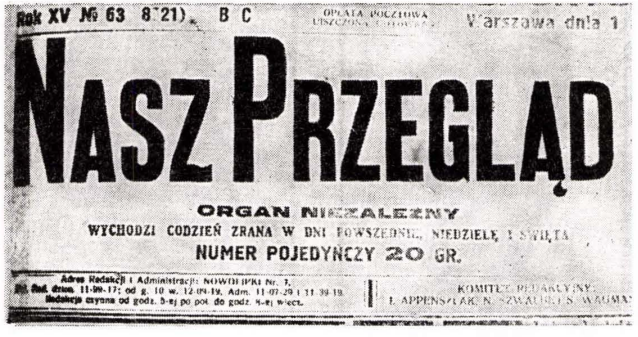
problems of Jewish culture, and he had to work hard in order to study the ideals of Zionism, which he at first conceived as romantic, almost Herzlian, and so it was difficult for him to identify with a certain political Zionist group among those that held sway in Poland. The editorship of an influential daily paper enforced upon him full Party tolerance. Under his influence, the paper's columns were thrown open to every Zionist party and to every organisation that had any connection with Eretz Israel.

The political activists of the Parties, which had at their disposal small journals of little influence, could not forgive this daily paper its "general" character as its circulation grew and its fame expanded (it should not be forgotten that the paper was read also by Poles), and as the link between the readers and the paper grew, the hatred towards him increased on the part of the party leaders who, from time to time, tried to establish journals of their own.

The intellectuals, the academic youth and people of the

middle classes, did not read anything or only very little in Yiddish. Through the medium of the Polish language, they gained an insight first of all into Jewish literature. Translations from the works of Peretz, Shalom Aleichem, Asch, or Opatoshu, Singer, Mendele Mocher Sepharim into Polish, reached both the Jewish readers in this language, as well as Polish readers.

The first group of Jewish artists was organised by Appensz-


Rok XV № 63 8·21). B C OPŁATA POCZTOWA UISZCZONA GOTÓWKĄ Warszawa dnia 1

NASZ PRZEGLĄD

ORGAN NIEZALEŻNY

WYCHODZI CODZIEŃ ZRANA W DNI POWSZEDNIE, NIEDZIELĘ I ŚWIĘTA

NUMER POJEDYNCZY 20 GR.

Adres Redakcji i Administracji: NOWOLIPKI Nr. 7.
Nr. tel. dnia. 11-99-17; od g. 10 w. 12-09-19. Adm. 11-07-29 i 11-39-19.
Redakcja czynna od godz. 3-ej po poł. do godz. 8-ej wiecz.

KOMITET REDAKCYJNY:
I. APPENSZLAK. N. SZWALBE. S. WAGMAN

Nasz Przeglad, *Polish-language daily, Warsaw, 1924–1939*

lak in "The Association for the encouragement of the Fine Arts". This organisation enabled artists who were not admitted to Polish exhibitions, to launch upon a career which often ended in European fame. Mane Katz, Menkes, the brothers Seidenbeutel, Sliwniak, Merzer and others opened their exhibitions under the patronage of the new Association and reproductions of their paintings appeared weekly in the weekly supplement of *Nasz Przeglad*. The factual criticisms of the paintings were written by Michael Weinzieher and appeared in the literary supplement of the paper.

All the Jewish composers and musicians found in the paper not only reviews of their concerts but primarily the support of the public at large and its sympathy.

The historical past of the Jewish people, both distant and recent, was the theme of articles by Professor M. Balaban, Dr. M. Schorr, Rabbi M. Mieses and Dr. Y. Schipper.

The economic supplement of *Nasz Przeglad* had the participation of Dr. F. Rotenstreich and Dr. A. Insler, both of them deputies of the Sejm (Parliament). The supplement for legal affairs was edited by Dr. Isserson.

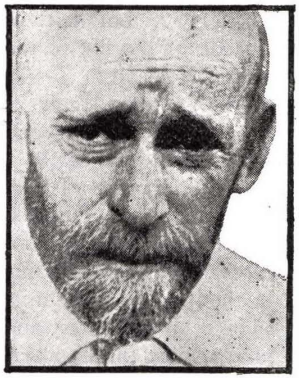
The sports supplement, which appeared once a week was edited in a lively fashion by the Deputy Chairman of the "Maccabi" Association in Poland and a diving champion, advocate Zigmunt Fogel, played an important role in the emancipation of the Jewish youth in their physical development in raising their national stature and in self-defence against antisemitic attack when need arose.

The theatrical reviews were written by Jakob Appenszlak. He was also the editor of the literary section and it fell to his task to reveal young literary talent and to lend it support. These, to his sorrow, did not always remain faithful to him and often wandered away to the more extensive arena of the Polish press and literature. Appenszlak gained fame mainly by the new type of humourous feuilleton, previously unknown, which he would publish under the pen name of "Pierrot", for many years under the headline "Between the Lines", and which brought the readers of the paper much satisfaction.

Janusz Korczak, the great educationist, was the man who suggested to *Nasz Przeglad* to print a weekly supplement for children, to be written by children and by young people organised in Zionist Movements and organisations. The material in this supplement was written by children only. Janusz Korczak, the militant protagonist of equality of rights for the child, never relented this struggle even from the columns of the paper. Once or twice a week, surrounded by a militant group of reporters and journalists of his own, who were known only by their private names, he would invade the editorial offices and the print shop, and no one was permitted to stop them or to ask what they were doing or what the children wanted there. Entirely on their own they developed their paper and also tried to organise social activities, such as hikes, readers' meetings, competitions, etc. After some time, Korczak's place began to be taken by his protégé, a lad by the name of J. Newerly, at present a prominent writer in Poland.

One of the veteran and loyal cooperators on the paper was Samuel Hirszhorn, a man of extraordinary humility and of unusual ability at facile writing. Hirszhorn was independent and had no connection with any party. He was a man of great tolerance in daily and in political life. Apart from his journalistic work, he published several works on the history of Polish Jewry.

One of the regular contributors to *Nasz Przeglad* (and other Jewish papers) was Bernard Singer, who wrote under the pseudonym of "Regnis". For years on end he used to write daily on internal political matters. He was the paper's Parliamentary correspondent and his pungent yet humourous pen gained him numerous admirers both among the readers of the paper as well as in Polish political and journalistic circles. He was a man of marked anti-Zionist tendencies, but he never gave expression to them in the paper since his field of work was clearly defined. After the War, Singer moved to London where he worked on the economic section of well-known English weeklies.



Janusz Korczak



Shalom Yedidiah

Despite the fact that *Nasz Przeglad* was a widely read paper with a large circulation, and perhaps because of that, the paper had numerous enemies. The assimilationists accused it of chauvinism; the Bundists decried it for serving the bourgeois elements, while the latter claimed that it printed articles in support of Communism. The religious circles accused it of supporting agnosticism, while the Communists claimed that through its support of Jewish tradition it supported religion. The Zionists argued that its Zionism was far too weak. Every party, every faction and splinter group, voiced their arguments against the paper, but all agreed that "it was impossible without", and read it with satisfaction.

PIATA RANO

Shalom Yedidiah

S.J. Yatzkan, doyen of the Jewish press in Poland, and editor of *Haint,* conceived the idea of bringing out a daily paper in Polish, intended for the non-Jewish reader. It was at the end of the 1930s, when antisemitic propaganda accompanied generally by antisemitic excesses reached their height, and the Polish press for the greater part instead of trying to curb hooliganism, contributed its share to the dissemination of the poison of antisemitism. Yatzkan hoped to be able to reach the wide Polish masses through the medium of a popular paper that would be sold at a low price and so be able to counteract the waves of untruth and mendacious propaganda that were spread in the press against the Jewish community in Poland, and so the popular paper *Ostatnie Wiadomosci* (Latest News) was born, at the head of which was a 28-year old journalist who the previous year had completed his studies at the Warsaw High School for Journalism with distinction.

His name was Samuel Swislocki. Swislocki's activity on Yatzkan's paper was not long-lived. Before long he realised that a paper that had to hide its Jewish identity so as to be able to reach a wide circle of readers, could not properly carry out the task entrusted to it. At that time, therefore, he reached the decision to bring out a paper in the Polish language that would be able to carry aloft the banner of combating antisemitism and, at the same time, serve as a national guide to that section of the Jewish intelligentsia that stood in need of a paper in the Polish language.

The paper *Piata Rano** (Five A.M.), founded by him in 1930, reaped great success and captured the heart of its readers by its dynamism and by the form in which it furnished its information. Swislocki was editor of the paper

* Pronounced *Pionta Rano*

but, at the same time, fulfilled other journalistic functions on it. He also wrote the editorial articles in which he unmasked the hypocrisy of the pogromists and the anti-Jewish instigators.

The paper was non-party. Swislocki in his own way served the interests of the Zionist-National Movement among Polish Jewry. He held the fate of the oppressed Jewish masses close to heart and served their vital interests to the



S. Swislocki



Moshe Sneh

best of his ability and with great energy. He did not diverge from the non-party path, even when faced by great inducement. His reaction to the proposal put to him by the leader of the Zionist Movement in Poland, Dr. Moshe Kleinbaum (the late Dr. Moshe Sneh, who often published his articles in *Piata Rano*) that he agreed to put forward his candidature for membership of the Sejm on behalf of the General Zionists, is characteristic of him. Swislocki thanked him for the proposal but said: "I am not in need of the Parliamentary forum in order to defend the rights of my people. That I do in my daily work from the columns of my paper".

NOWE SLOWO

Moshe Sneh

Nowe Slowo (New Word), the Jewish daily in the Polish language, appeared in Warsaw for a period of only one year—from April 1931 until April 1932, but left its impress on the events of the last decade in the life of the Jewish community in Poland before the Holocaust.

The paper, which described itself as "the organ of national Jewry in Poland", began publication several months after the Parliamentary elections at the end of 1930, which revealed a disturbing development among the Jewish community. The process of Fascism among the Pilsudski regime increased in intensity and one of its manifestations was the campaign to break the democratic forces, including the principal oppositionist factor in the Jewish community —the Yitzhak Gruenbaum camp. The economic stress and the oppressive measures of the regime against the impoverished and oppressed Jews in the large towns and in the townlets, grew more intense from day to day, and one of its objectives was to force the Jewish electors to give their direct support to the Government list ("The non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government" of Jozef Pilsudski), or indirectly through a Jewish list founded by the authorities. The consolidation of the Jewish masses in Poland around the platform for a struggle for their rights and for opposition to the antisemitic regime—which had been achieved by Gruenbaum, could not hold out against the attack launched by the dictatorial regime. Jewish circles and organisations—political as well as economic—which in former years had collaborated with the Central Committee of the Zionist organisation in Poland, seceded from the partnership and were included either in the Government bloc or were linked with it. On the side of the regime of Pilsudski and the Colonels was also the Revisionist Party.

It was against such manifestations of submission and conformity that one had to act through ideological-political education and a daily information campaign, so as to deepen a national consciousness and so steel the character and the

resistance of the Jewish masses. Seeing that the weight of a Parliamentary struggle had been greatly reduced under the conditions of the military dictatorship, the importance rose of a paper as an educational and guiding medium. In the Yiddish language this task was performed by *Haint*. However, the process of cultural and linguistic Polonisation among the Jewish youth and the Jewish intelligentsia embraced ever widening circles, to whom the printed word in Yiddish ceased to have any meaning. In the Polish language there existed a widely read Jewish paper *Nasz Przeglad,* but this paper adopted the policy of adaptation to the regime or, at best, the line of moderate criticism of Government policy. The Radical Jewish national policy stood in need of a daily paper in the Polish language that would be able to reach the Jewish Polish-reading youth and intelligentsia and give expression to the message of the Jewish national democratic and progressive Zionist opposition to the Polish authorities and public. For that purpose, the paper *Nowe Slowo* was established, the first number of which appeared in Warsaw on April 26, 1931.

The Editorial Board was composed of four senior members of the Central Zionist Committee (of the Radical Zionist faction): Abraham Goldberg, the editor-in-chief of *Haint;* Yitzhak Gruenbaum, Member of the Sejm and Chairman of the Central Board, Dr. Joseph Dawidson, a physician and former Senator, and Dr. Yitzhak Schipper, a historian and former Member of the Sejm. Dr. Abraham Insler, a former Member of the Sejm, was invited to be the acting editor of the paper.

It was in this paper that writers, poets and journalists, who were later to gain fame and distinction, took their first steps: Shlomo Dickman, a young genius, who began to translate Bialik's poetry into Polish and died in Eretz Israel after returning from lengthy detention in Soviet Russia; Roman Brandstaetter, an enthusiastic national Jewish poet who, in the years after the War, found his way to Christianity and to the Catholic camp in Poland; Moshe Szymel, a young gifted poet, who met his death in the Holocaust; Jerzy Boreisza, son of Abraham Goldberg, who was a Communist in the Underground and rose to great heights in popular Poland as a member of the Central Committee and head of the Government Publishing House "Ruch"; Alexander Alexandroni, who began writing on sports and concluded his career in Eretz Israel as the doyen of sports reporters. He died as this book went to the press.

From its very inception the appearance of the new paper was a great success and at the same time a great failure.

The paper's journalistic, literary and cultural standard was higher than that of most Polish papers, even the best among them. Its ideological-political line was clear and consistent—it took up a militant stand for the equality of rights of the Jewish national minority in Poland in the framework of a democratic regime, and for the revival of the Jewish people in its historical homeland—Eretz Israel. The paper aroused sympathetic reaction among its readers and an attitude of respect even on the part of opponents and enemies (the antisemitic press could not by-pass the opinions expressed in *Nowe Slowo* and would react with anger although with civility). So far for the success.

The failure was on the material plane. The investment capital of the paper was far from sufficient, and the founders did not take into account the need of covering deficits for a prolonged period. On the one hand, deficits were caused by the paucity of advertisements and publicity on the part of economic bodies, and on the other hand by the censorship which would often confiscate the copies of the paper after printing, so that the "amended" edition which had to be printed anew could not reach the night trains which left the capital for the provinces in all directions. And so, for political reasons the censorship ruined a paper that was not to its liking.

The deficits piled up, but there was no cover. Since wages could not be paid the editorial staff dispersed and the editor-in-chief, Dr. Insler, also stopped his work on the paper and returned to Lwow, his city of residence. Half a year after the foundation of the paper it was faced with the danger of closure. The editorial board nonetheless decided to avert the


ROK II. Warszawa, czwartek 7 stycznia 1932 r. CENA 15 gr.

NOWE SŁOWO

PISMO CODZIENNE

ORGAN ŻYDOSTWA NARODOWEGO W POLSCE

Nowe Slowo, *Progressive Zionist weekly, Warsaw, 1931–1932*

closing down of the paper and invited two young students in the University of Warsaw, among the central activists around Yitzhak Gruenbaum, to work on the paper in place of the professional journalists who had left. They were the medical student Moshe Kleinbaum (Dr. Moshe Sneh) and the law student Bronislaw Straubaum (at present advocate Dov Tibbon of Jerusalem).

They commenced their work under the professional guidance of Abraham Goldberg, an excellent and experienced editor who, however, lacked all knowledge of the Polish language. The two students alone did all the editorial work: Kleinbaum wrote the editorial articles, the review of the daily press, etc., and also edited all the publicistic material for the internal pages; Straubaum wrote and edited the foreign and local news on the outside pages of the paper and also did the layout and proofreading. They were given a token salary but they often failed to received even this. And so the continued appearance of the paper, which did not pay any fees to contributors and did not have to bear the cost of an editorial staff, was made possible. The two amateur editors, with the assistance of several public figures who, from time to time, would send in their articles to the paper without receiving payment for them, assured the continuous publication of *Nowe Slowo* on its original standard and with its original policy and objective.

The decisive blow to the paper came from an entirely unexpected quarter. With the retrenchment and cuts that became unavoidable in the paper's budget, the printing was transferred from a Polish-Christian printing house, to a Jewish print shop. Before the Passover of 1932 the Trade Union of Jewish Printing Workers, under the direction of Bund presented a demand for a rise in pay. The founders of the paper and its public owners presented proof to the Secretariat of the Trade Union that the financial situation prevented it from meeting the demand, and quoted as an example the Journalists' Association which acquiesced in the fact that the paper did not employ journalists at all, but only two volunteers. They promised that when the situation improved and the paper overcame its financial crisis, they would discuss the demands with the Union. At present, such demands meant the closing down of the paper which, incidentally, was the only Jewish daily in the Polish language in opposition to the regime. There were people at the time who thought that it was this political reason that induced the members of the Bund to remain intransigent on the Printers' Trade Union because they looked upon *Nowe Slowo* intelligentsia that tended to the Left. There was no possibilmembers of the Bund to remain intransigent on the version. It is nonetheless a fact that the Bund paid no heed to any explanations and refused to change their view, even when the publishers of the paper informed them that the paper would have to close down on account of their demand. On Passover eve *Nowe Slowo* ceased publication.

But the public-political need for a Jewish national and oppositionist organ in the Polish language did not cease. The man who was most zealous for the existence of such a forum was Abraham Goldberg who, after months of effort and inducement, induced the administration of *Haint* (a cooperative owned by all its workers) to decide on bringing out a weekly that would be a sort of continuation of the daily *Nowe Slowo*. On February 1, 1933, the Jewish weekly in the Polish language *Opinja* (View), under the editorship of Moshe Kleinbaum, began to appear in Warsaw. The weekly had an educational influence on the Jewish intelligentsia in Poland at the time, beginning from High School pupils and students in the institutions of higher learning and ending with the members of the liberal professions and men in the sciences, literature and art.

In September 1935, Dr. Kleinbaum was forced to interrupt his public and journalistic activity on account of a trick by the authorities who mobilised him for a year's military service. That year, 1935–6, the editorship of *Opinja* was transferred to Dr. Abraham Insler in Lwow. On Kleinbaum's return from the army, the weekly under his editorship renewed publication in Warsaw, but for formal reasons it was given a new name—*Ster* (Steering Wheel). Apart from its political influence throughout the years, in the direction of the struggle for Jewish rights, for democracy and progress, the paper fulfilled an important function in that it attracted youth and assimilationist intellectual circles to Jewish consciousness, to the treasures of Jewish culture and tradition, to the fountains of Jewish national revival, to a knowledge of what was taking place in Eretz Israel and to the ideas of radical and progressive Zionism.

The Hebrew press in Poland between two world wars

Eizik Remba

Jewish Warsaw had a particular air of charm about it. It was the Metropolis of Jewish learning, the centre of literature and journalism and a concentration of scholars and men of action. Warsaw was situated at the crossroads between that resplendent Jewish community in Russia and the Jewish communities in Western Europe, and it imbibed the best that was to be found in these two parts of the Jewish world—the warm-heartedness and the grace of Russian and Lithuanian Jewry, and the wide vistas and the weighty consideration of things of the Jewish concentrations in Western Europe and America. Warsaw was the centre of Jewish intellectuals and a charmed corner for all people in search of knowledge. It was the city of Nahum Sokolov, David Frischman and J.L. Peretz.

Nor did Jewish Warsaw hide its creative light under a bushel. It disseminated its values with great generosity and large heartedness among its Jewish brethren in all parts of the world. Jewish Warsaw, which numbered 350,000 strong, was the Metropolis of a Jewish community of 3,000,000 in the towns and townlets of Poland and spread its light throughout the Jewish world, making incursions into all places where Jews lived. Its fame spread far and wide particularly on account of *Hazefirah,* the paper founded by Chaim Zelig Slonimski, which was to be developed and raised to great heights by Nahum Sokolov and which the torch bearers of Hebrew culture in the Diaspora strengthened and maintained with all their power and strength.

Hazefirah was founded in Warsaw in 1862 as a weekly, by Chaim Zelig Slonimski. After various interruptions and metamorphoses it was turned into a daily in 1886 and became the central platform of Russian Jewry. Other daily and weekly papers published at the same time were generally unable to hold out on account of the paucity of their readership and the heavy hand of the censorship.

From 1910 until the outbreak of World War I, for four whole years, the Hebrew reader would receive his *Hazefirah,* which was printed in Warsaw and edited by Nahum Sokolov and David Frischman, the two giants of Hebrew journalism and literature, daily.

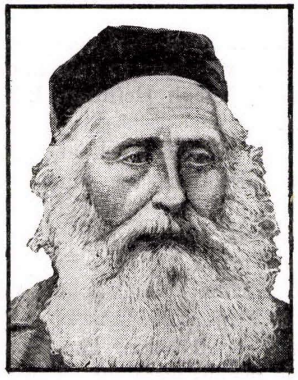
These two were assisted by an editorial staff composed of Rabbi Yitzhak Nissenbaum, who was later to gain fame as one of the leaders of Mizrachi, Joseph Heftman, E.N. Frank and Shmuel Tchernowitz.

The War broke out at the end of July, 1914, and life became disrupted. Sokolov and Frischman, the editors of *Hazefirah,* who had previously gone abroad—the former for political-Zionist activity, and the latter on a literary mission, no longer returned to Warsaw. Some time later Heftman and Tchernowitz also left the Polish capital and Rabbi Nissenbaum moved over to Minsk. The War brought disruption into the daily life of the population. The trains did not travel to schedule, whole regions were cut off from the general trend of civilian life, when the Front drew close and the number of readers of *Hazefirah* dwindled. The shareholders of the paper then convened and decided to reduce the format of the paper by half and to bring out only two pages a day "until the storm subsides". The truncated paper was now brought out by E.N. Frank with the assistance of Ephraim Singer, who translated the cables and read the proofs.

In ordinary times the material situation of the paper caused no worry whatever because the devoted Russian Zionists supplied all its needs and covered its deficits. But when the storm broke out these channels of assistance were cut off. Rabbi Nissenbaum, member of the editorial board, who then happened to be in Moscow, the Zionist Centre in Russia, was asked by *Hazefirah* administration to try and raise assistance for the paper whose material situation had been undermined. Concerning this activity, Rabbi Nissenbaum later wrote that his success was very limited. Most of the rich Jews who had previously supported the paper, thought that its temporary closing down would be no

disaster especially as they believed that the War would not last for very long. Nonetheless Nissenbaum succeeded in raising a small amount of money so as to make its continued publication possible.

In the winter of 1915, the special committee set up for *Hazefirah* decided to return to the regular format of the paper. Nissenbaum and Heftman were brought back to Warsaw and, together with Frank, did the job. As from



Ch. Z. Slonimski



Nahum Sokolov

January 1, 1915, the paper began to appear as usual. On account of the War, a censorship was introduced in Warsaw, and deleted passages right and left. It also introduced the requirement, which caused great difficulties, of the material having to be submitted to the censor, not in manuscript, but set up in print, and not later than by 6 o'clock in the evening.

Abraham Podliszewski looked after the material side of the paper. When there was no money in the *Hazefirah* account, he supplied it from his own pocket. He was particular that there should always be a large stock of newsprint and various printing materials in the storeroom. Podliszewski was among the leading protagonists of the Zionist idea and of the revival of the Hebrew language on a universal scale. He was among the first Hovevei Zion, and when the political Zionist Movement arose, he became one of the activists of the Zionist Organisation, although he had no pretence at being one of its spiritual leaders. A leading merchant, a loyal Zionist and a devoted Hebraist, he did everything for the sake of the ideal. In his activities he did much for Hebrew literature and journalism. In the course of time Podliszewski became one of the principal activists for every Hebrew paper that appeared in Moscow or in Warsaw.

Thanks to Podliszewski, *Hazefirah* appeared regularly until the summer of 1915, when an order was issued forbidding the printing of all material in Hebrew characters, and the whole of the Jewish press was forced to close down. Podliszewski came to the editorial offices and announced that he was handing over all the *Hazefirah* money in his possession to the administration so that it might be divided in proportion to each man's salary, among the members of the editorial staff, the administration and the print shop. And so, every man received seven weeks' salary in advance.

Several days later the Germans occupied Warsaw and proclamations were published by the occupation authorities to the effect that all papers that had appeared until the issue of the order were allowed to reappear without having to obtain special permit. Podliszewski had meantime left the city together with the retreating Russians. The members of the editorial board and a number of Zionist keyworkers then decided to renew the appearance of the Hebrew paper. Before several months had passed the paper began appearing regularly again. The typesetters received a mere pittance for their work; the members of the editorial staff worked on a voluntary basis, while newsprint and materials lay in readiness in the storeroom that Podliszewski had prepared. But the situation deteriorated from day to day and no one among the Zionist activists took any interest in the fate of the paper.

The members of the editorial board applied to the Zionist leaders, including Sokolov, who had then concentrated in Berlin, for assistance, but that was late in coming. So, one day, the paper was closed down.

On that very same day Heszel Farbstein, one of the leaders of the Zionist Movement, and subsequently one of the leaders of the World Mizrachi Organisation, received 500 rubles from Berlin for *Hazefirah,* together with a promise that a similar sum would be sent out twice in the coming two months. Meanwhile, a special committee was set up to see to the continued existence of the paper, so that after an interruption of six weeks, *Hazefirah* began to appear again.

However, owing to great financial difficulties, its publication was stopped again a short time later.

When Hebrew national culture in Russia declined, it began to rise in Poland, which in the years 1915–1918 was under German and Austrian occupation. The German occupation brought great deterioration in the economic situation of the Jewish population in Poland. On the other hand, however, greater freedom set in, in the political life of the Jewish community, who were able to organise their internal life without hindrance.

In April 1917, the German occupation authorities approved the Constitution of the Zionist Organisation, which then held its first Conference. At this Convention it was decided to renew the appearance of *Hazefirah* and of *Dos Yudishe Folk* as weeklies. The Zionist press gained wide circulation because that was a period of wide acceptance of the Zionist idea. In 180 localities, in the German occupation zone alone, Zionist organisations were set up, the school network was expanded and demands came from many other places for the establishment of schools, but there was a shortage of teachers to man them.

When Zionism became consolidated in liberated Poland, the Zionist Organisation decided to renew the publication of *Hazefirah* as a daily paper and as the official organ of the Zionist Organisation. The publication of the paper was renewed on January 1, 1920, but its form and content showed that it was not to be for very long. Yitzhak Gruenbaum was no longer its editor because he had immersed himself in the cauldron of the political and national life of Poland and of nationally-minded Polish Jewry, and he had not the time to devote himself entirely to journalism. A new editorial board was set up in which only he and Frank had remained among its former members.

The editors of the paper were S. Rosenfeld (Shamai), a gifted writer who left Poland shortly afterwards and settled in America where he joined the Yiddish press, and E.N. Frank. Frank's influence on the paper was felt more than that of the dynamic journalist Rosenfeld. Frank, who had been connected with *Hazefirah* in Sokolov's days, paid little attention to the changes that were taking place in the world and thought that the functions of a Hebrew daily were fixed and immutable. It was this spirit that pervaded the columns of the renewed *Hazefirah*.

The publicists on the paper were Dr. Joshua Thon and Shamai (S. Rosenfeld), both of them writers of ability and good stylists. But they played no decisive role in establishing the character of the paper. It was not usual to write editorials in the paper so that the reader was never guided towards an understanding of daily events although those were stormy days for the world as a whole and a period of fateful importance for Poland, in which the paper appeared,



Y. Nissenbaum

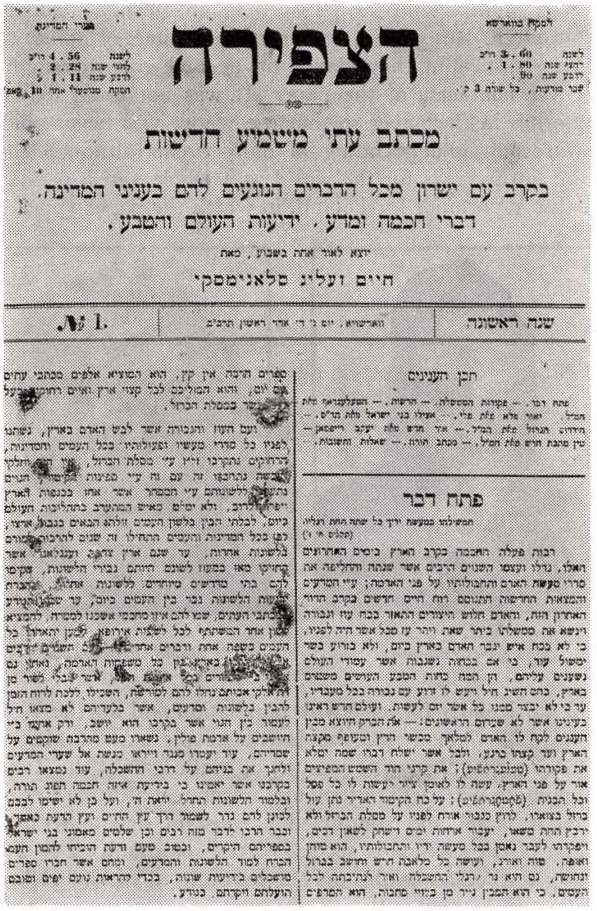


David Frischman

and particularly for its Jewish population and for the World Zionist Movement and the Jewish people as a whole.

Seeing that the paper was the official organ of the Zionist Organisation *Hazefirah* took up an inimical attitude towards Agudat Israel and conducted a constant debate with the organ of the Orthodox section of the community *Der Yud*. This, however, was the only militant front of the Hebrew daily and consequently it lost an important section of its readership. In order to cut down expenses the paper did not maintain a staff of reporters so that there was a paucity of news items in the paper. Readers who wanted to know what was happening in the world and in Jewish life in Poland had to have recourse, therefore, to another paper in Yiddish.

Seeing that the goal of the daily *Hazefirah* was "to impart a knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature", also during this stormy period, just as it had been 25 years previously, the paper was filled with literary creations



הצפירה

מכתב עתי משמיע חדשות

בקרב עם ישרון מכל הדברים הנוגעים לתם בעניני המדינה,
דברי חכמה ומדע, ידיעות העולם והטבע.

יצא לאור אחת בשבוע, כאת

חיים זעליג סלאנימסקי

שנה ראשונה | No 1.

תכן הענינים

פתח דבר

Hatzefirah, *first issue (1862) of the Hebrew weekly, Warsaw*

throughout the days of the week. Page 2 of every issue carried literary articles in prose, verse and even in drama, and when the Bolshevik forces were advancing rapidly towards the Polish capital and the whole of the population was seized with fear and apprehension, *Hazefirah* found it opportune to publish a "dramatic extract" from one writer and an idyllic story from another—two stories in one and the same issue of a four-page paper.

Seeing that *Hazefirah* had not succeeded in rallying a wide circle of writers, possibly because communications were interrupted and there were no regular contacts between Poland and other parts of the Jewish world, it used to reproduce stories from *Hashiloah* or from other periodicals that it could lay hands on. For months on end, the paper would publish daily some historical works of research, important in themselves but entirely unsuitable for a daily paper, particularly on weekdays. No proper proportion was maintained in the material that it carried. Sometimes an article on American Zionism would be allotted more space than an article on Zionism in Poland, for the simple reason that someone had supplied the editorial board with a lot of material on America. Half a page in the small four-page paper would be devoted to the second Zionist Convention in Czechoslovakia, and a similar number of columns to the Labour Conference in Britain, whereas no mention would be made of events in the paper's immediate environment. The paper had no foreign correspondents at all, except for one in Danzig, and seeing that he was a fertile writer, he would fill the paper with reports from that city as though it were the capital of the world. Whenever a paper from Eretz Israel would be received, *Hazefirah* would reproduce almost the whole of it. *Hazefirah* rarely carried advertisements, except for new books.

In those days there was no airmail, and letters and newspapers would be sent by surface mail, which would take weeks and months to arrive. However, many among its readers were still under the impression that *Hazefirah* arrived to every corner of the world and with lightning speed at that.

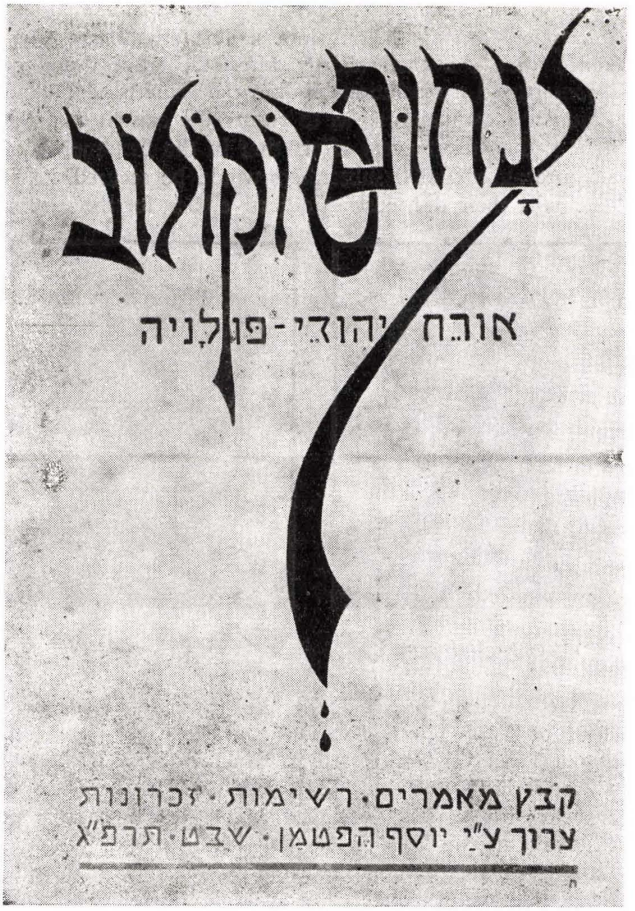
The number of *Hazefirah* readers decreased from day to day, and its material situation declined until one day, in May 1920, the paper failed to appear "for technical reasons". The Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation managed to give it an emergency infusion on the same day and the paper renewed its appearance the following day. This assistance proved of no avail and it breathed its last towards the end of the year. That was the year of the War between Poland and Bolshevik Russia. A sharp international conflict had arisen also concerning the future frontiers of Poland that had emerged two years previously. But these events aroused little attention in the daily paper in Hebrew that appeared in the capital of Poland.

For four years, from the end of 1920 until the beginning of 1925, no Hebrew daily was published in the Diaspora. In the course of these years, the various Zionist factions on the right and on the left, cut themselves asunder from the Zionist Organisation. First were the Mizrachi, the Poalei Zion Right and the Hitachdut, and later on also the Revisionists, all of whom created for themselves separate and independent parties. On account of that the Zionist Organisation, which had previously concentrated all the political, educational, cultural and journalistic activities, was no longer in a position to maintain the Hebrew paper, just as it was unable to maintain under its supervision the extensive network of Hebrew schools that existed in Poland.

However, the loyal Hebrew activists endeavoured all the time to remove the shame of the enforced silence of the Hebrew paper from the large Jewish community in Poland that numbered 3,000,000 souls. With the assistance of the "Tarbut" organisation, which supplied the first sum of money necessary for the establishment of an editorial staff and administration, the appearance of the Hebrew daily in Warsaw was renewed on January 1, 1925.

This time, however, it was given the name not of *Hazefirah* but of *Hayom*. True, the name *Hazefirah* was widely known among Hebrew readers in the Diaspora, but seeing that it ran into bad luck and the attempt to renew it, at the end of World War I, had failed, those who took the initiative of bringing out the new paper were of the opinion that a change in name would also bring about a change in fortune.

In truth, however, it was not only this reason that tipped the balance in favour of the new name for the paper. It was in the main the desire to turn it into a modern paper that would prove acceptable to the young generation who had been educated in schools, members of the Zionist Youth Movements of all trends, and not only of the alumni of the Beth Hamidrash who had always been faithful followers of *Hazefirah*. This new tendency was symbolised by the historical paper *Hayom* that had been founded in St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, by Dr. J.L. Kantor, in February 1886. That paper had heralded a revolution in the Hebrew press by the fact that on its first page it carried cables about the great success of some theatre actress or the outcome of horse races.



A welcome to Nahum Sokolov on his visit to Poland in 1921

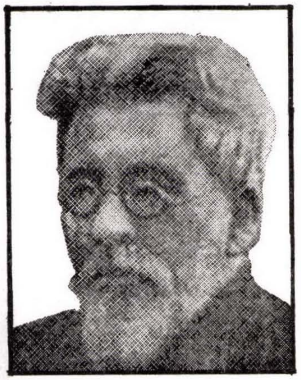
However, from its very inception *Hayom* lacked a financial basis. The Central Committee of "Tarbut" placed at the disposal of its administration a sum of money that sufficed for the first two months alone, in the hope and belief that the large Hebrew-reading public in Poland would not allow the paper to fall and would maintain it by the simple means of subscribing to it. 10,000 subscribers could ensure the existence of the paper. The Zionist parties did not extend

any financial assistance but promised to help in obtaining subscriptions among their members. The 7th Zionist Conference that convened shortly after the appearance of *Hayom* passed a resolution binding the Zionists of Poland to launch a campaign so as to ensure the existence of the paper and to exert every effort that in the first month of its appearance 10,000 subscribers would be secured.

Actually there did exist an objective basis for the success



Joseph Heftman



Abraham Podliszewski

of a Hebrew daily paper. Those were the years of increased Aliyah of Polish Jewry of various strata to Eretz Israel. On the one hand, the Fourth Aliyah which came to be known in Zionist history as the "Grabski Aliyah" in the wake of the heavy taxation that weighed on the Jewish population of Poland in the days of the Polish Minister of Finance, Grabski, commenced on an extensive scale. This Aliyah, which was mainly one of the middle classes, embraced whole families, possessed of albeit moderate financial means. On the other hand, the Chalutzic Movement of the Jewish youth then attained its full height. Hachsharah farms were set up, one after the other, for young people intending to undertake a life of agriculture in Eretz Israel, and many young people then awaited their turn to receive Immigration Certificates. The Aliyah Movement to Eretz Israel then led to a revival of the Hebrew language, and so it was natural that the need to learn Hebrew would help also in the dissemination of a daily Hebrew paper.

It was in this spirit of optimism that *Hayom* made its appearance. During its initial period 15,000 copies of the paper were sold daily and the first and third issues were sold out immediately after their appearance. At a special celebration held two weeks after the founding of the paper, the editor reported on the great enthusiasm with which the paper was received by the public and all believed that its future was secure. This spirit of enthusiasm was kept up for several weeks. The renewal of the Hebrew daily received echoes also in the Yiddish press. *Haint* published a warm article of congratulations on the part of its editorial board. It was natural, of course, for a Zionist paper to congratulate its Hebrew counterpart. The daily *Folkszeitung,* published by the anti-Zionist Bund, jested in its article about the "dead" i.e. the Hebrew speakers, wanting to show the world that they were still alive.

The editor-in-chief of *Hayom* was Joseph Heftman and its regular contributors were Dr. Joshua Thon and Dr. Jacob Kahan. Thon, President of the Zionist Organisation in Western Galicia, a member of the Polish Sejm and President of the "Tarbut" Organisation, was the main pillar of the Hebrew daily in Poland in all its metamorphoses, while the poet Jacob Kahan bestowed upon it his best literary creations. The regular editorial staff, who actually did the daily work on the paper, included—apart from Heftman—A.L. Jakobowitz (A.L. Akavia), Aaron Zeitlin (son of Hillel Zeitlin), Ephraim Singer, a veteran of the Hebrew press in Poland, who had worked as proofreader on *Hazefirah,* from the days of Nahum Sokolov down to its last day. Among the regular members of the staff of *Hayom* we shall mention Zvi Rakovski, member of a well-known family of Hebrew writers in Poland, Jacob Bornstein, a young lawyer, Yitzhak Shapiro, the poet Meir Tchudner and A. Tzofnat, who was known by his pseudonym "Baal Haturim" on account of his column of verses that appeared daily in one of the corners of the paper, in which he reacted in humorous fashion on various manifestations in life. In addition to the regular staff, the paper secured the co-operation of important writers in Poland and Eretz Israel. The regular correspondent of *Hayom* in Eretz Israel was the writer Reb Binyamin. Jacob Fichman published in the Friday editions of the paper a series of articles on Hebrew literature. The paper also had the cooperation—apart from the Heb-

rew writers in Poland—of almost all the writers of the time who lived in various countries but chiefly in Eretz Israel, in Germany and Austria.

The first page of the paper carried telegraphic news items, albeit not in regular fashion, insofar as presentation was concerned. The editorial article was always printed in two columns at the head of page 2. Often several editorials were printed on one and the same day, the last of them taking the form of a prose poem, like the "third leader" in English papers.

Page 2 of the paper did not contain informative material, not even on weekdays. Beside the leading articles there appeared daily lengthy articles from correspondents in various countries—Eretz Israel, England, France, Austria. At the bottom of the page there were generally literary articles and stories. Page 3, like page 4, was set aside for news and information from Poland. Seeing, however, that the number of local correspondents was very limited, the third page was generally filled with letters from the provinces, readers' letters, etc.

The editorial board exerted every effort to attract the young reader and introduced a regular column on physical education. In order to attract new readers, the paper announced prizes in the form of books and, in this respect, tried to meet the needs of its two classes of readers—the older generation brought up on Jewish tradition, and the modern youth.

The paper opened its columns to all trends in the movement of national revival, both Right and Left. It published full reports of conferences, of the Mizrachi, of conventions of "Hashomer Hatzair", of conferences of the Revisionists and of "Betar" and of the rift between the two factions in the Zionist Organisation: "Et Livnot" and "Al Hamishmar". It was really and truly the paper of national Jewry over all shades of opinion.

The gala issue of *Hayom* that came out on April 1, 1925, the day the Hebrew University in Jerusalem was opened, contained 24 pages and reflected the trend of thought and feeling among the 3,000,000 Jews in Poland and the joy in the whole of the Jewish world. For weeks and months on end the administration made endeavours to obtain congratulatory advertisements for its Hebrew University issue and devoted 25% of the proceeds for the University Library. The editorial staff brought to the paper messages from the leading figures in Jewry including those of Einstein, Dubnow, Chaim Weizmann, Israel Zangwill, Senator Luigi Luzzati of Rome, Nahum Sokolov, Professor Klausner, while in two languages—Hebrew and Polish—it carried messages from the heads of the Polish State—the Prime Minister Stanislaw Grabski and his Deputy Thugut, the Presidents of the Sejm and the Senate and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, concerning the University, which were written especially for *Hayom*.

And so, the first half year passed. The administration made desperate efforts to increase the circulation and to secure the minimum of subscriptions required, because the paper subsisted entirely under its own steam. However, many of the Zionist leaders believed the Hebrew paper to be a mere adventure that could not hold out for very long. Indeed, the constant worry for its consolidation and search for sources to cover the deficits left their mark on the content of *Hayom*. The principal sufferers were the members of the editorial staff whose meagre salaries were never paid on time. Nonetheless they continued their work in the implicit belief that in all places in the Diaspora there were loyal readers who appreciated their work. It is thanks to this staff that the paper held out at a time when Polish Jewry laboured under great difficulties. In 1925, the first year of *Hayom's* existence, the economic plight of Polish Jewry increased and, in the wake of its material conditions, its spirit waned too. The Hebrew elementary schools, too, struggled hard for their existence. In these circumstances the Hebrew paper could not implement its plans for improvement and was unable to bring out the special supplement for young people and for children, or to print a special column in vocalised Hebrew, so as to alleviate the process of learning the language from the paper for the candidates for Aliyah.

As opposed to this poor Hebrew paper, which struggled hard for every penny it could raise, there was the rich and affluent Yiddish press, which exceeded *Hayom* in the number of its pages, in its famous contributors, in its numerous sections and in its wide source of information. The Yiddish press could very easily compete with the Hebrew paper which had a very limited readership.

The devoted public workers tried all the time to induce the Zionist Executive in London to support the Hebrew daily, which was the only one of its kind in the Diaspora, but in vain. Its financial support was not forthcoming and *Hayom* continued to labour under its slow death pangs. Dr. Joshua Thon, on the first anniversary of *Hayom's* appearance, January 1, 1926, appealed to the Hebrew readership in Poland not to disappoint the hopes that had been pinned upon it. It transpired that in the course of the year the number of subscriptions for the paper had dropped considerably so that those remaining proved insufficient for the paper's continued existence.

At the beginning of February 1926, the situation became catastrophic and on the 7th of the month *Hayom* no longer appeared on the newsstands. This sudden death took the handful of its faithful by surprise. They met in urgent session at the premises of the Central Committee of "Tarbut" and decided on no account to allow the paper to close down. Some of the devoted public figures undertook to raise the money needed to pay the printers, and three days later the paper reappeared. Out of shame to reveal the bitter truth, a notice appeared in the first renewed issue of the paper that on account of internal reorganisation the publication of *Hayom* had been suspended for several days. Very soon, however, the editorial board came to realise that there was no point in hiding the truth. In a leading article by the editor, J. Heftman, entitled "From the Midst of the War", a hint was given at the failure of the efforts to obtain the assistance of the official Zionist institutions for the continued appearance of the paper. In those days there appeared also the first signs of the economic crisis that visited Eretz Israel and the first cases of emigration from Eretz Israel on account of unemployment, etc. In May 1926 there was the Pilsudski coup and the economic situation of Poland somewhat improved, partly in the wake of the General Strike in England (which commenced with the miners' strike there). In the summer months many of the "emigrants" from Eretz Israel also returned to Poland. In the wake of these events the Zionists in the towns and townlets of Poland were low in spirit and, under such circumstances, Zionist leaders were of the opinion that the efforts to maintain a Hebrew paper were a Sisyphean task, and so looked on the death pangs of *Hayom* with unconcern.

The last public appeal by the editorial board to the readership to save the paper was published in the first week of May 1926. Several personalities exerted efforts in order to prevent the fall of the paper, and it is of interest to note that among these there was not a single official Zionist leader of any of the Zionist parties. This Committee issued a certain number of shares in the paper and the money thus raised constituted an urgent step for the saving of *Hayom,* but the efforts no longer proved of any avail. On May 25, 1926, *Hayom* brought out its last issue.

The closing down of *Hayom* deeply hurt the loyal protagonists of the Hebrew language and this fact again spurred on a handful of Hebrew zealots to exert efforts for a renewal of a Hebrew paper. The Committee that had been set up at the time in order to try and save *Hayom* now directed its efforts to renewed activity, and indeed, after the elapse of several months, a new Hebrew paper appeared on the newsstands in Warsaw. Its name, however, was no longer *Hayom* but once more *Hazefirah.* Nahum Sokolov, the famous past editor of *Hazefirah* promised his active participation in the renewed paper and placed at the disposal of the editorial board the manuscript of his book "Ishim" (Personalities) and also wrote articles and feuilletons for the paper.

During the four months of silence until the 1st October, when the first issue of the renewed *Hazefirah* appeared, efforts were made in two directions. On the one hand, there was the Committee headed by Dr. A. Soloveichik, to obtain a sizeable sum of money so as to relieve the paper from financial worries at least for a certain period, until it succeeded to consolidate itself through subscriptions and advertisement. On the other, the editor and his friends made every effort in order to attract well-known writers and journalists from Eretz Israel, Poland and other countries in the Diaspora to write for the paper and to open up new sections so as to meet the desires of the various categories of readers. In so doing, they hoped to transform *Hazefirah* into a living organ that in form and content would not fall short of the large Jewish papers which reached a circulation of some 70,000 copies daily.

The appearance of the renewed *Hazefirah* in October 1926 was met with great joy by Hebrew reading circles.

The two great leaders of Polish Jewry—Yitzhak Gruenbaum and Dr. Joshua Thon—were the leading publicists in the paper and published regularly their articles on the political problems facing the Jewish community in Poland, on Zionist and Eretz Israel affairs. Correspondents were appointed in the various Jewish centres in the world, such as the United States and Eretz Israel, as well as in London, Paris, Riga and Prague.

Considerable attention was paid to the paper's excellent literary section, the main contributor to which was Nahum Sokolov. Meir Balaban, the well-known historian, contributed a series of researches on the Frankist sect; Reuben Breinin wrote a column entitled "Leaves from my Diary"; Benzion Katz, the veteran Hebrew journalist and writer, published articles on topical problems as well as memoirs. The regular contributors to the literary section included also Fischel Lachover, Aaron Zeitlin and Dr. S. Federbusch. A.I. Stiebel published in *Hazefirah* his great work: "The Life and Wanderings of Vamberry" in serial form. The paper also carried in serial form Poliakov's novel "The False Messiah".

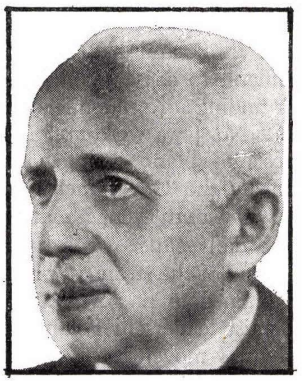
An improvement set in also in the layout and setup of the first page. Main headlines on leading events were given in large letters over four columns. The members of the permanent editorial staff were journalists and writers who had contributed at the time to the old *Hazefirah* and *Hayom.*

By the end of the first month of the renewed appearance of *Hazefirah,* the editorial board could boast of the fact that they were able to present the Hebrew reader with an important, informative paper which not only did not fall short of other papers but, in certain measure, had an advantage over them in that it devoted extensive place to news items of universal human value, while cutting down news of a sensational or local character alone. Indeed, the paper improved as it went on. The joy of creativeness was noticeable in every issue and the editors were right in writing in the 50th issue of the paper that a marked improvement had set in.

Not everything, however, was as rosy as all that. In the first place, there was the gap between the generations. Very few of the readers of *Hazefirah* of the days before World War I were still alive. The past generation of "Maskilim" (enlightened Jews) which, at times, maintained two or three Hebrew newspapers in the Diaspora because it found the Hebrew paper to be a source of enlightenment, was no more. This type of devoted reader was a thing of the past. *Hazefirah* of the year 1926–1927 in great measure laid store on the new generation of Hebrew readers, on graduates of the "Tarbut" schools in Poland, which then numbered 17,000 strong, and on members of the Zionist youth organisations—from "Hashomer Hatzair" to "Betar". At the same time, the editorial board was strong in its belief that the veteran readers had not gone entirely, and so it was forced, as it were, to walk a tightrope between these two types of writers. The readers used to address letters to the editor expressing their desiderata. One asked that the paper should not be transformed into a secular organ and that it print only Chassidic stories and Halachic novellae. A second, modern and young reader, asked that the paper print French novels in serial form; a third, who apparently was a synthesis of the old and the new, appealed for more philosophical and research articles, because it was a pity to waste it on jocular and meaningless stuff; a fourth, a school graduate, demanded that the sports column be doubled and that it be run twice a week. The editorial board tried to please everyone in the hope that it would receive subscriptions, both from the generation of "Maskilim" as well as from the youth.



Aaron Zeitlin



Jacob Kahan

Very soon, however, it transpired that the young gene-

ration was disappointed. In all probability the real reason for the fact that the young people were not forthcoming was their serious financial situation which did not allow them to spend several Zloty a month for a subscription to a daily paper. The Hebrew language had already been transformed into the spoken of most of the Zionist youth organisations in Poland, and each such organisation brought out a weekly or a monthly or a periodical of its own, in Hebrew. The young people could not afford to buy a daily paper because the economic situation of the Jewish population in Poland had reached a low ebb. Livelihoods were difficult to come by and the prospects of the Jewish youth in finding an economic basis for themselves were non-existent. No Jews were appointed to government or municipal posts in Poland. The Jewish branches of livelihood were cut off by the Government's policy at dispossession, and the Jewish youth went about with empty pockets. Subscription to a daily paper was a luxury which very few could afford.

One of the strangest phenomena, which has remained unexplained to the present day, was the unconcern of many Zionist leaders in Poland for a Hebrew paper and for the Hebrew movement as a whole. It was an evil manifestation that the Zionist organisation devoted its attention solely to policy and to fund-raising and not to cultural activity. The all-day Hebrew school, which was the crowning glory in the work of national revival in the Diaspora, had to struggle hard for its existence. It was not only a struggle against the Polish Government, which refused to extend financial assistance to the Hebrew educational institutions, although the Jewish taxpayers were entitled to hope that at least part of the educational budget for their children would be covered by the Government. The Hebrew school had also to contend with the enemies of Zion from within, particularly with the Bund and the Communists, who were out to capture the soul of the young Jewish generation. Surprisingly enough, it had to wage war also with friends from within. Within the Zionist camp there arose a group of keyworkers who were opposed to a 100% Hebrew education. Not only did the Yiddishists and their school network fight against the wholly Hebrew school but a network of Yiddish schools was organised on a so-called national basis, under the name of "Shul-Kult", whose supporters were Zionist keyworkers who were supported by the Zionist paper *Haint*.

On March 29, 1927, a conference was convened in Warsaw of parents' committees of the Hebrew schools in Poland, which established that "the Zionist Organisation, which must always stand guard over our cultural values, neglects the task of consolidating the Hebrew paper, treats it with complete unconcern and so weakens one of the most important foundations in our cultural and national struggle". The Conference also demanded of the Central Zionist Institutions and the Zionist leadership, to put an end to this attitude of unconcern.

This resolution of protest was engendered by the sorry fact that the Zionist leadership in the capital served as an example to the scores of thousands of Zionists in the provinces, who did not give their children a Hebrew education but sent them to Polish schools where they received no Jewish education whatever. This served as an additional reason for the financial weakness of the Hebrew schools which had always to contend with budgetary difficulties, the Hebrew teacher being the first victim in that his salary was never paid in full. Generally the teachers in "Tarbut" schools received only ten months' salary a year, sometimes even less, and the Hebrew teacher, of course, always served as a potential subscriber to the paper—something that they could not afford.

The attempts to interest the Zionist youth movements in *Hazefirah* failed. The Chalutzic Youth Movements were generally "Palestinocentric" in outlook and education and they were more interested in a paper from Eretz Israel than in a paper appearing in their country of temporary residence. While *Hazefirah* tried hard to present life in Eretz Israel, its struggles and achievements, it could not carry the atmosphere of Eretz Israel which the Chalutzim, who were anxiously awaiting their immigration certificates, wanted to breathe. Hundreds of copies of *Davar* used to arrive in Poland and these obviously reduced the number of subscribers to *Hazefirah*. The latter tried to disseminate the paper beyond the frontiers of Poland, particularly in the Baltic countries, where the Jewish population, while small, was imbued with a spirit of nationalism and had a command of Hebrew. The paper could not make incursions into Lithuania because the frontier between Poland and that country was closed between the two World Wars, in that they had no diplomatic relations. Nor did the paper

score a success in Latvia, which had a large number of Hebrew readers.

Even in the early period of the renewed *Hazefirah* when the paper had a larger, regular staff, it could not compete with the information carried by the large Yiddish press appearing in Warsaw. Much more so during the time when it struggled hard for its existence. The editorial board of *Hazefirah* did not sufficiently value the importance of extensive information. The editor and his staff were still captivated by the concepts that held good in the days of Sokolov, a generation ago. But meantime Warsaw had grown, the Yiddish press had expanded and from the outset that was placed on firm, economic foundations. Seeing that the Yiddish papers, too, had to contend with competitors from within because of the large number of papers in that language (there were 3–5 in Warsaw alone), the editor of each paper had to meet the demands of his readers, and attract an ever new readership by constantly improving the information services and enlisting the best publicists and writers.

There was another reason for *Hazefirah's* sorry state. On account of their financial straits, several readers, generally neighbours, used to subscribe to one paper in order to save a few pence. Jewish papers arriving to a Polish townlet would be read not only by all members of one family but would make the rounds of all the neighbours.

It was in these conditions of abject poverty that *Hazefirah* had to appear in the last two years of its existence. In order to cut down rentals, the central committee of the "Tarbut" organisation admitted the editorial and administrative offices of *Hazefirah* to its premises. One room, occupied by the "Tarbut" officials, was partitioned off and half of it was set aside for the editorial staff. Another dark corner in one of the rooms was partitioned off and turned into editor Heftman's "room". No daylight ever penetrated this corner in which the editor did his daily work on the only Hebrew paper in the Diaspora, because it had no windows, nor was there any room in it for a window to be constructed. The light of one electric bulb illumined the darkness.

In these conditions there was no possibility whatever of maintaining the paper, and it was closed down for the third time. But again, the Hebrew faithfuls would not comply with the idea of the daily Hebrew platform disappearing from the Diaspora, and after an enforced silence of over three years, from the beginning of 1928 until March 1931, another, and this time the last chapter in the history of *Hazefirah* commenced.

These three years of interruption were marked by ups and downs, by joy and sorrow. The economic crisis in Eretz Isarel had passed and signs of improvement began appearing on the horizon. In August, 1929, the enlarged Jewish Agency was established at Zurich, bringing with it rosy hopes for a development of Eretz Israel. Shortly afterwards the disturbances broke out in Eretz Israel, culminating in the massacre at Hebron. Then the skies of Eretz Israel became overcast. There was the Passfield "White Paper" and the policy of Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister. The Zionist Movement made wide incursions into the Jewish communities in the Diaspora and there was a mighty national awakening. This naturally sharpened the "appetite" for a Hebrew daily, and one Jewish philanthropist, Zalman Schalit, who could no longer swallow the shame of there being no Hebrew paper in the Diaspora, volunteered with the sum of £2,000 so as to renew the publication of *Hazefirah*. This sum could not, of course, suffice for the consolidation and maintenance of the paper for any prolonged period. But negotiations were in progress with the Zionist Executive in London for its support of the paper, and there were prospects also of obtaining money in Poland itself. All these were to allow the editorial board and administration a "breathing space" until the paper succeeded in gaining a foothold among the public.


HACEFIRA

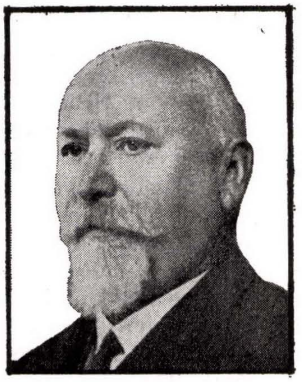
הצפירה

Hazefirah *reissued as a daily, Warsaw, 1926–1931*

In the twelve years that had elapsed since the end of World War I, great changes had taken place among the Hebrew reading public. Their numbers may not have decreased but their tastes changed. In the romantic days of *Hazefirah,* in the time of Sokolov, the Hebrew reading public was uniform in outlook. The enlightened Jew, who still harboured the knowledge amassed in his youth, and was overcome by yearnings for religious traditions, constituted



A.L. Jakobovitz



Aaron Soloveichik

the general type of Hebrew reader. Then there were the young Chassids, for whom the Hebrew daily opened up a vista to the outside world.

When the Yiddish daily paper began appearing the basis for the Hebrew paper became undermined. The Yiddish paper robbed it of its writers and journalists. The stream of political life began flowing so fast that its publicistics strove at guiding the reader to practical action, and so the value of the Hebrew paper waned. The message carried by the Hebrew daily reached thousands whereas the readership of the Yiddish press amounted to scores of thousands.

Added to all this were the changes that set in in the composition of the Hebrew reading public. The enlightened middle class Hebrew reader grew old, ceased reading modern Hebrew and became accustomed to reading papers in other languages. The young people, brought up in Chassidic tradition, either deserted their fold or found satisfaction in their own Agudat Israel daily, which appeared in Yiddish. The flag of the Hebrew language was taken over entirely by the youth in the Zionist Movement, members of "Hashomer Hatzair", "Hechalutz", "Betar".

When the keyworkers decided on renewing the appearance of *Hazefirah,* the problem that loomed large was "Who is it intended for? To which readers must it adapt itself? —to the remnants of its former readership, the enlightened middle class reader or to the young Zionist generation?" The desires of these two camps were wide apart, and it was difficult for a paper to satisfy both of them. It was clear to all that neither of these camps would be able to supply the number of readers needed for the maintenance of a paper worthy of its name. It is against the rock of this problem that the last attempts to maintain the Hebrew paper were dashed. The last battle for the sympathy of the Hebrew reader in the Diaspora was conducted by the editors and staff of *Hazefirah,* as they were being tossed from one camp to the other, and they emerged from the battle with their hands up in surrender.

The last issue of *Hazefirah* appeared in the middle of August, 1931. The closing down of the paper again caused a furore among the Hebrew reading public and the protagonists of the language throughout the world. For a long time the public debate continued over the reasons for the failure to publish a Hebrew daily in the Diaspora.

The Hebrew daily, which appeared intermittently in Poland from the end of World War I until 1931, did not meet the needs of the Zionist parties which developed ramified activity in the Jewish population of 3,000,000 strong. Almost every Zionist party began to bring out a periodical of its own, either as a weekly or a fortnightly, or a monthly. It is natural, of course, that in a population which was predominantly Yiddish-speaking the parties brought out periodicals in the language spoken by the Jewish masses. Most of them, however, saw need to bring out a platform also in Hebrew.

The first party to begin publishing a regular Hebrew weekly was Mizrachi, which named its organ *Hamizrachi.* This weekly began to appear in the winter of 1919 — the year after the rise of the independent state of Poland. The founders of the Mizrachi in Poland, Levi Lewin-Epstein and Joshua Heszel Farbstein, invited Rabbi Yitzhak Nissenbaum to assume the editorship of the paper.

For four consecutive years Rabbi Nissenbaum brought out the paper literally on his own, and entirely unaided. He tells about this in his autobiography: "I had no assistant in bringing out the paper. Even news items had to be written and edited by me, and for each issue I wrote several articles and very often also feuilletons of varying size." In addition to giving his own name to the articles, he used also various pseudonyms.

The Mizrachi in Poland was in the initial stages of its establishment, and had not yet succeeded in attracting the masses, and so the paper could not pay for the contributions so as to be able to attract professional writers. Nonetheless, several of the leading figures in Jewish Poland in those days, such as Dr. A.S. Poznanski, who was Chief Rabbi of the congregation of enlightened Jews, Rabbi Judah Leib Kowalski, who was also a Deputy in the Polish Sejm, Rabbi Moshe Avigdor Amiel, who was then Rabbi in Poland and subsequently in Antwerp and, in his last years, Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv, contributed by sending in their writings.

It was a weekly without pretensions. Its language was pure, its style simple and readily understood by all the readers of Hebrew. The weekly had a limited circulation among the members of the party and it came out for four years from 1919 until 1923.

The official organ of the "Hechalutz" Organisation in Poland, was comparatively long-lived. *Heatid* came out in Warsaw in the years 1925–1937, for a certain period as a weekly and sometimes as a fortnightly. It was founded when the Chalutzic Movement was in its heyday and the mass Aliyah to Eretz Israel commenced. This Movement had the affiliation of scores of thousands of young people who, in part, were members of the Socialist-Zionist Associations (Hitachdut, "Hashomer Hatzair") and in part limited their membership to "Hechalutz" and prepared for Aliyah to Eretz Israel by joining the various Hachsharah groups who were scattered in their hundreds in the townlets and villages of Poland. *Heatid* experienced periods of prosperity and of low ebb, depending on the situation obtaining in Eretz Israel. When the flow of Aliyah increased, the ranks of "Hechalutz" swelled and the circulation of the paper increased. But when the economic crisis in Eretz Israel set in and a movement of "emigration" commenced, there was a reduction of tension in the Halutzic camp and obviously the interest in the paper also waned, so that it began to appear fortnightly instead of weekly and had to contend with great financial difficulties.

Heatid had the cooperation of all the Socialist-Zionist trends and carried articles both by members of Hitachdut, who had ideological affinity with "Hapoel Hatzair" in Eretz Israel, as well as by the Right Poalei Zion, who were closer to "Achdut Haavodah" (in Poland, however, they did not accord priority to the Hebrew language and had also recourse to Yiddish), and of members of "Hashomer Hatzair".

Most of the material published in *Heatid* arrived from Eretz Israel, which concentrated the best ideological forces of Socialist Zionism. Seeing, however, that the paper was directed to educating its readers to Aliyah and to Kibbutz life in Eretz Israel, it devoted almost no place to Jewish life in the Diaspora, and, apart from reports on national and regional conferences and on summer camps of the Movement, it reflected nothing concerning Jewish life in the Diaspora. The whole of the material was directed to a clarification of ideological problems and to spelling out the problematics of the labour trend in Eretz Israel. It carried a lot of material on the Kvutza and on the Cooperation Movement in Eretz Israel, on land problems, on the Emek, on relations with the Arabs, on internal relations in the Yishuv, etc.

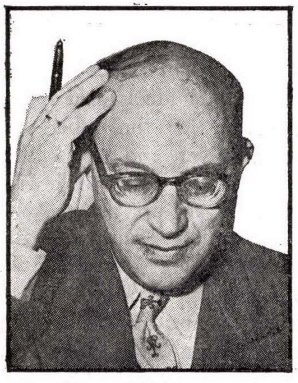
The paper devoted a lot of attention to developments in the Socialist Labour Movements in the world, and used



Heatid, *weekly of World Hechalutz organization, Warsaw, 1925–*

to reproduce from periodicals abroad articles by leading socialists of international fame. It also had the cooperation of E. Libenstein (Eliezer Livneh), who at that time worked in Berlin and wrote a series of articles on the situation in the Socialist Movement throughout the world.

Heatid also carried a literary section and various issues were devoted to Micha Yosef Berdichevski, the poetess Rachel, J.H. Brenner, A. D. Gordon and other Socialist-Zionist writers who lived and created in Eretz Israel.



Eizik Remba



Moshe Bernholz

The paper took care to avoid internal ideological debates between the Socialist-Zionist trends in Eretz Israel so that members of "Hashomer Hatzair" as well as Mapai circles spoke from the same platform with calmness and without clanging swords. The only column devoted to controversy was directed to the non-Socialist Zionist trends, particularly against the Revisionist Party and its leader Zeev Jabotinsky. The publicistics in *Heatid* were not always marked by clarity, and it may be assumed that that led in considerable measure to the limited circulation of the weekly when compared to the vast membership of the "Hechalutz" Organisation. The fact that the members of "Hechalutz" came mainly from the poor sections of the population, who could not afford to buy a paper, also added to its budgetary difficulties.

Heatid existed for twelve consecutive years, until 1937.

In January, 1919, the first paper brought out by the "Hashomer Hatzair" Organisation, by the name of *Hazak Ve'Ematz* began to appear. It was published in Polish with a Hebrew and Yiddish supplement. However, the founding conference of this Organisation in Lodz (April 1919), accepted the Ten Commandments of "Hashomer" in its Platform and stressed that only he can be a "Shomer" who implements the idea of the revival of Eretz Israel and of the Hebrew language in his personal daily life. At the same time, priority was accorded to Yiddish in places where Hebrew had not yet made incursions into the life of the members.

However, several years passed before the "Hashomer Hatzair" Organisation in Poland began to publish its organ in Hebrew. The first issue of the Hebrew fortnightly called *Hashomer Hatzair* appeared in Warsaw in 1927. It was the organ not only of the Organisation in Poland but also of the world "Hashomer Hatzair" Movement. It was the organ of the world leadership. The first issues of this fortnightly ran the following sections: In Eretz Israel; In the Movement; Echoes from the Dispersion and Book Reviews. The paper appeared under the editorship of Mordechai Bentov, followed by Yehuda Gotthelf and subsequently by Zvi Lurie.

From the inception a debate was in progress in its columns between the Democratic Socialist trend, which was given expression by Yehuda Gotthelf, and between Mordechai Orenstein (Oren), who represented the Leftist line and defended Communist Dictatorship.

Hashomer Hatzair was one of the most intelligent organs among the periodicals brought out by the Youth Organisations in the Diaspora. It dealt with events in the world and reacted to all new ideas in Zionist and Socialist thought. From time to time it would bring out special issues replete with material and illustrations on the new educational trend, or on the theatre, art, sculpture, folk dancing, etc.

The paper closed down in the middle of the 1930s, when its best forces had left Poland for Eretz Israel. This Movement implemented the principle of Aliyah and its leaders left the Diaspora one after the other.

The Central Committee of the Zionist Labour Party Hitachdut, whose spiritual mentor was A. D. Gordon, and which espoused the "religion of labour", drinking at the roots of "Hapoel Hatzair", began publishing a Hebrew

periodical by the name of *Bama'avar* in the year 1924. This Movement brought out a Yiddish weekly called *Folk un Land* but it described on its banner the duty of inculcating the Hebrew language also in Diaspora life, and so regarded it as a duty to bring out a Hebrew Platform.

The editor of *Bama'avar* was Abraham Levinson, leader of the Hitachdut Party. He wrote the leading articles, which were short and to the point and which reacted to topical events. The periodical had the participation of a group of intellectuals, heads of the "Hitachdut" in Poland, and some of the leaders of "Hapoel Hatzair" in Eretz Israel. *Bama'avar* published contributions from Dr. W. Berkelhammer, Dr. Kopel Schwartz, Dr. Arieh Tartakower and Robert Weltsch. From Eretz Israel contributions used to be sent by Chaim Shurer, Joshua Manoah of Degania and Jacob Fichman who wrote poetry.

Seeing that most of the contributors to *Bama'avar* lived in Poland, the paper re-echoed also events in Jewish life in Poland at that time. It came across articles on the relations between the Polish Government and the Jewish population, on the Zionist parties in the country, etc. Considerable space was devoted by the periodical also to literature in prose and verse and to the arts. It is of interest, in particular, to mention that considerable attention was devoted to Yiddish literature and that it published evaluations of the creations of Leivik, Niger and Moshe Nadir.

In the years 1924–1925, three issues in all of the periodical appeared, each consisting of 60–80 small pages, and then it ceased publication. Moshe Gordon, one of the leaders of the Movement in Poland, served as official editor and publisher of *Bama'avar*.

In 1922 there appeared in Warsaw a periodical called Haoved. It was a political-public-literary monthly review and served as the organ of the Socialist-Zionist Party "Zeirei Zion". It generally carried contributions from writers in Eretz Israel such as S. Z. Rubashov (Zalman Shazar, later President of the State of Israel), Uri Zvi Greenberg, Eliezer Steinman, Y. Yatziv and the poet Yitzhak Katznelson of Lodz.

Hamedinah, organ of the youth organisation bearing the name of Yosef Trumpeldor — "Brit Trumpeldor" or "Betar", appeared in two languages — Hebrew and Yiddish. It commenced publication in Riga, Latvia, under the editorship of Moshe Joelson, and in 1930, was transferred to Warsaw, where it was edited by Eizik Remba. From 1935 until the outbreak of World War II, its editors were A. Z. Propes and Jerachmiel Wirnik.

When the Betar Organisation was founded, there were few Hebrew readers among its members. However, the tendency to Hebraise the Zionist youth, which was strong in all youth organisations in Poland, left its impress also upon the members of Betar, and its signs were visible in its organ. The Hebrew section in *Hamedinah,* which was very small to begin with, occupied an increasingly important place from year to year so that in its last years the majority of the material in *Hamedinah* was in Hebrew and only a minor section in Yiddish. In that paper, incidentally, Zeev Jabotinsky advocated changes in the Hebrew spelling and even proposed changing the Hebrew script into Latin characters. One of Jabotinsky's articles in *Hamedinah* actually appeared in Latin characters.

The Betar Organisation in Poland began bringing out in the autumn of 1932 a Hebrew monthly devoted to ideology and education and entitled *Madrich Betar.* It was intended for alumni of the Movement, for educators and instructors. Its editor was E. Remba. Over a period of two years, until 1935, 10 issues of this periodical appeared.

Subsequently Betar brought out a monthly by the name of *Metzuda,* also under the editorship of E. Remba and devoted to ideological matters, literature and education. It carried articles by Zeev Jabotinsky, passages of his translation of Goethe's "Faust" and chapters on economic and social theories, a sort of "Biblical Socialism", which Jabotinsky dreamed of implementing in the Jewish State.

For a period of five years, from 1934 until the outbreak of World War II, the "Shomer Hadati" in Warsaw brought out a Hebrew monthly, under the name of *Ohalenu.* The paper had a circulation also beyond Poland and assisted in



Hashomer Hatzair, *bi-weekly of Hashomer Hatzair (Seniors)*

maintaining and organising youth organisations affiliated to "Hashomer Hadati" and "B'nei Akiva". "Hashomer Hadati", the religious Zionist Youth Movement, was founded in Cracow at its first conference on Passover 1931. Parallel to this Movement was the "B'nei Akiva" Organisation in Galicia. The Chalutzic Movement of "Torah Va'Avodah" in Poland functioned in two channels: "The Mizrachi Halutz" and "Hashomer Hadati". *Ohalenu* served the second arm in that it constituted a synthesis of pioneering and scouting in a religious spirit.

In 1934 "Hanoar Hatzioni" brought out a monthly by this name devoted to the Scouts Association of this organisation. Its editor was J. Kurman.

For about two years, in 1932 and 1933, there appeared the organ of the "Shomer Haleumi" Movement, entitled *Derech Hashomer Haleumi* and edited by Reuven Feldschuh (Ben Shem).

In 1933, there appeared in Warsaw a Hebrew weekly and in part also in Yiddish, under the name of *Darkenu* — organ of the Orthodox World Agudat Israel Organisation. Its responsible editor was S. Alter.

Another Orthodox monthly, which appeared in 1932, was *Shem Mishimon* — organ of the Chabad Movement, which carried articles from the pen of the Rebbe of Lubavitch and novellae in the field of Halacha and Aggada as well as Responsa. Its editor was M. Ginsburg.

In 1934, there appeared a third orthodox monthly entitled *Beth Avraham* and devoted to Torah, Judaism and Yeshiva life. It was published by the "Beth Avraham" Yeshiva Committee in Warsaw and Lodz.

In 1929, there appeared in Warsaw an orthodox Hebrew monthly *Shaarei Torah,* edited by Israel Issar Feigenbaum. The monthly had appeared with interruptions in a much earlier period — from 1902 until 1912.

The Agudat Israel Organisation called "Shlomei Emunei Yisrael" published in Warsaw in 1927 an orthodox monthly, under the name of *Diglenu.*

The great Hebrew literary centres in Odessa, Vilna and Warsaw that had functioned until World War I, did not renew their activities on the same scope at the end of the war. The Odessa of Chaim Nachman Bialik and Tchernikovsky, Ahad Haam and Professor Joseph Klausner, was transferred to Eretz Israel where it opened the glorious page of Eretz Israel literature. Vilna, which had been annexed to Poland after World War I, no longer occupied its former place as a centre of Hebrew creativeness. It was only in Warsaw that the remnants of the creative Hebrew forces of Eastern Europe were now concentrated. But even Warsaw fell short of its former glory and the literary attempts that were made there in the period between the two world wars were short-lived.

The most important literary periodical was the Quarterly *Hatekufa,* which had been transferred from Moscow to Warsaw as from the fourth volume. The first three volumes of the famous Quarterly, which was published by Abraham Joseph Stiebel, appeared in Moscow at the time of the confusion engendered by the Revolution in the years 1917–1918.

The fourth volume appeared in Warsaw in the year 1920. From the fourth until the eleventh volume the editor of *Hatekufa* was David Frischman. Subsequently, when the editor took ill, the editorial work was undertaken by Fischel Lachover, Jacob Kahan and Jacob Fichman. Twenty volumes of this Quarterly appeared in Warsaw, each consisting of 600–700 pages. They had the participa-


דרור

Nov.-Dezember 1922 № 3-4 (6-7) תשרן-כסלו תרפ"ג

Dror, *Revisionist Youth periodical, Warsaw (1922)*


HECHALUC HACAIR. JEDNODNIÓWKA

החלוץ הצעיר

Hechalutz Hatzair, *special issue of Young Hechalutz Organization*

tion of the leading Hebrew writers and translators, and such people as Eliezer Steinman and H. Hazaz and others commenced their literary work in it.

In these volumes of *Hatekufa* were published poems by Rabindranath Tagore, translated by David Frischman; Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell", translated by H.N. Bialik; the "Dybbuk" of S. An-ski, translated by Ch. N. Bialik; Goethe's "Iphigenia in Tauris", translated by Jacob Kahan; Dante's "Inferno", translated by Zeev Jabotinsky; Heine's poems, translated by David Frischman, Jacob Fichman and others; the poems of Lermontov, translated by David Shimonovitz. Among the literary creations were the Biblical dramas of Matityahu Shoham (a very gifted writer who died early in Warsaw) and of Jacob Kahan; "The Key to the Zohar" by Hillel Zeitlin, as well as novels, stories and poems contributed by the leading Hebrew writers and poets in Eretz Israel and in the Diaspora.

In the middle of 1924, there was an interruption in the appearance of *Hatekufa* on account of the economic crisis that befell Poland and which affected the Jewish population and the business deals of the publisher. At the head of the 23rd volume there appeared an explanation for this interruption, and the publisher pointed out that if only one volume appeared a year, it did not imply that *Hatekufa* would not continue to appear four times yearly as it had done over a period of five years. However, the publisher was unable to implement his wish. His economic situation deteriorated and *Hatekufa* ceased publication in Warsaw, but was renewed three years later in Berlin.

In the course of these years, several literary attempts, much smaller in scope, were made but these, too, did not hold out for very long. In the years 1922–1923 there appeared in Warsaw a literary-publicistic monthly of modest size, called *Kolot* (Voices), which concentrated well-known writers, such as Hillel Zeitlin, Eliezer Steinman, B.Z. Rapaport and others. Its editor was a young Hebrew writer called Yitzhak Lipkin (J. Avigal, subsequently a magistrate in Tel Aviv). The monthly made a pleasant impression in both format and content but was closed down after two years.

Periodicals of a literary nature were brought out also by Zionist Organisations, such as *Lehavot* (Flames), a literary-publicistic monthly, published by the "Hechalutz-Hatzair" Centre. However, in the course of a period of over two years, from the end of 1928 until 1931, only three issues appeared and it then died. Publication was also commenced in Warsaw in September 1933 of an illustrated Hebrew monthly devoted to topical questions, literature and science. Its editor was M. Lusternik, a young writer from Lodz. It existed for only a few months, however, for it ceased publication in the middle of its first year.

M. Lusternik, however, did not allow his initiative to drop, and when his monthly was closed down he began bringing out a Hebrew Quarterly *Tehumim* (Confines). Only two issues of this Quarterly came out, under the editorship of M. Lusternik, Nathan Eck and B. Pomerantz. These two volumes had the participation of Aaron Zeitlin, Yitzhak Katznelson, Dr. Menahem Stein, Jacob Leschinsky and A.J. Stiebel. The initiators of this Quarterly were all members of Hitachdut (the sister party of "Hapoel Hatzair" in Eretz Israel). Naturally they tried to give expression to their political trend but they did not delineate narrow confines to *Tehumim* and opened its columns to writers who were not affiliated with their party.



Y. Katznelson



Yehuda Gotthelf

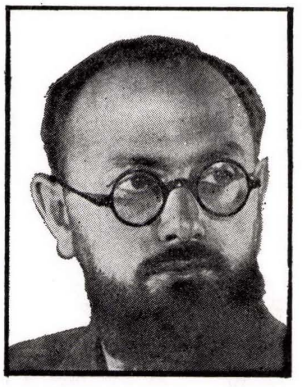
An enterprising attempt to bring out a literary monthly was made by the poet Yaacov Kahan, in the winter of 1929, when he brought out *Sneh* (Bush), a monthly devoted to literature, research and topical affairs.

An innovation was made in *Sneh* in that it was brought

out in vocalised characters, the vocalisation being shortened but sufficient to enable the uninitiated reader to read correctly. The innovation was not actually the vocalisation in itself but the method of vocalisation, which was sparing to the extent of about two-thirds of the accepted system, yet proved sufficient to guide the reader. This innovation intended to attract students of Hebrew in private lessons and evening classes, or pupils of secondary schools, who received only a



Y. Varshaviak



Zvi Zohar

partial Hebrew education, as well as recent arrivals to Eretz Israel, who acquired only a speaking knowledge of the language and had not yet been initiated into the intricacies of Hebrew literature.

In the course of time, it transpired that this innovation, apart from being very costly, appeared to be unnecessary because anyone taking up a literary periodical may be assumed to have mastered the language sufficiently to be able to read without vocalisation.

The editor of *Sneh,* the poet Jacob Kahan, succeeded, it is true, to enlist the co-operation of the greatest Hebrew writers and thinkers in the world. *Sneh* served as host for the contributions of such people as Shaul Tchernikovsky —stories and poetry; Zeev Jabotinsky—Zionist publicistics; G. Shofman, S.L. Blank, A.Z. Eshkoli and Moshe Temkin —stories; Aaron Zeitlin, Elisheva, S. Halkin and M.Z. Wolfovski, short poems, while the editor—Jacob Kahan—published a series of plays and sketches. *Sneh* also had contributions from Dr. Seligman and Dr. Tartakower, in the form of works of research. The monthly made a pleasant impression through its interesting content and simple language as well as the serious problems that it discussed and its neat format (each issue consisted of six printers' sheets). However, no more than six issues of it appeared in the course of six months.

At the beginning of 1922, when Hebrew literary activity in Poland was severed from the political activity of the Zionist Movement, a special Central committee of the "Tarbut" Organisation was set up, which embraced all the Zionist Organisations that worked for a revival of the Hebrew language, culture and literature. This Central Committee began bringing out a monthly, devoted to Hebrew education by culture, entitled *Tarbut.* Its first editor was Joseph Levy, who was succeeded by the educators David Levin, M.A. Beigel (Avigal) and Professor Fishel Schneurson (all of whom came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel in later years). Each issue of *Tarbut* consisted of about 80 pages, in the form of an ordinary book, and had the participation of the best forces in Jewish culture and education. It carried regularly contributions from Dr. Joshua Thon who, for many years headed the "Tarbut" Organization in Poland, Pinhas Shifman (later to be known in Eretz Israel by the name of P. Ben-Sira), H.A. Dubnikov (a Hebrew educator murdered in the Hebron pogrom of 1929), Professor Fishel Schneurson, and others. In addition to articles on topical questions in the field of education and culture, *Tarbut* also carried regular sections entitled: "From General Pedagogical Literature", "From School Life", "In the Pedagogical World", and a section devoted to Bibliography and reviews of school books.

The monthly continued to appear for three years—from 1922 until 1925. In 1932, the monthly *Tarbut* was renewed in Warsaw but its content was reduced. It contained only information from the "Tarbut" Central Committee in Poland, something that used to be published formerly in the daily Hebrew paper. When *Hatzefirah* was closed down, the "Tarbut" Centre needed a platform for information.

At the same time as the informative monthly *Tarbut* was renewed, there began to appear a monthly devoted to educational matters, under the name of *Ofakim* (Horizons), brought out by the Central Committee of "Tarbut" in

Poland. Its editor was Dr. Zvi Zohar, a member of the Executive of "Tarbut" and one of the leaders of the "Hashomer Hatzair" Organization. The editor of *Ofakim* introduced something of the spirit of "Hashomer Hatzair" into his organ and dealt more with experimental pedagogics over all its forms and manifestations, as it had developed in the world, with special stress on the educational institutions of "Hashomer Hatzair" in Eretz Israel, than it did with the problems of Hebrew education and culture in Poland.

Through its pleasing and attractive format *Ofakim* drew the attention of the intellectual public. It published contributions from Martin Buber, Nathan Bistrizki, Yehuda Gotthelf, Emma Levin, Zvi Zohar, mostly belonging to "Hashomer Hatzair" circles, as well as from Bracha Habas, Abraham Levinson, I. Gruenbaum and others.

Ofakim first appeared as a monthly. Later on, its appearance became irregular and shortly before the outbreak of World War II, it appeared only from time to time. (As from 1940 *Ofakim* began appearing as an educational periodical, brought out by "Hashomer Hatzair" in Eretz Israel, under the editorship of Zvi Zohar.)

Throughout the period from 1920 until the day that the curtain was rung down on the Jewish press in Poland, the editors of the Hebrew press endeavoured to bring out special supplements for children and young people. Most of their endeavours, however, failed to be implemented. Insofar as they succeeded in making a beginning, the attempts were not long-lived. Parallel to their efforts, Hebrew writers and educators in Poland made efforts to bring out special magazines for children and the youth. In the years 1923–1924, there appeared in Warsaw a literary-scientific monthly for the youth, under the editorship of A. Luboshitsky, of which ten issues appeared under the name of *Hakochav* (The Star). In 1925, A. Luboshitsky brought out an illustrated monthly for children of a more tender age, called *Ben Kochav* (Starlet). A third attempt was made in 1927, with the assistance of the "Tarbut" Organisation, to bring out a weekly for children called *Itton Katan* (Small Newspaper).

Simultaneously with the appearance of Aaron Luboshitsky's *Hakochav* in the years 1923–1924, there appeared in Warsaw a copiously illustrated paper for young people; in the first year it appeared fortnightly, under the editorship







Hebrew journals for Youth in the '20's and '30's

of A.L. Jakobovitz (A. Akavya), and in the second year, it appeared monthly under the editorship of Aaron Zeitlin, and with the regular participation of Jacob Fichman. This paper called *Shibolim* (Sheaves), was greatly liked by its young readers, but it did not hold out for more than two years. For a short period there appeared also the illustrated weeklies—*Hechaver* (The Comrade), *Olam Katan* (Small World) and *Zafririm* (Morning Breezes).

When all the attempts to renew the publication of the Hebrew daily in Warsaw had been dashed against the rock of cruel reality, *Haint,* the great Yiddish Zionist daily, began to bring out a Hebrew weekly called *Baderech* (On the Road), devoted to problems of life and literature. The weekly appeared under the editorship of A.L. Jakobovitz, and with the regular participation of Yitzhak Gruenbaum. The cost of maintenance of this Hebrew weekly was not very large, because the administration and the despatch as well as accounting was undertaken by the staff of *Haint*. In format *Baderech* was similar to that of a Friday edition of a daily paper, and generally consisted of eight pages. The facilities which it enjoyed enabled the Hebrew weekly to appear for four consecutive years, from 1932 until 1935. When, however, the owners realised that the Hebrew weekly was not self-supporting and led to deficits, they stopped its publication, and so the story of the Hebrew press in Poland finally came to an end.

MAKING JEWISH NEWS
The Jewish Telegraphic Agency

Arie Bar

An episode at the end of the 1920s is likely, so I hope, to introduce the reader immediately into the internal atmosphere of the JTA in Warsaw, and the climate of its activities.

Poland was one of the half-dozen countries in Eastern Europe which were born, or which were revived, following the First World War. Towards the Fall of 1928, on the tenth anniversary of its political independence, the JTA centre in New York was desirous of supplying newspapers and the other subscribers to the Agency with short surveys of the situation of the Jewish communities in those countries as they developed in the course of the decade. In Warsaw, I was charged with the writing of the survey about Polish Jewry. As I was gathering material for the article, I came to realise a trait which served also years later as a sort of basic trait of Jewish life in Poland. This may perhaps be called the principle of "rotation" in Jewish public life. In actual fact, this life always revolved on a few "axes", or from the professional point of view, prototypes of Jewish information. All I had to do was to pick out from each "type" the most important event in that decade and to bead onto it the other events of its category in the period under review. This "model" of Jewish information did not change even in the succeeding decade, actually, down to the end of Poland's independent existence, although the colours of the picture then grew much darker: the excesses against the Jews grew much more cruel; the accusations against them, much more wicked and much more serious. I shall dwell briefly on my principal prototypes of the year 1928 and this will serve to illustrate the nature of Jewish public life in Poland, which served to make up from the informational point of view the content of our life in our small offices in Warsaw.

It goes without saying that prime of place was taken here by the prototype of information about physical excesses against the Jews, riots, pogroms of greater or smaller dimension. Poland's independence was declared in November 1918, but only a few days later were pogroms staged in several of the cities in Eastern Galicia, the most serious being that in Lwow, the capital of the region—murders, the burning of Jewish property, looting. The pogrom in Lwow aroused a tremendous storm throughout the Jewish world, so much so that a Commission of Enquiry arrived from America, headed by Morgenthau, who had formerly been U.S. Ambassador in Turkey (he was the father of the Secretary of the Treasury in Roosevelt's Government during World War II). The report submitted by Morgenthau also aroused a great storm in the Jewish world and particularly among the Jews in Poland, because this emissary accepted the main arguments proferred by the new Polish regime, so that in actual fact it turned out that this Jew who occupied an important position in America, justified the pogrom. It goes wihout saying that the antisemites in Poland exploited this fact for many years after the event. The pogrom in Lwow was the first item referred to in that survey, on which many other subsequent incidents were beaded.

It is not for nothing that Poland is regarded as one of the countries of "classical" antisemitism, also from the point of view of accusations against Jews, show trials on the basis of false evidence, etc. As a prototype for events of this type, I took the notorious trial of the middle twenties, in which a Jewish lad named Steiger was accused of trying to assassinate the President of the Republic, Wojciechowski, during his official visit to Lwow. Already, at the time of writing the survey, at the end of 1928, very few remembered the trial, which was a sensation in its time because the Court exonerated the young man, a minor clerk in a business firm, of all blame and penalty. But, even the Court and not only the prosecution, did everything in its power in order to pin the label Jew on the accused who was seeking to kill the first citizen of the country. If a Jew was found guilty, then all the Jews were guilty. This generalisation always

served as an iron law for antisemitism and the Jews of Poland often experienced its results. Ten years after the trial, Ukrainian nationalists (I think in Belgium) admitted that it was their people who belonged to the irredenta fighters in Galicia, that were the would-be assassins. However, at the time of the trial which, together with the preliminary investigation, lasted for a year or more, the sword of Damocles hung over the heads of Polish Jewry.

The next item in my survey dealt with "politics", but I still had some link connecting it with the item concerning false accusations. It concerned the first President of independent Poland, Narutowicz who was assassinated several days after his election. The assassin was a member of the main antisemitic party in Poland at the time (the National Democrat Party, known in short as "Endecja"), and the event was "Judaized" by dint of the motives for the crime for Narutowicz was elected to the Presidency not only by the votes of Polish Deputies to the Sejm, but the representatives of the minorities, including the Jews, also voted for him, and as far as the antisemites were concerned, that disqualified him from office. The assassin, a painter, shot the President during his visit to an exhibition in the Central Art Museum of Warsaw in December 1922. The Court sentenced him to death, and antisemites would gather at his grave on every anniversary of his execution and such assembly always served as a pretext for instigation against the Jews.

The example that served as a prototype for political affairs was an event that took Polish Jewry by storm over a period of about two years, namely the question of the "Ugoda". This word in Polish means appeasement, compromise, reconciliation. It was the name given to the long-drawn-out negotiations between the elected representatives of Polish Jewry in the Sejm and the Endek Government, and, as was thought at the time, concerned the negotiations over the very life and future of the 3,000,000 Jews in the country. Today this appears to be fantastic, and although I was very closely connected with affairs then, I cannot, from the distant perspective of about 50 years, believe that it was around this that the life of the largest Jewish community in Europe actually revolved. I don't have to enter into details; suffice it to note that the negotiations concerned the fixing of "principles" in regard to the relations between the government in Poland and the Jewish minority—a sort of give and take rule. The Jews had to do this and this, and in exchange, they would receive that and that from the State. By the end of 1928 the "Ugoda" was already a political carcass, and few people recall that two years previously it had been the theme that engaged Polish politics and took all Jewish public circles by storm.

The Jewish public, as a whole, was divided—some being for "Ugoda" and some against. But despite the mist enshrouding the principles, a very sharp debate was conducted around them from every public platform. There was something imaginary in the whole idea of such negotiations between the Government and the Jewish minority. That was the largest minority in the country, in which every third citizen was a non-Pole. The whole matter ended in nothing, and if my memory does not lead me astray, it transpired after some time, when the text of the so-called Agreement was published in some historical periodical, that only two people signed the Agreement in the original—the two Jewish Deputies who conducted the negotiations—but the document did not bear the signature of the "granting" party—the Government!

Today it appears to me that the "Ugoda" affair was to serve as a prototype for much that happened in the Jewish politics in Poland in the period between the two World Wars. Often that ghost walked about in various political campaigns, litigations, and efforts exerted by the Jewish representatives with Government circles. For example, there was a long drawn out struggle concerning the abrogation of anti-Jewish laws, dating back to the Czarist period. Almost down to the end of Polish independence there were laws enforced by the three Powers that divided the country among themselves at the end of the 18th century (and amended the division at the beginning of the 19th century). For that reason many rules remained in force which dated back to the time of the Russian Empire, whose legislative foundation in regard to the Jews was the principle of "Kromie Yevreiev"—which, in Russian, means "excluding Jews". For example, every man, except Jews, was entitled to purchase such and such land, or all men, other than Jews, were entitled to engage in such and such vocation. True, at the beginning of Poland's independence, the Sejm abrogated on principle many laws of this type, but the

Polish legislators could use all sorts of ruses in order to ensure that in respect of Jews such provisions remained in force even after their force lapsed.

Or, take for example, the futile struggle conducted by the Jewish leaders for a change in the Sunday rest law. For years on end this matter had continued on the Agenda in Parliament, at conventions, in debates from the columns of the press. Sabbath-observing Jews were forced, by law, to close their businesses for two days a week. All knew what the true intenton of the legislature was: the law was part of the economic war against the Jews, and the struggle for its abrogation was futile right from the beginning. Nonetheless, the representatives of the Jewish population were forced, time and again, to demand, in both Houses of Parliament, the implementation of the equality of rights for the Jews "as set forth in the Constitution". It was the same in all the metamorphoses of the draft law concerning Shechita, the Jewish method of slaughter, shortly before the outbreak of the War. They spoke of the law forbidding Shechita because it was seemingly not humanitarian, but the true intention behind it was to hit a branch of trade which was in Jewish hands. There were prohibitions and abrogations of prohibitions, and in accordance with the last law introduced, the prohibition of Shechita had to be implemented gradually until it would be entirely proscribed in the year . . . 1943.

These principal prototypes of Jewish "periodical" information, which served as the daily bread of the JTA throughout the years, do not of course reflect the whole range of Jewish life in Poland. Positive types of information reflected inter alia some wonderful manifestations of creativeness, of mutual assistance in all spheres of life, of education and culture, of a vibrant public life style. It is about all these manifestations that the JTA reported daily. But it is of the nature of journalistic information that the positive, the good and the regular is always regarded as natural and self-evident, and so one does not have to expatiate upon it. Not so the negative, the evil, the extraordinary, which, in the estimation of those who make up the paper, is always regarded as "more worthy of publication", and News Agencies must first of all meet the demand of those who make the paper.

The JTA was born at a time when a wave of optimism, which was so light of wing, swept the whole of Europe at the end of World War I, and carried before it in particular, the oppressed of all kinds who were prone to believe in the possibility of mending the world without great difficulty. This belief created the international background for many futile struggles conducted by the leaders of the Jewish public in Poland, as in other countries of Eastern Europe, and for many years the JTA in all seriousness, did much to spread the belief in the ultimate result of such struggles, in a possible understanding between the majority and the minority peoples, in a rapprochement between nations, etc. There need be little wonder that the Jews were among the first to be captivated by such superficial optimism, and the last to become sobered of it.

International minority agreements, in the first years after the First World War, were regarded as a sound prop on which to base the prospects of success of national, religious and other minorities, in their aspirations for a better future for themselves among the majority peoples. These agreements were generally appended to the Peace Agreements concluded after the War of the years 1914–1918. They served as the legal international basis for the emergence of such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries and for a country like Rumania, which expanded its borders as a result of the War. President Wilson was anxious to introduce "democracy" in international relations, and the minority agreements were, for the minority peoples, a principle parallel to that of self-determination for the sovereign peoples in the new states. All these countries were inhabited by large minorities, and the heads of the new States who signed the Peace Agreements, undertook, under the minority agreements, to safeguard the rights of the minority peoples within their borders. In theory, this undertaking was one of the conditions for the political independence of the states who were party to the agreements. There is no need to repeat the principles of this undertaking. In the United Nations nowadays, particularly in the various Committees, debates are sometimes in progress on discrimination of various kinds, on human rights, etc., and, even nowadays, all sorts of international conventions are being entered into for the safeguard of such rights. These matters are more or less known to the readers of the press.

Today, however, one reads these things and realises that their importance takes third or tenth place, if at all, in the scale of priorities. Not so the situation forty or fifty years ago, insofar as international agreements that were entered into and signed, and received the seal of the League of Nations, were concerned.

The trouble is that the Jews ascribed exaggerated importance to this written and signed word, and this implicit faith of theirs, wielded great influence on their situation within the majority peoples. Down to the end of the 1920s, possibly still at the beginning of the thirties, stormy debates were conducted in the Polish Sejm, in which the representatives of the national minorities, including the representatives of the Jews, often reminded the leading politicians of State that the honouring of the Minority Rights is "one of the conditions" for the independence of the country. Today it is unneccesary to have to prove that an agreement, like any other document between nations, holds good only so long as the stronger party is inclined to abide by it. Czechoslovakia faithfully observed the minority agreements to which it was signatory, but the country of Masaryk and Benes would not have withheld their rights from its minorities, even if it had not signed those agreements. The rulers of Poland did not deem it necessary to honour their signatures. At all events, they felt certain—and they were not mistaken—that insofar as the Jewish minority is concerned they are at liberty to be oblivious of the stipulations in the Minority Agreements. The Party that served as guarantor for the observance of these treaties was the League of Nations, and that body was not stronger than is the United Nations nowadays. At all events, it had no more authority than its strongest members chose to accord to it. These are fundamental principles in international relations and apparently they cannot be changed under the conditions of existence of sovereign states.

JTA therefore regarded it as its duty to bring whatever was taking place in the world to the knowledge of the Jews, and for it the Minority Treaties served as an over-brimming well of information. Newspapers which made use of the JTA service would day after day, fill their columns with material on the debates in the League of Nations and its various institutions, which included a Permanent Committee for the supervision of the observance of the Minority Treaties, on various reports, on behind-the-scenes negotiations, etc. One of the most important sources of information in this respect was the International Minorities Union. Such a body functioned for many years and, from time to time, for example on the eve of its international congress, the organisation proved to be most vociferous, and this was noticeable, under the influence of the JTA, in the Jewish press. The Union had a permanent secretariat for the amassing of material on the implementation of the minority treaties, and a host of material for the JTA Bulletin was drawn from that source. Obviously, various governments made use of that Union and of its conventions for their own ends, and in the hands of Germany, even of Weimar Germany, the Union often proved to serve as a potent instrument against its adversaries on the international arena—against Poland, for example, in which a large German minority was living, and Berlin had territorial claims against that country. Ukrainian nationalists were often in the habit of exploiting the Minorities Union and its institutions against the Soviet Union and against Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Jews were obviously the only minority in the countries of Eastern Europe which could not derive any benefit from all this commotion, except perhaps to arouse from time to time, public opinion in other countries, to the existence of the problem of Jews being prejudiced against in Rumania, Poland and other countries.

The procedure of filing a complaint by a minority against the majority people among which it lived, was protracted and complicated. But it goes almost without saying, that no Jewish organisation, whether in Poland or in any other East European country, dared adopt this step. If it had, it would have created great trouble only for the Jews. Despite all this, however, the Minority Treaties served as a basis for acts of intercession behind the scenes by international bodies. This was the method adopted for several years by a body known as "The Committee of Jewish Delegations"—an institution set up by Zionists from Eastern Europe, which had offices in Geneva and in Paris. With its activities are connected such names as Victor Jacobson, Dr. Leo Motzkin and Nahum Sokolov, who exerted efforts as far back as the preparatory period for the signing of the Peace Treaties in order to ensure the civil rights of the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. In large measure, thanks to the services

of the JTA, the names which I have just mentioned, proved in their time to be among the most popular in the Jewish press throughout the world.

Nonetheless, the reader must not be led into thinking that even in matters such as the securing of the rights of the Jews as a minority, there was uniformity of opinion among the Jews themselves. I have already mentioned that even in such a matter as pogroms against the Jews of Poland there were sometimes personalities or organisations, even among the most "representative" of them, who did not stand behind the victims. In fact, it was regarded as a great achievement when such an organisation would raise some voice of protest. The Jewish Board of Deputies in Britain, for example (and I mention that only as an example for several organisations of its kind) used to prefer to dampen its voice; at best, its "intervention" expressed itself in behind-the-scenes intercession, with some department or other of the British Government that "it may use its good offices with the Government of . . . (Rumania, for example) in order to remove the discrimination against . . .", etc. Things were always formulated in diplomatic language and in understatement, and I find it difficult to recall even one instance that yielded any fruit. These matters, however, were part and parcel of Jewish life "on the international arena", and it was the duty of the JTA to bring them to the notice of the Jewish readers of the press, faithfully and true to their letter and form.

For most of the time in the period between the two World Wars, Geneva served as the main centre for such international activity, and it was there that most of the struggles for the rights of the Jewish minorities were conducted. It was in Geneva, or in Paris, that most of the centres or important branches of the Jewish organisations, whose activities spread over to various countries, were situated. In various cities of Switzerland there were held also the conventions of such organisations, or of the large social aid organisations and others, apart from the Zionist Congresses. From the middle of the 1930s there began functioning in Switzerland also a new Jewish organisation—the World Jewish Congress—which used to supply a lot of Jewish information material. Geneva, for that reason, served throughout the years as one of the most important centres for Jewish information, and for a long time a JTA Correspondent, a man who today is a prominent professor of international law at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, was resident there. It was from him and other correspondents that we used to receive detailed reports on events in the international arena—for example, summaries of the lengthy deliberations in the various committees of the League of Nations, institutions like the International Labour Organisation which, in those years, served as an important centre of information on migration—a field which never ceased to engage the attention of the Jewish world, and other organisations.

The last great Jewish convention in Geneva was the Zionist Congress which completed its deliberations on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War—on the last day of August, 1939. I shall return to the Zionist Congresses later, but I shall here devote several lines to another convention, one of the last, at which Jewish affairs were discussed. That was the session of the Committee on Minority Affairs of the League of Nations, which considered a petition submitted to it on the basis of one of the Minority Agreements, and which concerned the situation of the Jews in Nazi Germany. After World War I, Germany was made to sign many treaties, and these, as is well known, served as a pretext for German nationalism to raise a hue and cry throughout the years about the "injustice" that was done to Germany. No one, of course, thought that it would be worthwhile to oblige Germany, "the land of poets and philosophers", to honour also the rights of a minority like the Jews (undoubtedly if someone had raised such an idea at the time the Jews of Germany would have been the first to reject it and to protest against it). Nonetheless, there was one small territory under German sovereignty to which such a partial agreement applied. It referred to the residents of German Silesia where there was a fairly large Polish minority on account of which, in fact, Germany was forced to sign a bilateral agreement with Poland, under which the League of Nations was to serve as arbitrator between them if a dispute on minority affairs should arise. At the end of the 1930s, under the Nazi regime, a certain Jew by the name of Bernheim, a resident of Silesia, saw to it that a complaint be filed with the League of Nations against Berlin for the infringement of his rights as a member of a minority. No one, of course, expected any practical outcome of this

deliberation, but the struggle of an individual against a mighty government left a great impression on account of the dramatic tension in the act, apart from the fact that it was clearly in the Jewish interest to exploit the discussion in this Committee so as to unfold once more the acts of Hitler's government before the world. This took place, of course, before Auschwitz and Treblinka but, already then Germany's crimes were without precedent in the modern era. JTA brought to the press thousands of words from the deliberations in that committee of the international organisation, and one of its last cables from the debate told about the shot fired by a young man at one of the open sessions of the Committee. The man did not misfire. He had aimed the shot at his own head and he died on the spot. That, I think, was the last echo of the Minority Treaties that reverberated throughout the world from the League of Nations Palace. The young man who put an end to his life in that way was a young Jewish student—Lux (meaning light) by name. Signifcant in the darkness that grew thicker from day to day.

The JTA in Warsaw supplied Jewish information to an extensive geographical area—from the Baltic to the Black Sea, in which there lived a Jewish population of some 5,000,000. That was the largest Jewish concentration in the world, which was marked by its intensive Jewish consciousness. (Before the outbreak of the War the Jewish population in the world numbered more than 17,000,000.) It goes without saying that those 5,000,000 Jews did not constitute a uniform bloc from the point of view of the measure of their identification with Jewry as a whole. Apart from what may be described as "Jewish Jews", whether declared or implied, there were always people of different degrees of "Jewishness" including sections who were more or less apathetic to their Judaism and even people of varying degrees of tendency to assimilation or what sociologists call 'acculturation'.

In Poland itself, calls on the JTA Jewish information services were made by two dozen daily papers—most of them in Yiddish but some also in Polish. Apart from these, the Warsaw offices of the JTA served also the Jewish daily papers in the Baltic countries (in Riga there appeared also one Jewish paper in Russian) and in Rumania (Kishinev in Bessarabia). After the rise of Hitler to power, its services extended also, directly or indirectly, to the Jewish (weekly) press in Bukovina (then Rumania), Hungary and Czechoslovakia. There can be no doubt that in the extent of its services the impress left by the JTA on the Jewish press was far greater than in any other Jewish geographical concentration in the world (outside Eretz Israel).

I am afraid that in this respect there is no other Jewish concentration in the world, even nowadays, that can be compared to the Jewish community in Eastern Europe, whose Jewish consciousness was fed on Jewish information to the same extent. And not only because the very existence of the State of Israel engendered basic changes in this respect, and insofar as Israel and events in it and around it are concerned, the JTA today has competitors that are by far stronger than it (and this is not the principal factor in the changes that have taken place since the War in the field of Jewish information). The place occupied by the JTA in a Jewish paper in Warsaw, or Riga, or even in a Jewish weekly in Czechoslovakia, was far greater, if only from the point of view of the "number of lines" or the space that a Jewish paper in New York or Buenos Aires could, or had, to devote to Jewish information. By the nature of things, a Jewish paper, and primarily a daily, divides its printed columns between what we call "general information" and material of Jewish content. But the Jewish consciousness of the reader in Warsaw, for example, was always, if one may say so, much more demanding than the consciousness of the Jew in New York or Buenos Aires, most certainly much more demanding than that of the Jewish reader in Western Europe. For until the rise of Nazism in Germany, the Jew in Western and Central Europe, and in large measure also the Jew overseas, lived his Jewish life on the margin of his life as a citizen of his country of domicile—his Jewishness was at best a fact of second-rate importance, somewhat forgotten and neglected if not actually questionable.

Directly or indirectly, antisemitism was the backbone of JTA's services. But down to the beginning of the 1930s, the very clear manifestations of antisemitism were, insofar as the Jew in Western Europe was concerned, no more than a marginal problem—at best only one of his problems, and not among the most important at that. Not only did antisemitism touch upon his actual life only at rare intervals,

but even from an intellectual point of view, he could regard it only from a distant perspective ("this can't happen here"). Moreover, even in those rare instances where antisemitism actually concerned him personally, it could only arouse within him the spiritual need to become a "Jewish reader" in the sense that it served JTA as a plumbline for its Jewish information services. It is possible to formulate this also as follows: it was by no means easy to gain a recognition of partnership in Jewish fate, and this cruel consciousness was in need of the experiences of the generation that had personally suffered the horrors of the Nazi crimes, or experiences approximating to them (such as those of the Jews in the Soviet Union during the last years of Stalin's regime) so that that partnership in Jewish fate might reveal itself in its entirety.

Not so the Jew in the countries of Eastern Europe. His recognition of partnership in Jewish fate was not something hazy and distant; most of the Jews in this area were born, as it were, with such recognition, and it was close under the surface also among very many who tended to assimilation. They did not live their Jewish life on the periphery of their civilian, economic or cultural life. For 90% of these Jews, their Jewish life constituted the whole of their life down to the last ounce of it. Antisemitism accompanied the Jew from his infancy and did not let go of him throughout his life. He realised almost day by day that his life and fate was different from that of the Gentile. Until the time when democracy in Poland became a complete fiction (although it never was complete in the Western sense), no declared assimilationist ever succeeded in amassing the Jewish votes necessary for him to be elected to Parliament (and it was only from the PPS, the Polish Socialist Party, that such Jews were elected, but this party was not at all on the lookout for the votes of Jews as Jews). In no country in Eastern Europe could one find a group parallel to the Naumann group in Germany, which already in Hitler's time went out of its way to disown and estrange itself from the Jews (that was the faction that perhaps gave the clearest organised expression in modern times to Jewish self-hatred).

Here is one instance in JTA's experience which may add something to the characteristic of the "ordinary" assimilationist Jew in Poland. In Lodz, which was the great centre of the textile industry in Poland, Jews brought out two papers in Polish, and although every one knew that their readership was Jewish, the papers were edited in a manner that was almost entirely oblivious of Jewish interests, and insofar as Jewish affairs were on the agenda, the editors actually went out of their way to write about them from a marked "distance". In the middle of the 1930s a clearcut departure set in in these two papers. They became openly Jewish; they subscribed to the JTA bulletins (and not only because they competed with each other for the attraction of their Jewish readers) and there was almost no difference between them and the papers that were intended from the outset for "Jewish Jews".

For many years the Polish Telegraphic Agency (PAT), an institution that was government-financed, was a subscriber to the JTA bulletin. There were few Polish papers that were subscribers to the JTA, and PAT was desirous of transmitting the main news from the Jewish world to the general papers and the PAT telephonist on duty used to receive the gist of such news from our offices every evening. Only a small part of the Jewish information would be carried by the Polish papers, but the PAT bulletin served, in last measure, as what was termed an "orientation background" for the editors of these papers. In 1936, PAT stopped this service and from the context of events in those days it was clear that this tallied with the new declared antisemitic line of the ruling party. Now that the Polish papers stopped receiving the JTA news in brief, through PAT, we received an additional half-dozen subscriptions from non-Jewish papers which were desirous of receiving news from the Jewish world for their Jewish readers. Their considerations were of a purely commercial nature. The owners realised that at a time when the Jewish skies in Europe were becoming overcast their readers of Jewish descent were in need of Jewish information.

In this way, therefore, JTA reached down also to half– or one-third Jewish homes. And if I say that it served as the source of Jewish information for millions of Jews, the statement may be taken literally. It accompanied the consciousness of Jewish existence—that consciousness from which the JTA was evolved so as to supply the conscious or the latent need in the heart of the Jew to know "what was happening among Jews".

At the end of the summer of 1927, early in my work in the JTA, the echoes of the sensational announcement by Henry Ford I, were still reverberating in the Jewish world. Ford, who in those days was undoubtedly one of the most famous Americans throughout the world, had for 20 years given his patronage to an untrammelled campaign of instigation against the Jews—a campaign which rested mainly on the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", and which spread all over Europe much more than it did in America. But now, in the summer of 1927, Ford had publicly expressed his regret at what he had done, claiming that he had not known the truth about that forgery. He entirely withdrew from all that business and withheld his financial support of the antisemitic paper which his people brought out in one of the suburbs of Chicago. It goes without saying that Ford's manifesto did not put an end to the affair, and I would not be exaggerating if I said that that scurrilous publication over its various nuances had left its imprint on the antisemitic movement in all parts of the world in the period between the two World Wars. JTA's efforts were, therefore, directed in large measure at defence against the Protocols which reaped a measure of success that is difficult to imagine nowadays. By the early thirties the Protocols had become the "bible" of the international antisemitic movement, and this state of affairs engaged also JTA. The agency was particularly preoccupied in the years 1934 and 1935 with two famous trials—one in Switzerland and the other in South Africa—against circles that disseminated the Protocols. In the trial at Berne, the Jewish defence had been organised in outstanding fashion by the Union of Jewish Communities in Switzerland. The trial aroused attention throughout the world and served as an excellent opportunity for the JTA to publish the truth about that scurrilous lie. On the occasion of the trial Jewish newspapers in Eastern Europe (and also some non-Jewish papers in Poland) published many columns of JTA articles on the origin of the Protocols, their history, the various metamorphoses of the forgery and everything connected with them. The material also constituted exciting reading from the journalistic point of view, and not only on account of the political implications of the trial but also on account of the tension of the plot on which this fabrication was based, and in which were implicated political leaders, detectives, scholars and forgers, idealists as well as human scum with which no self-respecting person would have anything to do.

As far as Poland was concerned, something extraordinary was to be recorded in regard to the whole issue of the Protocols. In this country, which was one of the birth-places of classical antisemitism, the Protocols had never attained the stage of importance which antisemites throughout the world had ascribed to them in their "philosophy" for antisemitic propaganda purposes. Not only in Nazi Germany, and even in the Weimar Republic, was this booklet looked upon as a propaganda instrument which fell in importance only to "Mein Kampf", but even in countries like France and Sweden, its importance was far greater than it was to the Polish propagandists. The two or three editions of the Protocols in my possession (if there had been more they could not have escaped my notice) were miserable pamphlets got up with amateurish carelessness, and not bearing the stamp of pseudo-learning which marked the publication in other languages; it did not carry the "scientific apparatus" and notes, etc. Only one explanation can be offered for this. The spirit that pervaded the Protocols had been ipso facto the very life breath of Polish antisemitism, and everything that this concoction of lies had wanted to inculcate into public opinion had been the stock-in-trade of the "theories" propounded by the antisemites in Poland long before the Protocols had gained such wide currency throughout the world.

This is explained not only by partially historical factors but also by the fact that no country in Europe had ever manifested such deep hatred for Russia and the Russians than had Poland—and I have in mind not only the higher classes but the masses—and the Communist regime contributed still further to a deepening of this hatred of the Russians. In the concrete circumstances of Poland of the time, which had recently emerged victorious from the war with Russia and had deep fears of it, the antisemites in that country had to strive less hard than in other countries in order to "prove" to the masses that the Jews were Bolsheviks and that the Bolsheviks were Jews ("Zydokomuna" in short), that the Jews did not stop at any means in order to gain sway over the world, and first of all, over Poland—"the Jewish and masonic plot", that the Jews were the leeches

that sucked the blood of the Gentiles whom they reviled, because the Talmud had commanded the Jew to seek the destruction of the Gentile, etc. etc.—all those fantastic scurrilities on which the Protocols are based.

In short, the antisemites in Poland were not at all in need of learning Jew-hatred from the protocols; on the contrary, the crown of originality belongs to them in several matters which are today regarded as having been introduced by the Nazis. For example, pickets outside Jewish shops and business premises as an instrument in the economic war against the Jews were not the invention of the Nazis, although the first of April, 1933, brought them world notoriety (true, there were also other German "inventions" on that day). The Jews of Poland had known this form of antisemitism as far back as years before World War I, and it was almost down to the end of Poland's independent existence that this served as one of the forms of economic warfare against the Jews, except that in the latter period it had behind it also the mighty arms of the regime which declared the Jews to be a "foreign and redundant element in the Polish national body" and gave every possible sanction to carry out everything implied in this statement.

Or, take another example: as was learned from German archival material published after the War, Poland evinced great interest in the intentions of Nazi Germany to send European Jewry to Madagascar, and Lipsky, Poland's Ambassador to Berlin at the time, is reported to have told Ribbentrop (I quote from memory) that if Hitler succeeded in that, Poland would undoubtedly erect a monument in his honour. As is well known, Eichmann in the course of his trial in Jerusalem, also spoke of his "attempts to find human solutions" to the Jewish problem, and in this connection mentioned the Madagascar affair. I don't know what Germany did for the "Madagascar" solution, but I am afraid that the copyright in this matter must be reserved by the Polish Government which, before the Nazi invasion of the country, had sent out a delegation of its own to French Madagascar in order "to examine the prospects of Jewish settlement" there. There were three members in that delegation: Captain Lipecki, a senior official in the Polish Government, Arkady Fiedler, a writer and author of travel books, and one Jew who, on account of his Leftist tendencies, would most certainly not have been delegated to some more honourable task, but here it was only his Jewish origin that served him in good stead. His name was Leon Alter, Director of the Warsaw Office of "Hias", the Jewish organisation for the aid of migrants (his brother Victor Alter, one of the leaders of the Bund, was executed at the end of 1941 together with Henryk Erlich in the cellars of Stalin's political police). The Polish Government knew full well that the delegation would not bring back anything from its mission. In those days the problem of Jewish emigration was one of the most important questions on the international arena, and Evian, the summer resort on the banks of Lake Geneva, lent universal publicity to the futile efforts which the representatives of several score countries exerted for months on end, under American patronage, to try and find some places in the world for Jewish immigration. But "Jews to Madagascar!" served as a wonderful motto for the fanning of Jew-hatred.

These are only random examples in illustration, and I do not in any way wish to assert that the antisemites in Poland were capable of attaining the peaks of barbarism reached by the Nazis, at all events not of their own initiative. The tendencies, however, were clear. As from 1936 and onwards, the "Ghetto benches" for Jewish students in the universities were signs of recognition for those tendencies, besides all sorts of other oppressive measures, such as "numerus clausus" or even "numerus nullus" in many faculties. There were also daily attacks on Jewish students (even in institutions of learning which still bore the names of Jewish millionaires through whose Foundations they existed!). In protest against the "Ghetto" rules in the universities, Jewish students would stand during the lectures of Professors who acquiesced in the measure, etc. etc. Only in one instance, on a general Jewish strike day declared against the "Ghetto benches", did the PPS declare a half-day's stoppage of work by way of solidarity with the Jews, but no other public factor of political importance came out in support of the Jews. In those days even Jews had already forgotten the fact that many years before, under the regime of other parties, Jewish students of medicine would time and again be driven out by their non-Jewish colleagues, with the consent of their teachers (at all events their tacit consent) from the Institutes of Anatomy until . . . they supplied Jew-

ish bodies for dissection! The ousting of Jews from various branches of the economy was an ongoing process and it only showed ups and downs from the point of view of tension and tempo, and it was conducted in every conceivable manner. Jews were ousted from the liberal professions and the various branches of commerce; the weekly market days were transferred to the Sabbath, so as to prevent the participation of Jews. In various branches of commerce the declaration was made of "Judenrein" days, etc., not to speak of the prevention of Jews from work in branches in which they had not engaged in the past (throughout the years of Poland's independence they spoke of only one Jewish tram conductor in the Polish capital!), or of the repeated appeals by the last Polish government to the peasants to move to the cities and to open shops there, promising them credits and every possible facility in order to do so, so as to oust the Jews from trade. (In Poland 60% of its population engaged in agriculture and right down to the end there was only one single village that could boast of electricity! The Polish peasants, with the exception of the hands working on the large landed estates, had never set eyes on a tractor.) The list is unending. Perhaps one single figure may illustrate the situation reached by the Jews of Poland, owing to economic measures against them. In the year 1937 or 1938, almost 40% of Polish Jewry stood in need of assistance from public funds on the eve of Passover.



Jacob Landau



Mendel Mozes

In the opening line of JTA news no city was more common than that of Jerusalem. The great flow of information that stemmed from Eretz Israel had many tributaries—about what was happening around Eretz Israel, from the Zionist Movement and its numerous branches, from almost every centre in the world, whether Jewish or non-Jewish. Many fresh news sources were likely to dry up for months or even years on end, but the flow of news from Eretz Israel was perennial throughout the days of the year. It was an over-brimming river and only such events as, for example, those that took place in January, 1933, or the Nuremburg Laws, or the Crystal Night of November 1938 had to come along in order to deflect the flow of news from Eretz Israel to another channel. It was related in the name of Jacob Landau that the news concerning the Balfour Declaration was the first news item disseminated by the new Agency, which he had founded at the end of 1917 together with Meir Grossman in Holland ("Jewish Correspondence Bureau" which preceded the JTA), and our work in Warsaw may perhaps be symbolic of the fact that the last service that we rendered to the Jewish press was the reporting from the Zionist Congress on the morrow of the closing of which Hitler sent out his planes to bomb the cities of Poland and to start the world conflagration.

Frequently, in times of political tension in Eretz Israel, bloody events, or in times of large conventions which were of decisive importance for the Yishuv, the news reports from Eretz Israel formed the very backbone of the JTA. If that was so for the JTA Services in general, so much the more was it true in regard to its services for Eastern Europe. This is self-evident on account of the strong links that East European Jewry generally, and Polish Jewry in particular, had with the upbuilding of Eretz Israel. At present it may be difficult to imagine the extent to which this link was intimate and almost mutual, even for practical reasons. In the period between the two World Wars, Polish Jewry formed the main foundation for the upbuilding of Eretz Israel, *the* reservoir for the Chalutzic and the Kibbutz movements over all trends of settlement, for the building of towns, for handicrafts and industry. The Jews of Poland fed all the Aliyot from the Third Aliyah and onwards (and indeed also all the waves of emigration) and whether positively or negatively there is some measure of

symbolism also in the fact that one of these waves of immigration came to be known in the history of the Yishuv by the name of the Polish Minister who molested the Jews —"The Grabski Aliyah". Four out of every ten Jews who lived in Eretz Israel before the outbreak of the War hailed from Poland. Little wonder, therefore, that JTA in Warsaw brought to the notice of those who had recourse to service also matters of relatively minor importance in the life of the Yishuv in Eretz Israel, matters in which other branches of the news agency had no interest whatever.

Polish Jewry also served as the main basis in the Diaspora for all Party and factional trends, their unifications and secessions, their rapprochements and the quarrels between them. Every Party in Eretz Israel had its counterpart or a sister-Party in Poland, some public prop which at times proved to be even stronger than its basis in Eretz Israel itself. In preparation for every showdown, Zionist Congress or important convention, the heads of the Yishuv would come over in order to gain support for their views and outlooks among the Jews of Eastern Europe and primarily among the Jews of Poland. It was the same in regard to the struggle against the decrees of the mandatory Government, particularly in regard to Aliyah and land purchase. "Hechalutz" of Poland organised the departure of the first ship (the s.s. Velos) which took "illegal" immigrants to Eretz Israel (we always carried the word "illegal" in inverted commas) and this act sparked off the beginning of the semi-overt illegal immigration from the point of view that it was declared. It was inconceivable that this movement should be started elsewhere but in Poland! One may continue to quote examples *ad infinitum*. Such mutual links wielded influence also on the Polish government, at least until the time that it became declaredly antisemitic. In the disturbances of August 1929, the Polish Consul General in Jerusalem was one of the most popular figures in the Jewish Yishuv in Eretz Israel. Poland was the only country of its size to introduce in its shipping a regular passenger line to Eretz Israel (from a leased port, Constanza, on the Black Sea). Later on, Poland was the first country outside the West to have a regular airline to Eretz Israel whose influence on Polish Jewry was greater by far than the extent of organised Zionism in Poland. In actual fact, the Zionist parties there were relatively small, but they had a large periphery. Most of the Jewish representatives in the elections to Parliament, in the Municipalities, to the Community Councils and to all the other public bodies were always Zionists. It would appear, however, that these Zionists were elected not so much on account of their Zionism as the Anti-Zionists were rejected on account of their opposition to Zionism. For Eretz Israel served as the very lifeblood in the daily life of the Jews in Eastern Europe.

For that reason, events in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv, in Jaffa and in Hebron, in the Galilee and the Emek were always assured of an almost automatic echo in the Jewish press in Poland. A negative example will clarify my contention. The Bund was a militant anti-Zionist party and, it goes without saying, that there was hardly an issue of the daily paper of this party in Warsaw which did not carry an attack on Zionism, or a debate with it. For that reason *Folkszeitung* (which was the name of its paper) used to carry only very little and selective news from the JTA Bulletin, only such items as it deemed suitable for its ends, mainly in order to butt its Zionist rival. But in the days of grave disturbances in Eretz Israel, when every Jew in Poland was filled with concern about what was taking place in the country—for example during the days of August 1929, to which I have already referred, or the period of the disturbances that commenced in the Spring of 1936 and continued almost without intermission until the outbreak of the War in September 1939—it was almost impossible to recognise the paper. In times like these there was no tangible difference between the appearance of the news pages in the Bund paper and the pages in any other Jewish paper. One could almost sense the fact that controversy and propaganda were one thing and the "Jewish spark" another. When the storm subsided the Bundists would return to their debate with the Zionists over "the Utopia" and over the "Palestinian adventure" and all the rest. In time of trouble, however, the heart of the editors pulsated with Jewish feeling like the heart of their readers. Unlike the Communists, which followed Moscow blindly, although in Poland they had no legal paper of their own (their existence there was always illegal) they generally succeeded in bringing their views on all matters to the notice of the public. Regarding the August 1929 disturbances, Moscow announced that "the Arab revolt against British Imperialism and its Zionist lack-

eys has commenced" and justified the acts of murder against the Jews of Eretz Israel, including the murder in cold blood of scores of Rabbis and Yeshivah students in Hebron.

It is almost impossible to enumerate the Eretz Israel affairs that the JTA was called upon to deal with extensively every day, and bring to the notice of East European Jewry through the medium of the newspapers which subscribed to the service. There were stories about upbuilding and defence, political struggles with the British authorities and with the Arab majority and its supporters outside Eretz Israel, the settlement of new villages on the land, struggles for Aliyah and "illegal" immigration, inter-Party and inter-factional disputes, struggles in the sphere of work, etc. etc. JTA was called upon to accompany all these events constantly, to relate facts, to report differences of opinion and their evolvement. This material proved to be of interest even from the purely professional journalistic point of view, at times even exciting, not to speak about the Jewish drama in many events, for often these concerned matters of life and death. Whoever did not live through these events constantly can hardly imagine at the present time the tragic glory that lay at their core. Most certainly, whoever grew up after the emergence of the State of Israel cannot possibly gain a true picture of what a Zionist Congress meant in those days. In the heart of the Jews, Zionist Congresses were accompanied also by a hidden and latent yearning for some manifestations of sovereignty, of which they were deprived, and would cling zealously to the external splendour of "sovereignty" for which the Congress served as a sort of "Ersatz". It was also necessary to reflect this side of the picture, the festive halo that accompanied the Congress in the current journalistic reports that were sent out from the conventions hall. The month of a Zionist Congress (most of the Congresses in the period between the two World Wars were held either in Switzerland or in Czechoslovakia) generally served as an opportune time for many other organisations, including non-Zionist Organisations, to hold their world conventions, and JTA used to organise a special editorial staff in the places of venue for the enlarged services that were called for from the Congress and its "periphery". This was done especially by the Warsaw branch to whose services scores of daily papers in Eastern Europe had recourse.

The JTA in Poland was a branch of a world organisation which already in the middle '20s had another five branches —in New York, London, Jerusalem, Berlin and Paris. The organisation fell back on a ramified network of scores of correspondents in all parts of the Jewish world. Each branch worked in two directions.

Through its "outgoing" service it used to send out news from the area of its activities to all the other branches, and through its "incoming" service would receive information from these for transmission to its own subscribers. Nonetheless local conditions and needs gave specific colouring to each branch so that they differed from one another in many respects. They had, if one may use the expression, "centres of gravity" of their own, and these differences also determined the organisation of the work and the mutual relations between the branches.

It goes without saying that the business and budgetary side of the organisation had a great say in matters. A news agency of such wide geographical dispersion as the JTA was, was obviously a very expensive affair. It stood in need of a large staff of workers and correspondents and had to have recourse to modern means of communication. It must be borne in mind that even today there are very few news agencies capable of maintaining themselves only on the subscription fees of the newspapers benefiting from their services, and it is known that quite a few of them link their information services with other activities. As at present, in the past too, there were agencies that relied on government budgets, while other agencies were connected with much more extensive communication businesses (such as chains of newspapers, radio networks and nowadays also television networks) or an important part of whose budgets was covered by other business sources, various branches of the economy, business on the Stock Exchange, etc. Such business connections were likely in certain instances to arouse at least doubts as to the very ability of the agencies to supply objective information, if not more serious suspicions (and at least in the period between the two World Wars there were quite a few instances to justify such suspicions). At all events, it is clear that in the situation in which JTA found itself, in that its income from subscription fees paid by papers were never capable of covering its outlays, it had no outlet but to fall back on organisations and institutions of the Jewish

people. JTA would most certainly have been unable to function for scores of years if it had not received the support of the leaders of such organisations, people of broad and far-reaching outlook, who realised the importance of a central instrument for the gathering of Jewish information from all parts of the world, not only in order to disseminate it through the press, to Jewish communities throughout the world, but also in order to supply the constant need of such organisations for information presented in a reliable Jewish light—something which only Jews who are fully conversant with Jewish public life are capable of doing. It was certainly no coincidence that Meir Grossman and Jacob Landau succeeded, after previous attempts that had failed, to lay the foundations of such an instrument at the end of World War I, on the threshold of a seething historical era in the life of the Jewish people. Grossman withdrew from the administration of the JTA after a short period, and Landau (who headed the institution until his death at the beginning of the 1950s), devoted great energies throughout his life to inculcating a "consciousness" for the need of a Jewish information service in circles of public influence.

Circumstances made it necessary for the administrative centre of the JTA to be established in New York, which was the richest Jewish community and had the large institutions whose affairs embraced the whole of the Jewish world. It was there that the ramified organisations for Jewish assistance, and chiefly the Joint Distribution Committee over all its branches, were situated, as well as other important institutions of various organisational structures, the common denominator of them all being care for Jewish welfare on a world-wide scale, such as the American Jewish Committee (on which, incidentally, the "Joint" and other organisations always fell back), the network of B'nai B'rith organisations and their branches, the American Jewish Congress, etc. New York was, therefore, the administrative and financial centre of the JTA, and its location in that great metropolis and the nature of its work there left its special imprint on this branch insofar as news services in America were concerned. In no other branch did the JTA have so many subscribers described as "private"—overwhelmingly heads of Jewish Organisations, activists in various public bodies, keyworkers and their professional officialdom, who used to receive the JTA news bulletins. Owing to the large number of such subscribers (in the peak years they undoubtedly amounted to thousands), JTA used to bring out in New York, in addition to the News Bulletin for newspapers, also a special bulletin for the "private" subscribers, which was different also in its external format from the bulletin intended for the press. This bulletin had the format of a small newspaper, edited and printed for easy reading. From New York the news used to be sent out also to the Jewish press (and to other subscribers) in South America.

Second in importance to New York was the branch in London which, in Britain itself, had only one important paper to service, namely the large Jewish weekly *Jewish Chronicle,* which in the past had the subscription of nine out of every ten Jewish households in the country. For many years there used to appear in London also a small Yiddish paper *(Die Zeit)* whose publication was stopped in the middle of the 1930s, but I think that for a long time previously the paper's heyday was far behind it, and in its last years led a very poor existence. The centre of gravity of the JTA's work in London lay in its functions as a world distributive centre of the service: the other branches and the individual correspondents used to direct their news to London, where it used to be redistributed to all the other branches, and only on very rare occasions, in events that called for specially urgent reporting, Warsaw (or Jerusalem or Berlin, for that matter) used to telegraph directly to New York, and even on such occasions used to send afterwards a more detailed cable to London. From London the news used to go out to each branch according to the schedule required by it for its press service, each branch in accordance with its local needs and with what is known in professional jargon as its "deadline".

The stress on the work of the Jerusalem branch was always laid more on the "outgoing" than on the "incoming" service. Throughout the years Eretz Israel served as *the* focus for Jewish information, both as regards services for newspapers as well as for "private" subscribers (in actual fact all JTA branches had such subscribers but, outside America, they were of relatively less importance). The reader in Eretz Israel was evidently possessed of a more critical sense and was more demanding than the average Jewish reader abroad, and JTA had to take that into account in the service that it gave to the papers in Eretz

Israel. But the weight of the small Jewish Yishuv in the country as a "supplier" of news to the Jewish world was infinitely greater than its weight as a "consumer" of news from the Diaspora. Incidentally, in Jerusalem there appeared an English edition of the JTA Bulletin also in the form of a small newspaper. Its name was *Palestine Bulletin* and its editor was Gershon Agronsky (subsequently Agron) who, in the 1930s was JTA Correspondent in Palestine (that small paper was actually the "grandfather" of the present-day *Jerusalem Post)*.

The branches in Berlin and Paris did not serve any daily papers at all. Their main function was to gather information for the other branches. From Berlin JTA served Jewish weeklies, also in Austria, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, some of which were fairly large, the most important among them being *Jüdische Rundschau* and *C.V. Zeitung,* the organ of the Zentral Verein of German Jewry (which was the largest Jewish organisation in Central Europe). For purposes of this service, however, the branch did not stand in need of daily telegrams but of telegrams once or twice a week, shortly before the weeklies went to press. For the rest of the week it made do for its bulletin with information material received by airmail. The needs of the Paris Office internally were still smaller, since it had to service only a few small weeklies (also in Belgium and Switzerland). But in the capitals of Germany and France were situated in the period between the two World Wars (in Berlin only until the rise of Hitler to power), the European centres of several world organisations, and so these two branches were important foci of Jewish information.

The place of the Warsaw branch in the world network of JTA was determined, insofar as its "outgoing" service, by dint of the fact that the affairs of the three to three and a half million Jews in Poland occupied the central place, in the period between the two World Wars, in the national and social struggles of the Jewish people as a whole. Insofar as the services for the papers in the region of its activities were concerned, the Warsaw branch supplied Jewish information to the reading public in a population of about 5,000,000 souls—almost one-third of the Jewish people (before the Holocaust). The two arms of JTA's activities in Warsaw were of equal weight in its current activities, and the needs of supplying information made it necessary for it to maintain constant, almost daily close contacts with the editorial offices of nearly 30 daily newspapers and to be constantly alert to their needs and demands. The daily echo of the branch's existence was its printed (stencilled) Bulletin. I cannot enter into technical details here because they are of interest only to professionals and so I shall limit myself to a few general remarks. Unlike older news agencies, the JTA had no "romantic" period (Reuter's, for example, began its activities by pigeon post!), so that at the time it was organised, at the beginning of the 1920s, it had at its disposal all the forms of modern communication, other than the mail, and at the end of the 1920s, the airmail, the telegraph and the telephone, and in its last years of existence, the Warsaw branch used to receive and send out news also by means of the radio networks. (The importance of the various types of communication by radio, apart from the time factor, lay also in the fact that payment was computed not in accordance with the number of words broadcast but in accordance with the amount of time "bought" for broadcasting.) I refer to the JTA Bulletin, but actually the Warsaw branch always had three bulletins, and in the second half of the 1930s, four.

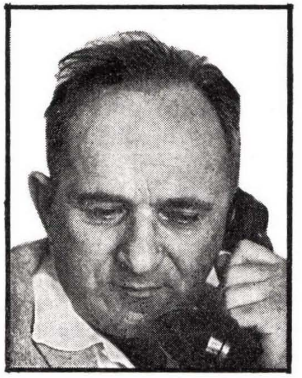
The most important among them was, of course, the Bulletin intended for the daily papers. It had two editions daily (on Friday only one, in the morning, and on the outgoing of the Sabbath, a second), whose time of despatch to the editorial offices was adapted to the time that the various editions of the papers went to press. In general, each edition of the Bulletin had from three to five pages (from 600 to 1,000 words). Very often, however, in times of public tension and of important events in the Jewish world, or on the occasion of large conventions, the daily editions used to come up to 20 pages and more. Many Jewish organisations and institutions in Poland used to have recourse to the JTA as a channel for the transmission of their information to the daily press, and the JTA used to conform willingly to their wishes in accordance with the public-journalistic interest involved. Such "public-journalistic" interest would be estimated in the editorial office in accordance with whether there were prospects of two or three papers being interested in using the material, and then the information would be adapted for inclusion in the Bulletin. Work in the JTA editorial offices would continue

until shortly before the last edition of the papers would be "put to bed" (all the daily papers in Warsaw used to bring out at least two editions—one or two early editions for the provincial centres and the last for Warsaw and its immediate environs). After midnight important news used to be communicated to the editorial offices of the papers by telephone. In this way, the provincial papers, too, used to receive the news every day while the daily papers outside Poland used to receive it by telephone or telegram. (Most of the years of Poland's existence between the two World Wars, its frontiers with Lithuania were closed and the Jewish daily paper in Kovno, its capital, used to receive the JTA service through Berlin; after the renewal of relations between Poland and Lithuania, in the spring of 1938, it received news directly from the JTA in Warsaw.) The second Bulletin was intended for papers outside Poland and for the branches of the JTA. In this Bulletin news transmitted through the speedy communications media used to be complemented and other journalistic material which it was not worthwhile sending by telegraph but which was, nonetheless, of sufficient importance for it to be brought to the notice of the subscribers of the various branches, if only as background material for the use of the editorial offices. The first Bulletin used to be printed in two languages—Yiddish and Polish; the second, only in Yiddish. (In the second half of the 1930s there appeared in Poland six Jewish daily papers in the Polish language.)

A third Bulletin, in Polish, was intended for non-Jewish papers which, for various reasons (commercial and non-commercial) had an interest in Jewish information from the same source as used to supply it to the Jewish press. I have already mentioned that after PAT had annulled its agreement to receive information from the Jewish world from the JTA, the Agency received subscriptions from the Polish papers. Since 1936 these were about ten in number. Obviously, for these papers the material had to be edited in a selective form and much more succinctly than for the Jewish papers. In this Bulletin we used to include also local Jewish material which the Jewish papers had no need to receive from the JTA. From the Jewish public point of view, importance attached to the Jewish character of the material submitted to the non-Jewish papers, even in instances where they did not make use of the version received from us. In many cases, however, our version of the information was the only one received by the Polish paper. Some of these papers were, as we have said, liberal or at least "neutral". Among them, however, there were two which had an express antisemitic tendency, and one of these was the organ of the veteran antisemitic party (Endecja) of Poland! In 1937 the JTA brought out a fourth Bulletin for the non-Jewish press, to which all the above-



Jacob Berman



Arie Bar

mentioned papers used to subscribe as well. This Bulletin used to survey the Jewish press (in Yiddish), include the gist of publicistic articles, and other summaries of topical interest. I don't have to add that these services of the JTA had no influence whatever in "mollifying" the antisemitic attitude of the Polish press. But I don't remember even one instance of any of the papers subscribing to the JTA service making bad use of it for purposes of antisemitic instigation, an instigation which the majority of the Polish press engaged in daily.

I will here add a few lines about our Warsaw Office and its staff. Throughout the years of my work with JTA, ever since the autumn of 1927, its premises consisted of one large room and two smaller rooms. The very modest composition of the editorial staff never changed for it consisted always of three people: the late Mendel Mozes, who was JTA Director in Poland and the moving spirit in its activities, while Jacob Berman and myself were the editors of the bulletins. On the

occasion of important conferences, outstanding events, etc., and obviously when the regular staff went on vacation, it was necessary to make temporary appointments to assist in the work. We had correspondents in the large provincial centres and about half-a-dozen reporters in various fields. But these were external workers. Together with the technical staff (typists, telephonists, stencillers and administrative workers) not more than a dozen people worked in the Warsaw office. Whoever has a knowledge of Polish history knows that Jacob Berman was one of the main pillars of the Communist regime in that country ever since it was established in the summer of 1944 until the change in regime in the autumn of 1956. Mozes and I were always aware that Berman was not a Communist of the rank and file, but enjoyed an important status in his Party while still a student in the Warsaw University. But even we knew very little about that. He was the perfect conspirator. It was only after the outbreak of the War that we learned of surprising details about his prominent role in the Polish Communist Party, particularly during the period after it was dissolved on orders from the Comintern. Nonetheless, not a shadow of doubt arose during the upwards of twelve years of our joint work that his commitments to Stalinist Moscow did not in any way infringe on his loyalty to his task on the editorial staff, and that he did his work as its principles demanded of him, namely the principles that a Jewish institution, loyal to the public that it served, had laid down. The personal relationships between us, both in the editorial offices and outside, were always excellent. We were truly close friends.

The JTA's Jewish character sometimes revealed itself also in things that it withheld from publication. In doing so, it was undoubtedly guilty of an "anti-journalistic" act. But even today I have no doubt that in the cases in which it did so it served the best Jewish interests. But rather than spell out principles I prefer to relate an episode from my own experience of work in Warsaw, the only case in which we had a direct contact with the Nazi regime.

In the Spring of 1935, the Nazi Party emerged victorious in the elections to the Senate (government) of Danzig, the "Free City" which, since World War I, had an internationally controlled administration. Vis-à-vis the outside world it was represented by a High Commissioner of the League of Nations (then a Swiss) but, in international affairs the city enjoyed autonomous rule with, however, one limitation. Poland was a partner in the city's administration, although in most spheres this partnership was mainly theoretical. The Poles in Danzig constituted a small minority, but as this large port was intended to be "Poland's outlet to the world", Warsaw held almost half the shares in the port, just as the Senate of Danzig did (the small difference of one or two per cent was in the hands of the League of Nations Commissionership). On the election of the new Senate, Danzig became the second state with a Nazi regime, after Germany. In that Spring, this matter became the centre of political interest in the world. Immediately, therefore, there rose to the fore the situation of the Jews of Danzig and the attitude of world Jewry, and particularly of Polish Jewry, to the new regime. Several days after the Nazi victory, a telephone call was received in the editorial offices of the JTA, from the port authorities (i.e., from the neutral body in Danzig), and the advisor to the council, Dr. Z. announced that the Senate Presidium was desirous of publishing through the medium of the JTA an announcement "in favour of the Jews of Danzig". For that purpose he was inviting a representative of the JTA to come over and receive the text for publication. We had no doubt that the Senate was apprehensive lest the Jews of Poland who, for the past two years had maintained an economic boycott of Germany, would now expand it to include also the port of Danzig, and so it wanted to publish some "conciliatory message" to the Jews, in order to avert the boycott. It was clear that we could not reject the proposal before seeing the text of the announcement. An hour later, therefore, we informed Dr. Z. that we accepted the invitation, and in the editorial offices we decided that we would publish the announcement only if it contained as a matter of principle, at least "something" that could be interpreted as a sign of the Senate's dissociation from the antisemitism of Berlin. In other words, even before we left for Danzig, we were convinced beyond doubt that nothing would come out of it. (In reply to the communication we sent to Landau, we received his immediate reply that he relied upon us to safeguard "Jewish dignity".)

Mozes and I left for Danzig the following day, and even before meeting the member of the Senate, we informed

Dr. Z. that we regarded ourselves as guests of the League-of Nations-controlled Port Council and not as guests of the Senate. This, as he told us, called for changes in the Senate's plans to meet us, among other things, at luncheon with Rauschning's, the President of the Senate, Deputy. (Rauschning, for many years Nazi leader in Danzig, subsequently left his party and his books on the Nazi Party and on his talks with Hitler, serve as an important source for the study of the Nazi Movement before the outbreak of the war.) In Dr. Z.'s presence, we had three meetings with the Senate representative, an aristocrat by the name of von Lubienski, who was in charge of information on behalf of the administration. There is no point in going into detail. Suffice it to mention that our assumptions proved entirely correct. The boycott of the port by the Jews of Poland would have led to a drastic cut in its income and the announcement was intended to avert a boycott. From our point of view, however, the announcement was lukewarm. It spoke of generalities about the Constitution of Danzig, about the rights of the "Jewish citizens of the Free City", which could not be infringed upon, and mainly about the preparedness of the Senate to continue to serve the customers of the port "without distinction of race and religion" etc. There was no doubt that the Senate was out to gain not only the practical side of the move (publication in scores of newspapers in Poland and hundreds of newspapers throughout the world), but also the "positive aspect" of the matter, namely publication through the medium of the *Jewish* news agency. We saw no need to play hide and seek, and so, after certain civilities of a roundabout approach, we arrived at clear statements already in the course of our second conversation. We said that the announcement as couched in the text which we had read proved unsatisfactory and that we hoped it would be possible to introduce several minor changes in the spirit of some dissociation, in principle, from the tenets of antisemitism. Mozes returned that same evening to Warsaw while I remained for a third meeting the following day, on the basis, as it were, of that "hope" for changes. Obviously the outcome was to be expected. Lubienski returned from the Senate bearing the same text ("How can we come to the Führer and say: Our great Führer and master, you are in error...?"). I parted from him with the promise that we would "weigh the matter", "clarify things", etc.—mere civilities. In the train I met Dr. Z. again who acted in the interests of the port, as he understood them, since he was one of its officials (incidentally, he wanted to hear from me what his prospects would be at the Haifa Port, where deep water arrangements had been introduced some few years previously). I don't know whether Dr. Z. continued his efforts also with individual papers in Warsaw, but several weeks later we found the Senate announcement printed, exactly as in the text submitted to us, in the "newspaper" of the Zionist Congress, which was held at Lucerne. The communiqué did not appear in any other paper. JTA could, therefore, remain satisfied that in its "anti-journalistic" act it had done quite a good piece of Jewish work. (Dr. Z., scion of an honourable Jewish family in Lwow, died years later in Jerusalem.)

Another episode was the encounter with the Berlin banker Georg Kareski, a Revisionist Zionist leader in his time. In January 1935, several months before the Danzig affair, a World Conference of the Revisionists convened in Krakow, and a fairly large delegation arrived from Germany. I was sent to Krakow to report on the Convention (a task very rarely imposed upon me—only a few times in the course of my career in the JTA) and on the morrow of the opening of the Conference, a member of the German delegation asked me to contact Kareski who was due to give the JTA a communiqué for publication. From one of the members of the Conference Secretariat I heard what I had expected to hear—namely that I had to be "very careful". Actually, it was no secret that the organisers of the Conference treated the delegation from Germany with a measure of suspicion, to say the least, and when in the evening I met Kareski in his hotel room, I immediately realised the reason. We were not alone. A third person was present in the room, and his presence was very much felt. His nervousness and his active participation in the conversation which, after all, was not conducted with him, left no doubt as to his function. His name was Ben-Ever (or Benever) who apparently belonged to a German Jewish family of Sephardi origin.

He followed every syllable that came out of my host's mouth and every movement of his, so much so that when Kareski rose from the sofa to take a cigar out of the drawer

in the table, Ben-Ever rose together with him. Incidentally, Kareski, too, could not hide his nervousness, which was unfitting his solid and quiet nature. I can't recall the details of the conversation, the subject of which could only have been one, namely the situation of the Jews in Germany and whatever was connected with it. But, clearly, I could not or rather would not speak freely. Incidentally, Ben-Ever was more anxious than Kareski himself to stress time and again that the things spoken were not intended for publication. One thing was of importance: Kareski's communiqué was ready prepared, in typescript, and he asked that it be published in full, without deletions. I read the communiqué on the spot but I could not tell my interlocutor (or my interlocutors) that the JTA would be unable to publish this announcement, at all events, not in Warsaw. It contained more things between the lines than in the actual wording—tones which undoubtedly did not convey what the Jews in Germany thought, not even the less sensitive among them. There were also several positive expressions towards the regime—possibly not in political affairs, but most certainly in economic matters. But whoever would have read the announcement would most certainly have thought that the Jews of Germany have no serious complaints against the government. From Warsaw we sent the announcement to Berlin and, with comments of our own, to Landau. It was published in the JTA Bulletin in Berlin—there our people obviously had no way out—but not in any other JTA Bulletin. About a year later I heard that Ben-Ever had been killed by the Nazis (and if my memory does not lead me astray, it was not an honourable death—for example in a concentration camp). Apparently, he had not succeeded in carrying out his function to the satisfaction of his masters.

The common denominator in the treatment of political news items was the application of the principle (which Landau used to repeat time and again) that a news item about a political event that is published simultaneously in many journals, is in itself an event of political importance, and at times an event of greater importance than the one with which it deals. True to this principle, JTA would sometimes impose a "censorship" upon itself, which, on the face of it, might have appeared to be an anti-journalistic act. For example, some news item arrives in the editorial offices about some event the publication of which at the time might arouse, in the consideration of the editorial board, negative repercussions for the Jewish public. But the news item is exclusive and, in the knowledge of the editorial board, no other paper or institution that is interested in the publication of the news had received it (such institution need not necessarily be a news agency; it could, for example, be also the Government Press Bureau, or even a less important factor). In such a case, we would often decide to shelve the news item and not give it publicity. I can't recall an instance where we later regretted such a treatment of a news item of this kind.

In most instances it was not difficult to determine which news was of interest to the Jewish reader. But it was not always very simple to determine who is a Jew. At times the journalists who cracked jokes about us were right when they said that the JTA is in the habit of "circumcising" news items. For example, to say that so and so, a Nobel prize-winner for chemistry, is a Jew, although his father has already been converted, or that the new Mayor of the city of so and so is a Jew, although the man had never evinced any interest in his Jewishness. From the point of view of JTA there was some justification in printing these things, if only for the simple reason that a Jew rising to greatness among the Gentiles provides some compensation for the Jewish pride that is often wounded by the Gentiles. At times, however, the matter was far more complicated, especially when the Jewish name was linked with a group, at times even a large group, and the Jewishness of the individual used to "reflect", positively or negatively, on his group on the one hand, and on Jews in general. The JTA adopted a sort of philosophy of "Jewish universality". Characteristic of this, for example, was its attitude to the Jewish War Veterans Association in Poland, which was headed by assimilationists, albeit not of the type that deny their origin or community. For many years, the JTA had not had to mention this organisation more than about once a year, on the occasion of the wreath that its delegation laid on the grave of the Unknown Soldier, or on similar occasions. However, the public importance of this organisation increased when the followers of Pilsudski (he died in May 1935) adopted a clearly antisemitic line and deemed the

leaders of this organisation as "more fit" to represent the Jewish population. Parliamentary elections in Poland were then a complete fiction, and so several of the leaders of this organisation were "elected" through the generosity of the regime to representative bodies. They were always "Yes men" insofar as the regime was concerned, although they were not guilty of truly unworthy acts. But their social status called upon the JTA to tell about their public acts.

From what we have said, it follows that in this way it was Gentiles who determined who is a Jew (in the news) and the JTA was forced to accept the verdict, and the Gentiles had also other ways of imposing the Jewish stamp on the "heroes" of the JTA news. For example, in regard to Communists who were regarded as Jews on account of their origin. Their quantitative weight in Polish Communism was one of the principal motives behind antisemitic instigation, and the JTA could not always shirk the necessity of "mentioning" them in the news. But that was true not only of Communists. In general, the JTA had an opinion also about the "Jewishness" of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), all knowing about their Jewish origin. Nonetheless, it was sometimes forced to do also that. The case of Stanislaw Posner who by his death had aroused a public storm, is typical. The son of a Jewish estate holder, he was one of the pillars of Polish Socialism, and until his death in the early 1930s, he served in the Senate as a representative of the PPS. He gained fame mainly as a publicist. His attitude to the Jews was of the common "humanist" type. As Jews, they did not interest him at all.

Posner never in his life published one single line about the need to respect the civil rights of Jews. Apparently, he remained satisfied with lukewarm resolutions on the subject, which his Party used to pass from conference to conference. Fate willed it that the JTA was nonetheless to deal with Posner's Jewish origin, already after his death. The PPS was obviously pained at the fact that so many of its leaders had to be taken for burial in the Jewish cemetery only because they had not resorted to the simple formal act of leaving the Jewish community, and Posner was one of them. At all costs, the PPS wanted to have Posner buried among Gentiles. The Catholic Church, however, refused to acquiesce. But one of the Protestant Churches agreed to adopt Posner and *Robotnik,* the party organ, wrote that the departed had found his resting places in very honourable company. The fate of Baruch Spinoza was similar. And so, the dead Socialist Senator who throughout his life had stood aloof from his people merited the fact that the JTA devoted several hundred words to his personality when it was debated with the Christian Churches in the wake of this incident.

Incidentally, under the influence of the Nazi racialist theories, "names" and the "investigation of origin" was one of the distinguishing features of the period. A current antisemitic notion, in the spirit of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, was the fact that the Jews were hiding their origin so as to gain dominion over the Gentiles, in order to seduce them, etc., and it was this "devilish" philosophy (which had deep roots in Poland) that served as fertile ground for all sorts of "prying" into the origin of this or other Polish liberal, or Bolshevik, or defender of the Jews, etc. And so, not only in the cheap Nazi propaganda which, for example, made Lenin a Jew, or revealed that Roosevelt's name was actually "Rosenfeld" etc. In one of the election campaigns for the Presidency in Germany, shortly after the rise of Hitler to power, the Nazis rummaged in archives and revealed that the grandmother of a Rightist candidate who competed with Hitler was Jewish, and even though the antisemitism of that candidate did not fall far short of that of Hitler, that revelation proved sufficient for the candidate to receive very few votes in the elections. Or take the instance of the Prime Minister of Hungary, the initiator of anti-Jewish laws, who was forced to resign when one of the Swastika men revealed that his mother (or grandmother?) was Jewish. The young reader nowadays may perhaps be surprised at the fact that in the eyes of nine out of ten readers in those days it appeared perfectly natural for the candidate for the German Presidency to fail on account of his "Jewish origin", or for the Prime Minister in Budapest to have to withdraw from political life. These also were among the things that JTA could not help devoting attention to. Antisemitic demonology demanded a considerable part of its efforts.

Until shortly before the rise of Hitler to power, Russian Jewry constituted one of the most important sources of

information for the JTA. Most of the districts of Poland in the East as well as the Baltic countries in the North and Bessarabia in the South had, in the not too distant past, formed part of the Russian Empire, and in all these countries family ties with Jews in Russia were both numerous and strong. The migration of Jews from Russia to Poland until the middle of the 1920s was one of the "cards" of anti-semitic propaganda ("the flood of Jews from the East"). These were for the overwhelming part people from the districts of Poland who, though they had in the past lived in Russia, were under the law full-fledged citizens of Poland, but, for purposes of the most primitive instigation, their return to Poland served as sort of "proof" of the ties of the Jews "with the Bolsheviks". On the administrative plane the authorities sought in their Russian origin a pretext for depriving them of their Polish citizenship. This, indeed, they did, to Noah Prilutski, leader of the Folkist Party and researcher into the Yiddish language who, in the first Sejm, was one of the most "insolent" among the Jewish representatives in Parliament.

Another reason for the special interest that the Jews evinced in all that took place in the Soviet Union was the "divided" attitude of many among them to the "homeland of a hundred peoples". The Revolution, it is true, had destroyed the economic status of the overwhelming majority of Russian Jewry and forced upon them deep social realignments (half of Russian Jewry, perhaps more, were for many years deprived of various civil rights on account of their "bourgeois origin"). But that same Revolution also opened new prospects before them which then appeared to be the beginnings of a solution of the Jewish problem—which was the curse of the Czarist regime, primarily through the hope for liquidation of antisemitism. Today we all know how these hopes of the time have dissipated. But, even in the period under review, there were not many true prophets in the world.

The attitude characterised not only Polish Jewry. The large social relief organisations, headed by the "Joint", collaborated with the Soviet regime in order to bring about the social and economic resuscitation of the Jewish public in the Soviet Union, and towards that end poured millions of dollars into its coffers for purposes of productivisation. Most of the Jewish papers in the world always evinced special interest in such activities and reports of the "Agro-Joint" (the arm of the "Joint" for the settlement of Soviet Jews in agriculture) for example, always served as journalistic material. The JTA was the principal channel, and from the point of view of continuity, the only channel for Jewish information from Russia. Foreign correspondents were always in Russia few and far between while representatives of News Agencies or non-Jewish newspapers could not be expected to present a balanced picture of the Jewish situation in the Soviet Union, not to speak of the fact that the interest evinced by non-Jews in this matter was superficial or marginal. In the period between the two World Wars the JTA was the only Jewish journalistic institution that always had correspondents in Russia. From time to time this function was fulfilled by Boris Smolar, one of the veteran members of the JTA staff, and its "roving" correspondent. But the JTA had also a permanent correspondent in Moscow in the person of Z. Wendrof who, because he was a Soviet citizen, could rely only on things that were printed in the Soviet press, but even this source of information was for many years very meagre. In Russia, there still appeared even during the days of the "purges" at the end of the 1930s, no fewer than three daily newspapers in Yiddish (in Moscow, Minsk and Kharkow; the newspaper appearing in the Ukraine was subsequently transferred to Kiev). In productivisation matters, the JTA correspondents found also a lot of material in the Russian weekly *Tribuna,* the organ of the Soviet Organisation for the Settlement of Jews on the Land. Most of these years there was maintained in Moscow also a permanent bureau of the "Joint" representation, and its staff always served as a good and reliable source of Jewish information. Such names as Zlatopole, Neidorf and Kalinindorf do not convey anything to the Jewish reader today, but 50 or 40 years ago every reader of Jewish newspapers knew these names of Jewish agricultural settlements in Southern Russia. With these and other places were connected various institutions of Jewish or para-Jewish autonomy, such as administration, courts and of course Yiddish schools. Of all these, there has long since remained no vestige, not only because these settlements were destroyed during the War but also because the Soviet regime even before the War stopped its encouragement of Jewish "autonomy". But in old editions of the Soviet Encyclopaedia it is

still possible to find a lot of praise for the "Joint" for the assistance that it extended to the Soviet regime for the productivisation of the Jews. It was only shortly before Stalin's death that the "Joint" was declared to be an inimical institution, that had always been "in the service of American espionage", etc.

There were also very many reports on the suppression of Zionism and the arrest of Zionists, about anti-religious activities, the closing down of synagogues and their transformation into club houses, etc., the ban on the study of Hebrew, trials of rabbis and Jewish teachers, about "hadorim" conducted in the underground, the arrest of mohalim (circumcisors) and punishment meted out to parents (mainly grandparents) for circumcising their children, etc. Down to the liquidation of the Yevsekzia at the end of the 1920s, most of these things were connected with its activities, and many of the reports about them used to be published in the Jewish press in Russia. But information used to arrive also by indirect means. From what was published in *Emes* of Moscow, of *Oktiaber* of Minsk, we could piece together in our editorial offices in Warsaw fairly true pictures of the situation of the Jews in Russia. Russian papers were rare in Poland. It was impossible to purchase such papers and whoever had a Soviet paper in Poland was held accountable by the political police no less than a Soviet citizen in whose possession the police found a newspaper from abroad. Editorial offices in Poland, however, were an exception, for they enjoyed the right to receive printed material from Russia, and the JTA used to receive newspapers from the Soviet Union legally.

For some time Riga served as one of the indirect channels for JTA information. It had a large "colony" of Russians, with good connections with various circles of the Opposition to the Communist regime in Russia, and until about the beginning of the first Five Year Plan (at the end of the 1920s), there were also other channels of Soviet information through Latvia. Moscow liquidated this source of information through a common trick in similar circumstances (later Moscow did the same in regard to Prague as a source of information from Russia): it "leaked out" to Riga for several months on end a series of reports, and subsequently did not find it difficult to prove their falseness. That's why it was very easy to give Riga the name of "a centre for the creation of lies about the Soviet Union". Indeed, this version very soon struck root and Latvia's credibility as a source of Soviet information was undermined. Nonetheless, I have no doubt even at present that JTA information from Riga was, for the overwhelming part, correct. It was through Riga, for example, that a lot of information came through about the oppressive measures against Zionism, about anti-religious campaigns, and inter alia, all that was known about the persecution of the Chabad Chassidism and of their underground organisations for the study of the Torah, for assistance to observant Jews, etc. It is a fact, for example, that the Rabbi of Lubavitch (who, according to rumours, had been sentenced to death in Leningrad), received permission to leave Russia, thanks to the intervention of his followers in Latvia through their contacts with government circles there.

Jewish events in the Soviet Union had strong repercussions in Eastern Europe, especially in two spheres of information—antisemitism and the war against it, and the Birobidjan episode. In these years, Communist propaganda also reaped relatively great success among the Jews. But, after many years, it transpired how far removed reality was from the propaganda that Moscow wanted to implant in public opinion. At the beginning of the 1930s, no one as yet doubted the sincerity of the Soviet regime's intentions to uproot the deeply implanted antisemitism in Russia, and from a perspective of many years interest undoubtedly attaches to the question as to the circumstances (and the time) under which the decision was reached in the Kremlin that there is no need to take the whole business of the war against antisemitism "so seriously"; on the contrary, that it was permissible not to shy from the exploitation of antisemitism for ends much more important to the regime. In the Soviet criminal code of the 1920s, a special paragraph was included which, despite its formulation in general terms (against instigators and spreaders of propaganda for reasons of nationality, race, religion, etc.), the Soviet propaganda machine did not cease stressing that its barb was directed against antisemitism. Obviously, the JTA would readily publish every information from Russia about the war raged by the authorities against the scurge of antisemitism, and Jewish newspapers, not only in Poland, used to reprint this information and give it

prominence. Subsequently, it became patently clear that the actual war on antisemitism in the Soviet Union was much less basic and thorough than the noisy Communist propaganda which was conducted with much greater alacrity in countries abroad than in the Soviet Union itself, made it out to be.

Another episode which the JTA contributed indirectly in inculcating in the public was that of Birobidjan which, for several years, occupied a prominent place (far too prominent as we have long since learned) on the Jewish public arena, particularly in Eastern Europe. Here, too, importance attached to the factor of the somewhat hazy general sympathy for the Soviet Union, which was inordinately greater than the Communist influence in the Jewish community. The greater majority of the Jewish press evinced a positive or at least not a negative attitude to the Soviet initiative at the end of the 1920s to establish an "autonomous region" for the Jews, which was due to be transformed with the passage of time, according to hints given in numerous manifestoes (inter alia by Kalinin, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and many others) into a "Jewish State". The official announcement in the Spring of 1928 was preceded by several enquiry commissions, the publication of various reports from that region on the Chinese frontier, etc. But, in the early 1930s things were not yet entirely clear although quite a number of people were suspicious of Moscow that the whole of the Birobidjan plan was steeped in clearly imperialistic objectives that had no connection whatever with the situation of the Jews in the country. Nonetheless there was a strong tendency among the Jewish public to give the initiators the "benefit of the doubt" in the hope that the plan would bring at least part of the great boon that Communism promised it would bring to the Jews. The Bolshevik Revolution was ten years old at the time and the great upheavals—the horrors of collectivisation and the first Five Year Plan, or the unprecedented waves of terror and the bloody "purges", beside which the "Red Terror" in the days of Lenin-Trotsky-Dzerzhinski paled, all these according to popular expression, lay in the "bosom of the future", and Moscow benefited from a tremendous amount of sympathy and credibility, not only on the part of progressive public opinion, but also among circles that opposed in principle the Bolshevik regime. It is almost self-evident, therefore, that in countries like Poland, Rumania and Lithuania, the Birobidjan plan aroused very strong sympathies among the Jewish population, because no one could conceive that a more cruel antisemitism than that under which the Jews in these countries laboured was possible. Jews wanted to believe, and indeed, they did.

Not long after the official announcement of the founding of the "autonomous Jewish region" the reports became more frequent—and circles close to Communism made endeavours to spread them—that Moscow would "enable" also Jews from Capitalist countries "to participate in the historical initiative of settling the country that was due to become a Jewish State". (This is not a quotation from a document, but such was the style of Communist propaganda.) Indeed, before long, there were groups of candidates for emigration to Russia also in Poland, so as to "participate" etc. Such groups organised themselves also in Lithuania, Rumania and possibly other places (all these groups in Eastern Europe were illegal). The actual number of emigrants was small, because it involved a roundabout journey or smuggling across frontiers. Nonetheless, after some time, news came through from "underground" channels of non-Soviet Jews in Birobidjan. After the passage of an additional decade, during the years of the great terror, the first reports began arriving about the bitter end of so many of the Birobidjan settlers and activists in the region, as well as about the end of the Jews from countries abroad. All these were good people who in simplicity of heart followed the "great light" from the East. These simple folk were physically liquidated in the days of the Stalinist purges, and if one out of ten survived, he evidently had to thank his lucky stars for his life.

There were also groups of Jews whom Communist propaganda led to the Soviet Union, not necessarily in connection with the Birobidjan plan, and they included not only Communists but simple Jews as well as quite a number of writers and journalists. These, too, were either executed or liquidated by other means. Possibly a few individuals among them survived (I know of only one—a writer and translator from Warsaw—who remained alive after many years in a concentration camp), and those among them who were not liquidated in the purges at the end of the 1930s

fell victim in the "black years" of 1948-1952 to the campaign of liquidating the Jewish intelligentsia that had been active in public life. Even before the outbreak of the War we knew in Warsaw that among those liquidated in the purges was our colleague Asher Perlman, a member of the editorial board of *Moment* who had been led to believe in the Communist regime. These reports, however, were hazy and were always regarded as evil rumours. In the period of the purges, the JTA had no representative of foreign nationality in Moscow, whereas Soviet citizens were allowed to copy only things published in the local press. But then the correspondent was able to find only very sparse material concerning Jews that was worthy of reproduction. From the middle of the 1930s and onwards, the word "Jew" hardly ever appeared in the pages of the Soviet press. The truth is (but it did not become known only in the wake of World War II) that already at the beginning of the 1930s the process of liquidating Jewish culture in the Soviet Union had already made considerable advancement. One after another schools for Jewish children were closed, and the last vestiges of what was called "Jewish autonomy" were removed from the various centres in the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Moscow's foreign policy had also repercussions in various devious ways on the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union. This can best be seen in the reflection of the Jewish factor in the propaganda—or in the lack of propaganda—against Nazism. In the first months after the rise of Hitler to power, there were references in the general writings against German Fascism and also to the Nazi racist policy. But these motifs were very soon silenced and anyone desirous of finding out the clear Soviet stand against Nazi antisemitism from the year 1934 and onwards had to labour very hard. All those years, until the outbreak of the War, protests against Jewish persecution in Germany by Hitler used to pour in to the JTA offices from all enlightened countries in the world. Scores and hundreds of declarations and manifestoes, particularly by intellectuals, whether as individuals or organised groups, from various conventions, etc., used to arrive daily. Only one country—the Soviet Union—proved an exception where no Writers Association, no Convention of Teachers or Scholars ever raised its voice to denounce Hitler's attitude to the Jews. Obviously, this was so because that was the will of the Soviet regime.

There was something extraordinary, therefore, in an episode of the year 1936, in which the strange link of names of Stalin, Molotov and the . . . JTA, appeared. It commenced in January 1931. In a manifesto issued by Stalin, which the JTA received for publication (according to the official Soviet formula "in reply to a question put by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of America"), the dictator said that "the nationalist and racist chauvinism is a vestige of the barbaric customs of the age of cannibalism. Antisemitism is a tool in the hands of the exploiters for the defence of capitalism against attack from the toiling classes . . . . For that reason, Communists cannot fail to be sworn and uncompromising enemies of antisemitism. The manifestation of antisemitism is inimical to the very foundations of the Soviet regime and the Soviet Union oppresses it with all stringency. . ." and more in this spirit. Stalin's pronouncement received wide publicity throughout the world, and it is obvious that Communists throughout the world brandished it as telling proof of the true attitude of Communism towards antisemitism. As I have said, this pronouncement received the widest possible publicity throughout the world, but not in the Soviet Union itself. There the statement given to the JTA was not published at all. It was only six years later, in November 1936, that the matter was suddenly raised again in an important speech by Molotov who quoted the full text of that pronouncement by Stalin, and added to it, in the hearing of the "present-day cannibals in the ranks of the Fascist antisemites" that "our feelings of brotherliness towards the Jewish people has its roots in the fact that this people gave us Karl Marx, the great genius and creator of the ideas of the Communist liberation of humanity", etc. (This was probably one of the last instances, if not actually the last, in which the Jewish origin of Marx was publicly mentioned in Russia. The latest edition of the great Soviet Encyclopaedia remains silent over the fact.) Molotov who was then the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union made that pronouncement at an important convention in Moscow on the eve of the ratification of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union, and there is room to believe that Molotov's pronouncement against antisemitism was connected with one of the numerous manoeuvres made by Moscow at that time, in its relations with the West in general, and with Hitlerite Germany in particular. But what I am concerned with is

that following Molotov's speech at the end of 1936, the pronouncement by Stalin, at the beginning of 1931, now received full publicity also in the whole of the Soviet press. Those were the days when Stalin was the "sun of nations", "the hope of humanity", "the father of the workers throughout the world", etc. The Soviet Constitution, in connection with whose imminent approval that speech was made, was known for many years afterwards as "the great Stalinist Constitution". It was called so exactly until the day of Stalin's death. Since then, there has been no Soviet pronouncement against antisemitism, with the exception of the banalities in the mouth of every Kremlin spokesman, such as "there is no Jewish problem in the Soviet Union", the practical importance of which is nil.

(This provides me with an opportunity to make a general remark in parenthesis. I do not intend, in these pages, to write the history of the JTA, not even of its Warsaw branch. Incidentally, this is no longer possible. It goes without saying that no sign has remained of the JTA archives in Warsaw, and after Landau's death, the private archives of the head of the JTA were lost in New York in an accidental fire. In those archives he had collected a lot of material from all branches of the organisation. It is my intention here to convey general impressions of the activities of a Jewish journalistic institution, which fulfilled a very important national function in Jewish public life in Poland before the Holocaust, and in the circumstances in which these lines are written, I can rely only on what I have preserved in my memory, but I do hope that I have not done injustice to important facts and episodes. In some of the more important aspects, I have nonetheless deemed it necessary to check whatever I was capable of checking, and one of them was the story around Stalin's statement to the JTA and its history. The interested reader will be able to find details about it, inter alia, in Dr. Solomon Schwartz's book "The Jews in the Soviet Union", Syracuse University Press, 1951, pp. 292–3, and 296.)

A news agency supplies the daily bread of a paper and, as far as "bread" is concerned, there are several simple requirements—it must be fresh, well-baked and, most important of all, the consumer should receive it at the required time. All newspapers are in search of "scoops" and sensations, so as to get the better of its competitors. But its requirements of the agency that supplies current material are not that it supply it with sensations, because sensational items supplied by an agency serve at one and the same time all the papers that have recourse to its services. The main work of an agency worthy of the name lies in supplying regularly "common", "straight-forward" material of a daily nature that a paper stands in need of in order to fill its copy for the next day. In the period between the two World Wars, the Jewish newspapers in Central Europe had hardly any foreign correspondents, or its correspondents would supply their papers with reports sent through the mail. It was very rarely that they sent short cables. The agency, too, could make use of material that it received through less speedy media, but the main foundations for its work were the telegraph and the radio (in their various forms). I no longer remember the figures, but monthly aggregates showed us that in Warsaw alone hundreds of words by cable used to arrive and leave every day, and in times of tension, or special events or important conventions, the daily average used to come up to thousands of words. The saving of expenditure was always a budgetary necessity for the JTA, and everything possible was done in this direction. According to international telegraph conventions, one cannot send "unintelligible" texts, so that it is impossible to make use of "manufactured" language, understood only by the sender and receiver so as to save expenses. Nonetheless, we succeeded in the JTA in developing a sort of "Jewish telegraphic language" among our branches, in English and German (the German language is particularly amenable to the linkage of words). These were mainly technical matters but at times much more important things used to be dovetailed, such as the relationship between the Agency on the one hand and the sources from which it received information (organisations, official offices, public leaders), and on the other, with newspaper editorial offices. Sometimes things could not be "arranged" in simple form. I should like to relate an episode from the JTA experience in Warsaw in this connection, which is connected with a great historical event that in its time created a storm within the Jewish world.

In the Spring of 1936, disturbances broke out in Eretz Israel, and the British Government set up a "Royal Com-

mission" (composed of representatives of the three parties) in order to propose a solution for the Jewish-Arab dispute. That was the famous Peel Commission, so-called after its Chairman Lord Peel, which, as is well-known, proposed the establishment of a Jewish State in "part of Palestine". Undoubtedly that was one of the most important events in the history of the Jewish people in modern times. When, early in the summer of 1937, it became known that the proposal would tend in the above-mentioned direction, the Jewish public throughout the world was seized by an excitement the like of which it had not known since the Balfour Declaration—and not only on account of the situation in Palestine at the time, but also on account of the great fillip that the four years of the Nazi regime in Germany had given to international antisemitism. Already then, it was known that the Peel plan would be published in the form of a "Blue Paper" on July 7, and so the papers began pressing the JTA to supply as much material as possible from that historical document. The JTA staff in London, which had excellent connections with the officials of the Colonial Office, experienced no difficulty in obtaining a detailed resumé of the report (which ran into hundreds of pages), several days before its publication as well as extensive extracts from its principal chapters. The obvious condition was that the JTA was forbidden to make the contents public even one minute before the publication of the document in the House of Commons in London—exactly at 4.00 p.m. (Greenwich time) on that 7th July. (In journalistic language, that is known as "an embargo until the hour of. . ."). We received the text in Warsaw three or four days before the publication date, and so we had time to prepare the material hours before zero hour. We would have been in place if we had transmitted it to the editorial offices of the newspapers at exactly the stipulated hour. But 4.00 p.m. in London is 7.00 p.m. in Warsaw, and the setting up and printing of some 10,000 words (text enough for two large newspaper pages) is several hours work. In other words, if we had done so, the papers could have brought out special editions at the earliest at 10.00 or 11.00 p.m. In our editorial offices we had learned that three newspapers in Warsaw were prepared to bring out special editions, and some provincial papers were also desirous of doing so. The general excitement around the matter called for some different procedure. We agreed to hand over the material to each editorial office many hours before that 7.00 p.m. in Warsaw, on condition that it undertook not to put the paper on sale in the streets before the hour stipulated. In order to avert the possibility of any paper wanting to have the better of its competitors, we imposed "sanctions" in advance. We warned that any paper found guilty of doing so would be deprived on JTA services. Such threat was enough and the success reaped by the newsapers that evening also proved to be a double and treble success of the JTA. The special editions of the three Warsaw papers were brought out into the streets at exactly 7.00 p.m., and the readers knew that they were receiving the resumé of the document at exactly the hour that it was submitted to the members of the House of Commons in London. The detailed resumé of the document satisfied the great curiosity of the public, and JTA succeeded in saving vast expenditure. Members of the British Embassy in Warsaw took care that the conditions of the embargo were strictly adhered to, so that as far as the British were concerned, not only the staff of the JTA, but also those who brought out the Jewish papers in Warsaw acted as gentlemen.

I have already mentioned that the Catholic Church in Poland was a focus of antisemitism. I shall add what appears to be a characteristic story to illustrate its attitude to the Jews. It happened at the end of the 1920s or the beginning of the thirties, and I don't remember exactly the reason for the decision taken by the Chief Rabbinate of Warsaw (there was no Chief Rabbinate for the whole of Poland) to send a delegation to Cardinal Kakowski, Primate of the Catholic Church. The event that induced the Rabbis to do so was connected with excesses against the Jews engendered by some incident of a religious nature (possibly Shechita), so that the Rabbis were of the opinion that that was a suitable opportunity of voicing their complaints to the Primate and asking for his intervention in favour of the Jews. If the Rabbis had been less simple-hearted people, they would most certainly have realised that a visit with the Cardinal called for more thorough preparation. But the Rabbis still entertained the concepts that held good some 200 years previously, and called upon one of the leading public figures in Poland, although his attitude to Jews was well known, in

the hope (which had not the slightest foundation) that the person possessed of such vast authority would do something in order to curb anti-Jewish feeling. But, instead of granting the Rabbis their request, the Cardinal heaped reprimand, spoke about the role played by the Jews in the Communist misdeeds in Poland in leading the youth astray, etc. etc., and demanded of the Rabbis to exert their influence upon their flock "to improve their ways" etc. This meeting of the Rabbis with the head of the Catholic Church brought JTA into one of its rare contacts with an important arm of the Catholic Church.

Immediately after Kakowski had dismissed the Rabbinic delegation, a telephone call was received at the JTA offices from the Catholic News Agency (KAP) to the effect that the Primate wanted to give the JTA an announcement for publication in the Jewish press about the visit of the Rabbis with the Archbishop of Warsaw. I was entrusted with the mission of calling on the KAP offices (two minutes walk from our premises) in order to receive the announcement and there was no ground for rejecting it in advance. At the KAP offices I met with the director, a relatively young Catholic priest called Kaczynski. I read the announcement and asked Kaczynski if it had been handed over for publication also to the PAT. He replied that very few newspapers subscribed to the KAP (as I knew) and so the announcement would be sent also to the PAT. I thanked him and said that we would most certainly use the material for our foreign service but, seeing that the local newspapers also subscribed to the PAT Bulletin, there was of course no need for us to carry it in our Bulletin. He agreed, thanked me and we parted. Fate willed it that I met Kaczynski again some two weeks later in the train in which we made a whole night's journey, and the two of us were alone in the compartment during the six or seven hours' journey from Warsaw to some place south of Lwow. We engaged in conversation throughout the time but we touched very little upon political matters and, whenever we did so, it was only in a roundabout way. Kaczynski, a pleasant-looking man and very polite, proved himself to be at home in matters outside the orbit of religion. He surprised me by his deep knowledge of the Bible, of things Jewish and even of Hebrew. His knowedge was far more thorough than one would have expected of a Christian priest, even if he was out of the ordinary. He also gave me the impression of being a man who, although he could not be described as liberal according to our concepts, was most certainly a man of humane outlooks.

KAP would rarely touch upon Jewish affairs (its interest rarely transcended the internal affairs of the Church) but having regard to my personal contacts with the head of the Catholic News Agency, I should most certainly never have imagined that KAP was never in the habit of mentioning the name of Jews unless it was with the intention of arousing hatred towards them (Kaczynski, today a Bishop is, I have recently read, one of the closest assistants of Primate Cardinal Wyszynski).

KAP was not the only organ of the Church, not to speak of scores of newspapers, among them the largest and richest in Poland, that always stood at the service of the Roman Catholic Church. For the proletariat the Church also brought out a small daily, called *Maly Dziennik* (The Small Daily) priced at less than half the cost of any other paper, couched in very simple language and always singing the praises of the Church, and full of antisemitism of the crudest and most primitive type, adapted to the intelligence of people for whom the miracles of the saints served as their daily spiritual bread. In the heyday of antisemitism in Poland, the "Small Daily" surpassed all records in the Polish press and at least in two instances the paper made serious attempts to fan the blood libel against the background of criminal acts in most out of the way places. Possibly the Church would have gone far even in this matter, but, in all truth, there was to be found no sufficiently strong public body in Poland in the period between the two wars in order to inflate the blood libel and, even the Government always put a speedy end to such attempts.

I am afraid that the picture of the reality in which JTA functioned appears to be most sombre. It was certainly not all black, and not only because the life of the Jewish community in Poland was rich in all spheres of activity, so that the JTA had also an opportunity of reporting about the good and the lofty. But I cannot help acting like most newspapers do in that they report at most in a few lines that yesterday was a pleasant and sunny day, but if it happened to be a stormy day, in which trees were uprooted and roofs were tore off, it would devote at least half a column to the description. Regrettably one cannot do with-

out generalities, although they do not aptly describe the whole truth, and I am not sure, for example, whether I am not doing an injustice to Polish liberalism.

Liberalism in Poland had a great tradition, and whoever was born in Poland and grew up there can only hope that the future historian who will relate the history of the almost 1,000 year old Jewish community in the country will know to appreciate the humanism of the best sons of Poland, also in regard to the Jews. Liberalism had a great tradition, but Jew hatred apparently had a still stronger tradition so that when the skies of Polish Jewry became over-clouded on the eve of the Holocaust, there was no difficulty in reducing Liberalism to an almost complete paralysis. Indeed, the more antisemitism proved shameless and rose to unprecedented heights, the more Liberalism became stunted until it grew pitifully shameful. The experience that the JTA had with the Liberals in Poland was not at all heartwarming, and I will make do with one or two examples. Pilsudski had in the past been a member of the Socialist (PPS) Party and remained loyal enough to the old traditions of Polish Socialism (which, from the historical point of view, was largely the creation of Jews, all of them completely assimilated), and so opposed in principle to antisemitism. After returning to power, in the revolt of May 1926, his government took several hesitant steps to ensure equality of rights for the Jews. His Government, which was headed by Kazimierz Bartel, Professor of Mathematics in the Lwow Polytechnic, announced once or twice that its policy in principle favoured equality of civil rights for the Jews, but the opposition apparently had the upper hand against this positive stand in regard to the Jews, not only without, but also within Pilsudski's camp. About a year later, the JTA tried to obtain a declaration from the leadership of the regime, in the spirit of its original policy, but the reply was that the government wanted to show deeds and so had no need for declarations. The truth is that although, during Pilsudski's lifetime, his regime did not take any serious steps against the Jews, and it generally evinced a strong hand in suppressing pogroms, it nonetheless refrained from clear steps in order to alleviate the Jewish situation.

Pilsudski died in the spring of 1935 and very soon afterwards his successors adopted an antisemitic line which was aggravated from month to month. Some time in the middle of 1937, the JTA wanted to sound the opinion of intellectual circles in Poland, which were known to be opposed to the antisemitic line, and they included also several of Pilsudski's supporters during his lifetime, who did not share the outlooks of their former comrades, who now held the reins of government. The themes for the JTA enquiry in writing were the Ghetto benches in the universities, "Aryan" clauses adopted by various organisations, etc. JTA sent out a list of questions to some 30 personalities, all of them in the Liberal camp, and all of them members of the scientific world, some of whom occupied in the past and in the present, key positions in various fields. About 20 of the people questioned did not reply at all, and among the fewer than a dozen of them who did reply, there were only two—the philosopher Tadeusz Kotarbinski, of the University of Warsaw, and the philologist Ryszard Ganszyniec, of the University of Lwow, who clearly dissociated themselves from the antisemitic policy and from the pogromist climate that the Rightist Parties created. The remainder of the respondents hid behind various shirking statements, such as Poland's representative at the International Court of Justice in the Hague, who argued that his position prevented him from giving public expression to his views. Professor Bartel, the Prime Minister in Pilsudski's first government and now the adversary of the Colonels in power, sent a reply which contained a clear denunciation of antisemitism and its barbaric manifestations, but asked . . . that no publicity be given to his opinion. Apparently, he did not have the courage of a true liberal to come out openly against the nightmares that were then being enacted in the streets of Poland. (Bartel was one of the Polish intellectuals who were locked up in the Nazi concentration camp in Lwow, and among the first to be executed there.) In view of the poor harvest that we succeeded in reaping among the Liberals we decided to shelve the whole of the story. The outlooks of Kotarbinski and Ganszyniec were well known. Bartel's reply was shelved at his request, and if we had revealed what the other people had replied, or failed to reply, we would only have added grist to the mills of the antisemites.

At the end of the summer of 1937, the censorship intervened for the first time in the JTA reporting on the situation of the Jews in Germany. One day, the censor deleted whole

passages in the reports on Nazi persecution. He did likewise on the following day and in the days that followed. We immediately sensed the significance of this step but we remained adamant and kept on sending news items again and again, although we knew in advance that they would be disqualified. In order to try and "size up" the situation, we wrote up an article summarising the Nuremberg racial laws, which in actual fact did not contain anything new that had not been published in all Jewish newspapers previously. But this article, too, was blue pencilled by the censor. The upshot of it was that the Government was intent on curbing JTA's freedom in a sphere that affected one of the News Agency's rights of existence. But we were helpless and all we could do was to mark each such edition of news that it was "the second edition following disqualification" (at times the third edition) and to announce that to our subscribers. Obviously, we also sent a cable or two abroad informing them of the censor's moves since that in itself constituted legitimate journalistic news. (We feared that the censor would forbid such information also through the medium of the telegraph, but he did not go so far in Warsaw in following the wishes of Goebbels.) This thing continued for months, and Mozes used to be almost daily in the government offices seeking ways and means of removing the ban on a proper reporting of the situation of the Jews in Germany, and more so in Austria which, since the Anschluss (March 1938), occupied prime of place in the news from the countries under Nazi regime. In the context of the international situation in those hectic months, the significance of this seemingly minor act was clear, namely that the government was trying to curb the activities of the JTA. Soon, the world was aware of the fact that in the Polish Government the balance had been tipped in favour of walking hand-in-hand with Hitler to the end . . . to the bitter end of Poland itself. In the Munich affair Warsaw placed itself at Berlin's side and the regime induced the whole of the country to idiotic jubilation in that it succeeded in cutting off a slice from the mauled body of Benes' Czechoslovakia. This jubilation led in the direction of which we are all aware. The run of affairs is recorded in history books and is no concern of ours here. I cannot, however, refrain from making one remark. In the last few years before the War the JTA was, if I may be allowed to employ a somewhat presumptuous expression, a good vantage point for the evaluation of the function that antisemitism fulfilled in its manifestations in most countries, from the point of view of the expansionist policy of Germany. Antisemitism, insofar as Berlin was concerned, served simply as an excellent hook by which to catch fish for frying in the German pan. Poland was but one of these countries, but there the thing was clearly simple. The activist, violent and official as well as semi-official and "voluntary" antisemitism of Nazi bodies and pro-Nazi groups throughout the world—from Brazil to Rumania, from South Africa to Iraq and to the Baltic countries served as pinning points of Germany's foreign policy. Insofar as German imperialism was concerned, all those groups and antisemitic tendencies fulfilled in those days a function which did not fall short of the parallel function that the international Communist movement played for many years, but mainly after World War II, in favour of the Soviet Russian imperialism, each party functioning in its respective country as an auxiliary agent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. It would appear to me that so far researchers into Jewish history have not yet paid sufficient attention to this historical phenomenon, its manifestations and results—a phenomenon which from the point of view of its influences on the international arena made it easier for Nazism to prepare various countries for annexation to it, and from the Jewish point of view, speeded up the great disaster.

Almost on the morrow of the Munich affair, at the beginning of November, there followed such horrible events that the censor in Warsaw found himself unable to infringe on the JTA's ability to tell about them also to the Jewish reader in Poland. Following the Hershel Grinspan affair in Paris, there came the "Crystal Night" (the burning of synagogues throughout Germany), thoroughly organised pogroms against the Jews, the infamous "contribution"—the fine of a billion marks imposed on the Jews of Germany, the only instance of its kind in world history ever since the Middle Ages—and other bloodcurdling information which welded incidentally with the wave of antisemitism, both official and unofficial, in Poland itself, which, despite everything, was less barbaric than that of Germany. Very soon, however, a turn set in which was actually expected by everyone who had eyes to

see. Poland became increasingly the principal objective of Germany's expansionist policy—and from the JTA point of view this departure caused the Polish regime, which only a short while ago had carried out the will of Berlin, to become now the active aide of the JTA. One of the first signs of this departure was the expulsion of several thousand Jews of Polish citizenship from Germany to the Polish frontier. I am not now writing the history of Polish Jewry and I can skip over many important details, but it is worthwhile recording that the Polish authorities evinced a more or less correct attitude towards the expellees, whom nothing bound to Poland except formal citizenship.

For several weeks, Poland's policy towards Germany was still hazy, although it was no secret for anyone who knew something of what was taking place behind the scenes, that Colonel Jozef Beck, the pro-German Minister for Foreign Affairs, desperately sought ways and means of returning Berlin's "friendship" to its pristine glory. To the matter under view it is of importance to note that his Ministry for Foreign Affairs was, already in those days, since round about the month of December, one of JTA's important sources of information about what was happening to the remnants of the Jewish community in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. The JTA no longer had independent sources of information in these countries so that it was no longer possible to treat lightly such channel of information as the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs which still had a ramified network of Consulates in the countries under German rule. At least twice a week Berman and I would call at the Bruehl Palace, the seat of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, in order to receive from the officials in the Information Department confidential pieces of news, the source of which it was obviously forbidden to reveal. Several years previously the JTA, not only in Warsaw, introduced the custom of giving Innsbruck, the Austrian frontier town, as the source of the information, for although it came from Germany we could not mention the true source without endangering the JTA's correspondents who were still resident in Berlin. Now, in the last winter before the outbreak of the War, the JTA no longer had anyone in Berlin of whose welfare they had to be apprehensive (after the Crystal Night, the last vestiges of organised Jewish life in Germany had been liquidated), and "Innsbruck" could no longer serve our needs, since already then, Austria, too, formed part of the thousand years' duration Reich. For that reason, we were in the habit of "spreading" the news that we received from the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, over various places in Europe and ascribing it to various sources ("a traveller who has just arrived from ...", or "a correspondent in Berlin, whose identity may not be revealed", etc.). Other JTA branches followed the example of Warsaw.

I retain clear memories of these visits to the Bruehl Palace. I may have been wrong, and only because I was aware to what extent the soul of the people in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was "split" insofar as Germany was concerned, did I have a feeling that they were working under various pressures, even in so minor a matter as the handing over of material to the JTA on the situation of the Jews in Germany (and kindred spheres, such as "Aryan" affairs, the suppression of signs of protest against the barbaric regime, etc.). On the basis of accumulated experience I had ground to believe, for example, that a certain piece of news that I had received from official 'A' would most certainly not have been given to me by official 'B', or that official 'A' had given it to me today, but a week ago he would have hesitated to do so. These are, of course, minor matters, but after the passage of so many years, I still labour under the strong impression that these people (the matters were of the utmost secrecy and the people with whom we met were among the senior officialdom in the Ministry) laboured under pressures which could be explained by only one thing—the hesitancy of Warsaw's foreign policy as to the distance it could go, insofar as the matter was dependent upon them, in the dispute with Germany, which from day to day reached new heights. Some time in March 1939, War was already visible on the horizon, but then there was little news for the JTA even in the Bruehl Palace. In the course of our visits to the Foreign Ministry we never met with the two or three Jews (or converts) who, until then, had worked in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. One of them (not a convert) was Frenkl, a man whom we had known in the past from his work in the Information Department, but in the period in question, had long since been transferred to another Department, I think it was the Historical Department of the Archives, so that he no longer had any contacts with topical material. Frenkl was one of the last Jewish officials in the Government—they

had never been many—but almost all of them fell victim to the exacerbation of the anti-Jewish policy during the regime of Pilsudski's successors.

And so I have come to the end of my story about the JTA in Warsaw. Our last bulletin was sent out to the newspapers on September 4, 1939. It was the fourth day of the War, and in Warsaw, the fourth day of the incessant bombing from the air. The following day we still saw some of our news items in the papers, and in the early evening, the three of us—Mozes (accompanied by his wife and his two small children), Berman and I—sat in the evacuation train in which we left Warsaw never to return. But the JTA of Warsaw still had an epilogue in Vilna, although in the interim, two months elapsed under three different regimes. But many have already told the story of what transpired during these few weeks, among them, the late Mozes himself. Nor was there anything specific to the JTA except perhaps for the fact that on the way from close to the Rumanian frontier in the South, until Vilna in the North, we parted from our comrade Jacob Berman who remained, of course with the Red Army.

The first telegram from Vilna to London, the first since we left Warsaw, was sent out on Balfour Day, November 2, 1939. On that day, the Lithuanians received their historical capital from Moscow, on the strength of a "mutual aid" agreement which they had signed several weeks previously with the Soviets. Hardly had the first Lithuanian policemen entered Vilna than a pogrom staged by Poles and not Lithuanians (who were then a small minority in their historical capital), broke out in the city. Windows were smashed in Jewish homes, Jewish shops were broken into, Jews were beaten and had to undergo all other excess that people suffer in a pogrom. It was about this pogrom that our first telegram was sent to the JTA centre. Ever since then our hands were full down until the middle of 1940. Throughout that time, Vilna served as a transit centre for wanderers between three or four types of frontier, some close at hand, some more distant—frontiers of German or Soviet occupation, the Lithuanian-Soviet frontier, old northern frontiers, even the former German-Lithuanian frontier. From our point of view, considerable importance attached to this since thousands of Jewish refugees came to Vilna or departed from that city, whether from Poland that was occupied by Germany or from the Polish districts which were now held by the Soviets (under the Hitler-Stalin, or the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement of August 23, 1939, or to be more exact, according to the secret protocol of that agreement—a protocol, the very existence and content of which were unknown until the passage of several years). Almost daily we would receive reports from Jewish refugees in transit or arriving and departing, or departing and returning, or departing never to return. We would note down everything they could tell us about the situation of Jews in the regions occupied by Berlin and Moscow, which then maintained amicable relations; about the persecution of Jews and their arrest; about the execution of Jews for purposes of intimidation or the simple lust of killing; about the first ghettoes and the first Judenrats; about refugees from German occupation whom the Red Army permitted to enter into their areas and, here and there, even received them with manifestations of human warmth; and about refugees whom the Red Army sent back into the arms of the German conqueror; about the arrest of Jews on both sides of the new frontiers; about Jewish refugees in the Soviet zones who had been registered in the mixed Soviet-German Commissions for return to Poland occupied by Germany; also about the first transports of hundreds of thousands of Jews, refugees as well as residents, because they were bourgeois or "Fascists", or simple "enemies of the people", to districts deep in Soviet Russia; about groups of prisoners sent to great distances in sealed cattle trucks, etc., etc.—very many of those things which, at the time they took place, the news about them was either hazy or at times actually unintelligible, but with the passage of years, their true significance came to light. That was Jewish history in its very making, history as it was actually taking place, history as it was written by journalists, sometimes lacking true proportions and always lacking the necessary details, always incomplete. Much of that history, which was written "while still hot", is to be found in the JTA telegrams sent out from Vilna on the basis of evidence given by Jewish refugees.

This work of ours continued until the beginning of June, 1940. It was brought to an end by the events which put an end also to the shaky independence of Lithuania (and

other countries in that part of the world). The Lithuanian people, as Moscow announced, decided to oust its old government and to establish in its place a new government that was truly representative of the people; in other words, that carried out the will of Moscow. That same Lithuanian people elected—again according to Moscow's announcement—by a majority of 99.9%—a Parliament that voted for the submission of an application to the Supreme Soviet of the Union to be so good as to annex Lithuania to the remaining sister republics in the Soviet Union (something which was requested at exactly the same time—again according to an announcement of Moscow—also by similar parliaments of Latvia and Estonia). It need not be added that the Supreme Soviet acquiesced in Lithuania's request so that, "in accordance with the desire of the Lithuanian people", their country became a Soviet Republic. On the eve of one of these decisions (or votes) was penned also the last line of the Vilna epilogue to the former JTA of Warsaw, and one day, in the first half of June, 1940, I handed over with my own hands, at the main Post Office in Vilna, the last telegram to London which the late Mendel Mozes and I had written there.

Tel Aviv, October 1967.

"TLOMACKIE 13"

Home of Jewish writers and journalists

Melech Rawicz

The Jewish Writers and Journalists Association in Warsaw has a history of a little more than 20 years in all, and for 20 years of this time the Association was housed in a locality that became famous through the world — 13 Tlomackie Street.* During the last two years of its existence it was situated at 11 Graniczna Street. Its end came when Warsaw was captured by the Nazis in 1939.

Together with the whole of Jewish Warsaw the inestimably rich archives of the Jewish Writers' Association of "Tlomackie 13" as they were wont to call it, in brief, was also lost. The Association never owned a house of its own. Its offices occupied a whole floor of a solid old Warsaw building consisting of three storeys, owned by a landlord whose name was Zacharias. The floor above that occupied by the Association was occupied by the youth organisation of the Mizrachi Party. On the ground floor was a popular restaurant. The place was always alive with people wearing black kapotas and the little black caps of the Mizrachi youth. On the ground floor, in the restaurant, strains of music reverberated in the premises from the early hours of the evening. From the street the noise and whirr of horse-drawn carriages and commercial carts, trams and buses could be heard. Nonetheless, the rent paid by the Association was sizeable. During the last period it was about 500 Zloty a month (the official exchange rate of the Polish Zloty being 5 to the dollar at the time) and the Association's budget was often threatened on account of the high rent that it had to pay. Indeed, the Association found itself financially stranded in the year 1938.

From the point of view of location for such a dynamic institution, the Association occupied an ideal focal point in the city. Several paces distant from the house on 13 Tlomackie Street, there branched off Rymarska Street — a thoroughfare which served as a sort of Gentile bridge between two densely populated Jewish centres — the Nalewki region on the one hand and the Grzybow district on the other.

The editorial offices of the large newspaper *Der Moment* were situated on Nalewki Street, whereas those of *Haint* were situated on Chlodna Street, near the Grzybow Square. In due course the editorial offices of all the Jewish papers in Warsaw, including three in Polish, were situated within a radius of three minutes walking distance from the Association's premises at 13 Tlomackie Street.

A distance of 8 minutes' walk separated 13 Tlomackie Street from the Nalewki commercial centre where one found a large store for the wholesale of rubber products belonging to Henryk — Henich in Yiddish — Ish, a former journalist and a man of remarkable dynamism and excellent organisational qualities who, throughout the years of the Associa-



Meeting of Committee of Journalists Union in Warsaw

* *Tlomackie* pronounced *Tlomátzke.*

tion's existence, was known as its "motivating force behind the scenes". The head of the Association until the day of his death, was the famous story-writer and the shrewdest of Warsaw's journalists, H.D. (Hersch David) Nomberg (1876-1927). Facing the Writers' Association, on No. 2 Leszno Street, were the offices of the Jewish Actors' Association — almost exactly opposite each other, so that it was possible to hold a conversation across the street from window to window or balcony to balcony.

This constituted the geographical location of 13 Tlomackie Street.

The membership of this Association varied from 300 to 400 according to period, and every three out of four of them were journalists. It is natural, therefore, that whatever took place in their Association would be brought to the notice of the public, even things that generally did not interest the readership. It was a centre of activity or, to be more correct, the centre of Jews engaged in spiritual creativity. This, indeed, was the case with Z. Segalovicz and Ber J. Rosen in their books on 13 Tlomackie. This was also the case with Nahman Meizel and J. Trunk in their descriptions of this centre, and this most probably would have been the case with the writer of these lines. In actual fact, I even deny the very need of writing a true history of 13 Tlomackie. It was not history that was made on these premises. On the contrary, to this house there came people who wanted to divest themselves of history; it was thither that they tried to escape from it.

Just like the person who experiences bitterness and suffering in his home, is in search of some quiet corner and of a warm heart to calm down his tortured spirit, so men who were steeped in the bitter reality of Warsaw Jewry created this corner for themselves where they could find some refuge from the bitterness of their surroundings. Nonetheless the difficult Jewish life in Warsaw would often open doors and windows at 13 Tlomackie and a stormy wind would then rush past all the rooms of the Association's premises, moving pictures hanging on the walls, shaking chandeliers fixed in the ceilings, overturning tables and chairs and throwing tablecloths onto the floor. For several days after this turmoil 13 Tlomackie would remain empty, losing the significance and purpose of its existence.

It is worthwhile writing about one of these events, the most outstanding and sharpest of all. It was in the year 1929 (I cannot guarantee the date) that Dr. Yitzhak Nahman Steinberg came to Warsaw and was due to deliver a lecture at the Jewish Writers' Association. His theme was: The memoirs of a man who was a People's Commisar in the Soviet Union. Dr. Steinberg's attitude was well-known. For a thousand and one reasons the waves of Communism rose high throughout Poland in those days, particularly among the Jews, and more especially among the Jewish youth. Passions rose high and young people yearned for action, but where it is possible to spend one's energy. A revolution could not be seen in sight. The streets were full of policemen and any action on the part of a boy or girl who cried slogans of "Down with" or "Long live", all street demonstrations against the regime, all acts on the part of young people throwing red flags on the electricity wires in the street and running off, all such acts would be mercilessly stamped out by police shooting. And so the decision was arrived at that the best place of all for such "action" is the Writers' Association and that Dr. Steinberg's lecture would be the best opportunity for same.

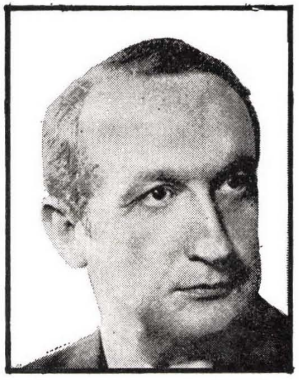
And so it came about that immediately as Dr. Steinberg began to speak a storm of vociferous protest broke out and rotten apples and rotten eggs began to be thrown about. An unprecedented commotion arose. The more docile among the members of the Association left the place at once; on the battlefield — and a battlefield it was — only the more shrewd among the journalists remained. True, the hooligans were Jewish hooligans, there were no fist fights, but chairs were damaged, the wallpaper was torn down, the tablecloths were torn from the tables, glass panes were broken in the buffets. Speakers mounted the tables and began addressing the "masses". Steinberg remained seated on the platform, would not give in and remained to listen to the insults. In the Writers' Association they felt safe. True, they mounted a watchman at the telephone but it was clear that no member of the Writers' Association would report to the police. The storm that churned the heart of these young people was well-known in the Association; they sympathised with their sufferings. There was only one person possessed of greater energy than the others who tore out the leg of one of the tables and cast it at the window. The glass panes were broken

and the splinters fell with a loud noise at the feet of a policeman stationed at the intersection of Rymarska, Przejazd, Tlomackie and Leszno Streets. The policeman decided to come up and see what the commotion was all out. No sooner did he appear at the door than everyone escaped through a back entrance and when a report of the event was later written up it was clear that the Association's secretary revealed no names.

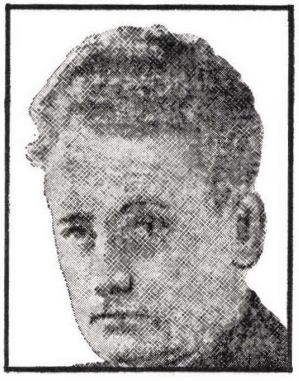
Two days later, the stains were washed off the wallpaper; the legs of the tables were repaired, new panes were inserted in the windows, the pictures on the wall were put back in their places and the storm that broke out during that intimate evening twilight began to be forgotten. Everyone was desirous of covering up the event, most of all the Leftist members of the Association.

The writer of these lines can visualise in his mind's eye a description of 13 Tlomackie replete with psychological theory but on no account can he imagine an historical research into the institution. Not even a cultural-historical investigation of 13 Tlomackie is possible. From this point, too, there would be no end to a wild admixture of things and to tortuous diversions. Nonetheless, these premises arouse unlimited interest. There were club premises in Paris and in New York that were given the name of 13 Tlomackie. Several books by this name have already appeared, and undoubtedly additional publications will bear the same title.

When the premises were changed in 1938 and the Association moved to 11 Graniczna Street, the writer of these lines wrote a necrology and called upon Jewish writers throughout the world that had had some connection with 13 Tlomackie to write up any anecdotes that they recalled of the place so that they might be gathered into a sort of large anthology from which generations of historians in the future would be able to draw psychological explanatory material for the history of Jewish literature in Poland in the period between the two World Wars.



Melech Rawicz



Nahman Meizel

About a year after the death of Yitzhak Leibush Peretz (1852–1915), and immediately after the German occupation of Warsaw ended, the Jewish writers in the Polish capital began thinking about establishing a permanent organisation for themselves. And so they established an association and rented premises — the premises on Tlomackie Street — but only several rooms in that building. Immediately the figure of H.D. Nomberg became outstanding in the task of leadership. He was a sagacious man and a person given to compromises. In addition, he did not have a permanent address of his own. Nomberg had been brought up in Yeshivot and in Jewish houses of learning, and always longed for a return to the atmosphere of his youth without, however, its religious compulsions. By creating the Writers' Associa-



Jewish parliamentary correspondents in Warsaw

tion, Nomberg hoped to achieve many things: to set up again the intellectual surroundings that had disappeared with the death of Peretz and also to build up an institution that would come to the aid of the Jewish writer and journalist from the professional point of view. He also wanted to create a roof over his head during the day-time so that he might not be compelled to sit alone in the doleful atmosphere of his rented room. First of all, however, he wanted to set up



Henich Ish



Peretz Markish

a centre that would organise literary enterprises on a purely literary basis, without having to have recourse to party interests. It was his desire to create a corner that would be pervaded by a popular Jewish atmosphere without the snobbistic Polonism. Nomberg had a knack for organisation and for setting things in motion without having to lift a finger himself. He was everywhere there was need of him, but disappeared immediately when he realised that he could be done without. Whenever he used to come to a meeting there was always a glass of strong tea and lemon at his right and a cigarette at his left.

I don't know whether throughout the eleven years of his life that coincided with the Association's existence he acted as its Chairman. Perhaps from the technical point of view he had not stood at its head for a period of a year or two, but even then he was regarded as its leader. It was to him that people turned for advice and leadership and without him the members of the Association were at a loss to know what to do. Very often Nomberg was absent from Warsaw for many months on end — he used to undertake journeys to the Soviet Union, to Argentina, to Eretz Israel, to Berlin. Once, he even went to London. To Berlin he was in the habit of going every few days or so.

At the beginning of every calendar year, the General Meeting of the Association would elect its Committee of 12 members. But often it transpired that the Committee was short of its full membership on account of resignation and, so a General Meeting would be called again either to hold new elections or to complete the membership of the Committee. One year it happened that two or even three General Meetings would be convened in the year. These meetings used to be held on Friday nights when the journalists did not have professional duties to perform. The official rest day of the Association was Saturday, but this rest day was not observed as ordained. No matter how often the members of the Committee were changed, however, it was taken for granted that Nomberg would be Chairman. That was so until 1927, the year of his death. After him the leadership was taken over almost annually. The heads were Z. Segalovicz, Dr. Joshua Gottlieb, B. Shefner, B. Karlinski, S.J. Stupnicki and others. Not only did the crown of leadership wander from head to head but its lustre waned as well. We shall speak about the reasons farther on.



Moshe Ron, Menahem Kipnis, Ezriel Carlebach

As in all institutions founded on a public basis, the leadership and the executive arm is not identical. This was the case also with the Writers' Association at 13 Tlomackie Street.

We have already mentioned the name of Henich Ish. It is worthwhile adding several other details about him. For some time during the Warsaw occupation by the German army in World War I, Ish was a reporter on Jewish papers, and so became a member of the Journalists' and Writers' Association. But although he changed his journalistic work for a more lucrative occupation, that of a wholesaler of rubber goods, he remained throughout his life a member of the Association. Nomberg, who had discovered the journalistic abilities of Henich Ish, also discovered his organising abilities before long and came to realise that a man like Ish could serve as his right hand in the daily work of the Association.

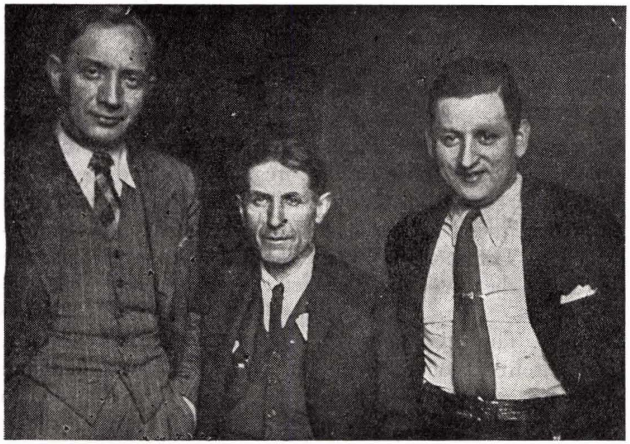
No matter what happened, Nomberg used to take hold of the telephone and say: Henich, come at once. And Ish would leave his rubber galoshes or his rubberised rainroats and come over at once to save the situation. Whenever Nomberg used to leave Warsaw for some time, Ish would see to it that a welcome would be prepared for Nomberg on his return. It was he who made the decision whenever agreements had to be reached. He was a permanent member on the Audit Committee. In the autumn of 1927, when Nomberg died at Otwock, a rest place near Warsaw, it was Ish who brought over his body to the Journalists' House at 13 Tlomackie Street, and then left all his business engagements for several days until the writer, whom he esteemed more than any one else, was brought to rest in the cemetery on Gensia Street, in the plot set aside for Jewish writers. It was Ish, too, who saw to it that a tombstone was erected over his grave — a memorial stone that stands there to the present day. The Nazis are gone but the gravestone still stands there.



Alter Katzizne



I.I. Singer



Joseph Heftman, "Hershele", Mark Turkow

The first Executive Secretary of the Association was a young man by the name of Abraham Reichenberg. As far as we know he passed the years of the war in Russia and then returned to Poland from which he set out again, via Paris, to Venezuela. He was secretary of the Association until about the year 1922, when the function was taken over by Anatoli Gelberg, a teacher and public worker from a little town. In 1924 Gelberg emigrated to New York, where he lives to the present day. He was succeeded in the office of secretary by the writer of these lines who filled it for over ten years, until December 1934, when he left Poland. During the remaining four-and-a-half years, 1935–1939, the secretaries of the Association changed from time to time and the post was filled among others by Elhanan Zeitlin, and Ber J. Rosen, as well as by the young writer J.A. Lowenstein.

A special place was occupied for about 15 years by the assistant to the secretary, Michael Ribeisen. He came to Warsaw in 1931, bringing a collection of poetry with him. Before long, however, he became the Association's collector and in the absence of the secretaries, filled their place. He had knack for finances (a sense that the Association's Committee generally lacked) and so persevered at his job.

Nomberg was in the habit of saying: "Whenever I see



Moshe Broderzon



I.M. Weissenberg

Ribeisen, I see money". He could not do without Ribeisen. This collector of the Writers' Association went to his doom together with the remainder of Polish Jewry. Ribeisen, too, had an assistant, a relative of his by the name of Oxenberg. He was a hatter by vocation, but in the evening he used to assist in the technical organisation of the innumerable enterprises of the Association. Mania Garber was in charge of cloakroom. She was also a living archive for the numerous romantic secrets that filled 13 Tlomackie Street. Garber used to answer outside telephone calls and was in need of a phenomenal memory in order to remember to tell the wife of this or other writer that her husband was not in, while he was sitting with a lady friend of his in the buffet.

Mania and Paula, the waitresses at the buffet, were permanent figures among the Association's staff. The Association premises served as a centre and meeting-house for artists. Since the Association was full of bachelors or husbands who had parted from their wives, Mania and Paula had to know all the caprices of their customers. For the sake of maintaining the spirit of democracy in the Association, Nomberg, its Chairman and oldest member, who was revered by all, was in the habit of frequently inviting Paula to a dance — just so, on a simple weekday. The gramophone used to accompany the couple moving about on the polished floor of the large hall, and whoever took it into his head would wind up the gramophone which would not end its screetching noise until some other capricious person stopped it.

Here one must switch over to the finances of the Association. About 100 of the 300-odd members could always be classified as non-payers of members dues. Some, because they had not a penny to bless themselves with — membership fees amounted to about 3 Zloty a month — and others refused to pay because that, in their opinion, gave them added importance, as sort of honorary members. They knew that they wouldn't be struck from the Association's roll for that situation. Generally, it should be said that insofar as financial affairs were concerned, the members of the Association almost always evinced a sort of miserliness. Perhaps that was brought about by the tone taken up by Ribeisen, the Association's collector. He was not tolerant in his duties and was in the habit of breaking into the home of members and demanding what was due from them in the presence of strangers. It was a system with him. The reaction was that respected writers would go even to the length of resigning from the Association on that account. Sometimes, however, some of them would return to membership later on.

There were times that the Association paid salaries to six of its workers and their pay was about on a par with that of journalists on editorial staffs. Obviously membership fees constituted the least important item on the budget for the Association's existence. Even if all 300 members would have paid their dues regularly, the money would have proved insufficient. The most important item in the budget was the rental for the lease of the buffet which came to about 100 Zloty a week. This money sufficed to cover the rental of the premises. Then there was the income from various events, such as soirées, conventions, etc., which were a regular item in the budget. Nonetheless a deficit accrued, and that had to be covered by the annual writers' ball, which was an idea of Nomberg's. In addition, there would arrive from time to time a money present from some "rich uncle" in America.

On rare occasions there were even financial crises. It was such crises, and perhaps also a certain measure of fatigue, that forced the Association to cut down on its activities and to move to smaller premises. That happened in the closing year, 1938.

Right from its inception the Association was one of Jewish writers and journalists, the name bearing witness to the nature of the group. This tradition had its source in Peretz, whose name was linked both with journalism — he himself could be classified almost as a journalist — and with the best in literature. But an internal division was created almost immediately in this group of people. Before long the natural division rose to the surface. The novelist and writer used to look down on the journalist, as if to say: these are but of fleeting importance compared with eternity, which is mine... Whereas the journalist used to look down upon the writer, arguing as it were: wherein does your strength lie? After all, you cannot earn as much as would cover the cost of the water in the porridge that you are eating. Your eternity, therefore, is but a fleeting shadow . . .

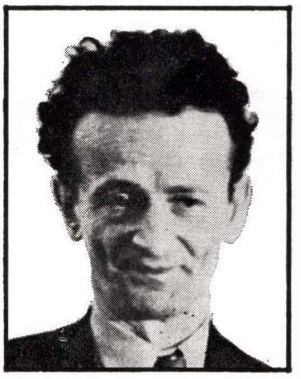
And so years passed by before these two sections fully acquiesced in each other's existence. There were external factors that assisted in bringing about this acquiescence, and these must be set forth here.

The right of membership in the Association was accorded to whomever had printed at least ten poems or essays or stories in Yiddish or in Hebrew in accepted periodicals anywhere in the world, either over his own name or over a regular pen-name of his. In due course admission was accorded also to Jews writing in Polish papers or in periodicals printed in Polish for Jewish readers. The right of membership was accorded also to the author of at least one book of recognised literary value, or to the translator of a work of at least 300 pages. In exceptional cases people were admitted to membership, whose important MS had not yet been printed. Newspaper reporters were admitted to the Association if they were permanently engaged on a newspaper at a regular salary, or received their pay according to the number of printed lines. In due course the need arose to halt the large flow of writers for party papers, and so candidates were required to submit at least 50 articles that had been printed in a periodical, the principle being that only such a person had the right to be a memger of the Association. At first the registration fee was 5 Zloty, but as time passed the sum was raised to 50 Zloty.

About 75 per cent of the Association's members were members of the PEN Club, which existed alongside the Association. About 90 of them were members of the Journalists' Syndicate, and close to two dozen of its members belonged to the translators' section, while the remainder — about 150 in number, were just members of the Association.



Israel Stern



Itzik Manger

Ever since the Association had been founded it was charged with the duty of looking after the professional interests of its members, and so the lead was taken in the Committee by several energetic members who sat in the Professional Council in order to safeguard the economic interests of authors as well as of journalists. In Poland Yiddish books were an important source of income and authors used to receive a royalty of 15% of the nominal value of a book in its first edition. For example, if a book came out in a first edition of 1,000 copies at a price of 3 Zloty, the author would receive the sum of 450 Zloty on the appearance of the book. In further editions he would sometimes get a royalty of as much as 20%.

The conditions of work of journalists generally rested on those of print workers, whose organisation was much older and much stronger. There were cases where typesetters used to receive more for setting up an article than its writer would.

In the Jewish press, however, there were only several "stars" who commanded a higher pay than the accepted norm. With the growth of the Jewish press in Poland the main activities of the professional Council were concerned with the safeguarding of the journalists' interests so that the Council became a sort of journalists' section. In fact, the journalists gained the upper hand in this section which, however, remained loyal to the interests of the poets and the novelists. Moreover, the stronger the professional Council became, the greater its power in the defence of the interests of the poor writers. This union remained strong throughout the existence of the Association.

In 1927, the Pilsudski Government in Poland was still a young force and through the medium of the Journalists' Syndicate, which was established on the model of similar bodies in Western Europe, the Government wanted to supervise the press in the country. The Syndicate could be joined only by people whose main source of livelihood was derived



Meeting of Parliamentary Correspondents' Club in Poland

from work in the daily press and the daily press alone. No importance attached to literary qualifications as such. In 1927, the Jewish Section was established alongside the general Polish Syndicate of Journalists and so the section of the Association became automatically a body attached to the Journalists' Syndicate. Seeing that the members of the section enjoyed various privileges, (mainly free travel First-Class on trains, etc.) the section became immediately a very strong body. Its contribution to the Association's budget now became its main item of income and membership fees were automatically deducted from the salaries of the journalists by the respective editorial boards of each man's paper. The section also commenced to collect money for strike funds, the sums accruing amounting to scores of thousands of Zloty.

The International PEN Club was founded in 1921 in England—the classical country of clubs—and was joined by the various "national" Clubs of writers and poets according to the English concept, that is by associations of writers and poets in each country. Such an arrangement automatically excluded from the Association writers in Yiddish. Yiddish literature, however, refused to be excluded from the family of world literature. Early in 1926 the Writers Clubs attached to the Association worked out a Memorandum which was submitted in 1927 to the International Congress of PEN Clubs, and this Convention decided to accord recognition to the special status of Yiddish literature so that it might be represented in the family of literatures, not as representing any country but rather on the strength of its language—Yiddish. From that year on there functioned a PEN Club of Yiddish Writers. Nominally its centre was located, for technical reasons, in Vilna. (At present it is situated in New York.) The Jewish PEN Club was always strict about the admission of members. It would not remain satisfied with the fact that a candidate had published books but would also set qualitative demands for admission to membership.

Trade union actions of the Journalists' Syndicate were of tremendous importance and assured the Jewish journalists of a fairly high salary. Indeed, the publishers—especially *Der Moment* and *Haint*—complained that this strong Syndicate had a heart of stone—until the rope was pulled too hard and the Jewish papers were transformed into Cooperatives. Even before that, indeed from their very inception, *Nasz Przeglad* and *Unzer Express* were Cooperative enterprises. *Folkszeitung,* brought out by the Bund was a strictly party paper and the journalists who wrote for it received a scale of pay as determined by the party rather than by the Association.

The Syndicate devoted its attention also to matters of the spirit and morality and not only to material affairs. There were several anti-podal pairs in the Syndicate, to mention only Abraham Goldberg and Dr. Joshua Gottlieb, both of them members of the editorial board of *Haint.* Goldberg would time and again hint at the "lightmindedness" of Gottlieb, and Gottlieb at the "boredom" of Goldberg. Goldberg was in the habit of writing declarations to the journalists, reminding them of their duty to preserve a high moral standard, and Gottlieb, who was Chairman of the Syndicate, had no choice but to disseminate his messages among the members of the Syndicate as a circular of the Association. In order to balance the account, Gottlieb would organise courses in cultural history for the members, and invite all members of the Association, including Goldberg, to the audience (because Goldberg lacked a university education, and whenever in his articles he used to enter the realm of science he would show himself to be wandering in the bypaths of knowledge)...

The standard of the Journalists' Syndicate rose particularly high with the rise of Hitler to power in Germany and



Group of Jewish writers, at Otwock, summer resort, near Warsaw



Yiddish satirical periodicals in Poland between the two World Wars



Literarishe Bleter, *literary weekly, Warsaw, 1924–1939*

the initial period of the flirtation between Poland and this arch murderer. The Association had many opportunities of exhibiting a deep sense of national honour and respect, while at the same time endangering the existence of all Jewish journalists and obviously also the livelihood of the hundreds of members of the Syndicate. In September 1939 the Syndicate organised the more or less orderly exit of all its members to the East, insofar as the disorder following the "Blitz" invasion by the Germans of Poland made possible any order at all.

The Writers' Association was an all-Jewish organisation, not of Yiddish writers but of Jewish writers, and so obviously it had quite a number of Hebrew writers and many more Jewish writers, mainly journalists, in Polish. Apart from 13 Tlomackie Street there existed in Warsaw also an Association of Hebrew writers. Its activities, however, were limited and served more as a sort of address for special occasions when it was necessary to demonstrate the existence of such an association in the Jewish metropolis of Europe. Most of the members of the Hebrew Writers' Association were also members of 13 Tlomackie Street, including famous writers who lived permanently in Warsaw.

By the nature of things, the Polish writers should have organised themselves into an independent circle, and if they had done so their number would have come up no doubt to 30–40. But such a group was never formed. Undoubtedly such a circle would have given rise to strange impressions and would have been suspected of assimilationist tendencies. Jewish papers in the Polish language were not so much papers of Polish-speaking Jews as of Jews in their struggle against the Polish population—a sort of Jewish commentator in the language of the State.

In the course of the years several literary groups of specific tendencies organised themselves in the Writers' Association, which used to bring out also new periodicals. These however, were not long-lived. With the closing down of each such periodical the group too disappeared. It was from this group that there evolved in due course a solid weekly *Literarishe Bleter* (Literary Pages), which appeared for 15 years.

In the course of years, several group of Leftist writers played an important role in the Association. On the one hand these were in the habit of attacking the Association as a bourgeois and nationalist organisation lacking ideology, and on the other hand, they used to exploit the security that the Association premises gave them in order to hold there the secret meetings of the editorial boards of the illegal periodicals which they used to bring out, as well as of legal literary-public writings, including a periodical called *Di Literarishe Tribune*. Together with the Leftist groups, there infiltrated into the Association agents of the political police. More than once these agents used to enter the secretariat of the Association and also used to call on the writer of these lines, and instead of hearing from him they used to tell him about what was taking place in the Association's premises... The Association was, of course, legal. The recommendations given by the Association were of the greatest importance to its members in such matters as obtaining passports for abroad, various reductions, etc. The Association could not, of course, afford to endanger its legality, but it evinced warm, fatherly feelings for every Jewish writer without exception, including writers who harassed the Association as did, for example, the Leftists. Their incursion brought it face to face with many dangers. The Association used to be visited not only by agents of the Polish police, but at one time a German spy who had arrived from Germany was discovered there. The thing continued for many years down to the actual end of Polish Jewry, and the police apparently acquiesced in all that was connected with the presence of the Leftists in the Association, and never openly voiced the demand that they should be expelled. The police

obviously had considerations of its own in this policy. The Association was not a party organisation but on the other hand did not come out against any of the parties. It sought to be a haven of refuge to all wanderers and a home to all people lacking a home and a place of rest as well as an encouraging factor to Jewish creativity.

Apart from the 300–400 members of the Association some 100 permanent guests were registered, who paid—or were supposed to pay—a guest fee of 6 Zloty a month. These guests in the premises of the Association consisted of some score of artists, and painters, who paid their guest dues in pictures. Indeed, the walls of the Association were always adorned with pictures—virtually a permanent exhibition. Among these permanent guests there were also actors in the Jewish theatre. Some one minute's walk from 13 Tlomackie Street the actors had an association of their own, but it was considered a matter of prestige to be the guests of the Writers' Association on a permanent basis, and these actors had more than enough time on their hands.

In times of economic depression it often happened that members of the Association, or candidates for membership, had simply no place to spend the night. But, one could not allow the Association to become a shelter for homeless people, and this gave rise to no end of trouble. In the daytime the secretariat would bring out strict orders against those who turned the Association into a hostel; at night, however, they would close an eye and remain oblivious of the presence of these unfortunate people.



A group of Jewish writers in Warsaw

The Association also served as a central address for cultural societies in innumerable towns and townlets in Poland. These would invite, through the Association, writers and lecturers on literary topics, for Sabbaths or for Sundays. The waiting room at 13 Tlomackie Street was often the "fairground" for these transactions. B. Shefner, the excellent feuilleton writer who, for many years, was secretary of the professional council of the Association, and several times also its Chairman, called this institution a "slave market" ... since it was here that people were "bought" for a day or two, and whoever asked less for his trouble had better chances of being "bought". There was great poverty in the heart-warming townlets of Jewish Poland but to no less a degree a thirst for culture which they hoped would be supplied by men from 13 Tlomackie Street.

During the years of great activity the Association would organise up to 150 enterprises a year, for the most part if not all of them, on its own premises. Its hall had a seating and standing capacity for 300 people. All the Jewish papers used to serve the enterprises of the Association free of charge by printing notices and advertisements (these advertisements used to be called "ribbons" because they were printed across the whole width of the page).

The soirées organised by the Association and held annually towards the end of winter, gained great renown. They were patterned on the model of the soirées organised by the Polish Writers' Association. Undoubtedly the advertisements in the press which described them as the "Number One Soirée of the Year" helped considerably in that direction. Maintaining order, even with the assistance of the police, was a very difficult task and it was also impossible to carry out the programmes as advertised. From soirée to soirée writers attending the events dwindled in numbers. In the end the Association stopped organising these balls. These soirées also served as a theme for feuilletons and stories and some write about them to the present day. In the novel "The Mushkat family" by Isaac Bashevis

Singer there is a sarcastic description of a "ball of balls" of that type.

But the Association used to organise also evenings of great Jewish-national significance. The most important event of this kind was possibly the lecture delivered by Dr. Leib Landau, chief defender of the Jewish lad from Lwow, Stanislaw Steiger, who was accused of seeking to assassinate the President of the Polish Republic. That was the Beilis trial of Poland. Landau was an outstanding orator, a proud Jew and a very warm-hearted person. The subject of his lecture was: "The Struggle for Justice from Ancient Times to the Present Day". It was held in the largest hall of Warsaw—at the Circus Hall. Within one day, a week before the lecture was due to be given, all 4,500 tickets were sold out.



A group of members of the Association of Jewish Journalists and Writers in Warsaw

The decorum at the lecture was exemplary and the lecture by the famous lawyer was the talk of many Jews for a long time to come. That happened in 1925.

The Association used to organise much larger cultural events either in the Circus Hall or in Nowosci, Kaminski, Scala and Central theatres, at the Warsaw Philharmonic or in municipal halls.

In the hall of the Association premises up to 150 cultural evenings a year used to be arranged, as we have already mentioned. Most of these enterprises were connected with local writers and artists. Writers whose economic situation was better would be "skinned" by the Association which would take half the income from the sale of tickets. But those whose situation was bad used to receive the whole

of the income. Very often this income amounted to only about 100 Zloty ($60) and a needy Jewish writer in Warsaw would have to make do with this income (in addition to the roof that 13 Tlomackie Street provided him with) for something like six months, at times even for a whole year.

Let us end with what we began: at this place in 13 Tlomackie Street, Warsaw, one did not make history. It was there most certainly that people sought a respite from history—they escaped from it ... And how is it possible to write the history of a city of refuge in which one tries to hide from history which marches along with hobnailed boots on its legs?

A last visit

Rachel Auerbach

When the War broke out I was living in a rented room on the third floor of the house at No. 1 Przejazd Street at the corner of Leszno Sreet. In the same apartment two colleagues from Lvov were sharing a room—the poet Nahum Bomza and the artist Mendel Reif.

The bombing of Warsaw and the repeated air raid sirens continued unintermittently from the first day of the War but it was on the Tuesday, September 5, that a certain respite was felt in the frequency of the attacks. Just as evening was setting in Bomza came running in from town with the sombre news which was supposed to be half secret about the preparations for the evacuation of Warsaw, about the fact that the army had retreated to deeper lines of defence while the Government was leaving the capital, so that already on the morrow or the day after the Germans would be in the city.

The news was a terrible blow. Despite the encouraging headlines in the newspapers we knew that the situation at the front was as bad as could be; the Germans were cutting the country along its length and breadth and advancing in all directions with lightning speed. The storm of fire and iron which rained down upon us from the air and the ground set at nought the desperate attempts of the Polish military units to halt the advance of the invading army. Nonetheless, no one in his wildest imagination could foresee the results stemming from this state of affairs.

We had not yet freed ourselves of the fear that Poland might surrender to Hitler's demands and that other European States might agree to a new compromise with Hitler as they had done in regard to Czechoslovakia.

For years on end Hitler had screamed and accused the Jews in his speeches of aiming at another World War and promised that when the day came they would pay the price. Now, after all that happened—after what the Germans had done to us and to other peoples—we can say that not only his speeches alone had such terrible significance. There was also some truth in his accusation that we wanted war. More than any other people we Jews were against a new agreement with Hitler and against accepting his ever-increasing demands. We felt relieved, as it were, when we realised that war was inevitable and that there would be no longer any peace with Hitler. We had placed far too implicit belief in the force of a just struggle and had exaggerated his prospects in such a struggle. The Jewish soldiers in the Polish army answered the mobilisation call with the utmost readiness and evinced full desire to fight the common enemy. Somehow they had forgotten the shame and the insults that they had to bear time and again during the years of the existence of the renewed Polish state. We did not take into consideration at all the immediate danger of defeat and of the conquest of the country.

From such a shock it is possible to break down altogether, but we did not break down.

The first reaction in face of danger is—an attempt to run away. During the War I had an opportunity of witnessing this phenomenon several times, both with individuals as well as with the masses; but to my own personal surprise I came to realise that I myself lack an urge to flee and to take up the staff of the wanderer.

Together with the bitter and sensational report that I have already mentioned, Bomza also brought the news that in the evacuation train that was due to leave the main railway

station at midnight there would be a special carriage reserved for journalists and that a number of places would be reserved in that carriage for Jewish journalists—obviously for those among them who were subject to special danger, such as political commentators and editors-in-chief of daily papers.

Indeed, on that evening of the 5th of September 1939, it had happened for the first and only time throughout the years of the Second War that I, too, packed a small bag and made myself (almost) ready to leave together with the others. According to Bomza's information 15 special places had been allocated to Jewish journalists and so, in all credulity, I began thinking that in a carriage which had 15 places reserved for Jewish journalists—all of them men—another place would undoubtedly be found for a woman journalist.

Undoubtedly that would have been the case if I had come to that train and if I were actually prepared to flee...

It was the fate of the Jewish Writers and Journalists' Association not to breathe its last in its own bed, as it were, in the place where it had lived and grown, acted and become famous—at 13 Tlomackie Street.

For various reasons, all of them material, 13 Tlomackie Street had to move over to a new building, which was quite unsuitable for the needs of the Association. It was now housed on the third floor of a building at 11 Graniczna Street, and was far too small for audiences at public appearances, so that it could not serve even as a source of income for the Association. This happened about a year or eighteen months before the outbreak of the War. The members, however, were forced to adapt themselves to their new premises and at one time it seemed that things had returned to normal. When the War broke out, the area of the city around Graniczna Street served as a target for German bombing from the air. Not far from the Journalists' House was the central railway station of the Polish capital, the power station and the broadcasting house, and so, 11 Graniczna Street was destroyed already in the second week of the War. It was burned to the ground and no vestige remained of the Writers and Journalists' headquarters, their archives and art treasures. The old premises at 13 Tlomackie Street remained standing intact until after the War.

However, when I arrived at Graniczna St. on the evening of Tuesday, September 5, the house was still standing, and



The ruins of the house at 13 Tlomackie Street

in my mind's eye I can now see the Association's premises as they appeared at the time of my last visit there.

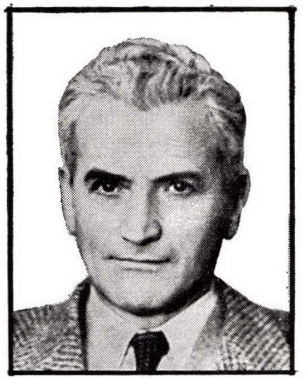
When I mounted the stairs to the Association's premises carrying the small bag in my hand, the house was in darkness. Only in two rooms—one belonging to the Writers' Association and the other to the Journalists' Syndicate, the secretaries of the two Associations—Ber J. Rosen of the one and J.L. Loewenstein of the other—were engaged in preparing for the journey by the dim light of lamps swathed in blue blackout paper. The two were working hard at destroying documents and letters after someone had expressed the view that

it was necessary to destroy the lists of members and their addresses.

I should mention that on that night other writers were engaged in the same task in their own homes—they were burning books and periodicals in which they had published articles against Nazi Germany. All the tragedies in our situation notwithstanding, the poetess Reizel Zytlinska told me with a chuckle, about a certain young poet who sat through-



Ephraim Kaganowski



Ber Rosen

out the night in his little rented room tearing to shreds and casting into the burning stove the whole edition of his collected poems which he had just brought out after such great effort. Apparently he believed that after the Germans' entry into Warsaw, one of their first acts would be a visit to his room in order to arrest him and impound the edition of his literary creations on account of some anti-Hitler rhymes that they contained.

In the two large rooms (which could be turned into an "auditorium" by opening the folding doors that separated them) the group of journalists stood ready for the journey. As I have already mentioned, the right to travel was reserved for the members of the Jewish section of the Journalists' Syndicate. Those who were "mere writers" were people of second-rate rights—for a selection had to be made even among newspaper editors because only 15 places had been allotted to Jewish journalists in the evacuation train. True a list had been drawn up but now there arrived people equipped with bags for the journey whose names had not been included in the list. Some among them began to raise their voices; even hysterical insults could be heard reverberating in the hall.

That was the first Jewish selection . . . Deep in my heart I no longer believed in what I was going to suggest. Nonetheless, with a certain amount of shyness and timidity I did propose that I, the only woman among them, might be allowed to join those making their way to the station. Perhaps I might after all be found a place in the carriage. Today I no longer have any doubt that I would have succeeded in getting away. For that evacuation carriage more than 15 Jewish journalists set out on the journey. But, they almost refused to listen to me in that conversation in the hall of the Association. One of the members of the Committee reassured me that "there was no danger for women" and would that it were only possible to take out of Warsaw at least the members for whose safety one had indeed to fear. . .

Aside from those who demanded vociferous to be added to the list of travellers there were others who, of their own free will, asked that their names be struck from the list. First among them was the Chairman of the Jewish section of the Syndicate, one of the editors of *Haint,* Moshe Indelman. Like the captain of a sinking ship he refused to assure himself of a chance to escape at a time when he could not save the others. Aaron Einhorn, an important journalist and also a member of the editorial staff of *Haint,* also did not hesitate for very long and announced that he was ready to give up the place reserved for him in the evacuation train. The haggling over a place in the carriage already appeared to him to be a prognostication of what lay in wait later on. A sort of aristocratic nervousness kept on whispering in his ear that he should not choose the fate of a refugee.

From that evening in the Association's premises I remember the appearance of Z. Segalovitz. He arrived at the Association carrying only a regular briefcase. That was how he was going to travel, he said, without a bag. He was, of course, to suffer on that account later on. I recall his letters some time later to Ruth Karlinski. They arrived from Bialystok at the beginning of the winter. He begged her to do everything possible in order to send him some underclothing and warm apparel.

Those who were due to be evacuated left the premises one

by one. In all probability they went to add something more to their bags or to take leave of someone.

The windows in the Association's premises were all open. There was darkness around, but a young autumn moon peered into the room and shed a pale light on the faces of those who were due to leave and of those who had been doomed to remain. It was a greenish silver hue like the hue on the faces of the dead.

Aaron Einhorn's decision left an impression upon me. I now found it no longer difficult to decide that I, too, would remain in Warsaw. Without much ado those "remaining" began to depart and I descended the stairs in the company of Einhorn and of his wife Bracha.

At night the Germans did not bomb the city during the first days of September. When we came out onto the street at about 10 o'clock we were surrounded by a strange stillness in the fresh and crystal clear air of the night. The moon rose above the treetops of the Saxon Park. Traffic in the streets was very sparse. There was an atmosphere of calm all around. The horror of the new reality appeared to have receded somewhat.

We parted at Iron Gate Square. We took our leave on that moonlit night as though a stone had been removed from our hearts.

We had just experienced a terrible shock and stood on the threshold of new terrors. We knew that the waves of horror were about to inundate us but we were determined not to budge. In another few minutes we were due to return to our homes and to retire to our beds. We were tired but our tension had somewhat loosened.

The evacuation train was bombed that very night. Like birds, frightened out of their nest, the evacuees scattered in all directions already at Lublin. Some turned East, others North and others again South. On the following day and in the days that succeeded—even after the German entry of Warsaw, other writers and journalists followed in their wake, trying to escape by every possible means. Some of them arrived—or seemed to have arrived—to some coast of safety but others no longer found any rest for their tired feet, not even a corner for themselves, until the end of their days.

As for ourselves, those who remained in Warsaw, we were now overtaken by the period of siege and defence of the Polish capital. That was but a preparation for infinitely darker days—days and years the horrors of which increased from day to day and from month to month.

JEWISH PRESS IN THE PROVINCES

Dailies in "Jerusalem of Lithuania"

Haya Lazar

When World War II broke out no fewer than five dailies appeared in Vilna in Yiddish—two morning papers and three evening papers, apart from scores of weeklies, monthlies and other periodicals of an ideological and literary character, and organs of numerous trade unions and other bodies. There was not a single self-respecting public body in Vilna that did not bring out an organ of its own. There was no other city throughout the Jewish dispersion like Vilna which proved to be such fertile ground for the sprouting and development of a Yiddish press. Linguistic acculturation was entirely unknown to the Jews of Vilna. Yiddish was the language of the home and the street, the school and the Jewish theatre. The few Poles who lived in the centre of the city also learned to speak Yiddish from their Jewish neighbours. A ramified educational network—from kindergarten to technical high school and teachers' seminary, where the language of tuition was Yiddish, trained an enlightened readership. But even the simple folk turned their eyes with expectancy to their daily paper although it is likely that most of them were attracted to it by the serialised novels that it used to publish.

Obviously Vilna, "Jerusalem of Lithuania" as it was called, which for many generations had been the great Jewish Torah Centre, proved to be also a centre for modern Hebrew culture, for Hebrew educational institutions, high schools and a teachers' seminary where the language of tuition was Hebrew. As a matter of fact, the Yiddish press was succeeded by quite a number of initiatives taken in Vilna, among them important steps to bring out a Jewish periodical press. They were all, however, short-lived, mainly on account of financial difficulties and the small readership. So far as is known one of the first of such attempts was made as far back as the beginning of the 19th Century. The step was taken in 1813 by the famous Rom family of printers ("Rom Brothers" who, in the last Century brought out a ramified religious literature including a complete edition of the Talmud). Men of learning belonging to the "enlightenment" stream subsequently brought out at irregular periods also secular Hebrew periodicals. One of them held out for about four years (1841–1844). These were the literary collections under the name of *Pirhei-Tsafon* (Northern Flowers), which had established a place for themselves in the history of Hebrew literature. Still less successful financially was the Hebrew weekly *Hacarmel* brought out by Shmuel Yosef Fin, a lexicographer whose name is known to this day in expert circles as the author of a large Hebrew dictionary, one of the basic works in this field in the modern era.

At the beginning of the 20th Century there appeared in Vilna also a Hebrew daily *Hazeman* which, with short interruptions, held out, despite its numerous difficulties, for about ten years, from December 1904 until April 1915. The period of the First World War were not only years of frequent changes in regime but also a period of great economic difficulty for the Jews of Vilna, and during that time the Hebrew periodical literature was almost completely silenced. With great difficulties, however, a group of cultural workers succeeded, at the beginning of the War, to obtain a permit from the Tsarist authorities for the publication of a Hebrew periodical. However, several days before publication date an order was issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the Tsarist Armies, the Archduke Nikolai Nikolaivitch, uncle and adviser of the last Tsar, to entirely prohibit the publication of newspapers in Yiddish and in Hebrew throughout the Russian Empire. There was neither present nor future for the periodical which, ironically enough, had been given the name of *Atidot* (Future) by its initiators.

In 1917, at the time of the German occupation, another attempt was made to bring out a Hebrew periodical devoted to literature. Its name was *Me'et Le'et* (From Time to Time) and its editor was the veteran journalist Shmuel Leib Citron, who was later to become an important his-



Members of the committee for the reception given to Mendele Mocher Sepharim (centre) in Vilna, 1909

torian of the Jewish press. Until September 1918, five issues of the magazine appeared at irregular intervals, and while the sixth issue was in preparation, Vilna was occupied by the Red Army and the initiative dissipated. Another such attempt in the form of *Hashavua* (The Week) was made in the summer of 1919, during the short-lived Lithuanian occupation of the city. Its editor was the poet Leib Yaffe, one of the outstanding leaders of the Zionist Movement in Russia and subsequently a member of the Board of Directors of "Keren Hayesod". Only three issues of the weekly appeared. Another Hebrew periodical called *Hachayim* (Life) was also short-lived, for only three issues appeared, and when the Soviet occupation of the city was renewed, an end was put to its publication altogether. When

Vilna was annexed to the Polish Republic in April, 1922, another Hebrew weekly *Ha'am* (The Nation) made its appearance in the city: it held out until its fifth issue. Until the outbreak of World War II, there appeared sporadically a few Hebrew periodicals in Vilna, all of them enjoying a small circulation among specific circles.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the fate of the Yiddish papers was no better. After the suppression of the 1905 Revolution, the Jewish Labour Party "Bund" began bringing out in December of that year a daily paper in Yiddish called *Der Weker* (The Arouser). But despite the permit issued by the authorities for its publication the editorial board worked in the Underground. Indeed, despite the utmost precaution that was taken, the editor of the paper, J. Eisenstadt (Judin), was arrested before long and the editorship was taken over by the prominent leader of the Party, Vladimir Kosovski. In all, 32 issues of the paper were published, for the Censorship prohibited its continued publication. The Central Committee of Bund did not want to give up the idea of an organ of its own, and immediately after the closing down of *Weker,* a new paper by the name of *Folkszeitung* made its appearance. Despite the efforts by its editors and the machinations of its publishers to circumvent the prohibitions of the censorship, they failed, and the authorities closed it down about a year after its foundation. Another attempt made by the Party to bring out a paper called *Hofnung* (Hope) was also short-lived, and when this paper was closed down, Bund made no further efforts to bring out a paper of its own under the Tsarist regime.

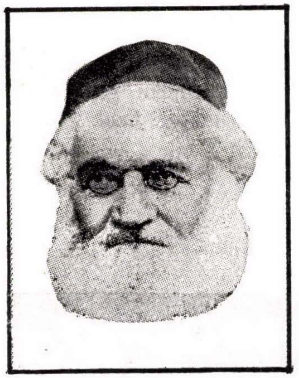
Non-Party circles also tried their luck in the sphere of the Yiddish press. A daily paper *Der Shtern* (The Star) appeared under the editorship of Jacob Halprin for about eighteen months, from the middle of February 1913, but could not withstand the financial difficulties of publication. Particularly active in the publication of daily papers in the period preceding World War I, was Moshe Karpinovitz, who subsequently gained fame as a successful organiser of the Yiddish Theatre. His short-lived attempts, in the form of *Vilner Togblat* and *Vilner Folksblat*—proved to be a challenge to the oppressive regime of the Tsar, and their editor-publisher was sentenced to heavy fines and was twice imprisoned. We shall mention several other mushroom attempts at the beginning of the Century. In 1905 there appeared in Vilna a Jewish comic paper which, under the conditions of the Tsarist censorship, could direct its barbs and ridicule the Jewish readers alone. In the years 1910–1912, there appeared the weekly *Vilner Vochenblat,* which wrote only about local problems. However, already in the first decade of the Century, there appeared several vocational papers of the tailors *Der Shnaider* (The Tailor) and of the Timber merchants *Der Holtshendler.*

The events of World War I and the vagaries of fate that visited Vilna, as well as the shocks experienced by the Jewish population of the city and its environment, gave a new spur to many attempts in the journalistic field. Indeed, during that period there appeared in Vilna a kaleidoscopic



Moshe Karpinovitch (3rd from right, 2nd row)

range of papers and periodicals in Yiddish. Even if Yiddish papers used to arrive from outside, they were outdated from the information point of view—and in the period of the War that was the most important aspect—while papers in other languages could not satisfy the Jewish reader. Jacob Halprin renewed his *Shtern*. Seeing, however, that he derived his news mainly from the local Russian press, the readers quickly noted his naive trick, and the paper was closed down.



S.J. Fin



Leib Yaffe

Feivel Margolin who in the past had published the Hebrew paper *Hazeman,* approached matters in more fundamental fashion. He re-issued *Hazeman* and at the same time founded the daily paper *Unzer Fraind,* the first issue of which appeared on August 7, 1914—a week after the outbreak of the War. Margolin concentrated the best journalistic forces in the city around the paper but the numerous limitations imposed by the Censorship on the press generally, and on the Jewish press in particular, prevented the paper from taking up a defined political line, although the publisher himself and a large section of its contributors were known in the city for their sympathies to Zionism. On account of the economic stress during the War, the paper carried almost no commercial advertisements and the staff received ridiculously low salaries. When at long last they presented a demand for some increase in their remuneration, the publisher's reply was clearcut: he could not possibly meet it. His two papers *Hazeman* and *Unzer Fraind* were closed down on March 13, 1915. 194 issues of *Unzer Fraind* has appeared.

In May 1915, the brothers Nahum and Leibush Babitzki founded a cooperative newspaper publishing house, and it was then that the independent daily paper *Dos Folk* began its appearance. Innumerable ills visited Vilna Jewry in those days. Pogroms, false accusations, exiles and arrests were events of daily occurrence in the city. The paper tried to give expression to Jewish suffering, but the censorship mercilessly suppressed every word concerning the ill-treatment of the Jewish community. It often happened that the paper appeared with half-blank pages on account of the invalidation of material by the Censor. The paper was closed down in the middle of July, following a decree to stop the appearance of all publications in Yiddish and Hebrew. In all, 40 odd issues of *Dos Folk* had appeared.

When the Russian Army retreated on the advance of the Germans, over half the Jews of the city fled and in large part were driven out. The Jewish population in Vilna had dropped from 90,000 to about 42,000–45,000. Almost all the intellectuals had left the city. The reduced Jewish community was almost completely cut off from the large Jewish centres and from sources of information about what was happening in the storm-tossed world. The Jews of Vilna did not read any German and the rumours factory that was hard at work only served to increase perplexity. The other national minorities in the city—the Poles, the Byelorussians and the Lithuanians were in a similar situation. As a result of representations made with the occupation authorities, each one of the minorities was given a permit to bring out a paper in its own language, on condition that an exact German translation of the material published in each issue be appended. This condition proved inacceptable if only for the lack of people with a knowledge of German. The German authorities finally realised that the situation could not continue for much longer and so ultimately dropped their demand to print a German translation and began issuing permits for the publication of newspapers, one in each of the minority languages.

The first paper in Yiddish under the German occupation authorities appeared on October 13, 1915—it was called

Flugblat (Leaflet). The paper limited itself to publishing the official telegrams released by the German military staff to the Eastern Front, and announcements by the authorities to the local population. It was not much different from the official German Gazette except, of course, for language. Having no alternative, it was read by the Jews of Vilna, but it far from satisfied their needs. Almost 100 issues of *Flugblat* appeared and then it was closed down the moment that Feivel Margolin, the experienced journalist and publisher, obtained an exclusive permit for the publication of a Yiddish newspaper in the whole of the upper Eastern region (Oberost), which included, apart from Vilna, Kurland, Lithuania, Grodno, Bialystok and other places.

Letzte Nayes, Margolin's paper, began appearing on January 30, 1916. It was a markedly non-party paper since the members of the editorial staff kept their political views and outlooks to themselves. All their efforts were directed to one goal—to present reliable information to the Jewish reader in a language understood by everyone, to furnish news from the Jewish world to arouse interest in cultural life again. The paper may also claim the special privilege of having crystallised a uniform spelling in Yiddish and of having purified the language from German, Russian and Polish expressions that had clung to the spoken tongue owing to the lack of authoritative literary periodicals. This objective had the special devotion of Dr. Olswanger and Zalman Reisin. Before long the public and social life of Jewish Vilna rallied around the editorial offices of *Letzte Nayes* which, already in its first year of appearance, had gained an astounding circulation of 7,000 copies. When the cities of Minsk and Riga were occupied by the German army, it gained additional readers among the Jews of these localities, Despite the paper's success, however, the editorial staff and the printing workers laboured under economic stress and actual famine. Wages were very small and one printing worker actually died of starvation. It was then that demands were raised for improved pay. Margolin could not meet these demands, and so on August 21, 1917 the paper was closed down for five days. Dr. Olswanger took the initiative of filing an application to the authorities for the transfer of the concession from private ownership to a cooperative which would have the participation of the printing and editorial workers. The authorities agreed, but the situation of the workers did not improve appreciably. Nonetheless, the paper continued its appearance until December 1918.

Meantime, Vilna had been occupied by the Red Army and within a few days was transferred to the Government of Independent Lithuania. The cooperative management realised that if it lose the monopoly, the paper would be unable to exist. *Letzte Nayes* was, therefore, sold out to the Zionists in the city and became the organ of the Zionist



Jacob Wigodski



Zalman Reisin

Movement so that there was a change in the editorial staff. Leib Yaffe who had returned from Russia, was appointed editor but, in practice, the task fell to Moshe Shalit. The Red Army, however, had meantime returned to Vilna and set up a Soviet-Lithuanian regime there. The Communist authorities were suspicious of the "bourgeois" paper and in the end closed it down, confiscating its stock of paper and equipment. And so *Letzte Nayes* died in the fourth year of its appearance, its last issue coming out on February 7, 1919. An interesting fact in the history of *Letzte Nayes* is that its issue of January 27, 1918 was printed entirely in golden letters, in honour of the birthday of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Throughout the period of the German occupation the Bund had resorted to all sorts of ruses in order to circumvent the prohibition of bringing out a paper in Yiddish, but they failed. However, they did not cease preparing the ne-

cessary media for such publication. After the German Revolution in November Bund had almost a ready-prepared paper in their hands. The first issue of their organ *Unzer Shtime* appeared on December 5, 1918, when a large part of the German Army had already left the city and the Red Army stood at its gates. However, even in this state of confusion, there was someone there to censor the paper and the first issue of *Unzer Shtime* appeared with large blank patches. Until the middle of March, Max Weinreich, the philologist and well known journalist, served as its editor. The Polish occupation, however, brought an end to the paper's appearance. In all, it brought out 99 issues, the last being that of April 18, 1919, when the Polish Army entered the city.

When the Red Army occupied Vilna and set up a government for Central Lithuania and White Russia, there was an increasing stream of Jewish refugees returning from Russia, and again the conflict between the various factions commenced. Bund had a daily paper of its own—*Unzer Shtime,* while *Letzte Nayes,* which was the organ of the Zionist Movement, had shrunk and was apprehensive of its fate. Nonetheless, it continued to appear daily. The Communists who felt like overlords in the city, could not remain for very long without an organ of their own. Indeed, they set about establishing a paper called *Der Komunist* which made its appearance on December 26, the first issue being printed entirely in red letters. The leading article entitled "Our function in Lithuania" was signed by J. Reisin, (he was the zealous Communist Juda Shimlevitz, who committed suicide when Vilna was recaptured by the Poles). In that article he prophesied task of primary importance for Communist Lithuania. When the initial enthusiasm cooled down somewhat, the Communist organ devoted extensive space to an attack on "Jewish nationalism" (the Zionist Movement) and on all sorts of refractory elements in the Socialist camp, particularly on the Bund. Finally, the paper found disfavour in the eyes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and its leadership decided to transfer the editorial board of the Minsk "Shtern" to Vilna. The last number of *Komunist,* the 77th issue of the paper, appeared on April 3, 1919. It carried an announcement that the mandate for the organ of the Communist Party had been handed over to the Minsk *Shtern.*

The official *Der Shtern* (The Star), which enjoyed the status of the Communist Party organ in Lithuania and White Russia, did not hold out for very long, however. In Vilna it appeared for two weeks in all, for it was closed down on April 18, 1919 when the Polish Army entered the city.

In the short period that Vilna was under the second occupation of the Red Army, in August 1920, the Jewish Communists managed to bring out an organ of their own. The municipal council of the revolution, it is true, was at first opposed to the appearance of a special paper in Yiddish, arguing that the Russian paper *Krasnoye Znamia* (The Red Flag) definitely met the demands of the Communists of all nationalities. The Jewish Communists, however, succeeded in convincing the members of the Council that their main intention was to combat the "reactionary" elements among the Jewish population in the city. This reason convinced them and permission was granted. The main innovation in the paper was that of its new form of spelling. For the first time a Yiddish paper appeared in Vilna which adopted the spelling in vogue in Soviet Russia, for the Hebrew words absorbed by the Yiddish language were distorted beyond recognition.

The regime in Vilna had changed nine times during the period 1914–1922. Whenever the regime in the city changed the Jewish community was the first victim of the black forces among their Polish, Byelorussian and Lithuanian neighbours. The soldiers of the Red Army, who ostensibly fought for the equality of man regardless of national affiliation, also staged pogroms among the Jews, pillaging Jewish property, not to speak of the fact that during the two Soviet occupations they destroyed the cultural, social and national life of the community, hundreds of Jews being sent to prison or sentenced to exile.

The most horrible disaster of all, however, was experienced by the Jewish community during the first Polish occupation in April 1919. The Polish legionnaires fought street battles with the retreating soldiers of the Red Army. Every Jew that happened to come their way was regarded as a "Bolshevik" and so doomed to death. Women and children were trodden under the hooves of their horses. Jewish property was free for all. Thousands of Jews were locked be-

hind bars and sentenced to exile. Among the hundreds of victims were also many intellectuals. The writer A. Veiter was shot, together with scores of Jews, in one of the suburbs of the town. Leib Yaffe and Shmuel Niger were arrested in the street, Polish legionnaires ill-treating them and leading them through the streets of the town as they were bleeding from the beatings they received. Among those arrested were the communal workers Dr. Jacob Wigodski, Dr. Zemach Shabad and Rabbi Yitzhak Rubinstein.

But, it was particularly in those black days that Jewish Vilna revealed itself anew as a fortress of the Jewish spirit and creativeness. One of the wonders of that bloodstained period is the fact that when the storm subsided there appeared on the very same day, May 9, 1919, two daily papers —*Yudishe Zeitung* around which the Zionist circles rallied, and *Tog,* brought out by the democratic Yiddishists. The two papers called for national unity in face of the dangers lurking from the outside.

The Zionist organ called for a renewal of the national spirit and for an exhibition of Jewish pride, stressing the lesson that was to be learned from the bloody events in recent times and advocating the aspiration for true and full freedom for the Jewish people on the soil of their national homeland. *Yudishe Zeitung* devoted considerable space in its first issues to the memory of the martyrs of the pogroms. The editor-in-chief of the paper was Dr. Jacob Wigodski, who had recently been released from prison. He was succeeded by Leib Yaffe. In the middle of September Leib Yaffe went on Aliyah to Eretz Israel and his place on the editorial board was taken over by Dr. Regensburg. The material situation of the paper was very bad, however. In its second year of appearance it was printed on coloured paper of a very bad quality, and in the end had to be printed on cheap packing paper. But even these retrenchments proved of no avail. When the printing workers began making demands for improved wages the paper was forced to close down, the last issue appearing in June 1920. In all, 319 numbers of the paper were brought out.

Tog underwent a similar process. In the initial period of its appearance this anti-Zionist paper also called for national unity, for the re-building of the ravages of war and the renewal of Jewish social and cultural life.

The group of democratic keyworkers who initiated the publication of the paper declared itself responsible for its publication. Later on the paper was organised on a co-operative basis. Towards the end of the year changes were made in the composition of the editorial staff. The first to leave was the writer S. An-ski, on account of ill-health; S. Niger and Max Weinreich emigrated to America; others left on account of the paper's serious financial situation which forced the cooperative to reduce salaries to a mini-



A.I. Goldshmidt



Max Weinreich

mum. *Tog,* like its competitor *Yudishe Zeitung* began to be printed on cheap coloured paper. However, the closing down of the paper was brought about by an external factor, namely the entrance of the Red Army in August 1920. The revolutionary council took immediate steps to close down the "bourgeois" and the "nationalist" press.

Tog renewed its appearance under the Lithuanian regime and continued its previous numeration (issue No. 368). As hitherto, the paper was printed on cheap coloured paper but its format was enlarged. The paper's material situation somewhat improved and continued its appearance until October 8, 1920 when the city was occupied by the forces of the Polish General Zeligowski. After the establishment of the government of "Inner Lithuania", under the patronage of the General, the paper resumed its appearance, this time under a new name—*Unzer Tog.* In February 1921, responsibility for the editorship of the paper was taken over by J. Becker and Zalman Reisin, and after the retirement



Jewish newspapers in the Vilna Hall at Beit Lohamei Hagetaot Kibbutz in Israel

of the former, Zalman Reisin continued for many years to be its sole editor. *Unzer Tog* continued its appearance also after the final annexation of Vilna to Poland.

The second Polish occupation under the command of General Zeligowski was also accompanied by bloody excesses against the Jewish population. The Poles wreaked vengeance on the Jews for their two-fold "sin"—in that during the period of the Soviet occupation in August 1920, they saluted the Red conqueror, and in the short six-week period of the Lithuanian regime they collaborated with the new ruler and sent their representatives to the provisional government. However, when the pogroms of the first days of conquest in which eight Jews were killed, woman were raped, scores of Jews were wounded and hundreds were thrown into prison—had died down, the Poles began courting the Jewish population in the town. Their intention was to attract as many Jewish voters as possible for a Polish Vilna in a plebiscite that was to be held in the city on the recommendation of the League of Nations.

In the end the idea of a plebiscite was dropped and the Poles who had announced the holding of elections to the Sejm (parliament) of "Inner Lithuania" were again interested in the Jewish vote and allowed the community freedom of organisation and expression. The Jews who recalled the suffering and the disasters brought upon them by the Polish conquest did not participate in the elections (which were boycotted also by the Lithuanians and the Byelorussians), but exploited the interim period to develop ramified cultural and social activities.

During that period of relative calm, there appeared in Vilna, in addition to *Yudishe Zeitung* and *Unzer Tog*, three other daily papers. The Zionist Movement renewed the publication of its organ, this time under the name of *Der Fraind*. The first issue appeared on January 9, 1921, under the editorship of Moshe Cohen. *Nayes* was an independent daily paper brought out by a cooperative of editorial and printing workers. Its first issue appeared on November 8, 1920. The paper laid stress on the informative side rather than on the ideological-publicistic aspects. It did not hold out, however, from the financial point of view, and closed down a fortnight after its first appearance.

The third paper *Der Nayer Morgen,* was an unusual phenomenon in Jewish public life in Vilna. It was founded

by and received clandestine support from the Polish Government with a view to inculcating a Polish orientation in the Jewish population. It was published and edited by a Jew named J. Kronnenberg who had arrived in Vilna from Central Poland. Most likely he was sent especially by the Warsaw Government to conduct propaganda for a Polish Vilna among the Jewish population in the city, which constituted almost 40% of its residents. The Jews of Vilna, however, were able to discern immediately that Kronnenberg's paper was a strange element in the city and simply refused to buy it. The financial problem, however, apparently did not worry the publisher of *Nayer Morgen*. He reduced the price of his paper to half that of the existing daily papers, printed it on good quality paper and gave it an attractive external appearance. His efforts, however, proved in vain, and in the end the financiers of the paper realised that they were simply wasting their money. Most of the articles in the paper advocating a Polish Vilna, were written by Kronnenberg himself under various pseudonyms. The paper was closed down shortly after celebrating with great ostentation the appearance of its 100th number. Kronnenberg disappeared and returned to the place whence he had come. In all, 138 issues of the paper appeared before it was closed down on August 25, 1921.

Zeit, the first Zionist daily to appear in Vilna after the final annexation of the city to the Polish Republic, was to accompany the national-minded Jewish public in "Jerusalem of Lithuania" and its environs down to the outbreak of World War II.

The first years of stabilisation of the Polish regime in the city were marked by vibrant political and cultural activity in the Jewish community. The other national minorities, however, such as the Lithuanians and Byelorussians, were hard hit by the colonisation campaign of the Warsaw Government in the Vilna region, while the Jewish community remained an impermeable fortress insofar as Polish cultural influence was concerned. The competition between the Zionist and the Yiddishist camps also tended to step up cultural activities in each of them.

The appearance of *Zeit* was in large measure an outcome of the clash in the Jewish community between these two rival camps. The most widely read daily in those days was *Unzer Tog,* whose editor Zalman Reisin combated the Zion-



Zeit, *Zionist daily, Vilna, 1924–1939*

ist Movement with great zeal. On the other hand, the Jewish national camp was opposed by the anti-Zionist religious circles of the Agudah. The founding of a separate Zionist newspaper was put into effect in 1924 when the support of merchant circles was secured for the paper. The names of some of them appeared from time to time as responsible editors of the paper. For some time the well-known activist in merchant circles—Abraham Zeidschnur, and subsequently of Pinhas Burstein—were responsible editors. The living spirit in the paper in its early stages and its actual editor was Dan Kaplanovitz, a veteran journalist. He himself used to write most of the leaders, publicistic articles, and articles on local themes. Kaplanowitz was a prolific writer in a clear and popular style, and at the same time a man of great modesty. Only at rare intervals would he sign his articles with his full name; generally he would remain satisfied with the letter "D" or the pen-name "Don". Kaplanovitz did not desist from the menial jobs in the paper either. He would himself polish up, translate or subedit material. He was greatly beloved in journalistic and writers' circles in Vilna. He was among the first members of the Jewish Writers and Journalists' Association in the city and from time to time served as member of its Executive. His health was impaired in the early 1930s when it turned out that he was suffering from an incurable disease. He died in 1932.

Among the pillars of *Zeit* was the writer and journalist Chaim Levin. In his publicistic articles he would take to

task the Yiddishist camp. At the same time he used to publish stories and articles marked by a warm sense of humanity, in the literary supplements of the Friday editions. Levin worked on *Zeit* until the last day of its publication at the outbreak of the War and was killed in the Vilna Ghetto in the autumn of 1941.

In the late 1920s there arrived in Vilna the man who was to be editor of *Zeit* for the last 7–8 years of the paper's



A.I. Grodzenski



Aaron Cincinnatus

existence—Aaron Cincinnatus. He had commenced his journalistic activity in the Jewish student leaflets at the University of Vilna, and quickly gained fame as one of the most illustrious journalists in the city. As from the middle of the 1920s he served as acting editor and when Eastern and Northern Poland were occupied by the Red Army in the middle of September 1939 he was exiled to Russia together with the majority of the Zionist keyworkers in the city. His wife and two daughters remained in Vilna and met their death in the Nazi "Aktion" at the outgoing of Yom Kippur in the year 1941. At the end of the War, Cincinnatus returned to Poland and subsequently moved to Paris where he engaged for some time in journalistic work before coming on Aliyah to Israel.

Among the regular contributors to *Zeit* was Dr. Mark Dvozhetzki who began by writing articles for the paper in 1926, while still a student in France. After returning to Vilna he wrote reviews of Hebrew books and articles on events in the Jewish world as well as reports on local events.

Zeit always tried not to take sides with any of the trends in the Zionist camp. At its inception the main influence on the paper was wielded by the General Zionists, but following the split in the Movement the paper avoided taking sides with any of the factions and gradually became the platform of the members of all the Zionist Movements in the city. Thanks to this attitude it acquired a wide circle of readers. While in Vilna itself the circulation of the Yiddishist *Tog* exceeded that of the Zionist organ, since Vilna was the fortress of the Bund and the Folkists, in the townlets and Jewish communities around Vilno, *Zeit* had a larger circulation than the organ of the Yiddishist camp.

The oldest of the Jewish dailies appearing in Vilna at the outbreak of World War II was *Vilner Tog*. It was the only daily paper which went back to the years of World War I, and which appeared uninterruptedly throughout the years of the Polish regime down to the entrance of the Red Army after the outbreak of World War II. It was a Leftist, anti-Zionist paper, which rallied around it the Yiddishist camp of all shades of opinion—from the Communists who worked in the Underground, to the Folkists. For almost 20 years, from February 1921 until October 1939, the paper was edited by Zalman Reisin. A native of the Minsk district and the son of a family of writers, he left for Warsaw in his



Vilner Tog, *Left-oriented daily, Vilna, 1921–1939*

youth and there commenced his journalistic and literary activity. When the city was occupied by the Germans in World War I, he moved over to Vilna where he soon found a place for himself among intellectual circles, and was appointed lecturer in the Yiddish language at the Teachers' Seminary. He was among the founders of the Jewish Writers and Journalists Association in the city and, later on, among the founders of YIVO, the Jewish Scientific Institute.

One of the goals that he constantly kept before his eyes was the crystallisation of a uniform Yiddish language. He worked incessantly for the improvement of the language and wrote a series of Yiddish grammar books. He looked upon his "Lexicon of Jewish Literature and Journalism" as his life's work. On account of his great zeal for the Yiddish language he was dubbed "the Yiddishist among Yiddishists".

After taking over the editorship of *Tog,* Reisin imbued the paper with his zealous and militant character. He used to attack Zionism and the Hebrew language with great ferocity. But despite his unrelenting war on Zionism, Reisin was a nationalist Jew in his own way, and took up a proud stand against the Polish reaction and the antisemitic government. Reisin was a leading representative of the Yiddishist intellectual circles and in his writings gave expression to his outlooks which, in essence, were "a struggle for equality of rights locally". In this spirit he trained a whole generation of young journalists and writers. Reisin exploited his contacts with well-known writers who, in the early years of the century, emigrated from Eastern Europe to America—among them his brother Abraham Reisin and his sister Sarah Reisin, and secured their consent to publish their works in his paper. Due to this, the literary supplement of *Tog* attained a standard that few Jewish papers in the world could compete with.

On account of the Leftist tendencies of the editor and his staff, *Tog* was constantly threatened with closure by the authorities on the slightest contravention of censorship laws. Nonetheless, the paper never deflected from the line that it had set itself, nor did it tone down its militant character. When the paper was closed down one day its name was changed to *Haintiker Tog* and continued publication.

It was the irony of fate that Reisin was often suspected of Communism by the Polish authorities and regarded even by many in the Bund and Folkist circles as a veiled Communist, was among the first to be arrested by the Soviet authorities when the Red Army occupied the town in 1939. Even before the city was transferred to independent Lithuania in October, he was sent East together with hundreds of other political prisoners. But he was among the few who did not succeed in arriving at their place of exile. At Polotzk the "most dangerous among the enemies of the Proletarian regime" were removed from the train and shot on the spot. Among them was Zalman Reisin.

Both the regular members of the staff of *Tog* and the contributors from the outside looked upon their work on the paper as a cultural and social mission. The paper served them as an important medium for the inculcation of their Socialist ideas into the masses who were given to constant economic stress owing to the fact that the city was cut off from its old economic ties with Russia and Lithuania and the measures taken by the antisemitic Polish population against Jewish commerce. On the cultural plane the paper laboured for an improvement of the Yiddish language and the dissemination of its literature among the masses.

The end of *Tog* was no less tragic than that of its editor-in-chief. On the night of September 17, 1939, when the Soviet tanks arrived to the outskirts of the city, a tragedy took place in the modest editorial rooms of the paper on Gdanska Street. The members of the editorial board who, for long years, had shouldered the burden of spreading their ideas in the Jewish community, split into two factions. The Communists among them who for many years had kept their illegal activities dark from their colleagues, reared their heads and demanded that the Red Army be greeted in an article of welcome. The Bundists refused to do so. In the end the anti-Communists emerged victorious and the paper appeared the following day with a page of news alone. Two days later the Communists arrived with an order from the city governor that the paper should be handed over to them. That very same day Zalman Reisin and his son Shaul, who was one of his regular assistants on the paper, were arrested. But neither did the new editors of the paper enjoy the patronage of the new rulers of the city for very long. The paper was closed down a week after the Soviet authorities had taken over Vilna.

Vilner Radio, the evening paper, commenced publication

on January 19, 1930. Actually it was a Vilna edition of *Warshever Radio,* published under an agreement between the administration of the Warsaw paper and its Vilna distributor and publisher, Chaim Kopelovitz. Several thousand copies of *Warshever Radio* used to be sent by express train to Vilna editorial staff to fill in. The latter filled them with the latest news as well as local news and short articles of interest to the Vilna reader.

This attempt, which at first seemed to be very complicated, proved to be workable, and before long this Warsaw-Vilna paper acquired an extensive readership—almost 3,000 copies on weekdays and 4,000 copies on Fridays. The new paper began to compete with the mass evening paper *Ovent Kurier*. The two evening papers which were non-party, and in private ownership, took on a clear line on the appearance of the competitor: *Ovent Kurier* inclined more to the Yiddishist camp whereas *Radio* drew closer to the Zionist public. In the first two years of its appearance *Vilner Radio* was in the ownership of Chaim Kotlovitz, but in 1932, on account of the difficulties of circulation and advertisements heaped up on its way by *Ovent Kurier,* he gave up his ownership and the paper was organised on a cooperative basis under the supervision of the Warsaw administration. (Chaim Kotlovitz came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel in 1934.) The appearance of *Vilner Radio* was stopped at the outbreak of the War on September 1, 1939. While the other local papers managed to bring out several additional issues



Vilner Radio, *non-party evening daily, Vilna, 1930–1939*

until the occupation of the city by the Red Army, *Vilner Radio* was precluded from doing so on account of the interruption of communications between Vilna and the capital, on which the supply of the inside pages of the paper was dependent.

Ovent Kurier, also an independent evening paper, was founded by the publisher and printer Aaron Rosental in 1916. During the War, however, the paper did not hold out for very long and, like other daily papers, soon disappeared from the arena. When publication was renewed in 1923 by the Rosental family, under the editorship of A.I. Grodzenski, it took the readership by storm and achieved unprecedented heights from the point of view of circulation and social composition. Everyone read the paper—merchants, artisans, members of the middle classes, old and young. Above all, its appearance was eagerly looked forward to by the Jewish women with a reading knowledge on account of its serialised novels. *Ovent Kurier* used to reprint the novels appearing in the American Jewish press in return for a token payment and sometimes without payment at all. Perhaps the following incident will bear out the importance of the serialised stories for the paper.

The World Jewish press had come out very sharply against the Polish Government for failing to defend its Jewish citizens. The Government reacted by prohibiting the importation of Jewish papers from abroad. Realising that the success of *Ovent Kurier* was dependent on the continued publication of "the novel", the editor called an urgent consultation of his staff; suddenly one of the typesetters, Tarkel by name, rose to announce that he was prepared to continue writing the story to the end and, within a few hours, turned in the closing chapter of the novel, bringing it to a tragic end with all its heroes drowned at sea. When the chapter appeared the following day, the women of Vilna shed many a tear over the tragic fate of their heroes.

Ovent Kurier gained its popularity not only on account of the serialised stories that it published but thanks mainly to its editor A.I. Grodzenski, who was an illustrious journalist, quick to react the events. A scholar, he revealed in his youth, an "unorthodox" tendency, left the Yeshiva where he studied, devoted himself to secular subjects and joined the Leftist youth circles. During World War I, he wandered

together with scores of thousands of Jewish refugees, to Central Russia and when the "Pale of Residence" decree was abolished, arrived to Moscow. There he met with a serious accident. On crossing the street, he was run over by a tram; both his legs were injured and he had to spend the rest of his life in a wheelchair. He was now a triple invalid because he both stammered and was hard of hearing from infancy. Nonetheless, nature recompensed him by a natural bent for writing and by sharpness of mind. On his arrival to Vilna, his editorship of *Ovent Kurier* speedily transformed the paper into the most widely circulated daily in town and surroundings. He filled the majority of its pages with articles, feuilletons, discussions on topical questions and reactions to events. He was the most widely quoted writer in the debates of amateur "politicians" as well as in intellectual circles. The local Polish press would react to his articles because it regarded him as a measuring rod for the trend of thought in the local Jewish community. When the Jewish students at the Vilna University replied to the antisemitic pogromists in kind, killing one of their number, it came out with an article entitled: "Blessed be the hands that did so", which aroused the ire of the Polish press throughout the country as well as of many Jews. Even in the period between October 1939 and June 1940, when in the "general elections" held under the patronage of the Soviet regime, over 98% of the population voted in favour of a Soviet Lithuania and the annexation of the country to the Soviet Union, *Ovent Kurier* continued its appearance.

Fate willed that the editor of *Ovent Kurier,* whose articles sustained Vilna Jewry with information about what was happening in their world for a period of 17 years, served through his death as a warning that the beginning of the end of that splendid community was approaching. The extermination of the Vilna Jewish community commenced in the first weeks of the German occupation. The Jews who were first taken to the Lukiszki Prison, were taken from there in the dead of night to the Ponary Forest at the outskirts of the city, and shot. In those days no one imagined that such mass murder was possible and all in the Ghetto were inclined to believe that the men had been taken to labour camps. When it became known that the invalid Grodzenski was among those sent to "work", their hearts were filled with doubts. He revealed himself in his full courage even when facing the murderers. When told to take his crutches and mount the truck he announced that he was incapable of such physical effort and would not budge from his wheelchair. They took hold of him by force and threw him onto the truck from the window of his room. How he marched to the pit where the Jews were shot will never be known, because no eye witnesses remained to tell the story.

In 1933 there began to appear in Vilna a third evening paper *Vilner Express,* under the editorship of Shlomo Beilis. It was a sensational paper without any clear political line, and competed with the two older evening papers in price, in that its published fixed it at half the price of the existing papers—five Groschen instead of ten. For the Jews of Vilna, who were very poor, this reduction in price made all the difference insofar as choice of paper was concerned.

The outbreak of World War II put an end to the wonderful creativeness of Vilna's writers and journalists. With the entrance of the Red Army and the establishment of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic, Vilna Jewry was given two years respite from the point of view of physical existence. In this short period of independent Lithuania, Vilna Jewry awakened once more to spiritual and cultural activity. During that time the "Jerusalem of Lithuania" served as a temporary haven of refuge for thousands of refugees from occupied Poland, among them hundreds of writers and intellectuals. When Lithuania was annexed to the Soviet Union on June 15, 1940, all Jewish activity—public as well as cultural—came to an end. The staff of the only Jewish paper that continued to appear in Vilna from June 1940 until June 22, 1941—the day of the outbreak of the War between Hitlerite Army and Soviet Russia—*Vilner Emes* continued to disseminate their "truth" in the distorted Soviet spelling of the paper's name.



Platform party at celebration of 100th anniversary of the Jewish press in Vilna

Papers in Bialystok

Abraham Zbar

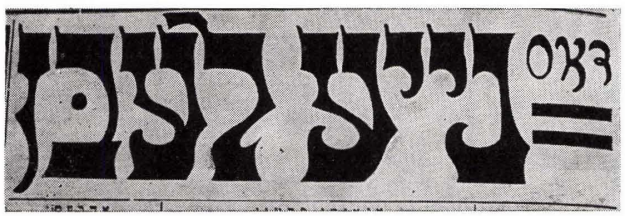
Relatively speaking, Bialystok was a modest cultural centre in Jewish life although several journalists and writers of considerable importance, who were in need of a framework for intellectual cooperation, were resident in the city. Indeed, these writers succeeded in turning out quite a number of creations showing great ability and thought in various fields.

These activities, however, involved great difficulties since there were very few platforms for literary work in Bialystok itself. In all, there was one daily paper called *Dos Naye Leben,* subsequently renamed *Unzer Leben*—and another "half-paper" and a weekly. The half paper called *Express* carried only a local supplement to a paper published in Warsaw.

Although there was a Jewish population of some 70,000 in Bialystok, there were insufficient media and channels in the city to serve the literary urge of its Jewish writers and artists.

The main prop of the writers and journalists resident in Bialystok was the daily paper *Unzer Leben,* edited by Pesach Kaplan, which enabled writers to implement their urge to produce publicistics as well as literature, criticisms and poetry within the scope of the paper. Bialystok, however, did boast of a number of professionals in the field of journalistic reporting.

Several years after the founding of the paper in 1918, shortly before the end of the War, the paper found itself in financial difficulties and so all its personnel—journalists, administrative workers and printers—united in a cooperative,



Dos Naye Lebn, *non-party daily, Bialystok, 1918–*



Unzer Lebn, *non-party daily, Bialystok, ?–1939*

and the name of the paper was changed into *Unzer Leben.* The living spirit in the paper was, as we have mentioned, Pesach Kaplan, a first-rate journalist and writer. He wanted to assume responsibility for a journal that was not dependent on others, and responsibility for him implied full authority to make decisions on all matters arising in the paper. He was a man of many parts and his many-sided personality embellished not only the daily paper that he edited, for he gained renown throughout Polish Jewry and far beyond. He began his career in Bialystok as a teacher. Subsequently he graduated from the Teachers' Seminary at Grodno and received a concession from the Tsarist authorities to conduct a school for Russian and Hebrew. Kaplan soon became known in Hebrew publicistics of the beginning of the century, for his writings were published in *Hamelitz, Hatzefira, Hatzofe* and other Hebrew journals. Apart from essays, the young writer published also stories and poems.

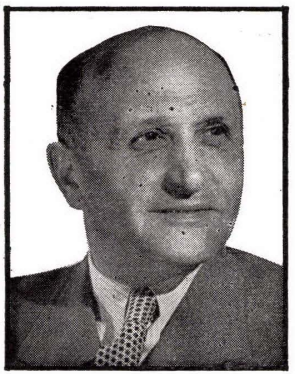
Shortly before the outbreak of World War I, Pesach Kaplan published a Hebrew Reader, by the name of "Mikra v'Limud" as well as a book on the poetry of the Bible (lyrical and epic). Kaplan was also a distinguished translator and, among other things, tranlated into Yiddish novels by Heinrich Mann and Vladimir Korolenko as well as Krylov's Parables.

Kaplan had also a musical bent and brought out several collections of songs for choirs and for children. He himself organised the Jewish Male Choir in Bialystok which, judged by its size, was the first in the world, and acted as conductor of that ensemble of hundreds of participants.

Kaplan wrote considerably for Jewish papers in New York, particularly for *Forverts,* whose editor-in-chief was Abe Cahan, a close friend of his, who suggested that he settle in

New York and promised him a salary three-fold that of his income in Białystok. He rejected the offer, however, because he was not inclined to materialism and was loathe to forsake his paper in Bialystok or part from the scores of his journalistic friends whom he guided and taught and who looked up to him as sons to their father.

As a writer, Kaplan was a veritable phenomenon. In a day's work he managed to write, apart from a leading article for the paper (which was often reproduced also in the Polish press), a feuilleton on a topical theme and often also theatrical or cinema reviews, but found time also to write some article on the history of the city of Bialystok or on the history of East European Jewry. Historical themes were his favourites. People wondered how that thin and short-statured man, with a perpetual cough, managed so much in a short day's work. Wags among his acquaintances used to say that Pesach Kaplan was capable of writing simultaneously a political article with his right hand and a feuilleton with his left.



Abraham Zbar



Pesach Kaplan

During the War, Kaplan remained in the Bialystok Ghetto, where he died and had the privilege of being brought to honourable burial. After his death, a poem on the Ghetto was found on his desk. He had written it shortly before he died. The poem was set to music and was sung in the Bialystok Ghetto and in many other Ghettoes, and continued to be sung even after the liberation from the Nazi conquest.

Grodno press

Dov Rabin

The city of Grodno is situated at the ethnical meeting point of the Lithuanians, the Byelorussians and the Poles, who governed it at various periods. Located within the Tsarist Russian Empire, Grodno was the government centre of an extensive region and a large military fortress.

The Jewish community in Grodno (Horodno) was one of the earliest and most important Jewish communities in Lithuania. For many generations the Jews had constituted the majority of the town's population. In 1914 the Jewish population of the city reached the figure of 40,000—about two-thirds of the general population—and they subsisted on commerce, handicrafts and industry—mainly the tobacco industry—and various services. Just before the Nazi invasion there were about 24,500 Jews in Grodno, constituting a kaleidoscope of the various public trends in Jewry. Ever since 1781, Grodno was also the Jewish printing centre in Lithuania, and hundreds of Hebrew as well as Yiddish



Group of Jewish journalists in Grodno (1932)

books were printed there, mainly in the printing establishment of the brothers Rom, which had been set up in this city before its transfer to Vilna (the Horodno Press and the Vilna-Horodno Press).

A periodical in Yiddish, the only one in the city in Tsarist days, appeared in Grodno in January 1901. It was an underground leaflet of the local branch of the Bund Party, and was named *Grodner Fabriksbletl* (the leaflet of the Grodno factory) published by the "Grodno Social-Democratic Committee". The leaflet was distributed in conspiratorial fashion, and in the course of several years only a few issues of it came out.

From May 1912 until August 1915, there appeared a Jewish daily in Russian—the first in the city—called *Nashe Utro* (Our Morning), which regarded it as its function to ward off the attacks of the Russian "Black Hundred" on the Jews. The editor and publisher of *Nashe Utro* was the printer Meilachowitch, who was oppressed by the Russian authorities from the first day of its publication and often fined or arrested. When the German Army approached the city in World War I, the daily ceased publication, but was renewed several years later by the same printer who this time devoted part of the paper also to Yiddish. In actual fact *Nashe Utro* served as the nucleus of the Jewish daily press in Grodno. At the beginning of the century there appeared for some time also a second Jewish daily in Russian.

The German Occupation authorities were interested in winning over the sympathy of the non-Russian population to Germany, and insofar as the Jews were concered, the Yiddish laguage which has its origins in German also appeared to them as a means of Germanising them in the long run. With this end in view, they permitted the staging of various performances in Yiddish, and as from February 1916, they added to their paper, the daily *Grodner Zeitung,* which began publication in December, 1915, with a Polish supplement, also a page in Yiddish (two pages on Friday). Baruch Kassin, a keyworker of "Zeirei Zion" before the War, was appointed editor of the Yiddish section. He was to go over to the Communist Camp in later years (he died in the Holocaust in Lithuania).

The paper, as well as its Yiddish section, (which in the course of time was given the name of *Grodner Zeitung in Yiddish),* had an official stamp, and the material produced


Pojedyńczy Nr. 10 Pf. Einzelnummer 10 Pfg.

Grodnoer Zeitung

Sonntag, 3. September 1916.

Nummer 185 2. Jahrgang

גראָדנער צייטונג

אמטלעכער בעריכט.

Grodner Zeitung, *German Military Govt. paper, Grodno (1916)*

in it was generally a Germanised Yiddish translation of the German paper. The editorial board of the daily included also German-Jewish officers, among them the editor-in-chief and the censor Schiff, and the man responsible for the political section, Heinrich (Chaim) Eismann. The paper continued to appear until the end of the War and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in November 1918.

The "new" German regime lifted the prohibition on the appearance of a Russian press so that the publication of *Nashe Utro* was renewed by its former printer and editor, this time with the addition of two pages in Yiddish and a Yiddish title *Unzer Morgen* (Our Morning). Kassin was appointed editor of these pages.

Grodno received a purely Yiddish daily on the publication of *Grodner Moment* in September 1924, edited and published by the journalist David Berezovski, who struggled against the Polish authorities, which from the outset took up a negative attitude towards the Jews, and courageously reacted to various internal problems and manifestations in the Grodno Jewish community. He also used to write for the Jewish press outside his city, including the New York *Forwerts,* in which he published a detailed report of the pogram against the Jews in Grodno in 1935—which, for reasons of the Polish censorship, he could not publish in his own paper.

In public affairs he was particularly active in the interests of the Jewish theatrical troupes in the city. It is reported



Group of Jewish journalists and community leaders in Grodno

that during the Holocaust he became unhinged on account of the great suffering that he had to undergo, and died together with the whole of the Jewish population in the Grodno Ghetto.

The non-party *Grodner Moment* appeared for four years in a four-page format on weekdays and in six to eight pages on Fridays, and established a place for itself among the local readership which evinced interest in local reports and advertisements, in announcements of local events and meetings, etc. In fact, in every kind of Jewish life in Grodno. However, the difficulties that accompanied the publication of a local paper, induced the publishers to reach an agreement with a Yiddish paper published in Warsaw—*Unzer Express*. Ever since January 1928, this paper would be sent to Grodno and reach its destination at dawn with its external pages left blank to be filled with local material. The front page also carried a special title *Unzer Grodner Express*. In 1932, the paper resumed its original name *Grodner Moment* and continued to appear until the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

Among the members of the editorial staff of the Grodno *Moment,* special mention should be made of Zvi Marlovski and Noah Bass. The former was a journalist and public figure among the first Poalei Zion in the city; the latter among the leaders of the Jewish community in Grodno and, until the Soviet occupation in 1939, the pillar of the Zionist Movement and one of the initiators and activists of the Hebrew educational network.

Other Jewish dailies from Warsaw also tried to bring out Grodno editions. Among these were *Grodner Radio* and *Haintike Nayes* in 1931, and at a certain period in 1929 *Grodner Kurier* which, later on, in 1933–1935, appeared as an afternoon edition of *Grodner Moment*. This paper succeeded in getting the better of the Polish censorship during the 1935 pogrom by printing two allegorical stories about



Grodner Moment, *non-party daily, Grodno, 1924–*

"disasters" that were supposed to have taken place in South America. Jews who could read "between the lines" were able to apply the stories to local events.

In the years 1936–1938, there appeared another non-party daily *Grodner Leben,* under the editorship of Samuel Garber, a well-known figure in the city, who was regarded as the father of the Jewish theatre in Grodno. On the outbreak of World War II he was among the founders of the partisan regiment "Orlianski" and extended medical assistance to Jews who had escaped from the concentration camp to the forests. In one of these he met his death in December, 1942.

Unzer Leben, the first Yiddish Zionist weekly, appeared in Grodno from 1916 until 1927. It was edited by Yitzhak Solovechik, leader of the Hitachdut party in the city. Bund, too, brought out a weekly in Grodno—*Grodner Shtime,* under the editorship of Moshe Rubinstein (at present editor of *Di Shtime* in Mexico).

As from June 1933 there appeared in Grodno a weekly of the Eretz Israel Labour Movement—*Unzer Wort.* Its editors used to change frequently. There also appeared in Grodno in Hebrew the organ of the "Tarbut Educational Institution". Three issues of this publication appeared (in 1929, 1937 and 1939).



Unzer Vort, *weekly, Zionist Labour, Grodno, 1933–*

Lubliner Togblat

Elhanan Horowitz

Three Jewish daily papers appeared in Lublin in the period between the two world wars: *Lubliner Togblat, Lubliner Nayes* and *Lubliner Express,* but only the first of these appeared throughout this period without interruption.

The first steps to bring out a Jewish daily paper in Lublin were taken after the occupation of the city by the Austrian Army in World War I. The Russian Army had left Lublin in July 1915, and in the "period of transition" it was impossible to receive Jewish papers from Warsaw which had been occupied by the German Army in August 1915. During the last three years of the War, Lublin had been the capital city of all the occupied area of Austria-Hungary in former Russian Poland. Although Germany and Austria-Hungary were allies, the Germans took stringent steps to prevent the maintenance of any relationship between the two areas of occupation. From many points of view, the Austrian occupation was regarded as "more liberal", but it was difficult to obtain a permit for the publication of a paper in Lublin, whereas the German occupation authorities in Warsaw did allow the publication of *Haint* and *Moment* on condition that they printed the war communiques, not in Yiddish but in German, albeit in Jewish characters.

In order to obtain a permit for the publication of a Jewish paper in Lublin—*Lubliner Togblat*—special representations had to be made by Professor Meir Balaban who, during World War I, served as military chaplain and as director of the Division for Jewish Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian occupation authorities in Poland. He obtained the permit with the assistance of his secretary, Arie Rubinlicht, and the people concerned erred in thinking that *Lubliner Togblat* would bring in large profits as a paper circulated "in all areas of the Austrian occupation". A long time passed until the permit was issued and an administrative director could be found. When the first World War ended, Lublin descended from its former greatness, for it ceased to be the capital of the Austrian area of occupation.

The Jews of Lublin again became accustomed to reading the papers appearing in Warsaw, and so *Lubliner Togblat* had to remain satisfied with serving as a provincial paper which was read in addition to the Warsaw dailies, mainly on account of the local news that it provided.

The first editor of *Lubliner Togblat* was the veteran journalist and researcher Shaul Stupnitzki, who made great efforts in order to raise his paper's cultural standard. Stup-



S. Stupnitzki

nitzki had been a member of the editorial staff of the Warsaw *Haint* from 1908 until 1916, when he was appointed editor of the weekly *Dos Folk,* organ of the Folkist party.

Stupnitzki was greatly revered even by his political opponents, although he was a Folkist and opposed Zionism. He had an easy style of writing and was liked by his readers, but his efforts to raise the standard of his paper failed. *Lubliner Togblat* was hard-hit by the impoverishment of the Jews of Lublin since the first World War. Many of the veteran residents of the city had left the town. The Jews of Lublin were among the first to suffer from the pogroms in Poland, which had been liberated in 1919. Recruits to the Polish Army smashed windows in Jewish houses, pillaged shops, maltreated Jews in the streets—60 Jews were wounded and three killed. One of the first tasks of *Lubliner Togblat* in liberated Poland was to publish a list of the victims.

Apart from *Lublinger Togblat* there were two other attempts to bring out Jewish dailies in Lublin, but both of them failed. *Lubliner Togblat* itself had constantly to struggle for its existence and could hardly provide a livelihood even for its editor, Stupnitzki, who worked also for the Warsaw *Moment.* In 1926, he received an invitation to move over to Riga, capital of Latvia, in order to take up the editorship of the local Jewish paper *Frimorgen.* However, he remained there only one year and returned to Poland to resume work on *Lubliner Togblat* and *Moment.*

As a member of the editorial staff of *Moment,* Stupnitzki lived in Warsaw during the last years preceding the Second World War. When the Jewish newspapers closed down and their workers were forced to flee from the Nazis, Shaul Stupnitzki, too, left Warsaw—via Lublin. When he arrived at Lublin he said to his colleagues, "I will travel no further, I haven't got the strength". On September 18, 1939, the Germans entered Lublin and Stupnitzki was among the first hostages to be arrested. He was later allowed to return to Warsaw where he spent some time in the Ghetto of Otwock, near Warsaw, and when the Jews were deported from there in September, 1942, he committed suicide. Others would have it that he died in the Ghetto of Lodz in 1943.

The editorship of *Lubliner Togblat* during the period that Stupnitzki was not in town, was taken over by Yaacov Nissenbaum who defined himself as a non-party Bundist. He was shot in 1941 by the Gestapo who arrested him. He was then an official in the Lublin Judenrat.



Lubliner Togblat, *Folkist daily, Lublin, ?–1939*

In Volhynia and Polesia

Yitzhak Brat

There were many generations of communities of Jews deeply rooted in ancestral tradition, who produced great Rabbinic scholars, writers and poets in the Provinces of Volhynia and Polesia, situated along the frontiers of the Polish Republic, and occupied by the Soviet Union in the year 1939. The towns and townlets scattered throughout these regions were inhabited by masses of Jews many of them workers and labourers who, for long generations, had been steeped in Jewish tradition. Their everyday language was a rich and expressive Yiddish. The Jewish intelligentsia was for the greater part concentrated in the large towns of Rovno, Luck, Pinsk, Brest-Litovsk and others.

Immediately after the first World War, on the rise of the Polish Republic, Jewish public life in these two regions was strengthened and took on new forms while the heads of the Jewish communities, public and party workers, established closer ties with the Jewish masses and endeavoured to intensify public-cultural activities among them.

Rovno was regarded as the capital of Volhynia although the district administration (Wojewodztwo) was situated at Luck. Rovno had the largest Jewish community in Volhynia, and from the economic and public point of view this community exceeded all the other Jewish concentrations in the region and determined the pace of life for the whole district. It was natural, therefore, that the first beginnings of a Jewish press in Volhynia should be made in this city.

Periodicals in the Russian language preceded the periodicals that came out in Yiddish in Rovno. Following the evacuation of the Rovno population in World War I several periodicals were brought out in Russian in 1915. After the Revolution public and political-social life was renewed among the Jewish population and various periodical publications began to be brought out by parties, by Zionists and the Bund. These, however, were not long lived.

In 1918, when the German Army entered Rovno, a newspaper in Russian under the name of *Prigorianski Krai* made its appearance in the city. Officially, its editor was a certain Weis, formerly a Russian Officer, but the paper was in actual fact edited by B. Smolar, a Rovno journalist (subsequently one of the heads of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency). He used to write the leading articles for the paper but the opinions he expressed in them were not looked upon with favour by the German occupation authorities. One day Smolar was summoned to the German military headquarters and warned that if he did not change his tone of writing the authorities would take steps against him and a severe censorship would be imposed upon the paper. The editor was required to submit the manuscript of his leading article every day to the censorship. On one occasion, his article was held up and Smolar was informed that the military government would take action against him, but he had the alternative of resigning from the editorial board. If he did so, they promised to return the manuscript to him and "quash" the whole matter. Smolar left the paper; Weis continued to publish it with the support of the German occupation authorities, but many of the paper's readers dropped out and its circulation was greatly reduced.

After some time a certain Rovno printer, Zalman Graser by name, received a permit to bring out a paper in the Russian language by the name of *Wolynskoie Slowo*. The



Editorial staff of Volyner Zeitung *(1932)*

paper was headed by Smolar and the publication proved to be acceptable to the Jewish population. Later on, a literary-public periodical, by the name of *Zaria* (The Dawn) began to appear and was disseminated mainly among the youth.

In 1922, L. Gottlieb and J. Feigel began to bring out a "daily paper" in Rovno in the form of a leaflet of announcements which used to be distributed in synagogues and other public places. The partnership between the two publishers, however, did not last for very long. The paper was closed down, and in 1924 Feigel founded the first weekly for Volhynia and Polesia named *Di Yudishe Voch,* and edited by S. Shreier (Shrira), one of the central figures in the Hitachdut Party. He invited most of the writers and journalists in the region to work on the paper. This publication, however, was not long-lived. The editor fell foul of the authorities owing to an article that he had written and the paper was closed down. During the period of its existence, many local writers had concentrated around it and so the foundations were laid for a more stable Jewish press in Volhynia to arise in the future.

In the years 1924–26, there appeared in Rovno, in place of the paper that had been closed down, two weeklies—*Volyner Voch* and *Volyner Leben. Voch* was published by L. Gottlieb and *Leben by* Feigel, under the editorship



Jewish papers in District of Volhynia

of M. Holoweszko. *Volyner Leben* was a sort of continuation of *Volyner Voch.* The paper devoted a lot of space to local affairs and well-known journalists worked permanently on it. The publication achieved an important status in the Jewish public life of Volhynia and the opinions expressed by it were valued highly. In the course of time *Volyner Leben* was expanded and began to appear twice a week.

The economic crisis during the Grabski regime, affected also the paper; the number of advertisers in it was greatly reduced and the paper faced closure. It was then that organisational changes were introduced. The editorship and administration of the paper were taken over by Benzion Baranik (Eilon), one of Rovno's gifted journalists and the paper's name was changed to *Volyner Zeitung.* The editor appointed regular correspondents almost in every town and townlet in Volhynia and Polesia, and also invited correspondents in several large cities of Poland and Eretz Israel to contribute to the paper. He also organised local editions of the paper in Ostrow, Dubno and Krzemieniec, the last page in the paper being devoted to local news in each of these localities. The paper as a whole, however, was printed in Rovno. Following Baranik's Aliyah to Eretz Israel, J. Bord was appointed editor.

From time to time the paper changed name *(Volyner Leben, Volyner Zeitung* or *Volyner Nayes)* and existed for fifteen years, from 1924 to 1939.

Other papers published in Rovno were: *Volyner Shtime,* edited by Jagoda and B. Boim, *Dos Naye Wort,* published by D. Gam and edited by S. Wagmeister. For a short time there appeared also a Hebrew fortnightly, entitled *Volynia HaIvrit* (1932) and a literary periodical entitled *Unzer Weg* (1934).

In 1933, an attempt was made to bring out a daily paper in Rovno by the name of *Volyner Yudisher Kurier.* The initiator was the Warsaw journalist, J. Markuze. The paper's basis was an agreement entered into with a daily paper then appearing in Warsaw—*Der Yudisher Kurier*—and the first page of the paper was devoted to local news from Volhynia and Polesia. The paper, however, could not compete with the Warsaw papers and although it appeared regularly, it was forced to close down after several weeks. The paper's failure was due not only to the competition of

the central papers in the Polish capital but also difficulties of transportation. The paper would reach its subscribers a day or sometimes two days late.

The publication of a Yiddish daily in Rovno aroused the ire of the Polish minority in Volhynia. With the support of the Polish Government there appeared a miserable Polish leaflet *Oko Wolynskie,* which instigated against the Jews.

The main reason why the regions of Volhynia and Polesia were in need a local paper was that the large Jewish press in Warsaw did not reflect Jewish life in these provinces and their problems did not find expression in it. This was, of course, unavoidable since conditions of life among the Jews were varied and complex, and it was difficult to direct all that public foment along one groove. This situation, therefore, gave rise to the idea of a local press that would reflect the interests of the Jewish population in and around this provincial city, and defend it against the Polish authorities and all sorts of high-handed elements, such as uncalled for public leaders, and conduct the struggle of Jewish interests in Municipal Councils, direct Zionist and cultural activity, lead the campaign for Aliyah to Eretz Israel for the Zionist funds, and for the Jewish communities.

Jealousy among writers was, of course, one of the reasons for the multiplicity of papers, but there were also papers under the influence of non-Zionist parties. *Volyner Shtime,* for example, was a national paper which was in sharp conflict with *Volyner Leben,* which came under the influence of the Bund. There were Zionists in Rovno who preached moderation. *Volyner Leben* was a militant paper which did not fear the censorship or the local administration, and whenever the paper was closed down by the authorities, it would reappear the following day under another name.

The contributors to the local press did their work on a voluntary basis. These were young people of great enthusiasm who regarded their work on the paper as a mission entrusted to them by the community. They included people of literary ability and the editors always gave encouragement to beginners in journalism.

Pinsk had gained a name far beyond the frontiers of Volhynia and Polesia as a Jewish city, rich in cultural activity, and quite a number of natives of this city occupied positions of importance throughout the Jewish world.

In 1925, the first Jewish paper *Pinsker Shtime*—made



Jewish papers in Pinsk (District of Polesia)

its appearance there, under the editorship of Michael Bolin. The paper appeared regularly every Friday and devoted a lot of space to the Zionist Movement (although the editor himself was not a Zionist), and in the course of time became the semi-official organ of the Zionist organisation in Pinsk. A second paper, by the name of *Pinsker Wort* began appearing in 1931. It was published by a group of printing workers on a cooperative basis, and its responsible editor was first Nissan Rubacha, and then Reuven Furman. In the years 1925–6, the Revisionists, too, began to publish a paper of their own under the name of *Natzionale Vochenshrift.* It was set up by hand, and printed on an old printing press.

Conflicts often broke out in the cooperative of *Pinsker Vort,* and one such conflict led to a split in 1932. The group headed by Mendel Treidman began to publish a third weekly called *Pinsker Voch.* In 1936, a new weekly entitled *Pinsker Leben* made an appearance. These three weeklies used to appear on Fridays and each had a circle of readers of its own. There were, however, families in Pinsk that used to purchase all three papers. The entrance of the Russians to Pinsk (September 1939) put an end to the existence of all the publications.

Each of these three papers always combated the other two. *Pinsker Vort* was a non-party weekly and had the participation of non-party as well as Bundist journalists. *Pinsker Leben,* on the other hand, was close to Polish ruling circles, and from time to time the paper would publish anti-

Zionist articles which would arouse the ire of the Jewish population.

Most of the space in the Pinsk papers was devoted to local affairs, but there used to appear also stories, poems, essays, theatrical and cinema reviews, and articles on topical themes. The local press assisted in the development of Jewish public life in the city. Zionist affairs were given a prominent place in them.

In the early 1920s several attempts were made in Brest-Litovsk (Brisk among Jews) to bring out a periodical paper. These, however, failed in the beginning. In September 1923, the first issue of the weekly *Poleser Shtime,* made its appearance under the editorship of M. Drachle. The publisher of the paper was Dr. Bronislaw Wilner, later to become Deputy Mayor of Pinsk. The paper did not last for very long, but after an interruption of about six months, its appearance was renewed under the editorship of Mordechai Ginsburg, in cooperation with Dr. Wilner. The first issue of the renewed paper appeared in September 1924.

In December 1924, there was an interruption in the publication of the paper once more, but it reappeared in April 1925, under the new name of *Poleser Vochenblat.* The paper proved acceptable to the Jewish population in Brest-Litovsk and environs since it put up a fight for Jewish rights and interests.

The authorities kept a watchful eye on the paper and the district governor (Starosta) was himself a devoted reader of the publication. Despite the strict censorship, however, the weekly always took up a militant stand.

The paper also served the local needs of the Jewish population in Kobryn. A special edition of the paper used to be sent out to that locality and the first page, bearing local news, used to be printed there.


POLESER SZTYME

Nr. 2 (158)

Poleser Shtime, *weekly, Brest-Litowsk (Brzesc), 1923–*

For some time there appeared at Brest-Litovsk also a daily paper named *Poleser Tog,* on the basis of an agreement with the Warsaw *Kurier.* The Warsaw edition of the paper used to arrive to Brest-Litovsk with its first page blank. Here the local news used to be printed and the paper's name would be altered to *Brisker Togblat, Poleser Tog* or *Poleser Express.* And so it came about that Brest-Litovsk had a daily paper of its own.

The first periodical published in Luck in 1926, was called *Volyn.* Its initiators and editors were S. Hazan and Yitzhak Sternfeld. A literary youth circle was engaged at the time in developing intensive cultural activity in Luck, and S. Hazan regarded a journalistic platform as an important medium for the activation of potential forces for the general weal. However, the means required for the implementation of the plan were not forthcoming. Nonetheless, an attempt was made and, seeing that there was no printing in Luck, the first issue was printed in Warsaw. There was no money available for the issue of the second number, and so a partnership was formed of seven or eight people, who raised the sum of 5,000 Zloty and purchased a type-setting machine and other equipment required to bring out the paper. One of the partners allocated a room in his modest home for the printing of the paper and, after an interruption of about one month, the second issue of *Volyn* which had already been set up on its own type-setting machine, appeared on November 19, 1926. The printing press was situated at some distance from the type-setting machine, and so the laid out type print had to be transported by car to the printing press. Hazan relates that one winter's day, as they were transporting the type across the frozen river Stir, the carter suddenly felt the ice breaking under him and the cart was beginning to sink. The layout man succeeded in rescuing the set up material with the greatest difficulty. Despite these difficulties, however, the paper appeared regularly and its readership increased so that the status of *Volyn* was stabilised. The paper continued to appear until the outbreak of World War II.

The first issue of *Kovler Shtime* appeared in 1927, under

the editorship of Z. Jucht, an elementary school teacher and a teacher at "ORT". The paper appeared once a week on Fridays.

Kovel was a large Jewish centre in those days. It had a wide network of schools, numerous public institutions and organisations, so that communal life called for a periodical to reflect this ramified activity.

One of the issues of *Kovler Shtime* of November 1, 1929, bears the inscription "Third Year of Appearance". The paper defines itself as a democratic weekly periodical devoted to literature. The paper was then edited by Jacob Burak, who also used the pseudonym of B. Yakir. The paper existed until the outbreak of World War II.

In another weekly that appeared in Kovel, under the name of *Unzer Leben,* we find similar local news. This paper, too, appeared every Friday and described itself as a "non-party public-literary organ for Volhynia and Polesia".

For some time there appeared in Kovel also a Hebrew and Yiddish monthly called *Al Hamishmar,* which defined itself as an "organ of young national thought". The first issue appeared in January 1922.



Dos Naye Leben, *weekly, Rovno*

A weekly in Mezritch

Mordechai Sinar

There was hardly a Jewish community, no matter how small in Poland in the period between the two World Wars, that did not produce a periodical of its own. The community of Mezritch (Miendzyrzecze) was no exception, but that was in some measure an exceptional townlet in Jewish Poland.

Mezritch regarded itself as standing on a somewhat higher pedestal than townlets of similar size. It was a town whose inhabitants engaged in trade and commerce as well as in handicrafts, and it distinguished itself by a vibrant cultural life and active and creative social activity. The townlet gained fame thanks to its bristle industry, and its tanneries. It was there that the first strike of the brush workers broke out as early as the year 1900. It was only natural, therefore, that it should be fertile ground for a Jewish paper, even before such publication came to be known in other Polish townlets. I have in my possession seven numbers of *Mezritcher Wochenblat* of the years 1928–1929, to which I contributed. From the material printed in these issues, one might be able to compose a complete work of research on the Jewish life in the town during these two years and to describe the links between the local Jewish community and the central Polish and Jewish institutions in Warsaw.

As far back as the year 1913, there appeared in Mezritch a one-time literary collection of 46 pages, entitled *Blihung*



Mezritcher Wochenblat, *weekly, Mezritch, 1926–*

(Blossoming). In the subsequent twelve years there appeared more one-time publications of this nature, such as *Unzer Shul, Der Ruf* and *Mezritcher Folkszeitung.*

When I began to contribute to *Mezritcher Wochenblat,* the editor was Menashe Himmelstein and the publisher—who also participated in the editorial work—was Herschel Boigman. These two edited in 1925 a weekly supplement *Mezritcher Leben* to the weekly *Siedlecer Wochenblat,* which appeared without interruption until the Nazi invasion of Poland. The paper was set entirely by hand. Its first editor was Joseph Danilak, a teacher by profession, who subsequently emigrated to Canada, and the editorship was taken over by Menashe Himmelstein.

The Himmelstein family ran a school for the deaf and dumb, and the special methods of creation in this school gained fame throughout the country, pupils being sent to it from all parts of Poland. Menashe Himmelstein, however, was attracted more to writing than to his family school.

In the first issue of *Mezritcher Wochenblat,* he published a feuilleton entitled *Klein America un grois Kabtsansk** (Little America and Great Kabtsansk). His opening sentences ran: "Our townlet of Mezritch is but a small dot on the map. It has a population of 15,000, of whom 80% are Jews... All of them rally around the boar bristles, or around the "golden hairs" as they are called. There is no time to eat, to think or to do anything else, but to travel about, to make purchases and to do business .. Singers, actor troupes, lecturers organise and fight among themselves in order to win over the favours of the townlet".

Various parties and social and cultural movements were active in the townlet so in the course of time, a single periodical no longer sufficed, and so there began appearing one after the other, the weeklies, some of which took on a party character. In 1932, there began appearing the weekly *Podlasier Zeitung.* In 1934, the first party weekly *Arbeter Shtime* was brought out by Bund. In 1936, the Folkists began publishing their weekly *Mezritcher Leben.* There appeared also at irregular intervals *Arbeter Informator*—an extreme Leftist periodical and *Mezritcher Kleinhendler,* the organ of the petty traders.

The Mezritch weeklies also published columns of news from the surrounding townlets. In *Mezritcher Wochenblat,* there appeared a column of news from the nearby Radzyn; there appeared also reports from Biala Podlaska and Lomza Podlaska.

Finally, I should like to tell about an incident that is indirectly connected with a Mezritch weekly. In 1934, I participated in the Communist paper in Paris *Naye Presse.* In France I was a student without a work permit, and still worse, I was a Communist ... Being in need of an official press card ratified by the Police, I applied to the President of the Trade Union of Foreign journalists in France, Pavel Miliukov, a man who had been Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Kerenski Government and editor of the anti-Soviet *Posledniye Novosti* (the Russian daily in Paris), and told him the truth about my plight. The Association was entitled to admit to membership also journalists on newspapers in foreign languages appearing in France. He advised me to obtain some document from a newspaper abroad, "even fictitious—that would be all right for me and I will see to it that it be all right also for the Police". I wrote to Mezritch and, by return of post, I received a card as correspondent of *Podlasier Zeitung,* and so my name appeared officially on the list of members of the Association beside the name of famous journalists, such as Vladimir Jabotinsky, Alador Thomas, Daniel Czarny and others. In this way, the anti-Communist Miliukov helped a Jewish Communist journalist, who was persecuted in Paris, to obtain a work permit.



Unzer Front, *weekly, organ of Jewish State Party, Warsaw (1935)*

* The name "Kabtsansk" is a play on the word "Kabtsan"—pauper.

The Jewish press in "Manchester of Poland"

A. Wolf Jasny

The first Yiddish daily *Der Fraind* appeared in Petersburg (Leningrad) in 1903. The paper reached the Jewish centres in Poland after a delay of two or three days. In 1905, when every day carried astounding news of the Russian Revolution, this delay caused great annoyance to the Jewish reader, and so the first Yiddish daily was established in Warsaw—*Der Weg*. It was a paper of great verve and initiative. The first edition of the paper would arrive in Lodz at about 10 o'clock in the morning and, seeing that it devoted considerable space to Jewish public life in that great and developing industrial centre, it succeeded in attracting a large readership.

In those days Lodz had already made several attempts to bring out a Jewish periodical press. In the years 1901–1903 the Bund Committee brought out an illegal periodical which appeared in only three issues. Previously, in the year 1900, the first Zionist periodical *Der Gedank Wegen Zion* made an appearance and several other attempts were also made to bring out periodicals in Yiddish.

The local periodicals and the daily press in Warsaw were widespread and succeeded in creating a mass readership in Yiddish, and so the demand for an independent local paper in that great textile centre arose. There also arose a generation of Jewish writers and publicists, among whom a prominent place was occupied by Isaiah Uger, a gifted journalist of Zionist conviction who, apart from having received a traditional Jewish education, had studied at the universities of Koenigsberg and Berlin and was one of the first contributors to *Der Fraind* of Petersburg. The large wave of migration at the beginning of the 20th Century brought to the "Manchester of Poland" also the young journalist who became a member of the editorial board of a liberal commercial Lodz paper in German which had many Jewish readers. Uger, however, aspired to establish a Jewish paper in the city and, in the last months of 1906, an agreement was arrived at for the publication of a daily paper in Yiddish. There were three partners to this agreement—Abraham Kassman, owner of a press distribution and advertisement agency which also distributed the Warsaw *Togblat* in Lodz, Emanuel Hamburski, owner of a large printing shop and Abraham Tennenbaum, a prominent public figure in Jewish Lodz. The three invited Uger to become editor of the paper, and in January 1907 the first issue of the first Yiddish daily in Lodz, called *Lodzer Nachrichten,* made its appearance. It was priced at 1 Kopeka, the smallest unit of Russian currency.

Uger approached his task with great seriousness. The leading articles that he wrote were imbued with a Zionist-Nationalist spirit insofar as that was possible under the conditions of the Tsarist censorship. The editor aspired to giving his paper a European standard. As was usual in those days, the paper printed also serialised novels and stories by young writers and reflected Jewish public life in Lodz as well as the activities of the Jewish institutions and organisations in the cultural and charitable spheres. It is estimated the paper had a circulation of 30,000 copies.

In the second year of the paper's existence, at the beginning of 1908, Shalom Aleichem published one of his stories in it. The paper had then reached the peak of its popularity but its end came very soon afterwards. The publisher-in-chief of the paper, Kassman, who, as we have mentioned, represented in Lodz the sale of the Warsaw *Togblat,* stopped the publication of the paper. It later transpired that the step was taken under a secret agreement with the publishers of the Warsaw paper, who promised Kassman—who was the chief financier of the paper—sole representation in Lodz and surroundings of the Warsaw paper, if he agreed to stop the publication of the Lodz daily. This shrewd businessman did not even consult his partners and the editor of the paper but, on the night of January 20, 1908, arrived at the printing shop and added the line "LAST ISSUE" to the title *Lodzer Nachrichten,* as the paper was sent to the press.

That very same evening, Tennenbaum convened the paper's staff, headed by Uger, and after brief consultation, it was agreed to establish a cooperative to bring out a Jewish paper in Lodz; and so, four days after the closing down of *Lodzer Nachrichten,* there appeared, with the financial assistance of Tennenbaum and the printer Emanuel Hamburski, and under the editorship of Uger, the first issue of *Lodzer Tageblat.*

This paper launched a new era in the Jewish press of Lodz. Uger succeeded in raising the standard of *Lodzer Tageblat,* and the paper succeeded in attracting the Jewish masses in the town as well as the enlightened circles, who were nationally oriented. Many of the Jewish merchants and industrialists who read the German paper also switched over to the Yiddish paper, as did mainly the thousands of Lithuanian and White Russian Jews who moved over to the industrial city. This migration came in the wake of the failure of the Russian Revolution of 1905, and many Jews were attracted from the other Russian regions to this textile centre which promised its residents good business transactions.

The success of *Lodzer Tageblat* was due to the close cooperation between the editor-in-chief Uger and Hamburgski and Abraham Tennenbaum. The three of them were Zionists and the three of them looked upon the paper as an ideal from the point of view of the public weal. Uger was able to develop the paper into an institution of public importance in the life of the Jewish community in Lodz. Despite its Zionist tendency the paper succeeded in preserving a measure of non-partisanship, and so became the


№ 104. Lodzer Tageblatt.

לאדזער טאגעבלאט

Lodzer Tageblat, *pro-Zionist daily, Lodz, 1908–1939*

organ of all the Jews in the city. Almost all the Jewish writers in Lodz became contributors to the paper.

While the Jewish press in Warsaw continued to develop and also had a large circulation in Lodz, it did not in any way infringe on the status of *Lodzer Tageblat* which succeeded in establishing for itself a firm foundation in the city, and in gaining an important place in Jewish public life in Lodz.

In 1912 the paper played important roles in various public events of great prominence. Early in the year, Rabbi Eliyahu Chaim Meisel, the famous Rabbi of the Lodz community, who had headed it for 40 years, died. In the elections of the new Rabbi, voting rights were accorded to all Jews who paid the communal tax, and most of these were organised in the Chassidic "Stieblach", according to the various Chassidic dynasties, and so a very sharp election campaign was launched, that being incidentally the only legal form of Jewish public life of a political character.

The various opposing camps prepared for the struggle. On the one hand were the adherents of the Rabbi of Gur who in those days were well organised in their "Stieblach", and on the other, the adherents of other Chassidic leaders. This camp was joined by the Zionists who made every effort to introduce their people into the community councils, and to place someone who was loyal to their aspirations in the Chief Rabbinate of the second largest Jewish community in Poland. In preparation for these elections, a strange occurrence is recorded: *Lodzer Tageblat,* of Zionist orientation, supported the candidate of the Gur Chassidism, Rabbi Eliezer Leib Treistman. The other Chassidic groups, joined by several Zionist leaders, including the energetic "Mizrachi" leader in Lodz, Moshe Helman, who was later to become a member of the Polish Sejm and a member of the Lodz Municipal Council, set about bringing out an independent daily paper which propagated the election of Rabbi Lifshitz of Kalisz.

Lodzer Morgenblat—was the name of the new daily paper which commenced its appearance in 1912 on the eve of the elections to the Lodz Rabbinate. At that time Dr. Joshua (Yehoshua) Gottlieb, who was to become one of the leaders of the Zionist Movement in Poland, and was a gifted journalist, settled in Lodz. He had recently finished his legal studies in Switzerland, and so Helman, the initia-

tor and the chief financier of the new paper, invited young Gottlieb to become its editor. The latter, however, was far removed from journalism at the time and it is believed that he suggested that the publishers should contact Dr. A. Mukdoni, who used to publish pungent feuilletons in the Warsaw paper *Der Fraind,* to assume the editorship, while he himself remained satisfied with the position of assistant editor.

The two invited gifted young writers as well as older writers who had settled in Lodz, to contribute to the paper. They included M. Lazerson of Riga, the Zionist writer Moshe Ben Eliezer, who wrote in both Hebrew and Yiddish, S. J. Lezerovitz, who wrote stories and feuilletons under the pseudonym of Isadore Lazar, the poet and essayist who was to gain great fame in later days—J. M. Neiman (who died in Israel) and who commenced his literary career in *Lodzer Morgenblat.* One of the principal assistants in *Lodzer Morgenblat*—Israel Kahan resigned from this paper and joined *Lodzer Morgenblat* on which he worked until it was closed down on the eve of World War I.

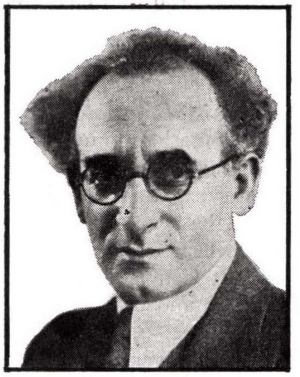
The new paper exerted every effort to attract the popular reader. Uger's paper served as an organ for serious publicistics. *Lodzer Morgenblat,* however, devoted greater space to sensational descriptions of urban events, to light articles written in popular style and to numerous feuilletons. True, both papers printed serialised, sensational novels, but the struggle over the elections to the Rabbinate played a central role in the efforts of both Uger and Mukdoni, each paper expatiating on the merits of its own candidate and attacking the candidate of the opposing camp.

In his memoirs, Mukdoni assures us that his pen played no part in the election campaign and that he remained satisfied with his role as editor-in-chief. He adds that when he learned of the purpose in founding *Lodzer Morgenblat* he wanted to resign his post, but he could no longer retract from the agreement that he had signed for one year.

The elections ended in the victory of the Gur Chassidim, and Rabbi Treistman—the candidate of *Lodzer Tageblat* was elected to the Rabbinate. The paper, however, continued publication also after the election.

The other important event in Russia in those days were the elections to the Duma (Parliament) in Petersburg, for it was the first time that Jews contested these elections and wanted to set up a candidate of their own, much against the will of the Poles. The main elections struggle was conducted in Lodz and in Warsaw.

Under an agreement entered into between Polish liberals and Jewish leaders, the Jews of Warsaw were to vote for the Socialist candidate—a blacksmith named Jagiello, while in Lodz the candidacy was put forward of Dr. Meir Bomash for whom the members of the small "Curia" of workers as



A. Mukdoni



Isaiah Uger

well as the numerous Jewish electors of the civil Curia had undertaken to vote. In these elections the Socialists in Lodz returned seven electors, the majority of whom were Jews from the civil Curia. A similar situation was created in Warsaw, which returned a majority for the Jewish electors of the civil Curia together with the Socialist candidates. For that reason all the Jews as well as the industrialists, the large as well as petty merchants had, under the agreement, to vote for the blacksmith so that in Lodz Dr. Bomash, the Jewish candidate, might be elected.

In those days that was a rather strange election agreement, and its success was dependent on the information propaganda conducted among the Jewish population.

Indeed, the campaign succeeded and thanks in very large measure to the stand taken by the Jewish newspapers in the two cities. Bomash had been an almost unknown personality before the elections; it was only the large volume of material that the Lodz papers turned out about him that

raised him to the status of a central figure in Jewish life. Thanks to the stance taken up of the two papers that the feelings of public responsibility of the Jews of Lodz for the outcome of the elections were raised. All that the Polish and German bourgeois could do was to gnash their teeth.

Bomash was returned from Lodz as a Deputy to the Fourth Duma at Petersburg, and after his election he maintained close contacts with the Jewish press, whose importance rose as centres of public activity in that industrial city. The editorial offices of the papers often served as a meeting place for Bomash to hold consultations with Jewish public representatives on public affairs. On one occasion gendarmes invaded the editorial offices of *Lodzer Morgenblat* while Dr. Bomash was sitting there. Dr. Bomash's immunity as Member of the Duma prevented his arrest but the editor, Dr. Mukdoni, who had only just returned from the Zionist Congress in Vienna, was arrested and the head of the police who conducted the enquiry wanted to hear from him about the problems that engaged that Zionist Convention. Immediately efforts were made for his release and he was indeed liberated after 24 hours.

The events of the years 1912–1913, overshadowed as they were by the Beilis blood libel, added prestige and increased the circulation of the two Lodz papers. Both papers had regular readers, particularly during the period before the outbreak of World War I, when the majority of the Jewish community in Lodz belonging to the Middle Classes enjoyed material prosperity, and the city enjoyed a ramified public activity in the social and cultural spheres.

At the same time, however, there set in a deterioration in the situation of an important section of the Jewish population—the handloom workers. This branch of activity neared liquidation from the economic point of view, and so the problem arose of how to enable the handloom workers to switch over to the mechanised industry. The chief trouble lay in the fact that not only the Polish workers but also a section of the Jewish factory owners were opposed to the absorption of the Jewish leaders in their mechanised enterprises. In the first place it was necessary to influence the Jewish industrialists to agree to take on the Jewish weavers and to be prepared for losses if the Polish workers should decide to strike. In this direction the publicistics of the two Jewish papers played an important role. The problem of aligning the Jewish artisans served as a subject for thorough discussion in the press and their information columns stressed the plight of the "handloom worker of Balut" (Balut was the slum district of Lodz.)

Indeed, owing to the campaign conducted by the Jewish press, a public movement was set on foot for the desirable alignment, and the results were partially successful. Large enterprises owned by Jews took on Jewish workers and some of them even closed down their plants on the Sabbath. In some factories strikes broke out by Polish workers against the absorption of Jews, but the factory owners stuck to their decision.

The two papers also wielded influence on the development of public activity in the city, which became increasingly ramified. An Association of Jewish Artisans was founded; several cultural associations were set up for the plastic arts, for the theatre and for music—mainly choral music; associations arose of petty merchants and businessmen.

World War I seriously affected the flourishing life of the Jewish public. Already on the second day of the War, on August 2, 1914, *Lodzer Morgenblat* ceased publication. Uger and Hamburski exerted every effort to keep *Lodzer Tageblat* going, but the deleterious effects of the military movements at the fronts, which grew ever nearer, and as a result of which Lodz found itself at the front line, had their increasing effect. Large masses of Jews left the city and there was the danger that the Russian Military Command would drive all the Jews out of Lodz. In such a situation there was no possibility of continuing to publish a Jewish paper. As the fighting continued the paper would appear from time to time after lengthy interruptions but at the end of December 1914, the German Army occupied Lodz and the paper ceased to appear.


Folksblat, *popular non-party daily, Lodz, 1916–1920*



Lodzer Folkshtime, *daily, Lodz, 1919 (?)*

The German occupation authorities evinced a fair attitude towards the Jewish population of Lodz and, in a Manifesto issued to this population, the supreme Command of the Occupation Forces, promised "freedom of cultural activity". This Manifesto served as a basis for the Jewish public leaders to renew the activity of the Jewish organisations and institutions.

However, Lodz Jewry did not remain without a Jewish paper. Already in September, 1912, Lazar Kahan founded a small paper by the name of *Folksblat* in the wake of a dispute that arose between him and Isaiah Uger, whose deputy in the editing of *Lodzer Tageblat* Kahan was. The price of a copy of Kahan's paper was one Kopeka. Until the outbreak of the War the paper appeared without interruption. Its publication, however, was stopped during the fighting for Lodz and, in March 1915, after the German authorities had consolidated themselves in the city, it began appearing again in a much larger format than hitherto.

No document has come down to us about the conditions stipulated by the German authorities for granting Lazar Kahan the permit to bring out his paper *Folksblat,* but the fact remains that the paper's orientation was for Germany's victory and Russia's defeat.

Despite this clear pro-German orientation, *Folksblat* scored a very great success and it had a large readership in Lodz and in the provinces. It was the only Jewish paper that was permitted by the German Occupation Authorities to appear in the Lodz district. Lazar Kahan was a journalist of wide experience and he raised the paper to a high publicistic and literary standard. It would appear that the German Occupation Authorities spared no money either. Lazar Kahan invited several members of the staff of *Lodzer Tageblat,* which had closed down, and primarily his brother Israel Kahan to come to work on his paper.

Writers of no political orientation saw no fault in writing for *Folksblat.* In those days a new generation of young gifted writers arose, such as J.M. Platt, Fischel Bimco, H.L. Zhitnitzki, author of "Grandfather's Little House"—a creation that gained him fame in Yiddish literature. An important place in the paper was accorded to reports describing Jewish stress in the slum district of Balut, the activities of the Socialist Labour Parties Bund and Poalei Zion, S.S. and their various institutions, which conducted semi-legal activity, as well as the work of the ramified Zionist Movement and its cultural institutions, including the "People's House" and the Free Soup Kitchen for the poor population of the town.

Various Jewish educational institutions also began developing in Lodz. The Zionists established the "Tarbut" School, while Bund and Poalei Zion set up Childrens Homes, which subsequently developed into schools. The Germans did not interfere in this Jewish cultural activity and obviously a wide field for reporting presented itself to *Folksblat.*

For this work of reporting Lazar Kahan invited Baruch Schefner, a gifted journalist who had grown up in Lodz, had studied for several years in Vienna and, during World War I had been active in Bund and its institutions. His descriptions of the life of poverty of the Jewish population were full of humour and satiric pungency, replete with Socialist revolt. An important place was accorded by the paper to humour and, among the young writers who revealed their abilities in this direction, mention should be made of J.S. Goldstein, known by his pseudonym "Der Lustiger Pessimist" (the jolly pessimist—at present a regular contributor to the New York "Forwerts") and the well-known poet and essayist, J.M. Neiman, who wrote under the pseudonym of A. Foigel (in later years he worked on *Davar* in Tel Aviv).

The German authorities looked upon the increasing influence of the paper with favour and did not spare money to finance it. Lazar Kahan was able to pay his staff and collaborators generously. After the German occupation of

Warsaw, Kahan exerted efforts to attract to his paper Jewish writers from the Polish capital, but from this point of view, his success was limited.

We have no authenticated details about the efforts made to renew the appearance of *Lodzer Tageblat,* but in 1916 the paper began publication again, under the chief editorship of Isaiah Uger. He reorganised his editorial staff, but no change had taken place in his basic stand and his principal assistants were journalists of clear Zionist outlooks.

The renewed paper did not enter into debate with *Folksblat,* but endeavoured to inculcate a Zionist consciousness into its readers. All the material in the paper was edited in a Zionist spirit and basic differences were created between the two papers. *Folksblat* was intended mainly for the popular readers since most of its material revolved on matters stemming from the stress of the War, and so most of the readership came from Bundist and Poalei Zion circles whereas Uger's paper fell back mainly on middle class circles and on the Zionist intelligentsia.

Both papers, however, wielded a strong influence on the Jewish public and this received expression mainly in the year 1917, following orders issued by the German authorities for the election of Municipal Councils in the occupied territories of Congress Poland.

The elections were held in a very limited framework, according to the Curia system, but the very election campaign infused public life with activity, and from this point of view, the Jewish papers had an important role to play. That was the first contest of public forces in the Jewish community as well as among the Jewish and non-Jewish sectors in the city, in the sphere of Municipal politics. The editors of the two papers fully realised that their main task was to induce as many Jews as possible to take part in the elections, and in the conditions of stress and despair in which the majority of Lodz Jewry found itself that was by no means an easy task.

But the influence of the papers found clear expression in the great share of the Jewish electors in the polls, so that the Jewish population gained about half the mandates in the Lodz Municipality—29 out of 60. *Lodzer Tageblat* conducted the election campaign in favour of the Zionist list. *Folksblat* placed its pages at the disposal of all the Jewish parties, including the assimilationists among the commercial and industrial circles. Down to the end of World War I conflicts between these two papers that held such different views in Jewish public life were averted.

On the emergence of independent Poland, after World War I, *Lodzer Tageblat* returned to its former large format and preserved its attitude as a Zionist-National paper, which defended the interests of the Jewish public. Uger then published in the press a series of articles in which he accused Lazar Kahan and his brother, Israel Kahan, of serving the interests of the German authorities which oppressed *Lodzer Tageblat,* the Zionist-National paper. Uger's sharp attacks, however, had little effect on *Folksblat* and its editor Kahan. After the War, Kahan's paper took on a new form and laid stress mainly on a description of events in simple language, took up a leftist attitude on social matters and gained a large circulation mainly among Jewish labour circles, adherents of Poalei Zion—a party which, in those days, had a paper of its own in Warsaw.

Events among the labour classes in Lodz at that period also helped to increase the circulation of such a paper. There were many workers' strikes, bloody demonstrations, stormy disputes and splits in the Socialist parties, and anti-Jewish disturbances staged by hooligans, and Lazar Kahan, who had rich journalistic experience behind him, knew how to exploit these events so as to increase the circulation of his paper. He also engaged new writers who had come from Russia, and included the poet Moshe Broderson, the journalist Lazar Fuchs, and others. In addition, the paper received financial support during the democratic elections to the Municipal Council and to the first Polish Sejm.

Lodzer Tageblat was the official organ of the Zionist Movement and so preserved its party colouring and refused to accept propaganda advertisements against Zionist parties. On this paper were represented also the Socialist parties of the Zionist Movement.

Immediately after the elections to the Sejm, however, it became clear that *Folksblat* was nearing liquidation. Indeed, the paper closed down when Barch Schefner left the editorial staff and joined the permanent staff of *Folkszeitung,* the daily of Bund in Warsaw, while two other workers—J.M. Neiman and J.S. Goldstein—joined the editorial staff of *Haint* in Warsaw.

Before long, however, there began appearing in Lodz a new paper—*Nayer Folksblat*. Strange circumstances accompanied the founding of this paper. The printing workers and the former regular workers on *Folksblat,* under the editorship of Lazar Kahan, had remained without work and demanded compensation for their dismissal. Kahan had no means at his disposal to pay such compensation, and on the basis of arbitration, agreed to hand over to the printing workers, the type boxes which were his own private property, and these were made over to the print shop of Yitzhak Gruenberg. (Gruenberg later came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel where he conducted a printing shop and died at the age of over 80.)

It was in Gruenberg's print shop that the new paper began to appear in 1923. The editorial staff had the participation of the former members of *Folksblat:* Moshe Broderson, Lazar Fuchs and A. Wolf Jasny. Lazar Kahan also began working on the paper but withdrew following a dispute.

And so Lodz had two papers again.

Nayer Folksblat commenced its activities in miserable circumstances. The editorial offices were situated in a dingy room, which was formerly a kitchen. The period was that of the devaluation of the German mark, which also served as the currency of Poland. The paper brought in very little income and the workers experienced great suffering. Nonetheless, they were strengthened by the feeling that there was room in Lodz for a second daily paper—a popular paper for the simple folk and with great perseverance, continued to keep up the paper, the material of which consisted mainly of descriptions of renewed public activity, of feuilletons and literary articles. Indeed, it succeeded in acquiring a new circle of papers, and its circulation grew daily.

Its editor-in-chief was Lazar Fuchs, who had studied law in the University of Warsaw. While still a student he had published articles in pre-War *Lodzer Tageblat,* and during the war happened to land in Petrograd, then the capital of Russia, where he was active in Jewish cultural institutions and toured Jewish townlets as a lecturer. He returned to Lodz after the War and became an active member of the Left Poalei Zion, on whose behalf he stood as a candidate for the elections to the first Polish Sejm. The paper endeavoured to gain the cooperation of Zionist publicists of note. But as a paper which was formally non-partisan, *Nayer Folksblat* published also articles by members of Agudat Israel, and during the election campaign, also material by representatives of assimilationist circles from among the merchant and industrial classes.

The attitude of the parties led to a sharp conflict between the Bund leadership in Lodz, and the paper refused to



Lazar Fuchs

publish journalistic material in favour of the Bund candidates in the elections, so that Bundist speakers at public meetings called upon the public to boycott the paper. It was in this spirit that a manifesto was also issued. It goes without saying that the paper reacted by launching sharp attacks on Bund. The dispute, however, did not last for long. Bund emerged victorious in the elections and,


Opłata pocztowa uiszczona ryczałtem. „EXTRABLATT". פרייז 10 גראשן. № 43.

עקסטראבלאט

אונפארטיאישע פאליטיש-נעזעלשאפטליכע נאכמיטאג-צייטונג.

Łódź, Poniedziałek 10 Listopada 1924 r. | Rok 1-szy | לאדז, מאנטאג י"ג מרחשון תרפ"ה. 1924.

Extrablat, *non-party noon daily, Lodz, November 1924*

before long, an understanding was reached between the party and *Nayer Folksblat*.

Following the economic crisis, the appearance of *Lodzer Tageblat* was interrupted for some time in 1925. Before long, however, the paper began appearing again under the editorship of Lazar Kahan. In the period that the paper did not appear, the members of its staff and the printing workers brought out the daily paper under the name of *Unzer Tageblat*. In the course of time, several evening papers began appearing in Lodz. One of them—*Extrablat*—a non-party paper, appeared in 1924, but after issuing 62 numbers, was closed down for lack of means.

Among the party papers appearing in Lodz, mention should be made of the weekly brought out by the Zionist-Socialist Hitachdut Party—*Unzer Tribune*.

The two daily papers *Lodzer Tageblat* and *Nayer Folksblat* appeared down to the outbreak of World War II and the occupation of the city by the Nazis. The occupation brought a brutal end to the Jewish press in Lodz, just as it liquidated all Jewish public life in the city.

Isaiah Uger, the pioneer of the Jewish press in Lodz and the first editor of *Lodzer Tageblat* was one of the first victims of the Nazi regime in Lodz. Immediately after the occupation of the city, a search was launched in the home of this aged journalist and, because he refused to confirm that "here lives the dirty Jewish swine", he was mercilessly beaten. Afterwards they forced him to take down all his belongings and load them on to a truck outside. The old man lost consciousness on account of beating and over-exhaustion. A second search was made in his house some time later, and then he was also arrested and subsequently murdered. A writer later gave evidence to the fact that Uger was forced for three days to dig a grave for himself without any digging implements and when he had finished he was shot. According to other information, Isaiah Uger was buried alive.

A similar fate overtook Israel Kahan, the last editor of *Lodzer Tageblat*. When Lodz was occupied by the Nazis, a German journalist handed Kahan over to them. He was arrested and immediately executed.

Lodz was the only city in Poland where a Jewish paper—*Ghetto Zeitung*—appeared during the Nazi occupation. This paper, under Nazi supervision, was intended to alleviate "for the Gestapo" the work of annihilation and of stupefying the Jews in preparation for their oncoming disaster.


№ 1 Opłata pocztowa uiszczona ryczałtem פּרייז 15 גר. פערטער יאָרגאַנג UNZER TRYBUNE

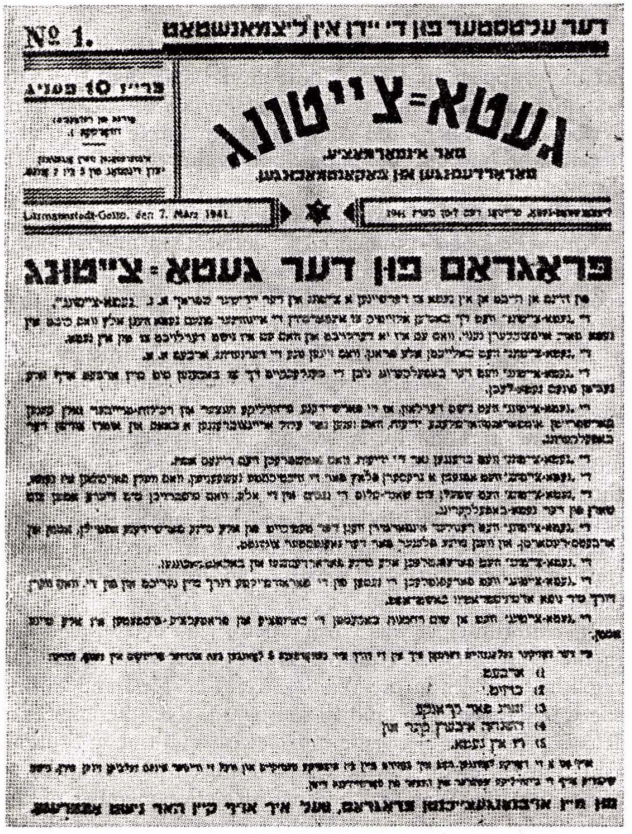
אונזער טריבונע

ארגאן פון דער ציוניסטיש-סאציאליסטישער פארטי „ההתאחדות" אין פוילן

Łódź, 17 stycznia 1936 לאָדזש, 17 יאַנואַר

Adr. Red. i Administracji: Łódź, Pomorska 91, tel. 158-49 אדרעס פון רעדאקציע און אדמיניסטראציע: לאָדזש, פּאָמאָרסקא 91 טעל. 158 49

Unzer Tribune, *Hitachduth party weekly, Lodz, 1933–1936*


№ 1. דער עלטסטער פון די יידן אין ליצמאנשטאט

פרייז 10 פענ"ג

געטא-צייטונג

Litzmannstadt-Getto, den 7. März 1941

פראגראם פון דער געטא-צייטונג

Geto-Zeitung, *Yiddish Gestapo-supervised weekly bulletin, Lodz, 1941*

Periodicals in Czenstochov

S.Z. Shragai

There was a large and vibrant Jewish community in Czenstochov (Czenstochowa) and the Jewish press played an important role in moulding the character and image of the community and its activities. Journalistic activity goes back to the year 1912, two years before the outbreak of the First World War, and came to an end in 1939 on the outbreak of World War II. During this period there appeared 13 papers in the town, among them a daily—*Czenstochover Togblat,* which appeared, with short interruptions, in the years 1913–1919.

The following are the newspapers in Yiddish that appeared in this town during a period of 28 years, according to various publications, (particularly the anthologies "Czenstochover Yiden", which was published in New York in 1947, and "Czenstochov" in "the Encyclopaedia of the Diaspora" which appeared in Jerusalem in 1967):

Czenstochover Reklamenblat, which commenced appearance on December 6, 1912. In all, only nine issues of this publication came out.

Czenstochover Wochenblat—a weekly which appeared during several months in 1913.

Unzer Zeitung—a weekly which appeared almost at the same time as "Czenstochover Wochenblat".

Czenstochover Togblat—a daily which appeared during the period 1913–1919. Its publishers were Berl Bochan and Rosenberg, and its editor was Zvi Cohen of Lodz.

Dos Naye Wort—a Jewish workers' paper, edited by R. Federman and A. Kroblovski.

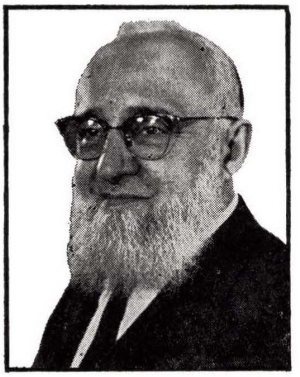
Unzer Shtime—also a workers' paper, which had the participation of Dr. Joseph Kruk and Shmuel Frank.

Czenstochover Zeitung— a weekly which appeared instead of the daily that had closed down and which was edited by Israel Plotzker and afterwards by Shmuel Frank.

This weekly was the mirror of Jewish social life in Czenstochov. It had a Zionist orientation and gave expression to Zionist thought of various trends. Since 1924, this paper published reports and articles from Eretz Israel, written by Jacob Lesloy and S.Z. Shragai.

Unzer Weg, the official organ of the Zionist Organisation in Czenstochov, edited by Dr. Mering and Aaron Luxemburg.

Die Zeit, published and edited by J. Weisberg, a printer and merchant, who in his spare time used to write articles together with his son for the paper.



S.Z. Shragai

Unzer Czentochover Express—a daily. In actual fact, the paper was published in Warsaw but, according to an agreement with the publisher, the fourth page was printed in Czentochov and the name *Unzer Express* received the addition of *Czenstochover.* This paper published mainly local news from Czenstochov and the nearby townlets, where it had a large circulation.

Apart from these, there appeared at various times, generally with interruptions, another three labour papers: *Der Proletarier,* which sported the slogan: "Long Live Socialism"; *Arbeter Zeitung* and *Czenstochover Weker.*

All these papers, apart from the daily *Czenstochover Togblat* were weeklies, and some of them appeared at irregular intervals.

NOWY DZIENNIK
West Galicia's Polish-language Jewish daily

David Lazer

It is perhaps the only case in press history—and not only in the history of the Jewish press—of a paper being "born" in a cemetery, at the graveside of an innocent man, the victim of cold murder in broad daylight at the hands of a gang of hooligans. The history of Polish Jewry, which is brimful of tragic paradoxes, and the history of the Jewish press in Poland, has even such a tale to tell—the story of a paper born at the graveside of a murdered Jew in the wake of a false rumour spread about the circumstances attending his death, which appeared in a non-Jewish paper, but which was common in Jewish life.

Pesach Meller was the name of the Jew who has become inscribed in the history of Krakow Jewry as the victim of a dastardly murder at the hand of hooligans in uniform. At his funeral, which assumed the proportions of a demonstration and which had the participation of many thousands of Jews from the city, a stringent demand was forced to set up a daily Jewish-national organ in the Polish language that would serve as a militant platform against the wave of antisemitism and dark reaction that was rearing its head on the crumbling of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and on the threshold of an independent Polish State.

Such a platform had so far not been in existence in Polish Jewry. There was a daily press in Hebrew *(Hatzefira)* and in Yiddish, but with all the importance and national value attaching to it, it was directed to the Jewish public alone. A paper of high standard that could direct the Jewish voice also to the Polish public and would react to the hatred and animosity of the antisemitic press or of the so-called "liberal" press, whose spirit of "progress" and "liberalism" did not prevent it from antisemitic outbursts from time to time, was non-existent. True, an attempt had been made in Warsaw in 1912, to establish a paper in the Polish language, that would defend the rights of the Jews—or also of the Jews—and fight the reactionary forces. But this paper, which was established and edited with great ability by Stanislaw Mendelsohn, son-in-law of Nahum Sokolov, and one of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS)—did not bear a clear and explicit Jewish-national stamp, most certainly not a Zionist character. Nor did it last for very long, for it died together with the sudden death of its editor, about a year after its foundation. A Zionist-journalistic platform in the Polish language was, therefore, a pressing need in that dramatic and stormy period in Jewish life in Poland at the end of World War I.

The above-mentioned Pesach Meller, dressed in the traditional Polish-Jewish garb, happened to be travelling in the No. 1 tram, known as the "Jewish" tram in that it linked the Jewish quarter of Krakow with the centre of town and went as far as the railway station. When one summer's day in 1918 the tram passed the ancient royal palace of Wawel, it was stopped suddenly by a gang of "legionnaires" of the Pilsudski army, whose Commander was then imprisoned by the Germans despite his "orientation" to the Austro-German League. They broke into the tram, forcefully removed the poor Jew Pesach Meller from it and vented upon him their feelings of disappointment and frustration at the fact that their army, which was no longer a disciplined armed force but a steadily deteriorating horde, whose Commander was in prison, and at the fact that all the evils and troubles engendered by the decline of the Hapsburg Monarchy and occasioned by the War and caused suffering, famine and distress to the population and claimed innumerable victims. Pesach Meller, had to "pay" for all that: they had found a scapegoat.

And he "paid" with his life. He was beaten mercilessly and left bleeding in the middle of the street. When several Jewish passers-by ran to the nearby pharmacy asking for first aid, the Polish pharmacist, most of whose clients were Jewish, refused "to deal with such a case". And so,

the victim upon whom the hooligans had "vented" their vengeance for all the ills of the War, breathed his last.

That was the first sign of what was to be expected in the course of time—a wave of pogroms and excesses that ran wild with the rise of the independent Polish Republic.

Meanwhile, Pesach Meller's body was taken for a post-mortem examination. On the morrow there appeared a three-line news item in the local news column of the respected "liberal" paper *Nowa Reforma,* which had appeared in Krakow for scores of years and most of whose readers were Jews, that the postmortem examination had established that Pesach Meller had died of a "heart attack". That was that. This brief news item proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. It aroused Jewish feelings to boiling point and led directly to the founding of the first Jewish-national paper in the Polish language—*Nowy Dziennik* (New Daily).

The speakers at the graveside of the victim did not deliver eulogies; they expressed their anger and protest, both at the murder itself as well as the distortion of the truth about the murder by the "liberal" and "fair" paper that was read by Jews. Mention was made of a boycott of the paper and of the urgent need to establish a paper of their own that would serve as a true mouthpiece for the feelings of the Jewish public towards the movement of national revival and for the hopes that had been aroused in those stormy days, following the declaration made about a year previously by the British Government, promising assistance to the Jewish people to establish a "national home" in their ancestral homeland. This friendly declaration had had its repercussions also on this side of the war front among the Jewish masses in Austrian Galicia and in the whole of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Messianic yearnings that had nestled in Jewish hearts for long generations had now taken on the proportions of a stychic movement, particularly among the Jewish youth, and this movement, too, called for expression and an organ of its own. One could no longer remain satisfied with *Moriah,* the Zionist youth monthly that was then published in the Polish language in Vienna together with its appendix *Hashomer Hatzair.* There was a general outcry for a Zionist daily paper and, in ever-mounting enthusiasm, a demonstrative decision was taken by the graveside of the murdered man—as though at a mass meeting—to set about immediately making preparations for the establishment of a daily paper in the Polish language.

It is very easy to make such a decision in moments of anger and excitement but it is not at all easy to implement such a spontaneous resolution. When the storm subsided and feelings calmed down there came second thoughts and the doubts mounted. The leader of Krakow Jewry, Dr. Ozjasz (Yehoshua) Thon, a writer of the Ahad Ha'am school, a thinker and a doubter by nature, negated the idea outright. When the leaders of the Zionist Organisation came to present him with the decision to establish the paper, his first answer was: "And where will you get the people to edit the paper"? He could see no journalist capable of undertaking the task of editor or of getting up an editorial staff. No mention was made at that first meeting about the large sums of money needed to implement the idea. Thon saw the main problem and difficulty in the lack of people capable of filling the paper daily with articles, reports and news items. When someone mentioned the name of Dr. Wilhelm (Zeev) Berkelhammer, the editor of the monthly *Moriah,* a gifted young publicist, as candidate for the chief editorship of the daily paper, Thon remarked almost with an air of scorn: "Berkelhammer may be capable perhaps of writing an article once a month—but what about every day"?

Nonetheless, the idea was implemented although the difficulties expressed themselves not necessarily in finding suitable candidates for editing the paper. The problems of financing the paper, the technical and administrative problems, the problem of printing and of distribution in the conditions of havoc that obtained shortly before the end of the War, the problems of the strict war censorship, the inimical attitude of the Polish factors that held the reins of local government in their hands and who were likely to put a spoke into the wheels of the Jewish paper, concerned them more than the problem of "manning" the editorial staff.

There was not one Jewish print shop in Krakow that was able to undertake a task of this nature—the printing of a daily paper. A non-Jewish printing shop did not come into account, of course. Strange to say, the money was found. A limited shares company was set up and the initiators easily got together the money required from among the wealthy Jews in the town who were told that it was not a

question of a contribution to the paper but rather of a lucrative business that had every prospect of bringing returns, and in the conditions of galloping inflation in those days, people who had amassed considerable amounts of money in all sorts of war transactions were in search of secure investments. The shares were acquired in large sums and it was possible to begin.

The problem of the printing press was also solved—but not in Krakow. Someone suddenly recalled that in the Czech town of Moravska Ostrava, some three hours distant by train from Krakow, there appeared a daily paper in German, whose owners and readers were Jews. There was the possibility, therefore, of contacting this paper and of printing the new Polish paper in that print shop. Moreover, that German paper itself was bringing out a daily in Polish for the Polish readers working in the large industries in that region.

There was another good reason for printing the paper outside the area under the authority of the inimical local Polish regime. There, in the Czech region, the censorship would not be so strict and the Czech officialdom would place no impediments in their way. Emissaries were therefore sent out to Moravska Ostrava and the deal was concluded. The editorial staff, too, was got up under the leadership of Dr. Berkelhammer and the paper could be started.

Like all beginnings, the beginning here was difficult, much more difficult in fact than the initiators and editors of the paper had imagined. The few members of the editorial staff had had no experience and no professional training in editing a daily paper, in matters of printing, layout and all other technical problems connected with the publication of a paper. True, the editor himself and his handful of assistants, all of them young idealists, leaders of Zionist Youth Movements, did not lack pioneering enthusiasm, but enthusiasm alone was insufficient for the making of a paper. There were, in addition, great objective difficulties—the separation from the "bases" of the readership, snags in communication, the lack of sources of information under conditions of War and difficulties in distribution.

If the initiators believed that on Czech territory—although still Austrian—of Moravska Ostrava, there would be more favourable conditions of work, a less stringent censorship and a less inimical attitude on the part of the authorities, they did not for example, take into account the "factor" that if the paper was sent in parcels from Ostrava to Krakow and to other localities, the Polish postal or railway workers could indulge in sabotage, and simply throw several of the parcels out of the travelling train. This caused serious losses to the paper, and it was difficult to overcome this snag, which was the fruit of blind hatred. In the bad conditions of communication in those days, there often occurred mishaps, sometimes of a tragic and sorrowful nature. When the pogroms broke out in Lwow, on the capture of the city by the Poles, and about 90 Jews were killed in "vengeance" for the neutral attitude taken up by the Jews of Lwow in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict—that was a most tragic and shocking event which stunned the whole of the Jewish public in Poland. On account of difficulties in telephonic communication and the bad reception of the telephonic conversation with Lwow, the paper came out with a banner headline "Massacre of the Jews of Lwow—900 killed". On the one hand this caused panic among the Jews and, on the other, served to stir up still further the wave of antisemitic instigation which, in this exaggerated news item, saw "proof" of false anti-Polish propaganda on the part of the Jews ... After all, even the 90 killed was in itself sufficiently shocking news!

Every issue of the "Jewish paper" would be received by the Polish antisemites and the Polish press with consternation and a gnashing of the teeth. The liberal section of the Polish press looked upon the paper as a "dangerous competitor" (indeed the democratic daily *Nowa Reforma,* which had published the false information about the reason for the death of Pesach Meller, was forced to close down at that time for lack of readers, in that they had switched over to the Jewish paper. The reactionary and antisemitic sections regarded the paper as "Jewish provocation". Every minor printer's error, every technical mishap in the paper served as food for poisonous derision, for a manifestation of hatred, for caricatures and stinging satires on the Jewish paper, whose editors "have no command of the Polish language".

Yet, despite the inimical atmosphere, the technical and other hitches, the work continued energetically with devotion and idealistic enthusiasm. Dr. Thon's "black forecasts" did not materialise. The leading article on topical themes ap-

peared daily and Dr. Thon himself contributed his share in the writing of the articles. The members of the Editorial Board shared the work in the various sections of the paper among themselves, heedless of the great burden devolving upon every one of them. The atmosphere among the editorial staff was most friendly and the editors lived an almost commune sort of life. The chief publicist was, of course, the editor-in-chief himself, Dr. Zeev Berkelhammer. The lead-



W. Berkelhammer



David Lazer

ing articles on foreign affairs were written by Dr. Zygmunt (Shmaryahu) Ellenberg, later on the director of a High School in Lodz and subsequently in Tel Aviv. Internal affairs were dealt with by Jacob (Kuba) Freund who, in the course of time, abandoned journalism, came on Aliyah to Israel as a pioneer and was among the founders of Kvutzat Yedidia. Jewish affairs, the situation in Poland and in the Diaspora and the affairs of Jewish parties were entrusted to Dr. Yehiel Halpern, the only survivor of this small and consolidated group and the only one to persist in journalism also in Eretz Israel. He became one of the editors of *Davar,* wrote a two-volume book on "The Jewish Revolution" and after retiring on pension, continued his activities in the field of literature rather than in journalism.

Obviously, every one of the paper's editors, after writing their articles during the day and in the hours of the evening, and after translating passages from the world press and from the Jewish press and engaging in all manner of work on the paper, would take turns in serving as night editors, would translate telegrams received from telegraphic agencies, take messages over the telephone from Vienna, Krakow and other places. In short, they used to work day and night. Milan Markowicz, cousin of the well-known artist, Arthur Markowicz, was appointed head of the Krakow branch and editor of the local news column. He was a young man of dynamic and stormy temperament, who would send his material daily to the "central" editorial office in Ostrava, and out of sheer absent-mindedness or lack of care, would often include other material that was unfit for printing, in the copy he sent, such as material of personal advertisement and other stuff that caused much consternation to the editorial staff when it appeared in print in the next day's paper. These were some of the teething troubles experienced by *Nowy Dziennik,* which was printed in Czechoslovakia and intended for readers in Galicia.

But the time arrived when one had to part from Czechoslovakia, after that country attained political independence together with Poland, and the first step of the Czechoslovak Republic was to go to war with its Polish neighbour over the region of Cieszyn (Tesin), over which the two newly emerging Republics laid hands and wanted to annex to their territories. For some time the Zionist paper remained in Czech territory—that is in "enemy territory"— cut off entirely from its Jewish readers in Western Galicia. During that short period the paper adapted itself to the large Polish reading public in the Cieszyn region, which remained without an organ of its own, seeing that the Czechs closed down the Polish paper which was also printed in the same printing shop, and sent its editors to prison. Momentarily there was the fear that they would arrest also the editors of the Jewish and Zionist *Nowy Dziennik,* which also appeared in the Polish language, but the fears proved groundless. The paper was given freedom of action since, after all, it was not Polish in spirit.

During that period of time there was created in Krakow a sort of substitute for *Nowy Dziennik,* which was cut off and remained across the border. A Zionist lawyer in the town of Nowy Sacz, Dr. Eliahu Tisch, was invited to become editor of this temporary edition which was no more than a temporary expedient. After some time, when the

whole of the Editorial Board consisting of the four principal members passed over from Ostrava to Krakow, Dr. Tisch was entrusted with the editorship-in-chief, since its first editor, Dr. Zeev Berkelhammer, resigned on account of differences of opinion with the owners of the paper—differences that revolved around material as well as ideological and political issues.

What were the material differences? The Zionist activists, members of the administration and the "owners" of the paper believed that work on the Zionist paper had to be done almost entirely on a voluntary basis. In other words, just as it was the duty of every Zionist to contribute to, and to raise donations for the Jewish National Fund, to sell Shekalem or to do any other work for the Zionist idea, such as appearing at public meetings, speaking, capturing the communities, as Herzl himself had expressly demanded—in short to undertake all missions entrusted by the Zionist Organisation, so also, if sent to work on a Zionist paper, he had to do almost everything without remuneration or, at least, reduce his demands to a minimum. But the young editors had families of their own to support, and the paltry salaries that they used to receive at the beginning of the month lost its real value before half the month was out on account of galloping inflation. Moreover, all demands to consolidate the material conditions of the editorial workers and ensure them of a minimum existence were met by a blank wall. Things reached such a head that once or twice the editors, headed by the editor-in-chief, had most unwillingly to resort to strikes in order to achieve their minimum demands. Clearly, such a social struggle on the part of people who were called upon to work for an "ideal" was not conducive to the creation of an idyllic atmosphere between workers and employers.

As already mentioned, there were also conflicts over political issues. Dr. Berkelhammer and his close associates—Dr. Ellenberg, Dr. Halpern and Freund—were members of the Zionist Labour Movement and of the Hitachdut, whereas the owners of the paper, who were generally wealthy Jews, lawyers, physicians and merchants, belonged to the Rightist Zionist camp or "General Zionists" as they were then called, or as Dr. Thon dubbed them "simple Zionists" without any descriptive adjective. But that very same Dr. Thon himself leaned towards the labour camp, was an enthusiastic supporter of Dr. Weizmann and often expressed views which were not to the liking of the General Zionist leaders who, after the split between them and before the temporary unification, received the distinguishing mark of "B", whereas the Progressive Zionists, represented by Weizmann and his supporters, were marked "A". Thus was created the "A" and "B" groupings within the General Zionist Organisation. The editors of *Nowy Dziennik* however, stood in the camp that was even more Left than Group "A". The differences of opinion that stemmed from these two political "orientations" led to the resignation of Dr. Berkelhammer who, in the course of time, returned to the editorship of the paper. But the rift was not healed even this time; the differences of opinion became exacerbated again, and once more led to the editor's resignation.

The transfer of the paper and of its editorial offices from Czech territory to its main basis, Krakow, capital of Western Galicia, again gave rise to the same difficult problems as faced the founders of the paper even before its foundation —problems of printing, of an inimical censorship and the problem of the popular competitive Polish paper *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* (IKC), in which several Jews gave the tone—often in a clearly antisemitic spirit, yet the paper had a wide circulation also among the Jewish public, mainly on account of its improved information service with its special network of correspondents in countries abroad, a staff of able reporters, a profusion of illustrations and a large number of well-printed pages.

In the first stage *Nowy Dziennik* had to remain satisfied with primitive print shops which were entirely unfit for the production of a daily paper, their only relieving feature being that they were Jewish owned establishments. These print shops were not in possession of even a single typesetting machine, not to speak of a rotary press. The paper had to be set up by hand and printed on an old-fashioned


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NOWY DZIENNIK

Nowy Dziennik, *Polish-language daily, Zionist, Krakow, 1918–1939*

under such conditions. As may have been foreseen, the Polish censorship always had it in for the Zionist paper, which levelled criticism at the Polish government and decried antisemitism and the reactionary forces in the country in the sharpest terms. Often the censorship did not remain satisfied with the prohibition of this or other article, but ordered the closing down of the paper for shorter or longer periods. But ways and means were found of circumventing these decrees. The paper used to change its name and appear as a new paper—a trick resorted to also in Mandatory Palestine.

The time, therefore, came when one had to begin thinking of erecting a special building for the paper, with a print shop of its own and suitable premises for the editorial staff who hitherto used to flock around the printing press or in the type-setting shop.

This was a vital necessity if the paper was to continue to exist at all. Once more they turned to the shareholders and to people who had not yet acquired shares in the paper, and once more there was talk of "business" and not of contributions. The share capital was increased, thus undermining the interests of the first shareholders, a building site was acquired in a quiet side street in the Jewish Quarter—a street that incidentally bore the name of the liberal Polish authoress Eliza Orzeszkowa, who had written a number of novels in a pro-Jewish vein. From this point of view, there was at least some suitable location for a Jewish national paper. With the utmost effort, two old type-setting machines in a bad state of repair were acquired, and for the time being also an old-fashioned and "flat" printing press, which did its work very slowly. At long last a modest building of three storeys was erected, and the non-Jewish owner of a print shop was invited as an "expert" in order to organise the printing shop. He "arranged" matters in such a way that he ordered the location of the type-setting machines on the ground floor so that they might be as far removed as possible from the editorial offices, which he located on the third floor, whereas the heavy printing press he advised setting up on the second floor so that it might set the whole building into tremors whenever printing was commenced. The result was that every page of copy had to be sent down at a trot from the third floor to the type-setting department on the ground floor, and there was not always a message boy available to do this work. At times the editors themselves, and even the editor-in-chief, had to run down three flights of stairs so as to hand over some article or news item for setting up. Subsequently the type had to be taken up to the second floor to the printing press. There was, of course, no lift available. The faltering administration of the paper, which lacked all experience, "paid heavily" when it accepted the advice of the expert whose intention right from the beginning was to put a spoke into the Jews' wheel, and succeeded in doing so.

Subsequently, when a bomb was placed in the building —about this incident later on—a miracle happened that only the unoccupied editorial rooms and the dwelling of the administrative director of the paper were destroyed at night, whereas the printing shop escaped unscathed. If the print shop had been destroyed, it may have led to the caving in of the whole building, for the heavy printing press would have buried the rooms where the type-setting machines were located, on the ground floor, together with the layout men, proofreaders and all the other workers, including the night editor on duty.

On the transfer of the paper to Krakow and the resignation of Dr. Berkelhammer from the editorship, Dr. Tisch was again appointed editor but he did not remain very long at his post. He did not succeed in making his impression on the nature and orientation of the paper, and in actual fact entrusted the burden of the work to the editorial board which in the first stage was transferred from Ostrava to Krakow—namely Dr. Ellenberg and Jacob Freund (Dr. Yehiel Halpern had resigned previously.) It was now that one of the leading figures in the Zionist Movement in Krakow and in Western Galicia—Dr. Ignacy (Yitzhak) Schwarzbart, a dynamic person and an outstanding orator, who was able to fire the masses during his public appearances and who had proved himself to be also a good publicist, was invited to take over the editorship. It was he, too, who had endeavoured to crystallise the General Zionist ideology and, in the course of time, became also President of the "World Union of General Zionists" (A & B)—until the dramatic rift that set in at the Joint Conference of the two camps held in the same city of Krakow in 1934.

Now there was also a change in the composition of the editorial board. The two assistants and close associates of the first editor of the paper, Berkelhammer—Ellenberg and Freund—did not feel comfortable for personal and ideological reasons in the company of the new editor who was a member of the Rightist camp in the Zionist Movement, and withdrew both from the editorial board and from journalism generally. Both of them were absorbed in the Jewish educational network in Congress Poland, which was then in a stage of great development. Ellenberg went to Lodz where he occupied a prominent position in one of the High Schools, founded by Dr. M. Brojdo, whereas his colleague Freund went to one of the Jewish High Schools in the Provinces. The prosperous material conditions of the Jewish High Schools provided people engaging in the teaching profession with a comfortable livelihood, as opposed to the stress experienced by those engaging in journalism. Several years later Freund returned to his former occupation and joined the editorial staff of the second Zionist daily that had meantime been established in the Polish language —a sort of "sister organ" to *Nowy Dziennik*—by the name of *Chwila* (Moment), which was published in Lwow, the capital of Eastern Galicia. After some time Freund also grew sick of his work in the editorial offices of the second paper. Apparently there were disputes on ideological matters there too and so he chose the Halutzic path and went on Aliyah to Eretz Israel where, until his death, he remained a member of Kvutzat Schiller, and during the last years of his life was also a member of the Comptrol Committee in the Histadruth—the General Federation of Jewish Labour.

In place of Ellenberg, Freund and Halpern, other people were appointed to the editorial staff of the paper as assistants to the new editor, Dr. Yitzhak Schwarzbart, who also set up his legal office in his editorial room and was up to his eyes in work in both professions. These two members of the staff did not represent a uniform Weltanschauung or a crystallised ideology. The older among the new members of the staff was Dr. Moshe Kanfer, a native of Buczacz and a boyhood friend of S.J. Agnon who, before joining the editorial staff of the paper, had been a teacher of literature in a provincial High School in Congress Poland. He therefore took the opposite direction of switching over from teaching to journalism. Kanfer was a man of poetic temperament, more of a writer than a journalist, and very close to Yiddish literature and language. In his youth he had been a student at the University of Vienna and before that had been active in anarchist ranks. In journalism he took over the task of theatre critic (in place of Dr. Wilhelm Falk, who also turned to teaching and to literary research mainly in the field of the Biblical influence on some of the foremost Polish poets). Kanfer, however, also engaged in literary criticism and in the writing of feuilletons and even in the writing of political articles. He was also a public worker, among the founders of the Jewish artistic theatre in Krakow. He also set up a sort of club of friends of Jewish culture, often appeared as lecturer on literary and theatrical themes—all that in addition to his journalistic work. On the outbreak of World War II Kanfer escaped to Lwow and from there moved over to Dubno because he did not feel safe enough in Soviet Lwow. In Dubno, where he hoped to find refuge until the storm subsided, he was murdered by the Germans when the Hitlerite army invaded the eastern regions of former Poland.

An interesting figure among the new members of the editorial staff was Nikoli Wadias-Schoenbrun, who had come to the paper in answer to an advertisement that one was "looking for a journalist for work on the editorial staff of the paper". Schoenbrun, a native of Lublin, was a facile writer. He could write a feuilleton or a leading article, a book review or a review of a theatrical performance, in fact an article on any subject with equal ease. He had an "original" method of work. Every day he would bring with him to the editorial offices a thick notebook in which he had written down all sorts of anecdotes, jokes, bon-mots, etc., and before sitting down to write the article would thumb through the notebook and choose some "suitable" anecdote or joke with which to begin the article. True, the joke or anecdote did not always prove suitable, but Wadias-Schoenbrun believed that the reader liked jokes and that the whole of the article would be read with greater ease and pleasure if it began with a joke. Wadias-Schoenbrun reappeared in liberated Warsaw after World War II and found a place in the Communist press as a great expert on "layout", as the graphic form of a paper is known in journalistic parlance. Here there was no longer any place for jokes. . .

The young "star" on the staff of the paper was Stanislaw Fischlowitz, a distinguished student of law at the University of Krakow (at present Professor in the University of Rio de Janeiro), son of the Deputy Chairman of the Jewish Community Council of Krakow, Dr. Leon Fischlowitz. The new editor, Dr. Schwartzbart, had "discovered" him as an expert or serious student in the field of international relations. He also wrote most of the leading articles in the paper on topics connected with foreign policy—regrettably articles far too great in length, which the two old-fashioned type-setting machines could not possibly finish setting up in time, in addition to all the other regular material that piled up during the day. When the time came to close the paper, the dearth in set material was always discovered, and in order not to miss the train to the Provinces the night editor had to "fill" a whole page in the paper with two very large advertisements—half a page of advertisement on the "qualities" of the paper itself, laying stress on the duty of subscribing to it, and the other on the paper's printing job which "accepts all sorts of orders for quick execution", etc. The poor reader who hoped to find news in the paper or some other fresh and interesting material, could never be requited by these two large advertisements which used to appear almost daily, and would find what he was looking for in the competing and often also antisemitic Polish paper, the above-mentional *IKC*. Many among the readers with all the Jewish "patriotism" that they felt for a paper "of our own" would drop out and stop their subscriptions.

The night editor of the paper would also cause a lot of trouble. The period of "pioneering" work of Ostrava days was long over. The members of the editorial staff, who worked under difficult conditions and for very small remuneration, during almost all hours of the day, could not work also at night, especially as they lacked the minimum training in journalistic techniques in dealing with news, in writing headlines, in layout etc. It was therefore, most difficult to find a "victim" to serve as night editor, and when finally such a person was found—a member of the "Bohemia", who frequented the city's coffee houses, who had in the past gained some experience in technical work in the Polish Socialist press, he was a frustrated man filled with psychological complexes, would fall out in the middle of the work with the layout man and would leave the editorial offices in a fury, so that it was always necessary to run after him and to appease him. The paper suffered, the reader received his paper at a late hour and the circulation dropped.

Nonetheless the work continued. It continued even in the night of the Spring of 1923 when explosive material was placed in the building of the paper by members of the terrorist group in the antisemitic Rightist camp, causing great damage, as we have already mentioned, particularly on the third floor where the editorial rooms were situated. Luckily the printing shop did not suffer any damage and the paper appeared on the following day in a reduced format but it nonetheless succeeded in reaching the majority of its readers and carrying on its front page the leading article by its editor, Dr. Schwartzbart, which had been written among the rubble and the dust caused by the explosion, under the "fresh" impression of the crime that had been committed.

In those days the regime of the young General Sikorski as Prime Minister of Poland came to an end, and the Rightist extremists wanted to speed up the establishment of the new government based on a union between the Right-wing of the Peasant Party and the reactionary-antisemitic Rightist elements (Endeks). Towards that end they launched a wave of terrorist actions, aimed mainly against Jewish personalities and institutions with a view to imposing terror and anarchy in the State in which only a Rightist Government could, as it were, bring "order". After several attacks through the use of explosives in Krakow—among other places on the Bund Centre, situated in the heart of the Jewish Quarter, and in the home of the Rector of the ancient University, Professor W. Natanson, a converted Jew, one of the greatest physicists in Poland—there was the feeling that the Jewish paper in the Polish language would be next in turn. After numerous representations at the police Headquarters, a guard was placed within the building: a policeman in civilian clothes was sent to "stand guard" at the entrance to the editorial offices. That evening, however, when the bomb was placed in the building, the detective-guard went to "warm himself" a little in the home of the non-Jewish caretaker, apparently after having received a "hint" from the terrorist gangs that he should absent him-

self. And it was then that the explosives were quietly introduced into the building.

The writer of these lines, who had commenced his regular work on *Nowy Dziennik* about two years previously, in May 1921 had the good luck of serving as night editor after the "Bohemian" had resigned and returned to his usuel haunts on the night of the explosion. I was sitting by the telephone in the small room on the second floor, taking a telephone message from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in Warsaw, with the editor on duty—Jacob Berman, in future to be the ruler of Communist Poland and representative of the Kremlin in Warsaw—at the other side of the line, transmitting to me several news items from Eretz Israel. Suddenly the conversation was interrupted by a loud deafening detonation, and it seemed to me that the whole building was crumbling under. Instinctively I ran down the stairs and escaped unscathed to the small garden in front of the building. At the entrance lay a tremendous block of concrete that had fallen from the third floor several seconds before I passed that place at a trot. Blocks of concrete from the back of the building, including one some 200 kilograms in weight, were hurled to a distance of several hundred metres, almost up to the banks of the nearby river Wisla. It was by a mircale that no one was killed and by sheer luck that the printing press had not fallen into the typesetting room on the ground floor...

Several days later the man "suspect" of throwing the explosives into the *Nowy Dziennik* building as well as in other places, was arrested. He was a young Polish lawyer known for his extremist antisemitic views, who had served as head of the Rightist terrorist gang. In a search in his home, a whole store of explosive material was found in the garret of the house. He was brought to trial and sentenced to ... a small fine—for being in possession of explosives without a permit ...

But this incident nonetheless proved beneficial. The bomb that had caused material damage but claimed no victims in human life, served to enhance the prestige of the paper in the eyes of the Jewish public which now rallied around its organ. From the purely journalistic point of view, the paper gained an unusual "scoop" in those days. The editor Dr. Schwartzbart, obtained in utmost secrecy from the Chairman of the Krakow Community Council, Dr. Rafal Landau, who was incidentally an assimilationist far removed from the Zionist Movement—the full list of the Jews of Krakow who had in recent years asked to be struck from the register of the community; in other words, who had converted to Christianity. This list, which used to be published in instalments in the paper, without any comment—just the bare names with the dates of birth and the date of conversion—caused an unusual sensation among the readership, because there appeared in the list the names of people whom no one suspected of having severed their connections with Judaism. They included physicians, lawyers, artists and members of other liberal professions, and there was a long list of Jewish women who had become nuns and found place in one of the Catholic nunneries in the city.

It was with mixed feelings that the Zionist circles received this publication of "lists of converted Jews". Some argued that the publication was superfluous, that it entered the private precincts of people, and that in questions affecting religion one had to act with greater delicacy. There were also pressures, sometimes very strong, on the part of "interested parties" and the members of their Jewish or Christian families, in order to avert the publication of the name of this or other convert, since such publication was likely to cause damage or bring shame to the family that had remained faithful to Judaism. A particularly "delicate" situation arose when a journalistic colleague appeared in the editorial offices—a Jewish convert who had worked on a Polish paper where no one knew about his Jewish origin and pleaded that his name be struck from the list... It was against this background that a serious rift broke out between the editor and the administration, which in the end led to Dr. Schwartzbart's resignation from the editorship. He was succeeded once more by Dr. Berkelhammer, the first editor of *Nowy Dziennik* who, during the years that he did not serve as editor of the paper, wrote publicistic articles for *Chwila* in Lwow, and for the Zionist daily that Yitzhak Gruenbaum had established in Warsaw.

There were also changes in the composition of the editorial staff. Our colleague Dr. Benjamin (Benno) Seiden, a gifted economist and editor of the economic section of the paper since the early twenties, who had succeeded Dr. Henryk Kragen, who is at present living in Israel, died early in life. Dr. Seiden was also a first-rate writer on economic

affairs, possessed of a good style and of wide knowledge in the economic field, and his leading articles on the perpetual and specific economic themes in the State of Poland —the heavy burden of taxation, the economic boycott against Jewish trade, the plague of "Etatism" as a "Government" policy in order to oust the Jews from economic life, and other themes, always aroused close attention among the readers. As successor to Dr. Seiden, there came Joseph Diamant, a self-taught economist but a brilliant and pungent writer who, in the course of time, came to occupy a prominent place in the economic as well as the political columns of the Jewish-Polish press in general. Diamant was among the first victims of the Nazis in Lwow where he had escaped at the outbreak of the War. A regular contributor on economic affairs, which occupied a prominent place in the Jewish press in Poland was the young economist, Dr. Ludwig Berger, whose work of research in the field of financial policy was published by the Polish Academy of Sciences. At present Dr. Berger is economic adviser to the Jewish Agency and Professor at the Tel Aviv University.

In the course of time we were joined by Leopold (Lippa) Rosner, a historian by training, who divided his time between teaching at the Hebrew High School in Krakow and work on the paper. He was placed in charge of the "Jewish columns", that is to say, the situation in Eretz Israel and in the Diaspora, and he used to react with great ability to the attacks in the antisemitic Polish press. Rosner died in Russia during the War. Both he and his fellow teacher, Dr. Zvi Pfeffer, who also worked part-time on the paper and engaged in foreign affairs and in perusing the French and English press, had received a Hebrew training, speaking and writing in that language. In general it may be said that the editorial staff of *Nowy Dziennik* was the most "Hebrew" among the staffs of the Jewish papers in Poland. This is not to be taken as self-aggrandisement by one who had some share in moulding the "Hebrew" image of the editorial staff of the paper in Polish. This fact was established and noted by all editors from Eretz Israel who happened to come on a visit to our city and who, among all other Zionist Institutions, visited also the editorial offices of the paper. "One can at least speak Hebrew here!" H.N. Bialik remarked when he paid us a visit in 1931. This was said also by S.J. Agnon who found here is boyhood friend, Dr. M. Kanfer, with whom, however, he spoke in Yiddish, as well as by other visitors and emissaries from Eretz Israel, such as Leib Jaffe, Joseph Sprinzak, Nathan Bistritzki and others.

Among the other—irregular—contributors to the paper, one should mention two people who in the course of time gained universal fame. One was Hersch Lauterpacht—an ardent Zionist, who, during his studies at the University of Cambridge, used to send *Nowy Dziennik* excellent reports on life in England—from "high" politics and Parliamentary debates to the tennis tournaments at Wimbledon. Later on, Lauterpacht received a Knighthood and became British representative at the International Court of Justice in the Hague. The other was a Yeshiva student—Yitzhak Deutscher—who, in his traditional garb of long "Kapota" and Chassidic cap, used to appear at the editorial offices in the morning hours, still holding his Tfillin bag in his hands, because he came straight from the Chassidic Chapel from morning prayers and bring with him a sheaf of fairly good poems written in a flowery Polish language—poems that were Zionist in spirit. Among others he wrote an enthusiastic poem on the opening of the Hebrew University on Mount



H.N. Bialik (centre), on his visit to the Nowy Dziennik *(1931)*

Scopus, or translated from the Hebrew poetry of Bialik, Uri Zvi Greenberg and others. That same Deutscher, after various metamorphoses, became one of the greatest experts in the world on the Soviet Union and the Soviet regime, and published in English the political biography of Stalin, followed by a biographical trilogy on Trotsky. He wanted to complete it with a biography of Lenin and of Marx, but he died suddenly in the course of a visit with his wife and son to Rome, after having become over-excited at the sight of the Titus Arch... Before his death, however, he still managed to besmirch the State of Israel in an interview that he granted to the Leftist periodical *New Left* in which he expressed his "anger" at Israel's victory in the Six Day War and foretold "a victory leading to perdition"...

The editor-in-chief of the paper, Dr. Zeev Berkelhammer, also died suddenly, and a void was created which was difficult to fill. The ideological clashes within the majority camp in the Zionist Organisation, which had meantime grown more fierce—the differences of opinion between groups A and B among the General Zionists—prevented the return of Dr. Schwartzbart, leader of Group B, to the editorship. The attempts made to attract several Zionist activists, who had never engaged in publicistics or in journalism generally, did not succeed. One of the candidates who was not among the active workers in the Zionist Organisation but who undoubtedly had the ability to write an article for a paper, published a leading article in which he vehemently defended the policy of "rapprochement" of the Pilsudski Government to Nazi Germany and the signing of the pact of non-aggression with Hitler—a treaty that was not worth the paper on which the two parties had appended their signatures, and which proved its "validity" and affectiveness in September 1939. The article obviously aroused negative reactions among the Jewish public so that the candidate who was regarded to be "serious", was dropped. After an "interregnum" period, which could not be allowed to continue indefinitely, a solution was found in the appointment of an acting editor from among the staff. The choice, which was by no means an easy one, fell upon the writer of these lines, one of the youngest in the group, who had commencing with the translation of JTA news items from the stencilled Bulletin, until the editing of interviews with Jewish and non-Jewish personalities from the political world (including the influential leader of the peasant party Wincenty Witos, who was several times Prime Minister of Poland and was in violent opposition to Pilsudski), the writing of feuilletons and articles on literary, political and other themes.

That period of "rapprochement" with Berlin, in the period of the regime of the "Colonels" as it was called—with Colonel Josef Beck, Minister of Internal Affairs in Poland and "architect" of this new policy, brought with it a political, and not only political "climate", in which it was difficult to breathe let alone bring out a Zionist paper and give expression to feelings that mounted against embarking on the way to perdition, in full "coordination" with the ruling Nazi gang in Germany. Beck's foreign "policy" carried with it a process foreboding ill, of a rise in the reactionary-Fascist tendencies within the Polish ruling elite, which was headed now by General Skladkowski, a man of narrow outlook and a blind follower of the "Commandant" Marshall Pilsudski. At the height of the pogroms that broke out in Poland in the second half of the 1930s, he declared in the Polish Sejm: "Economic war against the Jews—by all means—but without violence". Those words "by all means" became the slogan of an "ideology" which encouraged the declaration of an economic boycott against the Jews and their being ousted from their livelihoods. It became the main policy, whereas the tail end of this cynical "declaration"—"without violence"—remained in the shade. In the end, things were let loose and full freedom was given both to economic warfare and to violence.

Then, of course, the pressure exerted by the censorship also increased. The official in charge of the press in the office of the District Governor, became an actual dictator in the sphere under his authority. He not only used to censor but even actually tried to dictate to the editors of the papers the "line" to be adopted in their leading articles. The political material, including articles, had from now on to be submitted to the censor before publication, and part of this material used to be regularly invalidated. It was, however, forbidden to leave "blank spaces" in the paper so that the reader might not discern the intervention of the censorship. This situation caused unimaginable suffering

also to the young editor who had daily to haggle with the censor over every article and over every sentence in it. Considerable suffering was also caused to the regular contributors to the paper, chief among whom was Dr. Joshua Thon, who could not hide behind his immunity as a member of the Sejm and his articles—or whole sections in them—used to be invalidated by the Censor. Strict control was imposed on the articles criticising the regime in Poland, as well as on the attacks which Thon did not agree to "tone down"—on the "friendly State", namely Hitlerite Germany. Every sharp expression against the "Fuehrer", was proscribed. No claims of logical inference or freedom of thinking proved of any avail. The instructions received by the Censor stated expressly that one must avert all "sabotage" of the Polish-German "friendship" and the implementation of these instructions used to be accompanied also by threats on behalf of the Censor to close down the paper, and even to put the editor under arrest.

By that time there was already in existence in Poland the notorious concentration camp at Bereza Kartuska, set up after the Nazi model. (Himmler himself had guided the Poles as to the way of organising this camp and the regime to be introduced there.) The danger of being sent there—without trial, of course, threatened us daily. This camp had at first been set up as a place of detention and punishment for the Rightist terrorist gangs of the O.N.R. camp, who were suspected of having murdered one of the ruling Colonels—the Minister for Internal Affairs Pieracki (in actual fact he was murdered by provocateurs planted by the Secret Police within the terrorist organisations of the Ukrainian Nationalists), but in the course of time was transformed into a "lash" in the hands of the authorities against the members of the Left and the Opposition. It was not very difficult for an editor of an Oppositionist Jewish-Zionist paper to find his way there...

One had, therefore, to tread a thin and tight rope. One had to muddle the censor, who was never marked for a high measure of intelligence, and resort to all sorts of ruses so as to say in an indirect way what it was impossible to say directly. One had to make use, for example, of quotations sometimes of David Frischman and at others of Adam Mickiewicz or Stefan Zeromski.

Herman Goering at one time came on a "friendly visit" to Poland with a view to "cementing" ties with the neighbouring state, and draw it still closer to the Third Reich and to its "ideology". Officially, however, the Polish authorities announced that the "distinguished visitor" from Germany would come to Poland as "an enthusiastic huntsman" and would participate in a hunt arranged in his honour in the forests of Bialowieze. It was, of course, forbidden to write a word or drop a hint against this "State" visit by one of the leaders of the Nazi gang. I recalled, therefore, an excellent feuilleton of Frischman's entitled "The Hunt" published in one of the early volumes of "Hatekufa", in which the writer came out against this barbaric sport of killing animals in cold blood for the mere pleasure of it—a "sport" that often turned into the murder of human beings. Without any comment, therefore, Frischman's feuilleton appeared in the paper on the day that Goering came to take part in the hunt. Indeed, this beloved sport of his was arranged in his honour in addition to all the other events connected with his reception. The reader understood full well what was hinted at, while the Censor—if he grasped it at all—gnashed his teeth but was powerless against this "Jewish Chutzpa" since a feuilleton against hunting cannot be considered political material and so is permissible for publication.

Then, for example, Krakow had a visit from the "limping Satan", Dr. Goebbels, who, too, was received with great honours and was also allowed to lecture at the University, all of whose professors were arrested by the Nazis immediately after the occupation of Krakow by Hitler's army and were sent to the Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp for torture, degradation or death. Again, there was a strict prohibition on writing anything against Goebbels's visit. But it was permissible to print an extract from a poem by the greatest of Poland's poets, Adam Mickiewicz—a piece full of deep hatred and feelings of anger against the Prussian Knights of the Cross who invaded Lithuanian territory in the Middle Ages and murdered, pillaged and robbed... The hint was fully understood and again the censor was helpless, for how could he "invalidate" anything written by the greatest of Polish poets? This only the Communist rulers of Poland succeeded in doing in later times when they invalidated one of Mickiewicz's classical creations, his mystery play entitled: "Dziady".

New ruses had to be resorted to from time to time. About six months before the outbreak of the War, in February 1939, there appeared in the Friday edition of the paper, instead of a leading article, a sort of "verbatim report" of a discussion on the political situation and the dangers threatening Poland—which was supposed to have been held at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Polish Parliament. That discussion had the "participation" also of the Sejm Deputy, Dr. Judim who, as the Committee Chairman announced, "had been given permission to speak to the Committee although he was not a member, but having regard to his oustanding rights in his struggle for Poland in the past, we deemed it proper to invite him to this meeting in order to say what he had to say"....

No such person or Member of Parliament as "Dr. Judim" existed. He was the hero of the novel "Homeless People", by the well-known and progressive Polish writer Stefan Zeromski—a hero who was the embodiment of pure humanity and love for mankind, who sacrificed his life for his fellow men, who fought against poverty, social injustice and all the other ills of human society. Of course, I had made up this "verbatim report", and noted in the headline that it was a "Utopian Report"—in other words, an expression of the cogitations of one's heart, and not taken from political reality. The censor, however, did not notice that, and thought that it was a regular report from one of the meetings of a Parliamentary Committee, to which no censorship applied. He did not "grasp" the "trick"... and in that "speech" by "Dr. Judim", a comprehensive analysis was given of the serious internal situation of Poland where antisemitism and anti-Jewish pogroms and Nazi racist propaganda ran wild. Such was the "secret weapon" of the Third Reich in order to conquer Poland from the inside before the onslaught came from without. Moreover it was stated there—on February 19, 1939, that it was not excluded that Germany would arrive at a rapprochment, or even at a military treaty, with Communist Russia, according to the tradition of the Rapallo Treaty between Tchitcherin and Rathenau—and such Treaty would endanger the independence of Poland. "And you, who are playing with fire at this very moment; you, who are fanning hatred towards an appreciable section of the citizens of this country, you are capable of seeing only one danger to the State, that on the part of the Jews".... Such a cry, as it were, came from the mouth of the "good", patriotic and noble man—the imaginary "Member of Parliament" and hero of a popular novel. Of course only the half-witted censor failed to realise who Dr. Judim was and passed the stenographic report, which left a deep impression on the public and also led to several amusing misunderstandings.

It is worthwhile exemplifying by means of a drastic—and rather tragic—episode the stifling atmosphere, filled with barbaric and murderous hatred, in which in the second half of the 1930s—the years of Hitler's reign in Europe, and the Nazi "radiation" in the countries neighbouring on Germany, under which we worked. One day—I think it was in 1936—we received news direct from the censor that "pogroms" had broken out at Grodno, but that it was forbidden to print one word about them in the paper. An immediate enquiry on our part showed that in a quarrel that broke out in the street between a Jew and a Pole, the latter was killed by the Jew, as a result of which "acts of vengeance" were undertaken, as the Polish Telegraphic Agency announced, several days later towards the Jewish public in town, resulting in Jewish casualties in dead and wounded. In other words, this was a sort of collective lynch for an inadvertent case of manslaughter on the part of an individual.

The news item was published in the paper that very same day, despite the prohibition, in the form of a story about a certain town in the south of the United States where a "White Man" was killed by a Negro as a result of a quarrel that broke out between them. The White mob attacked the Negro quarter of the town and vented its wrath on the "black" population, with the result that several Negroes were killed, among them women and children—a veritable pogrom.

When details of the pogrom at Grodno had become known to the public, we decided to launch a fund-raising campaign among the readers for the victims of the pogrom and succeeded in collecting appreciable sums which were transferred to the local relief committee. But one day, I received a strange parcel by post—a sort of long cardboard box, with the inscription beside the address: "For the victims of the Grodno pogrom". Without suspecting anything I opened

the parcel and then gave a scream. There were no explosives there—only a dead rat! That was only the beginning. The following day, and on succeeding days, there arrived similar "parcels", which were no longer opened but handed over to the caretaker to dispose of in the dustbin.

Of course, the determination grew within us every day and every hour to turn our backs upon the country which had become a stepmother to its Jewish citizens, and go on Aliyah to our ancestral homeland in order to begin life anew, but on second thoughts, we said: is it possible to leave millions of Jews in Poland without a platform of their own, without guidance and advice, without defence or moral encouragement? Will not such a step be regarded as desertion from the front? We therefore decided to hold out in our own fortress to the bitter end, to struggle, to defend, to encourage—and to remain.

At the same time we decided on a new "line" for the paper, in which greater stress was laid on an Eretz Israel "orientation". If throughout the years the paper was Zionist in the full sense of the term, it became in those days of oppression and despair, a markedly Eretz Israel paper—in the Polish language. We had no fewer than seven regular correspondents in Eretz Israel at that time—from Joshua Rotenstreich, a young lawyer, who sent us his excellent political articles on the situation in the country and was subsequently joined by Dr. Azriel Carlebach, after his Aliyah to Eretz Israel, down to Shlomo Ehrlich, of Tel Aviv (at present living in Haifa), who used to send us his reviews of theatrical activities in the country. We had, of course, other correspondents in town and country—in Tel Aviv and in Kibbutz Merhavia (Jacob Fleischer), and in Ein Shemer (Rebecca Gurfein). There were people among us who cracked jokes at the fact that the readers of *Nowy Dziennik* received much more information about what was happening in the Tel Aviv Municipality (according to press cuttings which Shimon Samet used to send us by Polish plane direct from Tel Aviv, than what was taking place in the Municipality of Krakow. Perhaps it is the place here to report on the full composition of the people in the "last watch" on the editorial staff of the paper, who fulfilled their journalistic duty down to the last moment—until the Nazi invasion. These were, in addition to the acting editor—Dr. Moshe Kanfer (in charge of publicistics, literature and theatre), Joseph Diamant (economics, political and economic articles), Leopold Rosner (review of the Polish press with reactions, and the Eretz Israel column), Dr. Zvi Pfeffer (foreign press), Fabian Schlang (night editor and translator, one of the editors of the Tel Aviv paper in Polish *Nowiny Kurier),* Zigfried Moses and Roman Gehorsam (local news)—the former a survivor of the Holocaust now living in Canada and the latter met his death at the Vital camp in France. Peretz Novomiast (at present Dr. Peretz Nof of Haifa) worked as a translator from the Hebrew press.

Mrs. Sarah Berkelhammer, widow of the first editor-in-chief of the paper, served as editorial secretary. She also supplied news and translations from the foreign language press. The political correspondent in Warsaw was Bernard Singer, or "Regnis" as he used to sign his articles—a star in the field of political feuilleton and reporting. Regular contributors were Apolinary Hartglas, formerly a member of the Polish Sejm and a leading publicist, while the "shining star" among them was Dr. Azriel Carlebach, whose cooperation I succeeded in securing immediately after his dramatic flight from Nazi Germany to Warsaw on the morrow of Hitler's rise to power. Dr. Yitzhak Schwarzbart, who had meantime been elected to the Polish Sejm (which had become a mere caricature of a parliamentary institution), also contributed his share to the paper's publicistics in his well-known style of writing.

At dawn, on September 1, 1939, we were awakened after a night of nightmares by the thunder of the first bombs showered upon the city, as upon all other towns in Poland, by the planes of the German "Luftwaffe". The war had broken out. The paper appeared for another three days, being "edited" in an air-raid shelter, the editorial and printing staff walking about with an ersatz gas mask, which was unobtainable, in the form of cotton-wool plugs dipped in some "anti-gas" liquid, which hung from our necks and which we were told by the Polish A.R.P. people we had to cover our mouth and nose with, in case of a sudden poison gas attack, which we expected at any moment. On the eve of September 4, I left Krakow in the car of my young colleague Roman Gehorsam, heading east, in the direction of Lwow. Our colleague Fabian Schlang served as the last editor of the paper on that night of horrors, which put an end to the paper's appearance.

East Galician Jewish press

Shimon Samet

Galicia had been the nurturing house of generation upon generation of Jewish scholars and savants, philosophers, writers and research workers, and its sons are scattered over all five continents, their mark upon the world of thought, science and artistic creativeness being noticeable to the present day. Since the end of the 18th century, Galicia had been a province of the Austrian Empire and already then the first seeds were sown for a Jewish periodical literature. The first periodical came out in Hebrew and the honour of primacy in this respect belongs to Josef Perl (1773–1839), a writer and militant advocate of emancipation and enlightenment, and to the poet Samuel Bickel. The former published in Brody, in the year 1814, a periodical by the name of *Zir Ne'eman,* whose objective was to disseminate enlightenment among the Jews, while the latter brought out a weekly called *Olat Shabbat*. Apart from their names, nothing is known to us about these two periodicals. In the first half of the 19th century, several attempts were made to bring out periodical publications in order to explain current political and social events in a readily understood Yiddish, which was none other than a Germanised Yiddish in Hebrew characters (known among Jews as "Daitchmerish"). But these attempts, like many others after them, were mushroom enterprises, not one of them holding out for very long.

In general, it should be said that almost all the Jewish periodicals in the 19th century, and probably not only in Galicia, lacked an economic basis for their existence. The enthusiasm of the people who set about bringing out the paper was far greater than their ability to evaluate the objective prospects for their existence. None had any experience of publishing, but they all hoped that their good intentions would suffice to keep their initiative going. The "market" for which they laboured was potentially large, but the great majority of Jews in Galicia, as in the other regions of Eastern Europe, was generally very poor. Often two copies of a paper would prove sufficient for a whole townlet, for the copy received by a subscriber would pass from hand to hand and, in the course of a week or two, all Hebrew or Yiddish readers in the locality would be fully familiar with its content. In the best of instances, three or four or even more "partners" would club together for a single subscription. Enlightening information concerning most periodicals is scarce and haphazard, yet it may be assumed that until the Holocaust there appeared in Eastern Galicia more than 150 periodicals in four languages—Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish and German, but very few of them were kept up for any length of time. Only two daily papers continued to appear for many years in the 20th Century, and they were liquidated by the Holocaust. The great majority of the remainder, especially those that appeared in the previous century, came out for one year or two at most. Some of them for only a few months, and there were instances when the first issue proved to be also the last. In this review, we did not omit of course any periodical of importance from one aspect or another, even though we may not have succeeded in gathering many details about it. We shall deal more extensively, however, with the two large daily papers in the 20th century.

For about two years—1837–9—there appeared in Lwow (Lemberg, as it was known among the Jews, and as is the German name of the capital of Eastern Galicia), the first Hebrew paper in the region which advocated reform in the Jewish religion. The spirit behind this tendency emanated from Germany, and the two editors of the paper


Folk un Land Opłata pocztowa uiszczona ryczałtem № 1

פאלק און לאנד

ח׳ טבת תרצ״ג

Folk un Land, *weekly, central organ of Hitachduth Party, Lwow, 1933*

called *Haroeh Vehamevaker* (The Seer and the Critic) were J. Bodek and I. Mor. They maintained a struggle against the ultra-Conservative Rabbinate and obviously invited the ire of the ultra-religious circles. In the year 1848, there appeared at Lwow the first Yiddish weekly *Zeitung,* whose editor and publisher was Mendel Mor. In the 73 issues of the paper, from May 1848 until the end of 1849, one is able to notice signs of the revolution of the "Spring of Nations", but the attitude of the editor to the stormy events of those days was, to say the least, most naive. At the end of a news item concerning the attack by peasants upon the estate holders, for example, the editor adds that "his heart melts within him and his pen trembles in his hand" as he sees it his duty to bring the event to the knowledge and judgment of the reader. As from the beginning of 1848, there appeared in Lwow another weekly in Yiddish called *Di Yudishe Post,* which was regarded as commercial and of a conservative orientation. It sharply attacked the revolutionary spirit of the times and argued that there was no connection between religion and politics, and also called upon the Jews to "benefit from the kindnesses of the crown".

In the sixties of the 19th century, Josef Cohen-Zedek, one of the first generation of "Maskilim" (Enlightened Jews), who had brought out more than half-a-dozen periodicals, some of them simultaneously, showed great activity in the publishing sphere, for some time also in Yiddish. He used to publish the works of Jewish poets in Galicia, but took greater care with the language and with the flowery expressions that were current in those days than with the exactness of the information and the logic behind the comments that he published. He also saw nothing amiss in publishing old and out-dated news. The height of longevity —no less than 16 years—was attained in the second half of the century by a Hebrew weekly devoted to literature and criticism—*Hamevaser* (The Harbinger), which was edited by A. Minks. (Cohen-Zedek also brought out a Hebrew weekly of the same name and in part during the same period.) In the sixties of the 19th century, there appeared several more Hebrew periodicals devoted to literature, poetry and criticism, such as *Imre Noam* (edited by Yitzhak Weinert, who devoted some space in his publication also to popular science). The national ideas propagated by the "Maskilim" who wrote for this paper, were in large measure influenced by the large annuals, such as *Hashachar,* which came out in Vienna under the editorship of Peretz Smolenskin. Circles of Zionist "Maskilim" brought out in 1892 also the first Zionist paper in the Polish language *Przyszlosc,* which appeared for several years and, with the rise of the political Zionism of Herzl, became in some measure its organ. By way of curiosity one must mention *Galizianer Bote* in the German language, which was brought out in Lwow by Jews in 1861, and which dealt mainly with politics and commercial affairs.


גורדוניה

יו"ל ע"י ההנהגה העליונה של הסת' „גורדוניה" העולמית

מספר א' לבוב פברואר 1931 שנה רביעית

Gordonia, *organ of Gordonia World Union, Lwow, 1928–*

After several publishing attempts in the first half of the 19th century, the city of Brody, which gained fame for its Rabbinic and secular scholars, entered rather belatedly—in the middle of the 1860s—on the map of Jewish publishing. Thanks, however, to its geographical location, on the borders of the Tsarist Empire, and close to largely populated centres, the periodicals published in Brody had the possibility of circulation also there. Such paper, for example, was *Haivri,* which came out from 1865 until 1890, which was the year of the death of its editor and publisher Baruch Weber. In the '70s of that century, Nahum Sokolov published his first articles in this paper. *Ivri Anochi* was the name of another paper that Weber published.

A special place in Jewish publishing was occupied in that period by Joshua Heszel Schorr, a man of means, who was also a native of Brody. Schorr was one of the early protagonists of the Haskala Movement in Galicia and an opponent of Chassidism. Together with the writer and physician Yitzhak Erter, he founded an association which had the objective of attracting Jews to agriculture. The two

of them founded the periodical *Hechalutz,* for research into Jewish history, in the field of Talmudic literature, etc. The paper appeared for 13 years until about the middle of the 1860s, and served inter alia as a publicistic focus of the struggle for uprooting the backwardness of the numerous adherents of the Chassidic Rabbis and their "courts" in Galicia. One of the "Maskilim" who at a later period influenced Galician Jewry, was Dr. Nathan Birnbaum, an extraordinary figure in Jewish national thought, who died in the 1920s. At the end of the 19th century his Yiddish weekly, which bore his marked personal stamp *Dr. Birnbaum's Wochenblat,* had a fairly large circulation in Galicia. It was printed, not in Galicia but at Czernowitz in the Bukovina region. The revolt of the Poles in 1863 in the Polish regions of Tsarist Russia, wielded considerable influence also on Galicia and, among other things, evoked initiatives in the publication of papers in Yiddish, which was the daily language of the overwhelming majority of the Jews in the province. The echoes of the Austro-Prussian War of the year 1866 also tended in the same direction. Attempts to bring out papers in Yiddish were made also by people who were interested mainly in the dissemination of the Hebrew language and literature. Many of the publishers of these papers, both in Yiddish and in Hebrew, were also their editors. There were, however, also publishers who engaged mainly in printing and who sought an additional source of income by publishing a paper. Mendel Mor, for example, in 1863 renewed his paper *Zeitung,* which used to appear sometimes under this name and sometimes under the name of *Telegraph.* The reason was that Austrian law required the publisher of a paper to make a "deposit" in money, unless it was his intention to bring out a one-time publication. The change in name served, therefore, as a "mask" for its "one-time" nature.

In the 20th century, there appeared in Galicia, apart from the two large daily papers *Togblat* (subsequently *Morgen*) in Yiddish and *Chwila* in Polish (more about these later on), very many periodical publications, mainly under the patronage of organisations, associations, etc., as well as local communities. In large communities the Community Council regarded it as a duty to bring out internal information leaflets. At Stanislawow, which was the second largest city in Eastern Galicia, for example, there came


דער נייער

מאָרגען

1933

Der Nayer Morgen, *daily, Zionist, Lwow, 1924–*

out from 1902 until 1935, no fewer than 25 such leaflets, and one of them ("Bulletin of the Jewish National Council of Eastern Galicia"), during the short-lived period of the West Ukrainian Republic in 1918.

It goes without saying that the Jewish papers during the First World War were sometimes predominantly influenced by the frequent changes in regime. In actual fact, the outbreak of the War led to the stoppage of most of the publications, whether for lack of newsprint or on account of the mobilisation of their staff, as well as on account of the strict censorship. In the main, however, due to the steep drop in the population of many communities on account of hostilities, etc. Such emergency situation among other causes, forced the daily *Togblat* to undergo many changes in orientation, and for some time the paper was forced even to support the short-lived Ukrainian regime. The paper was then published at Stanislawow, but even before returning to be published in Lwow, it had wandered for a period as far afield as Vienna, the capital of the Empire, which was still struggling for its existence under the monarchical regime.

At the beginning of the 20th century the need for a Yiddish paper in Galicia, edited in professional fashion and having a more or less sound financial basis, grew more pronounced. The fact is known that as early as the spring of 1901 an appeal was addressed to Herzl to assist in the founding of a Zionist daily in Yiddish, which was then the language universally understood by the Jewish masses since

the Zionist paper in Polish *(Przyszlosc)* no longer proved sufficient because it was now beyond doubt that the "Polonisation" of the Jews had failed utterly. True, several papers then appeared in Yiddish, but apart from their frail, economic foundations, they also experienced specific difficulties with the censorship of the Hapsburg Monarchy. For example, the censor of Jewish papers in Lwow was a teacher of "the Mosaic religion", who often complained to his



Gershon Zipper



Michael Ringel

superiors that the majority of the Jewish papers showed a leaning to Zionism, or that there was a paucity of enthusiasm for the imperial regime that the editors evinced in the material they printed. The initiators of the serious daily paper got up by professionals hoped that an emergence from the realm of journalistic amateurishness would make it possible to overcome the difficulties heaped in their path by the censorship and by other factors.

Gershon Bader, the historian and publicist, who subsequently emigrated to America, was the first to come forward with the idea of founding a daily Yiddish paper—a large one according to concepts in those days—and found enthusiastic support for the idea with Dr. Gershon Zipper, the Zionist leader of Galician Jewry. It was not, however, he but rather Moshe Kleinman who became the editor-in-chief of *Togblat,* which began its appearance in April 1904. After some time, Kleinman became editor of *Haolam,* the central organ of the World Zionist Organisation. After him, the paper was edited by Moshe Frostig who later became a Deputy in the Parliament of Independent Poland and who left his impress upon the paper. Several years before the outbreak of World War II, after Frostig's death, *Togblat* was edited by Shalom Gotlieb (Yedidia).

Right from its inception the paper had the regular cooperation in its publicistic section of most of the Zionist leaders of Galician Jewry. This fact, together with the professional approach of the paper, raised the standard of this publication when compared with what the Jewish press in Galicia had experienced hitherto. Despite all this, however, the paper had to struggle hard for its existence already in its first years of publication. In general, the Jews were "good" readers of the paper but also capricious, and would transfer their loyalty from one paper to another. Very few among them became regular readers of the daily, and fewer still subscribed to it in advance. In the course of time, the financial subventions by Zionist Organisations and sympathisers, began to wane, and in 1908, the financial crisis experienced by the paper, even gave rise to the idea of closing it down. It was with the utmost difficulty that the publishers, with the assistance of public funds, succeeded in overcoming the crisis and in continuing the publication of *Togblat* until the occupation of Galicia by the Russians in World War I.

In June, 1915 the Austrian army returned to Lwow and *Togblat* renewed its appearance. Frostig was then in British captivity as an enemy subject, and the editors of the paper began changing from time to time. Even after Frostig returned to the editorship, at the end of the war, the paper found itself in dire financial straits and Frostig's journey to America, in order to raise funds for the paper, brought



Togblat, *daily, Zionist, Lwow, 1904–1924*

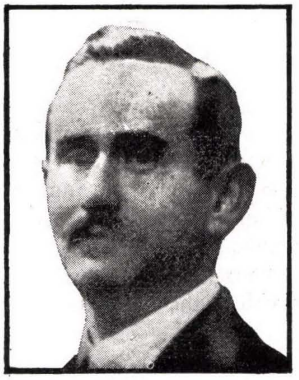
very little results. Actually, the fate of the paper from the financial point of view did not improve to its very end. Although the overwhelming majority of Galician Jewry was Zionist, the paper had obviously to devote much space—sometimes the greater part of its columns—to the local interests of the Jewish population in Poland which, after the War, gained political independence. The fight against antisemitism was *Togblat*'s daily task throughout the years between the two World Wars. Already in the first month of Poland's independence—in November 1918—the Poles (and the Ukrainians) staged serious pogroms against Galician Jewry. In Lwow alone, there were many scores of dead. For some time the paper, during that period, was forced to appear in Latin characters: the censorship placed no confidence in the regular translation of the material. It should be added that in 1924, the paper's name was changed to *Morgenblat*. Frostig shouldered the task of editing also this paper and also in large measure of looking after its financial existence.

Chwila (Moment), the daily in the Polish language, commenced publication in Lwow in 1919—obviously in the shadow of the bloody events at the end of the previous year—events which, insofar as Galician Jewry was concerned, symbolised the passage of the regime from the Hapsburg Monarchy that had crumbled, to the hands of Poland that rose to independence. The Jewish population of the province—about 600,000 strong—who constituted 12.4% of the population in the region, found itself entrapped immediately in the mesh of inimical relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians, who claimed sovereignty in the region. Under these circumstances, there was urgent need for a paper in the vernacular, not only for purposes of information among the considerable number of Jews whose spoken language was Polish, although the conscious assimilationists among them were very few—but also in order to bring to the knowledge of the non-Jewish surroundings the attitude of the Jewish population to daily problems and its demands for individual as well as collective rights.

The paper was founded as a General Zionist organ, and such it continued to be down to its last day, and so devoted much of its space to Eretz Israel affairs, to Aliyah, hachsharah, etc. In view, however, of the situation of Polish Jewry, it had to combat antisemitism which was then rampant, and which did not hesitate in blaming the Jews for all the ills that befell Poland, and at times did not shy from making use of abominable weapons such as that of the blood libel. Henryk Hescheles, the editor-in-chief of the paper from its inception to its last day, was a gifted publicist and an incisive controversialist, and he was assisted by a team of gifted professional aids, correspondents in Warsaw and



Henryk Hescheles



Moshe Frostig

in the provinces, in several capitals of Europe and obviously in Eretz Israel. The paper distinguished itself not only by its copious information and publicistic articles, as well as by the cooperation of well-known personalities in Galician Jewry, but also for its high literary standard. There was a time when *Chwila* was the paper in greatest demand in Galicia, and not only among the Jewish section of the population. Commercial, competitive factors created inimical tension on the part of the Polish press, even of that section of it that was regarded as liberal.

The two daily papers—*Togblat* (subsequently *Morgenblat)* in Yiddish and *Chwila* in Polish, held much in common from the ideological point of view and from the point of view of political orientation, vis-à-vis the general situation in Poland and Jewish interests. For example, a great political-ideological campaign was conducted from the pages of these two dailies in the middle of the 1920s, between the strong line adopted by the Yitzhak Gruenbaum group in

Warsaw and the circle of more moderate leaders in Galicia, whose chief spokesman was Dr. Leon Reich, as to the best way of establishing the relationship between Polish Jewry and the regime. Seeing that the censorship and the heads of the regime were in a position to follow up the material published on the Jewish side, in the Polish language paper, *Chwila* was more often impounded by the authorities than was *Togblat*. Various ruses were employed for the confiscation of issues of *Chwila*— from ire over the reporting of anti-Jewish excesses in one place or another in the country down to accusing the paper of . . . international Communism.

The fate of most of the members of the editorial boards of the two papers was similar to the fate of Polish Jewry as a whole. Most of them met their death in Nazi concentration camps or were murdered "somewhere" and their place of burial is unknown. I was for many years a regular correspondent of *Chwila* in Eretz Israel, and I shall of course not forget my last two visits in its editorial offices. I paid a visit in the month of August, 1939, about three weeks before the outbreak of World War II, and I recall the editor Hescheles asking me to continue sending regular reports from the country. At the time of my second visit in 1965, the *Chwila* premises and its modern printing plant served the editorial staff of the Communist-Soviet paper in the Ukrainian language *Lvivska Pravda* (the Lwow Truth) and its Ukrainian editor Kowalczuk advised me to "forget the past because humanity was turning its face to the future".


CHWILA

WYDANIE PORANNE

Cena egzemplarza 20 gr.

Dzisiejszy powiększony numer „Ch 5 1"

Chwila, *Polish-language daily, Zionist, Lwow, 1919–1939*

The Jewish press in USSR, 1914-1938

Yehuda Slutzki

On the eve of World War I the Jewish press in Russia, over all its languages, Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian[1] had reached the peak of its development and influence. Ever since 1905, the political conditions for the development of the press in Russia had been greatly eased. It was not difficult to obtain a permit for the publication of a paper. Censorship of the material before printing had been abolished, even though the political secret police kept an eye on the material printed in the newspapers and summoned to trial, fined or even closed down newspapers that went too far in their criticism of the regime. The Provincial press was given wide scope for the dissemination of information, for discussion of various aspects of life and for the development of belles lettres.

The six million Jews who lived in all parts of the Russian Empire but for the overwhelming part in the "Pale of Jewish Residence" in the Western Section of the Empire, constituted a large and varied reading public which could very well maintain a ramified network of newspapers. The Jewish papers served as a medium for the consolidation of the Jews and the strengthening of their feeling that they constituted a large nation among the other nations of Russia. This press served as a bulwark against assimilation and strengthened the desire of the Jews to exist as an independent national movement.

The influence of the Hebrew press which went back to 1856 (with the appearance of the weekly *Hamagid)*[2] was greatly reduced when a permit was issued by the Russian Government at the end of 1902 for the publication of a daily paper in Yiddish *(Der Fraind)*. The Hebrew press was keyed to the enlightened Hebrew reader, the alumnus of the Yeshiva. It relied to a very large extent on the support of the Zionist Movement in Russia.

The Hebrew newspapers in the country were headed by *Hazefira,* a daily paper which renewed its appearance in 1910, after an intermission of about five years. Its editor-in-chief was Nahum Sokolov who had the participation on the editorial board of David Frischman, Rabbi I. Nissenbaum, S. Tschernowitz, Josef Heftman and E. N. Frank. The paper carried cables and telegrams, news items and reports, but its main feature was its literary section. Before the outbreak of World War I *Hazefira* had a circulation of 15,000 throughout Russia.[3]

In Vilna there appeared until April 1915, under the editorship of B.Z. Katz, *Hazman,* a daily which was marked for its publicistic daring, and had a circulation of 4,000 copies.[4] Unlike *Hazefira, Hazman* was not a markedly Zionist paper and tried to give expression in its columns to the outlooks of national circles which dissociated themselves from Zionism.

The central Hebrew weekly was the organ of the World Zionist Organisation, *Haolam* which, since 1912, had appeared in Odessa[5] under the very careful editorship of A.A. Druyanow. This paper had a rich literary section and also carried extensive information about the Yishuv in Eretz Israel and the Zionist Movement throughout the world. In Odessa there appeared also the important literary-scientific monthly *Hashiloach,* which was edited by Josef Klausner, to which contributions were made, in addition to the giants of Hebrew literature in those days, by Mendele Mocher Sefarim, Ahad Ha'am, Chaim Nachman Bialik, Shaul Tchernichovsky, Zalman Schneur and others. It also had the participation of young people who were to gain fame in later days, such as David Shimoni, Shlomo Zemach, Abraham ben Yitzhak and Uri Zvi Greenberg. These papers gained a wide circulation also outside Russia. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that *Hapoel Hatzair* of Jaffa, the organ of the Halutzim who had gone to Eretz Israel, had a circulation of several hundred copies[6] in many towns and townlets, and wielded considerable influence on the Zionist youth. In 1914 there came out in Warsaw, under the editorship of S. Eisenstadt, *Shacharit,* the organ of Zeirei Zion. At Poltava,

Akiva Rabinowitz continued to bring out his orthodox anti-Zionist weekly *Hamodia.*

The Yiddish press was initially intended for the non-Hebrew and Yiddish reading masses. Its centre was in the largest of Jewish communities in Russia—Warsaw (which had a Jewish population of over 300,000). Here, before the outbreak of World War I, there appeared two large Yiddish dailies:[7] *Haint,* under the editorship of Shmuel



S. Eisenstadt



A.A. Druyanov

Yaacov Yatzkan (founded in 1908) which reached a daily circulation of 70,000 copies (100,000 on Fridays) and its competitor *Moment,* under the editorship of Zvi Prilutzki (founded in 1910), which reached a circulation of 60,000 copies (90,000 on Fridays).

These papers had the participation of the leading Yiddish writers in Russia, including J.L. Peretz, Shalom Aleichem, Shalom Asch, David Frischman, M. Spektor, H.D. Nomberg, Hillel Zeitlin and the younger writers: Josef Tunkel (Der Tunkeler) and Moshe Justman. However, an important factor in their dissemination was the serialised sensational novel, one of whose authors (anonymously) was the Hebrew writer A.L. Jakubowitz.[8] These two papers conducted a stiff competition between themselves, accompanied by mutual vilification, calumny and trials. They had a non-party character and tried to please both the Zionists, the Labour Movement and the Orthodox. *Haint* tended more to Zionism.

A third daily newspaper in Warsaw was *Unzer Leben,* which was a continuation of *Der Fraind,* the first Yiddish daily in Russia, which was closed down by the Russian authorities in October 1913. This paper gave expression to the outlooks of the Leftist intelligentsia. It had a higher literary standard and so obviously its readership was much more limited.

The Warsaw press held sway over all the Provincial towns in the Pale of Residence. Nonetheless, attempts were made in several provincial cities to establish a local press. In Lodz there appeared the dailies *Lodzer Tageblat* (Zionist) and *Nayes Lodzer Morgenblat* (non-Zionist), while in Vilna there appeared *Vilner Tageblat* and *Shtern.* We also hear about *Bialystoker Tageblat,* and *Minsker Zeitung,* etc. The Labour parties tried to bring out legal weeklies, such as *Die Zeit* of the Bund in Petersburg and *Dos Vort* of Poalei Zion (closed down after its fifth issue). Special papers were devoted to specific problems, such as *Der Yiddisher Emigrant,* which was published in Vilna by JCA and the weekly *Der Holtz Hendler* (Vilna) which served the timber merchants and their officials in Lithuania.

The monthly *Di Yiddishe Velt* which was published in Vilna since 1913, under the editorship of Shmuel Niger, was of a particularly high literary standard and was intended to encourage an enlightened Yiddish reader. In Vilna, there began appearing in 1914, the first children's paper in Yiddish *Grininke Beymelech,* under the editorship of Falk Halperin.[9]

Chief among these papers was the Zionist weekly *Razsviet* (Petersburg) under the editorship of A. Idelson. *Razsviet* had 10,250 subscribers in the 10th year of its publication. The paper had the participation of the best Jewish-Russian writers, among them Zeev Jabotinsky, Yitzhak Gruenbaum, Alexander Goldshtein and Leib Yaffe. It presented the reader with many translations from Hebrew and Yiddish literature and valuable information on events in Eretz Israel and in the World Zionist Movement. The spirit that pervaded the paper is borne out by the statement that repeated itself from time to time in its columns, namely that the greatest day in its history would be the one on which it would be able to appear in Hebrew under the Hebrew name of *Hashachar.* The paper fought vehemently and pungently against manifestations of assimilation and negation of Jewish nationalism.[10]

Far behind *Razsviet* insofar as circulation is concerned,

was the weekly *Novy Voshod,* which was the organ of the anti-Zionist circles (the group headed by M. Vinaver) and the Galut-nationalists (the S. Dubnow group). The editor of the weekly was Leopold Seb and one of its principal contributors was Israel Zinberg, the researcher into Jewish literature.

The affairs of Jewish education and the Jewish school were looked after by the "Association for the Spread of Enlightenment" (founded in 1910). In Petersburg there appeared also a monthly devoted to the problems affecting the organisation of the Jewish community *Vestnik Yevreyskoy Obshtchiny* (edited by J. Halperin), and the monthly devoted to Jewish emigration (*Emigrant*) under the editorship of Shmuel Yanovsky.

In Odessa there appeared the weekly *Vozrozhdenie* (The Revival) intended for the Zionist youth and the children's monthly *Kolosia* (Sheaves) with the participation of the Jewish-Russian writer Nahum Osipovich.

Special importance attaches also nowadays to the historical quarterly *Yevreyskaya Starina* (the Antiquities of the Jews) which was published since 1919 by "The Society for Jewish History and Ethnography" in Petersburg, under the editorship of S. Dubnow.[11]

The publication carried researches by S. Dubnow, S. Ginsburg, J. Gessen, I. Zinberg, and a host of memoirs and documents.[12]

This large network of papers which answered the needs of the various strata and circles in Russian Jewry, from the masses to the enlightened sections, and which carried the message and thought of the Jewish people from the Western extremities, the Polish Kingdom until the Far East, broke down completely in the period of World War I.

True, in the first months of the War, there was a certain awakening, particularly in the popular press in Yiddish. People were hungry for news and the circulation of the daily papers increased. In Warsaw there appeared *Der Morgenshtern,* and in Vilna *Dos Folk. Vilner Tageblat* began bringing out an evening supplement. In Moscow there began appearing at irregular intervals, once or twice a month, leaflets under the name of *Voyna i Yevrei* (the War and the Jews) or *Yevrei na Voyne* (The Jews in the War), which had the purpose of telling about the role of the



Editorial staff of Razsviet *in St. Petersburg*

Jewish soldier in the battles on the Russian Front, and in the other Allied Armies (England, France, Belgium). However, these mushroom publications stopped completely within a year of the outbreak of the War.

The main reasons for the breakdown of the Jewish press were the troubles of the War and of the military censorship which was particularly strict towards the Jewish press. *Haolam,* which lost its many subscribers in Germany and Austria-Hungary, was suspended immediately after the War broke out.[13] *Hazman* of Vilna, which, too, was dependent on advertisements from a German firm[14] stopped publication in April 1915. The number of pages of *Hazefira* was reduced. *Hashiloach* was ordered at the beginning of 1915 to submit every article in Russian translation and at the end of April 1915 its publication was stopped because it was considered "far too national".[15] "If it were dependent on me", Ahad Ha'am wrote in those days, from London, his place of residence, "I would suspend the publication of all the Jewish papers now. Sometimes silence is much more eloquent than all sorts of expression, particularly of those wishy-washy things that may be said under existing conditions".[16]

However, the overriding reason that led to the liquidation of the Hebrew and Yiddish press was the order of the military

government of 5th (18th O.S.) July, 1915 forbidding the printing of papers in Hebrew script in the whole of the region close to the front which, in actual fact, included the whole of the Jewish Pale of Residence. On that day the appearance was suspended of *Hazefira, Haint, Moment* and all the other papers appearing in Hebrew characters.[17] All the press and national literature of the millions of Jews in the Russian Empire were doomed to silence.



Shmuel Niger



Falk Halperin

Benzion Katz made an attempt to bring out a daily paper, under the name *Petrograder Tageblat* and even received a permit and monetary support from several of the rich Jews of Petrograd to do so. However, on the appearance of its 11th issue the paper was closed down by military order which then took over the city under its administration.[18]

It was only at the end of 1916 that Benzion Katz received a permit to publish a Hebrew weekly by the name of *Ha'am*. Under the influence of the Zionist Centre in Russia, Moshe Glikson was appointed editor-in-chief of the weekly. The weekly was well received in Hebrew and in the first weeks of its publication the number of its subscribers by far "exceeded expectations".[19] According to reliable evidence its circulation exceeded the 6,000 mark.[20]

Even before that, in the summer of 1916, there began appearing in Odessa, which was also outside the scope of the military authorities, a Zionist-oriented daily called *Unzer Leben*. However, it had only local appeal and value.

The various decrees which affected mainly the Hebrew and Yiddish press led to the strengthening and growth of the Jewish-Russian press. The Zionist *Razsviet* rather unwillingly took upon itself to fill, as far as possible, the role of the Zionist and Hebrew press and published in its columns and in Russian translation material intended to be written in Hebrew and Yiddish. Its circulation increased greatly in the years of the War, despite the fact that in the wake of German occupation almost 40% of Russian Jewry were removed from the realm of the Empire.[21] The paper *Novy Voschod* also increased its circulation. These two papers, however, suffered much at the heavy hand of the military censorship and in the end were closed down. Soon after, however, they renewed their publication in Moscow — *Razsviet* under the name of *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* and *Novy Voschod* under the name of *Yevreyskaya Nedela*.[22]

Among the new Jewish-Russian papers mention should be made of the party publications: *Novy Put* (New Path), which appeared in Moscow on behalf of the Folkist circles (among its editors were A. Trainin and A. Prat),[23] and the Bund weekly *Yevreyskiye Vesti* (Jewish News) which began appearing in Petrograd as from 1916.

The national Jewish students who were organised in the *Hechaver* association brought out as from 1915 their organ *Yevreyski Student* (The Jewish Student) under the editorship of Jacob Klebanov.[24]

The papers devoted to specific problems in Jewish life were joined by the organ of the "Ort" association—*Vest-*


№ 16. Воскресенье, 23-го апрѣля 1917 г.

ЕВРЕЙСКАЯ

ЖИЗНЬ

Сіонизмъ стремится создать для еврейскаго народа правоохра

Yevreyskaya Zhizn, *Zionist Russian-language weekly, Moscow, 1917*

nik Trudovoy Pomoschtschi (The Paper of Assistance by Work) under the editorship of B. Brutzkus, and the paper of the "Association for Assistance to Jewish War Sufferers" *Pomoschtsch* (Relief).[25]

This fortnightly published considerable information on the situation of the hundreds of thousands of Jewish war refugees and deportees from the regions of the Front, discussed economic and cultural problems affecting these people and published information about donors and donations for the great work of relief.

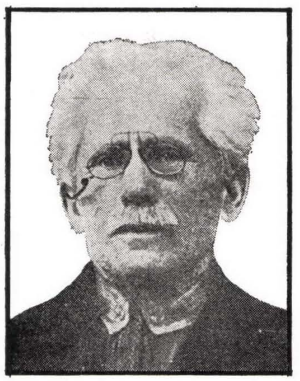
In the beginning of March, 1917, the democratic Russian Revolution took place and the status of the Jewish press was altered overnight.

Only once in its history, for about nine months alone, from March until November 1917, Russia enjoyed a true freedom of the press. Among the other papers in Russia, the Jewish press, too, enjoyed freedom. But this period was so short that it could hardly yield real fruits. Beginnings were made, but these were killed in their bud. At the end of 1917 the oppression of the free word returned although the oppressors had changed.[26]

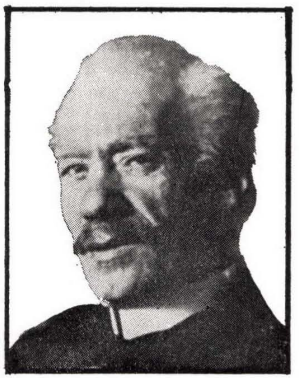
These few months of freedom were not auspicious for the development and renewal of the Jewish press. The cost of newsprint and of printing had risen steeply; Warsaw, Lodz, Vilna and many other Jewish towns and townlets found themselves on the other side of the Front so that the number of Jewish readers was greatly reduced.

Relatively much better, however, was the situation of the Jewish-Russian press.[27] It had not stopped its appearance in the last years of the Czarist regime. Moreover, the Jewish reader had grown accustomed to reading Russian in these years when the Hebrew and Yiddish word was stifled. Liberated from the yoke of censorship, the veteran weeklies now addressed themselves to their readers and preached their ideas to them. The Central Zionist organ returned to Petrograd in July 1917 and even assumed its former name *Razsviet*. The surprising development of the Zionist Movement led to an increase in the number of its subscribers who, at the end of 1917, topped the 30,000 mark.

At Odessa there began appearing a Central Zionist weekly intended for South Russia, under the name *Yevreyskaya Mysl* (The Jewish Thought) under the editorship of J. Trivus. The Poalei Zion Party began publishing Petrograd their paper which carried the historical name of *Yevreyskaya Rabochaya Chronika* (The Chronicles of the Jewish Workers) under the editorship of Nahum Nir (Rafalkes). Zeirei Zion began publishing in Petrograd a weekly of their own called *Izvestia* (News) of the Central Committee. At Odessa an appearance was made of a monthly under the editorship of Agronom A. Zusman, called *Palestina* which



Israel Zinberg



Abraham Idelson

was devoted to the problems of settlement in Eretz Israel. The Poalei Zion in Odessa, also brought out a weekly entitled *Svobodny Put* (The Road to Freedom). Characteristic of the period was the declaration at the head of several Zionist papers (as well as of the papers of the Bund): "Owing to technical reasons the paper is printed in Russian".

Bund changed the name of its periodical *Yevreyskye Vesti* to *Golos Bunda* (The Voice of the Bund), and also published a periodical of its own at Odessa under the name of *Nash Golos* (Our Voice). The "United" published at Petrograd the periodical *Yevreyski Proletari* (The Jewish Proletarian).

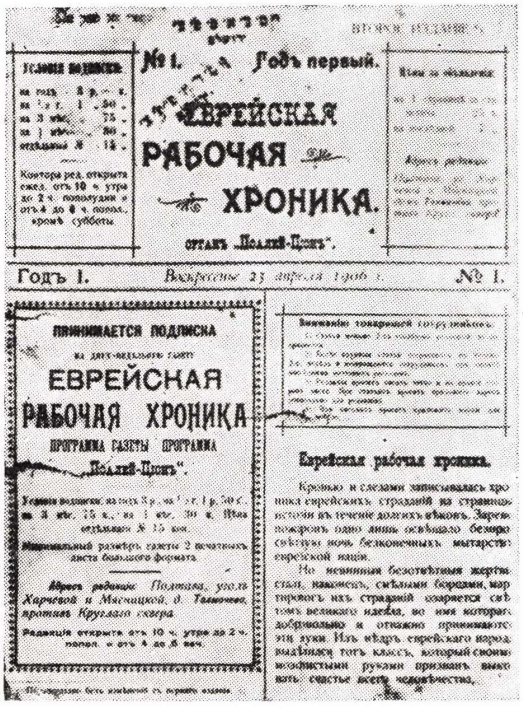
In addition to all these papers which were of a central feature, there appeared a large number of local publications, organs of local branches of parties, communities, youth organisations and soldiers.[28] Most of them, however, brought out several issues only. Nothing more is known about the



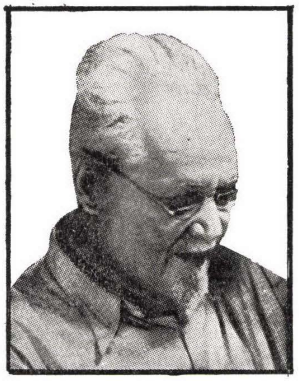
Ha'Am, *Hebrew daily in Russia, Petrograd, 1917*

majority of them, except that they are mentioned in bibliographical notices.

Slowly, however, the Hebrew and Yiddish press also began to revive. The Hebrew press fell back on the enthusiastic support of the Zionist Movement, which then occupied a principal place among Russian Jewry. *Ha'am,* which commenced publication at the end of 1916 as a weekly, began appearing as from July 11, 1917 as a daily under the editorship of M. Glikson, S. Tchernovitz, Benzion Katz and M. Kleinman. The daily *Ha'am* announced in its first issue that its purpose was to "take the place of the general papers in the Jewish home so that the reader may not lack anything that he seeks or finds in the other papers". At the same time, however, it would devote special attention to "Jewish information" so that "there would be no event of major or minor importance affecting Jews that would be overlooked. *Ha'am* had a circulation of 15,000 copies,[29] but this could hardly cover expenditure. Nor were there many advertisements in the paper, the majority of them being connected with Hebrew culture and Jewish religious needs. The paper was supported by some of the rich Zionists of Moscow, mainly by the Zlatopolsky-Persitz family. They even


№ 1. Годъ первый.
ЕВРЕЙСКАЯ
РАБОЧАЯ
ХРОНИКА.
Годъ I. № 1.
ПРИНИМАЕТСЯ ПОДПИСКА
ЕВРЕЙСКАЯ
РАБОЧАЯ ХРОНИКА
Еврейская рабочая хроника.

Yevreyskaya Rabochaya Chronika, *Poalei Zion organ, Poltava, 1906–*



Shimon Ginsburg



Moshe Kleinman

bought a modern printing house for *Ha'am,* equipped with a rotary press. The weekly *Ha'am* continued to appear as a supplement to the daily paper. The Zlatopolsky publishing house also brought out a first-class weekly for children called *Shtilim* (Sapplings) under the editorship of M. Ben-Eliezer.

In the month of Sivan of the year 1917 *Hashiloach* renewed its appearance in Odessa. In this city J. Alterman and J. Halperin began publishing *Hagina* (The Garden) which was devoted to encouraging the Jewish kindergarten. At Kiev a radical Zionist group called *Et Livnot* (Time to Build) tried to bring out a political periodical in Hebrew called *Dror* (Freedom).[30]

Hebrew activity in the main concentrated on the preparation of literary anthologies, some of which were intended for the publication of creations written in the years of silence 1915–1917. At Odessa, a bulky collection called *Knesset* was brought out under the editorship of H.N. Bialik. At



Togblat, *Zionist daily, Petrograd, 1917*

Petrograd *Olamenu* (Our World) appeared under the editorship of M. Glikson. A first collection of articles devoted to "The Problems of Revising and Disseminating the Hebrew Language" under the name of *Sfatenu* (Our Language) appeared in Odessa, under the editorship of J. Klausner (the second volume appeared in Jerusalem in 1923). At Petrograd there appeared two volumes, rich in content, of the quarterly devoted to Jewish history and to Judaism, entitled *He'avar,* (The Past) under the editorship of S. Ginzburg. Under the editorship of David Frischman preparations were made in 1917 for the publication by the A.J. Stibel publishing house of a large literary-scientific quarterly called *Hatekufa.*

All the amenities were available for the flourishing of a large Hebrew press in Russia which would assist in the development of Hebrew literature and culture. With the victory, however, of the Communist regime, it was doomed to perdition.

The Jewish press in the Yiddish language served in 1917 the interests of the various parties. These were headed by the Zionists. On May 7, 1917, there began appearing at Petrograd, under the editorship of I. Gruenbaum, the Central Zionist daily in the Yiddish language *Togblat.* At the end of the same year the Zionists began bringing out their dailies — *Telegraf* in Kiev, under the editorship of Nahman Sirkin, and *Der Yud* at Minsk. In Odessa the Zionist daily paper *Unzer Leben* which I mentioned above, continued to appear as from the end of 1916.

Bund also founded its two daily papers — *Der Veker* in Minsk (under the editorship of A. Weinstein and Esther) and *Folkszeitung* in Kiev (under the editorship of M. Rafes). As from the beginning of September 1917, there began appearing in Kiev the daily of the "United" — *Naye Zeit* under the editorship of Moshe Katz.

In addition to these, numerous party weeklies, both central and local, began publication. The Zionists brought out *Dos Yudishe Vort* in Minsk, *Kavkazer Vochenblat* at Baku; Poalei Zion — *Der Sotsial-Demokrat* in Moscow, and later on in Kiev; "The United" — *Unzer Vort* in Odessa, *Arbeiter Zeitung* — in Kharkov, *Der Kemfer* at Yekatrinoslav; Bund — *Arbeter Shtime* in Petrograd and *Der Internatsional* at Yekatrinoslav.

Special leaflets were brought out by the various parties on the occasion of the elections that took place in the Autumn of 1917 to the Jewish Community Councils, to the all-Russian Jewish Conference[31] and to the Russian Constituent Assembly.

The general impression was that of a humming beehive. Nonetheless it is difficult to estimate the nature of this press, since for the greater part it is preserved (if at all) in the archives and libraries of the Soviet Union which have been closed for the last 50 years to research workers from abroad.

With the October Revolution of 1917, the process of liquidation of the free Jewish press commenced. This process continued for about a year or two, which were followed by about ten years of slow death. In the first few months



Syonistskaya Mysl, *Moscow Zionist Committee's weekly, Moscow, 1917*

after the Communist seizure of power, the administration did not determine its attitude to the free press in general. Liberal and Leftist papers continued their publication, and some of them levelled serious criticism against the Soviet regime. Suffice it to mention the daily paper of M. Gorky *Novaya Zhizn* which was closed down by the authorities only in July 1918. In August-September, 1918, after the attempts at assassination of Vlodarsky, Uritzki and Lenin, the non-Bolshevik press was systematically liquidated. But even subsequently "non-official" papers continued to make their appearance insofar as they did not bear a clearly anti-Communist stamp and limited themselves to literary, professional problems, etc. Under these conditions the fate of the Jewish press in Russia was sealed.

The first victim was the Hebrew press. The fate of Jewish culture generally was handed over, after the Revolution, to the Yevsektsia (short for Jewish section), composed mainly of Bundists, United Socialists and Left Poalei Zion, who, after passing over to the Communist Camp, harboured a pathological hatred for the Hebrew language.

The first victim was the daily *Ha'am,* and little wonder. *Ha'am* had an entirely negative attitude towards the new regime. "The Russian Revolution", the editor Benzion Katz wrote in a leading article, "exceeds by far in its ferocity and wilderness all the negative aspects of the French Revolution. We have but one hope — the new inquisitional regime will not last very long".[32]

The *Yevsektsia* at first struggled against *Ha'am* in indirect fashion, summoning it to Court from time to time for technical violations and imposing heavy fines upon it. When its supporters from among the rich Jews of Moscow left the city, its publication was suspended in June 1918.



Arbaiter-Shtime, *central organ of Bund, Petrograd, 1917*

The three volumes of *Hatekufa* still appeared in the first year of the Revolution. However, when the Stibel publishing house was closed down at the end of 1918, their publication ceased in Russia. "As I passed by the building which served as the storeroom of the Stibel publishing house", M. Gnessin of "Habima" wrote in his memoirs, "I saw heaps and heaps of the thick volumes of *Hatekufa* and of other books brought out by that publishing house, lying on the snow-covered pavement while soldiers were leading them on to large lorries so that they may serve as fuel in order to heat the offices of the Communist officialdom".[33]

Hashiloach stopped publication in April 1919 when Odessa was first captured by the Bolsheviks, on orders of the Soviet regime, on the strength of "information" supplied by the Yevsektsia.

The last Hebrew periodical to be published in Odessa was the weekly *Barkai,* the last issues of which appeared at the end of 1919. A. Litai, its last editor, tells us that in January 1920, on the second Bolshevik entrance of the city, a delegation called upon the head of the Yevsektsia, the former Bundist A. Merezhin, and asked for permission to continue publishing *Barkai* on the undertaking that it would print only poems and stories and no publicistics. The request was turned down.

And so ended 80 years of Jewish press in Russia — down to the present day.[34] The press in Yiddish, insofar as it was not Bolshevist, did not last for very long either. The Zionist *Togblat* was closed down on August 9, 1918. In the Ukraine



Far'n Folk, *daily of Byelorussian Zionist Organization, Minsk, 1918–1920*

and Byelorussia, Zionist papers appeared under the German, Ukrainian and Polish regimes in these regions (such as the daily *Di Velt,* which was published in Kiev in 1919, and the dailies *Der Jud* and *Farn Folk* which appeared in Minsk in the years 1918–1920).

The Bundists and the United Socialists (*Fareinikte*) brought out their papers in the years 1918–1919. As is well-known, a Leftist process overtook these parties and in the



M. Ben-Eliezer



Nahman Sirkin

end they were swallowed up by the Communist party. In this process their papers became Communist papers. The Kiev *Folkszeitung* became already on February 22, 1919, the organ of the *Communistisher Bund,* and three months later, the organ of the "Jewish Communist Association". The Minsk *Veker* became on April 21, 1921, the organ of the head office of the Yevsektsia in Byelorussia. Some years later, we find the editors and contributors to these papers (A. Weinstein, Esther, A. Kirzhnitz, T. Heilikman and others) among the leaders of the Yevsektsia and the writers in the Soviet Jewish press.

In the early 1920s there still appeared some collections in Yiddish which had a literary character or engaged in non-political problems. In the years 1920–1922 there appeared in Petrograd, under the editorship of Prof. B. Brutzkus, the ORT organ *Der Erd Arbeter* which was devoted to Jewish agricultural settlement. In 1922–1924, there appeared in Moscow some five issues of *Shtrom,* a literary collection which had the participation of Communist and non-Communist writers.[35]

The story of the Left Poalei Zion press forms a chapter in itself. This party declared itself to be a Jewish-Communist party, adhering to "Palestinism" after the fashion of Ber Borochov. Remnants of this party continued to exist in Russia until its liquidation in 1928. They brought out a series of papers in Yiddish and in Russian among which the central papers in Moscow — *Yevreyskaya Proletarskaya Mysl* (1920–1926) and its successor *Der Proletarisher Gedank* (1926–1927) — lasted longest.[36]

A similar fate overtook the Jewish press in Russian. *Razsviet* was closed down in September 1918, which was the fateful month for the Russian press as a whole. In its place the Zionists began publishing in Moscow a weekly by the old name of *Chronika Yevreyskoy Zhizni,* under the editorship of Jacob Klebanov. This paper was closed down in July 1919. From May 1918 until the Spring of 1919 there appeared in Petrograd the monthly *Eretz Israel* (in the Russian language) under the editorship of B. Goldberg. It, too, was closed down. A Zionist press in Russian, but bearing a local stamp, was published in the Provinces in the Ukraine, Siberia and the Caucusus, so long as the Soviet regime had not become well founded as yet in those regions, nor had the Yevsektsia as yet grown in power. We hear about the appearance of Zionist periodicals in the years 1919–1920 in Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Kherson, Yelizavethgrad, Simferopol, Rostov, Samara, Kazan, Stavropol, Batum, Baku, Tiflis, Irkutsk, Chita and Vladivostok.[37]

In 1918 the appearance ceased also of the Russian papers of the other Jewish parties, *Yevreyskaya Nedela* of the Populist Group, *Novy Put* of the Folkists, *Yevreyski Rabochi* of Bund.

An attempt was made to bring out a Jewish public paper under the name of *Yevreyski Vestnik* (Petrograd 1922). The Jewish national youth in Moscow brought out in the year 1922–1923, seven issues of their organ *Yevreyski Student.* The legal "Hechalutz" published in Moscow in the years 1924–1926 their central organ *Gehchalutz* in which a lot was reported about events in Eretz Israel. In the cold atmosphere of the Soviet regime, however, these attempts were not long-lived.

To this periodical press one may add a series of literary-

scientific collections published under the patronage of such legal associations as "The Disseminators of Enlightenment" and "The Jewish Historical-ethnographical Association". In 1922–1926 there appeared two volumes in Petrograd under the name *Yevreyskaya Mysl,* under the editorship of S. Ginsburg.

At about the same time there appeared also four volumes of the collection *Yevreyskaya Letopis* in the editing of which the historian S. Luzinski participated. An attempt was made to continue publishing the historical collection of articles entitled *Yevreyskaya Starina* and three volumes appeared in the period 1924–1930. The Association which looked after this publication was headed by S. Sternberg and I. Zinberg. These works were brought out in editions of 1,000–2,500 copies.[38] On the liquidation in 1930 of the two Jewish scientific societies mentioned above the end came to independent research in Jewish history and culture on Soviet-Russian soil.

In the Soviet regime periodicals of various kinds occupy an important place. Their function, however, is entirely different from that intended for the press in democratic countries. They do not supply information for its own sake and they do not serve as platforms for a free and independent clarification of political, social and cultural problems. Their primary function is to educate the masses and to conduct propaganda for the ruling party in the State.

The Soviet regime exists and maintains a ramified network of papers in all languages spoken in the country — a daily press, weeklies and monthlies for adults, young people and children, for the clarification of specific problems, for the sciences, the arts, etc. Since, on the outbreak of the Revolution, there were over 2,000,000 Yiddish-speaking Jews in Russia, the Jewish sections in the Communist Party, the Yevsektsias were commissioned to set up a network of papers in this language. The editorship of these papers was handed over to the faithful hands of Jewish Communists, generally Bundists, members of the "United Socialists" and former Left Poalei Zion, who rabidly hated anything that the Jewish people held dear — the Hebrew language, the Jewish Homeland — Eretz Israel, the Jewish religion.

This press was intended to assist in encouraging a new Jewish culture — the Communist culture in the Yiddish language. Writers and journalists who were prepared to have a hand in this received generous recompense. Some of the leading figures in Yiddish literature were attracted to these great possibilities that presented themselves to them. Many of them believed implicitly in the fact that in the Communist regime they had a loyal supporter of the Jewish Yiddish-speaking masses, and so were prepared — some of them gladly — and some of them with considerable pain,



David Bergelson



Shimon Dimanstein

to give up all the treasures of the Jewish past. Among these were such leading writers and poets as David Bergelson, Der Nister, Peretz Markish, D. Hofstein, L. Kwitko, A. Kushnirow and others.

Very soon, however, many of them came to realise that they had fallen into a trap. They were subject to increasingly strict supervision and to a constant censorship on the part of the agents of the Jewish section of the Communist Party, who followed every move of theirs and levelled criticism at every digression from the official Government line. Already at the end of the 1930s the process of extermination set in of the Yiddishist men of letters — a process that ended in 1948–1952 when the leaders were annihilated.

However, the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s were marked by an apparent prosperity for the Yiddish school, Yiddish literature and Yiddish press.

The network of Soviet Yiddish papers was headed by

three dailies in Moscow, in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, first among them being the Moscow "Emes". The founder and first editor of this paper was Shimon Dimanstein, a close associate of Lenin. Under its first name *Di Varhait* began appearing as a weekly in Petrograd in March, 1918. Subsequently it changed its name to *Der Emes* and only on November 7, 1920, it received the name by which it is known to the present day. Its first editor was Moshe Litvakov, a



Itzik Fefer



David Hofstein

sour and bad-hearted man, who was hated and reviled even by those who were closest to him. *Emes* conducted an all-out war against the Jewish religion, the Hebrew language and Zionism. That constituted the principal content of its Jewish section. The general section of the paper consisted of translations of propaganda and informative material supplied to the Soviet press as a whole.

This policy led to the fact that wherever the Jewish masses in Russia had come to master the Russian language they passed over to reading the Russian press in which they could find the general material in the original and so spare themselves the pain of reading the vilification contained in the paper of every Jewish manifestation. And so the paper unwittingly cut the branch on which it was poised. Its readership continuously dwindled as did the ersatz for Jewish culture which the paper tried to encourage. As from the middle of the 1930s tones of sorrow and anger were heard in *Emes* at the flight of the Jewish masses from the "Jewish" schools and from the "official" literature and press. In April 1938 the paper as well as its editor, M. Litvakov, was liquidated.

In the Ukraine the central paper in Yiddish was published in the capital of this Republic (which was at first Kharkov, and since 1934–Kiev). In the years 1919–1924 its name was *Komunistishe Fon* (Communist Flag) and from then on until the Nazi invasion (1941)—*Der Shtern* (The Star). Its founders were Bundists and former members of the "United Party" (including J. Novakovski, M. Rafes, A. Merezhin). It was a pale copy of the Moscow *Emes* and its net was spread over the Ukraine alone.

At Minsk, the capital of Byelorusssia, the daily paper bore the name of the Bundist paper that preceded it—*Der Veker,* and in actual fact was its direct continuation. In 1925, it was decided apparently to cut this link with the Jewish past and the name of the paper was altered to *Oktyabr.* It, too, continued to appear until the capture of Minsk by the Nazis in June, 1941.

Daily papers (or such as appeared two or three times a week) were published in the Provinces which had large concentrations of Yiddish-speaking Jews. Their function was to supervise the inculcation of the Communist idea and to denounce all manifestations of national or religious life in their respective localities. They ceased publication after it appeared that their function to uproot every manifestation of Judaism had been completed. We shall mention several names: *Der Komunistisher Veg* in Homel (1920–1926), *Der Odeser Arbeter* (1927–1937), *Der Arbeter* at Berdichev (1927–35), *Krementchuker Arbeter* (1932–1935). Numerous local papers and leaflets appeared not only in various towns and cities but also in places of work where there were various concentrations of Jewish workers.



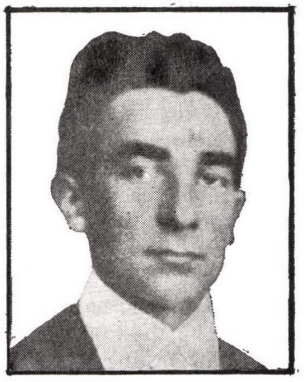
Emes, *daily, organ of Communist Party (Jew. Section), Moscow, 1918–1938*


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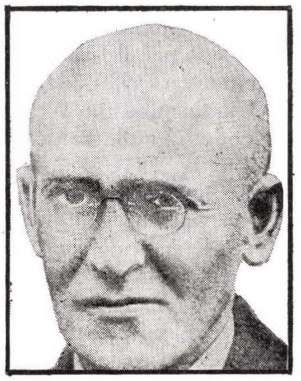
Kolvirt-Emes, *organ of Kalinindorf (Ukr.) Region of Com. Party, 1940*

Jewish settlement led to the founding of a press of its own. In the years 1926–1930 there appeared at Kharkov the weekly *Der Yudisher Poyer* (the Jewish Peasant) which was followed by *Dos Sotsialistishe Dorf* (the Socialist Village). It appeared twice weekly at least, until 1932. Special papers appeared in the first half of the 1920s, in the autonomous Jewish Councils in the Ukraine and in Crimea, among them: *Stalindorfer Emes, Leninveg* (Freidorf), *Kol virt Emes* (Kalinindorf), *Kolvirt Shtern* (Nayzlatopol). The ORT Association, which looked after Jewish settlement in the Soviet Union, brought out in the years 1927–1937 a special monthly in Russian devoted to the problems of Jewish settlement, under the name of *Tribuna*. Among its editors were Dimanstein, David Zaslavsky, the agronomist, Bragin and Golde. In November 1937 there appeared in the paper Dimanstein's article on 20 years of the Soviet Revolution. This article was not approved by the authorities and the paper was closed down. *Tribuna* was intended for a Jewish and non-Jewish readership and included a lot of material on the history of Jewish agricultural settlement in all parts of Russia and in Birobidzhan.[39]

The Jewish press in Birobidzhan is a chapter in itself. Prime of place is taken by *Birobidzhaner Shtern,* a paper that began appearing in October 1930 and continues to appear (with short intermissions) to the present day. The paper is published three times a week as a miserable sheet and has no interest whatever from the Jewish point of view. Its official circulation is about 1,000. At the same time there began appearing a Russian daily under the same name (*Birobidzhanskaya Zviezda*). Its present day circulation is about 12,000.[40] In the years 1936–1940 there appeared a literary collection *Forpost* which had the participation of Jewish writers from all parts of the Soviet Union. The first issues of this collection were published actually in Moscow, but the name of the town Birobidzhan appeared on the cover



Shachne Epstein



M. Litvakov

as the place of publication since an appreciable number of its pages were devoted to the problems of settlement of the "Autonomous Jewish Region".

Special papers were devoted to Jewish artisans, *Die Royte Nodel* appeared as a monthly in Minsk (1924) and in Kharkov (1925–1930) as the organ of "The Organisation of Tailor's Organisations in Byelorussia and the Ukraine". In the years 1927–1937 there appeared several times in Kharkov an organ of the Credit Association for artisans cooperatives—*Der Kustar.*

Childrens' papers appeared in Moscow (*Pioner,* 1925–1928), in Kiev (*Freid,* 1922–1925, *Oktyaberl,* 1930–1939), in Kharkov (*Zay Greit,* 1928–1937) and in Minsk (*Junger Leninets,* 1929–1937). They were linked with the Soviet Scouts Association (*Pioneers*). The Soviet Youth Organisation ("Komsomol") had the papers *Yungwald* (Moscow, 1923–1928), *Yunge Gwardie* (1924–1936), *Der Yunger Arbeter* (Minsk, 1922–1935). It may be assumed that they

ceased publication when the Jewish youth stopped reading them and preferred the Russian original of these miserable translations.

The Jewish school network was served by the pedagogical papers of *Der Veg zu der Nayer Shul* (Moscow 1924–1938) and its successor *Ratenbildung* (Kharkov 1928–1937).

Special leaflets for anti-religious propaganda came out from time to time in the various towns and cities, especially on the occasion of Jewish festivals. In 1931–1935 there appeared in Moscow a central paper entitled *Der Apikoires* which was parallel to the Russian *Bezbozhnik*.

In the years 1939–1941 when the Soviets gained sway over the Ukraine and the Western parts of Byelorussia and subsequently over the Baltic countries—regions in which there lived about 2,000,000 local Jews and refugees, the need was felt for the dissemination among them, and so there developed a network of Yiddish papers including the dailies *Bialistoker Shtern, Lemberger Shtern,* and *Vilner Emes*. In Kovna the Leftist daily *Folksblat* continued its publication until its name was changed in December 1940 to *Kovner Emes*. There also appeared in Kovna a weekly for the Communist youth—*Shtralen,* and in Riga a monthly by the name of *Ofboy*.

The literary and scientific periodicals that appeared in the Soviet Union with the participation of leading Jewish writers and research workers are of lasting value. A group of Jewish writers in the Ukraine at first brought out the monthly *Prolit* (1928–1932) which changed its name to *Farmest* (1928–1937) and subsequently to *Sovietishe Literatur* (1928–1931). The composition of the editorial board of this monthly was changed from time to time, but the name of Itzik Fefer always appeared prominently on the list. In the years 1924–1933 there appeared the fortnightly *Di Royte Velt*. In Byelorussia there was the Minsk *Shtern*—the central organ of the Jewish writers in this republic, from 1925 until the Nazi invasion. In the years 1934–1941 there appeared in Moscow the voluminous Annual *Sovietish* as a central collection of the Jewish writers in the Soviet Union. All these periodicals carried in addition to tribute to the Party and to the "Socialist Homeland" and translations of Stalin's speeches and of those of the other "great figures of the generation", also literary material: stories, poems and literary criticism.

The Jewish scientific papers were connected with the Jewish Scientific Institutes in Minsk and in Kiev; special importance attached to those among them which engaged in Yiddish philology, such as *Di Yiddishe Sprach* and its continuation *Ofn Sprachfront,* which appeared in Kiev in the years 1927–1939, under the editorship of David Shtiff and *Lingvistishe Samlung,* which appeared in Minsk in the years 1933–1936. The collections entitled *Ofn Visenshaftlechen Front* (Minsk, 1932–1935) and *Visenshaft In Revolutsie* (Kiev, 1934–1936) engaged in literature and history.

Lasting value attaches also to the four volumes of the historical-literary collection *Zeitshrift* which was published in Minsk by the "Jewish Department of the Institute for Byelorussian culture" in the years 1926–1931, and to the collections of "Researches of the Jewish Historical-Archaeographical Committee" published in Ukrainian in Kiev in the years 1928–1929 under the editorship of Jonah Galant.[41]

On the face of it, this press ceased publication with the death blow given by the Nazis to the Jewish centres in the Soviet Union. But, a perusal of this list shows signs of liquidation already in the second half of the 1930s. That was a natural outcome of the decline of the Yiddish language. It was impossible to maintain a press which was non-Jewish or even anti-Jewish in content but only Jewish in language, a large part of what was printed therein being translations of official articles and speeches by leaders, which could be read also in the Russian press.

Insofar as a knowledge of the Russian language spread among the Jewish children, youth and adult public, their interest in this press, which was a poor substitute for the Jewish press, decreased. Government budgets were of no avail and when the authorities realised that this or other paper had no readership they would stop its publication without anyone daring to utter a protest. It may be assumed that if the Nazis had not destroyed the Jewish communities, the Yiddish press would have dwindled in the course of time.[42]

When the Western part of the Soviet Union was captured by the Germans in the summer of 1941, the end came to the Soviet-Jewish press of all types. It was only about a year later that the publication was renewed of a paper by the Jews of Kuibishev (formerly Samara) on the Volga, the temporary capital of the Soviet Union. This paper, *Einikeit*

was the organ of the "Jewish anti-Fascist Committee"—a public body established in order to arouse the Jewish people in the Soviet Union and throughout the world to step up its efforts in the war against the Nazi enemy and to extend assistance in every way possible to the Soviet Union in its struggle against the Germans. This body concentrated the best Soviet-Jewish public forces. The Committee, which was set up in August 1941, was headed by the actor S. Michoels and by the Jewish writers, D. Bergelson, D. Hoffstein, S. Halkin, N. Markish, I. Fefer and the Russian-Jewish writers, E. Ehrenburg, S. Marshak and the violinists, S. Gilels and David Oistrach, the producer S. Eisenstein and others. From time to time this Committee used to call Conventions of Jewish representatives who appealed to their "Jewish brethren throughout the world" to join wholeheartedly the war against the Fascists and to extend assistance to the Red Army. *Einikeit* carried news about the heroism of Jewish soldiers and officers in the Soviet Army, about the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews. Its first editor was the Communist writer and activist, Shachne Epstein. In August 1943 the paper was transferred to Moscow and turned into a weekly, and in February 1945 it began appearing three times a week. The paper had a circulation in the United States, Eretz Israel and other Jewish communities throughout the world and was imbued with a Jewish-national spirit. In its publication there were people who saw a certain departure in the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Jewish people.

The paper continued to appear after the War and tried to encourage anew the buds of Jewish culture and to arouse official opinion concerning the need to renew Jewish culture in the form that it crystallised before the War. Following Gromyko's speech on the day that the vote was taken at the U.N. on the fate of the State of Israel, in November 1947, the paper took up a sympathetic and even enthusiastic attitude towards "Eretz Yisroel", and on the establishment of the State published greetings to President Chaim Weizmann accompanied by good wishes for victory over all its enemies.

The first steps were also taken for the bringing out of literary collections in Yiddish. In Kiev there began appearing in 1947 a literary bi-monthly, *Der Stern,* under the editorship of H. Polianker; and in Birodbizhan there appeared three thin pamphlets of a collection entitled *Birodbizhan*. Still, from time to time Jewish writers and activists were met with enmity whenever they applied for permission to bring out periodicals or books in Yiddish.

And then, all of a sudden, the guillotine was brought down. In November 1948 the "Anti-Fascist Jewish Com-



The two remaining Yiddish papers in USSR: Birobidzhaner Shtern *and* Sovetish Haymland

mittee" was liquidated, *Einikeit* was closed down and news came through of arrests among the carriers of Soviet-Jewish culture.

The end was rung in for 30 years of Jewish-Soviet literature and press. On the face of it that did not constitute a great loss for the Jewish people. The Jewishness of this literature and press expressed itself mainly in the language. Any comparisons that may be made would be pointless. Shall we compare this literature and press to the literature written in Hebrew and Yiddish by the Christian missionaries? Shall we compare it to the Yiddish leaflets brought out by the "Judenrats" in the Ghettoes? It is best not to make any comparison. We have seen here a literature and a press that a certain trend in the Jewish people tried to force upon the Jewish people through the help of a foreign regime, at the same time silencing all other trends so that the saying of Hillel the Elder of old "Because thou hast drowned others—thou wert drowned", has been borne out. The end of the writers and builders of this press was most tragic. In recompense for their loyalty they were executed by their masters for no fault of theirs and without judgment. May their death be their atonement.[43]

NOTES

1 The Jewish-Polish press did not attain permanent status within the confines of the Russian Empire. The number of Polish-speaking Jews was at the most about 30,000 (see J. Shatzky in *Yidden in Poilen,* New York, 1946, p. 716). For the greater part these were extreme assimilationists. True, in 1913 an attempt was made to bring out a Polish-Jewish daily, under the editorship of Stanislaw Mendelson, under the name *Przeglad Codzienny,* but the paper stopped appearing on the death of its editor before the outbreak of World War II. (see A. Levinson, "History of Warsaw Jewry", 1953, p. 305, and P. Appenszlak in "Warsaw", Vol. 1, 1953, p. 511).

2 *Hamagid* although published in Luck, Prussia, on the Russian border, was intended mainly for circulation and sale among Russian Jews.

3 Details about the circulation of *Hatzefira,* according to town and townlet (other than Warsaw), are given in "Hatzefira Annual" for the year 1912.

4 See B. Z. Katz *Memoirs,* Tel Aviv 1963, p. 201.

5 "Haolam" was founded in Cologne in 1907. In 1909 it was transferred to Vilna and from there to Odessa.

6 In 1913 *Hapoel Hatzair* had 612 subscribers in Russia (as compared with 654 in Eretz Israel). See *Hapoel Hatzair* 1913, Nos. 28/29, p. 19.

7 The history of *Haint* and *Moment* is given in *Fun Nonten Ovar,* Vol. 2, New York, 1956.

8 See article by M. Grossman in above-mentioned publication, pp. 53–67.

9 A full list of Yiddish papers published in 1914 is found in: A. Kirzhnitz, "Die Yiddish Press in der Gevezner Russisher Imperie" 1930, pp. 52–56.

10 See my article on "Razsviet" in "Katzir", Vol. 2.

11 The non-Russian reader may find material on the content of the paper in the English index of A. G. Duker in "Hebrew Union College Annual," Vols. VII–IX, 1931–1932, pp. 525–603.

12 A full bibliography of the Russian-Jewish press (until 1917) is to be found in the book of U. Iwask "Yevreyskaya Pezyoditcheskaya Pechat v Rossiyi" (Russian), Talleinn (Estonia) 1935. Apart from the articles mentioned in the article, mention should be made of the monthly devoted to the Karaites, published in Vilna since 1913, under the editorship of Ovadia Piltzky, entitled "Karaimskoye Slovo", devoted to affairs and history of the Karaite community.

13 See "Hamashkif" (S. L. Zitron) "The Hebrew Press and Literature during the War", "Me'et Le'et", Vilna, Adar 1918.

14 Concerning the dependence of "Hazman" on these advertisements, see B. Z. Katz, "Memoirs", 1963, pp. 201–202.

15 J. Klausner, in "Hashiloach", Vol. 32, p. 411.

16 Ahad Ha'am's letter to J. Klausner of July 8, 1915.

17 The Warsaw papers including *Hatzefira* renewed their publication several days after the German capture of the city on August 5, 1915. The history of these papers, however, no longer concerns the history of the Jewish press in Russia.

18 On this affair, see "Memoirs" of B. Z. Katz, pp. 234–238.

19 Announcement by editorial board of "Ha'am" in issue No. 5 (6.12.1916).

20 According to the evidence of B. Z. Katz, in his article "With the Passage of an Era", *Hatzefira,* 1927, issue 24, "The history of the Hebrew press," he writes, "never knew such a large number of subscribers to a weekly paper". M. Glikson writes in his article "The Difficulties of a Journalist" ***(Ha'Aretz,*** 15.6.1928), that *Ha'am* had a circulation of 7,500 copies.

21 According to the estimate of B. Goldberg (Russian Annual "Kadima", Petrograd, 1918) there lived some 3,440,000 Jews in the realm of the Russian Empire in 1917. In the region under German and Austrian occupation their number was 2,264,000.

22 See report on circulation of *Razviet* in the last issue of the year 1916.

23 This paper is not found in the National Library but we know about it mainly from the Bibliographies of Iwask (see note 12) and Yashunsky.

24 As above.

25 Subsequently "Dielo Pomoshchi" ("Relief Project"). I had in front of me the private copy belonging to Prof. B. Z. Dinur.

26 H. Lensky, "The Lopped Branch" (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1954, pp. 88.

27 The Jewish press generally in the years 1917–1919, including the Russian-Jewish press, did not come down to us in its entirety. The source for information about it is included in Yashunsky's book: Yevreyskaya Peryoditcheskaya Pechat (Russian) Petrograd, 1920, as well as in the Bibliography drawn up by M. Altschuler "Russian publications in the Soviet Union on Jews and Judaism" (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 205–236.

28 Such remarks are quoted in the Bibliography of Alstchuler in regard to the numbers 1277 (Poalei Zion), 1312 (S.S.), 1321 (Zionists), 1360 (The United), 1388 (Zeirei Zion).

29 According to M. Glikson, in his article mentioned in note 20.

30 Concerning the group "Et Livnot-Dror", see article by J. Bilu in "Heavar", XII, pp. 90–101.

31 Concerning the preparations for the all-Russian Jewish Convention, see article of M. Altschuler, ibid. pp. 75–89.

32 "Ha'am", December 7, 1917.

33 M. Gnessin, "My Path with the Hebrew Theatre" (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1946, p. 171.

34 By way of curiosity one should mention the licence granted in 1927 to Rabbis I. Abramsky and S. J. Zevin, to bring out a Torah journal entitled "Yagdil Torah". Two thin pamphlets were printed at Bobroisk, and that saw the end of the publication. It transpired later on that the authorities were interested in bringing these out so as to show them to visitors from America and to prove that religious Jewry is not persecuted in the land of the Soviets. That was the time of the romance between the Soviet Government with the Joint and JCA in connection with Jewish settlement in Southern Russia.

35 See letter by I. Zinberg to S. Niger of 3.5.1922, "Zamelbicher", Vol. 5 (New York, 1943) p. 273.

36 A full list of the Poalei Zion press in Russia (from 1903 to 1927) is given in the article of H. Arnhold "The Poalei Zion Press in Israel and in the Diaspora" (Hebrew) "Asufot", issue 5, 1957, pp. 103–106. It should be mentioned that in 1922 Poalei Zion brought out in Baku a paper in the Tat language (in Hebrew characters) under the name of "Karsach" (Toil). The paper was intended for the Mountain Jews in Azerbidjan and Dagestan (ibid. p. 406 carries also a photo of the headline of the paper).

37 See list of Zionist press in the Russian language in A. Rafaeli's book "In the Struggle for Redemption" (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 5716, pp. 116–119. Among these papers there is one in the Tat language and one in Georgian, published at Kutais.

38 To these one may add the Russian collection "Biological and Pathological Problems of the Jews" (four volumes, in the years 1926–1930), published under the editorship of a group of Jewish physicians. For these publications, see M. Altschuler (editor) "Russian Publications in the Soviet Union on Jews and Judaism" (Hebrew), Jerusalem 5730 pp. 30–35.

39 See article by J. Levavi (Babitzky) "Ozet — Gezerd", "Heavar", Vol. 16. (5729) pp. 118–131.

40 On the press in Birobidzhan, see J. Levavi, "Jewish Settlement in Birobidzhan", Jerusalem, 5725, pp. 318–333.

41 One should also mention the three volumes of "Researches of the Historical-Ethnographical Museum of the Jews of Georgia", published at Tbilisi in the years 1940–1945.

42 For a general bibliography of the Jewish and Russian-Jewish press in the Soviet Union, see "Jewish Publications in the Soviet Union, 1917–1960" (Hebrew); Jerusalem, 5721, edited by H. Shmeruk.

43 The paper "Sovietish Heimland" which commenced publication in Moscow in 1961, chronologically transcends the framework of this article.

Baltic Jewish dailies: Latvia

Eliahu Porat

Even before World War I attempts were made to bring out a Yiddish daily in Riga, and the first among these was the attempt by—of all men—a German Baron called von Badenberg, in the year 1907. To this day the circumstances have not been clarified as to what induced the Baltic German to take this initiative. It must be assumed that the Baron wanted to put forward his candidature for election to the Russian Duma (Parliament) and apparently had come to the conclusion that he would be able to realise his dream through the assistance of the Jewish population of Riga and its environment since the Jews, at that time, played an important role in the economic life of the Baltic region, which was part of the great Russian Empire. A certain Riga Jew by the name of Meller, who was one of the Baron's confidants and close associates, was appointed director of the paper, although the man had had no previous experience in newspaper administration. The well-known writer and journalist, H.D. Nomberg, who had recently returned to Warsaw, was invited to become editor of the paper. From 1905 to 1907 Nomberg had lived in Germany, France and Switzerland, and from there wrote for various Jewish papers and other periodicals.

The first issue of the paper appeared on August 14, 1907. Its name was *Natsional Zeitung,* so named in order to stress its objectives of combating the tendencies at assimilation that were then current among the Jews in the Baltic countries. Nomberg was assisted in his editorial work by two journalists —David Druck and G.H. Kretchmer (Lilliput). He also began running in serial form in the paper Jacob Wassermann's novel "The Jews of Zirndorf" which he translated from the German. The paper, however, was not long-lived. In all, 11 issues appeared. Riga veterans relate that the Baron pinned the blame for the failure on the director, while the director was full of recrimination against the readers, or to be exact, against the readers that did not exist. For the Jews of Riga were in the habit of reading Russian and German newspapers. In actual fact, however, the publisher did not have the technical means to bring out a paper in Yiddish. He lacked not only journalists but also type-setters. The town of Riga was situated outside what was known as the Pale of Residence—those regions in Russia where the Jews were permitted to reside, and whoever wanted to bring in artisans from "outside" had to obtain residence permits for them from the authorities, and this was not an easy thing to obtain.

Three years later, a second attempt was made in Riga to bring out a Yiddish daily. Its main initiator was Dr. Judah Leib Kantor, the well-known Hebrew writer and publicist, who was "official Rabbi" at the time (this was how the communal Rabbi appointed by the authorities was known) of the Jewish community in Riga. In order to ensure the existence of the paper, Dr. Kantor organised a group of public workers and rich Jews, who included Lazar Ettingen, Meir Berlin, Dr. M.J. Pines, Zalman Schalit, M. Blumenthal and others, and they established a fund of 2,000 rubles which, in those days, was considered a fairly large amount.

As editor-in-chief of the paper, which was called *Di Yiddishe Shtime,* an invitation was sent to the well-known literary critic and publicist Dr. M. S. Elyashiv, who wrote under the pseudonym of "Baal Machashavot". His principal assistants in putting out the paper were I.A. Leizerovitch (Isador Lazar) and the well-known Hebrew novelist and translator, M. Ben Eliezer (Glambotski). The first issue of the paper appeared on August 13, 1910.

In a leading article, the editor wrote that the purpose of the paper was to create a "Jewish public atmosphere" for the Jewish community in Riga and to educate the Jewish intelligentsia to regard Yiddish as its language and to look upon the paper appearing in this language as the national organ of the Jewish community.

The struggle, however, was by no means an easy one. The Jews of Riga and its surroundings were not yet accustomed to reading Yiddish, while those who did remained satisfied

with the papers that arrived from St. Petersburg and Warsaw.

The paper had a high standard and, apart from the writers mentioned, had the participation of Max Weinreich, Jacob Leschinski, and others. The paper published in serial form also creations by Shalom Aleichem, Zalman Schneur and S. An-ski. The paper had a very pleasing and serious appearance also from the technical point of view. The initiators invested all the money that they had collected in the printing shop and so, right from the beginning, did not have sufficient funds left for the members of the editorial staff. Apart from that, there was great difficulty in bringing over typesetters from the Pale of Residence and in Riga itself there were insufficient vocational forces for the making of a newspaper. On top of all that there was an act of denunciation to the authorities on the part of the publishers of a Russian paper in Riga. These feared that the new paper would deprive them both of readers and advertisements. The police often made raids and searches in the editorial offices and in the printing shop. The "patrons" of the paper were also put through interrogation. In the end, after two months, in October 1910, they were forced to stop the publication of the paper, of which only 51 issues had come out.

M. Kitai, the Riga journalist, who took his first paces in the paper edited by "Baal Machashavot", tells us in his memoirs concerning the paper that, after it had been closed down it happened that "Baal Machashavot" came to the synagogue for the "Hakkafot" on Simchat Torah. There he was surrounded by the worshippers and, instead of singing out aloud "Yodea Machashavot, Hoshia Na" (He who knows the thoughts of men, come to our assistance!), they called out, "Baal Machashavot Hoshia Na"—thus hinting at the fact that they were anxious for the renewal of the paper, but nothing came of it.

"Baal Machashavot" remained in Riga for some time longer, but shortly after the closing down of his paper he was arrested by the police who wanted to settle "an old account" with the writer. It transpires that as far back as 1906, while he was resident in Vilna, "Baal Machashavot" had written a fiery article about the Russian revolutionary Maria Spiridonova, and for that sin had been sentenced to two months imprisonment. The execution of the court order, however, was postponed and now, four years later, the Riga police had received the order to "collect the debt". "Baal Machashavot's" friends and close associates interceded with the Governor and succeeded in inducing him to employ Dr. Elyashiv as "prison doctor" while he was serving his sentence. After paying his debt to the authorities he returned to Kovno, the town of his birth.

The third attempt to bring out a Yiddish paper in Riga was made on January 4, 1919, immediately after the capture of the city by the Bolsheviks. This time, there were almost no difficulties in bringing out a paper in Yiddish. Its name was *Der Royter Emes* (The Red Truth). It was an official organ of the Government and brought out by its press department. The Government looked after its editorial board, its administration and even supplied the paper, but as veteran Riga journalists relate, the question of newsprint was a matter of worry even for "The Red Truth".

The Latvian Communists were not entirely free of antisemitism and, in particular, Stuchko, the "all-mighty" Communist leader in those days, did not distinguish himself for his sympathy towards the Jews. Stuchko would supply the Latvian papers and periodicals with ample amounts of newsprint, of a good quality, but he would issue the Jewish communist paper with yellow newsprint, in very meagre quantities. For that reason, the paper appeared only three times a week in a very limited number of copies. The Riga veterans relate that this antisemitic ruse by the Latvian Communist leaders gave rise to a scandal in the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and Lenin himself was forced to intervene. A special Enquiry Commission arrived to Riga and established, inter alia, that the Communist papers in the Latvian language were issued good paper in unlimited quantites, but the Yiddish paper received only yellow packing paper and that, in very limited quantities.

Like all oppositionist papers in Russia, *Der Royter Emes* was dry as dust. The paper lacked sufficient publicistic forces and the only professional journalist on the paper was M. Movshovitz. The paper was full of official announcements and articles translated from the papers in Moscow or copied from other Communist papers in Yiddish. But this paper was not long-lived either. Its last number appeared on May 2, when the Bolsheviks retreated from the city.

Der Royter Emes was not popular, but thanks to it Jews had become accustomed to reading a Yiddish paper, and

it had a wider readership among the Jewish public, particularly among the poorer population in Riga, Dvinsk, Rezhitza and other towns.

About two months later, when Latvia was already an independent state, a fourth attempt was made at bringing out a Jewish daily—*Di Yudishe Shtime* (The Jewish Voice)—under the editorship of Dr. J. Helman, who was one of the leaders of the Poalei Zion—Z.S. (Zionists Socialists), but he sought ways and means of attracting also General Zionists and Yiddishist circles to the paper in order to give it a general-Jewish tone and to concentrate around it as large a readership as possible. But he did not succeed. The paper had a sale of only several hundred copies, and on October 3, after having come out in 75 issues, it was closed down.

Dos Folk was the first Jewish paper in Riga that existed for a relatively long period. Its first issue came out on May 16, 1920, and the paper continued under various metamorphoses for close to seven years. For a fairly long time *Dos Folk* was the only Jewish daily newspaper which drew its principal right of existence from the fact that it educated a circle of Jewish newspaper readers. The paper began with a circulation of 300, reaching the 6,000 mark.

Dos Folk overcame the difficulties which had previously faced all attempts to bring out a Jewish newspaper in Riga. The Jewish community in Latvia numbered less than 100,000 and, as time went on, the community was reduced in number. Statistics for the year 1925 show that there were 96,000 Jews in Latvia, and in 1935 there were only 95,000. This community was not homogeneous but was divided into two extremely opposed sectors: the Jews of Letgalia lived until Latvia's political independence in the former Russian Pale of Residence, whereas the Jews of Kurland and Lifland lived in that part of Russia where only "privileged" Jews were allowed to reside.

The Jews of Latvia, like those of Esthonia, had formerly come under the influence of Swedish and German culture, and since the 16th century, had lived under the Czarist regime. In Letgalia, the south-eastern part of Latvia, there was a larger Jewish population in the towns of Dvinsk, Rezhitza, Lutzin, etc., and that came under the influence of Russian Jewry. Until the end of the 18th century Jews were forbidden to live in Kurland and Lifland but since the beginning of the 19th century Jewish communities began to rise in the towns of Riga, Mitava and others. The Jews of Kurland and Lifland were, for the most part, immigrants from Germany although they also understood Russian, and spoke a Germanised Yiddish. However, with the rise of independent Latvia there began slowly to crystallise a Jewish community of common traits.



Shimon Dubnov



Hillel Port

This community was split into parties and factions which were constantly struggling with one another from the ideological point of view. In Letgalia there were still clear traces of Russian Jewry of pre-Revolution days, and it was there that the Bund and the orthodoxy had a strong influence. In Kurland and Lifland the assimilationist circles that arose around the party called "National-Democratic" wielded strong influence. This party came out in an independent list for the elections to the first Sejm (Parliament) of Latvia, and even gained one seat. In these regions the *Mizrachi* and the General Zionists also had considerable influence.

In the first years of independence, Latvia, like the two other Baltic countries, gave guarantees for the preservation of minority rights, and the Jews enjoyed cultural autonomy. This expressed itself in Yiddish or Hebrew schools, according to the choice of the parents. In the honeymoon years of the Republic, the Jewish cultural institutions used to receive grants from the Government and the theatre was maintained

wholly by the State. It was a question of "concrete positions", as it was called, and for that reason a struggle, which was often very fierce, was conducted among the Jewish parties for hegemony in the autonomous cultural institutions of Latvian Jewry.

This fierce party tension used to rise particularly before the Sejm elections, but even after the elections there was no concensus of opinion among the Jewish deputies. On no account, for example, did the attempt succeed to establish a united Jewish faction in the first Sejm to which six Jewish delegates were returned.

Dos Folk described itself as the "non-party democratic organ of Latvian Jewry", but under the given objective conditions, it was no easy task to maintain a paper of this nature. When it was founded, the paper was actually the outcome of public initiative, and not a private enterprise. The first funds for the founding of the paper were provided by two well-known merchants and industrialists in Riga—Abraham Becker and Jacob Haf. The composition of the editorial board and the list of contributors point to the fact that the paper, whose participants represented various parties and factions, was intended from the very beginning to achieve the goal of creating a non-party and independent platform that would be acceptable to all sections of the Jewish community.

But already during the initial period of the paper, serious internal difficulties over its nature and character revealed themselves. After only one month, the editor-in-chief Dr. Helman left the editorial board, and was succeeded by the journalist Tanhum Edut. After some time the funds from public sources for the financing of the paper gave out and now the main owners of the paper were Edut, and his administrator, Z. Urmacher (an accountant by profession).

Tanhum Edut, a civil engineer by training, was the son of a grain merchant from Dvinsk. In his youth he had a tendency to revolutionary activity and, on account of political activity in Bund, he was expelled from the Riga Polytechnic School in the year 1906. He began his literary activity in Russian and received First Prize in a storywriting competition. After his return from the Soviet Union he participated as a feuilletonist in the Riga Russian paper *Sevodnia,* and from there passed over to *Dos Folk.*

In the course of time Edut forgot the foibles of his youth and his political activities in Bund. He now came to regard journalism as his profession. His colleagues used to say that Edut "builds a house by order and edits a paper according to the instructions of the man who places the order". Some tried to find the reason for his cynical attitude to the profession in the bitter disappointment that he had experienced in the Soviet Union. At all events, that was an unusual phenomenon and Edut's conduct always aroused consternation among his assistants who could not bear to see the paper being conducted without a definite line of policy, without direction, without programme or platform, be it Left or Right. It was Zionist one day and Socialist another; at one time it advocated Hebrew, at another, Yiddish. This lack of a political line led to the fact that the more prominent participants in the paper began turning their backs upon it, and in the year 1922 all the members of the editorial board staged a strike and published a pamphlet against the two publishers of *Dos Folk*—T. Edut and Z. Urmacher. They also summoned the publishers for a hearing before the Jewish Journalists' Association in Warsaw. Obviously the owners of the paper did not take up the challenge but made a promise to the workers to consider their views in the future.

Some of the journalists returned to the paper, others joined the other daily paper *Der Veg,* which the Zionist-Socialist Party Zeirei Zion—Z.S. began bringing out under the editorship of Dr. Helman and J. Winnik, with the assistance of a group of journalists and public papers. Its first issue came out on September 17, 1922. The new paper aimed at


„Unser Weg"

אונזער וועג

פאליטיש - ליטעראריש טאג - צייטונג.

Unzer Veg, *bi-weekly, organ of Zeirei-Zion Party, Riga, 1923–1927*

"clearing the atmosphere of the Jewish press", and its editors promised to maintain a consistent political line. The gifted publicist Winnik wrote a series of articles against *Dos Folk,* the paper which he said every financier could buy. But this time, too, the Zionist-Socialist Party set about publishing the paper without preparing its necessary financial foundation, and the paper was temporarily closed down on April 6, 1923, various organisational changes were introduced in its administration, its public basis was expanded and it was now joined also by the General Zionists who were headed by Lazar Ettingen, leader of the Zionist Movement in Latvia. On April 17, the paper renewed its appearance under the name *Unzer Veg.* The paper was now joined by Dr. B. Ziev, J. Garnitzki, M. Rosovski, J. Tran, Dr. J. Yaffe and others. But even in its new metamorphosis, the paper's material existence was not assured, and its publishers were forced to close it down on February 15, 1924. *Dos Folk* was jubilant. Once again, it was the only Jewish newspaper in Latvia—and this time for a fairly long period. Once again it returned to its tortuous path, undergoing various political changes.

The Leftist circles and the Yiddishists found themselves prejudiced against by the only Jewish newspaper in the country and, a year later, they made an attempt to break *Dos Folk's* monopoly on the Jewish reader. On January 13, 1925, a daily paper called *Letzte Nayes* began appearing. In content and spirit it was a patently Yiddishist organ. The paper was founded by the lawyer A. Finkelstein, Z. Levitas and Dr. L. Gribashuk, and the Yiddish writer and philologist Z. Kalmanovitz, who then lived in Riga and was active in the field of Yiddish schools, was invited to assume editorship.

Zelig Kalmanovitz, a native of Goldingen in Kurland, was a persona grata in Folkist and Yiddishist circles in Latvia. He devoted himself heart and soul to the editorial work and also conducted a pungent debate with the paper brought out by Edut and Urmacher.

But a party paper which clung dogmatically to its platform could not, with all its consistency, compete with *Dos Folk.* Kalmanovitz's paper took every care not to publish news items on Zionist or Hebrew cultural affairs. Thus, for example, the paper remained completely silent over the opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on April 1, 1925. A paper that was "consistent" to such an extent could not attract a readership, and although it had on its staff several people who had previously worked on *Dos Folk,* it did not last for very long, and was closed down on May 28, 1925, with its 97th issue.

Again, it was a victory for *Dos Folk,* which remained the only Jewish newspaper in Latvia. Nonetheless, the two attempts that failed—*Der Veg (Unzer Veg)* and *Letzte Nayes*—both of them papers of a high publicistic standard, undermined its prestige and brought its end nearer. The public fight against the corruption of *Dos Folk* and for an independent and non-party platform, paved the way for a new paper which took over the publication of Edut and Urmacher.

This new paper was *Frimorgen,* whose first issue appeared in January 1926. The publishers learned from the mistakes of their predecessors. In the first place the publishing house of *Frimorgen* was a joint concern with the publishers of the Russian paper *Sevodnia* (which at that time was very popular in the Baltic countries): H. Pollack and Brahms on the one hand with the Jewish public figures—Dr. R.R. Dubinsky, Dr. L. Gribashuk and Advocate M. Finkelstein—on the other. The publishers of *Sevodnia* used the profits accruing from their paper in order to enlarge the enterprise. They bought a new print shop, several linotype machines and a rotary press. They then also began to bring out a Russian evening paper *(Sevodnia Vecherom)* and a daily in the Latvian language, and so they became partners also in the Jewish daily.

All previous attempts had failed because the necessary technical preparations for the publication had not been made


אידן, מיידט אריס אלץ וואס האט א שייכות צו היטלעריס דייטשלאנד!

"FRIMORGEN"

פרימאָרגן

דייטשלאנד קען מער ניט צאלן קיין אויסלענדישע חובות.

Frimorgen, *daily, Riga, 1926–1934*

in advance, and they were also lacking the necessary capital in order to ensure the existence of the paper for a larger space of time so that it should not have to be dependent straight away on income.

The publishers of *Frimorgen* had at their disposal a modern print shop, a staff possessed of the necessary technical and administrative abilities and also of a lot of experience in the publication of *Sevodnia*. Nor did it labour under a lack of funds, while Jewish journalists of high qualifications who had resigned from *Dos Folk* stood in readiness to answer the call.

Former attempts had also failed because they had been made on the limited basis of Latvian Jewry which numbered fewer than 100,000 souls—intead of trying to base the paper on the Jewish communities in all three Baltic countries—Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, which together had a Jewish population of about 250,000 (Lithuania, 150,000; Latvia, about 95,000 and Esthonia, close to 6,000). These three communities had lived for several generations close to their common frontiers with the Russian Empire and they had a lot of common traits and interests. In all three Baltic Republics the Jews enjoyed cultural autonomy, at least during the first years of their independent existence so that it could be assumed that through joint efforts it would be possible to bring out a good Jewish paper.

The publishers took this view when setting out to found *Frimorgen*. They also took every precaution not to return to the political zig-zagging of *Dos Folk*. All they did was to secure for themselves influence in principle on the administration of the paper and saw to it that no party was accorded preference or enjoyed "special" rights. These people were possessed of a developed sense of business and succeeded in avoiding the basic mistakes made by *Dos Folk*.

The basic lines of policy of the new paper were communicated to the readers in an article in the first issue, in which it was said that the publishers would support all trends desirous of basing public life on progressive foundations. As for Eretz Israel, the publishers stressed that the time had long since come when it was necessary to remove that question from the private domain of parties and to transform it into a matter of general Jewish interest. However, the publishers promised to allow space in the paper for objective criticism of the Zionist Movement. They also promised properly to evaluate the constructive processes in Jewish life in the Diaspora. It should be said in favour of the publishers that they kept their promises throughout the paper's existence.

Immediately on the establishment of the paper the gifted journalist and publicist S.J. Stupnitzki, who was then of Folkist leanings but nonetheless had a positive attitude towards Eretz Israel, was invited over from Poland to become its editor-in-chief. He was a man of good taste, meticulous in matters of literary and journalistic ethics, and never wrote anything that did not tally with his personal outlook. In actual fact he was a "narrator", and indeed, he had what to tell his readership. He was a man of phenomenal memory and had many things to remember because he was a great traveller who saw much, heard much and read much. His journalistic fertility was phenomenal. He could write as many as six or seven articles a day on various current topics, and yet had time left for longer essays on literary and publicistic themes.

Stupnitzki loved Riga and his work on *Frimorgen*. He was not beset there by financial worries and had at his disposal all the technical amenities that the publishers provided, such as shorthand writers and typists who freed him from the so-called "black" labour. He headed the editorial board of *Frimorgen* for only one year but his influence served as a heritage for many years later, for he had given the paper the image of a public, non-party and pro-Zionist platform.

The new paper under Stupnitzki's editorship, and with the participation of journalists, the majority of whom had come over from *Dos Folk,* was well received by the readers. This proved a heavy blow to *Dos Folk,* which nonetheless was determined to struggle on for its existence. At the beginning of 1926, Edut and Urmacher, the owners of the paper, tried to save it by handing over the editorial work to the well-known journalists and public workers, W. Latzki-Bartoldi and J. Schechtman. In March 1926 they were joined by Dr. J. Helman. However, the owner of *Dos Folk* had missed the bus. The competition of *Frimorgen* proved too strong for them, and the prestige of *Dos Folk* had dropped to such a low ebb that not even the new editorial board could prove of any help. On June 6, 1926 the paper published an announcement that it was merging with *Frimorgen*. Under an agreement entered into between Latzki-Bartoldi and Helman with the editors of *Frimorgen, Dos Folk*

was closed down. True, three months later Edut and Urmacher renewed their paper, this time as the organ of Agudat Israel. M. Dubin, member of the Sejm, on behalf of the Agudah had promised to consolidate the existence of the paper. But even in this metamorphosis it did not last for very long and after a three months' struggle the paper was finally closed down.

At the end of 1926 Stupnitzki resigned from *Frimorgen* and the editorship was taken over by Latzki-Bartoldi and Helman.

These two people were men of diametrically opposed character, but they complemented each other. Latzki-Bartoldi was a romanticist, an aesthete, a poet, a man constantly in search of new truths. He saw the clashes in life and sought to bring about a synthesis between them — a synthesis between heaven and earth, between spirit and matter. Not like those who called themselves realists, Latzki did not regard heaven to be so far removed from the earth. The realists failed to see that only because they were shortsighted, because they saw only the things that lay under their noses.

There were two traits throbbing in Latzki's heart. He was an individualist who always sought contact with the masses. He founded parties but was far removed from partisanship. Latzki's political biography counts him among the founders of the Z.S. ("Zionist Socialists") and afterwards of the J.S. ("Jewish Sejmists"), and ultimately of the Folkists — the "Folkspartei". But he hated the "corridors" of every party, although he realised that one can do nothing against the need of party life.

In daily life Latzki was a man of credulous simplicity. His was the world of imagination, where he could act at will. Nonetheless, his imaginary world—strange as it may seem—was a world of the utmost clarity, without mist; it was a concrete world that could be readily grasped.

Helman was Latzki's exact opposite. This unique figure combined traditional Jewish learning with secular culture, a political temperament combined with the unconcern of the Bohemian, a party dogmatism and wide knowledge. In his youth he had studied in Yeshivoth and this phase in his life had left its impact upon him in the days when he studied at the universities of Frankfurt and Berne and was tossed from one student colony to another in Switzerland and Germany. Helman loved his party with all his heart, and outside the Zeirei-Zion-Z.S., he had no life. He was one of the leaders and devoted key-workers of the party but also loved the role of the Chassidic "Rebbe" whose followers hover around and avidly lap up every utterance from his lips.

Latzki was like an artist in search of solitude; Helman was a "Real-politician" who felt good only when in company. Latzki was in search of the antithesis in order to arrive at the synthesis; Helman was closely-linked to the thesis and for the most part that was the party thesis.



W. Latzki-Bartoldi



Jacob Helman

But, as we have said, these two editors of *Frimorgen* complemented each other. The two of them were fertile in the amount of writing that they put out — Helman in his publicistics and political articles, Latzki in his essays, literary criticism and articles on cultural affairs.

Latzki was one of the founders of the "Folkspartei", but despite all his metamorphoses, he had a positive attitude towards Eretz Israel. Helman was an active key-worker in his party. But the two of them preserved the "non-party" line of the paper that they edited — the policy that was laid down when the paper was founded.

The two editors were also marked for the fact that they were not too keen on dabbling in every minor issue in the editorial office. The technical work was entirely the responsibility of J. Kitai, the secretary of the Editorial Board.

Kitai had Leftist tendencies but he was not a blind follower of any party. He was possessed of a keen critical eye and no mistakes of any dogmatism escaped him. In his youth he used to travel a lot, and by nature he could not remain long in one place. In the end he returned to Riga and after the War found an outlet for the impressions of his wanderings.

The members of the Board had worked together for many years on *Dos Folk,* and on *Frimorgen* they were pleased with the relatively good conditions that they enjoyed and also appreciated the liberal attitude of the publishers to the collaborators on the paper. The good technical conditions, the proximity to the editorial offices of *Sevodnia,* the large format of the paper, the host of telegrams received, and all types of journalistic material that used to arrive daily at the publishing offices (four daily papers in three languages and several illustrated supplements!) — all these created an atmosphere of comfort which was an innovation for the journalists in Riga.

Kitai, the secretary of the editorial board, was a master in every type of journalistic work, he was a good translator and a good style editor; he knew how to cut down articles and to digest them and to add a sentence here and a sentence there to the work submitted by others. Whenever need arose he could also "write". Kitai was popular with all his colleagues. He was always ready to be of help. In his youth he had known times of stress and hunger and when he reached a stage when he could live in comfort he was always willing to lend a helping hand to a colleague in trouble. He was a Bohemian by nature, but pedantic in his work. The publishers as well as his colleagues knew that he could be relied upon.

A place of special importance on *Frimorgen* was occupied by Michael Yoh (the pen-name of Abraham Yoffe). He was a strange phenomenon in Riga's Bohemia: an artist and journalist, a decor man in the theatre and an essayist, a caricaturist and a writer of belles lettres. He wrote in Russian and Yiddish, especially on theatrical and artistic topics. Like Kitai, he had known suffering in his youth. He had been a watchmaker and later on sang in the choir of the Cantor Rosowski; he joined a theatrical troupe that travelled through the towns and townlets of Letgalia and staged plays from the old Yiddish repertoire. In his early youth he began to paint and from that he passed over to theatrical decor and to play-writing. But, unlike Kitai, Yoh was a fiery spirit that could find no rest and, as he used to say of himself, he declared war against all those who "defaced reality and rendered it shallow". He had a biting pen and conducted an all-out struggle for a better Jewish theatre. He was possessed also of a tireless energy and was active in the public arena. Through his sincerity and uprightness he succeeded in making many enemies, but his readers liked him for his refusal to tread the path of routine. He was never boring.

Mark Razumny, the gifted reporter of the paper, was a journalist with a literary bent. His first steps in the field of literature were taken in the realm of poetry and story-writing. Under the influence of Kitai, who was a close relative of his, he tried his hand at feuilleton writing in the humorous periodicals that Kitai used to bring out from time to time in Riga. Razumny was one of the most active and fertile collaborators on *Frimorgen.* He wrote stories, feuilletons, political surveys, reviews, but in the main he engaged in reportage. He best distinguished himself as a writer on travel. He made a name for himself with his first report on his journey on the "S.S. Krasin", the Soviet ice-breaker that went out in search of Amundsen, the Polar explorer whose traces had been lost in the Arctic. He then spent six days on board the ice-breaker and sent to his paper descriptions of nature written with poetic ability, and descriptions of great tension of the rescue activities which were then an event which excited readers throughout the world.

A central place on the editorial board of *Frimorgen* was taken also by M. Gertz-Movshovits. He had been part of all the metamorphoses experienced by the Jewish press in Latvia and had participated in all the papers, beginning with the *Royter Emes* and ending with *Frimorgen.* His colleagues never forgot his act at the time of the first great strike against the publishers of *Dos Folk*: he was the only one who refused to join the strike and assisted in bringing out the paper. However, he joined his colleagues in their strike of December 1925, and together with them withdrew from *Dos Folk* so as to pass over to *Frimorgen.* He wrote feuilletons and short articles, but his main ability lay in technical work. His knowledge of Jewish affairs was anchored in the years that he spent at the Yeshiva of Slobodka.

Through its pleasing external form, its rich and varied

content, its host of reports from foreign correspondents, etc., *Frimorgen* gained the confidence and the love of the Jewish readers in Latvia. The paper's political line did not always prove acceptable to party circles, but it did satisfy the general reader. In order to supply their own needs, the parties used to bring out from time to time publicity material of their own, and so would fill the need created by *Frimorgen* on account of its principle of being a non-party paper. The Z.S. party, for example, brought out a periodical called *Der Ruf,* the General Zionist published *Dos Yudishe Folk,* while the Bund brought out *Di Arbeter Shtime,* etc. On the eve of elections to Zionist Congresses and other special events, the Zionist parties would bring out one-time publications which were not in need of special authorisation from the authorities.

The solid approach by *Frimorgen* to problems gained it the appreciation of all circles. Government circles, too, paid attention to the stand that it took up and to the criticism that it used to level at frequent intervals (in the Government Press Office there was a special official—Yitzhak Marein, who was in charge of the Jewish press, and he used to translate a digest of that paper into Latvian every day.)

Frimorgen began its appearance at a time when the first winds of autumn began blowing in the three Baltic Republics. In the year 1926, with the first signs of the rise of Nazi influence in Germany, a reactionary revolution took place in Latvia which also ushered in the end of the democratic regime in that country.

The clouds of antisemitism which arrived from Germany slowly over-shadowed the skies of Latvia. The reactionaries began raising their heads and antisemitism increased day by day. The Latvians were a small people of peasants and workers, a people that had experienced hundreds of years of oppression at the hands of the Baltic German Barons. The Latvians were imbued with antisemitism and often made the Jews scapegoats for their ills. In the first years of the Republic the outlook still gained sway that tolerance towards the minorities and a democratic regime would serve as an entrance ticket to the family of progressive European nations, and so antisemitism remained latent under the surface. Although even in the honeymoon years of the Republic, the nationalist leaders of Latvia had claims against the Jews that they under-rated the importance of the Latvian language, that they were disseminating Russian culture, but mainly that they occupied the most important economic positions in the country that had recently gained independence.

Also members of the liberal professions, such as physicians, lawyers, teachers, writers and members of other vocations, evinced hatred towards the Jews who accounted for only 5% of the general population (95,000 out of almost 2,000,000), yet occupied important economic posts, more than was their "due" according to their percentage of the population. But the claims of the period before 1926 took on in that year the form of decrees that were issued against the Jews in quick succession. The Ministries of the Interior and of Finance competed with each other in the number of enactments that affected the Jewish population. The Jewish deputies in the Sejm and the representatives of the Jewish population on the local councils endeavoured, as did the Jewish press, to avert these infringements on Jewish rights. In this offensive against the reactionary forces *Frimorgen* played a foremost role, but it goes without saying that its efforts were not always successful, although there were instances of the authorities paying attention to its voice.

In summing up the history of *Frimorgen,* it should be said that the paper served as an important Jewish platform which all circles respected and appreciated. The paper supplied its readers with varied material for thought and reflected events throughout the world, giving the readers a clear picture of what was taking place in the Jewish world. The paper sought the cooperation of many people of literary ability and paid its writers fees that had never previously been known in Jewish journalism. For the first time the Jewish journalists of *Frimorgen* regarded themselves as free and independent men, proud of their profession.

The paper was closed down in 1934 together with all the other democratic and independent papers following the Fascist revolution of K. Ulmanis. About this we shall write farther on.

In 1932 the first Jewish evening paper named *Ovent-Post* began appearing in Riga. Another edition of the paper appeared in the mornings in the Provinces under the name of *Morgen-Post.* Its founder and editor was Dr. Eliahu Poretzki, at present Porat.

The paper carried the latest news, was edited in popular fashion, and had a fairly large circulation, both in Riga and in the Provinces. In the capital the paper made its ap-

pearance at 2.00 p.m., and its price was half that of a morning paper. The morning paper that appeared in the Provinces was also half the price of the other morning papers. The paper laid special stress on reportage and reflected life throughout the country. Towards that end it had regular correspondents in the Provincial towns. It also maintained close contacts with the Jewish papers in Poland and its regular correspondents included writers and journalists of



Yerachmiel Winnik



Eliahu Porat

considerable fame, such as Yehoshua Perle and S. J. Stupnitzki. Stupnitzki was particularly popular in Riga, and *Ovent-post* continued his series of memoirs and pen-portraits of famous Jewish figures whom he met in the course of his life.

The editorial staff of the paper was small, but it consisted of young, able and energetic people who, in their previous places of work, had found their advancement hindered through the frequent metamorphoses of the Jewish papers, or who had been deprived of the chance of establishing a status for themselves in the press. The workers displayed devotion and application to their work although their salaries were limited.

Apart from the editor, the editorial board consisted of Yerachmiel Winnik, Abba Wasserman, Alexander Weinerman and Kalman Gross.

Yerachmiel Winnik was an experienced journalist who had started his journalistic career on Russian papers. It was only later that he learned to write in Yiddish. He had been partner to almost all the metamorphoses of the Jewish press in Latvia.

Abba Wasserman began as a translator of telegrams received in Latvian, and later on became technical editor of the paper. He had a deep knowledge of the arts and wrote theatrical reviews. Alexander Weinerman was news editor on the paper and made up its first page.

Owing to the paper's success from the very outset, Brahms and Pollack, owners of the *Sevodnia* concern, began bringing out an evening paper which appeared in Riga one hour before *Ovent-Post*. Their paper was called *Batog* and its editor was M. Gertz-Movshovitz. But their efforts to maintain their monopoly of the Jewish reader proved futile. From the technical point of view *Batog* was superior to to *Ovent-Post* (and its edition *Morgen-Post*) but the popular character of *Ovent-Post* had gained the sympathy of the readers.

Batog's competition was serious, but *Ovent-Post* succeeded in overcoming it through the fact that the members of the editorial board and the workers in the printing press were partners in the Cooperative that brought out the paper. The members of this Cooperative and, first and foremost, the typesetters, preferred, as they put it, to work on a paper of their own, although the typesetters were receiving only about half the wages that were paid by other papers. In all truth, they had no alternative since, on the closing down of *Dos Folk* on which they had worked for many years, the people were left without employment. *Frimorgen* had a sufficient number of linotype setters and was in need only of manual workers.

The typesetters had full rights in the Cooperative but obviously wielded no influence on the policy of the paper.



Morgen-Post, *daily, Riga, 1932–1934*

Nonetheless, a representative of the print workers appeared in the editorial offices one day to announce that he had a proposal by the leader of the Revisionists in Latvia, Dr. Jacob Hofman, to purchase the paper and so the print workers refused to continue being members of the Cooperative. They placed the option before the other members, either to pay them the full rate according to the tariff of print workers or they would sell the paper to the Revisionists.

The print workers had a majority vote on the Cooperative and so the deal was carried through. In July 1933, the paper was taken over by the leadership of the Revisionist Party. Dr. Poretzki and Winnik resigned from the editorial board, the other members and some of the contributors remaining at their work.

The Revisionist Party, which was then very active in Latvia, appointed the journalist Arie Dissenchik (subsequently editor-in-chief of *Maariv* newspaper in Israel) who had gained a name for himself as an able Parliamentary correspondent while he worked on *Dos Folk* and other periodicals, as editor of the paper. Zalman Levenberg, a young Revisionist activist (subsequently manager of *Maariv* in Israel) was appointed manager of the paper.

Until then the Revisionist Party had no foothold on the Jewish press in Riga. It was a mere chance that the editors of all three daily papers had been members of the Zionist socialist party, but possibly on that account the party stood aloof and did not lend its support to any of these papers. Not so the Revisionists, who devoted themselves with all their fervour to organising the paper that had passed to their authority and who could now rely on the best journalistic forces that their movement could muster, chief among them being Z. Jabotinsky and Dr. J. Schechtman.

The Revisionist Movement also induced all its active workers throughout Latvia to enrol readers for the paper and to assist its administration. The new editorial board allotted a lot of space in the paper to party publicistics and thus also enriched its content. It should be said in favour of the editorial board that it succeeded in preserving the popular character of the paper, continued to publish articles by Stupnitsky and others who had no connection with Revisionism, as well as the popular novels by Yehoshua Perle, which were popular among the readers.

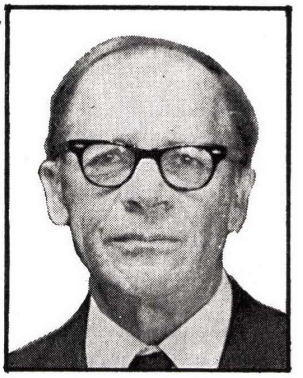
In May 1934, after the Ulmanis Revolution, the paper was closed down together with all the other papers.

The three Baltic Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia more or less followed the same path, switching over from formal democracy to dictatorship.

All three States started out with a West European democratic orientation, introduced a Parliamentary regime and



Arie Dissenchik



Zalman Levenberg

promised freedom for all political parties and ensured the rights of the minorities. Within one decade, however, the Parliamentary system of all three regimes waned; democracy grew ever weaker and the rights of the minorities were reduced from year to year until the dictatorial regime arose which openly put an end to all the achievements of democracy. Lithuania mounted the road of dictatorship in 1926, while Latvia followed in her wake eight years later, in 1934.

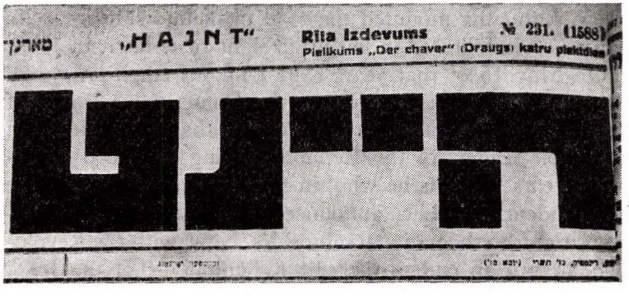
On May 15 of that year, Karl Ulmanis carried through the Fascist Revolution. He was the Conservative leader of the Latvian Peasants' Party and one of the outstanding and most able leaders of the Republic during its "good democratic years". It was he who, in the honeymoon days of the independent Republic, announced the granting of autonomous rights to the national minorities. Now, with the Revolution, he put an end to the cultural autonomy of the Jews, as well as to the existence of Jewish parties and of their newspapers. An only concession for a Jewish daily newspaper was

granted to M. Dubin, leader of Agudat Israel, who for many years had been member of the Latvian Sejm.

Ulmanis was mindful of Dubin's act "in the Parliamentary period" when, in the Sejm, he voted together with the Right, and often supported the coalition of the Rightist parties against the activities of the other Jewish Deputies who generally supported the progressive governments.

Dubin was an original figure among the leaders of the Jewish community, to which this timber merchant was devoted with heart and soul. Each day, before turning to his own personal business, he would hurry from one Ministry to another in order to secure the release of a Jewish Communist who had been arrested, or to receive a permit for a poor Jewish linen merchant who had been deprived of his concession, or to obtain a subsidy for some Jewish institution, such as a Yeshiva. He was the arch-type of a Jewish "Shtadlan" (pleader for Jewish causes). A member of Chabad Chassidism, and a stalwart supporter of the Rabbi of Lubavich, he harnessed himself to Agudat Israel activity, and because of his own great popularity, the Agudah too became popular among the Jewish masses, and gained two deputies in the Sejm. Dubin was persona grata in government circles during the Parliamentary period, but he continued to be so among the authorities also after the Ulmanis Revoluion, and so he was granted the only concession for the publication of a Jewish newspaper in Latvia.

The paper was called *Haint* and it brought out two editions a day. It carried local news as well as some information about Jewish life abroad, and even news items from Eretz Israel, except where their content clashed with the outlooks


„HAJNT" Rita Izdevums № 231. (1588)
Pielikums „Der chaver" (Draugs) katru pieklidien

Haint, *daily of Agudat Israel, Riga, 1934–1940*

of Agudat Israel. The editorial work on the paper was entrusted by Dubin to his close associates—S. Wittenberg and H. Hadakov.

Wittenberg was an original figure among Agudah activists. He was a member of a semi-assimilationist family, had studied at a Russian High School, but the "Jewish spark" (as the members of Chabad were wont to say) was awakened in him in his youth, apparently under the influence of the Rabbi of Lubavitch who had settled in Riga after his flight from the Soviet Union, and had lived there for several years.

Wittenberg, a lawyer by profession, had no idea about the making of a newspaper. So he entrusted the work to his young associates, who ruled the paper with a high hand and took every care that it should be "Kasher" from the Agudah point of view. Its external format was copied from *Ovent-Post*. In content, however, the Agudah paper was pale and poor. *Haint* had a monopoly of the readers but it lacked journalists. It was produced by amateurish activists who carried out the instructions issued by Wittenberg.

Haint reflected the period in the Jewish life of Latvia which was one of decline in all respects—economic, political and cultural. The paper did its best to adapt itself to the new line of policy of the authorities and also endeavoured to hitch the Jewish reader to its wagon, but it reaped very little success. The readers who retained the memory of the Jewish press in its heyday could not acquiesce to the organ of the Agudah which dominated the Jewish public through the kindness of Ulmanis.

Ulmanis's regime completely paralysed the public life of the Jewish community in Latvia, and seriously affected the Jewish journalistic profession. Some newspaper men were arrested and sent to the concentration camp near Libava, among them Prof. M. Laserson and Yerachmiel Winnik, both of them leaders of Zeirei Zion—Z.S. Other journalists succeeded in making their escape. J. Helman left for Warsaw where he edited *Dos Wort;* W. Latski-Bartoldi went on Aliyah to Eretz Israel where he was warmly received by his disciples and friends of the past; M. Kitai fled to Warsaw where for some time he edited a Yiddish literary journal; Michael Yoh moved to Lodz where he painted and wrote essays and stories. Most of the journalists, however, found no work because either they could not, or would not, work

on *Haint*. The paper existed for exactly five years, until the outbreak of World War II.

Three years after the Ulmanis revolt, Brahms and Pollack also received a Government concession for a Yiddish weekly which they called *Yudishe Bilder*.

The weekly used to publish photos of Jewish life in the larger Jewish centres as well as in Eretz Israel. The captions of the photographs appeared in four languages—Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish and German. The editor of the weekly was Mark Razumny who took every care to preserve the non-party character of the paper and especially to avert all political tendencies. The paper also published reports about Jewish life in various countries as well as about important events in the cultural and artistic fields. Considerable space was allotted in the paper to Jewish life in Poland. It had the participation of writers and journalists from many countries and had also correspondents in Eretz Israel. It used to carry descriptions of the heroic self-defence of the Yishuv as well as of life in the Kibbutzim and Moshavim.

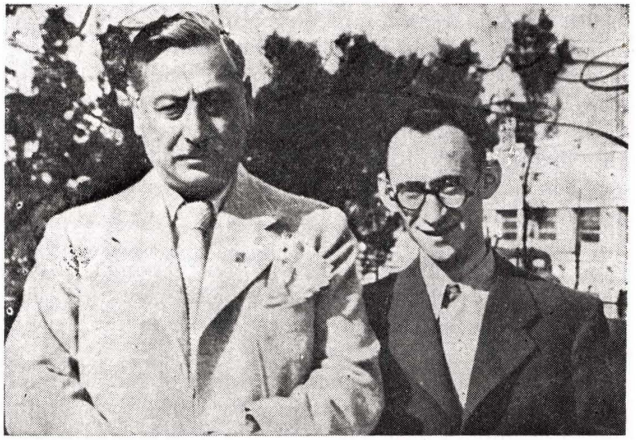
In the early period of the paper many regarded its prospects as particularly dark. They were of the opinion that the Jewish world abroad would place no confidence in a periodical published in a country far removed from the highways of Jewish life. The weekly nonetheless succeeded, and it also had a large circulation, especially in Poland. *Yudishe Bilder* also had many readers in Eretz Israel. Moshe Ron (Danzigerkron) served as the paper's correspondent in Eretz Israel and sent out illustrated reports from the country, particularly about the disturbances and the bloody events that then took place in the country. In June 1938 there appeared, under his editorship, a special issue devoted to the city of Tel Aviv. For two and a half years this periodical was the only Jewish illustrated paper that reflected Jewish life in pictures and in certain measure also in regular journalistic material.

On September 27, 1939, after the outbreak of World War II, this illustrated paper was closed down. In its last issue it carried an article of farewell to its readers, printed a story with banner headline "Danger! Gas!" and a poem entitled "Darkness".

On June 21, 1940, units of the Red Army entered Riga and on July 1, the first issue of the Jewish daily *Kamf* came out. It was edited by M. Schatz-Anin (which was the pen name of Dr. Max Uriah Z. Schatz).

Schatz-Anin, a lawyer by profession, was an extraordinary figure in Jewish public life in Latvia. He had undergone, beginning with his student years, many political metamorphoses, from the S.Z. Party and Territorialism to Communism. During the October Revolution he joined the Communist Party after having participated seven months preciously in the convention marking the unification of the Z.S. factions in the United Jewish Socialist Labour Party. He returned to Riga at the end of 1919 and for many years engaged in his legal practice, organised the Cultural League and the "Workers Home" in Latvia. He also founded a publishing house which brought out several literary collections. For several years Schatz-Anin was legal adviser to the Soviet Embassy in Riga. He was generally known to be a loyal Communist, but the Ulmanis Government did not persecute him—possibly because he was blind, but perhaps on account of his close contacts with the Soviet Embassy.

Schatz-Anin was a great orator, a sharp disputant and a writer with a pungent pen. The Yevsektzia did not have many leaders of his calibre. For that reason there was no comparison between *Kamf* and *Royter Emes,* the paper



Shalom Asch, accompanied by M. Ron, Tel Aviv correspondent of a Latvian paper

that the Communist party brought out in Riga in 1919, in the days when Latvia was under Red Army occupation.

Schatz-Anin was a fertile journalist. His activity as editor continued for only less than one year, but during this short period he "compensated" himself for all his years of silence. In the paper he published a long series of articles entitled "The Jewish Public in the New World" in which he "settled his account" with all the parties and factions with which he had had ideological differences. He also paid the required tax to Stalin with a full measure of love and extreme devotion, and instead of a novel, he printed in his paper in serial form, Stalin's biography written by Henri Barbusse. The sub-heading to this biography was: "The Man who opened up a New World". In serial form he also published the famous "Short Course in the History of the All-Soviet Communist Party".

But the editor of *Kamf* did not remain satisfied with his daily paper. He also brought out a literary monthly by the name of *Ofboy* which had the participation of prominent Jewish Soviet writers as well as Riga writers and journalists such as Mark Razumny, M. Kitai and Hertz Aktzin.

M. Kitai was not a "fellow-traveller" of Communism. In his own special way he drew apart from those who "hailed" the movement and engaged only in historical-literary research. Thus, he published in the monthly a series of articles on Jewish writers of the past. Neither did Hertz Aktzin tread in the path of the "followers"; he translated poems by the Latvian poet, J. Reinis, and others. On the other hand, Mark Razumny published in the monthly poems in honour of the new regime and poems in praise of Birobidzhan.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler's armies captured Latvia simultaneously with the two other Baltic countries. The bloodbath commenced and the end came to the Jewish press in Latvia.

In the Nazi slaughter almost the whole of the family of Jewish writers and journalists in Latvia met their death. Only a handful of them who were sent as prisoners to Russia, where they summoned the strength to withstand their torture in the prisons and forced labour camps, survived. But information has come down to us only about a few among them.

Tanhum Edut fled to Russia on the Nazi invasion but no one knows when, where and how he died.

S.J. Stupnitzki, the first editor of *Frimorgen,* committed suicide in 1942 in the Warsaw Ghetto.

Yerachmiel Winnik whom the Ulmanis police had arrested in 1934 and imprisoned for one year in Libava Concentration Camp, was arrested again in June 1941 together with all the prisoners of the Communist regime, Socialist activists and anti-Communists. He was sent out to the Far North to the Svalimkomsk Concentration Camp, where he died of starvation.

S. Wittenberg, editor of the Agudah *Haint,* was arrested immediately on the capture of Riga by the Nazis, and in October 1941, was transferred together with his family to the Riga Ghetto. In the "Actions" of December, 1941, the Nazis murdered his wife, Sima Wittenberg, a well-known figure in Jewish public life in Riga. For many years she had been teacher and headmistress of the Agudah School for Girls. Her husband died at Buchenwald in April 1945, shortly before the liberation. Survivors tell how, in the most difficult days in the camps, he used to encourage the prisoners and study chapters from the Bible and the Mishnah that he knew by heart, with them.

Michael Yoh who lived in Lodz until 1939, fled to Russia immediately on the German invasion of Poland. He was arrested there and was kept for many years in prisons and forced labour camps. He was liberated in 1946, and returned to Riga where he died several years later.

Selig Hirsch Kalmanovitz who, in 1925, edited *Latzte Nayes* and for several years had been active in the field of Jewish education in Latvia, died in the Vilna Ghetto.

M. Kitai returned to Riga from the Soviet Union after the War, but he no longer found work and a means of livelihood. After several years of deprivation, he died of starvation.

Hertz Aktzin, who had participated in almost all the Jewish papers appearing in Riga, and had brought out humorous weeklies of his own, returned to Riga immediately after the War, but nothing is known of his fate.

Mark Razumny returned after the War from the Soviet Union to Riga.

The Jewish press in Lithuania

Gershon Elimor

The early 1920s—the first years of Lithuanian independence which, after World War I had become liberated from the Tzarist regime, were also years in which Lithuanian Jewry flourished. They regarded themselves as full-fledged citizens of the young state, which granted them full autonomy in all spheres of life. In these early years Lithuanian Jewry established for itself a supreme body for cultural-national autonomy, and the relations with the Government were so good that there were certain communities in the country whose taxation used to be collected by Government officials. There was a special Minister for Jewish Affairs in the Lithuanian Government, who was appointed on the recommendation of the Jewish National Council. The public life of Lithuanian Jewry used to be administered by independent institutions, such as the organisation of Jewish communities, which administered also the elementary and secondary schools and the network of popular Jewish banks. There was compulsory education in Lithuania and the teachers of Jewish schools (of which some 90% were conducted in Hebrew and 10% in Yiddish) used to receive their salaries from the Lithuanian Ministry of Education.

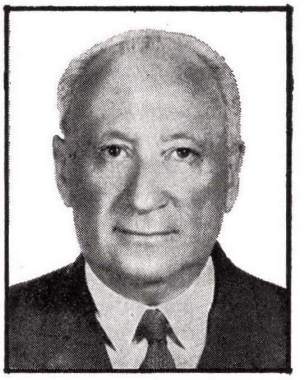
This honeymoon, however, lasted for only a few years. By 1924 no vestige of Jewish autonomy remained. The Jewish National Council was disbanded and the Ministry for Jewish Affairs liquidated. There did remain, however, the Hebrew and Yiddish Schools which continued to function until the end of Lithuanian independence. There were various reasons, which cannot be gone into here, for the deterioration in the attitude of the Lithuanians towards the Jews—a deterioration which assumed the proportions of violent antisemitism. This, in short, was the historical background of the development of the Jewish press in Lithuania.

The Zionists, who represented the largest and central Movement in Lithuanian Jewry, were also the first to bring out a daily paper under the name *Di Yudishe Shtime* (The Jewish Voice), the first number of which appeared on July 21, 1919. Although officially the organ of the General Zionists, it was not hemmed in by a party framework but served also as the organ of Lithuanian Jewry generally.

The first editor of the paper was the Zeirei Zion activist, Leib Garfunkel, a lawyer by profession, and one of the principal leaders of Lithuanian Jewry. Beset as he was by his public activities, the actual editing of the paper was handed over to the writer, Dr. Isidore Eliashev (Israel Elyashiv), who was known in Yiddish literature by the pseudonym "Baal Machashavot" and to the writer I.A. Leizerovitz (the feuilletonist who wrote under the name of Isidor Lazar). When these two went abroad, Moshe Kleinman was invited to take over the editorship of the paper, and when the latter moved to London, the paper was edited by the Zionist activist Moshe Kohen.



Israel Elyashiv



Leib Garfunkel

And so the paper passed through various metamorphoses until Reuven Rubinstein, who ended his task as legal adviser to the Lithuanian Embassy in Russia, returned from Moscow and was apointed editor of *Yudishe Shtime*. Rubinstein had gained a name for himself as a writer and gifted journalist while he was still a student at the University of Petersburg (Leningrad), and he transformed the paper into an interesting and influential organ which zealously guarded Jewish national honour and interests. By the side of the members of the Jewish faction in the Sejm, Rubinstein became one of the central figures in Jewish public life in Lithuania. Until 1925 he was assisted in establishing the policy of the

paper and in adapting it to the line adopted by the Jewish faction in the Lithuanian Sejm, by Dr. Jacob Robinson, head of the Parliamentary faction. From 1925 and onwards, Rubinstein assumed an independent attitude insofar as the policy of his paper was concerned. His leading articles, which were reproduced by the Lithuanian press, wielded great influence on the ruling circles, much more than did Parliamentary speeches.

When the material conditions of the paper became consolidated, he began bringing out an afternoon paper called *Haintige Nayes* of a much lighter character, under the editorship of Samuel Goldshmidt. Besides *Yudishe Shtime,* there appeared also a Hebrew bi-weekly, under the name of *Hed Lita* (Lithuanian Echo), under the editorship of Moshe Kohen. In *Hed Lita,* young and gifted Hebrew writers found a spiritual haven. *Yudishe Shtime* also published a weekly in the Lithuanian language, entitled *Musu Garsas* (Our Voice), which served as an important medium for direct contacts with the Lithuanian people in policy and culture.

As the paper became increasingly consolidated materially, it acquired a printing shop of its own, modern type-setting machines and a rotary press, and switched over from a supported organ to the role of supporter of Hebrew cultural institutions. The paper grew and flourished until, in 1940, the fate of independent Lithuania and of Lithuanian Jewry turned. The Soviet Army occupied Lithuania, which was subsequently annexed to the Soviet Union. *Yudishe Shtime* was silenced and its editor Reuven Rubinstein was arrested and exiled to the Far North. The paper *Folksblat,* whose name was changed to *Emes,* was housed in the editorial offices. This change of name, however, did not succeed in saving it from extinction.

Rubinstein who was editor-in-chief of *Yudishe Shtime* until its liquidation by the Communists in 1940, was born in 1891 at Utian. From early youth he gained fame as a genius, and after completing his secondary studies, he entered the University of Petersburg where he graduated in law. He joined the Zionist Students' Association in Russia in 1917 and became Chairman of its Central Committee. When he was invited by the Lithuanian Ambassador to become Legal Adviser to the Lithuanian Embassy in Moscow, Rubinstein did much to aid Jewish writers and public workers to leave Russia for Lithuania as "Lithuanian citizens".


ZYDŲ BALSAS № 152 (2940)

די אידישע שטימע

Di Yudishe Shtime, *Zionist daily, Kaunas, 1919–1940*

When the War ended, he set out for Eretz Israel in 1948 where he began to work in various fields, and gained fame by his Saturday night talks over "Kol Israel", (the Israel Broadcasting Service).

Di Yudishe Shtime, which, as we have mentioned, was the organ of the General Zionists, was in spirit and content a Jewish-national paper, in whose shadow all the Zionist Movements from the extreme right to the extreme left nestled. When the Socialist-Zionist Movement expanded, however, its leaders decided on the establishment of an independent organ. The two factions of Zeirei Zion—Hapoel Hatzair and Achdut Haavodah — brought out various periodicals of their own, but seeing that these two factions had united in Eretz Israel into one party—the Eretz Israel Labour Party (MAPAI)—in 1930, these two factions decided to publish a daily of their own, under the name of *Unzer Wort.* The paper began to appear towards the end of 1933 and before long the internal pages of *Frimorgen* of Riga, which was then published under the editorship of Dr. Jacob Helman, was appended to it. *Unzer Wort* was closed down on orders from the authorities, on account of its contravention of the censorship laws. In August 1934, the paper changed its name to *Dos Wort,* whose two editors were Nathan Goren and Ephraim Greenberg, until both of them went on Aliyah to Eretz Israel, when the editorship was taken over by Zalman Traub. *Dos Wort's* circulation increased continuously until 1940, when the curtain rang down not only on the Zionist press but on the Jewish press generally.

In the stormy atmosphere that arose after the 18th Zionist Congress, following the murder of Arlozoroff, the Lithuanian Revisionists decided to bring out a paper of their own. They borrowed the title from the Warsaw *Moment,* to which Zeev Jabotinsky was a regular contributor.

The paper's editors changed from time to time. The first editor was Israel Moskovski, who was followed by Eliahu Glezer (in Israel he was known as Gal-Ezer), and Mordechai Katz. *Der Moment* held out until 1937.

In the period of Jewish autonomy in Lithuania, there arose also a small group of Jews to whom autonomy and forced taxation was distasteful. This group represented the large businessmen and the Jewish bourgeoisie. On the deterioration of relationship between the Jews and the Christian-Democrat rulers of Lithuania, a group of Jews pinned their faith on the opposition composed of the peasant parties, the Social Democrats and the Communists, and allocated a sum of money from secret sources for the publication of a paper in Yiddish which might influence, at least in part, Jewish public opinion in their favour, and so *Kovner Zeit* appeared in December 1925 as the organ of the group, under the editorship of Leib Hadash. The paper did not hold out after the elections, in which the Christian Democrats were routed, and the reins of Government were taken over by liberal forces. The members of the Editorial Board tried to bring out a paper on cooperative bases, under the name of *Kovner Tog,* under the editorship of the poet K. Zingman. The paper held out for only several months. Other attempts were made to bring out non-party and informative daily papers, but these were not long-lived.

The Religious Movement Achdut, which included Agudat Israel, Zeirei Israel and non-party religious circles, played an important role in Jewish public life in Lithuania. Their leadership included the Chief Rabbi of Kovno, Rabbi A.D. Shapiro (who died in the Kovno Ghetto), Rabbi Joseph Kahaneman, later the head of the Ponivezh Yeshiva in B'nai Brak, Dr. Yitzhak Raphael Holzberg (Dr. Etzion, Inspector of Religious Schools in Israel). But the Movement did not succeed in maintaining a daily paper for very long. In 1922, *Dos Yudishe Leben* began appearing as a daily and appeared for several years as a weekly. It was edited by Samuel Shereshevski, Dr. I.R. Holzberg and others.


ŽODIS („Dos Vort") Nr. 79 (691) הייַנט 6 זייטן

דאס וואָרט

Dos Vort, *Labour Zionist daily, Kaunas, 1934–1940*



Samuel Goldschmidt



Reuven Rubinstein

Several Yiddish writers arrived to Lithuania in 1921 through the assistance of Reuven Rubinstein, then Legal Adviser to the Lithuanian Embassy in Moscow, and began bringing out a Yiddishist paper called *Nayes* under the editorship of Dr. Alexander Mukdoni. The paper had the participation of David Bergelson, A. Ben-Adir, Der Nister, Z. Kalmanowitz, Jacob Leschinski, Nahum Stif (Baal-Dimyon) the poet Leib Kvitko, and others. Several of them were included in the group of Jewish writers who were liquidated in Stalin's terrorist campaign in 1952. The paper was of a very high standard and often gave the impression of being a "daily" literary monthly. Herein, however, inhered also its journalistic-professional weakness. Its colouring was Folkist-Yiddishist and anti-Zionist. Nonetheless, on account of its high literary standard, it was read also by many in the Zionist camp. Owing however, to its weak material situation,

it did not hold out for longer than between August 1921 and March 1922. For several months the paper continued to appear under the editorship of Joseph Tchernichov, but it no longer had the lustre of the original *Nayes*. Another two attempts by politicians to bring out weeklies under the name of *Nayes,* failed in 1923 and in 1926.

Folksblat was founded as a daily in February 1930 and was the organ of the anti-Zionists, the Folkists-Yiddishists



Ephraim Gruenberg



Eliahu Gal-Ezer

who gathered around the educational network of the Leftist "Bildungs-Gezelshaft" and the "Kultur-Lige". The founders of the paper were Advocate Ozer Finkelstein, Member of the Sejm, who was Chairman of the "Bildungs-Gezelshaft", Dr. Mendel Sudarski, and others. The paper was at first edited by an editorial team, the technical editor being L. Shibolet. The political articles on international and local themes were written by Finkelstein, Sudarski and others. However, it was Yudel Mark, Director of the Yiddish Gymnasia at Wilkomir and the well-known protagonist of the Yiddish language, who first through his articles and afterwards (March 1932-December 1934), as editor of the paper, introduced a living spirit and controversy into the party press in Lithuania. The ideological battle between the Folkists and the Zionists was a truly ideological struggle. The main controversialists—Rubinstein and Mark—were and remained friends. A similar relationship existed between Rubinstein and the late Dr. Sudarski, and other Folkist leaders. *Folksblat* was a paper of a high standard and held out until 1940 when the Communists took over and, as mentioned, transformed it into *Emes.*

The public of Lithuanian Jewry in the independent state was varied and reflected the outlooks of all parties and movements—Zionist and anti-Zionist, from the extreme right to the extreme left. Each of these had an organ of its own. There were ideological struggles among them but no personal animosity. The Zionist Movement in Lithuania proved to be an institution which included representatives of all Zionist trends from the Revisionists to Hashomer Hatzair. Dr. Jacob Robinson, who was Chairman of this body, although himself a member of the General Zionists, was highly respected by all the Zionist trends and by Lithuanian Jewry as a whole.

The Socialist Zionists published a fortnightly called *Unzer Weg,* which appeared from 1923 until 1927. At certain periods it came out weekly and there were various interruptions in each publication. The living spirit behind *Unzer Weg* was Dr. Samuel Freedman (Elyashiv) and among its contributors were Nathan Greenblat (Goren).

Unzer Ruf, a fortnightly, edited by L. Garfunkel, was the organ of Zeirei Zion (Hitachdut) and it appeared from October 1925 until the end of 1926. The contributors included S. Schneider, Z. Furt and Z. Traub.

Di Zeit, a weekly, appeared after the unification and was published from April 1932 until the end of 1933, when the daily *Dos Wort* began appearing. *Di Zeit* used to appear in six pages and did not limit itself to party affairs but devoted extensive space also to economic and literary matters. It had many readers among members of other parties and people of no party affiliation.

In 1921 an organ of Zeirei Zion, *Erd un Arbet,* began appearing and advocating Aliyah and pioneering. In the early 1930s, Jabotinsky set the Zionist Movement agog through his decision to leave the Zionist Organisation and establish a new Zionist Organisation. In view of the strong opposition to his idea, a conference of the Council of the Movement was held on the proposal of Jabotinsky at the end of February 1932 at Katowice, Poland, when a decision was taken by a majority vote against Jabotinsky. The chief opponent proved to be Meir Grossman. Jabotinsky reacted

by dispersing the Executive. His opponents, however, headed as they were by Grossman, set up a new Movement—the "Jewish State Party". In the summer of 1933, when the election campaign to the 18th Zionist Congress commenced, Grossman's adherents began publishing a paper called *Die Zukunft*. No permit was required for a one-time issue, and so this publication which, at times, appeared daily under various names, with *Zukunft* appearing as the main title and "Organ of the Democratic Revisionists" as a sub-title.

Yudenshtat in Eretz Israel began appearing as a regular fortnightly as from July 1934, styling itself as "the organ of the Jewish State Party in Lithuania". This publication held out for about two years and its editor was Dr. Herzl Rosenblum (at present editor of "Yediot Aharonot" in Israel). His chief assistant was Shlomo Dror. When the Nazis attacked Russia he fled together with his wife to the East, but was caught on the way and murdered.

Der Nayer Weg began appearing in September 1937 and continued until June 9, 1939. 13 in all issues came out. Its editor was Jerachmiel Shmidt. The paper contained a large variety of publicistic and informative articles. It also published regularly Jabotinsky's articles as published in the Warsaw *Moment* as well as articles by Professor Joseph Klausner, Rabbi J.S. Rosenson, Dr. Wolfgang von Weisel, and other well-known Revisionists. Yerachmiel Shmidt met his death in the Kovno Ghetto.

In the years 1938–1939, there appeared nine issues of a Hebrew paper *Bamaaracha,* the organ of the Betar leader-


אונזער וועג

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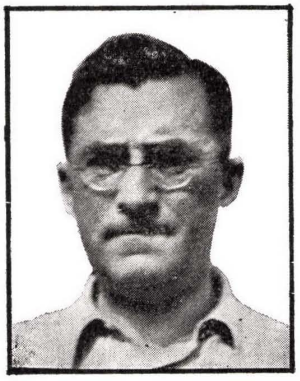
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קאוונע, זונטיק דעם 22־סטן יולי 1923

Unzer Veg, *Zionist Labour daily, Riga, 1922–1925*

ship, edited by Israel Javorovitz (at present in Israel). There appeared also several issues of *Bishevilei Betar,* under the editorship of Joseph Glazman.

On the invasion by Hitler's army of Poland, many refugees began arriving to Lithuania including well-known writers and journalists. Among these were many members of the editorial staff of the Warsaw *Moment,* including editor Abraham Grafman. And so, three years after the closing



Meir Grossman



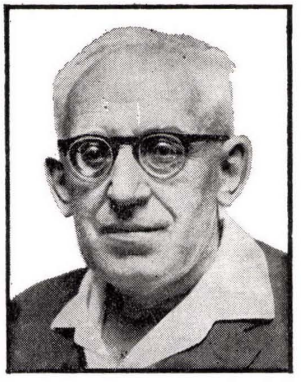
Mordechai Katz

down of the Kovno *Moment,* there began appearing as a daily a new paper called *Moment* in continuation of the great Warsaw daily. The Revisionist weekly *Hamedinah,* whose Warsaw editors transferred it to Kovno, was of a similar nature. Its editor was Jerachmiel Virnik.

Z.D.R. are the initials of "Zeeirim Datiim Revisionistiim" (Young Religious Revisionist Movement), whose paper appeared in the Underground for fear of the heads of the Slobodka Yeshiva (Knesset Israel), whose supervisors were extremist opposers of Zionism. The editor and publisher of "Z.D.R." was Zvi Bernstein, then a student at the Yeshiva, and at present one of the leaders of the National Religious Party (Mafdal) in Israel. Bernstein was also the living spirit of *Dos Yudishe Vort,* the organ of the Mizrachi and of Hechalutz Hamizrachi, a weekly that had the cooperation of important leaders of the Mizrachi. Bernstein wrote almost everything in the paper including "reports" by "a special correspondent" in Eretz Israel, under

the signature of Zvi Bar-Haim. The weekly continued to appear until Bernstein left Lithuania for Eretz Israel in June 1935.

Ziv, the principal organ of Hashomer Hatzair, began appearing in 1925, four years after the founding of the Movement in Lithuania. It was then the only publication to appear in Hebrew. The first issue of *Ziv* appeared under the editorship of Jacob Gottlieb (at present Jacob Amit,



Jacob Amit



Samuel Elyashiv

editor of "Al Hamishmar" and one of the leaders of Mapam).

The paper appeared intermittently as a one-time publication, and only in November 1933 began appearing as a monthly.

At the inception of World War II, when Lithuania was overfilled with refugees from Poland, Hashomer Hatzair was reinforced by about 700 members, and the groups began publishing a joint paper entitled *Mimaamakim.* Its publication was soon interrupted by the Soviet occupation.

Der Yudisher Student was not a regular organ of the Jewish students in the Lithuanian University but a periodical in the form of a 50-page pamphlet for the Jewish students, under the editorship of Abba Ephraimchik (at present Advocate Abba ben Ephraim in Tel Aviv) and Reuven Bernstein (at present in the United States). The pamphlet reflected the life of the Jewish students in the Lithuanian University, their struggle for the defence of their rights as Jews. In 1925 there were about 500 Jewish students out of a total roll of 3,000 students at the University. The peak number was reached in the year 1930–31, when there were 1,000 Jews out of a total of 4,000 students—that is 25%, whereas the Jewish minority in Lithuania constituted only 7½% of the population.

A group of young students, graduates of Hebrew High Schools, published a literary periodical in Hebrew entitled *Gallim.* Its editor was Abraham Stuchinski.

Kultur un Leben, as its sub-title indicated, was a publication of the Students Association for research into the Yiddish language and culture, attached to the Lithuanian University. Its editor was E. Shmidt; in actual fact it was the organ of the Left Poalei Zion. The police immediately found out who the publishers were and closed down the periodical.

Letzte Nayes styled itself non-partisan. It commenced publication in January 1933. Apart from information, it had also literary and economic sections.

A weekly by the name *Far Amcho* began to appear in March 1932, under the editorship of Gedaliah Shuster, who dubbed himself non-partisan but expressed great sympathy for Communism. It ran a serialised novel on life in the Soviet Union. The weekly did not last even a year.

In July 1933 the extreme Left made an attempt to bring out a cheap informative paper, *Informatsie,* which was pro-Communist, pro-Soviet and a sharp opponent of Zionism. Its editor was Z. Friedheim. It stopped publication after three issues.

Der Yudisher Kooperator was the organ of "The Union of Popular Banks" of Lithuanian Jewry, which continued to function even when autonomy was abolished. From 1923 until 1925 the periodical appeared as a temporary publication, but in 1925 it began appearing as an Appendix to *Yudishe Shtime.* It was transformed into a monthly in 1926 and as from 1931 was transformed into a bulletin circulated among editorial offices and popular banks.

In the years 1925–1926 there appeared a fortnightly, *Der Baal-Meloche,* serving the interests of handicrafts and small industries in Kovno.

The weekly *Handel un Industrie Zeitung* began appearing in 1932 and continued for several months in Yiddish, Lithuanian and Russian. Its editor was A. Novichovitz. Owing to the lack of support on the part of the merchants and



Yiddish dailies in Lithuania between the two World Wars

industrialists, it did not hold out however. For a short time, in 1935, there appeared also the periodical *Unzer Handel* —organ of the Jewish merchants in Lithuania.

Arbeter Zeitung was published by the Left Poalei Zion which aspired to bring about a fusion between Zionism and Communism. Its editor-in-chief was Moshe Erem, while its chief worker was Leib Rabinowitz who, ever since settling in Eretz Israel, wrote under various names, finally under the name of Leibl Shimoni. After the appearance of 40 issues—from April 1921 until May 1922—the weekly was closed down by the police and its official editor, Tuvia Meshorer, was arrested and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. In 1926, when the government in Lithuania was taken over by the progressive parties, *Arbeter Zeitung* renewed its appearance under the editorship of Israel Nitzevitz. In December of that year a nationalist revolution broke out in Lithuania, which suppressed Communism and the press suspected of Communism, and so an end came to *Arbeter Zeitung.*

Arbeter Leben was the first Leftist weekly in independent Lithuania, and the organ of the Central Bureau of Trade Unions. The weekly appeared regularly throughout October, November and December 1919, but in 1920 it was closed down by the authorities. When the progressive parties took over the reins of government in 1926, the weekly renewed appearance for a short period. The changes in name and the temporary nature of the publications of the Left Poalei Zion was due to the character of the party which Zionists of the Right and part of the Left regarded as Communist. The Communists regarded it as Zionist. Above all, it was suppressed by the Lithuanian police which, from time to time, would arrest its members.

Di Voch was a Communist weekly (1920–1924) which tried to conceal its true identity. The official editor of the paper was L. Shumaliski. Contributors to *Di Woch* used to use either pen-names or cryptonyms.

Apart from the publications representing parties, organisations or other public leaders, there appeared in Lithuania also non-political publications, but without any marked success. *Leben,* a periodical intended to be a weekly, under the editorship of the poet Mordechai Jaffe, succeeded in coming out at the end of 1923, only in one issue. In contrast, *Di Welt,* a weekly, began to appear in January 1924, held out for over two years under the editorship of Reuven Rubinstein, and reaped considerable success. Extensive space was devoted to literature. As from the beginning of 1925, the weekly began to appear under the joint editorship of Rubinstein and Isaiah Klinov, who was then resident in Berlin as the Correspondent of *Yudishe Shtime* and large Jewish papers in Warsaw and New York. The paper was printed in Berlin in a very pleasing form.

In 1927, the merchant Mordechai Meller, brought out a periodical *Veltshpigel* containing amusing reading material. Its appearance continued until the end of 1928.

The writer Reuven Tzarfat brought out, in January 1931, under his own editorship, a "family weekly" under the name of *Funken* (sparks). It was marked for humouristic witticisms but it was not long-lived.

In May 1935, Reuven Tzarfat began publishing an illustrated weekly, by the name of *Far Alemen* (For Everyone) which lasted longer than its predecessors of similar kind.

In the summer of 1935, there appeared two issues of a philosophical periodical which had contributions from Dr. Esther Elyashiv, Dr. Nahman Shapiro, Natan Greenblat (Goren) and others.

Vispe (Isle) was a periodical devoted to literature, the arts and criticism, under the editorship of the Yiddish poet, Kalman Zingman. It began appearing in 1921 but did not last very long. Several issues appeared also in 1923.

Uriah Katzenelbogen, a well-known writer in Lithuania (at present in the United States) edited in 1922 two collections of 50 pages each, under the name of *Lite* (Lithuania), containing articles by well-known writers who then lived in Lithuania. At Ponivezh, the place where Uriah Katzenelbogen lived, appeared a single issue of a literary periodical by the name of *Kveyten* (Blooms).

There appeared also pedagogical publications, publications by the sports organisations, "Maccabi", "Hakoach" and "The Young Maccabi".

The weekly *Hatzofe,* devoted mainly to literature, appeared in Kovno from January until June, 1922. Its editor was the writer Eliezer Eliahu Freedman, one of the veterans of "Hibbat Zion".

A publication by the name *Netivot* (Paths), issued by the


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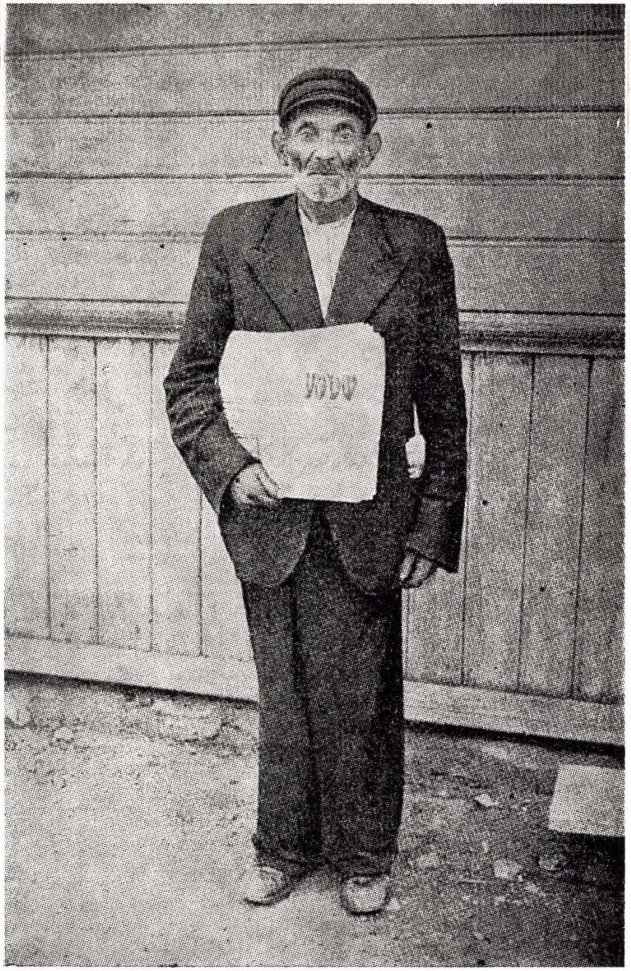
Folksblat, *daily, organ of Folkist Party, Kaunas (1935)*

Tarbut Centre, appeared intermittently in 1927, under the editorship of the Chairman of the Centre, Moshe Kohen.

Olameinu (Our World), a weekly, was brought out by "Brit Ivrit Olamit" (The World Hebrew Union) and appeared from February 1932 until July 1933. Its editor was Dov Lipec (now in Tel Aviv).

In October 1931 there began appearing, sporadically to begin with but afterwards as a fortnightly, *Petach* (Doorway), the organ of a group of young, gifted writers, which held out for over a year until December 1932. Leah Goldberg, the noted Hebrew poetess, and Arie Glasman (died in the Holocaust), published their poems in it. Stories and literary articles were contributed by A.D. Shapira (known by the name of A.D. Shafir, the late writer and translator), Shimon Gens (worked on the editorial staff of "Davar" and died in 1967) and others.

It should be mentioned that the list given here, which was collected from various sources, is by no means complete.



A Jewish news vendor at a townlet in Lithuania

The Jewish press in Germany, 1918 - 1939 (1943)

Herbert A. Strauss

"Although Germany," Jacob Toury informs us, "was the first country where newspapers were printed . . . Jews at first remained unaffected by [this activity]."[1] The Jewish community of pre-emancipation Europe relied primarily on letters and on personal "intelligence" obtained from relatives and friends or migrants to keep abreast of important developments.[2] Rabbinical responsa, occasioned as they were by dated inquiries concerning matters of law, also may be considered embryonic forms of a "periodical literature." The first Jewish periodical seems to have appeared in Amsterdam in 1678: the *Gazeta de Amsterdam* issued by David Tartas lasted 11 months, foreshadowing a characteristic of more modern Jewish periodicals, their frequently short life span. It was printed in Judaeo-German and dealt primarily with economic news, as did its Amsterdam successors.[3]



Robert Weltsch

In Germany, whose Jewish intellectual life lagged behind that of the Jewish community in Amsterdam, the first periodicals are assumed to have appeared in 1752 (*Kurioeser Antiquarius,* and *Der Grosse Schau Platz,* both Neuwied), 1750: *Kohelet Mussar* (issued by M. Mendelssohn and a certain Tobias, recently identified as Dr. Aron Salomon Gumpertz,[4] *Der Jude* (1768–1777), and the *Dyhernfurter Privilegirte Zeitung* (1771–1772). All of these early ventures remained thin and expired early. The first successful Jewish periodical in Germany was the Hebrew *Hame'assef,* 1784–1811. It propagated the ideals of its intellectual father, Moses Mendelssohn, had a historic role in reviving Hebrew and influenced a generation of early-emancipation intellectuals.[5] The period before World War One saw a flower-



Dyhernfurter Privilegierte Zeitung, *Breslau, 1771–1772*

ing of Jewish periodical literature in Germany. Certain characteristic features of these 19th century periodicals stand out:

1. The main intellectual effort concerned scholarship, the interpretation of the imposing body of Jewish learning and literature in terms of "contemporary" methods.[6]

2. As the streams of Jewish belief diverged into Reform, Orthodoxy, Liberalism, Conservatism, each created its own periodical literature directed to its own clientele.[7]

3. The most important *political* periodicals published by and for German Jews in Germany until the advent of Zionism pressed Jewish demands for equality, the removal of discrimination or the suppression of antisemitic incidents and were thus cast as well as spokesmen for Jewish views to the non-Jewish German world.[8]

Ideologically, the main thrust of Jewish periodical literature was thus rooted in the Jewish response to German culture, i.e. it developed as a function of acculturation: a major motive for *Wissenschaft des Judentums* was to present Jewish history and literature by using scholarly methods acceptable to university-trained scholars and to Jewish and gentile readers in Old Testament studies, *Orientalistik,* Semitic philology, Comparative Literature etc., *on equal terms* with other branches of these disciplines. The religious press —even the press of Agudistic Orthodoxy seeking *Torah im Derekh Eretz*—had developed in response to emancipation's effect upon the Jewish faith.

Zionism, too, represented a dialectic response to "assimilation" by the very modern means provided for Jewish self-understanding by nationalism and socialism, i.e. late 19th century European political movements *assimilated to Jewish existence.* Thus, additional understanding of the Jewish press in its historic setting will be gained from considering the role of Jewish journalism—and of Jews as journalists—in their German context during the period of Jewish *embourgeoisement.*

The intellectually alert and politically aware among German Jews had been attracted to the profession of journalism before the Nazi period in relatively larger numbers than corresponded to the number of Jews in Germany. In no other European country or capital (with the possible exception of Vienna), had Jewish publishing houses and journalists played as prominent a role as in the Berlin of the Wolffs, Ullsteins and the Mosses, the Germany of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* the *Berliner Tageblatt,* the *Zukunft,* the *Weltbühne, Neue Rundschau,* the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* or the *Zeitschrift für Politik* etc. The motives for this Jewish penchant for journalism and publishing are not hard to find. Intellectually ambitious, Jews had been excluded from most academic careers unless they offered conversion to Christianity as part of their admission ticket. A people of the word and the book for millenia, Jews sought the inherent dignity of literary creativity long after its religious basis—the learning for the sake of doing God's will—had been blurred by secularism. The frontier to be crossed by the migrating Jew, the move from the country to the city, from the Eastern *shtetl* to the metropolis of the West catapulted the young Jew into an identity crisis that redoubled his energies to prove himself worthy of the culture whose values were instilled in him by education and environment. Politically, also, the Jewish intellectual penchant for the future, for change and reform, for the underdog and the exploited, had long lost its basis in Jewish Prophetism and become secularized in universal beliefs in liberalism, socialism and humanism. It would have affected Jewish intellectual preferences even if German nationalism would have been capable of understanding the strength that comes from ethnic pluralism among the people of a *Staat.*

Not all Jews, to be sure, had automatically joined the ethics of the past to the political-liberal demands of their present. Journalists of Jewish descent—as, for example, a rabid German chauvinist, the editor of the war-time *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* Ludwig Cossmann (born in St. Petersburg, died in Terezin) or Communist journalists of the Weimar period—were capable of the follies of totalitarianism on the Left as well as on the Right. Yet, when Court-Preacher Adolf Stoecker, of the antisemitic Christian-Social movement of the late 19th century, had atacked the *Judenpresse* in the Prussian House of Representatives *(Abgeodnetenhaus)* in November 1880, he struck a cord of anti-Jewish propaganda that was to endure until Hitler would kill the free press in Germany: the liberal press—highly visible in highly successful newspapers and publishing houses—was forever dubbed Jewish and thus tinged with a hue that reflected the rejection of the Jewish role as intellectual leaders on the increasingly nationalistic German scene.

Nothing would dispel this racist notion of Jewish hegemony in German journalism; even Jews would use their

pens to verbalize the psychological insecurities of their literary positions, and identify with ideas advanced by their aggressors.[9] To the end of the Weimar *Republik,* leaders of German Jewry saw themselves compelled to call for a clear distinction between the work of journalists who happened to be of Jewish descent and those Jewish journalists who wrote in periodical publications destined for the Jewish community on subjects dealing primarily with issues that concerned the Jewish community.[10] It was in vain: the notion of the *Judenpresse* increased in propagandistic effectiveness as Nazism spread among the German electorate.

The Jewish press thus rested on personal and political foundations that favoured the development of vigorous journalism. In the context of German-Jewish history, periodical literature written by Jews for Jews bore the marks of structural influences typical for developments in German journalism as a whole.[11] It was a *Gruppenpresse,* not a *Massenpresse* (to use the German terms) and bore certain resemblances to other *Gruppenpressen.* Like Catholic journalism, main-stream German-Jewish journals emerged as fighting instruments directed against discrimination. They aimed at presenting its communal achievement as worthy of respect and scholarship; some Jews, like some outstanding Catholic journalists, had chosen the journalistic profession because discriminatory practices barred them from academic careers. The Zionist press, in its turn, resembled the Socialist press—and the press issued by the emerging minority nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire—in its



Israelitisches Familienblatt, *popular weekly, Hamburg, 1898–1938*

desire to create a sense of common destiny among its readers, and to counteract the negative image prevailing in a generally unfriendly environment, not by apologetics but by a stress upon the positive tradition and character of the Jewish people.

Still another type of Jewish periodical best represented by the *Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt* resembled nothing so much as the *gemütliche,* middle-brow journals written for the average petit-bourgeois family in city and country, the Sunday paper that wants to edify, educate and comfort, the Jewish equivalent of the (antisemitic) *Gartenlaube.* Even in the most world-shaking crises of German or Jewish history, readers received their fare of feuilleton, the soporific novel "to be continued in the next edition" the edifying sermon, the moralistic editorial.

Finally, like the German press, Jewish journalism served the numerous sub-groups that characterize labour- and leisure- divided modern industrial society. The most organic sub-group for Jewish life in the German diaspora—the *Kehilla, Jüdische Kultusgemeinde*—began to publish its own *Gemeindeblatt* in large numbers only following World War One.[12] One of these *Gemeindeblätter—Gemeinde-Blatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin,* founded in 1910—surpassed all other Jewish periodicals in Germany in its circulation (52,000 in 1925). Most other *Gemeindeblätter* circulated among limited numbers of households found at a given locality. Jewish youth organizations published their own periodicals. Some of these, like the most representative "neutral" *Verband der Jüdischen Jugendvereine Deutschlands*[13] reached a respectable intellectual level. Others sprang up and withered with the (often short) life span of such youth groups. Periodicals were published for Jewish sport groups, for social or humanitarian groups like women, the *UOBB* (Independent Order of Bnai Brith), *ORT,* for nurses, craftsmen, students, bibliophiles, communal employees, teachers, boyscouts, the deaf, war veterans, Yiddish-speaking groups, and others.

Still another branch is presented by the journals published by Jewish social workers (*Jüdische Sozialpflege und Sozialpolitik,* founded 1929) or by the monthly *Jüdische Arbeits-und Wanderfürsorge* (founded 1927–1929), a pioneer effort for the *"neue Sozialpolitik"* practised by Zionist-Socialist social workers in Berlin.[14] There were also some Hebrew periodicals serving scholarly, religious, cultural, political, or language interests.

Elusive in contrast, is the number of Yiddish periodicals

that must be presumed to have sprung up with the immigration to Germany of Jews from Poland and (pre-war) Austria-Hungary during and shortly after World War One. This Yiddish-language press had its popular base in the about 1000,000 foreign-born Jews in Germany in the 1920s, many of whom can be presumed to have spoken Yiddish as their mother-tongue. Some of the Yiddish-language periodicals that could be identified served political interests, some dealt with practical affairs like crafts education (ORT), public health (OSE), migration (EMIGDIRECT), social movements (Cooperatives) religion (Shomre Shabbes), or aimed at information and entertainment. There were also some literary and artistic periodicals of considerable sophistication and avant-garde character (like the early expressionist *Albatros* published by the poet Uri Zvi Greenberg). Some of the scholarly works issued under the YIVO imprint appeared also in Berlin. Most Yiddish-language periodicals were short-lived, except where established organizations provided continuity. (The lists offered in Appendices 1c and 1d include considerably more titles than can be found in the available compilations, but no claim is being made for their being complete or systematic.)

Below the printed periodical literature there appeared also a mimeographed press whose extent can not easily be established. Given the drive of organization executives to use every opportunity to inform and exhort their membership, their number was probably impressive. Some dealt with youth organizations whose proverbial poverty of funds may be presumed to have counselled more frequent resort to the typewriter and the duplicating machine than to the printing press. (No attempt is made here to list these elusive press products for any of the three languages considered.)[15]

A comparison of the various available tables of Jewish periodicals and of printed catalogues suggests that their compilers have not entirely succeeded in presenting complete lists of all periodicals published by and for Jews in Germany during the Weimar *Republik* and the early Nazi period. The total number of Jewish periodicals was estimated at 103 in 1930, but at 130 in 1931, a year later. Some caution must be observed in accepting the figures offered for the circulation of these periodicals. They represent probably upper-limit figures and rest primarily on the publishers own estimates chosen for purposes of advertising. (This practice of giving "optimal" figures has been generally followed by German publishers until the Nazi press Law of 1933; it has met with criticisms for the general German press at the hand of German *Zeitungswissenschaftler*.[16] Only since the advent of the Nazi-regime were German newspaper publishers legally obligated to publish precise circulation figures.) Experts also have disagreed with each other on circulation figures for the major Jewish press.[17] Thus absolute precision is beyond our reach, yet, the following observations may still be considered as quite valid on the basis of the available information.

a) As pointed out above, a relatively large number of Jewish periodicals had been founded prior to World War One, in response to the antisemitic and nationalistic wave of the 1880s and 1890s. However, the rise of Zionism prior to World War One had increased the number and variety of periodicals. Only a relatively small number survived the First World War and the following inflation.[18] Until 1924, the economic consequences of Germany's defeat and the runaway inflation of the period were not conducive to new ventures in the newspaper field.[19] Following 1924, during the five years of relative economic recovery in Germany, associations like the Jewish Women Association *(Frauenbund)* a *Verein* of Jewish nurses, Jewish teachers *(Jüdische Schulzeitung)* and a considerable number of Jewish *Gemeinden* established their own specialized publications, probably reflecting not only a new cultural awareness but also some affluence. Also increasing was the number of Zionist publications, especially of sports- and youth-groups or stu-



Der Jude, *ed. by Martin Buber, Berlin, 1916–1928*

dents. Marginal were the extreme assimilationist *Der Vortrupp* and *Der Nationaldeutsche Jude* (as well as the Zionist Revisionist *Der Staatszionist)*. The most significant of new Zionist newspapers founded before 1933 was the



Monatsschrift..., *Judaica studies magazine, Dresden-Berlin, 1851–1938*

Jüdische Zeitung für Ostdeutschland issued in Breslau.[20]

Of special interest and on a high plane were, in addition, a number of important monthlies or quarterly magazines founded during and after World War One. The list includes *Der Jude,* edited by Martin Buber (1916–1926), the Ortho-



Der Israelit, *central weekly of Orthodoxy, Frankfurt, 1860–1938*

dox *Jeschurun* (monthly, 1914–1930, ed. by Dr. J. Wohlgemut, of the Orthodox *Jüdisches Rabbinerseminar* (Berlin), the *Neue Jüdische Monatshefte* (monthly, 1916–1920, ed. by representative intellectual and political figures like Herman Cohen, Franz Oppenheimer, Eugen Fuchs, Alexander Eliasberg, Adolf Friedmann, and others). The last of these high-brow magazines, *Der Morgen,* was founded by Prof. Julius Goldstein under the auspices of the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens* in 1925. After Goldstein's death, *Der Morgen* was maintained on its high level by Rabbi Dr. Max Dienemann, Dr. Eva Reichmann-



CV. Zeitung, *"mainstream" weekly, organ of C.V. Berlin, 1922–1938*



Jüdische Rundschau, *Zionist bi-weekly, Berlin, 1895–1938*

Jungmann, and Dr. Hans Bach, the last two serving until its demise in November 1938.[21]

Some new professional or scholarly magazines joined the established *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* founded in 1851, and the *Zeitschrift für Statistik und Demographie der Juden* (1904–1922). The last (1938) edition of the *Monatsschrift* appeared as one yearbook-like volume 1937/1941 but was suppressed by the Gestapo.[22] Such new magazines included the *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1929), the *Zeitschrift fuer Jüdische Familienforschung* (founded in 1924) and the *Jüdische Arbeiter- und Wanderfürsorge* (1927–1929), succeeded by *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik.* (This social work journal, an important source for the social history of the period, was issued from 1935 on by a division of the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutsch-*

land, the central representation of Jews in Germany to 1938; last issue: October 1938.)

This flowering of a substantial and high-level soft-cover periodical literature suggests not only that German Jewry was intellectually maturing, but also that the turn to Jewish tradition and the search for a deeper understanding of the meaning of Jewish existence in the 20th century were not triggered by the Nazi period, but had begun in response to the collective experiences of World War One: the unspeakable horrors of trench warfare, the degrading anti-semitic wave unleashed by the German conservative establishment during and after the war, the meeting of German-Jewish soldiers with the folk-culture of Eastern Europe, and the alternatives to German-Jewish self-understanding offered to the sensitive, the proud, and especially the young, by the Zionist movement. These currents were fully reflected, for example, in the periodical *Der Jugendbund* issued by the "neutral" *Verband der Jüdischen Jugendvereine Deutschlands.* Similar insights might be obtained from the perio-


Der Schild

Der Schild, *periodical of Jewish WWI Veterans, Berlin, 1921–1939*

dical literature issued by such student organizations as the already mentioned *Kartell-Convent* (German-Jewish mainstream: *K.C. Blätter,* 1912–1933) and the periodical of its Zionist equivalent, *Kartell Jüdischer Verbindungen (K.J. V.), Der Jüdische Student* (1902–1923).[23]

b) The list of German Jewish periodicals was headed by "the big four", the four major periodicals whose intellectual influence combined with the largest circulation figures to out-distance any other periodical papers on the list. These four consisted of:

The *C.V. Zeitung,* published by the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens,* the most representative middle-of-the-road German-Jewish organization;

The *Jüdische Rundschau,* representing Zionist viewpoints of various shades;

The *Israelitische Familienblatt,* a widely read family newspaper following a "neutral" line in political issues;

The *Gemeindeblatt Berlin,* from 1935 on the largest weekly with a verified circulation of 52,000 copies.

Der Israelit, organ of the separatist-Orthodox *Agudas Jisroel* (with seat in Frankfurt a. Main) represented an important viewpoint in Jewish life, but had only a relatively circumscribed edition (4,050 in 1935).

Of the "big four", all but the *Jüdische Rundschau,* a bi-weekly, appeared weekly.

In size of edition, the next papers of importance were:

a. *Der Schild,* published by the German-Jewish veterans organization *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (RjF)* a group of Jewish veterans of World War One whose main membership probably shared the middle-of-the-road *Central-Verein's* viewpoint, but whose leaders generally took a sharper national-German line (Circulation 17,200 in 1935);

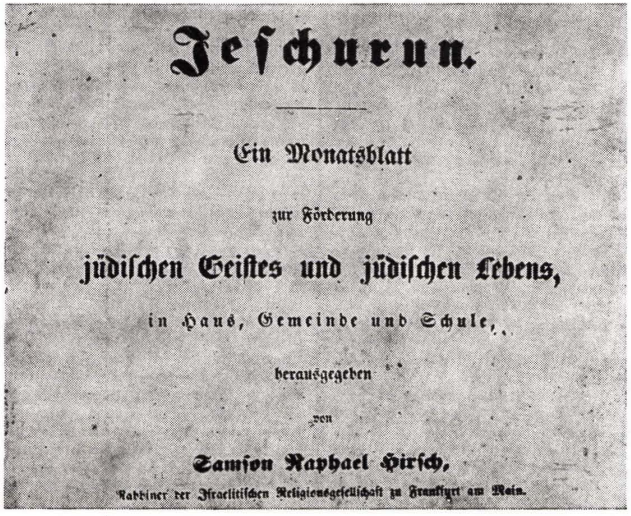
b. The Frankfurt, Breslau, Preussen and Munich *Gemeindeblätter* with a circulation, respectively, of 7,200, 5,300, 5,000 and 4,500 copies per issue in 1935 (only the Munich *Gemeindeblatt,* appeared bi-monthly).

They were followed by some special interest papers of respectable circulation: the *Monatsblatt des Jüdischen Kulturbunds* (only during the Nazi period, 1933–1938) claimed an edition of 18,200, and the (irregular) *Grossloge für Deutschland (UOBB),* an edition of 10,000. Then followed the other *Gemeindeblätter,* religiously oriented, political, special interest and scholarly-literary periodicals, which appealed to limited and specialized readers' groups only. The intellectual level of these periodicals was often quite high, and they made original contributions to political or cultural thought among German Jews in the inter-war period.

c) This plethora of German-Jewish periodicals imparted to German-Jewish journalism an internal differentiation and a variety of specialized viewpoints that allowed large reader-participation through letters and articles contributed by non-journalists of all kinds. Still, in spite of this variety, German-Jewish political orientations followed relatively simple lines,


המאסף
לשתי תקופות הראשונות
משנת
התקמ"ד.
Nebſt einer deutſchen Zugabe.
Königsberg, 1784.
gedruckt bey Daniel Chriſtoph Kanter,
Königl. Preuß. Hofbuchdrucker.

Hameassef, *M. Mendelssohn's Enlightment journal (Königsberg, 1784)*


Jeſchurun.
Ein Monatsblatt
zur Förderung
jüdiſchen Geiſtes und jüdiſchen Lebens,
in Haus, Gemeinde und Schule,
herausgegeben
von
Samſon Raphael Hirſch,
Rabbiner der Iſraelitiſchen Religionsgeſellſchaft zu Frankfurt am Main.

Jeschurun, *Orthodox monthly of "Frankfurt School"*

and grouped periodicals may be grouped along broad "party lines". Within this framework, German-Jewish journalism retained a vigorous pluralism and avoided, on the whole, the pitfalls that characterized poorly-financed and short-lived Jewish publishing ventures in other languages in Europe.

d) Jewish publishing as, indeed, Jewish life, especially during the Nazi regime, was concentrated in Berlin where, already in 1925, 30.6% of all German Jews lived. (The ratio was to rise to 36% in 1939.) In addition, Berlin's large Jewish community (173,000 in 1925) consisted of a truly cosmopolitan cross-section not only of German but also of European, especially Eastern European, Jews. Older "Prussian" and upper-class families from the period of Imperial Germany co-existed with a large professional group occupied in the media, cinematography, medicine, the law, or free-lance work.[24] Berlin also had a large and, for German Jewry unique, proletarian segment, primarily but not exclusively of Polish-Jewish origin. It also was the major German centre of Jewish-national movements, and had thriving Zionist as well as assimilationist youth movements at various times during the period under review. (For some time in the '20s and early '30s, Zionists exerted an important influence in the elected *Repräsentanten-Versammlung* of the Berlin Jewish community.)

e) From its inception in 1750, German-Jewish periodical literature had enjoyed the editorial cooperation of some of the outstanding intellectuals of their times. Ever since Moses Mendelssohn used *Hameassef* to educate the Jewish intelligentsia to his enlightened concept of Judaism, Jewish scholars like Leopold Zunz, Zacharias Frankel, Samson Raphael Hirsch, Abraham Geiger, Esriel Hildesheimer, and others in the 19th century, and Ismar Elbogen, Eugen Taeubler, Leo Baeck, Max Gruenewald, Adolf Kober and many others on the 20th have used scholarly periodical literature for the propagation of *Wissenschaft des Judentums,* i.e. a historical-philological image of Jewish history and letters,[25] following also models from the 19th century, when the Jewish periodical press had become a *political* tool to pry open doors closed by discrimination, leading Jewish intellects like Ludwig Philippson (1811–1899) *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* 1837–1922) and Gabriel Riesser (1806–1863) (*Der Jude,* 1832–1835) developed a style of fighting

journalism that combined information, education, editorial exhortation and political actions (the organizations of petition movements, lobbying, electioneering etc.). As will be seen below, the changed condition of democratic mass media politics in Weimar Germany brought to light an ambiguity inherent in a group press aspiring to a mass role of a group press: The success of such activity depended on its reaching readers outside the Jewish camp and beyond the intellectual circles that might be assumed to have an interest in Jewish affairs. The *C.V. Zeitung* and the *Jüdische Rundschau*—as will be seen—attempted to break through to the Gentile public by publishing special editions in the 1920s and early 1930s. This failed to turn the Jewish press into a *Massenpresse*. Other means to yield political influence had to be used by the political parent organizations as the ambiguity of the Jewish press position emerged clearly. Still, the Jewish press moulded and reflected *Jewish* public opinion as few other media.

f) The major Jewish periodical press of the Weimar period was a *party press* (with the exception of the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* and the *Gemeindeblätter)*. The mainstream German Jewish *C.V. Zeitung,* like *Der Schild* and a host of special interest periodicals, were distributed among the paying members of the parent political or interest group, and the price of the subscription included in the membership fee. (From April 1935 on, subscribers paid 48 Pfennig [12 cents] every three months for their paper. This rate had tripled by 1938.) Since the *Central-Verein* reported a membership of 60,000 in 23 regional and 634 local association (1930), supported by ideologically related groups like the veterans' organization, or the student association *Kartell-Convent deutscher Studenten jüdischen Glaubens (K.C.),* a large circulation was assured. The Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau,* on the other hand, was organized as a commercial venture. Its survival as the only bi-weekly among Jewish periodicals of the period in spite of the rather insignificant total number of Zionists among German Jews prior to the advent of Hitler testified to the skill of its editorial and managing team.[26]

g) These political links assured the Jewish press a reliable team of contributors of the highest quality. Their names (see Appendix) reveal that the periodical press was able to draw on community leaders of all shades and various backgrounds for contributions. A perusal of the Jewish press of the period will show that practically all Jewish leaders in Germany made use of the periodical press to publicize their ideas on the major issues of the day. The history of this press has thus to be related to the policies and tactics of these men, but even by itself it reveals with some accuracy the drift of political thought affecting Jewish life in Germany during these years.

As already indicated, the large number of Jewish periodicals in Germany was related to the labour-divided maturity



Der Jude.

Periodiſche Blätter für Religion und Gewiſſensfreiheit.

In zwangloſen Abtheilungen herausgegeben von Dr. G. Rieſſer.

Dienstag, 1. den 10. April 1832.

Eigenthum des Herausgebers. In Commiſſion bei J. F. Hammerich in Altona.

Ankündigung.

Mit dem Wiedererwachen eines regſameren öffentlichen Lebens in Deutſchland hat die periodiſche Literatur einen neuen Aufſchwung genommen: edlere Kräfte und eine edlere Aufmerkſamkeit haben ſich ihr wieder zugewandt. Eine Zeit, die reich an Ereigniſſen, reicher an Hoffnungen, bedarf raſcher Organe für ihren raſch wechſelnden Inhalt, und dieſe Organe giebt die periodiſche Preſſe.

Der Herausgeber will in den Blättern, die er durch dieſe Ankündigung einleitet, den Verſuch machen, ein fortgehendes Organ für ein Beſtreben zu bilden, das ſeit einem Jahre mehr als früher zur Sprache gekommen und ſich ſeinem Ziele genähert, für das Beſtreben nach der bürgerlichen Gleichſtellung der Bekenner der moſaiſchen Lehre in Deutſchland. Ueber die Zweckmäßigkeit des Unternehmens kann nur die Ausführung entſcheiden; das Folgende ſoll zur Bezeichnung des Geiſtes dienen, in welchem der Herausgeber daſſelbe zu leiten gedenkt.

Wenn es das äußere, dem Gebiete des Rechts zugewandte Streben iſt, das ihn veranlaßt hat, die periodiſche Form zu wählen, ſo wird doch das innere religiöſe Element, das jenem Streben zum Grunde liegt, das ihm Leben und Bedeutung giebt, einen nicht minder gewichtigen Platz in dieſen Blättern einnehmen. Wollte Gott, es wäre bald das einzige, das eines Ausdrucks bedürfte! Wollte Gott, der Glaube wäre bald aller Beziehung auf bürgerliche Verhältniſſe überhoben, und könnte ſtill und friedlich, erhaben über den Kampfplatz irdiſchen Vortheils und irdiſcher Leidenſchaften, das fromme Auge unverwandt zum Himmel richten! Schwerlich würde dann die jetzt gewählte Form einem Inhalte anpaſſen, der nichts mehr gemein hätte mit der Bewegung der Tage. So lange aber der Glaube noch um Freiheit zu kämpfen genöthigt iſt, ſo lange muß das zwiefache Moment, das religiöſe und das rechtliche, ſich einer gemeinſamen Behandlung unterwerfen. Beide haben ſich Gottlob! der Gemeinſchaft nicht zu ſchämen: denn Recht und Freiheit ſind auch Himmelstöchter, und der Glaube hat oft genug in heißem Kampfe an ihrer Seite geſtritten und geſiegt. Nur durch den heilloſeſten Mißbrauch, durch den ſchmählichſten Pfaffentrug iſt es dahin gekommen, daß in unſeren Tagen göttliches Recht und Despotismus gleichbedeutend worden. Fern ſei von uns ſolche Läſterung! Die Freiheit iſt das göttliche Recht, das die Höllenpforten der Gewalt zu brechen beſtimmt iſt; ſie iſt das ewige, das unvergängliche Licht, das ſich nicht forterbt, wie eine ewige Krankheit, das nie zum Unſinn, nie zur Plage wird, das hoch über der geſchriebenen Satzung ſteht, wie das Wort Gottes über dem Werk der Menſchen. Daß der Menſch nach dem

1

Der Jude, *G. Riesser's journal for Jewish civil rights (1832–1861)*

and local strength of congregations, professional, scholarly etc., groups, and does not reflect a partisan division of similar dimensions. The following will therefore concentrate on contrasting and comparing the two main partisan divisions of German Jewry through an analysis of the two opinion-forming periodical outlets of the period, the "main-stream" German-Jewish, and the Zionist. It is based on the methodical assumption that periodicals may be of limited value for a study of decision- and policy-making process but are one, or rather the one important source for opinion trends among Jews in Germany during a given period.

Neither a comprehensive history of the Jews in Weimar Germany nor the history of Jewish public opinion as reflected in the press has been written so far. Yet, the years between 1918 and 1939 were *Sternstunden* of the Jewish people. Of the *two constituent events* of twentieth century Jewish life, the rise of Nazism in Germany and the holocaust of European Jewry, and the successful efforts of political Zionism to found a Jewish national home culminating in the rise of Nazism that challenged the understanding and the political acumen of German Jews; Hitler Germany's policies towards the Jews and the Jewish intellectual and political response to its development. In these decisive events the Jewish press in Germany played a role by moulding public opinion. Its editorials and news columns reflected the major issues of each period, understanding them in the light of the two options available to German Jewry in those fateful years, the Zionist and (what we may call for want of a better term) the German-Jewish "mainstream" to which the derogatory term "assimilationist" would apply only from the point of view of its Zionist opponents. The following analysis will be restricted to the two major options before German Jewry between 1918 and 1938.

As the Jewish press chronicled events clearly, the Zionist movement, through the efforts of Chaim Weizmann in England, Nahum Sokolov in France and Italy, Justice Louis Brandeis in the United States of America, and their associates, had been awarded a first charter to Palestine,



I. Jahrgang. Allgemeine No. 1.

Zeitung des Judenthums.

Ein

unpartheiisches Organ für alles jüdische Interesse

in Betreff von

Politik, Religion, Literatur, Geschichte, Sprachkunde und Belletristik.

(Mit Königl. Sächsischer allergnädigster Concession.)

Redacteur: Dr. Ludwig Philippson, israelitischer Prediger in Magdeburg.

Verlag von Baumgärtners Buchhandlung zu Leipzig.

Leipzig, den 2. Mai 1837.

Diese Zeitung erscheint wöchentlich 3 Mal Dienstags, Donnerstags und Sonnabends und wird jährlich ca. 78 Bogen in Quart incl. des Textes, Adressen u. s. w. umfassen. Zu Gemeinden des Inserats ersuchen die Allgemeine Zeitung zu geben, in der Preis äußerst niedrig: mit 3 Thlr. 12 Gr. pr. den Jahrgang — 1 Thlr. 6 Gr. für sechs Monate — 12 Gr. für das Vierteljahr gesetzt worden. Für Briefe und wird franco gegen baare Einsendung angenommen. Alle Buchhandlungen, Postämter und Zeitungsexpeditionen nehmen Bestellungen an, die Landkarten

Allgemeine Zeitung..., *L. Philippson's periodical for Liberal Judaism*

State of Israel—*one,* Nazism and the holocaust, can only be understood in the context of Jewish life in Germany. Decisive turns in Jewish history occured in the immediate post-war period that confronted Jewry with the opportunity for fast and combined action in the face of the opportunities afforded by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917; the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917. German armies, in their turn, had been in military control of large numbers of Jews in Poland and Russia. International relief missions had attempted to ease the worst of their burdens. The German High Command had "learned Yiddish" and invited Eastern Jews to work in German war factories. The

tensions and pogroms in Poland, Galicia, the Ukraine, Rumania that followed the end of the war increased pressures for emigration so that, by 1925, the first post-war census year, the number of foreign Jews in Germany stood at 107,747. In Germany, the "incomplete" revolution of 1918–1919 was soon dubbed the "Jewish November-Revolt" by conservative revolutionaries who were helped by the surprising naïveté and political clumsiness of their opponents and a war-weary people, to evade public responsibility for a war they had entered, led and lost in four sanguinary years. Their new virulent antisemitism drew "environmental support"


Im deutſchen Reich

Zeitſchrift

des

Centralvereins deutſcher Staatsbürger jüdiſchen Glaubens.

Im Deutschen Reich, *monthly of C.V., Berlin, 1895–1922*

from the high visibility of Jewish revolutionaries, political leaders of a radical bent, free to act for the first time to create a more equal, more responsible democratic Germany. During the war, antisemitic leaders of the German High Command had made mean and degrading efforts to discredit the war service of Jewish citizens: the links between the military and an awkward, agit-prop agent named Adolf Hitler, who was trained by a local army propaganda detachment in Munich in 1919, symbolized the proximity of views held by the remnants of yesterday and their nemesis of tomorrow.

For German Jewish leaders and their main political periodical, *Im Deutschen Reich,* these cross-currents of the war had created political dilemmas. *Im Deutschen Reich,* a monthly periodical (in octave format) published by the *Central-Verein Deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* since 1895, superseded by the *C.V. Zeitung* from April 1922 on) had been directed, as its main target, at government discrimination or at those political parties of the defunct *Kaiserreich* that had been "Establishment" i.e. the Conservative Right. During the war, it had taken the patriotic national-liberal German view which most Jews had probably accepted as correct: it had, of course, opposed official antisemitism, and, like the German liberal and Centre parties, had favoured democratization of the government, an opening to liberalism and a constitutional monarchy.[27] Still, its view had been a German view: a week before the November 9th Revolution, the C.V. leadership had called a mass meeting in Berlin affirming the righteousness of the German cause.[28] *Im Deutschen Reich* had hoped for a turn in the fortunes of war since "the German cause was as "just and moral" as that of the Allies was "immoral and hypocritical."[29] This position—held unchallenged so far by the prestigious C.V. leader *Justizrat* Eugen Fuchs —was challenged in part by the younger membership of the CV., by returning war-veterans, or by members of the (then) powerful neutral youth organization *Verband der Jüdischen Jugendvereine Deutschlands* who had been influenced by the war and the revolutionary mood of the period. The young opposition group believed in democracy or socialism where the older men hankered after pre-war conditions: the new antisemitism of the Right would call for continued defence efforts, but, this time, the Republican government and constitution would protect the equality of all citizens. Jews in Germany were but a religious group, like others. Laws were dealing effectively with the separation of church and state and the equality of all citizens.[30]

Powerful links existed between the Jewish community and the new political establishment: influential metropolitan newspapers like the *Berliner Tageblatt,* or the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* could be relied upon to express the *Central-Verein's* viewpoint.[31] Increased defence efforts—rational, enlightened propaganda aimed at educated opinion-leading middle classes—would argue away the remnant of antisemitism, a result of mis-information about Jews and Judaism.[32]

In the atmosphere of the early Weimar *Republik,* this position of defence as usual faced serious technical propaganda problems: antisemitic propaganda used the high visibility of radical-left Jewish leaders and of Eastern-Jewish

immigrants to link defeat, economic hardship, black marketeering, currency speculation, and other German ills with Jews, thus placing *Central-Verein* apologetics on the defensive. *Im Deutschen Reich,* like the German bourgeoisie, was shocked by the Treaty of Versailles and President Wilson's alleged "perfidy" but defended the right of Jewish politicians (like Munich's Georg Eisner, the intellectual left-radical revolutionary) to act as they pleased as *German* citizens



Julius Bab



Margarete Edelheim

(wishing though, like some Zionists, that Jews would behave "tactfully" and not expose themselves and their innocent fellow-Jews to intense public hostility).[33]

The main political challenge to the *Central-Verein* and its periodical arose from the Zionist minority. It is hard to imagine a greater contrast in editorial policy and content than existed between *Im Deutschen Reich* and the *Jüdische Rundschau.* The latter, a bi-weekly, had the format of a normal "standard Berlin" German newspaper.[43] *Im Deutschen Reich* (until replaced in 1922 by the *C.V. Zeitung*) looked and was written like a somewhat staid monthly. The Zionist paper consisted to about 9/10 of *foreign news* dealing with events affecting Jewish life, Zionist politics, pogroms, meetings, party politics, personalities, cultural affairs, Palestine, etc. Momentous German events appeared to be under-emphasized with almost studied neglect. Banner-headlines were reserved for the great Zionist successes at Versailles, San Remo, the League of Nations mandate, Zionist Congresses, Arabs riots. Antisemitic incidents in Germany, to be sure, were reported, in part in press reviews; an occasional editorial explained Zionist policies toward them. The Treaty of Versailles, while deplored as part of general moral decadence in Europe, evoked only one comment in the *Jüdische Rundschau* (in ¼ of a column): the rights of Jews in Poland needed to be safeguarded under it. Zionist policy was allied with the prospective mandate power, Great Britain.[35]

It was a journalistic policy that derived directly from the nature of political and cultural Zionism that had dominated the pre-war and war periods: what Lenin had said about the proletariat's alienation from the national purposes of their homelands, the *Jüdische Rundschau* repeated in a Jewish version, i.e. the usefulness of the victor—any victor—for a Jewish Palestine was the only valid attitude towards the war, not national victory or defeat.[36] The political links between the Weizmann-led Zionist movement and the victorious Allies had rendered German politics largely irrelevant for Zionist leaders for the time being. The *Jüdische Rundschau* admonished German Jews—among whom Zionists were a minority—to join the rest of Jewry and accept the programme evolved by the Copenhagen Zionist Bureau under Victor Jacobson: the construction of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, Jewish membership in the League of Nations to be established, protection of Jewish rights in all countries through international guaranties for national minorities. For Germany, soon after the war, two additional points were added: ending the German emergency laws applying to foreign Jews in Germany, especially the closing of the frontier to Eastern Jews, and a "democratization" of suffrage in the German *Gemeinden,* i.e. giving the vote to poor Eastern-Jewish immigrants, and ending the centuries-old custom of basing *Kehilla-suffrage* on a financial contribution (or the tax rolls, as in post-1947 Jewish Prussia). The programme elaborated by the *Jüdische Rundschau* culminated in the demand for a Jewish People's Congress (part of the *Kongressbewegung* of those years) to support the political demands of Zionist leaders upon Allied statesmen.[37]

The intent of these demands, including the idea of strengthening Zionist influence in Germany by enfranchising Eastern-Jewish immigrants, clearly ran counter to the convictions of a German Jewry which, for the first time in

history, saw the full integration of Jews in German political and social life emerging from the turmoils of the Revolution. The *Jüdische Rundschau* revealed in the flush of victory that its concept of Jewish *Volkstum* would ultimately demand the political dis-integration of Jewish diaspora life. Jews in Germany, it insisted, belonged to a different *Volkstum* than Germans. The German state was to accept pluralism (the term was not yet in use) and the Jews would be loyal citizens of the state.[38]

The propaganda campaign fought in the pages of the German-Jewish press reflected the slow decline of the maximalist Zionist hopes of the period: major German-Jewish groups, including the pace-setting Frankfurt *Orthodoxie,* rejected the Congress idea as a Zionist device;[39] the *Central-Verein* reaffirmed once more as its main aims the defence against antisemitism and the "cultivation of unerring loyalty to Germany"[40] (a section of German-Jewish youth failed to follow its exclusivist line and split off); the Paris treaties did not include the formulations of the Balfour Declaration (until the Conference of Allied Prime Ministers at San Remo of April 18–20, 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres of August 10, 1920, and the League of Nations Mandate, July 22, 1922); the resources of the non-Zionist world would be needed to finance the settlement of Palestine (Keren Hayesod); soon, the programme of political Zionists (supporting the mandate power until a Jewish majority could be established) experienced the well-known economic and political difficulties of the 1920s. In sum, *hagshama* (realization) took time to establish. The heady mood of victory that permeated the immediate post-war period was giving way to a tough, uphill struggle within and without.[41]

In the context of the German-Jewish press, major trends of the period emerged clearly. Zionists and non-Zionists (the latter led by outstanding younger German-Jewish liberals and younger members of the *Central-Verein*) began to cooperate in the *practical* tasks imposed by the Palestine settlement. The *Jüdische Rundschau* elaborated its stand on domestic German-Jewish issues (while still devoting the overwhelming bulk of its columns to "Jewish world affairs" beyond the frontiers of the *Republik*). In addition the *Jüdische Rundschau* developed a trend of bi-national and cultural Zionist thought of its own, in opposition to the exclusively political Zionism of the Action-Committee led by Weizmann and Sokolov. The *C.V. Zeitung,* on its side, while paying attention to the plight of Jews in other countries, concentrated on chronicling the rise of antisemitic trends in Germany (without neglecting the cultural heritage of German Jews).

Space in the present paper is too limited to pursue this inner post-war history of German Jewry and German Zionism through the pages of their periodical literature. Clearly, the *Jüdische Rundschau's* analysis of international antisemitism as an expression of majority-minority tensions described the facts more adequately that the *Central-Verein's* phychologically more complex position permitted; editor Robert Weltsch's concern with cultural Zionism as a spiritual Renaissance (as opposed to amere Palestine-centred *Realpolitik*), his sadly prophetic insistence on the need for a positive policy towards the Arabs are part of the records of the Zionist movement, up to the "German revolt" of 1929. The *Rundschau's* prescription for life in the Diaspora—a *Volkstumspolitik* based upon a cultural Renaissance, Hebrew, identification with the nation, occupational restructuring—possibly effective in the long run, would offer little practical help in the immediate struggle against the menace of Nazi take-overs of state governments in Germany, and against their antisemitism. The *Rundschau's* identification with Eastern-Jewish immigrants in Germany (as opposed to attitudes reportedly held by *C.V.* locals) pointed to one of the most serious ethical failures of mainstream German Jewry in the 1920s. Either periodical expressed the world-view of its group in moral terms: its recognition, by the other side, as a moral vision made cooperation in practical matters easier. Soon, the trend of events in Germany would render closer understanding a necessity.

The periodical press of German Jewry entered the last periods of its history as a free community with thoroughly divided attention: until 1932, the *Jüdische Rundschau,* while continuing to chronicle antisemitic incidents in Germany, did not pay *primary* attention to the Nazi menace nor to the fight against antisemitism in Germany. Some unity in the practical field had been achieved between the *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland (ZVfD),* the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens,* Bnai Brith Order *(UOBB),* and Jewish War Veterans *(RjF),* but the short-lived ad hoc Election Committee

(Wahlausschuss) they had founded in 1930 was dissolved (!) following the disastrous rise of the Nazi Reichstag representation to 107 members. The history of the Jewish effort to stem the tide of Nazism through the manifold means available to resourceful journalism must concentrate on the periodical literature issued by the *Central-Verein* and its main publishing outlet, the *Philo-Verlag,* Berlin.[42]

As pointed out previously, German Jewry, in 1930–1933, had from 100–130 Jewish periodicals at its disposal, yet none of the major newspaper titles was directed at—or appeared to enjoy—a non-Jewish readership (excepting, here, the scholarly periodicals that would be read by specialists in the field; *Der Morgen* (six times a year until 1934, then monthly till October 1938) offered theoretical and intellectual discussions of problems connected with race, nationality, the *Staat,* Nationalism etc. that could have been expected to impress German intellectuals, but it circulated in only 1,400 copies in 1935! This characteristic of the Jewish *Gruppenpresse* to restrict its appeal to the Jewish community exclusively revealed its inherent weakness as a tool to fight antisemitism. This weakness was increased by the difficulties experienced by the defence organizations in placing *anti*-antisemic material in the general, expecially the politically decisive, bourgeois press. To reach beyond the Jewish group, the *Central-Verein* issued a *Monatsausgabe* (monthly edition) featuring articles selected from the weekly *C.V. Zeitung* beginning with the mid–1920s. Single (pre-election) editions reached up to 250,000 copies, the average issue hovering around 50,000–60,000 in normal periods. The *Jüdische Rundschau* followed suit in 1932 with a monthly edition for the general public.[43]

The journalistic effort to deal with the rise of Nazism was part of the general efforts made by Jewish organizations in Germany. Although not strictly *periodical* literature, the leaflets, posters, pamphlets, defence manuals, etc. published by the *Central-Verein* formed part of this effort. Periodical in the precise sense was also the press service *(C.V. Pressedienst)* and the information releases *(C.V. Archivdienst);* both edited by editors Alfred Hirschberg and Magarete Edelheim, and by *C.V.* executive secretary Alfred Wiener. They were distributed among German editors but seemed to have been used only by few. *(The Central-Verein* even publishd a newspaper, *Der Alarm,* designed to counter gutter-language with gutter-language and aimed at a mass public.)[44]

Thus, not only the ultimate failure of the *Central-Verein* to stop Nazism, but also the increasing difficulty of reaching gentile German "opinion-leaders" for whom Jewish affairs seemed marginal or "special pleading," would suggest that the Zionist thesis of the futility of such efforts was valid at least for the German case. Still, the pages of the *C.V. Zeitung* testify to the alertness of German-Jewish mainstream leaders to the rise of Nazism and its menace to German Jewry. Even before 1930, the *C.V. Zeitung* bristled with reports and denunciations of Nazi terror, incidents of antisemitism, the depravities and criminal record of Nazi leaders, analyses of election returns on local, state and Reich levels, trials of Nazi leaders for slander, etc., etc.[45] They were based on an understanding of antisemitism and its motives that limited the newspaper's effectiveness: while admitting that the number of Nazi and right-wing voters did not adequately indicate the incidence of antisemitism in the German population, (it was held to be larger than this vote![46]) the *C.V. Zeitung* aimed its pages at the rational, educated reader and expected that unmasking Nazi propaganda or the race myth as lies would convert the antisemite. Its more specific analysis of the rising tide of Nazi voters rested primarily on the idea that the deepening economic depression, not antisemitism, was to blame. The logical corollary of this position—that an improvement of the economic situation may decrease and ultimately destroy the Nazi party—led to a persistent under-estimation of Nazi successes, although the frequently expressed optimism of *C.V. Zeitung* editorialists may be assumed not to have always reflected the true opinion of these writers. The *C.V. Zeitung* aimed also at keeping the fighting spirit and the morale of its readers high as German political parties either refused to see antisemitism as the central political issue of the day, or feared to lose voters if they became too closely identified with the Jewish issue.[47]

In the light of this increasing isolation of Jews in Germany the *Jüdische Rundschau* offered *its* analysis of the Nazi rise. The local victories of Nazism in 1930 (in Thuringia, later in Hesse, Mecklenburg, Saxony, etc.) were seen as offering a serious threat to Jewish life in Germany. Antisemitism served to deflect class antagonisms upon Jews: the true

destroyers of the economic independence of the German *bourgeoisie* (landowners, industry) used the highly visible Jewish positions in banking, department stores, the media, etc. to blame a scapegoat. Zionism served to solve the "subjective" Jewish question, but it had to solve also the "objective" problem by restructuring Jewish occupations—"although a solution only *à la longue*".[48] The immediate fight for fully equal rights in Germany, and for protection under the law was to be carried on by a central Jewish agency—a *Reichsverband*.[49] Siegfried Moses stressed an overriding Zionist interest in a common Jewish defence against the Nazi menace, that needed to become "more generous" that the *Central-Verein's*. An alliance with the best German anti-Nazi forces was to be based on the admission of a separate Jewish nationality and an uncompromising demand for equal right.[50] Following the first Nazi election success of 1930, the *Jüdische Rundschau* editorialized the "Zionists were essentially less touched by the vicissitudes of diaspora life than defensive Jewish circles" but stated that Zionists, too, were at a loss for an effective response to the immediate threat of Nazism. The paper continued to stress the need for a high Jewish moral since it saw difficult and horrible days ahead for German Jewry.[51]

At the end of this period, the political decisions that would bring Hitler to power were made without giving German Jews an opportunity to influence matters. In internal Jewish matters the Jewish periodicals reflected a breakthrough of new attitudes among important segments of the German-Jewish intelligentsia and among the young towards identification with the Jewish people everywhere. Zionist writers stressed the *differences* between Jewish humanistic nationalism and its belief in common descent and return to the soil, and the chauvinistic blood-and-soil ideologies of Nazism. To the end, the differences between the German (but anti-assimilationist) orientation of the *C.V. Zeitung* and the pessimistic appraisal of Jewish life in the diaspora that found expression in the pages of the *Jüdische Rundschau* proved unbridgeable. The central German-Jewish representation demanded by the Zionists remained in the discussion stage. History was to prove, sadly, that the "nays" had it: *"Ein grosser Aufwand schmählich ward vertan"* (a great investment wasted, every shred).

Jewish journalism entered the last free years of its existence in Germany with the determination to reach the German public beyond its Jewish readers. The monthlies *(Monatsausgaben)* issued by the *C.V. Zeitung* and the *Jüdische Rundschau* were compiled from the articles and editorials that had appeared the previous month in the weekly (bi-weekly) editions of the papers. The need for such material may have led to the inclusion of more articles on German politicas in the *Jüdische Rundschau* in 1932. As street terror increased, the major papers chronicled in faithful detail Germany's descent into political paralysis.

The *C.V. Zeitung* reflected a greater faith in a liberal-democratic future in Germany: Emancipation—but not chronicle of Nazi terror; and shared its sense of disapassimilation!—and work for humane conditions on German soil would still be the political priorities for German Jewry: yet, increasingly, despair over the failure of the German middle classes and their political representatives to speak out against antisemitism in defence of their Jewish middle-class allies brought a sense of isolation. Jewish youth was tempted by "red assimilation" since left-wing parties appeared to offer more effective alternatives to Germany's problems than the middle-class line followed by the *Central-Verein*. Within the *Central-Verein* itself, a new generation demanded recognition for their positive vision of Judaism and Jewish politics, and came closer to the Zionist view of Jewish existence as a result. More space began to be devoted to Jewish cultural affairs in the *C.V. Zeitung:* the recognition of religion, culture and blood (common descent) as constituent elements in Judaism would bring the alienated back to active participation in Jewish life, as the crisis deepened. An intelligent and highly principled debate was carried on between the different journals and the press about the meaning of Jewish identity in a "post-liberal" age of collectivism and mass politics, but the underlying differences between the German-oriented *assimilation* and the Palestine oriented *dis-similation* remained unbridgeable as yet: the *C.V. Zeitung* included a ten-page insert on March 18, 1932 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the death of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe ("Was Goethe antisemitic?" "The Old Testament in Goethe's work" etc.).[52]

Politically, the *C.V. Zeitung's* editorialists (and *Central-Verein* functionaries contributing articles to it) accompanied

the rise of terror and of Hitler's votes in 1932 with a modicum of optimistic belief that the difficulties the *NSDAP* experienced in the course of the year would rule out Hitler's taking power unilaterally. They believed that it had reached its peak, but expected that political problems within the Nazi movement would increase their antisemitic propaganda. In the last edition before the take-over, they warned the government, the politicians and the *C.V.* against the persistent threat represented by this situation.[53]

The *Jüdische Rundschau* paralleled the *C.V. Zeitung's* disappointment and isolation from German political forces; because the Nazi's antisemitic propaganda had failed to deter the voters from the *NSDAP.* The paper agreed with arguments developed by Gershom Scholem (in *Sche'ifotenu,* the *Brith Shalom* periodical published in Palestine) in defence of active Jewish diaspora-politics needed in the period of stagnation in Palestine following World War One.[54] The *Jüdische Rundschau's* appraisal of the rise of Nazism appeared on the whole clear-eyed and pessimistic: it expected Hitler's appointment to the chancellorship earlier than in 1933:[55] Motzkin had uttered the most solemn warning to German Jews in late summer of 1932![56] The *Rundschau* recognized the inherent potential of the Nazi movement, and, in September 1932, supporter the *ZVfD's* resolution (Frankfurt a.M., *Delegiertentag,* September 11-12) to begin (!) intense political activities aimed at the Nazi menace:[57] "Hitler's apointment as chancellor would mean the end of Jewish emancipation in Germany, begin a new phase of Jewish life, create a new reality".[58] The *Jüdische Rundschau's* analyses of the social and political composition of the Nazi movement focussed persistent attention on the role of antisemitism as the movement's most useful political ladder to power.[59]

These tough-minded observations and warnings were accompanied by a political debate in two directions. One one hand, the *Jüdische Rundschau* accepted the view that the (cultural) activities of certain Jews in Germany exhibited some "assimilationist-phenomena of decomposition" *(assimilatorische Zersetzungserscheinungen)* such as the "tactless", "cynical" or "nihilistic" attacks on German national values carried on by Jewish intellectuals, especially of the Left and the liberal *Judenpresse,* but on the other hand the Zionist paper criticized the *Central-Verein's* lack of Jewish pride in commenting on the German political scene. The *Rundschau* also disliked *"Börsenjobber"* and *"Direktorsposten"* (small stockbrokers and board positions).[60] The Zionist programme: equality of rights, dignified restraint, Jewish unity, and a will to live for Judaism and the Jewish people would, in this view, prevent the worst excesses commited by the "uprooted" diaspora Jew.[61] As the some time, and related to this position, the *Jüdische Rundschau,* while *unequivocally rejecting Nazism,* professed to see the "idealism" in German national youth. Like German nationalists, the Zionists, too, believed that the liberal period (as symbolized in Theodor Herzl's assumed *Mauschel*-figure) had ended, believed in the powers of instinct, blood, and tradition as decisive factors in human existence: a Zionist community would be better understood in a "post-individualistic" age than "assimilationist" Jewry. However, that the allegedly idealistic youth in the Nazi camp failed to protect against the antisemitic filth spread about by their leaders raised serious doubts in the mind of the *Jüdische Rundschau.* Still, it opined that "Zionists . . . would find a modus vivendi with a strong and purified (i.e. purified of antisemitism HS) German nationalism."[62]

In evaluating this line of argumentation it should be remembered that *Jüdische Rundschau* and *C.V. Zeitung* alike considered it impossible that Jews in Germany would ever lose their constitutional rights. If even Zionists believed that "an official diminution of the legal equality of German Jews in a *Kulturstaat* was impossible"[63] the *Central-Verein's* optimistic illusion becomes somewhat easier to understand in the historic context of the period. There is also good reason to believe that, at least with Zionists, tactical propaganda considerations played a role in this argumentation: both groups were well aware of the desperate Jewish situation in 1932, and hoped that appeals of this kind might lead to splits or changes in the enemy camp. That this hope would soon turn into a total illusion, even the most pessimistic among them, to their eternal credit, could not conceive in 1932.

Recording the inner history of German Jewish life during the Nazi period has not yet been attempted, probably because the shadow of the "Final Solution" needs to thin out enough for a dispassionate appraisal of what, to posterity,

appear like the most painful illusions destroyed, old quarrels continued, while flames leaped up the walls of the Jewish house outside. The Jewish press contains a substantial part of the record of the period. However, its pages reflected this record in a delicate mixture of varying cross-pressures such as ideological developments among editors and sponsoring organizations, the tactical needs of Jewish partisan politics, the hope to influence the Nazi authorities in immediate policy situations, the obligation to provide a maximum of information and a modicum of political and cultural direction to Jewish readers, information for foreign consumption, and, last but not least, the desire to avoid the suspension of a paper by the *Gestapo's* Jewish Department. Beginning with 1933, the Jewish press in Germany was written under *Nachzensur,* a technique of government control copied from Fascist Italy. Individual issues of a paper would be "censured" (i.e. editors "interrogated" or admonished, and papers suspended) if they printed news items not in line with Nazi policies. The broad outlines of these policies—such as constant pressure for Jewish emigration—were well enough known, but the ramifications of individual items in the *Gestapo's* mind were not always easy to anticipate.

The lively polemics carried on against Nazi policies and propaganda for a few weeks or months following 1933 soon vanished from Jewish papers. Sometimes even reproduction in Jewish papers of items carried by the controlled Nazi press would be outlawed if the police felt that it would contradict Nazi policies towards Jews if items were selected in isolation. Also forbidden were items dealing with German foreign policy or the policies of other governments. Suspensions, if they occured, might last for weeks or months at a time.

Thus, with Hitler's appointment to the chancellorship on January 30, 1933, the conditions under which Jewish journalists functioned, changed so radically that only careful and sensitive methods of interpretation will avoid mis-judgements of the often brilliant labour of the men and women who continued as responsible editors. This press was a press under persecution, as was the Jewish community they served, and special tactics and language were needed if the message was to reach the readers. Like the rabbis of the period,[64] the press would use esoteric language to strengthen the will to resist hardships, to express the hatred felt for the persecutors. (The Gestapo soon learned who *Haman* was, and Jewish press comments on Purim became rather tepid, considering the circumstances!)

For at least the first two years of Nazi power, the Jewish condition in Germany was indeterminate and the Jewish press, reflecting views held by the representative Jewish organizations—including the soon-established central *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden**—hoped that Jewish propaganda tactics might influence Nazi policies. If this turned out to be another illusionary appeasement in the end, it was stimulated by Hitler's well-recognized political tactic of deception, of establishing temporary unstable equilibria and, from their basis, press on to further advances, deceiving his victims or enemies (or even factions within his own party) by solemnly pronouncing the temporary as "final" and permanent. Nazi policies towards the Jews, accordingly, seduced the innocent into hoping that Jewish conditions in Germany could be stabilized. Following the *S.A.* terrorism of the first few months of 1933 that culminated in the boycott of Jewish business establishments on April 1, 1933, the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws on September 15, 1935, would un-deceive responsible Jewish leaders, as far as this was still necessary, although, once again, the expectation of an "economic and cultural autonomy" for those who could not or would not emigrate provided another psychological shelter against rising anxiety. With 1938, another wave of persecution was being reported, and with the Burning of the Synagogues of November 9-10, 1938, and the incarceration in concentration camps of most male German Jews, the semi-independent Jewish press found its end.

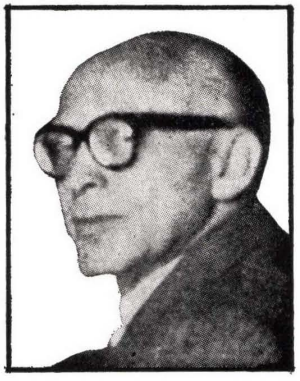
Thus, 2 or 3 major periods can be distinguished for the Jewish press under the Nazi rule in Germany. Some new journals were founded, reflecting the pre-occupation with emigration and the effort of German Jewish leaders to reconstruct a Jewish cultural life or cultural activities by Jews in Germany. There were also some new *Gemeindeblätter.*[65]

* The name *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden* (Reich representation of German Jews) was speedily changed, on orders from the Department for Jewish Affairs of the Gestapo to *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (Reich representation of Jews in Germany). The political intention behind this change was clear. It determined the fact that there were Jews living in Germany but the concept of "German Jews" or "German Jew" was non-existent (Editorial note).

Since Jews were barred from *(gleichgeschaltet)* German journalism, the Jewish press experienced an *embarras de richesse* in new journalistic talent returning to the Jewish fold.[66] The *C.V. Zeitung* changed its format to the "standard Berlin" size used by the *Jüdische Rundschau,* beginning in the summer of 1933. Advertising revenue climbed since Jewish advertising in the Jewish press increased markedly, As a result, "the publications became self-supporting."[67]



Georg Goetz



Alfred Hirschberg

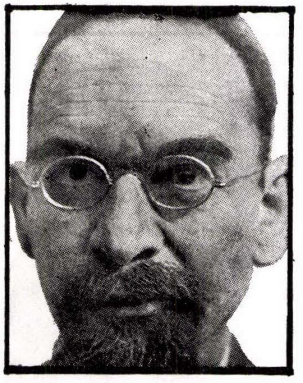
Circulation trends reveal that the main-stream *C.V. Zeitung* began to decline while the formerly small edition of the main Zionist paper *Jüdische Rundschau* nearly quadrupled its previous figures, although Jewish newspapers could not be sold any longer from newsstands, beginning with 1934.[68] The major Jewish papers also increased the number of pages in each issue over against their pre-1933 figures. This was, in part, due to the new emphasis on practical information concerning emigration, legal matters, Palestine, foreign currency regulations, reports on life in foreign countries from the four corners of the earth, as it were. Jewish journalists were barred from commenting on German developments and hopeful eyes looked abroad for new beginnings. But it was in part the outpouring of cultural energy that created an autonomous culture, in the short pause left to German Jewry between integration and extermination. This culture recreated the Jewish tradition in articles on literature, religion, philosophy, history, even mysticism, Jewish biography, and similar fields. The *Jüdische Rundschau* offered its readers a course in modern Hebrew (prepared by S. Kaleko) stretching over many months. German Jewish cultural efforts also made use of the talents of many actors, writers, theatre directors, musicians etc. who had been barred from appearing before German audiences by the laws of 1933, and now presented a wide cultural fare, from Lessing to Léhar, to Jewish audiences in the nation-wide *Jüdischer Kulturbund.* The pages of the Jewish press reviewed and previewed their activities in what must have been the best reviewing then printed in Germany. Towards the end of the period, news on social and emigration problems and possibilities relegated all other items to the back-pages.

The first few months of the new regime imposed threats to life and security on German Jews that constituted an altogether new experience for this generation. Against the street terror unleashed by the Storm-Troopers *(S.A.)* deputized as auxiliary police by Goering in Prussia, the Jewish press appealed to the German sense of "law and order." The *C.V. Zeitung* reminded the government of the Jewish contribution to German history and culture, and stressed Jewish loyalty to Germany, but a police search of its premises (as a "Communist" centre of conspiracy!) and the "interrogation" of its editor-in-chief, Alfred Hirschberg, placed it on notice that its sharp polemics against the Nazis would not be tolerated any longer.[69] The *Jüdische Rundschau*—like the *C.V. Zeitung*—reviewed foreign press reports on the indignation aroused by Nazi violence and killing abroad—a technique of providing censored information soon discovered and suppressed by the Secret Police. The Zionist response to Nazism, while stressing the German Zionists' indebtedness to German literature and learning and their loyalty to the *Staat,* expressed anxiety and pessimism about a future it had sadly predicted in previous years. Its main line centred on the idea that Germany's foreign position, or the security of German national minorities abroad, would be endangered by Nazi brutalities, i.e. that they should be stopped in Germany's own national interest. For Jews, the *Jüdische Rundschau*—in often courageously worded editorials—anticipated a *Sonderdasein*—an autonomous Jewish life—in line with its earlier political position.[70]

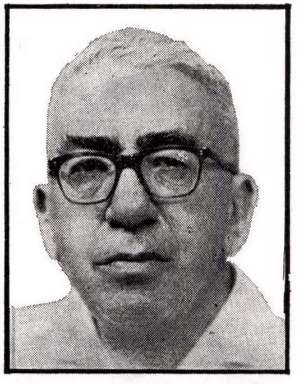
The boycott movement against Jewish business and produ-

cers took the centre of the stage early in 1933. Jews were placed under the Nazi threat of an action that would destroy Jewish economic life in Germany, and forced to cooperate in warding off this threat. (Whether Jews in Germany had any option before them at that time or at later occasions is not a question within the purview of this paper.) When a one-day-boycott of Jewish business in Germany materialized on April 1, 1933, the press, and all the major and minor Jewish organizations, were ordered to produce declarations stressing that all was "legality" in Germany, and that atrocity stories would not help matters.[71] On April 6, 1933, the *C.V. Zeitung* continued its stress on Jewish loyalty to Germany and on its German patriotism, but the tragic mood of the paper may be gathered from one of the younger intellectual's quotation of Goethe's line "Wenn ich Dich liebe, was geht's Dich an?" ("If I love you it is none of your concern!") Still, the *Central-Verein* conveyed its sense of outrage over Nazi brutality in carefully worded proclamations that earned it the attack of the Nazi *Völkischer Beobachter* as "impudent". A shift towards a greater stress on Jewish religious and cultural values, away from the older generation's emphasis on German patriotism, was already unmistakable. It would re-enforce itself until, by 1935, it would replace most public professions of past Jewish roots in Germany. The *Jüdische Rundschau*'s editor Robert Weltsch, however, in a widely-noticed editorial entitled "Wear it with pride, the yellow badge of shame!" established the Zionist claim to leadership in crisis situations by calling for Jewish self-respect, restraint and dignity in this adversity. He marred his flawless if purely defensive line of argument with—in retrospect unnecessary—strictures upon "renegades now being given something to remember" by Nazi race thinking.[72]

Thus the tone was set for the journalistic response to the exclusivist legislation of the first two years of the Nazi period. In what may have been at least to some extent a tactical line, the *C.V. Zeitung,* in editorials and signed contributions, openly opposed the Nazis' official policy of forced emigration and dis-integration for the whole Jewish community in Germany. Like the central Jewish representation, the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden* led by Leo Baeck, it professed agreement with German foreign policy measures "in spite of everything" in 1933, expressed hope that a "living space for German Jews would be found in the fatherland," and insisted, in the face of what it held to be a temporary period of insecurity, that "emancipation and rootedness in Germany" *("Verwurzelung in Deutschland")* were still its goals.[73] At least on one or two occasions (October and December 1933) it fell into the trap of expecting that at least for "native German Jews" (in distinction from "immigrant



I. Heinemann



Alfred Kupferberg

Jews" who had "gained an enormous influence on German economic, financial and political life") a solution would be found in Germany whose racial legislation the editor professed to understand as an attempt to limit foreign influence in Germany.[74] The *C.V. Zeitung* also reflected, in a number of instances, the intense factional and ideological disputes carried on behind the scenes among different Jewish political groups in Germany as late as the summer of 1937.[75] The *C.V. Zeitung* still hoped that an "undiminished life" could be led by Jews in Germany not as a Jewish national minority but as a cultural and religious group whose *economic* life—as was also the official Nazi deception of those early years—would remain undisturbed although Jews remained barred from participating in German political and cultural life. If this were impossible, Jewish positions needed at least to be held as long as possible "if the government recognized our human and social value" *("Eigenwert")*.[76] The *C.V. Zeitung* reflected fully the successful efforts made by all Jewish groups in Germany to respond on all levels of com-

munal life to the Nazi challenge by creating social welfare institutions, aid to emigrants, an intensified Jewish education and cultural programmes for young and adults alike, a practical success in which all major groups, of whatever ideological persuasions or illusions, had their part.

The policy lines of the *Jüdische Rundschau* also reveal the insecurity about the Nazis' ultimate intentions that characterized the years prior to the Nuremberg Laws of September 15, 1935. Its tactics derived from the appeasement policies imposed in 1933 upon a powerless and exposed group under persecution. Like the *C.V. Zeitung,* the Zionist paper pleaded during 1933 for the establishment of a new Jewish sphere of autonomous culture and political self-respect, and expressed its expectation that the racial laws of the new Germany would not be based upon the assumption of Jewish inferiority, but were designed to establish a clear line of separation between the two national groups. Zionists, too, it claimed, accept race, history and *Volkstum* as the constituent bases of a nation. Separation would end Jewish "decomposition" *("Zersetzung")* of German culture.[77] More clearly than its rival, it would appear, it realized that the exclusion legislation of 1933–1934 forced second-class citizenship upon Jews, and pressed its demands for planned and organized emigration to Palestine, a central representation of Jews in Germany, full economic freedom and a voluntary restructuring of Jewish occupations—*Umschichtung.*[78] By late 1934, it considered that the "dis-similation" of 1933 had resulted in a transition stage in which most German Jews understood the need for emigration, while governments everywhere closed their frontiers. Earlier hopes for a cultural autonomy in Germany or equality between two forms of national life, whatever their tactical meaning had been then, had proven illusory.[79] The practical importance of Palestine as immigration country even for non-Zionists imparted to the *Jüdische Rundschau* a central position in German Jewish life. Close cooperation in practical matters along the lines of the Zionist programme was bridging ideological diversities if not political in-fighting, or disagreement over programmes, budget, and priorities between the Jewish parties in Germany.

The Nuremberg Laws announced as government decrees to the Nazi Party Conference at that city on September 15, 1935 marked a decisive turn in Jewish life in Germany. Statistics on emigration of Jews from Germany show that the cataclysmic events of early 1933, September 1935, and of November 1938 tended to increase the number of emigrants, but that, during the intervening, "relatively quiet" periods (1934/1935, 1937), emigration tended to slacken somewhat.[80] A parallel ideological pattern is noticeable also in the Jewish press of the earlier period (see above). The Nuremberg Laws depriving German Jews of their citizenship *(Reichsbürgerschaft)* and endowing them with an inferior *"Staatsbürgerschaft"* ended the *Central-Verein's* hopes for stabilized co-existence.[81] The Zionist analysis had proven correct: the *Jüdische Rundschau* offered a programme calling for the end of defamation of Jews in Germany, economic freedom, Jewish cultural autonomy, and orderly emigration.[82] The central *Reichsvertretung's* work programme (also printed in the paper) aimed at Jewish education, emigration, social welfare, economic aid and counselling to the needy, and *Reichsvertretung* membership in the *Keren Hayesod,* acknowledging the central importance of emigration to Palestine (about 8,500 Jews, or 37% of all emigrants had left Germany for Palestine in 1934).[83] The *C.V. Zeitung* which had been suppressed for three months previous to the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws (as compared to the *Jüdische Rundschau's* one month suspension) had lost its ideological base, and conceded defeat. It expressed its hope that the law—another unstable equilibrium—would now create "decent relations" between Germans and Jews, and pledged cooperation in a unified effort to fulfill the *Reichsvertretung's* programme.[84] Soon the *Central-Verein* changed its name and its by-laws, and pressed for emigration to Palestine as well as to overseas countries.[85] With 1935, the ideological differences so prominent in previous years disappeared from the German Jewish press for the most part. The need to aid the poor, nurse the sick, care for the aged, teach the young and help those ready to emigrate and able to find an open frontier abroad took front-page attention, reflecting the increasing dependence of German Jews on the decision of foreign powers on immigration quotas, foreign currency transfer, and on commission reports. Financing this work also became a central topic. Finally, in 1938, the papers reflected the tragedy of the Evian Conference and the failure of the London Bureau under Charles Rublee to

substitute planned emigration under international control for the anarchy and injustices inherent in labour protectionist or capitalistic immigration practices.[86] Information contained in the German Jewish press on these matters is only of limited historic source value since tightened censorship aimed at speeding up the exodus of Jews from Germany and prevented the printing of more than glimpses of the true story. Of great value were, however, the reports by emigrés on conditions in immigration countries and actual information on changing admission policies. Domestically, the press gives some indication of continued differences among various Jewish organizations and of the energetic efforts made by emigration and social welfare organizations to save what could be saved for the time being. In the end, the *C.V. Zeitung* deplored the lack of a central worldwide body able to speak for all Jews in negotiations with governments, accepted the central role of Palestine in Jewish migration and the need for a Jewish-centred politics.[87] The papers also reflected the concern with Jewish things in cultural life that amounted to a renaissance of Jewish identification and knowledge among Jews in Germany during those years. Increasing pressures felt in 1938 in the fields of economic and communal life were reported as leading to a wider and more representative central *Reichsvertretung* (Jewish *Gemeinden* lost their previous legal status as "semi-public corporations" and became mere private associations—*Vereine* on March 28, 1938, the new legal status necessitating a re-writing of the by-laws.)[88] Still, the two overriding concerns—emigration and communal care for those remaining in what amounted increasingly to a ghetto-situation under persecution—overshadowed news, editorial and information policies.

The last issue of the *Jüdische Rundschau* appeared on November 8, 1938, a day before the Burning of the Synagogues for which the murder of Ernst vom Rath in Paris had offered a desired pretext. The last issue of the *C.V. Zeitung* carried the date of November 3 of that year. The *Jüdische Rundschau* dealt with emigration to Colombia, Brazil, Cuba, the British Commonwealth; the Sir John Hope Simpson Report; France's policy towards Palestine; Zionist work in Holland, Great Britain, Belgium; the celebration of the Balfour Declaration's anniversary in New York City; Cultural life in the USA; life in Johannesburg, London, Sao Paulo; Jewish mysticism, a new Pentateuch commentary; military and economic events in Palestine; living standards in Palestine; the Hebrew lesson of the day *(Mussaf Ivri);* economic assistance *(Winterhilfe);* arts and communal news, in addition to some advertising.

The *C.V. Zeitung* reported on migration problems in Australia, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia; a school in Yagur; economic relations between South America and the USA; letters from New York; small items on foreign countries dealing with emigration policies and possibilities; the feuilleton, an article on the Tower of Babel, on the art history of the Breslau *Gemeinde;* on the Jewish diaspora in classical antiquity, an obituary.

The editors of the major periodicals—as far as they had not already emigrated—had been swept up in the round-up of male Jews on Nov. 9/11 and herded into concentration camps. Some who had by chance escaped were forced by the Gestapo office in Berlin to sign "legal" statements liquidating their papers "voluntarily".[89] The Jewish press thus destroyed was replaced by an information bulletin *"Jüdisches Nachrichtenbatt"*[90] edited in Berlin from 1938 to 1943 whose pages provide one of the sources for the legal and communal developments among Jews remaining in Germany during wartime.[91]

Thus, five years and 9 months after the Nazi regime's accession to power in Germany, the *Gestapo* destroyed the Jewish press in Germany. Many of the editors of the now defunct papers succeeded in emigrating abroad. Some continued their journalistic work for the Jewish people there, others—like Leo Kreindler—died in Germany or in concentration camps.[92] Following Word War II, a new, temporary, Yiddish-language press developed in camps where the survivors of the holocaust waited to end their "displacement," and a German-language weekly was issued, accompanied by some regional or organizational information bulletins.[93]

During the period discussed in this essay, the German-Jewish periodical press provided a service to Jews in Germany which no other medium could have offered. Impressively large in circulation, differentiated in its approach, and broadly varied in its appeal to political, scholarly, professional, occupational, social, local and other interests, the Jewish press mirrored on a frequently high intellectual level,

the ideological developments and the practical issues that concerned German Jewry during those years. Its solidity, organization, skill, and management permitted it to maintain a continuous service to its readers. The chief editors functioned also as important spokesmen, guides and intellectual beacons in times of distress, and while no data are available to assess reader responses to the Jewish periodical literature in Germany, this author—who spent his youth in Nazi Germany—is able to testify that the periodical press was one of the major links between Jewish leadership and the rank and file at that time, providing information, comfort, identity, guidelines for future planning and a sense of cohesion with the rest of German Jewry that few other institutions were able to provide. In addition, the sub-division of this press into the various types indicated above—and emerging with full force from the tables appended to this essay—permitted the individual Jew in Germany to be part of a smaller sub-division of the whole and, in community with like-minded others, to view an increasingly hostile world from the psychological security that a *Gemeinschaft* is able to provide in modern mass *Gesellschaft*.

Within the context of German-Jewish and world-Jewish history, German-Jewish periodical literature reflects in a major way the intellectual fruits and the political misery that, under certain historical circumstances, attend Jewish diaspora existence. This press—of whatever ideological bent—participated in the unique diaspora-Jewish culture often misnamed the "German-Jewish symbiosis." It represented, in fact, one of its important expressions, and contributed as such not only to the development of Zionist thought and vitality but also to the understanding of diaspora-Jewish situations in the post-Holocaust period. It failed where German Jewry failed, but strove earnestly to influence the course of German history. Only a detailed and complete analysis—as yet unwritten—if done with proper attention to subtlety and the compassion that guides understanding, will reveal the rich contributions of the men and women who carried it through the most catastrophic period of Jewish history with that characteristic dedication that secures them a place in the history of journalism and communal service.


IBERGANG
Organ fun Pojlisze Jidntum in Dejczland
Ejrope glojbt nit in a dojerhaftn fridn
Indonezje bet hilf
IRO hejbt on ir tetikajt
OUR WAY
JIDISZE
CAJTUNG
ALGEMEJN-NACJONALER ORGAN
„Jidn darfn Erec-Jisroel - E.-J. darf jidn"

Mimeographed papers of Jewish refugee groups in Germany after WW II

APPENDIX I

NOTE:

The following lists of Jewish periodicals in Germany, 1918–1938, have been compiled from the sources indicated below, and in the notes to each subdivision. Although more items have been listed in these Appendices than in any other single compilation available in print, no claim is made here that they are complete, exhaustive, or systematic. No list of Yiddish-language periodicals in Germany has been found in the various libraries visited by the author in the summer and fall of 1970. The author is indebted to Mr. Galliner for his help in using the Catalogue of the Leo Baeck Institute listed below, a mine of information, and the main source for App. 1a.

Sources: S. Adler-Rudel, Ostjuden in Deutschland (Schriftenreihe Wissensch. Abh. d. Leo Baeck Institutes, 1) Tübingen 1959, pp. 107–108; R. Bernstein, *Zwischen Emanzipation und Antisemitismus. Die Publizistik der deutschen Juden am Beispiel der "C.V. Zeitung," Organ des Centralvereins deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, 1924–1933.* Diss. phil. Berlin 1969; M. Edelheim-Muehsam, "The Jewish Press in Germany," *Yearbook, LBI,* I, London 1956, pp. 163–192; Idem, "Reactions of the Jewish Press to the Nazi Challenge," *ibidem* V, London 1960, pp. 308–332; R. Edelmann, Jüdisches Geistesleben am Rhein," *Monumenta Judaica,* Handbuch, ed. K. Schilling, Koeln 1963, pp. 708–709; A. Herzberg, Last Days of the German Jewish (sic) Press," *Contemporary Jewish Record,* Vol. V, no. 2, 1942, pp. 145–153; *Juedisches Jahrbuch für Gross-Berlin,* 2d ed., 1928; *Jüdisches Lexikon,* Berlin, vol. IV, cols. 1102–1110 (incl. Tables); Leo Baeck Institute, Bibliothek und Archiv, *Katalog* Bd. 1, ed. M. Kreutzberger u. I. Foerg, Tübingen 1970, pp. 303–348; *Lexikon des Judentums,* Gueterloh 1967, cols. 898–902; *Kiryath Sepher.* A Quarterly Bibliographical Review ed. H. Bergmann and Ch. Pick, Jerusalem, 1924–1938/1939.

Libraries or card catalogues used: Jewish National Library, Jerusalem; Leo Baeck Institute, New York, N.Y.; New York Public Library, Jewish Division, New York, N.Y.; Wiener Library, London; Yiddish Scientific Institute, New York, N.Y.

Some frequently used abbreviations:

C.V. — Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens
K.C. — Kartell-Convent der Verbindungen deutscher Studenten jüdischen Glaubens
KJV — Kartell Jüdischer Verbindungen
MGWJ — Monatsschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
ORT (Russian) — abbr. Society for the Promotion of Crafts and Agriculture among Jews
OSE (Russian) — abbr. Society for the Protection of the Health of Jews
RjF — Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten
UOBB — United Order of B'nai B'riss (or B'nai B'rith)
YIVO — Yidisher Wisenshaftlikher Institut
ZGJD — Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland
ZVfD — Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland

1 J. Toury, "Die Anfänge des jüdischen Pressewesens in Deutschland," *Bull. des LBI,* vol. 10, no. 38/39, p. 92.

2 See for example the *Memoirs* of Glueckel von Hameln (1646–1724) (Gn. ed., Vienna 1910, Berlin 1913), or the ample documentation contained in the letters written to relatives and friends and home by Jewish immigrants from Germany to the USA in: J.Z. Blau and Salo W. Baron, eds., The Jews of the United States 1790–1840, New York a. Philadelphia, 5724–1963.

3 J. Toury, op. cit. (see acte 1).

4 *Ibid.* pp. 104–110.

5 *Jüdisches Lexikon,* vol. IV, Berlin 1930, cols. 1103–1104.

6 See M. Wiener, *Jüdische Religion im Zeitalter der Emanzipation,* Berlin 1933; H. Liebeschuetz, "Jewish Thought and its German Background" *Yearbook, LBI* I. London 1956, pp. 217–236; F. Bamberger, "Zunz's Conception of History: A Study of the Philosophical Elements in Early Science of Judaism", *Proc. Am. Ac. f. Jew. Res.,* vol. XI, 1941, pp. 1–25; A. Liebeschuetz, *Das Judentum im Deutschen Geschichtsbild von Hegel bis Max Weber* (Schriftenreihe Wissenschaftl, Abh. des LBI, 17), Tübingen 1967, pp. 113–156; I. Elbogen, "Die Hochschule, ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung," I. Elbogen Hoeniger, *Lehranstalt füer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Festschrift zur Einweihung des eigenen Heimes* Berlin 1907, pp. 1–98; id., "Die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Festrede, *"42. Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Berlin 1925, pp. 13–24; A. Altmann, ed., *Studies in Nineteenth Century Jewish Intellectual History* (Philip W. Lown Inst. of Adv. Judaic Stud., Studies a. Texts, vol. II), Cambridge, Mass. 1964 (Rev. by Herbert A. Strauss in *Judaism,* Winter 1968, pp. 122–128.)

7 See list of 19th cent. Jewish periodicals in Germany in *Jüdisches Lexikon,* loc. cit., (see note 5), and W. Schochow, *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichtswissenschaft.* Diss. phil. Freie Universität Berlin, 1966.

8 See R. Bernstein, *Zwischen Emanzipation und Antisemitismus: Die Publizistik der deutschen Juden am Beispiel der "C.V. Zeitung," Organ des Central-Vereins deutscher Staatbürger jüdischen Glaubens,* 1924–1933. Diss. phil., Frei Universität Berlin, 1969.

9 See M· Goldstein, "Deutsch-jüdischer Parnassus," *Der Kunstwart,* 1911; id., "German Jewry's Dilemma before 1914," in *Yearbook, LBI,* II, London 1957, pp. 236–254, or Jakob Wasser-

mann, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude,* Berlin 1921, for the psychological circumstances under which a sensitive Jewish writer responds to German exclusivist cultural nationalism. Under the circumstances of pre-1914 Germany, even Jews whose roots had been in families long resident in Germany experienced that their environment would not allow them to maintain an un-selfconscious attitude toward their own work, although both Goldstein and Wassermann appeared to have adjusted to their problems and continued producing for German literature and letters until the Nazi period (or death, in the case of Wassermann). (On "alienation" as a theme in Jewish acculturation in Germany see Herbert A. Strauss, "The Plural Worlds of German Jewry. A Postscript," in H.A. Strauss, a. Kurt R. Grossmann, eds., *Gegenwart im Rückblick. Festgabe für die Jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin 25 Jahre nach dem Neubeginn,* Heidelberg 1970 (in press. No pagination available at time of writing).

10 See R. Bernstein (*op. cit.,* see note 8) summarizing L. Hollaender's lecture of January 1931 before the Munich *Zeitungswissenschaftliche Vereinigung* (pp. 16–17).

11 On relevant aspects of the German press see K. Boemer, *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Zeitungswissenschaft,* Leipzig 1929 (pp. 256–257; 267: "Jüdische und andere Religionsgemeinschaften"); W. J. Schuetz, "Zeitungs-statistik" in *Handbuch der Publizistik,* ed. E. Dovifat, Berlin, 1969 ed., pp. 348–369; O.D. Roegele a. A. Wagner," Die katholische Presse in Deutschland", *ibid.,* pp. 496–507; F. Baetke a. K. Boemer, *Der wirtschaftliche Aufbau des deutschen Zeitungsgewerbes* (Zeitung und Zeit, ed. by Deutsches Institut fuer Zeitungskunde, vol. III), Berlin 1922; K. Boemer, *Das internationale Zeitungswesen,* Berlin-Leipzig 1934; D. Dovifat, *Die Zeitungen* (Die deutsche Wirtschaft und ihre Führer, vol. III) Berlin 1925, pp. 60–67; 76–88).

12 See Appendix 1b for the list of congregational and regional periodicals.

13 See Herbert A. Strauss, "The Jugendverband" in *Yearbook, LBI,* VI, London 1961, pp. 206–236 for an intensive study of the split between the Central-Verein and the largest, "neutral" German-Jewish youth organization. This study was, to an important extent, based on the periodical literature published by this organization.

14 For the early history of the new *Sozialpolitik* developed by Socialist-populist-Zionist groups among Eastern immigrants to Germany see S. Adler-Rudel, "Fürsorge für das Volk. Anfänge einer neuen jüdischen Sozialpolitik," in Herbert A. Strauss a. Kurt R. Grossmann, *op. cit.* (in press; see note 9).

15 See *Jüdisches Lexikon,* loc. cit. Table XVI, pp. XXIII–XXIV, and Appendix 1a: No completion can be assumed for either compilation.

16 See F. Baerthe a. K. Boemer, *op. cit.* (see note 9).

17 See R. Bernstein, *op. cit.* pp. 26; 39 (see note 8).

18 See M. Edelheim-Muehsam, "The Jewish Press in Germany," *Yearbook, LBI,* I, London 1956, p. 168.

19 *Ibid.* p. 169.

20 *Ibid,* p. 170.

21 *Ibid.* p. 170–171.

22 In 1939, the present author assisted Miss Nathan, of the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin to prepare the index of this last volume of the *MGWJ.* It was issued, yearbook style in 1939–1940, and reprinted by the LBI in 1963 with an introduction by Max Gruenewald.

23 For an excellent study of the ideological currents of the period see K. Loewenstein, "Die innerjüdische Reaktion auf die Krise der deutschen Demokratie," *Entscheidungsjahr 1932: Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik,* ed. W.E. Mosee and A. Paucken, (Schriftenreihe Wiss. Abh. des LBI, 13) Tübingen 1965, pp. 349–404.

24 For a recent sketch of Berlin Jewish life see Herbert A. Strauss "The plural worlds of German Jewry, A Postscript," H.A. Strauss a. K.R. Grossmann, *op. cit.* (see note 9).

25 Due to space limitations, no attempt will be made here to include the scholarly periodical literature in this essay.

26 It must be assumed that the deficits the *Jüdische Rundschau* can be presumed to have incurred were covered by the ZVfD.

27 *Im Deutschen Reich,* September and October, 1971.

28 *Ibid.* November 1918; JR, 11-8-1918; *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* 11-7-1918 (frontpage); at the meeting of the CV at the Berlin Philharmonie spoke Eugen Fuchs, Alfred Apfel, Franz Oppenheimer and Sonnenfeld; the reports on the overflow meeting mention "unrest" in the audience.

29 *Im Deutschen Reich* September 1918 (Umschau) and October 1918 (Umschau and political comment on Woodrow Wilson).

30 See H.A. Strauss, "The Jugendverband," *op. cit.* (see note 13), and the speeches by Alfred Apfel and Franz Oppenheimer (Zionist) as reported in *Im Deutschen Reich,* November 1918, in *JR* 1-4-1919 (meeting of the Verband der Jüdischen Jugendvereine Deuschlands with Nahum Goldmann as panelist); *JR* 3-14-1919 (The new settlers in Palestine will be sexually more honest than the older generation.)

31 Thus, the *Berliner Tageblatt* had carried a CV-inspired retort to the extreme Zionist position on alien status for Jews in Germany and had been told that it was a mistunderstanding of the Zionist position (*JR,* 1-7-1919; 1-4-1919); The *Frankfurter Zeitung* also carried a refutation of the Zionist position (Paul Nathan) (see *JR* 5–18–1919); the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* favoured the Zionist position at the Versailles Conference as part

of the prospective German Foreign Office approach to the Treaty (JR, 2-7-1919).

32 A strong rejection of the Zionist and Folkist programme of 1919 at the hands of the CV was reported in *JR,* 6-3-1919 (CV meeting of 5-9-1919).

33 *Im Deutschen Reich,* December 1918; January 1919 (Eisner).

34 M.T. Edelheim-Muehsam, "Reactions of the Jewish Press to the Nazi Challenge," in *Yearbook, LBI,* V, London 1960, p. 320.

35 This distribution of items was consistent for the *JR* until 1932 when German events took frontpage (but not quantitive) priority over foreign news. For a comment on the Versailles Treaty see *JR,* 5–16–1919.

36 See for example *JR,* 10–25–1918, editorial; 11–15–1918 (positive stand on Russian and German revolutions as ending antisemitic regimes); *JR,* 12–17–1918; 5–20–1919.

37 *JR,* 10–25–1918; 1–10–1919, a. passim 1919.

37 On the Zionist *Volkstum* concept see *JR* 1918–1919, passim, esp. *JR* 1–14–1919. N. Goldmann and A. Klee, in addressing non-Zionist audiences, tended to stress the universal (Mazziniesque) nature of Jewish nationalism as a universal and prophetically-inspired creed that would end the power-politics of traditional international relations. This belief may have been the most characteristic and persistent ideological component of German Zionism as reported in the pages of the *JR.*

39 *JR,* 1–10–1919; 1–17–1919; 3–18–1919.

40 *JR,* 7–21–1922 (polemics against L. Hollaender's position on loyalty to Germany as reported in editorial of *JR,* 6–20–1922).

41 A detailed analysis of the *JR* and the *CVZ* volumes for 1919–1929 provides an excellent historical chronicle for this period. Space limitations forbid further exploration here.

42 See A. Paucker, *Der jüdische Abwehrampf gegen Antisemitismus und Nationalsozialismus in den letzten Jahren der Weimarer Republik.* Hamburg 1968, pp. 39–61; R. Bernstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 29–31 (see note 8). The *JR* considered the first spectacular rise of the Nazi vote as a defeat for—the CV!

43 A. Paucker, *op. cit.,* 50–52; Bernstein, *op. cit.* 41–43 (see notes 8 a.42).

44 A. Paucker, *op. cit.,* pp. 25–61; 120–122.

45 *CVZ,* passim, also A. Paucker, *op. cit.* and R. Bernstein, *op. cit.*

46 *CVZ,* December 1924; September 1925; January 1927, passim.

47 *CVZ,* 5–25–1928 (A. Hirschberg's analysis of the Nazi vote); 3–15–1929; 5–16–1929 (E. Reichmann a.B. Weinberg on link between Nazi vote and economic conditions); 12-26-1930 (L. Hollaender's optimism on economic improvements and decline of Nazi vote); 1-1-1930 (E. Reichmann expects economic crisis to deepen and thus Nazi vote to rise further, but believes that peak in Nazi vote is close at hand.) For the German background of Jewish reactions see A. Paucker, *op. cit.* (see note 42).

48 *JR,* 1-24-1930 (editorial); 6-20-1930.

49 *JR,* 6-20-1930.

50 *JR,* 7-25-1930.

51 *JR,* 9-16-1930; 10-10-1930. See also A. Paucker, *op. cit.,* p. 41 (see note 42).

52 A. Paucker, *op. cit.* passim (see note 42); K. Loewenstein, *op. cit.* (see note 23). Characteristic editorials or signed articles (by A. Hirschberg, H. Bach, F. Friedlaender, E. Reichmann, H. Reichmann, A. Herzberg, F. Brodnitz, A. Wiener) dealing with various aspects of these problems, including "red assimilation", may be found in *CVZ* 1932 passim, especially 1-8-1932; 2-12-1932; 3-25-1932; 4-15-1932; 9-6-1932.

53 For CV reactions to Nazi voting see *CVZ* 3-18-1932; 4-15-1032; 4-29-1932; 8-5-1932; 9-30-1932; 10-14-1932; 11-10-1932; 12-16-1932; 1-19-1932; 1-26-1932; 1-12-1933.

54 *JR,* 9-20-1932. G. Scholem had been attacked in *Dawar* as "revisionist" of the Orthodox Zionist "negation of Diaspora" ideology.

55 *JR,* 8-12-1932.

56 *JR,* 8-26-1932.

57 *JR,* 10-25-1932.

58 *JR,* 8-12-1932.

59 *JR,* 11-18-1929; 1-24-1930; 2-14-1930; 2-18-1930; 6-20-1930; 7-6-1930; 9-26-1930; 11-27-1931; 12-15-1931; 2-25-1932; 4-12-1932; 4-26-1932, etc.

60 *JR,* 10-10-1930; 12-4-1931; 12-15-1931; 1-5-1932; 4-12-1932.

61 *JR,* 1-24-1930; 2-25-1930.

62 *JR,* 12-4-1931; 1-5-1932 ("no vulgarities"); 8-5-1932 ("modus vivendi"); 8-12-1932. See also K. Loewenstein, *op. cit.* for a broader-based overview of this line of argumentation (see note 23).

63 *JR,* 8-12-1932; 11-8-1932; 1-31-1933.

64 See J. Prinz, "A Rabbi under the Nazi Regime" and M. Nussbaum, "Ministry under Stress. A Rabbi's Recollections of Nazi Berlin 1935–1940" in H.A. Strauss a. Kurt R. Grossman, *op. cit.* (see note 14)

65 For a list of newly-founded periodicals see Appendix I.

66 *CVZ,* 7-19-1934 (F. Brodnitz).

67 M. Edelheim-Muehsam, *op. cit.,* 1960, p. 320–321 (see note 34).

68 R. Bernstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 23–26; 39–48 (see note 8); A. Herzberg, "Last days of German Jewish (sic) Press" in *Contemporary Jewish Record,* vol. V; 1942, p. 146.

69 *CVZ,* 3-9-1933; 3-23-1933; 3-30-1933; 5-18-1933 (list of Jewish Nobel-prize winners!); 9-20-1933 (Dr. Max Samter); 10-19-1933 (A.H.) (Hirschberg); 11-16-1933, etc. passim.

70 *JR,* 2-23-1933 (passim); 2-28-1933 (dto.); 3-12-1933 (End brutalities and foreign press attacks will cease, too); 3-21-1933 (Danger

of retaliation for German national minorities abroad); 2-28-1933 (Sonderdasein); 3-28-1933 (Pride needed in dealing with Nazism); 3-7-1933 (Review attack on Prussian national character in *Fortnightly Review* by Hallett).

71 *CVZ,* 3-30-1933 (Anti-boycott declarations by Jewish Organizations in Germany).

72 *JR,* 4-1-1933.

73 *CVZ,* 3-23-1933; 3-30-1933; 6-1-1933 (A. H. opposes emigration); 9-7-1933; 10-16-1933 (F. Friedlaender); 10-19-1933 (Justice of German cause withdrawal from League of Nations); 11-2-1933 (Reichsvertretung appeals for yes-vote on plebiscite); 11-9-1933 (Hope for future co-existence); 12-7-1933 (dto); 1-11-1934 (K. Loewenstein, of *RjF* veterans organization sees hope); 2-8-1934 (Leo Baeck wants wait-and-see attitude in qualified optimism); 3-15-1934 (R. Graeupner's column on the Right of returness (to Germany)); etc.

74 *CVZ,* 10-26-1933 (unsigned editorial page insert, abt. ⅓ of a column); 12-7-1933 A.H(irschberg) editorial.

75 *CVZ,* 1-13-1938 (A.H. criticizes Reichsvertretung and Rat for petty quarrels over budgets in the summer of 1937).

76 *CVZ* carried a series of items quoting high Nazi officials to the effect that the legal solution of the "Jewish question" was completed now, and that Jewish economic activities would remain undisturbed. Editorial comments paralleled this news policy (beginning in September-October 1933).

77 *JR,* 2-28-1933 (K. Blumenfeld favours a forward Jewish policy in Germany and Sonderdasein); 3-28-1933 (R.W.(eltsch) on need for Jewish pride while understanding "all national movements"); 4-1-1933 (R.W.(eltsch) editorial on Yellow badge of shame criticizing also *Judenpresse* satirists for attacking *Deutschtum*); 4-13-1933 (Zionists also accept race as the basic constituent of *Volkstum*); 4-28-1933 (Understanding with Nazism can only be based on Nazi acceptance of Jews as equals on national basis); 5-12-1933 (dto.); 6-12-1933 (still sees chance for honorable solution and positive Jewish programme if Nazis will accept Jews as equals).

78 *JR,* 6-27-1933 programme).

79 *JR,* 12-28-1934 (editorial).

80 See W. Rosenstack, "Exodus from Germany — A Survey of Jewish Emigration from Germany," *Yearbook, LBI,* I, London 1956, pp. 360–372.

81 *CVZ,* 9-20-1935 (A.H.(irschberg) concedes Zionist victory).

82 *JR,* 9-17-1935.

83 *JR,* 9-24-1935.

84 *CVZ,* 9-20-1935.

85 *CVZ,* 10-24-1935.

86 *CVZ,* 2-24-1938; 7-8-1938; 8-11-1938; 9-1-1938.

87 *CVZ,* 1-20-1938; 3-17-1938; 8-11-1938; 9-28-1938 (P. Eppstein on Evian and planned emigration); 8-7-1938 (A.H.(irschberg) deplores absence of world-wide Jewish organization to speak for all Jews).

88 *CVZ,* 4-7-1938 (law of 3-28-1938 on *Gemeinden);* 7-8-1938 (stronger Reischsvertretung founded by Preussischer Landesverband Jüdischer Gemeinden and Präsidialausschuss der Reichsvertretung).

89 M. Edelheim-Muehsam, *op. cit.,* 1961, p. 328 (report by E.G. Loewenthal in *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland,* 10-30-1953).

90 Not available to this author.

91 For a table of the German-Jewish language press in 1962 see *Lexikon des Judentums* (Bertelsmann, Guetersloh, 1967) col. 901/902. Its story forms part of the history of the German-Jewish dispersion of the Hitler period, and should be written as long as the first generation of emigrants is still available for questioning.

92 On Leo Kreindler, the editor of the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* see *Bewährung im Untergang.* Ein Gedenkbuch, im Auftrag des Council of Jews from Germany, ed. E.G. Lowenthal, Stuttgart 1956, pp. 107–108. See also note 89 and the list of editors referred to in note 91.

93 No history of the Yiddish press is available. For the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland,* the post-war periodical, see *20 Jahre Allgemeine Wochenzeitung des Juden in Deutschland,* Düsseldorf 1966, 117 pp., and R. Giordano, ed., *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland, Narben, Spuren, Zeugen,* Düsseldorf 1961.


Jüdischer Beobachter

Jüdischer Beobachter *(Berlin?), 1921–*


Gemeindeblatt

der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin

Amtliches Organ des Gemeindevorstandes

22. Jahrg. OKTOBER 1932 Nr. 10

Der Prophet

(Original in der Kunstsammlung der Jüd. Gemeinde, Berlin)

Gemeindeblatt, *issued by Jewish Community Council, Berlin*

APPENDIX I

PUBLICATIONS IN GERMAN

Adass Jisroel Blätter: Verein zur Förderung der "Adass Jisroel"; Berlin, 1929—?

Blätter: Agudass Jisroel Jugendorganisation (Der Israelit)
G. Lange; Frankfurt a.m., 1915–1921

Der Bund: Unabhängiges, Freies Agudistisches Organ; Hartog Hartogsohn; Frankfurt 1927—?

Nachrichtenblatt: Verband gesetzestreuer Jugendvereine Bayerns; Nürnberg — Fürth, 1923–1933

Arewus-Korrespondenz: Agudas Jisroel Jugendorganisation in Deutschland; A. Merzbach; Frankfurt a.M. 1926/7—?

Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums: Albert Katz; Leipzig-Berlin, 1837–1922

Die Arbeit: Deutscher Landesverband Hapoel Hatzair; Georg Landauer; Berlin, 1919–1924, 1928

Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft: A.G. der Angestellten der Jüdischen Gemeinde; Berlin, 1919

Auf eigener Scholle: Berlin, 1928

Der Aufstieg: Berlin-Wien, 1930–1932

Das Band: Zeitschrift für Jüdische Behörden, Verein zur Förderung der Interessen der Israelitischen Taubstummen Deutschlands; Felix Reich; Berlin-Weissensee, 1926–1938

Bar-Kochba: C.Z. Klützel; Berlin, 1919–1920, 1921

Bar-Kochba Blätter: Hamburg, 1926—?

Der Beamte im jüdischen Dienst: Verein der Beamten und Angestellten der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin; W. Rosenthal, J. Goldmann; Berlin, 1920–1936? (As from 1930 the paper was called: Mittelungen des Vereins der Beamten, etc.)

Berliner jüdische Zeitung: Berliner Zionist. Vereinigung; Berlin, 1920–1930

Hamischmar: Brith Trumpeldor Mitteleuropa (Neziwuth Deutschland); Berlin, 1930 (?)—

Hed-Bethar: Blätter des Brith Trumpeldor; Berlin, 1929—?

Blau-Weiss Blätter: Blau-Weiss jüd. Wanterbund Prag, Blau-Weiss f. jüd. Jugendwandern; M. Rosenblüth, M. Bandmann; Prag 1–6; Berlin, 1913–1919, 1924, 1925

Esra: Führerschaftsblätter, Bundesleitung des Jeschurun Breslau; H. Abt, E. Freimann, A. Merzbach, M. Feuchtwanger Breslau, Frankfurt a.M., 1924–1930 (?)

"Ewer": Blätter der vereinigten Verlagsanstalten jüd. Verlag/Welt Verlag; Berlin, 1920–1924

Frankfurter Israelitisches Familienblatt: Neue jüd. Presse; S. Geis; Frankfurt a.M. 1903–1923

Freie Wissenschaftliche Vereinigungen an deutschen Hochschulen: Monatsberichte; Berlin, 1887–1928 (?)

Freie Zionistische Blätter: J. Klatzkin, N. Goldmann; Heidelberg, 1921

Die Gemeinschaft: Liberaler Synagogenverein Norden in Berlin; Berlin, 1925–1933 (?)
Der Gemeinschaftsgeist: Zeitung der Jüdischen Gemeinschaft; Paul Toller; Berlin, 1925—?
Hechalutz: Monatsschrift des Hechalutz deutscher Zentralverband; Berlin, 1924—?
Mitteilungen des Gesamtarchives der deutschen Juden: E. Taubler, J. Jacobson; Leipzig, Berlin, 1914–1918, 1926
Heine-Bund Blätter: S. Eliasberg; Berlin, 1928—?
Nachrichtenblatt des Sportklub "Hakoah": Karlsrube 1922—?
Hias—JCA—Emigdirekt: Nachrichtenblatt; Berlin-Paris, 1928–1929
Im Deutschen Reich: Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens; Berlin, 1895–1922
Mitteilungsblatt: Verein ehemaliger Hörer der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums; Berlin, 1927—?
Informationsblätter: Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland; M. Kreutzberger, F. Brodnitz, E.G. Löwenthal; Berlin, 1933–1938
Der Israelit: Ein Centralorgan für das orthodoxe Judentum; M. Lehmann; Frankfurt a.M. 1860–1938
Israelitisches Familienblatt: M. Lessmann; Hamburg, Berlin, 1898–1938
Jahrbuch rür die jüdischen Gemeinden Schleswig-Holsteins und der Hansestädte: Hamburg, 1929–1937
Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur: Verband der Vereine für Jüd. Geschichte und Literatur; Berlin, 1898–1929, 1931, 1936, 1938
Jahrbuch der jüd.-lib. Gesellschaft: Frankfurt a.M. 1903–1932
Jahrbuch für Jüdische Volkskunde: M. Grünwald; Berlin, 1923
Jerubaal: Eine Zeitschrift der jüd. Jugend; S. Bernfeld; Berlin-Wien, 1918–19
Jeschurun: Monatsschrift für Lehre und Leben im Judentum; J. Wohlgemuth; Berlin, 1914–1930
Jiddisches Wissenschaftliches Institut: Mitteilungen der Auslandszentrale; Berlin, 1930
Der Jude: M. Buber, M. Mayer, S. Lehmann, E. Simon, S. Kaznelson; Berlin, 1916–1928
Die Juden: M. Goldberg; Berlin, 1929
Jüdische Arbeiter- und Wanderfürsorge: S. Adler-Rudel, M. Kreutzberger; Berlin, 1927–1929
Jüdisches Archiv Mitteilungen: Komitee "Jüdisches Kriegsarchiv"; Wien, Berlin, 1915–1918, 1920
Jüdische Beamtenzeitung: Verein der Beamten der jüd. Gemeinde zur Berlin; L. Kreindler; Berlin, 1919–1926
Jüdisches Blinden-Jahrbuch: Berlin, 1935–1939
Blätter der jüdischen Buchvereinigung: E. Lichtenstein; Berlin, 1934–38
Mitteilungen vom Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinebund: Berlin, 1872–1921
Das jüdische Echo: Bayerische Blätter f. jüd. Angelegenheiten; Helene Cohn, I. Emrich; München 1914–1933
Die jüdische Emigration: Zentralbüro des "Hias-Emigdirect"; Berlin, 1925–1930 (?)
Jüdische Familienforschung: Gesellschaft ü, jüd. Familienforschung; A. Czellitzer; Berlin, 1925–1938
Jüdisches Forum: Monatsschrift f. das gesammte jüd. Leben; I. Nobel; Berlin, 1930
Die jüdische Frau: Regina Isaacsohn, Anna B. Nadel; Berlin, 1925–1927
Jüdischer Frauenbund von Deutschland: Hannah Karminski, Martha Ollendorff; Berlin, 1924/25–1938
Die Jüdische Gemeinde: B. Laserstein; Berlin, 1926–1927
Der Jüdische Handwerker: Zentralverband jüd. Handwerker; C. Basch, H. Schwarz, E. Salinger; Berlin, 1909–1938
Informationsblatt des Zentralausschusses für Hilfe und Aufbau: F. Brodnitz; Berlin, 1934—?
Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Gross-Berlin: 1926–1933
Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Hessen-Nassau: Berlin-Frankfurt a.M., 1932
Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Sachsen: Berlin-Dresden, 1931 — Ausgabe Leipzig, Berlin-Leipzig, 1931
Jüdische Jugend: Kartell jüd. Verbindungen u. der jüd. Turnerschaft; Berlin, 1919–1927
Jüdische Jugendblätter: Esra-Bundesleitung; M. Cohen, L. Levinger, I. Bamberger; Köln, München, Berlin, Hamburg, 1920–1926
Der Jüdische Kantor: Allgemeiner deutscher Kantorenverband; Hamburg, 1927–1938
Jüdischer Kulturbund: Monatsblätter des Kulturbunds deutscher Juden; J. Bab; Berlin, 1933–1938
Jüdischer Kulturbund Hamburg: Monatsblätter, 1936–1938
Jüdischer Kulturbund Rhein/Ruhr: Köln, 1934—(?)
Das Jüdische Magazin: Berlin, 1929
Jüdische Monatshefte: P. Kohn, S. Breuer; Frankfurt, 1913–1921


Nummer 1 Berlin, den 3. Januar 1917 (11. Tebet 5677). 48. Jahrgang
Die jüdische Presse
Konservative Wochenschrift
Dr. Hildesheimer in Berlin.

Die Jüdische Press, *weekly of Conservative Judaism, Berlin, 1869–1923*

Der Jüdische Pfadfinder: Kadimah; H.C. Schnur; Leipzig, 1926—(?)
Jüdischer Pfadfinderbund Makkabi Hazair: Mitteilungsblatt d. Landesleitung (Hanhala arzit); Berlin, 1936–1937

Die Jüdische Presse: E. Enoch, S. Meyer, E.u.M. Hildersheimer; Berlin, 1869–1923

Jüdischer Religionsverein Friedenau, Stegliz u. Umgebung: Vereins-Mitteilungen; Berlin-Friedenau, 1922–1928 (?)

Jüdische Rundschau: Zionistische Vereinigung Deutschlands; E. Flanter, S. Hanff, H. Loewe, J. Becker, H. Herrmann, L. Herrmann, M. Mayer, F. Löwenstein, R. Weltsch, K. Löwenstein; Berlin, 1895–1938

Jüdische Schulzeitung: Reichsverband der jüdischen Lehrervereine; M. Steinhardt, S. Braun; Hamburg, Mannheim, 1925–1938

Mitteilungsblatt: Jüdisches Statistisches Bureau; Berlin, 1930.

Der Jüdische Student: Bund jüdischer Corporationen; H. Löve, E. B. Cohn, E.Kirschner, S. Moses, E. Cohn, G. Krojanker, P. Hirsch; Berlin, 1902–1932

Jüdische Turn- und Sportzeitung: Jüd. Turnverband Bar Kochba, Jüd. Turnerschaft, Der Makkabi, Organ des deut. Kreises; Berlin, 1908–1938

Das Jüdische Volk: Staatszionistiches Organ; Berlin, 1937–1938

Jüdisches Volksblatt: Unabhängiges Organ f. die Interessen von Gemeinde, Schule und Haus; L. Neustadt; Breslau, 1896–1937

Jüdische Welt: Verband ostjüdischer Organisationen in Deutschland; E. H. Kesten; Berlin, 1928–1930 (?)

Der Jüdische Wille: Präsidium des K.J.V. in Berlin; Berlin, 1918–1920; 1933–1937

Jüdisches Wochenblatt: A. Wiener, H. Levy, E. Simon, S. B. Eschwege; Berlin, Frankfurt a.M. 1924–1929 (?)


Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung

Die „Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung" erscheint jeden Freitag und kostet durch die Post oder durch die Geschäftsstelle bezogen, vierteljährlich Mk. 6.— Einzelnummer 60 Pf.

Redaktion und Geschäftsstelle: Breslau 3 Neue Graupenstraße 7, I.

Nr. 1 Breslau, den 6. Januar 1922 2. Jahrgang

Jüdisch-Liberale Zeitung, *organ of Reform Judaism, Berlin, 1921–1936*

Jüdisch-Liberale Zeitung: (From 1934–1936 the paper was called *Jüdische Allgemeine Zeitung*); Vereinigung für das liberale Judentum e.V.; B. Woyda, G. Goetz, H. Loewenstein, E. Tannenbaum; Berlin, 1921–1936

Jüdische Zeitung für Ostdeutschland: Breslau, 1924 1 (?)

Jugend Alijah: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kinder- und Jugendalijah; Berlin, 1934–1936 (?)

B'nai Brith Berlin: UOBB; K. M. Baer; Berlin, 1921–1933

B'nai Brith Deutschland: Die Logenschwester, UOBB; Dora Edinger; Kassel, Frankfurt a.M., 1928–1936

— *Nachrichtenblatt des ostdeutschen Logenverbandes:* UOBB; Stettin, 1927—?

— *Der Orden Bne Briss*: Mitteilungen der Grossloge für Deutschland, UOBB; Berlin, 1891–1937

Aelterenblatt des Brith Haolim: Hans Oppenheim; Berlin, 1931

Borochow-Blätter: der Organisation Linke Poale-Zion in Deutschland; Berlin, 1930

Zeitschrift des Bruedervereins: Berlin, 1815–1925

C.V. Zeitung: C.V.; Berlin, 1922–1938

— *Central-Vereins-Dienst:* L. Holländer; Berlin, 1924–1927

— *Gross Berliner C.V. Post:* C. V.; Berlin, 1925—?

— *Mitteillungen des Syndikus des C.V.:* L. Holländer; Berlin, 1919–1922

Chajenu: Brit Hanoar schel Zeire Misrachi und Chalutzim Datiim; L.A. Händler; Frankfurt a.M., Berlin 1934 (?)–1938

Mitteilungen: Danielbund; Gesellschaft für ethische Erneuerung des Judentums; S. Feuchtwanger; München, 1920

Mitteilungen: Deutscher Rabbinerverband; M. Grünewald; Mannheim, 1931

Deutsch-Israelitische Zeitung: Organ f. die Gesamtinteressen des Judentums; S. Meyer; Regensburg, Hamburg, 1884–1937

Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund: Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebundes u. der Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle; Berlin, 1885–1913, 1924/25

Erez Israel: Keren Kayemet Lejisrael Zentralverwaltung, Jahrbuch 1922–1923.

Erez Israel: Mitteilungen des Hauptbüros des Jüdischen Nationalfonds; Haag-Berlin, 1916–1920

Der Jugendbund: Bezirksverband der jüdischen Jugendvereine Westdeutschlands; Dr. Klein; Düsseldorf, 1925–1932

Jugendstimme: Mitteldeutscher Landesverband und Landesverbandes Sachsen im Verband der jüd. Jugendvereine Deutschlands; Berlin, 1925– ?

Jung-Jüdischer Wanderbund: Verband jüd. Jugendvereine Deutschlands; Darmstadt, 1920

Jung-Jüdischer Wanderer: Darmstadt, Eschweg; Hannover, 1921–1922?

Der Junge Jude: G. Lubinski; Berlin, 1927–1931

K. C. Blätter: Vereinigte Korporationen der Verbindungen deutscher Studenten jüd. Glaubens; E. Hochschild, A. Alsberg, S. Jaffe, K. Löwenstein, M. Mainzer, K. Alexander, F. Goldmann, H. Berlak, R. H. Heimansohn; Köln, Berlin, 1910/11–1916/17, 1918–33

Galgal: Für die jüdische Jugend; Kadimah und Brith-Ha-olim; Berlin, 1932 (?)—

Kameraden: Jugendverband jüd. Deutscher "Kameraden"; E. Lichtenstein; Stettin, Königsberg, 1920–1922

Jungvolk: Kameraden, Jung-Jüdischer Wanderbund; Berlin-Dobrin 1927(?)

Jung-Jüdischer Wanderbund; Berlin, 1928(?)—

Bund der Kamaraden: R. Baer, H. Gerson; Berlin, 1925–1928

Keren Hajischuw-Blätter; Palästina Zentrale der Agudas Jisroel; Frankfurt a.M., 1935
Kölner Jüdische-liberale Zeitung; Köln, 1925—(?)
Kölner Jüdisches Wochenblatt: Centralorgan für die Juden in Rheinland und Westfalen; J. Fink; Köln, 1923–1931
Korrespondenz des Comité für den Osten: Berlin, 1919–1920; (Irregular appearance)
Korrespondenzblatt für Auswanderungs- und Siedlungswesen: Centralbüro für jüd. Auswanderungsangelegenheiten des Hilfsvereins der deutschen Juden; M. Wischnitzer, A. Goldschmidt, A. Prinz, A. I. Gutfeld; Berlin, 1922–1939
Korrespondentzblatt für Jüdische Auswanderungsangelegenheiten: M. Wischnitzer; Berlin, 1905–
Leipziger jüdisches Familienblatt: Wochenblatt f. Politik, Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft; J. Flaschmann; Leipzig, 1920–1938
Leipziger Jüdische Wochenschau: Leipzig, 1928–1930
Liberal Blätter: Frankfurt a.M., 1928 (?)
Liberales Judentum: Vereinigung für das liberale Judentum in Deutschland; C. Seligmann.
Mitteilungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft jüdisch-liberaler Jugendvereine Deutschlands: H. Stern; Berlin, 1919–1922
Der Makkabi, Berlin: Nachrichtenblatt des jüdischen Boxclub Makkabi; Berlin, 1924—?
Mitteilungen des Märkisch-Pommerschen Landesverbandes der Jüdischen Jugendvereine: Ph. Kozower; Berlin, 1924—?
Menorah: Illustrierte Monatsschrift; H. Hurwitz; Wien, Frankfurt a.M., Berlin, 1923–1932
Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde: Max Grunwald; Hamburg, Berlin, Leipzig, Wien, 1898–1929; (Jahrbuch für Jüd. Volkskunde)
Mitteilungsblatt des jüdischen Buchhandels: J. Goldstein; Berlin, 1938
Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums: H. Graetz, P. F. Frankl, M. Brann, D. Kaufmann, I. Heinemann, L. Baeck; Dresden, Leipzig, Krotoschin, Brelsau, Berlin, 1851–1938
Der Morgen: J. Goldstein, M. Goldstein, M. Dienemann, E. Reichmann, H. Bach; Berlin, 1925–1938
Moriah: Habajis-Heimstätten-Gesellschaft; Frankfurt a.M., 1925–1926
Nachalath Z'wi: Vorstand der Rabbiner-Hirsch-Gesellschaft; Frankfurt a.M., 1930–1937
Nachrichtendienst: Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden und Arbeiterfürsorgeamt der jüd. Organisationen Deutschlands; E. Caspary, J. Segall; Berlin, 1922–1928
Der Nationaldeutsche Jude: Verband nationaldeutscher Juden; Max Naumann; Berlin, 1922–1934
Neue jüdische Monatshefte: Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Literatur in Ost und West; A. Eliasberg, A. Friedemann, E. Fuchs, F. Oppenheimer; Berlin, 1916–1920
ORT: Mitteilungen des Verbandes der Gesellschaften zur Förderung des Handwerks und der Landwirtschaft unter den Juden. Gesellschaft ORT, Abteilung Deutschland e.V.; Berlin, 1925–1930
Ose-Rundschau: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Gesundheitsschutz der Juden; E. Ohlschwanger; Berlin, Paris, 1926–1939
Ost und West: Organ der Alliance Israélite Universelle; D. Trietsch. L. Winz; Berlin, 1901–1923
Palästina Nachrichten: Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsentwicklung im Vorderen Orient; Berlin, 1934–1936
Palästina-Wirtschaft: Berichte über Handel, Industrie und Aufbau in Palästina; M. B. Block; Berlin, 1923—(?)
Palästina-Wirstchaftsdienst: Palästina-Amt Berlin der Jewish Agency for Palestine; W. Düsterwald; Berlin, 1937
Das Philanthropin: Zeitschrift hrsg. von ehemaligen Schülern und Schülerinnen des Philantropins für alle Freunde der Anstalt; Frankfurt a.M., 1929–1933 (?)
Die jüdische Arbeiterstimme: Poalei Zion; Berlin, 1920–1922
Der Neue Weg: Poalei Zion; 1924—(?)
Posener Heimatblätter: Verband jüd. Heimatvereine; K. Kurtzig, H. Berlak, E. G. Löwenthal; Berlin, 1926–27—1938
Mitteilungen des Reichsausschusses der jüd. Jugendverbände Deutschlands: Berlin, 1927—(?)
Reichsverband der jüd. Kulturbünde in Deutschland: H. Friedenthal; Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1937–1938
S.G.V. Post: Sozial-Gesellige Vereinigung deutsch-jüd. Berufstätiger; Berlin, 1927—(?)
Der Schild: Zeitschrift des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten; Berlin, 1921–1939
Mitteilungen der Sportsgruppe im RjF: Ortsgruppe Berlin, 1928—?
Schlemiel: Jüdische Blätter für Humor und Kunst; M. Jungmann, M. Birnbaum; Berlin, 1919–1920
Mitteilungen der Soncino Gesellschaft: Vorstand der Soncino Gesellschaft; A. Horodisch; Berlin, 1928–1931, 1932
— *Soncino Blätter:* Soncino Gesellschaft, der Freunde des jüd. Buches; Berlin, 1925–1930, 1935
Der Staatszionist: Mitteilungsblatt der Staatszionistischen Organisation; M. Schulmann; Berlin, 1933–1935 (?)
Süddeutsche israelitische Wochenschrift: M. Beerman; Ingolstadt, 1924—(?)
Unser Weg: Bund jüd. Akademiker; Frankfurt a.M., Berlin, 1919–1921, 1928–1931
Unser Werk: Keren Hajessod (Jüdisches Palästinawerk) e.V. in Deutschland; G. Landauer, F. Brodnitz; Berlin, 1929–1932
Mitteilungen des Verbandes der jüd. Jugendvereine Deutschlands: A. Jacoby, E. Finkel, Cora Berliner, A. Apfel, C. Finkelstein; Berlin, 1910–1922
— *Blätter des Bundes der Wandergruppen im Verband der jüd. Jugendverreine:* Berlin, 1920—(?)

Mitteilungen aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus: Berlin, 1891–1933

Korrespondentzblatt des Vereins zur Gründung und Erhaltung einer Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums: Frankfurt a.M., Berlin, 1920–1930

Volk und Land: Jüd. Wochenschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Palästina-Arbeit; Davis Trietsch; Berlin, 1919

Der Vortrupp: Blätter einer Gefolgschaft deustcher Juden; Hans Joachim Schoeps; Berlin, 1933–1935

Zedakah: Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden; E. Caspary, J. Segall, P. Frank; Berlin, 1921, 1925–1928

Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden: Bureau für Statistik der Juden; B. Blau, J. Segall, J. Koralnik; Berlin, 1905–1916, 1919–23, 1924–31

Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland: I. Elbogen, A. Freimann, M. Freudenthal, E.G. Löwenthal; Berlin, 1929–1938

Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie: H. Brody, A. Freimann; Berlin, Frankfurt a.M., 1896–1911, 1913–1920

Zeitschrift für jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege: Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden und der Haupstelle für jüd. Wanderfürsorge und Arbeitsnachweise; F. Ollendorff, P. Kronheimer, I. Goldschmidt, M. Kreutzberger, F. Brodnitz, E. G. Löwenthal; Berlin, 1930–1938

Das Zelt: Zeitschrift für die jüd. Jugend; A. Heller, J. Seide; München, 1928–1929 (?)

Zion: Zentralbüro des deutschen Misrachi; A. Adler; Berlin, 1929–1935 (?)

Mitteilungen der Zionistischen Vereinigung für Deutschland: Berlin, 1919–1920

Die B.Z.V.: Nachrichtenblatt der Berliner Zionistischen Vereinigung; Berlin, 1922

Zionistische Nachrichten: Frankfurt a.M. 1929 ?

Jungzionistische Blätter: M. Spitzer; Berlin, 1928

Revue der Jugendpresse: Zionistisches Zentralbureau London; Berlin, 1929—?

Mitteilungen der Hamburger Zionistischen Vereinigung: Hamburg, 1927—?


Jüdische Freie Presse

Jüdische Freie Presse, *Cologne, 1921–*

APPENDIX Ia

Communal Newspapers
Periodicals published by Communities and Regional Communal Associations

Aachen: *Gemeindeblatt;* 1926–1938

Anhalt: *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt;* 1925–1934

Baden: *Blatt des Oberrates Badischer Israeliten;* Karlsruhe, 1884—(?)

Bayern: *Mitteilungen des Verbandes der israelitischen Gemeinden;* München, 1920–1924 (?)

Bayerische israelitische Gemeindezeitung; München, Augsburg, Bamberg, etc., E. Schmidt, L. Feuchtwanger; 1924–1938

Berlin: *Gemeindeblatt der jüd. Gemeinde zu Berlin;* 1911–1938

Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt; L. Kreindler; 1938–1943

Mitteilungen der jüdischen Reformgemeinde zu Berlin; 1918–1938

Beuthen (O.S.): *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt;* 1936–1938

Bonn: *Jüdischer Bote vom Rhein;* E. B. Cohn, I. Plawin; 1919–1923

Braunschweig: *Jüdische Nachrichten;* Organ für die Interessen der Juden im Freistaat Braunschweig; Braunschweig, 1924—(?)

Bremen: *Gemeindeblatt;* 1929–1938

Breslau: *Breslauer Gemeindeblatt;* 1925–1938

Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt der Synagogen-Gemeinde Breslau

Chemnitz: *Jüdische Wochenzeitung;* H. Fuchs; 1931–1938

Dortmund: *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt;* 1933

Dresden: *Gemeindeblatt der israelitischen Religionsgemeinde Dresden;* L. Ploemacher, L. Anschel; 1925–1938

Duisburg: *Gemeinde-Zeitung;* 1929—(?)

Düsseldorf: *Gemeinde-Zeitung für den Synagogenbezirk Düsseldorf;* 1929–1938

Elberfeld: *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für das Bergische Land;* 1929–1938

Erfurt: *Wochenblatt für den Synagogenbezirk Erfurt;* L. Kamnitzer; 1924–1937

Essen: *Gemeinde-Zeitung;* 1929

Frankfurt a.M.: *Gemeindeblatt der israelitischen Gemeinde Frankfurt; Frankfurther israelitisches Gemeindeblatt; Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die israelitische Gemeinde zu Frankfurt a. Main*

Gotha: *Nachrichtenblatt der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde;* 1929—(?)

Halle a.d.S.: *Wochenblatt für den Synagogenbezirk Halle a.d.S.;* 1926–1938

Hamburg: *Gemeindeblatt der deutsch-isralitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg; Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für das Gebiet der Hansestadt; Hamburg;* 1925–1938

Hannover: *Nachrichtenblatt für die Synagogengemeinde und Vereine in Stadt und Provinz Hannover;* W. Londner, L. Levisohn; 1920–1923

Nachrichtenblatt. Jüdische Wochenzeitung; S. Bacharach; 1924–1938

Hessen: *Mitteilungsblatt des Landesverbandes der israelitischen Religionsgemeinden Hessens;* S. Levy; Mainz, 1929–1938

Karlsruhe: *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt;* 1934–1938
Kassel: *Jüdische Wochenzeitung für Kassel, Hessen und Waldeck;* S. Kaufmann; 1924–1938
Köln: *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt;* 1888–1921
Köln-Ehrenfeld: *Gemeindeblatt;* 1931–1938
Königsberg: *Königsberger Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt;* P. Lewin; 1924–1938
Leipzig: *Gemeindeblatt der israelitischen Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt und Nachrichtenblatt der Gemeindeverwaltung der isr. Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig;* G. Cohn; 1925–1938
Magdeburg: *Jüdisches Wochenblatt für Magdeburg und Umgebung;* 1925—(?)
Mannheim: *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt;* M. Gruenewald; 1923–1938
Nordhausen: *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*
Nürnberg: *Nürnberger (Nürnberg-Fürther) Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt (Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die israelitischen Gemeinden in Nürnberg und Fürth);* 1920–1938
Pfalz: *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für das Gebiet der Rheinpfalz;* Landau/Pfalz; K. Metzger; 1937–1938
Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt für die Pfalz; Ludwigshafen, 1933—(?)
Primasens: *Mitteilungsblatt der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Primasens;* D. Nellhaus; 1935–1937
Preussen: *Verwaltungsblatt des preussischen Landesverbandes jüdischer Gemeinden*
Berlin: *Gemeindeblatt für die Jüdischen Gemeinden Preussens; Jüdische Gemeindeblatt für die Synagogengemeinden in Preussen und Norddeutschland;* 1923–1938
Rheinland: *Gemeindeblatt für die jüdischen Gemeinden im Rheinland und Westfalen;* Köln a.R., 1931–1938
Saarbrücken: *Nachrichtenblatt der Synagogen-Gemeinden des Kreises Saarbrücken;* E. Jacob, F. Rülf, L. Rothschild; 1928–1938
Sachsen: *Mitteilungen des Sächsischen Israelitischen Gemeindebundes;* Dresden, 1927—(?)
Stettin: *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt;* 1916–1938
Wiesbaden: *Jüdische Wochenzeitung für Wiesbaden und Umgebung;* 1927–1938
Mitteilungsblatt (Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt) der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wiesbaden; 1933–1938
Württenberg: *Gemeindezeitung (Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt) der israelitischen Gemeinden Würtembergs;* Dr. Rieger, H. Sternheim; 1924–1938
Wuppertal: *Gemeinde-Zeitung; Düsseldorf,* 1928—(?)

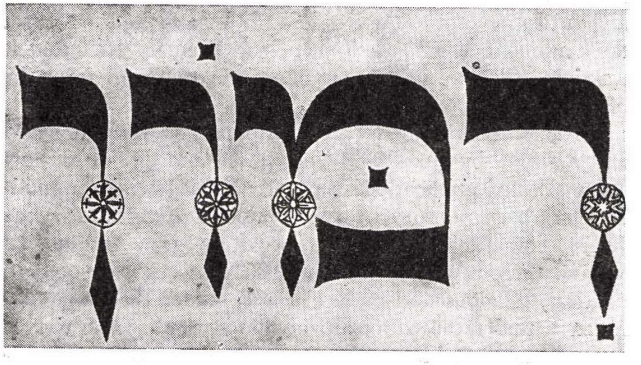
APPENDIX 2

Circulation, frequency of appearance and Editors of Jewish periodicals in Germany, in October 1935

S. Schachnowitz	4	4,050	Der Israelit, Frankfurt/Main
Dr. E. Tannenbaum	4	4,600	Jüd. Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin
Georg Goetz	1	3,000	Mitteilung d. Jüd.-Reform-Gemeinde, Berlin
Jakob Meyer	2	3,000	Die Laubhütte, Hamburg
Alexander Adler	1	2,000	Zion, Berlin
Dr. A. Hirschberg Dr. M. Edelheim	4	40,000	C.V. Zeitung, Berlin
Erich Bildhauer	4	2,000	Jüdische Zeitung, Breslau
Dr. R. Weltsch K. Loewenstein	8–9	37,200	Jüdische Rundschau, Berlin
Dr. Hans Wollenberg	4	17,200	Der Schild, Berlin
Dr. H. J. Schoeps	irregular	1,300	Der Vortrupp, Berlin
Dr. Alfred Kupferberg	4	36,500	Hamburger Israel. Familienblatt, Berlin
Dr. A. Czellitzer	1	1,000	Zeitschrift f. Jüd. Familienforschung, Berlin
Dr. I. Heinemann	irregular	1,800	Monatsschrift f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft d. Judentums, Breslau
Dr. E.G. Loewenthal	irregular	500	Zeitschrift f.d. Geschhichte d. Juden in Deutschland, Berlin
Julius Bab	1	18,200	Monatsblatt d. Jüd. Kulturbunds, Rhein/Main,
Arthur Holde	1	3,000	Monatsblatt d. Jüd. Kulturbunds, Rhein/Main, Frankfurt/Main

Dr T. Rosenthal	1	5,000	Monatsblatt d. Jüd. Kulturbunds, Rhein/Ruhr, Köln
Dr. E. Reichmann Dr. H. Bach	1	1,400	Der Morgen, Berlin
Dr. Hermann Berlak	1	1,250	Posener Heimatsblätter, Berlin
Leon Kornitzer	irregular	250	Der Jüdische Kantor, Hamburg
Dr. Siegfried Braun	1	900	Jüdische Schulzeitung, Köln
Erich Salinger	1	3,600	Der Jüdische Handwerker, Berlin
Hannah Karminski	1	4,100	Blätter d. Jüd. Frauenbundes, Berlin
Dr. Dora Edinger	irregular	5,500	Schwesternverband d. UOBB, Frankfurt
Daniel Bernstein	irregular	5,000	Grossloge f. Deutschland, UOBB, Berlin
Heinz Englaender	1	5,000	Der Makkabi, Berlin
Georg Goetz	1	6,000	Gemeindeblatt f.d. Jüd. Gemeinden Preussens, Berlin
Mark Wischnitzer	irregular	10,000	Korrespondez f. Jüd. Auswanderungsangelegenheiten, Berlin
Dr. Fr. E. Ascher	2	5,000	Palästina Nachrichten, Berlin
Dr. Felix Reich	1	500	Band, Zeitschrift f. Jüd. Gehörlose, Berlin-Weissensee
Dr. Fr. Ollendorff	irregular	—	Jüdische Wohlfartspflege, Berlin
Dr. Fr. Brodnitz	irregular	—	Informations-Blatt d. Zentral-Ausschusses f. Hilfe & Aufbau, Berlin
Richard Heidelberg	2	500	Gemeindeblatt f.d. Bezirk Aachen
Dr. Walter	1	350	Jüd. Gemeindeblatt f. Anhalt
Leo Kreindler	4	52,000	Gemeinde-Blatt d. Jüd. Gemeinde, Berlin
Dr. Gruenewald	1	450	Gemeinde-Blatt d. Israel. Gemeinde, Bremen
Manfred Rosenfeld	2	5,500	Breslauer Jüd. Gemeindeblatt
Dr. Fuchs	2	1,000	Jüd. Zeitung f. Mittelsachsen, Chemnitz
Dr. Iwan Gruen	2	2,500	Jüd. Gemeinde-Blatt, Danzig
Heinz Meyerfeld	2	900	Gemeinde-Blatt f.d. Gemeinde Dortmund
Official	irregular	2,400	Informations-Blatt d. Zen-Mitteilungen d. Sächsischen
Leo Anschel	2	2,200	Gemeinde-Blatt d. Jüd. Gemeinde, Dresden
Dr. Klein	2	1,600	Gemeinde-Zeitung, Düsseldorf
Dr. Klein	2	500	Gemeinde-Zeitung, Duisburg
Dr. Klein	2	950	Gemeinde-Zeitung, Essen
Dr. Herm. Gundersheimer	1	7,200	Frankfurter Israelit. Gemeinde-Blatt
Dr. N. M. Nathan	1	6,400	Deutsches Israel. Gemeinde-Blatt, Hamburg
Siegfried Bacharach	1	1,600	Nachrichtenblatt d. Synagogen Gemeinde, Hannover
Official	irregular	1,000	Blatt d. Oberrats Badischer Israeliten, Karlsruhe
Paul Steeg	2	2,600	Israelitisches Gemeinde-Blatt, Karlsruhe
Jacob Weisslitz	1	450	Jüdische Wochenzeitung, Kassel

Fritz Neuländer	4	2,800	Gemeinde-Blatt Köln-Ehrenfeld
Dr. Reinhold Lewin	1	1,400	Königsberger Jüd. Gemeindeblatt
Gustav Cohn	4	3,800	Gemeinde-Blatt d. Israel. Religions-Gemeinde, Leipzig
Dr. Max Gruenewald	1	2,300	Israel. Gemeinde-Blatt f.d. Pfalz, Ludwigshafen
Dr. Herm. Gundersheimer	1	3,200	Mitteilungsblatt d. Israel. Gemeinden Hessens, Mainz
Dr. Max Gruenewald	2	2,350	Israel. Gemeinde-Blatt, Mannheim
Dr. L. Feuchtwanger	2	4,500	Bayerische Israel. Gemeinde-Zeitung, München
Mr. Bernheimer	1	2,950	Nürnberger-Fürther-Gemeinde-Blatt
Dr. L. Rothschild	2	1,100	Gemeinde-Zeitung Saarbrücken
Dr. J. Moritz	1	1,200	Gemeinde-Blatt, Stettin
Hans Sternheim	2	1,850	Gemeinde-Zeitung f.d. Israel. Gemeinden Württembergs, Stuttgart
Gustav Sussmann	2	950	Gemeinde-Zeitung Wuppertal



Rimon, *Hebrew literary magazine, London-Berlin, 1922–1924*

APPENDIX 2b

Circulation of more important Jewish periodicals in Germany in the years 1926–1938

	1926	1931	1934	1935	1937	1938
C.V. Zeitung	73,000	60,000	50,000	40,000	40,000	39,500
Jüdische Rundschau	10,000	15,000	37,000	37,000	37,000	25,300
Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt	24,000	33,000	36,500	36,500	30,000	26,500
Der Schild	—	12,000	19,350	17,200	14,000	15,100
Berliner Gemeindeblatt	—	—	46,000	52,000	46,000	40,000
Frankfurter Gemeindeblatt	—	—	7,200	7,200	7,200	6,300
Breslauer Gemeindeblatt	10,000	—	5,300	5,500	5,300	—
Münchner Gemeindeblatt	4,500	—	4,500	4,500	4,500	—

APPENDIX 2c

Circulation of Jewish periodicals in Germany (1935) according to category

	1934	1935	1936	1937
Political	755,000	685,000	617,200	583,350
Commercial	315,000	322,500	292,000	285,600
Religious	47,000	45,400	22,600	22,600
Professional	28,000	29,300	27,700	26,800
Cultural, Scientific	22,000	31,000	33,800	32,850
Others	15,000	21,300	5,000	5,000
	1,182,000	1,134,500	998,300	956,200

APPENDIX 2d

Circulation of monthly edition *(Monatsausgabe)* of ZVZ

December 1925	18,500
March 1926	25,000
December	30,000
February 1927	30,000
December	50,000
October 1928	50,000
1929	50,000
1930	50,000
May 1932	60,000



Leaflets issued by Zionist parties in D.P. Camps

Austrian Jewish periodicals

Meir Färber

In order to understand the development of the Jewish press in Austria we must first glance back to the time of the development of Jewish emancipation in those countries which constituted the Austro-Hungarian monarchy before World War I. As in all countries, here too, the press was a faithful mirror of developments in the ideological trends among the Jews. Until October 18, 1918, the day of the Revolution, the countries of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia, as well as Galicia and Hungary, constituted parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and so it is necessary to include in this survey not only the papers and periodicals that appeared in the area that today belongs to the Austrian Republic but, insofar as the years 1914-1918 are concerned, also the periodicals appearing in all the other countries mentioned above.

In the period preceding that covered by the present review several Jewish periodicals had made their appearance, which reflected the trend of thought among Austrian Jewry and wielded considerable influence also on the Jewish communities in other countries.

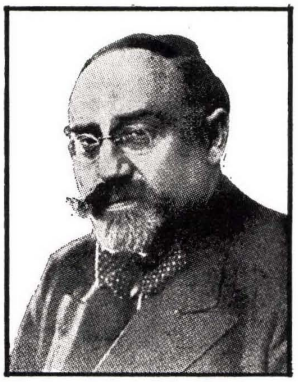
The Austrian people revolted on March 13, 1848, against the absolute regime; the Emperor was forced to agree to a Constitution and to the freedom of the press and to abolish the censorship which, until then, had been so strict that it was impossible to publish anything that digressed from the official line.

We shall mention here only such papers as were published and written by Jews and for Jews, and of these only a few selected publications. Since 1848 the Jewish communities had been permitted to hold public services and so the Jewish community in Vienna began to grow in size. In Vienna there appeared as from 1861 a weekly devoted to political, religious and cultural topics under the name *Die Neuzeit,* under the editorship of Simon Santo. The weekly generally appeared in twelve pages and contained the following sections: a leading article on the situation of the Jews

and on the political situation; a report on events in society in the monarchy and in the Jewish communities in Austria and in other countries of which Vienna was the centre; news of the week from all parts of the world; literary news items, feuilletons and stories, all in the spirit of traditional Judaism, but from a Liberal approach. The weekly was published under the editorship of Santo until the year 1882, and subsequently under the editorship of Chief Rabbi Adolf Jellinek.



Max Hickel



Robert Stricker

After his death the paper was edited from 1893 until 1904 by D. Levi.

On April 1, 1865 the monthly for Jewish affairs entitled *"Illustrierte Monatshefte für die gesamten Interessen des Judentums"* was brought out by Arnold Hilberg of Vienna as a booklet of 80 pages. Its purpose was to encourage Jewish consciousness and the feelings of unity among the Jews. The monthly also intended to explain Jewish values to Christian readers. Considerable space was devoted also to stories, serialised novels and illustrations. However, despite its high standard the monthly was closed down after one year.

Special importance attached to the weekly *Die Welt,* which began appearing on June 14, 1897, as the organ of the Zionist Organisation, under the editorship of Theodor Herzl who was the Paris correspondent of the important Austrian daily *Neue Freie Presse* from 1891 until 1895, and subsequently was feuilleton editor of the same paper in Vienna. In February 1896, he brought out his book "The Jewish State", founded the Zionist Organisation at the first Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897, and brought out, at his own cost, the weekly *Die Welt.* That was his organ in the struggle for the organisation of the Jewish people for the movement of Jewish revival, which as is well known, led to the founding of the State of Israel about 50 years subsequently. The publisher of the weekly was Herzl's brother-in-law, Paul Schnauer. On account of his job in *Neue Freie Presse,* Herzl could not appear as the editor of his weekly, and so his friend, Dr. Sigmund Werner, was appointed responsible editor. At a later period the weekly appeared in Cologne and subsequently in Berlin, until the year 1914.

In Prague, the capital of Bohemia, the fortnightly *Das Abendland* appeared as from 1864, as "the central organ" for all Jewish affairs, under the ownership and editorship of Yitzhak Bloch. This periodical was subsequently transferred to Brno, the capital of Moravia.

Greater importance was attached to the Prague weekly *Die Wahrheit* under the editorship of Dr. Mendel. In a subheading it presents itself as "a weekly for Jewish life and the Torah".

At Brno there appeared also the weekly *Die Juedische Volksstimme* from 1900 until the period of the Holocaust as the unofficial organ of the Zionist movement under the ownership of members of the Higher House of Parliament, among whom was also Moritz Benedict. It was at the third Zionist Congress, in the year 1899, that Max Hickel circulated among the delegates an appeal to found a Jewish publishing house for Zionist propaganda. Within less than one year, the weekly began publication in Brno.

During World War I, when the stream of Jewish refugees from the Eastern countries of the Austrian Empire increased, antisemitism mounted and in Austria there appeared publications which spread hatred and poison against the Jews. Among the papers of the worst kind were *Der Kikeriki, Der Eiserne Besen, Die Judenpest,* which among other things quoted "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", disseminated the poison of the blood libel, etc.

In defence of Jewry against antisemitism there was, first of all, the important Jewish paper *Dr. Blochs Oeterreichische Wochenschrift* (Dr. Bloch's Austrian Weekly) which, for almost forty years (1883–1922) was the personal organ of



Jüdische Volksstimme, *Zionist fortnightly, Brno, 1900–1939*

Dr. Joseph Bloch, and which has the right to be considered as the organ of the Viennese Jewish Community, and even as the organ of Austrian Jewry. True, this paper was not connected with any party or organisation but it fostered feelings of Jewish honour and of Jewish consciousness. In his struggle against antisemitism, Dr. Joseph Bloch distinguished himself in his weekly, as well as in the monthly of the assimilationists *Monatsschrift der Oesterreichischen Union*. This monthly appeared for some time as an independent paper (1888–1908), and subsequently united with the weekly *Die Wahrheit* (1885–1938), whose editors were M. Levi, Ludwig Hirschfeld and, after his death, his son Oscar Hirschfeld. True, these periodicals were anti-Zionist and fought the Zionist press, but in defence of the Jews against antisemitism, the whole of the Jewish press constituted one united front.

Since 1918, the year when World War I ended, when Austria was hemmed in within its narrow confines and was transformed from an Empire to a Republic, the Zionist organ *Die Jüdische Zeitung* appeared as a paper for a radical struggle against the trend of thought of the ghetto and for



Jüdische Zeitung, *Zionist radical weekly, Vienna, 1918–1929*

Jewish national feelings. The trends of thought within Zionism also fought one another from the columns of this weekly. On the one hand there were those who implemented Chalutziut and who wanted to unite all the forces for the upbuilding of Eretz Israel alone, and on the other, there were those who wished to defend the Jewish masses in the Diaspora, local policy, and what they called "Gegenwartsarbeit" (Present Day Work).

Dr. Robert Weltsch who, in the spring of 1918, returned from his army service, took over the administration of the editorial board of *Die Jüdische Zeitung* and began delineating in the paper the ideology of Jewish national revival. Zionism then demanded a recognition of the Jewish people as a nation and defended this demand not only vis-a-vis the authorities of the State, but also the assimilationists and those


Wiener
Morgenzeitung
Wien, Samstag, 2. Juli 1927 (2. Thamus 5687).

Wiener Morgenzeitung, *Zionist daily, 1919–1927*

who, though they wished the continuation of Jewish existences as a religion, refused to recognize Jewry as a people. The leading articles of *Die Jüdische Zeitung* were written also by Robert Stricker.

That was the period when the Austrian monarchy crumbled and when various nations and countries gained their independence. In Jewry there arose a very strong movement for self-definition and for the strengthening of Jewish nationalism. A weekly of limited scope was no longer sufficient, so that at the end of 1918 *Die Jüdische Zeitung* was closed down after eleven years' existence, in order to give way for the establishment of the first Zionist daily in the German language, *Wiener Morgenzeitung*.

A Jew by the name of Racker, who was the owner of a Yiddish paper, placed his licence at the disposal of the Zionists under the leadership of Stricker, so as to enable him by means of the paper to expand the propaganda for the Jewish national list in the elections to Parliament. Stricker


Preis 35 Groschen . Jahrgang 7 Freitag, den 15. September 1933 Nr. 214 V. b. b.
DIE NEUE WELT
REVUE
HERAUSGEBER ROBERT STRICKER

Die Neue Welt, *Zionist weekly, Vienna, 1927–*

was elected and became a Member of Parliament of considerable stature. *Wiener Morgenzeitung* continued the line of *Jüdische Zeitung* with still greater fervour, and supported the upbuilding of the Jewish national home in Eretz Israel, demanding also equality of political and civil rights in all countries where Jews so wished.

Wiener Morgenzeitung commenced its appearance in January 1919, and had among its participants Joseph Popper-Linkeus, Shalom Asch, Leon Schalit, Heinrich Margulies, Siegfried Schmitz, Otto Abeles and Dr. Robert Weltsch, who was subsequently to be the editor-in-chief of *Jüdische Rundschau* in Berlin.

In 1927 *Wiener Morgenzeitung* was closed down for lack of means and in its stead Robert Stricker, Zionist leader in Austria, founded *Die Neue Welt*. Stricker himself also edited his paper in which he took up an attitude to all topical problems.

In connection with the trial in Paris of Shalom Schwartzbart, who was accused of assassinating the "hero" of the Ukrainian pogroms, Hetman Petlura, the Austrian statesman Count Ottokar Czernin, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, brought a summons against Julius Levi for his brilliant article in which he defended Schwartzbart. In this trial Levi stood up honourably and defended Jewish interests with


V. b. b.
Der Jude

Der Jude, *Zionist Labour, Vienna, 1934–*

great courage. (Julius Levi, one of the editors of *Wiener Morgenzeitung* and subsequently one of the editors of *Die Stimme,* settled in Tel Aviv and found work on the Hebrew daily *Davar.*)

Robert Stricker published his first articles in *Jüdische*


V. b. b.

JÜDISCHE PRESSE

ORGAN FÜR DIE INTERESSEN DES ORTHODOXEN JUDENTUMS.

Nr. 1 Wien-Bratislava, 2. Jänner 1925 11. Jahrg.

Jüdische Presse, *magazine of Orthodoxy, Vienna-Bratislava 1915–1934*

Volksstimme and subsequently wrote also in *Jüdische Zeitung* in Vienna. He made a name for himself as a publicist and as the most important Jewish journalist in Austria when he was invited to become the editor of *Wiener Morgenzeitung.*

Since 1927 *Die Neue Welt,* Stricker's weekly, was the most important organ of the Zionist Movement in Austria. When, however, Stricker joined the Revisionist Movement in Zionism, other Zionist parties established weeklies of their own.

In the period between the two world wars numerous Jewish periodicals appeared in Vienna, as was fitting for such an important spiritual, social and political centre with its large Jewish community which was so alert to Jewish affairs, and so active. In addition to the above-mentioned publications, there appeared among others:

Der Jüdische Weg of the General Zionists A; *Die Stimme* of the National Zionist Committee in Austria under the editorship of Julius Levi, which at first appeared as a weekly, in 1937, twice weekly, and at the beginning of 1938 three times a week; *Jüdische Volkszeitung* of the Jewish Social Democrats; *Der Jude* which took the place of *Der Jüdische Arbeiter,* the periodical that was closed down in 1934; *Die Jüdische Presse* 1915–1934, a religious orthodox weekly of Agudat Israel; *Die Wahrheit* of the Liberal Jews in Austria; *Menorah,* a periodical for the Jewish family devoted to science, literature and the arts; *Die Wirtschaft,* organ of the Jewish merchants and artisans organisation; a bulletin issued by "Hakoach", the Jewish swimming club. For many years there appeared the monthly organ of the Jewish organisation of teachers of religion, "Ezra", which was founded in 1895, under the name *Freie Jüdische Lehrerstimme* and was devoted to furthering Jewish affairs at school and in the family. The Jewish Students Committee also published a periodical of its own for many years under the name of *Ezra.* The Bnai Brith Lodges had an organ of their own (1901–1938) under the name *B'nai Brith Mitteilungen für Oesterreich.* There also appeared three times weekly from 1881–1902, a bulletin by Jewish cantors in Austria and Hungary, *Oesterreich-Ungarische Kantorenzeitung* under the editorship of Jacob Bauer, and from 1917 until 1938 there appeared a monthly *Palaestina* devoted to economic affairs in Eretz Israel. With the split in the Revisionist Movement, when Z. Jabotinsky founded the New Zionist Organisation, Robert Stricker, together with his paper *Die Neue Welt,* joined the Jewish State Party which remained within the framework of the Zionist Organisation.

The periodical of the Poalei Zion was *Der Jüdischer Arbeiter,* whose editor, Mendel Singer, was arrested in the spring of 1933 by the Austrian censorship on account of a leading article he had written. The article contained a sharp attack on the Dollfuss Government and also dealt with the efforts made by the General Zionists and the Revisionists to convince the Prime Minister Dollfuss that not all the Austrian Jews and not all the Zionists belonged to the Socialist parties.

On the first page of the paper which fell victim to the censorship, it was reported also that Jewish migration from Germany had already reached the 100,000 mark and that there were numerous suicides among German Jewry. As a substitute for the paper, whose publication was forbidden, there was distributed in Austria the organ of the Poalei Zion in Czechoslovakia *Der Neue Weg,* under the editorship of Karl Baum in Brno.

When Austria was annexed to Nazi Germany on March 13, 1938, the Jewish press in that country came to an end together with the abrogation of the rights of existence for the Jews of this country which became the "Ostmark" of the Reich. The Jewish community was allowed to bring out an informative bulletin until the year 1939, under the name *Zionistische Rundschau,* but government instructions

forbade the publication of "tendentious news items about a Jewish State in Palestine", the publication of advertisements by non-Jews or announcements about marriages, births or deaths. In 1939 this bulletin too was forbidden, but permission was granted for its annexation as a supplement to the news bulletin of the Jewish community in Berlin. Of course, the Nazi German authorities made use of this bulletin for transmitting their instructions to the Jews, and there was no possibility whatever of a free expression of views.

Jewish periodicals in Czechoslovakia

Ezra Markovitz

The Jewish press in Czechoslovakia had never attained the heights of development as had the Jewish press in Poland or Rumania, for example. Only the organ of the Zionist Movement in the German language, *Selbstwehr,* in Prague, had reached a standard of development in the 1930s that is worthy of mention both from the point of view of scope as well as quality, as we shall see later on.

The existence of the Jewish population in the Czechoslovak Republic, which was of a pluralistic national composition; the life of the Jews in medium-sized concentrations, among the Czech people and side by side with the large German minority in Bohemia-Moravia, and in much larger concentrations in the towns of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia, among peoples of diametrically opposed cultural standards, speaking different languages and having different social origins—all these circumstances necessitated the publication of Jewish papers in about half-a-dozen languages. Almost all of them endeavored to present the specific stands taken up by the Jews as to what was taking place at home and to supply information about Jewish events abroad.

In the first Czechoslovak Republic, based on the principles of Western democracy and conducted in the spirit of the humanitarian ideals of its political progenitor and its never-to-be-forgotten spiritual father—Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, civilian rights were fully safeguarded in the 20 years of Czechoslovakia's independent existence. Apart from two or three attempts to attack Jews by the Slovak clerical-fascist circles, who tried their strength both in Slovakia as well as in Parliament in Prague, and who were nipped in their bud, the peaceful existence of the Jews side by side with their non-Jewish neighbours was never questioned.

The Jews of Czechoslovakia did not have a daily paper of their own. Over the years there appeared various leaflets, once a week or once every fortnight. In the field of periodical literature, however, there came out various literary journals, marked for their high publicistic standard, which had the participation of some of the leading Jewish and non-Jewish writers and thinkers, and generally people of renown.

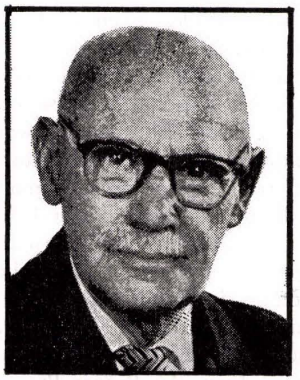
It should be pointed out that the impact left by assimilationist Jews was far more marked here than that of those who endeavoured to further Jewish national renaissance.

When the historiography of Central European Jewry from the time of the Emancipation down to the Holocaust is completed we shall come to realise what great human spiritual treasures the Jew had created here in the field of the non-Jewish press and literature, in both German and Czech. Suffice it to mention the *Prager Tagblatt,* the best of the German language dailies in Czechoslovakia, on the editorial staff of which it was difficult to find a non-Jew. (The editor of its reportage section was Egon Erwin Kisch, the pioneer of modern reportage.) Even the *Prager Presse,* which the Government brought out as a counter paper to the German press, had a Jew—Arne Laurin—as its editor-in-chief. There were also many other Jews on the editorial staff. Also in the Czech dailies there was hardly a paper without the participation of important Jewish journalists. Even among the editors of the Catholic Party organ, *Lidove Listy,* we find renegade Jews.

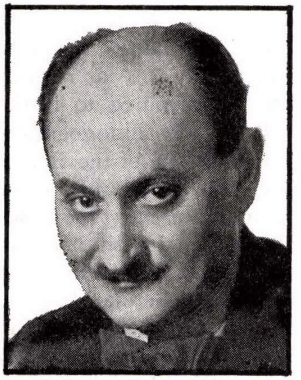
In our attempt to survey the press brought out by Jews for Jews, it must be stated that the pioneers of Jewish publishing, particularly in the historical countries of Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia, hailed from the Czech assimilationist movement: "The Union of Czech Jews" (Svaz Čechu-Židu) in the pre-Czechoslovak period. Before the '80s of the 19th century it was rare to find a Jew speaking or writing Czech. The reform of the Enlightenment on the one hand, and the pan-German policy of Josef II, which granted the Jews limited rights, transformed them into standard-bearers of German culture, but at the same time also, as representatives of the political interests of the Germans. This led to a sharp conflict between them and the Czechs and even

to manifestations of anti-Jewish tendencies among the Czech intelligentsia, which was always in a state of defence and solicitude for its national language.

One of the limited rights granted by the Emancipation to the Jews was also the freedom of migration from the frontier regions to the towns. The rural population in Czechia and Moravia was Czech, whereas the language of the government and the administration was German. The



Felix Weltsch



Emil Waldstein

awakening of a national Czech cultural consciousness in the course of time fired these Jewish circles that left the frontier regions but remained loyal to their Czech origins. Indeed, already in 1845 there arose two Jewish writers in the Provinces—Moritz Hartman and the physician Dr. Siegfried Kapper (1821–1879) who made a declaration about their Czech nationality and began writing in Czech instead of German. But it was only in 1875 that a group of Jewish students in Prague decided to renew Dr. Kapper's efforts so as to extricate the Jewish public from the compromising situation of finding themselves between the pan-German hammer and the patriotic Czech anvil.

On looking back, there was a far-sighted attempt in these efforts at a de-Germanisation among the Jewish population—an attempt which was later to be gratefully repaid by the Czech intelligentsia in the Czechoslovak Republic which was to arise. This group founded the "Union of Czech-Jewish Academics" whose purpose it was to concentrate Jewish intellectuals who regarded it as their goal to assimilate with the Czech people while, at the same time, clinging to the Jewish religion. In 1881 the group brought out its first publication entitled "Českožidovsky Kalendař" which continued appearing (with an interruption of four years of World War I) until the Nazi occupation in 1939. Its first editor was August Stein, who was later to be head of the Jewish community in Prague, as representative of the Czecho-Jews. He was succeeded in the editorship of the Annual by Karel Fischer, Max Pleschner, Eduard Lederer (known by his literary pen name Leda), V. Markus and Alfred Fuchs. Some of these we later find among the editors of the fortnightly *Ceskozidovske Listy* which was founded in 1894 and its first editors were Otakar Gut and Karel Fischer.

In 1904 another Jewish physician in the town of Pardovice, Dr. Victor Vohryzek, began bringing out a similar fortnightly by the name of *Rozvoj* (Development), whose ideological objective was linguistic, national and cultural assimilation with the Czech people. These two papers merged in 1907 into the weekly *Rozvoj,* under the editorship of Viktor Teytz. It was then the official weekly of the national Czecho-Jewish movement which dealt with the problems of national belonging and national consciousness of the Jews of Czechia, Moravia and Silesia, and later on (in the Czechoslovak Republic) was to conduct a constant ideological struggle and dispute with the weekly of the Zionist Movement "Židovské Zprávy" (Jewish News) down to the Nazi occupation (March 1939).

In 1919 a group of Jewish writers including Josef Kodicek, Alfred Fuchs, Dr. Jindrich Kohn, Vojtech Rakous, Max Pleschner and others succeeded in establishing a daily by the name of *Tribuna* which set itself the goal of ousting the *Prager Tagblatt* from Jewish homes and to combat anti-



Zidovske Zpravy, *Zionist weekly (Czech), Prague, 1917–1939*

semitic tendencies. Several years later the paper passed over to non-Jewish hands for material reasons. In 1932 there began appearing a monthly by the name of *Kapper* which continued publication until the Nazi conquest.

It should be pointed out that the Czecho-Jewish Association and its press functioned throughout as an apolitical organisation. Its members did not belong to any party except for a few individuals who declared their association with Masaryk's realistic party in the pre-Czechoslovak period and subsequently with the Socialist-Nationalist Party—the party of Masaryk and Beneš in the first Republic. These were, for the greater part, religious, ethical and social thinkers, outstanding among them being the last spiritual leader of the Czecho-Jewish Movement, Dr. Jindrich Kohn.

This process of awakening of a deeply-rooted Jewish consciousness, which had continued in the countries of Central Europe from the time of the emancipation until the incursions made by Zionism, left also Czech and Moravian Jewry without a spiritual leadership possessed of a Jewish-national consciousness. In this atmosphere of a lukewarm Judaism, the Czecho-Jewish "National Movement" which was based on Jewish religious and Jewish educational ground among a varied society from the religious point of view constituted a sort of ideological tipping of the balance against assimilation, and its various organs unconsciously therefore tended toward a continuation of Jewish separatism because a half-way assimilation was inconceivable.

The situation in the Eastern regions of the Czechoslovak Republic, which had been under Hungarian rule until the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was different. Only the last chords of the Mendelssohnian Enlightenment had reached Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia, which were dominated by an orthodox-Chassidic tradition, and this, very belatedly. The dispute that had gone on here between the orthodox and secular camps, was unprecedented in acrimony. The dispute centred on the image of Jewish society that arose almost from the darkness of the Middle Ages and often assumed the character of a "Kulturkampf". The weekly of the militant anti-Zionist Chassidic Rabbi of Munkatch, Shapira, published in Yiddish, *Yudishe Zeitung* and its editor L. Kallus, as well as the other weekly in Yiddish *Yudishes Folksblat* (edited by Jonah Klein) used to call upon their readers to vote for the Conservative Agrarian Party (instead of the Zionist list) and to avoid supporting the Hebrew school network.

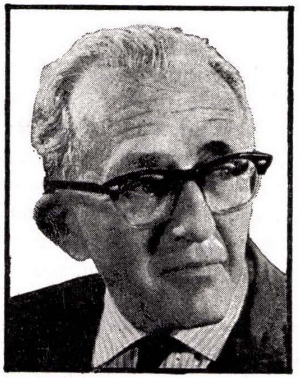
Direct information on the national objectives of the Jewish people were supplied by the Yiddish language weekly of the Zionist Movement, *Yudishe Shtime,* edited by Moshe Goldstein, under the direction of Dr. Chaim Kugel, and by the Revisionist weekly in the Hungarian language, *Zsido Neplap* in the ownership and under the editorship of Szereny Bela at Uzhorod, the capital of Carpatho-Russia. This latter paper brought out an annual, under the name of *Zsidu Csaladi Almanach* (Jewish Annual for the Family), which was intended for the Jewish residents in towns where the spoken language was generally Hungarian. West of the Republic, in Czechia and Moravia, the message of the Zionist Movement was disseminated by the two weeklies *Selbstwehr* a weekly on behalf of the Poalei Zion Movement, as from The weekly of the Czech-Jewish movement, *Rozvoj,* limited itself to maintaining the status quo in the Jewish community of the 1930s.

The first Zionist publications in Czechoslovakia were brought out for the greater part in the German language. The fortnightly *Jung Jude,* founded by Filip Lebenhart, in 1899, was directed mainly to the youth. In 1906 the Zionist Movement began bringing out its official organ *Selbstwehr,* which was edited until the end of World War I by volunteers who included Leo Hermann, Hugo Hermann, Robert Weltsch, Sigmund Katznelson and Nelli Thieberger-Engel. It was only in 1918 that Felix Weltsch was appointed editor-in-chief and he headed the weekly until it was closed down by the Nazis in March 1939. In the last years of the organ's existence, Hans Lichtwitz (at present Uri Naor in the Israeli Foreign Service) served as assistant editor. A staff of capable correspondents and well-known writers like Max Brod, Hugo


SELBSTWEHR
JÜDISCHES VOLKSBLATT
XXXI. JAHRGANG
15. JÄNNER 1937

Selbstwehr, *German-language Zionist weekly, Prague, 1906–1939*

Bergmann, Gerda Luft, Victor Jacobson, J. Ben-Gavriel and at a certain period also Hans Cohn contributed to the weekly which developed over the years into one of the most important Zionist organs in Europe. In the second half of the 1930s *Selbstwehr* in certain measure filled the void created by the closing down of *Jüdishe Rundschau* in Berlin by the Government of Hitlerite Germany and received the status as the leading Zionist organ in the German language in



O.J. Neumann



Hugo Gold

Europe after it had absorbed several writers who had lost their livelihood on the *Rundschau*. The same editorial staff was responsible for the publication of the annual *Jüdischer Almanach*. During the last few years there appeared also *Blätter für die Jüdische Frau,* the organ of WIZO in Czechoslovakia, under the editorship of Hanna Steiner, as a supplement to *Selbstwehr*.

The publication of a Zionist organ in the Czech language faced difficulties until the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, although the need for same had been felt for a long time. It was only in 1913 that the fortnightly *Zidovske Listy pro Cechy, Moravu a Slezsko* was founded in Prague. Several months later, however, when its editors G. Fantl and J. Sušicky were mobilised, its publication was brought to an end. Dr. Ludvik Singer who, at the end of 1930s, was the first Zionist Deputy to the Czechoslovak Parliament, tried during the War to renew the publication of a Zionist organ in Czech, but his efforts bore fruit only in April 1918 when the Zionist fortnightly *Zidovske Zpravy* began appearing. Its first editor was Emil Waldstein, and he was followed by Dr. Franticek Friedmann and Gustav Fleischmann. In 1919, the organ became a weekly. From 1925 until the end of March 1939, it was edited by Zdenek Landes, and in the last years before the Nazi occupation by Victor Fischl, a Czech poet, today Avigdor Dagan, in the Israeli Foreign Service, who, in World War II, served as political adviser to Jan Masaryk in London. The weekly also brought out regularly a women's supplement edited by Irma Polakova and a "Maccabi" supplement, edited by B. Bruell.

In 1920 the regular appearance commenced of a Zionist annual in the Czech language *Zidovsky Kalendar,* first published by the Union of Jewish Students, "Theodor Herzl" and afterwards by the weekly *Zidovske Zpravy*. The editors of this annual were: Emil Wandstein, Dr. Franticek Gottlieb, Victor Fischl and Zdenek Landes. In the years 1922–1924, the Students Union also brought out a monthly for the youth *Listy Zidovske Mladeze*; a monthly for children named "Childhood" in the Czech language, was brought out by the Jewish school in Prague. An annual for children in the Czech language named *Zidovske Besidky* was brought out for many years by Rabbi Dr. Richard Feder, who was Chief Rabbi of Czechoslovakia after World War II (following the death of Rabbi Dr. Sicher). Worthy of special mention are the Jewish periodicals and publications that appeared in Czechoslovakia in the period between the two world wars, such as *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Czechoslovakei* (Periodical for the History of the Jews in Czechoslovakia) which was published by Dr. Hugo Gold in the years 1928–1938 and which now constitutes a rare and important source for documentation about Jewish history in this country. Likewise, there appeared *B'nai B'rith Blätter,* under the editorship of Friedrich Thieberger, and which was of a very high literary standard. Among the important Jewish community publications, mention should be made of the monthly of the Prague community *Vestnik Zidovske Nabozenske Obce Prazske,* whose editors were G. Fleischmann, Dr. Franticek Friedman and Joseph Polak. This monthly is the only Jewish publication that continues to appear in Prague today, obviously under the supervision of the Prague authorities. The Jewish communities in Mo-

ravia, also brought out a monthly of their own called *Gemeindezeitung und Amtsblatt,* edited by Dr. Leopold Goldschmied.

The Zionist parties also brought out leaflets, weeklies and monthlies. In Brno, the capital of Moravia, there appeared a weekly on behalf of the Poalei Zion Movement, as from the year 1932, under the name *Der Neue Weg* in the German language, under the editorship of Karl Baum. At about the same time, Dr. Oskar Rabinowitz brought out a Revisionist weekly entitled *Der Judenstaat* in German and Czech. The "Blue-White" Movement brought out two monthlies in German: *Bundesblätter,* edited by Hans Lichtwitz, and *Ittonenu,* edited by L. Nussbaum. In Prague there appeared also a sports paper edited by the Maccabi Club under the editorship of A. Fuchs. A non-party Jewish weekly, which was founded as far back as 1901, in the German language, by Max Hickl, and in the course of time was taken over and edited by Dr. Hugo Gold, was *Die Jüdische Volksstimme* which appeared in Brno. At the same time there appeared also an annual named *Hickl's Illustrierter Jüdische Volks Kalender.* For a certain period the weekly had the participation of the Revisionists who brought out a weekly supplement of their party, under the editorship of Prof. Ernst Vogel. The editorial staff of the weekly included, among others, Dr. Josef Lamm, Dr. Oskar Rabinowitz, Karl Baum and others.

The most widely circulated Jewish weekly in Slovakia, which was edited by Dr. Oskar Neumann, and which appeared in the German language with a Slovak supplement, was *Jüdische Volkszeitung.* The Mizrachi brought out the weekly *Jüdisches Familienblatt* in the German language, under the editorship of M. Miller and David Gross. Agudat Israel published *Jüdische Presse,* while the Betar Movement brought out a fortnightly, *Tel Chai,* in German. All these papers appeared at Bratislava. The Hashomer Hatzair Movement brought out at Zilina (Central Slovakia) a monthly entitled *Hashomer Hatzair* in German, Hungarian and Hebrew. This was the only Zionist Movement that did not call for the introduction of the Hebrew language in daily life but actually implemented it. In other Slovakian towns, such as Durajske Strada, there appeared an Orthodox weekly *Der Jüdische Herold* in the German language, under the editorship of Leopold Goldstein. At Prašov, in Northern Slovakia, there appeared another orthodox weekly in German, called *Jüdische Nachrichten* under the editorship of H. Klein. At Košica, the capital of Eastern Slovakia, there appeared a weekly in Yiddish and Hungarian called *Dos Judishe Vort—Zsido Szo* and at Humna, Rabbi H. L. Ehrenreich brought out an orthodox monthly called *Otzar HaChayim.*

In summation, it may be said that although it cannot be determined that the Jewish press in Czechoslovakia over all its shades and streams was generally marked by uniformity of spirit, since one came across in these publications both intellectuals of the highest standard and primitive provincialism, one cannot close an eye to the fact that it counted among its creators and moulders people like Bergmann, Buber, Brod and many others whose spirit and personality left their impact on the development of certain sections of this press. Nor can one fail to be impressed by the issues that are filled with phases of Jewish history, the handing down of which to coming generations is being taken care of even at the present time by Dr. Rudolf Iltis who, under the watchful eye of the Prague government, brings out a monthly Newssheet of the Prague community, as well as the Jewish annual *Zidovska Rocenka* which, put together, represent but a small reserve of what had once been Czechoslovak Jewry and the atmosphere of Prague of the days of Rabbi Loew (Maharal), and Yechezkiel Landau (the Noda Biyehuda).



Oskar Rabinowitz

"...where stones spoke Yiddish..."

S.J. Herrendorf

After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy there arose, in October 1918, the Czechoslovak Republic which embraced the provinces of Czechia (Bohemia), Moravia, part of Silesia, the Sudetenland, Slovakia, and Carpatho-Russ (known also as Transcarpathia).

The provinces of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russ had been included until the end of World War I, within the frontiers of Hungary, and apart from Slovakian and Ruthenian, the accepted language there was mainly Hungarian. The 130,000 Jews of Slovakia and the over 100,000 Jews of Carpatho-Russ spoke Hungarian and in so doing actually supported the trend of Hungarian (Magyar) assimilation and so aroused the ire of the Czech and Slovak rulers. Carpatho-Russ is a region, the majority of whose residents were members of the Greek-Orthodox faith and whose language was a mixture of Ukrainian, Slovak and Magyar dialects. The Jews there preferred to speak Hungarian and Yiddish. This was particularly true of the Jewish population in the provinces, mainly Chassidic Jews and the some 15,000 Jewish peasants who inhabited the Ruthenian villages, engaged in agriculture and eked out a meagre livelihood by the sweat of their brows and created for themselves an atmosphere that was wholly Jewish with a Chassidic-Orthodox leaning.

The Carpatho-Russ region bordered on Slovakia, Rumanian Transylvania, Hungary and Galicia. The general leadership of Jewish life in that district was in the hands of Chassidic leaders and rabbis of great zealotry who left their impact on every manifestation of Jewish life and prevented the incursion of Haskalah (enlightenment), the first signs of which in the small area of Carpatho-Russ revealed themselves some 50 years later than it did elsewhere. Yiddish was the mother tongue of the local Jews who knew no other language, but the rabbis who supervised Jewish life did not permit the founding of Jewish libraries so that the youth might not fall victim to the influence of "heretical" books.

When the liberal Czechoslovak Republic was founded, it granted also to the Jews extensive national autonomy, the change finding expression in the life of the Jews in Carpatho-Russ. The local Czech authorities lent support to the Yiddish language and even granted considerable subsidies to itinerant troupes of the Jewish theatre. The purpose of the authorities was to enable the Jews to live their life within their own surroundings and so that they might not have recourse to Hungarian culture.

The Czechoslovak Government also allotted subventions to the sum of hundreds of thousands of Kronen, to the network of Hebrew elementary schools that had been founded in 1920 in twelve towns and townlets in Carpatho-Russ, including the Hebrew High Schools in Mukachevo (Munkatch) which was headed by Dr. Chaim Kugel. He was a native of Minsk in Byelorussia, and in March 1939, on the eve of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, came on aliyah together with his family to Eretz Israel where he died at the end of the War.

Rabbi Chaim Eliezer Shapira, the Rabbi of Munkatch, who was known as an extremist religious zealot, and together with him many of the minor Chassidic leaders of Carpatho-Russ, refused to agree that the "Zionist sinners" be in possession of a school network of their own where tuition was given in the holy tongue, and so they conducted a bitter struggle against the teachers of Hebrew who were generally natives of Galicia and Bessarabia, and even pronounced a ban on parents who sent their children to study in the "Zionist-heretical institutions of apostasy".

The Rabbi of Munkatch also pronounced a ban on the Yiddish theatre which reaped great success during its rounds of Jewish settlements in Carpatho-Russ and which received the moral support of the Zionist institutions. But the bans proved of little avail. True, the simple-minded Jews of Carpatho-Russ were sorely afraid of the three letters constituting the world "Herem" (ban) which the Rabbis constantly waved over their heads, but they could not withstand the Yiddish theatre, especially as the Czechoslovak Government granted the itinerant theatre all sorts of alleviations and even waived at least in part the tax that used to be imposed on entrance tickets.

In this reserve of Chassidism and blindly zealous piety which went hand in hand with the high hand of the Chassidic leaders there was waged for many years a hard struggle

not only against Zionism and against the Jewish theatre but the rabbis and the Chassidic leaders were always at loggerheads among themselves. The followers of the Munkatch Chassidic dynasty were in constant dispute with the followers of the house of Belz and vice versa. It was in this specific atmosphere that the Jewish press of Carpatho-Russ was born.

Strange as it may sound, a Jewish entertainer (Badchan) Hersh Leib Sigeter (native of Szeged), whose real surname was Gottlieb, was the pioneer of the Jewish press in these localities some seventy years ago. He had founded a Jewish weekly in the town of Marmores-Szeged, a province of Transylvania, which from the year 1918 and onwards had been included in the frontiers of Rumania. The pioneer of the Jewish press in Carpatho-Russ was also a Badchan. His name was Asher Selig Weiss and the name of his weekly was *Munkatcher Humorist*. We shall return to the pioneering task of this Badchan of Munkatch.

In 1925 the writer of these lines founded in Munkatch the first Jewish weekly which he called *Dos Yudishe Folksblat*. The paper continued to appear until the outbreak of World War II. It was the property of M. Meisels, a Jewish printer who was also the owner of a paper business in the centre of the town. At first *Dos Bletel* (the Leaflet) as the Jews were known to call the paper, appeared weekly in 1,000 copies. The circulation, however, increased gradually, and at the end of 1927, when I left the small Carpathian region, the paper had a sale of 2,000 copies a week.

When the Zionist Organisation in Munkatch realised that a Jewish newspaper proved successful, it founded in 1928 a weekly of its own called *Yudishe Shtime* (Jewish Voice) which was edited by an editorial board. The two Jewish


VII Ročník čís. 20 ŽIDOVSKÉ HLASY VII.

יודישע שטימע

Yudishe Shtime, *Zionist weekly, Mukacevo, 1928–*

weeklies conducted a sort of "defensive war" against the Rabbi of Munkatch, reviled the false and hypocritical methods that he employed in his struggle against the Hebrew High School and other Hebrew institutions of learning.

The Rabbi of Munkatch had thus no choice but to declare an outright war against his attackers and his zealous hatred of the "Zionist heretics" forced him to follow in their path and to bring out a paper of his own in the Yiddish language. He called his weekly *Di Yudishe Zeitung* and handed over the editorship of the publication to his lieutenant, who was known by the name of Reb Lazar Mechele. The editor wanted to be more "progressive" than the two existing Jewish papers and adopted a Germanised Yiddish style. Reb Lazar Mechele wrote his articles in a broken German which was entirely unintelligible to the Jewish reader. This always aroused the scorn for the editor of the Rabbi of Munkatch and his "High German".

Finding himself, therefore, in a tight corner, Reb Lazar Mechele was in the habit of secretly handing over the manuscripts to the undersigned in order to correct the language and to prepare copy for every issue of the paper. There was a sort of "gentleman's agreement" between us that *Dos Yudishe Folksblat* was entitled to continue attacking the Rabbi of Munkatch while, on the other hand, Reb Lazar Mechele would continue attacking the "Zionist heretics". He reaped, however, little success.

The Jews of Munkatch were possessed of a healthy sense of humour and each of the three Jewish weeklies was given a nickname. *Dos Yudishe Folksblat* they called "Der Capelutch" (the Hat), hinting at the "European" dress that its editor wore. *Yudishe Shtime* they called "Di Yarmulke" (skullcap) because one of the members of the Zionist editorial board of the paper, Moshe Goldstein (at present living in Israel) was a Godfearing Chassidic Jew who always wore a skullcap. Reb Lazar Mechele, the Rabbi of Munkatch's henchman, used to wear a Streimel on Sabbaths and so Jews gave his paper the appelation of "Dos Streimel". It often happened that a Jew who wanted to buy all three papers from the news-vendor would ask for "Capelutch", "Yarmulke" and "Streimel".

All three weeklies had altogether a circulation of about 5,000. Most of the purchasers of these papers were Jews of Munkatch and the surrounding towns and townlets in-

cluding Uzhgorod (Ungvar), the capital of the Carpatho-Russ region, as well as other lesser towns and villages of the region. On Fridays the Jewish peasants would bring their agricultural produce to the fair at Munkatch and with the proceeds would purchase their weekly needs, including the three weeklies as well as the "Munkatcher Humorist".

During the winter the villagers would gather on the Sabbath in their little synagogues and the Rabbi of the rural community or the Shochet (ritual slaughterer) or a Yeshiva student who was in the habit of returning to his parental home for the Sabbath, were wont to read out to the members of the community the most important items in the papers. In the summer season the Jews on the Sabbath would gather in the fields outside the village where a reading session, similar to that on winter Sabbaths in the synagogue, would take place.

In general, the simple-minded Jewish villagers did not harbour very great respect for the Rabbis and Chassidic leaders, least of all for the Rabbi of Munkatch on account of his unruly behaviour and on account of the curses and bans that he used to declare against his opponents including the Zionist schools and their pupils, many among whom were the children of these villagers.

Reb Asher Selig Weiss, the Badchan of Munkatch, began bringing out his little weekly *Der Munkatcher Humorist* in 1924. It was devoted entirely to communal affairs, local gossip, centering on Chassidic life and on the strife between the Rabbi of Munkatch and his opponent who supported the Rabbi of Belz. Weiss gave the two parties to the dispute humorous and sarcastic names, and the four little pages of his humorous publication were chockful of local idioms which no one other than the Jews of Carpatho-Russ could understand and so are almost untranslatable.

Weiss was a man who lived in dire poverty. His paper failed to bring him a livelihood, nor did he derive sustenance from his vocation as a jester. He had a cleft palate and sniffled badly, so that it was difficult to understand him. Nonetheless he used to be invited to poor weddings in the villages because, after all, he was a learned Jew and could pour out rhymes interspersed with Torah learning. He also engaged in writing letters for brides whose bridegrooms had left for America, or for Prague or for Budapest. He would receive one Kronen for each tearful letter that he wrote (in those days a Kronen was equal to about 30 Americans cents), whereas for a letter written in rhyme he would exact the payment of 5 Kronen, a fortune for a poor Jewish girl.

When *Dos Yudishe Folksblat* introduced a humorous column the poor jester came to me and pleaded that if I was to publish jokes in my weekly Jews would stop buying his paper. The result was that I used to turn over to him every week a handful of jokes that I gleaned from newspapers the world over which I used to receive as exchange copies for my paper. Jewish newspapers abroad showed a considerable interest in the Munkatch publications on account of their exotic character and so would find quite a few tidbits in them for reproduction.

Jewish printers in the townlets of Carpatho-Russ became aware of the fact that the three Jewish papers in Munkatch were a veritable "goldmine" for their publishers and so began bringing out weekly sheets of their own. These were generally compiled by the printers themselves, or with the aid of some Yeshiva student who lived nearby.

Bergsaser Folkzeitung was the name of one such weekly which a Jewish printer in the townlet of Bergsas began to bring out, but it expired after the twelfth issue.

The owner of the Jewish print shop in the townlet of Hust also tried his luck, and in March 1928 began bringing out a weekly by the name of *Carpaten-Russer Shtime*. The printer himself wrote the "copy" and introduced a Yiddish spelling of his own invention. In order that his style may be more "intellectual" he would use a double "l" or a double "s" whenever the consonants were doubled in the foreign origin of the word. The Jews of Munkatch, however, failed to digest the Germanised Yiddish that he employed and the paper expired after its fifth issue.

In 1930 Hersh Mendel Elfant, a Jewish teacher, began publishing a Jewish weekly at Kosice (Kaschau) in Eastern Slovakia, calling his paper *Die Fakel* (The Torch). That was the best paper ever brought out in the province of Slovakia but it, too, died after three issues.

In Slovakia and Carpatho-Russ the local Jewish intelligentsia showed a proclivity to Hungarian spiritual assimilation, and the Jewish papers appearing there in the Hungarian language derived their material mainly from the Zionist *Selbstwehr* of Prague.

At Uzhgorod, the capital of Carpatho-Russ, there appeared the weekly *Zsido Naplo* (Jewish Popular Paper) in Hungarian, under the editorship of the Hungarian-Jewish journalist Bella Sarni, author of several Hungarian plays of Jewish content. Sarni could speak Yiddish but experienced some difficulty in writing in that language.

With the destruction of Czechoslovak Jewry, the doom was sealed also of the prosperous Jewish community in the small yet picturesque district of Carpatho-Russ where, as someone put it, "the stones of our towns and villages speak Yiddish", and where simple-minded Jews were proud of their local Yiddish dialect. The Yiddish tongue had deep roots in the fields, forests, hills and dales of these Jewish tillers of the soil, who had lived in Carpatho-Russ for long generations.

The Yiddish press in Paris

Aaron Alperin

I heard the story from a friend in Paris long before the Second World War. The man who told it to me had headed before World War I the Zionist Association that brought out a Jewish monthly in the French capital. By chance the periodical was published in the same printing shop in which Leon Trotsky who was then a political emigreé in Paris, brought out some publication of his. While the material was being set up and proofread, Trotsky came up to my friend the Zionist keyworker and asked him: "What are you printing here?" Strange as it may sound, Trotsky put the question to him in Yiddish. My Zionist friend replied: "We are printing a periodical here by the name of *Der Yud* (The Jew)". "Well, of course", Trotsky replied in his usual sarcastic manner. "A Yid drikt a Yid". (There is a pun here, for "driken" in Yiddish has the meaning of both "printing" and "pressing" or "suppressing".)

The publishers and editors of those Yiddish periodicals in Paris included famous writers and leaders: Shalom Asch and Abraham Reizin, Zalman Shneur and David Einhorn, Shmuel Ya'akov Yatzkan and Noah Prilutski, Israel Efreukin and Eliahu Tcherikower as well as Peretz Markish and Ozer Varshavski, all of whom occupied places of honor in the history of the Jewish periodical literature in Paris. If we add to these names those of Mark Jarblum and Vladimir Jabotinsky, Meir Grossman and Josef Schechtman, Yitzhak Gruenbaum, and Nahum Herman, the Communists Charles (Shaul) Rappaport and Solomon Lozovsky* who was later to become Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Soviet Union, all of whom were connected at various times until World War II with Jewish periodicals that came out in Paris, it was a press connected with names, some of them famous far beyond the frontiers of France and the Jewish reading public.

There was a paradox in the very fact that the Jewish periodicals were published here many years in a Jewish surrounding that had the character of a "public in transit" rather than a well-organised community. Still, it aroused a loud echo in all corners of the Jewish world.

The story of the Yiddish press in France takes us back to the Yiddish periodical that appeared at Metz during the time of the Great French Revolution. The name of the paper was plain and simple, *Zeitung* (Newspaper), without any qualification, and was brought out by the printer Abraham Getschlich in Metz. The first issue of the paper appeared on November 5, 1789, a couple of months after the outbreak of the revolution, and continued to appear regularly until April 1790.

Seventy-five years elapsed from the publication of that first Yiddish newspaper until a new Yiddish periodical appeared in France. It came out in Mulhouse, Alsace, under the name *Israel's Shtime* with an additional Hebrew title, *Hakol Kol Ya'akov*. The periodical styled itself a Yiddish-German popular newspaper for Alsace and Lorraine appearing every 14 days. The paper came out in 1865, but was not long-lived and with its cessation, there disappeared the last printed vestiges of the specific Yiddish dialect of Alsace.

Again, a long time elapsed before another Yiddish periodical began to appear in France. Not even the relatively large immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, who arrived in the early '80s of the 19th century, following the wave of pogroms in Czarist Russia, had led to the publication of Yiddish papers. The first periodicals that made their appearances in Paris in those days were of a literary and party nature or were connected with trade unions. These

* As Deputy Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs (under Molotov), Solomon Abramovitch Lozovsky, served in the period of the War as Director of Soviet Information Services from the war fronts (Sovinformbureau). He was also a member of the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee and together with other members of this committee — Jewish writers, artists and intellectuals — was executed on August 12, 1942, according to one version as being allegedly "involved" in what was then known as the "Crimean Affair", a non-existent scheme to transform the Crimean peninsula (from which the local Tartar population had been driven out during the War) into a Jewish republic. This machination of Stalin's and his henchmen has remained obscure to the present day. (Ed.)

unions brought out in Paris in the years 1911–14 a Yiddish periodical whose first editor was the above-mentioned Lozovsky. Abraham Reizin edited the literary periodical *Nayer Zhurnal* from April 1912 until the outbreak of the War in 1914; the Zionist Association *Ateret Tzion* in Paris brought out the monthly *Der Yud* which we have already mentioned.

It was the Zionists who were the pioneers of the Jewish press in France. At the time that *Ateret Tzion* brought out its monthly, another Zionist association *Atidat Tzion,* brought out a periodical of its own under the name *Dos Yudishe Blat*. A controversy on ideological problems of Zionism was in progress between the two periodicals, *Dos Yudishe Blat* defending the idea of "Practical Zionism". In the course of time, however, the differences of opinion were smoothed over and so a unification of the two associations and of their publications was made possible.

But all these periodicals had only a very small circulation. The largest circulation of all was enjoyed by *Der Yudischer Arbeter* which was supported by the trade unions. Still, even that paper did not print more than 1,000 copies. In the year 1914, there also appeared a paper under the name of *Letzte Nayes,* but even of this paper only a few issues were published.

During the years of the First World War various Jewish organisations brought out bulletins in French, chiefly in order to organise activity for the granting of rights to Jews in their countries of residence after the war and for the Jewish claims to Eretz Israel.

After the War there arrived a large wave of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, among them also Jewish cultural workers of considerable importance, writers, party leaders, etc., most of them representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia from Russia, who were in search of a platform from which to express themselves, and to further their professions.

At the same time, the difficulties for the creation of a stable Jewish press persisted, primarily on account of the instability of the Jewish community in Paris which had grown in the years following the war. At first, it appeared that most of the immigrants intended to move on, particularly to America, but when the "travel fever" subsisted, and the feeling that they were no longer "sitting on their valises" grew in intensity, cultural workers and journalists of initiative evolved the plan of bringing out a Jewish periodical in Paris.

The first Yiddish periodical with any semblance of permanence appeared in Paris in the years 1923–25, and prepared the infrastructure for the readership of a Yiddish daily paper in Paris. A real need was felt for such a publication.

Pariser Bleter appeared in 1924 as a weekly. That was the most important and most solid publication ever to be published there. Its first editor was I. Lask. Thanks to the effort of the subsequent editors of the weekly, I. Jacobowitz, N. Frank, and David Rappaport, *Pariser Bleter* was transformed into a daily newspaper. The publisher and editors of this paper are rightly to be regarded as the pioneers of the Jewish daily press in France.

Owing to financial difficulties, the publication of *Pariser Bleter* ceased in 1926. It was then that Shmuel Ya'akov Yatzkan arrived from Warsaw to Paris. He had been the pioneer of the Jewish press in Poland, founder of *Haint,* and editor-in-chief as well as one of the publishers of that paper. A man of experience and initiative, he regarded the ground that had been prepared in Paris for a Jewish-national daily after the model of the Warsaw *Haint,* as feasible.

Yatzkan arrived to Paris together with his partner of his Warsaw paper, Noah Finkelstein, who had formerly lived in Paris and had thus established contacts and friendly relationships in the French capital. Both of them were also well-acquainted with the public figures and the members of the Jewish intelligentsia from Communist Russia who had concentrated in Paris. It was only natural that Yatzkan should call the paper *Pariser Haint.*

The first issue of the paper came out at the end of January 1926. In format, it was similar to the Warsaw *Haint.* The date of the paper's publication was chosen to coincide with a special event. Max Nordau died on January 23, 1923, and three years later a festive ceremony took place in Paris marking the transfer of his remains to Eretz Israel. Yatzkan and Finkelstein were both followers of Herzl and adherents of Nordau, and were subsequently to become admirers of Vladimir Jabotinsky. Yatzkan also wrote the leading article in the first issue of the paper which was devoted to Max Nordau.

In the course of time the paper expanded, and throughout the period of its publication it was the central and most widely distributed organ of the Zionist Movement in Western Europe. Throughout his life, Yatzkan left his mark on the paper as its editor-in-chief. He died in Paris in 1936, and his remains were transferred to Warsaw for burial. In the first years of publication of *Pariser Haint,* Yatzkan made Paris his place of permanent residence, and he himself headed the editorial offices. His close associate and editor of the paper was Vladimir Grossman, an important Russian-Jewish journalist who also assisted in consolidating the paper and contributing to its high standard. He was its editor until the beginning of 1928.

In that year, the writer of these lines was invited by Yatzkan to become editor-in-chief of *Pariser Haint.* I had worked on *Haint* in Warsaw and Yatzkan's choice was made on the recommendation of Abraham Goldberg, editor-in-chief of the paper in Warsaw.

I arrived in Paris at the end of June 1928, and found that the Zionist newspaper was well-organised and stood on sound foundations. The editorial board consisted of a group of gifted journalists and included N. Frank, whom I already mentioned, Yitzhak Chomsky, who worked as a reporter on the paper (at present a well-known physician in New York), Dr. Josef Fudiman, political commentator and Zionist keyworker (currently a well-known physician in Tel Aviv), Dr. M. Averbuch who was well versed in French politics, and G. Ma-Yafit, a lawyer and an expert on economics. The administrator of the paper was Yitzhak Grodzensky, a relative of Yatzkan's. As a community composed of new immigrants the readership in Paris was composed of various elements, many of them had arrived only recently and were faced with problems of organising their lives in France. It was such elements that needed integrating and which stood in need of assistance for the creation of an organised nationally-Jewish conscious community capable of leading a vibrant public life.



Pariser Haint, *Zionist daily, Paris, 1926–1939*

I believe that we had succeeded in creating of the *Pariser Haint* a platform that wielded great influence on the great community of Jewish immigrants in France and led to the development of a cultural Jewish public life both in Paris and in the provincial towns, while at the same time not losing sight of the functions of a paper that was linked to the activities of the World Zionist Movement.

We succeded in our tasks because Paris was the place of residence of Jewish writers of high standard, Zionist leaders and cultural workers. Shalom Asch was a regular contributor to *Pariser Haint,* and most of the Jewish nationally-minded leaders contributed to the publicistic columns of the paper. We were greatly assisted also by the agreement which accorded us permission to reprint from the Warsaw *Haint* important contributions by well-known writers such as the brothers I.I. Singer and Isaac Bashevis-Singer. The paper grew and became an important mouthpiece which aroused strong echoes also beyond Western Europe, maintained close links with world Jewish organisations which in those years were either centred, or had principal branches in Paris, such as the Committee of Jewish delegations headed by Leo Motzkin and Nahum Sokolov and later on the World Jewish Congress, the World Organisation for Assistance to Jewish immigrants (HICEM) with the Parisian branch of the American "Joint", with the representatives of the World Zionist Organisations, with the centre of JCA (the organisation for Jewish Settlement founded by Baron Hirsch) and with the "Alliance Israélite Universelle".

The development of *Pariser Haint* obviously induced Jewish journalists and public workers to make new efforts to found an additional Jewish daily in the French capital.

Serious efforts in this direction were made by Noah Prilutski who often came on a visit from Warsaw to the City of Lights. After numerous preparations, Prilutski began bringing out in Paris a daily newspaper named *Der Tog* in September 1932. He brought over the experienced journalist Lazar Kahan who had been a colleague of his in the Folkist party in Poland, to be his close associate and assistant. Kahan was a pioneer of the Yiddish press in Lodz and subsequently one of the editors of *Unzer Express* in Warsaw. From the technical point of view, Prilutski and Kahan gave the paper a pleasing format and introduced very interesting material and contents into it. That apparently proved insufficient.

Yatzkan, who generally came to Paris about once a year by way of a sort of "supervisory visit", came over specially to the French capital now in order to head activities against Prilutski's competitive paper and remained there until the struggle was decided in favor of our paper. In certain measure Yatzkan reiterated in Paris the struggle that he had waged before in the Warsaw *Haint* against his competitors of the *Moment*. Nonetheless, the struggle in Paris took on a different style. The question at issue here was the ideological content of a Jewish newspaper in Paris from the point of view of the attitude of a Yiddish reader in whom certain changes began to take place since emigrating from Poland. Prilutski and Kahan failed to find their way to the heart of this readership and after 132 issues, were forced to close down their paper. Yatzkan could pride himself on a victory not easily won.

At about the same time Zalman Schneur also made an attempt to bring out a Yiddish daily in Paris. He called it *Pariser Morganblat*. Behind this initiative was the rift that existed between Yatzkan and Schneur — a quarrel that was characteristic in the journalistic career of Yatzkan. It was set off by a sharp article which Yatzkan published in *Pariser Haint* against Schneur, and the writer instituted proceedings against the publisher of the paper entrusting the matter with one of the foremost lawyers in France. (In due course, the dispute was settled by compromise arrived at through the instigation of Shalom Asch and Itzhak Neiditch.)

The competition on the part of *Pariser Morganblat* was no less dangerous than that of Prilutski's paper. Shneur was a gifted writer and a great poet, but he was not a journalist. Nor did the people whom he invited to assist him on the paper have any journalistic experience. Schneur's paper did not last very long, therefore. So all the attempts to compete with *Pariser Haint* petered out. Nonetheless, it did not remain the only Yiddish paper in the French capital. Since 1924 there was published in Paris a communist daily in Yiddish — *Naye Prese* which came out regularly, and had a circle of readers of its own, although time and again it had to institute collections in order to be able to hold out. More than once, *Pariser Haint* the Jewish national Zionist paper, had to conduct a hard struggle against *Naye Prese* insofar as topical problems affecting Jewish life in France as well as the problems of Eretz Israel and world problems of the Jewish people were concerned.

In pre-war France, until the destruction wrought by Hitler, a speedy and dynamic development set in in the Jewish community in France, and the presence there of many writers and cultural workers gave rise to various initiatives for the publication of literary periodicals. Most of these were party-organs, publications of *landsmanschaften* as well as of trade unions. But there appeared also literary periodicals of considerable importance, weeklies of high standard, etc.

One of the most active workers in the publication and the editing of Jewish periodicals in France was Marc Jarblum, one of the founders and veterans of the Poalei Zion Movement, a noted publicist who had been resident in Paris since before World War I, and had close links mainly with socialist circles there. For many years he had been the political representative of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, and in the 1930s brought out regularly *Unzer*


LA GAZETTE DU MATIN — (Quotidien) — PARISER MORGENBLATT

מארגענבלאט

Première Année — N° 4

Pariser Morgenblat, *daily, Paris, 1932*

Vort, the weekly of the Poalei Zion Hitachdut Party (in 1936 the weekly was given the name *Di Naye Zeit).*

After resigning from the editorial board of *Pariser Haint,* Vladimir Grossman brought out a weekly entitled "Seven Days Illustrated", but only 13 issues appeared.

In 1924, there appeared in Paris an issue of the literary anthology *Chaliastra,* under the editorship of Peretz Markish and Ozer Varshavsky. Varshavsky published in Paris in 1926 also an issue of the periodical *Literarische Revue.* David Einhorn edited a periodical called *Epoche,* the first number of which made its appearance in 1928. Its place of publication is given as Paris-Warsaw. Three issues of his periodical appeared.

Under the editorship of Eliahu Cherikover and Israel Efroikin there appeared in the 1930s two literary-publicistic periodicals under the name *Oifen Sheidveg* (at the Crossroads) which aroused wide repercussions.

In the 1930s there came out in Paris, under the editorship of S. Rosenberg and S.L. Shneiderman, a weekly called *Ilustrirte Yudische Prese.* Subsequently this paper merged with the weekly *Paris* under the editorship of Schneiderman, published by J. London, printer and publisher.

The Bund organisation brought out at various times in Paris, a periodical called *Der Weker* and other periodicals.

In 1928, several issues appeared in Paris of a weekly publications entitled *Pariser Leben* under the editorship of N. Frank.

In those years other periodicals also came out in Paris, generally under the imprint of various Jewish party organisations as well as of immigrant associations, such as the Association of Lithuanian Jews, Association of Polish Jews, Association of Jewish World War I Veterans, the Association of Jewish Petit Tradesmen, etc.

With the arrival of the stream of refugees after the rise to power of Hitler in Germany, there arrived also many Jews from Eastern Europe who served as a large reservoir for the readership of the Yiddish press. Paris became a large Jewish centre and the founding of the Federation of Jewish Organisations of a Jewish national orientation in large measure reflected the fact that the community of East European Jews in the French capital was assuming the clear markings of an organised public.



Naye Zeit, *Poalei Zion-Hitachduth weekly, Paris in the '30s*

However, the larger the danger of war loomed the more the foundation of the structure that was erected with such great effort and devotion became weakened. The undermining of the general situation had its immediate effects on the Jewish community. Even before the Munich days, the sense of an impending war grew in intensity in Paris.

On the outbreak of the war in 1939, the format of the daily Yiddish papers was immediately reduced. There commenced a migration of Jewish residents from Paris to the provinces and this fact became increasingly apparent in the drop in circulation of the Jewish press. The Communist *Naye Prese* ceased publication as early as September 30, 1939.

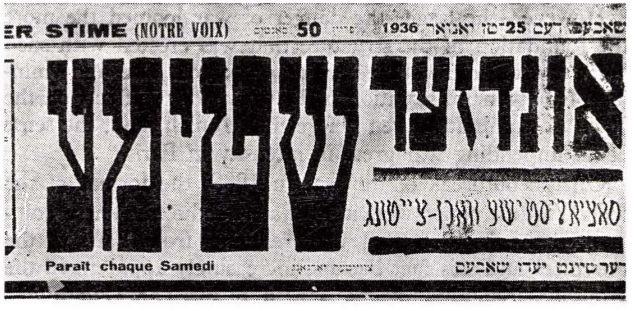
Before the war, *Pariser Haint* in the format of the Warsaw papers, had reached a very large circulation. It continued to appear down to the very last possible day. Early in June, 1940, with the approach of the enemy to the outskirts of Paris, complete pandemonium reigned in the French capital. On June 10, publication of *Pariser Haint* ceased, together with that of the remaining newspapers in the capital. Several days later, Paris was occupied by the German forces.

We had a plan of bringing out *Pariser Haint* in Toulouse, the city to which thousands of Jewish evacuees from Paris had fled. Toulouse was the centre of the non-occupied region, and several of the members of the staff had congregated there. But the publication of the newspaper proved to be impossible.

According to a bibliography of the Jewish Scientific Institute (YIVO) in New York, there were published in the French capital in the period between the two World Wars no fewer than 127 periodicals in Yiddish.

After the liberation of France, there began to appear in Paris a well-edited Zionist paper *Unzer Vort* which had a large circulation. It is gratifying that I am able to conclude

this description with the establishment of the fact that the pioneer work invested in the Yiddish press in Paris, which had developed to such an extent in the period between the two world wars, was not entirely wasted. Vestiges of the infrastructure remained and that made possible the flourishing of a new national Jewish press of great influence on the life of French Jewry after the war.



Undzer Shtime, *Communist weekly, Paris 1935*

Jewish French-language periodicals

Nathanel-Tony Garyn

French Jewry could not boast of a press in the French language that was in any way comparable with the Jewish press in other languages, such as German, Russian, or Polish; certainly not with the great weekly in English, *The Jewish Chronicle*. Nonetheless, in the course of years, there developed a ramified Jewish press in France, even on a scope transcending the absorptive capacity of so limited a community as that in France. (On the outbreak of World War II after the arrival of a relatively large immigration from Eastern Europe in the 1930s, and the arrival of the first wave of Jewish refugees from Germany, the number of Jews in France reached the 300,000 mark or thereabouts.)

The large number of periodicals appearing in France may be ascribed to the proclivity among the Jews to organise themselves in various organisations, associations and groups. No important organisation or community in the provinces missed the opportunity of bringing out a weekly or a monthly to serve its membership.

The first Jewish papers in France began appearing at the beginning of the 19th century. Of these, the issues of the monthly *L'Israélite Français* are preserved in the archives of the French National Library. It was a periodical devoted to literature and ethics, and came out in the years 1817–1818. The subsequent monthly, which takes prime of place in importance and continued to appear from 1840–1935 was *Archive Israélite de France* which, according to its definition, was a "religious, historical, biographical, bibliographical and literary monthly".

Next came the "religious, ethical and literary" monthly *L'Univers Israélite* which in the course of time developed into the most important weekly of French Jewry and served as an organ of the circles allied to the Consistoire. It appeared uninterruptedly from 1844–1940, when the German forces occupied Paris. In recent years, the paper has appeared under the editorship of the Chief Rabbi, Morris Lieber, who was also head of the rabbinical seminary in

Paris. The chief of the editorial board was the writer and poet Joseph Mülbauer, who migrated to Israel after the war and died in Jerusalem several years later. Among its editors was Raymond Raoul Lambert, who was killed during the German occupation.

A large and varied number of monthlies and weeklies appeared in the last century, but apart from these mentioned above, note should be made of the quarterly *La Revue des Études Juives* founded in 1880 and which, with various interruptions, included the time of the Nazi occupation, continues to appear down to the present day. Among its famous editors were the chief Rabbi of France, Israel Levy, and in recent years, George Vaida, a scholar of Hungarian origin, and an authority on classical languages and of vast knowledge in Jewish literature and history.

The first paper bearing the title *Sion* was the monthly edited by Bernard Lazar, and founded in 1897. Under its title one read the legend: "A monthly for the national interest of the Jewish people". In 1899 there began to appear *L'Écho Sioniste,* a periodical devoted to Zionist information. It came out first as a fortnightly and subsequently as a monthly. Its publication ceased in 1913.

After an interim of several years, there began appearing in 1917 a bulletin of the Jewish National Fund which continued publication until 1926. In 1917–1918, there appeared also a bulletin of the Zionist Federation in France, and in the years 1918–19, a monthly entitled *Palestine Nouvelle* (the New Palestine) and in 1922–23, a weekly under the name *Paris-Sion. La Terre Promise* (the Promised Land) appeared from 1919 until 1926. In 1921 the Jewish National Fund brought out another organ under the name *Eretz Israël.* In 1929 on the initiative and under the editorship of Joseph Fisher (subsequently Joseph Ariel, Israel Ambassador to Belgium), there began appearing the fortnightly *La Terre Retrouvée* which stopped publication only during the time of the Nazi occupation, but which appears down to the present day as the chief Zionist organ in the French language. After the liberation, it was the first Zionist paper to appear. It commenced publication on September 24, 1944, under the editorship of N. Grün.

In 1925 there appeared *La Revue Juive* edited by Victor Jacobson and the non-Jew, Justin Godard, the friend of


L'Appui Français

Organe de l'Association française pour la Reconstruction de la Palestine

Président D^r Leon Zadoc-Kahn

MA CARRIÈRE POLITIQUE, LA PART QUE J'AI PRISE A L'HISTOIRE DE L'ANGLETERRE SERONT VITE OUBLIÉES. MAIS PEUT-ÊTRE MON NOM RESTERA-T-IL DANS L'HISTOIRE JUIVE, LIÉ A LA « DÉCLARATION » DE 1917.

LORD BALFOUR

Notre But

L'Appui Français, *Keren-Hayesod periodical, Paris (1934)*

Zionism and the founder of the France-Palestine League. It had the participation of some of the most important French statesmen including Léon Blum. In 1925 there appeared a number of issues of *La Nouvelle Aurore* (the New Dawn). In 1927–31 the monthly *Palestine* continued in the tradition of the organ of the French Palestine Friendship League. In 1934 there appeared also the organ of the Keren Hayesod under he name *L'Appui Français* (French support).

In 1931 there appeared a literary monthly entitled *La Revue Littéraire Juive* under the editorship of J. Geller and Pierre Paraffe. In 1934 there appeared for the first time competition to the *Univers* in the weekly entitled *Le Journal Juif* which continued under the name of *Samedi* (Saturday) from 1936–38. It was of a more marked Jewish-national orientation than the older paper which always brought to the fore the claims of the veteran French Jews.

In the years 1935–36 there appeared a bulletin of the revisionist Tel Chai Fund called *L'Idée et l'Action.* In 1937 were published several issues of *Cahiers Sionistes* (Zionist Notebook) and in 1939, shortly after the outbreak of the war, a new militant weekly entitled *L'Affirmation* under the editorship of David Knut, who during the time of Nazi occupation was one of the founders of the organisation of Jewish Fighters in the underground movement.

In 1938–39 there appeared *L'Éveil des Jeunes* (the Youth


Le Journal Juif

HEBDOMADAIRE ILLUSTRÉ

Prix : 1 franc

45, Bd St-Martin, Paris

Vol. XII. — No 10

LE VENDREDI

Le Journal Juif, *weekly, Paris, 1934–1935*

Awakening), an organ of the Zionist youth for France, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Between the years 1929–1938, there appeared a number of bulletins of the socialist Committee for Labour Palestine in Paris.

A number of papers were published over the years on the background of antisemitic attack and activities in the defense of the Jews. Thus in 1916–17, during the years of World War I, we come across a bi-monthly bulletin of the Ligue pour la Défence des Juifs Persécutés (League for the defence of Persecuted Jews) under the name of *L'Émancipation Juive*. In 1919, there appeared the bulletin of the Committee of Jewish delegations attached to the Peace Conference which played an important role in the decisions concerning the fate of Eretz Israel. In that year, there appeared at Lyons in the centre of France a bulletin of the Committee for the Aid of Jewish Pogrom Victims. In 1921 there appeared a bulletin of the Committee for the aid of Jews from the former areas of the Russian empire.

In 1929, there came out a bulletin of the League for the combat of antisemitism, the famous *LICA* which was headed by Bernard Lecache, as well as the monthly of that competent movement under the name *Le Droit de Vivre* (The Right to Live) which renewed its appearance after the War, this time also under the editorship of Lecache and after his death under the editorship of the former French minister Pierre Bloch.

In 1936 we find the periodical under the name *Défendons Nous* (Let us Defend Ourselves) which is a bulletin of the Central Committee for the Boycott of German Products and Services. On the theme of war against Nazism there appeared in the years 1937–39 a revue *Race et Racisme*. In 1938 there appeared *L'Ancien Combatant Juif*, a monthly of former Jewish war veterans.


SAMEDI

HEBDOMADAIRE ILLUSTRÉ DE LA VIE JUIVE

Samedi, *weekly, Paris, 1935–1939*

There was a vibrant Jewish centre, possibly more than in Paris, in the East of France mainly at Strasbourg. For many years there appeared there various papers in the Alsace Jewish dialect which is similar to Yiddish. There also appeared various periodicals in the French language. In the years 1919–1923 there appeared *Le Juif* and from 1925 until the outbreak of the war in 1939 *La Tribune Juive* (under this name the weekly reappeared some years ago and is, in actual fact, the only weekly of a national scope published there at present). In the years 1927–1931 there appeared in Strasbourg *Kadimah* (under the editorship of Rabbi Hirschler) as well as a paper bearing the same name, in the years 1930–1931 in the town of Mulhouse (which described itself as a fortnightly for Jewish life and the defense of Judaism). In 1931 there appeared in the town of Belfort a bulletin of the Organisation for Jewish Studies. In 1930 there was published in Strasbourg a monthly *Souvenir et Science* (Memory and Knowledge); a youth paper under the name *Le Jeune Juif* appeared there in 1939. (Under the same name it appeared in Paris in 1926–1928.)

In the small community of Nice in the southeast of France there appeared for 15 years (1913–1928) a quarterly devoted to Jewish life and tradition under the name *Foi et Réveil* (Faith and Awakening). In 1936 there appeared there a Bulleting for Jewish Unity and Preservation. In Nancy, in Lorraine, there appeared in the years 1925–1927 a periodical entitled *Entre Nous* (Among Ourselves) which, in the course of time, became *Revue Juive de Lorraine*.

Many literary monthlies made their appearance over the years, but in general did not succeed in keeping up their appearance for any length of time. *La Revue Israélite* appeared in the years 1923–1924 while in the years 1927–1930 there appeared the monthly *L'Opinion Juive*. In 1938 several issues appeared of an organ of the Jewish Committee for Political Studies. In 1932–1933 there appeared a monthly under the name *Éliacin*.

The monthly of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* under the name *Paix et Droit* (Peace and Right) appeared throughout the years from 1925 until the Nazi occupation in 1940. The monthly of OSE (the Organisation for Health Aid to Jews) also appeared uninterruptedly from 1933–1940.

An attempt was made to bring out an illustrated weekly in 1922 under the name *L'Illustration Juive* which con-

tinued in the years 1922–23 under the name *Menorah.* Among its editors were the poet Gustav Cohn and Rabbi Prato of Egypt.

The monthly of the Sephardi community appeared in Paris from 1932 until the outbreak of the war. The youth paper *La Fraternité,* of the community appeared in 1933.

After the occupation of France by the German forces in June 1940 the Nazi authorities set up a "General Jewish Committee" (after the model of the Judenrat in Poland) which brought out in the years 1941–1942 a weekly bulletin under the name *Information Juive.* This periodical was distributed rather than sold but closed down when most of the Jews were deported to the concentration camps and with the arrest of all the members of the committee who served the authorities. In contradistinction to this bulletin, there began appearing in 1942 underground papers, one of which bore the name *Information sur les Atrocités Nazies.* A number of issues bearing the name *J'Accuse* appeared in 1941–44 in Paris. Under the name *Fraternité* there appeared in 1942 the organ of the anti-racist movement. In 1943 *En Avant* (Forward) was the organ of the militant youth (brought out by the Communist Party).

A Zionist underground paper which was also the organ of the Jewish combatants organisation and of the "Jewish Army" (AJ) made its appearance under the name *Quand Même* (Despite Everything) in Toulouse, the capital of the Jewish Resistance Movement, in 1943, and continued to appear monthly. Under its title we were informed that the place of publication was Geneva. The paper continued to appear after the liberation of Toulouse and was transferred to Paris where, under the editorship of Jacob Fink, it continued to be published until 1949.

After the Liberation the publication was renewed of papers that had appeared previously, and new ones were founded, both in Yiddish and French. A first attempt in the history of French Jewry was also made to bring out a daily paper in French, but the initiators had to give up their effort after a year's struggle. (The only Jewish French daily in the world appears in Israel.) The Jewish press in France after the War is a matter that transcends the framework of this article, but it is worthwhile mentioning that in the period between the two World Wars, Jewish periodicals in French appeared also outside France. In most Jewish communities on the shores of the Mediterranean, French was the language that connected them with the outside world, and Jewish papers in this language appeared in such countries as in Egypt, Turkey, Greece and, obviously, French North Africa, such as Algiers, Tunis and Morocco. Mention should be made mainly of the numerous papers appearing in Tunis where the Zionist, mainly Revisionist, Movement was widespread, and its papers were famous. Among them was *La Revue Juive* edited by Felix Alouche, at present in Israel, in the years 1924–1934, *L'Echo Sioniste* of René Cohen-Hadaria, *La Vie d'Israël, La Justice* (edited by Serge Mueti, Israel Hayat and Eli Nataf). Among the papers of Morocco were *L'Avenir Illustré* (the Illustrated Future) edited by Jonathan Tourez and *La Vie Juive* came out in Algiers.

Netherlands' Jewish weeklies

Yosef Michman

The Jewish press in Holland on the outbreak of the First World War reflected little change although at that period the separatism of Dutch Jewry which commenced with the time of the emancipation at the end of the 18th century, had reached its peak. The socialist and liberal trends wielded great influence and these succeeded in drawing the youth and the intellectual circles away from Judaism. On the other hand, Jewish orthodoxy dwindled and degenerated and although its influence on the communal institutions was unquestionable, it was this fact in particular that succeeded in widening the gap between that section of the community and the increasingly expanding strata in Jewish public life. True, an elite group emerged in the Zionist Movement, particularly among the middle classes and people of higher education, but it was far from becoming a bulwark against assimilation. In fact, Holland's neutrality during the war succeeded in strengthening this tendency.

But even subsequently, the Zionists adopted a stand in the World Zionist policy that was in keeping with the policy of the government. Nehemia de Liema, the great leader of Dutch Zionism, attacked the Zionists in England for wanting to exploit the Movement for the victory of the Allies, and the Zionist leaders in Germany for opposing the partition of Turkey because they regarded it as a danger to the Jewish settlement enterprise in Eretz Israel.

Under these conditions, it was impossible to expect of the Jewish general press which was remote from Zionism, to give expression to feelings of identity with world Jewry, especially as this press had a tradition of Dutch patriotism to the point of sycophancy.

There were thre weeklies in existence then, all of them having been founded in the second part of the 19th century. True, there were shades of difference between them, but the things that they held in common outweighed their differences. The three of them were affiliated to the governing trend in the Jewish community and were unreservedly loyal to orthodoxy. They also demonstrated their Dutch patriotism on all occasions and looked upon the links between the House of Orange and the Jewish community as God-destined. They had another common characteristic, too. The editors of the three newspapers were teachers of religion. Their Jewish and general education was limited and this of course had its influence on the attitude of the Jewish intellectual circles of all camps towards them.

The wide gap between the cultural and intellectual standards of the majority of Dutch Jews and the provincial character of its press was particularly marked in its most important weekly *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad*. In 1914, Philip Alta, who was the editor of this weekly for over 43 years (from 1875 until his death in 1918), was still alive and he left his doubtful personal impress upon it. He regarded himself as a "child of the ghetto" and had no desire whatever to rise above the atmosphere of the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam. He received his education in the rabbinical college which conferred upon him the title of "Maggid" (Preacher) which is lower than that of "More Horaah" (Teacher of the Law). Apart from work in the editorial office, he engaged in the study and teaching of Torah in various study circles and was also a well-known preacher on occasions of festivity and mourning. In his newspaper he also published weekly sermons which served as spiritual food for his thousands of readers. These sermons had not only a religious objective; Alta employed them as a weapon


NIEUW ISRAËLIETISCH WEEKBLAD.

VRIJDAG 4 AUGUSTUS.

N°. 1.

CORRESPONDENTEN: Gebr. Mangone, te Rotterdam. — G. da Costa Gomez de la Penha, te Utrecht.

Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad, *Conservative weekly, Amsterdam, 1875–1940*

against his enemies and against trends and movements that were not to his liking, and such there were many. He was loyal to traditional Judaism in the Jewish ghetto and anything that deviated from this task was foreign to his spirit and was the target of vituperation from his pen. Zionism, however, came in for special attention on his part. He even started a special weekly column in order to wage war on Zionism. A short while before his death he wrote disparagingly of the Balfour Declaration which he regarded as nothing more than a private letter addressed to Lord Rothschild.

After his death the paper was edited by L.D. Staal (1874–1943) who, like his predecessor, had studied at the rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam. He did not, however, attain to more than the title of "teacher of religion". Staal's outlooks were no different than those of Alta, but he expressed himself with a little more care and tried to differentiate between the opinions of the editorial board and the survey of events—something that was above Alta's understanding. He invited many scholars to publish popular scientific articles in his newspaper, but at the same time aspired to preserve its popular character by printing serialized stories and novels written in sentimental style. He too was a sworn opponent of Zionism although at the inception of his career he was not sparing of words of appreciation of Zionism, but he looked upon its leaders as false prophets.

On the increase of antisemitism in Germany, particularly after the rise of Hitler to power, these contradictions became more pronounced. For the first time Zionism became a popular movement, and within the movement there increased the radical trend which negated the Galut and called for Aliyah. Staal regarded such opinion not only as a danger to traditional Judaism but also as undermining the status of Dutch Jewry within the general society. His attitude towards Nazi Germany was not clear-cut. Out of loyalty to Holland's external policy he tried to justify the government for failing to open wide the gates of the country to the refugees and he even opposed any tangible activity against Germany such as the declaration of a boycott. A wave of Jewish awakening in Holland in the 1930s transformed the image of Staal, who at one time represented accepted opinion into an exception. On the death of the directors of the company that owned the newspaper, new directors were appointed who were closer to the Zionist Movement. On December 30, 1938, they dismissed the aged editor and assumed responsibility for the editorial board. They did not write themselves but commissioned two young people to undertake their work. One was a member of the Mizrachi movement, and the other, a member of Agudat Israel. Both of them were people of higher education and graduates of youth movements. The change, however, was too late in coming. A year later the Germans invaded Holland, and in September 1940 (just before Rosh Hashana) they forbade the appearance of all Jewish newspapers in Holland.

The newspaper that was second in importance in Holland was *Centraal Blad voor Israelieten in Nederland* which was founded in the year 1883. The publisher was the owner of a printing press, A. Van Creveld, who commenced his career as a teacher of religion. Its editor-in-chief for many years was also a teacher of religion: K. Andruse. The inception of this weekly was no different than that of the other Jewish organ. However, already at the beginning of the 20th century the paper endeavoured to reflect events in the Jewish world. The editorial board remained faithful to the policy obtaining in the communal leadership, but it opened its pages also to other trends. A special column was devoted to Zionism. Nonetheless the editors failed to increase the readership and transform the weekly into the central organ of Dutch Jewry. In the sphere of advertisements, and particularly personal announcement, *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad* acquired a central position for itself and whoever wanted particulars about the private life of the Jews of Holland had to read this weekly.

For that reason *Centraal Blad* had always to struggle for its existence. In view of this situation the weekly had but one road open, namely to become a militant Zionist paper and thus gain the unqualified support of at least one section of Dutch Jewry. The editors of the newspaper, however, could not dissociate themselves from their social and political past. In their heart they were orthodox Jews, Dutch patriots, and respectors of the financial magnates, all of whom belonged to the Liberal Party. They atempted to compromise with the new trends without at the same time giving up their basic outlooks, so that as a result, the weekly was pale and lukewarm and satisfied neither one trend nor the other. In the 1930s, refugees from Germany were invited to contribute articles, mainly on the situation of the Jews in the world.

On rare occasions the editorial board expressed its own opinion. The tragic circumstances of the Jews at the end of the 1930s forced the owners of this organ to change their policy and they apointed one of the few Revisionists in Holland, Dr. A.A. Speyer as editor-in-chief. The turn, however, came too late, and the editor did not succeed even in beginning to implement his ideas. He was appointed to the post on April 4, 1940—one month before the German invasion of Holland. His paper, too, was closed down, never to be reopened.

These two weeklies were edited and printed in Amsterdam. Although they published much information on what was taking place in the Jewish communities throughout Holland, Amsterdam, in which 70% of the Jews in the country were living, was the centre of their interest. No so, however, was the case in regard to the third weekly, *Weekblad voor Israelietische Huisgezinnen* (founded in 1870) which was edited and printed in the second largest city in Holland–Rotterdam. In Rotterdam, too, assimilation was on the increase, and from the sociological-religious point of view, there was no difference between the two cities. However, the Chief-Rabbi Ritter (1855–1936) succeeded in gathering around himself a limited but dynamic circle of orthodox Jews and one of these disciples S.M. Salgeter, was Editor in Chief of the weekly for many years. The readership of the Rotterdam weekly continued to be very limited, both on account of its outlooks as well as on account of its distance from the nerve centre of Dutch Jewry.

There was a wide chasm between these three newspapers and the bloc of Zionist publications. The Zionist press in general did not deal with local events that were outside the framework of activities of the Zionist Movement itself, and on rare occasions even took one of these weeklies to task, utterly negating communal activity in the Galut. It remained oblivious of events in the communal councils and in the numerous associations that were in existence in Holland. The columns of these papers were filled by the best writers and thinkers in Holland who dealt with world Zionist problems or with organizational problems of the Zionist Movement in Holland, and took no interest in the shallow life of the community or of the poor sections of Jewish society. It is of interest to note that the great change in the 1930s set in also among these ranks when the Zionist Movement succeeded, even though belatedly, to make incursions into the wide masses and to gain support among the proletariat in Amsterdam which until then was loyal to Socialism and to Communism. Nonetheless it may be said that despite the fact that the influence of the Zionist Press was limited at the beginning of our period to a small section of intellectuals drawn from the middle classes, it played a great role in moulding the image of the young leadership of Dutch Jewry.

The central organ of the Movement was *De Joodsche Wachter* which first appeared in January 1905 as a fortnightly. Attempts were made several times to transform it into a weekly, but the leadership of the Zionist Federation achieved that only in 1924. The main difficulty it faced was that it had a very limited circulation. Subscription to the Journal was mandatory on all members of the Zionist Federation. But they numbered between 1,600–2,00 only. In 1920 the circulation of *De Joodsche Wachter* did not exceed 2,300. The Federation leadership then proposed a unification of the three Zionist organs then in existence: *De Joodsche Wachter, Hamizrachi* and *Tikvat Yisrael*—organ of the Youth. *Hamizrachi* had a circulation of about 1,100, and *Tikvat Yisrael* a circulation of 600. Undoubtedly many among these subscribed to more than one paper so that their unification would not have meant a considerable increase in advertisements. So another four years elapsed before the Federation found a way of attracting more advertisements which enabled the organ to appear weekly.

Despite a small circulation *De Joodsche Wachter* occupied a place of importance among the Dutch Jewish press. Its editors were among the élite of Dutch Jewry and among the leaders of the Zionist Movement in Holland, such as professor D. Kahn, his brother Dr. R. Kahn, Dr. Ornstein-Hoofien, Dr. H. Ederstheim, Dr. A. Eliasch and Professor J. Kisch.


Jaargang 1. No. 1.

„DE JOODSCHE WACHTER"

Halfmaandelijksch Orgaan

voor Groot-Nederlands Jodendom.

De Joodsche Wachter, *Zionist weekly, Amsterdam, 1905–1940*

Above all, the paper was connected with two of the greatest Zionists in Holland: Nehemia de Liema, and F. Bernstein. De Liema began to write for the paper before World War I, and continued to do so until he was elected a member of the Zionist Executive. His articles dealt with subjects at the forefront of Zionist thought but mainly questions of organisation and the financing of agricultural settlement. After withdrawing from the Zionist Executive when Weizmann gained ascendancy over the Brandeis group, he returned to Holland a disappointed and embittered man, and was again elected to the Chairmanship of the Zionist Federation. Since then, however, he wrote very infrequently but behind the scenes he played a leading role in conducting the Federation affairs and not one article was published in the paper that was not to his liking.



Meijer de Hond



Fritz Bernstein

The majority in the Zionist Federation regarded themselves as his disciples and ever since the early 1920s they did not allow the opposition, which supported Weizmann's policy in regard to contacts with England, a foothold in *De Joodsche Wachter*.

Fritz Bernstein, a native of Germany and a member of an assimilated family wrote articles to which his readers looked forward every week. At his first appearance at the annual conference of the Zionist Federation in 1918 he, Bernstein demanded that great attention be given to the dissemination of Hebrew. A year later he joined the editorial board of *De Joodsche Wachter* and engaged mainly in the Eretz Israel column.

In economic affairs he accepted the views of De Liema, but in the field of Zionist ideology, he began expressing original ideas which were immediately taken up by the adherents of Zionism and the young generation began to be educated upon them. It was an analysis of antisemitism, the supremacy of the national idea over socialist ideas and the need for a firm stand against England. They made such deep incursions into the consciousness of the Zionist youth that whoever did not accept them was not regarded as a true Zionist. Bernstein's service as a member of the editorial board continued, with the exception of one year's intermission from 1919–1931, when he was elected Chairman of the Zionist Federation. But also while serving in that office he continued to contribute articles to the press and continued to write even after his Aliyah to Eretz Israel in 1936.

In the pre-war period these were the events in Germany—Holland's neighbour—which brought about a revolution in Jewish public life and many began to join the ranks of the Movement. The circulation of *De Joodsche Wachter* rose and its editors began engaging in problems affecting the Diaspora, and to publish articles which were of interest also to the public at large. On the German invasion a new editorial board was appointed (which included the writer of this article) whose function it was to transform the weekly into a popular newspaper. The editorial board prepared the first number but did not succeed in circulating it because the Germans forbade its publication.

De Joodsche Wachter was not the only Zionist organ. We have already mentioned *Hamizrachi,* the first number of which appeared in April of 1916. This date is by no means fortuitous. Immediately after the outbreak of World War I, many refugees arrived from Belgium to settle in Holland. They included many who were accustomed to popular Zionist activity and demanded that the Zionist Movement expand its work also in Holland. They included members of the Mizrachi Movement and thanks to them, the Hebrew language gained currency as a spoken language. *Hamizrachi* which appeared as a monthly, was then the only publication to bring out a Hebrew supplement (from 1918 to 1924) first, under the editorship of Shmuel Coppleman and afterwards under the editorship of I.Z. Davids.

The editor of *Hamizrachi* was Dr. B.J. Ricardo, Rabbi of the Portuguese community. He resigned on account of a split in the Mizrachi and was succeeded by Rabbi S.P. DeVries (until 1940) and a group of young people.

The Zionist newspaper was also brought out on the initiative of a refugee from Germany. The founder of the monthly *Tikvat Yisrael* in 1917 was A. Titlebaum, who was one of the editors for seven years. To begin with it was a publication for the youth. In the course of time, young people began publishing articles in it and it was transformed into the official organ of the Zionist Youth movement. In general its contents were devoted to Eretz Israel, to Jewish history, to information on Judaism and to events in the youth movement itself.

The platform for ideological discussions was *Baderekh,* an organ brought out jointly by the Zionist students organisation and the instructors of the Youth Movement. This organ had the participation of the leaders of the young generation many of whom subsequently went on Aliyah such as the brothers Yitzhak and Joseph Sleifer, I. Van Amrungen (at present Arnon) and Professor Lindman. The most important among them, however, was Lyon Nordheim. He preached a positive attitude to Jewish culture and the religious heritage, demanded a strong propaganda for Halutziut and a complete withdrawal from Dutch society. Echoes of this debate were reflected in all the Jewish press and reached a head in 1939. In order the more effectively to fight for their ideas, the leaders of the young generation decided to set up a new organ by the name of *Herutenu* to replace *Baderekh.* In this publication there appeared ideological articles and sharp controversial writings. Obviously, there was no possibility of continuing its publication under German rule and so *Herutenu* ceased its appearance immediately after the German invasion.



Baderech, *monthly of Zionist youth, Amsterdam, 1924–*

Apart from the general informative and party press, attemps were made to bring out popular scientific newspapers and with a certain measure of success. Already in the early 20th Century a Jewish weekly made its appearance in the form of the illustrated weekly then popular in Western Europe. Stress was laid on topicality. Care, however, was taken not to take up any stand on problems that arouse the Jewish public. Indeed, the weekly published photographs on topical events, both in Holland and in other countries (a prominent place being devoted to Eretz Israel), but side by side with them we find historical articles, literary reviews, and serialized novels. The monthly did not hold out for very long, possibly owing to the lack of advertisements. Its lack, however, was felt keenly, apparently, because several years later an attempt was made to revive it. The initiators were two people whose names we come across in the Jewish press of those days, although on account of their stormy temper they did not hold out for very long anyway. One of them was Rabbi Justus Tal who, to begin with, was a Zionist but in the course of time, left the Zionist camp and became one of its sharpest opponents. (After World War II he was appointed Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam.) The other was Dr. I. Prinz, a historian and lawyer who made researches into the history of Dutch Jewry and published several important studies. He lived for many years in Brussels and after World War II came on Aliyah to Israel, dying at a ripe old age in Jerusalem. Tal and Prinz brought out jointly in 1921 the illustrated weekly *De Joodsche Post* which was very similar in content and format to its predecessor. But this weekly too did not hold out for longer than one year.

The two editors, however, were not to be disillusioned and on January 11, 1924, an experimental number of a new weekly, which was to become one of the most important publications of Dutch Jewry—*De Vrydagavond* made its appearance.

"We do not want to engage in politics" the editors wrote in the first number "but rather write and allow others to write, on Judaism, Jewish history and moral literature to assist in the sprouting of the truth and of everything that is good. . . ." It should he mentioned that their outlook was not narrow even from the religious point of view.

Already in their first numbers they had the participation not only of several rabbis—but also of well-known people in the artistic world in Holland, who wrote on themes in the realm of Jewish art: music, the theatre, film—all of them accompanied by illustrations. Rabbi Tal's influence was felt in the two columns of a lighter nature—Jewish humour, humorous stories and the youth section. The editors had learned a lesson from their previous failure and this time space was allotted to advertisements.



Yosef Michman

From January 1924 until April 24, 1925, the two editors continued at their work on the paper. In the last number, however, we come across an announcement which is typical of the style of the two:

"Farewell. Thanks to all those who made our departure from this newspaper difficult for us—J. Tal, Yitzhak Prinz."

Tha was all. In the forthcoming number the publisher revealed something of what was taking place behind the scenes: a clash of interests between the publisher and the principles of freedom of action on the part of the editors. The publisher did not renew his contract with the editors and appointed to the post a man who from the very first number was counted among the regular contributors to the weekly: the historian I.S. de Silva Rosa.

The new editor who had already made a name for himself then as a historian of wide knowledge did not allow anyone to infringe on the high standard of the paper. He turned it into a weekly capable of competing with the best publications in the world. The editor's interest and deep knowledge of the history of the Sephardi Jews, particularly of those in Holland, found extensive expression in his own articles, and in those of others. At the same time, however, the paper was open to everything taking place in the Jewish world, particularly in the field of literature and the arts. Articles on the development of the Yishuv in Eretz Israel, on the Jews of Soviet Russia, on the Jews of Poland, Lithuania, Rumania and Germany, on Jewish writers and artists in all countries, filled the columns of the paper. The thousands of illustrations that were printed throughout the years, many among them such as the editor discovered in the course of his work in various archives are a great source of information.

De Silva Rosa edited the paper for seven years. On March 1932 its last number made its appearance and so a splendid chapter in the history of the Jewish press in Holland came to a premature end. Other periodicals received their inspiration from this paper, such as a fortnightly for adolescent youth which began to appear on July 5, 1929, and which ceased publication three years afterwards. Its staff of contributors and the selection of its illustration appeared like a popular imitation of *De Vrydagavond*. The monthly *The Woman* which was the organ of the "Council of Jewish Women" whose publication also commenced in 1939, shows an influence of *De Vrydagavond* in its choice of contributors and themes.

To the educational press belongs an interprise unique of its kind, the initiator of which was a singular personality yet typical of Dutch Jewry. From April 4, 1928, until March



De Vridagavond, *non-party weekly, Amsterdam, 1924–1932*

28, 1935, there appeared a weekly by the name *De Joodsche Jeugdkrant*—the Jewish Youth Newspaper. Its initiator and editor, who almost single-handedly filled all the columns of the newspaper every week, was Rabbi Dr. Meijer de Hond (1882–1943). De Hond was born to a very poor family in the Jewish ghetto, educated in the Rabbinical training seminary and studied Semitic languages in various universities in Germany. Despite his studies, De Hond remained linked with the ghetto and felt at home only among the residents of that poor quarter. For them he worked as a social worker, as a teacher, rabbi, preacher and a writer. He was a stormy orator of a fiery temper, and a gifted writer. Among other things he wrote descriptions of the Jewish ghetto which attracted the attention of Dutch literary critics for their originality and his use of the unusual which the writer employed in the dialect of the poor Jews of Amsterdam who still preserved many of the elements of Yiddish. He also established many enterprises on behalf of the poor, such as an association for the study of the Torah, the organising of religious workers, a shelter for Jewish invalids and an association for the Jewish blind. As a man with unbounded admiration for the Dutch royal house, he was a vehement opponent of Zionism.

We did not list in our survey all the papers that made their appearance in Holland in the period betwen the two World Wars. Their number exceeded 100 and included publications by parties, communities, social institutions, and even a paper called "The Member of the Jewish Middle publications by parties, communities, social institutions, and others were intended for a very limited readership.



Het Beloofde Land, *Keren-Hayesod publication, Amsterdam (1927)*

Jewish newspapers in Belgium

Yom-Tov Levinsky

At the beginning of the 20th Century there were almost no Jewish periodicals in Belgium. The small Jewish community in that country served as a sort of transit ferry for the borders of France, Germany, and the Netherlands. The Jews of Belgium spoke three languages: French, in Valonia and in Brussels the capital; Dutch in Flanders and in Antwerp which stood at the centre, and German—by the Jewish emigrants from Germany and Austria. Each ethnic group relied on the Jewish press in its own spoken language, which arrived from across the frontiers. In particular, Belgian Jewry was subservient in this respect to neighbouring Amsterdam—the mother of Jewish communities in Western Europe.

In 1863 the relations between the Catholics and the Jews became aggravated. A Dominican priest began open incitement against Jewish bankers and against several industrial and commercial magnates. The heads of the Jewish community saw urgent need in uniting and repelling his antisemitic claims, and so the Jewish merchants of Brussels "bought" for a certain period the French newspaper in Belgium, *Côte Libre,* whose editor was a Jew, and so the Catholic clericist attacks died down.

On the threshold of the 20th Century the Jewish community in Belgium grew in size and showed signs of permanent settlement. Antwerp, the world centre of the diamond industry, attracted thousands of Jews—immigrants from Russia, Poland and Galicia. In Brussels too, hundreds of Jewish immigrants (mostly from Poland and Russia) who had found work in the women's handbag industry, consolidated themselves and within a short period raised Brussels to the position of a world centre for the handbag industry. These immigrants whose spoken language was Yiddish-German brought with them new values from Eastern Europe and also laid the foundation for the Zionist Movement there (1899).

In 1904, the Zionists of Brussels and Antwerp decided to

bring out a monthly in the German language under the name of *Hatikva*—an organ with a Jewish national trend. The newspaper, with the exception of the years of World War I, continued its appearance down to the Holocaust. In the year 1936 it changed its name into *L'Avenir Juif* (the Jewish Future). The first editor of this publication was Heinrich Gruenzweig of Crakow, who was assisted by the brothers Oscar and Jean Fisher, people of great merit



Yom-Tov Levinsky



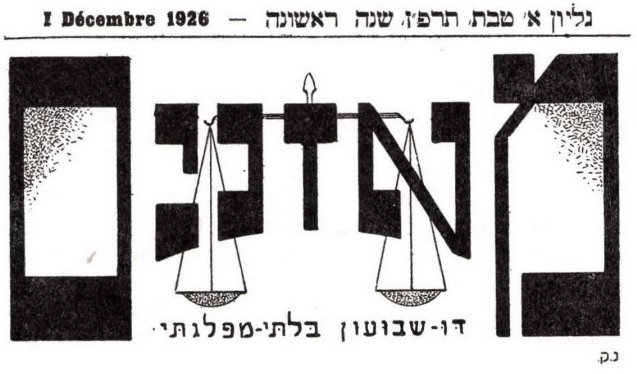
Avraham Tiegel

in the Zionist Movement. Jean Fisher, a leading diamond merchant, occupied a central place in the Zionist General Council and gained a name for himself as a devoted guardian of the Herzlean tradition in Zionism. In this spirit he guided and directed the Zionists of Belgium (Kfar Yona, in the Sharon is named after him). His son, Morris Fisher was to become Israel Ambassador in Paris and in Ankara.

After World War I *Hatikva* began its appearance as a fornightly in the French language in Brussels and in Antwerp. The editors were leaders of the Zionist Movement and changed from time to time. Mention, however, should be made of the journalist and diamond merchant, Michael David Horowitz, who stood at his post for almost thirty years. The Jewish community in Antwerp, under Zionist inspiration, also began publication of an annual (beginning 1905) on communal life, communal functions and regulations, institutions and enterprises, under the name: *Annuaire de la Comunité Israelite D'Anvers.*

In 1912 a wide circle of Jewish students concentrated in Ghent. It had contacts with Jewish students organisations in France and Germany. Two young student-journalists, I. Lifschitz and Joshua Podruzhnik began publishing a Yiddish monthly *Der Yiddisher Student.* This event aroused considerable attention as a first attempt to consolidate the scores of Jewish student organisations in the universities of Western Europe. Most of the students hailed from Eastern Europe, where they had been turned out from the Russian universities and were political refugees. The monthly was printed free of charge in Copenhagen (because there was no suitable Jewish press in Belgium) in the printing shop of I. Litichevsky, who was a patron of Jewish students and a lover of Yiddish literature. However, only three numbers made their appearance.

In that year there concentrated in Antwerp a circle of Yiddish-speaking intellectuals. Mordechai Yawrovsky, of Byalistok who then gave Hebrew lessons and was at the same time also a worker in the diamond industry—he was subsequently to make a name for himself in the United States and in Israel as a Hebrew writer, translator under the name of M. Lipson, began publishing *Der Antwerpener Letz* (1912) a humouristic periodical which satirized the Jewish community in Antwerp. It ceased publication after several issues. In 1913, however, four young journalists—the



Moznayim, *non-party Hebrew fortnightly, Antwerp, 1926–1927*

above-mentioned M. Yavrovsky and Joshua Podruzhnik, Jacob Kreplika and S. Cohen met in Antwerp and began bringing out the first Jewish weekly in Belgium *Der Maariv* which was intended for the Yiddish-speaking masses throughout western Europe. This newspaper, too, was printed in Copenhagen and it too, was not long-lived for only four issues appeared.

On the outbreak of World War I, the Jewish community in Belgium dwindled considerably. Scores of thousands of Russians subjects escaped to England, whereas German and Austrian subjects passed over to Holland and Switzerland.

When peace was concluded in 1919, the Belgian Jewish refugees were invited by the Belgian government to return and settle in Antwerp and Brussels in order to reestablish the diamond and handbag industries. They were also promised certain benefits and relief from taxation and customs. *Hatikva* renewed its appearance as a fortnightly in the French language. In 1920 there was founded in Antwerp the national sports organisation "Maccabi" which began bringing out an organ of its own under the name of *Maccabi,* in Flemish and in French. The social aid and charitable organisations of Antwerp Jewry which had extended assistance to thousands of migrants organised themselves into a central institution. For the purpose of coordinating and bringing out instructions and statistical figures the institution brought out *La Centrale*—a fortnightly in Flemish and in French. The publication under the editorship of Alexander van der Horst and others, was long-lived. The Jewish artisans also organised themselves. Some of them formed vocational cooperatives and in 1922 began bringing out a weekly *Der Friend* with a literary supplement under the editorship of Rabbi Dr. Azriel Ginsig and Dr. Merker. The youth organisations under the banner of the Jewish scouts, also decided to bring out a monthly *Bar Kochba* in Flemish, under the editorship of I. Gintzig. The monthly was subsequently taken over by Hashomer Hatzair. For some time also *Ons Organ* (Our Platform) saw light. It was a weekly devoted to Jewish life, and was published in Flemish under the editorship of S. Frank (1924).

The Jewish peddlars in the markets and fairs in the townlets of Belgium whose numbers were constantly on the increase (for the most part they were immigrants from Poland) also found it necessary to bring out an organ in Yiddish



Der Yudisher Arbeter, *Bundist monthly, Brussels, in the '30s*

that would reflect their way of life, publish information on Jewish life, safeguard their rights, preserve fairness and proper conduct in their vocations so that people should not be at each others' throats, not compete with one another in raising prices, and also be active in the field of mutual aid, etc. For an appreciable time these published *Die Marchanten Stimme* (The Peddlar's Voice).

Meantime, the Jewish community increased through the accretion of thousands of immigrants from Poland who left on account of the economic recession in that country. So a new and unique class of Jewish immigrant was formed in Belgium. People engaged in black labour in the coal mines and in the steel works, in the iron foundries at Charleroi and other places. There was a crying need for working hands in the heavy industries. The Belgian labourers passed over to easier and higher paying projects and so the gates were opened for scores of thousands of labourers who came over from Italy and Poland in order to earn a livelihood in these mines, under difficult conditions. Hundreds of Jews arrived at that time to the Belgian frontiers from Poland. Giving an undertaking to the Frontier Authorities to work in the mines, they immediately received an entrance permit, a work permit, as well as a temporary identification card. One day all the young people from a whole Jewish townlet in Poland, of Lotikov, headed by the Rabbi's son who carried the community seal, arrived at the frontier, without any documents in their possession. In a day or two the whole of that Jewish townlet went down to the mines at Sering and before the month was out they were able to send home money saved from their meagre wages, in order to support their wives, children, and parents.

Some hundreds of Jewish students concentrated also in


יידישע

פרעסע

Anvers-Bruxelles, 26 Aout 1938

Yudishe Presse, *weekly, Antwerp-Brussels, 1923–1940*

the universities of Belgium. According to a census undertaken by the Jewish Students' Association, there were about 800 Jewish students from Eastern Europe in the University of Liege at the time. Several hundred students studied at the University of Ghent, in the Free University of Brussels, in the High School of Commerce in Antwerp, in the High School for Textiles at Verviers and in the High School for Agriculture at Gembloux. These large numbers of students were Yiddish-speaking and read the Yiddish press published in Poland which was despatched by express train to Belgium and arrived on the same day.

The Jewish immigrants included several score journalists, the majority of whom worked in the diamond industry in Antwerp, or in the handbag industry in Brussels. Some of them were both students and labourers in the coal mines. These often sent reports from Belgium to the Jewish press in Poland and in North and South America. These newspapermen also played a leading role in the cultural and political life of the Jews of Belgium.

In 1923 the brothers H. and S. Jacobowitz began bringing out a Yiddish-Flemish weekly under the name of *Joodsche Weekblad.* The paper was closed down after some time and in its place they began publishing the Yiddish weekly *Yiddische Presse.* The editor in chief was H. Jacobowich who used his pen-name, Henri Zvier. Since the paper was dependent on the owner of the print shop, it was able from time to time to overcome the technical and financial obstacles, and continued publication for about 18 years until shortly before the Holocaust. The weekly was proven acceptable to the religious and communal institutions. One year (1925) it served as the mouthpiece of the Zionist Federation (under the editorship of the writer of these lines). The weekly published information on Jewish life throughout the world and brief reports about Jewish life in Belgium.

At the end of 1924 an attempt was made to bring out again in Belgium a monthly of the Jewish students association. Following the first World Congress of the Jewish Students Unions in Antwerp, a periodical was published under the name *L'Etudient Juif* in French, with a Hebrew and Yiddish supplement.

From 1928–1931 there began to appear in Antwerp *Di Yiddishe Zeitung*—a progressive Yiddish weekly. Its editor was Avraham Tiegel—a gifted journalist with a sharp eye for events and a pungent pen. He was injured in a road accident and the writer of these lines was appointed to succeed him.

In 1930 Belgium celebrated the 100th Anniversary of its independence, and in the elation that encompassed the general as well as the Jewish population, which consisted largely of new immigrants who could not share the culture of the country nor the traditional antagonism between its two languages—French and Flemish—the need was felt for a Yiddish daily to link the Jewish public with their relatively new country of domicile, without at the same time severing their connections with the Jewish people in other lands. Such an attempt was made under the name of *Der Belgisher Tog* (under the editorship of the undersigned), which used to carry local information as well as reflect activities throughout the Jewish world. This daily, however, was kept up with great difficulty for only a few months. Nor did less pretentious periodicals, such as two weeklies *(Der Vegveizer* and *Nayes),* which appeared instead of the daily that was closed down, fare any better. In the early 1930s several party weeklies also made their appearance: *Folk un Arbeit,* edited by Dr. A.L. Kubovitzki, subsequently Kubovi, Israel Ambassador to Poland and the Argentine, and Zelig Broshi for the Zeirei Zion Movement; *Machaneh Yisrael* of Agudat Israel; *Gezerd* of the Communists who called upon the Jews to settle in Birobidjan; *Der Kurier,* a non-party weekly which appeared from 1931–1935, and others. Various organisations

and institutions also brought out bulletins intended for more limited circles in the 1930s.

This period for Belgian Jewry marked, on the one hand, the serious economic crisis that set in in the diamond industry, from which many of the Jews in the country, including recent arrivals, derived their livelihood, and, on the other, the dangers lurking for the Jews on the part of Nazism, which, in Belgium and particularly in the Flemish districts, took on the form of the Fascist Movement which called its members "Rexists" (after the name of its leader). Apart from various mushroom-like journalistic attempts which lasted several months at the most, several more well-founded attempts were made, but neither did these hold out for very long. The journalist Joel Fuchs and the publisher Salpeter (owner of a bookshop), brought out in 1933 a serious annual almanac in three languages (Yiddish, Dutch and French) which published material about the Jews of Belgium, the history of the community, its movements and institutions, but the economic crisis prevented the publication of the second volume. We shall mention the Yiddish weeklies that appeared in the 1930s: *Di Zeitung* (1933–1935), *Die Voch* (1934), *Belgishe Bleter* (1935–1938), *Letste Nayes,* which appeared first (1933) as a weekly, and later, under the editorship of Vladimir Grossman, became a daily, but held out with the utmost difficulty for nearly a year and then was closed down owing to a large deficit. The aged thinker Dr. Nathan Birnbaum, who then lived in Holland, brought out in Antwerp (1933) a series of periodic collections called *Der Ruf* (The Call) in the spirit of religion and tradition and against the Zionist Movement.



Jewish papers in Belgium


FOLK UN ARBET

פאלק און ארבעט

Folk un Arbet, *Zionist Labour weekly, Antwerp, 1931–*

The spread of the Rexist Movement hit Belgian Jewry very hard. When Hitler rose to power over 20,000 refugees from Germany escaped to Belgium, but only a small minority among them stood in need of communal assistance. The Jewish youth joined the Belgian Labour Movement which combated Fascism, safeguarded Jewish assemblies and their places of work. In order to fight antisemitism and particularly in order to support the boycott of German goods, Dr. Kubo-

vitzki founded in Brussels the fortnightly *La Tribune Juive* (1934). At the same time as it published information about the persecution of the Jews in Germany. This publication sought to alleviate the fate of the refugees and create places of work for them, etc. In 1935 a supplement was published to *Tribune* under the name of *La Defence Economique,* which came out on behalf of the Committee for Economic Defence and which had a large circulation also among non-Jewish commercial and industrial circles. The Jewish Communists in Belgium closed an eye in their paper *(Unzer Weg)* to Jewish suffering under the Nazis and its outcome.

Jewish papers were published in the Underground also after the Nazi invasion (1940) and reflected the participation of the Jewish youth of all movements in the struggle against the invaders. In the Belgian Resistance Movement three Jewish divisions participated, which distinguished themselves in acts of sabotage against the enemy, such as the blowing up of trains and bridges, in addition to activities for the rescue of Jews, the smuggling out of children and hiding them, etc. Jewish partisans published in 1941 three periodical leaflets—*Unzer Veg* (in Yiddish), *Flambeau* (The Torch) in French, and *De Vrije Gedachte* (The Free Thought) in Flemish. A Yiddish underground paper was brought out by Poalei Zion, its editors being Eli Kuba (brother of Dr. Kubovitzki) who, before the War, had been a member of the editorial board of the daily paper of the Social Democrat Movement in Belgium, and David Trotzki, a native of Vilna and member of the Central Committee of Poalei Zion in Belgium. The two of them were caught by the Germans and executed.

Italian-Jewish press

Saul P. Colbi

The inception of the Jewish Press in Italy dates back to the year 1821. From that year until 1937 twenty-seven periodicals, mostly monthlies, but also weeklies, made their appearance. Zionism infused a new spirit into Italian Jewry which was on the verge of assimilation. Latterly, *Israel,* which was a merger of two newspapers, appeared in that country and played a vital role. Under stress of circumstances, however, and also owing to the fact that all its editors and most of its contributors went on Aliyah to Israel, it was forced to close down.

In Italy, unlike the large Jewish centres in central and Eastern Europe, the Jewish Press did not have a chance of developing on a large scale and of flourishing, for two main reasons: a) the small Jewish population which did not reach the figure of even 50,000; b) the acculturation of Italian Jewry.

It should be mentioned that the knowledge of Hebrew in Italy was limited to a small number of Rabbis and Zionist keyworkers and that there were no Yiddish or Ladino speakers among Italian Jewry. Consequently, the Jewish Press was published in the Italian language and its circulation was limited to a small circle of Italian-speaking Jews.

A comprehensive article written in 1937 by Dr. Ittiel Milano (historian of Italian Jewry, who died in 1969) shows that the beginning of the Jewish press in Italy goes back to the year 1821. From that time down to 1937, 27 Jewish newspapers made their appearance in that country. For the greater part they were monthlies or quarterlies, but they included also weeklies. The period of their publication sometimes did not exceed one year, on account of the small circulation and the paucity of interest.

As for the content of these publications in the period preceeding the spread of the Zionist idea, it must be said that it was a very poor press, devoted mainly to local and family events. The number of articles of any standard was small. It was the Zionist Movement that infused a new spirit into the life of assimilated Italian Jewry and signs of such awakening could be seen also in the Jewish Press.

This trend of renewal was most outstanding in two papers whose publication ceased on the outbreak of the First World War. (Italy joined the war only in the year 1915.)

These two papers were *La Settimana Israelitica* (The Jewish Week) and *Il Corriere Israelitico* (Th Jewish Courier). The first was published in Florence, and the second in Trieste (an Italian-speaking community which was still situated on the frontiers of the Austrian Empire). It was on the merger of these two newspapers that the newspaper *Israel* was founded after the elapse of a certain time.

The trend of this old-new publication and its open and courageous approach to Judaism may be gauged from the fact that its name was printed in Hebrew characters. The editors of *Israel* which was published in Florence, were Professor Dante Lattes and Dr. Alfonso Pacifici. *Israel* was a protagonist of the spiritual values of Judaism and at the same time disseminated the Zionist idea. Considerable space in the paper was devoted to descriptions of life in the Jewish world generally, and in Eretz Israel in particular, while local communal events were relegated to the last page. Moreover, the newspaper proudly and honourably presented the Jewish stand on all matters and never refrained from protesting against manifestations of antisemitism that revealed themselves from time to time. This function became much more delicate and even dangerous as fascist policy turned to greater extremism and all aspirations not to identify with Italian nationalism was suspect in the eyes of the public and of the authorities.

Israel played an important role in Italian Jewry since it succeeded in influencing an extensive circle among the young Jewish intellectuals in Israel, both from the point of view of deepening Jewish traditional roots as well as from the point of view of encouraging the emergence of a nationally-



Israel, *pro-Zionist weekly, Florence*

minded Jewry. The greater majority of those young people subsequently came on Aliyah to Israel where they have made marked contributions to all fields of life in the State.

From 1929 and onwards Alfonso Pacifici was the sole editor of the newspaper and amplified its religious character. In 1934, an editorial board was set up composed of Pacifici, Lattes, Mario Ottolenghi and Umberto Nahon.

When, under Nazi German influence, antisemitism increased in Italy, the editors of the newspaper evinced great courage and tenacity to their ideals. In the end, however, under pressure of events, the paper had to close down. There was also another reason for the cessation of publication, namely that all its editors and most of its contributors came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel.

As already mentioned, the number of Jews in Italy was small. Many communities remained without a rabbi and without a teacher and individual Jews remained living in the provinces without any contacts with the Jewish community. It is in this light that one may evaluate the decisive importance of the Jewish newspaper which often served as their only link with the Jewish world at large.

The same circle that brought out *Israel* also initiated the publication of two monthlies, one for children, and the other for members of the enlightened stratum, with the purpose of increasing and deepening their knowledge of Jewish history and of Jewish life. *Israel Dei Ragazzi* (*Israel* for the Children) was founded in the year 1919 with a view to bringing a knowledge of Jewish values to the youth. Its first editor was David Prato. Subsequently, an editorial board of women headed by Gabriella Falko was set up. This newspaper published stories, legends and poems with a view to educating the youth in the spirit of Judaism. The second organ *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* (The Monthly Review of Israel) was marked for its high standard. It consisted mainly of articles on the history of Italian Jewry, on the art of Italian Jewry, as well as evaluations of the life and activities of outstanding personalities in Italian Jewry. The principal editors of this periodical, when it was founded in 1925, were Dante Lattes and Alfonso Pacifici. Later on Dante Lattes took over the sole editorship of the publication and among his assistants was Guido Bidarida.

As opposed to the spirit of true Judaism that emanated from *Israel,* an entirely different spirit reigned in the weekly *La Nostra Bandiera* (Our Banner) which was founded in Turino in the year 1934 by a group of assimilationist Jews. Their purpose was to stress that they were Italians of the Mosaic faith who identified with the Italian fascist, nationalist ideals and were vehemently opposed to Zionism. The editors of this paper were Ittora Ovace and Diodato Foeh.

Even since the end of the last century a rich Jewish community was concentrated in Milano which is the principal industrial and commercial centre in Italy. In the course of time this community became the second largest Jewish community in Italy. This explains the fact that in the period between the two World Wars, three Jewish monthlies made their appearance in Milano, even though they had a relatively small circulation.

The first among these, *Il Giovane Israele* (Young Israel) appeared in the years 1913–23. It was founded by Gino Corinaldi and Josef Ottolenghi, and published articles on Jewish cultural themes. It should be mentioned that the newspaper devoted considerable space to Zionist problems.

An additional monthly *L'Idea Sionistica* (The Zionist Idea) made its appearance in 1930. Its editor was the lawyer Leone Carpi, leader of the Revisionist Party and the monthly served as its organ. Among others, this publication brought out articles from the pen of Vladimir Jabotinsky who mastered Italian and also wrote in that language. Carpi came on Aliyah to Israel after the emergence for the State, and was a resident of Jerusalem until his death.

In 1932, the publication was stated in Milano also of an illustrated organ named *Davar* which devoted much space also to commercial advertisements.

Since 1932 there appeared in Rome a quarterly *La Comunita Israelitica* (The Jewish Community) which carried local news items about life in the community and its institutions, as well as family events.

All these Jewish newspapers and organs ceased publication when the antisemitic policy assumed more extensive proportions in Israel. Unlike other countries, however, where the Jewish communities were destroyed entirely, the Jews of Italy now maintain a number of weeklies and monthlies despite the fact that Italian Jewry suffered considerable losses in life as a result of the Nazi and fascist oppression.

A weighty reason for the large number of newspapers, despite the drop in the number of Jews, must undoubtedly be sought in the strengthening of ties with Judaism under the influence of the rise of the State of Israel.



La Rassegna Mensile di Israel, *pro-Israel monthly (1954)*

Scandinavian Jewish periodicals

Werner David Melchior

The Jewish communities of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had a small membership at the beginning of the century. After fifteen years, however, they received some reinforcement through the arrival of refugees who escaped the pogroms in East Europe. There is ground for the assumption that were it not for this reinforcement, there would have been no Jewish communities in existence by the middle of the century. During the initial stages, however, the veteran residents who were called derisively "Vikings" by the new settlers put difficulties in the way of the integration of the refugees, and by the middle of the 1930s prevented their membership of the community and deprived them of the right of being elected to the community on the pretext that they must first obtain the citizenship of their country of residence and acquire the language of the country in which they live. This fact obviously reduced still further the number of those active in the production of the Jewish press and its readers, despite the various attempts made by the "new" arrivals to bring out a press of their own.

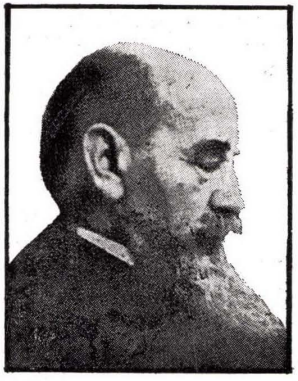
Having regard to the closeness of the languages in these three countries, it may perhaps have been logical to think of some rationalisation by bringing out a Jewish press common to all the Scandinavian communities. However, the local patriotism of the Jew in each of these countries and the new immigrants who, within one generation, reached a degree of cultural-patriotic assimilation which did not fall short of that of their predecessors over a period of two to three centuries, and perhaps also a certain measure of indolence, led to the fact that such practical possibility never arose. Even after World War II when the majority of the Jews of Denmark and Norway who for a period of 18 months to two years lived as refugees in Sweden and grew accustomed in certain measure to the Swedish language mainly under the influence of the the press at their disposal, the attempt to transform the *Judisk Kronika* also into an organ of the Danish Zionists failed miserably. These preferred to remain for another three years without a publication of their own rather than accustom themselves to read the Swedish bimonthly. The only exception in various periods was the monthly (sometimes quarterly) brought out by the Union of Jewish Youth in Scandinavia. But this publication did not succeed generally in digressing from its policy of publishing information only about events in the Union and in local organisations affiliated with it.

In view of these circumstances, the Jewish Press in Scandinavia during the period between the two World Wars was maintained mainly through the efforts of a small number of people by dint of whose marked intellectual level or their untiring devotion, there appeared periodicals at regular frequency and reached a level of which larger Jewish centres would not have been ashamed. Some of these people were natives of Scandinavia; others arrived from countries abroad. Outstanding among them was the Chief Rabbi of Stockholm, Dr. Mordechai (Markus) Ehrenpreis. A native of Lwow, he wandered over many lands and at the outbreak of World War I attained the position he occupied and settled down in Sweden. Ehrenpreis was born in 1869, studied in Berlin, and took up his first rabbinic post at Diagovar in Croatia. Before being appointed Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria in the year 1900, he managed to play a central role in the establishment of the Zionist Movement. He was a regular contributor to *Hashiloach,* first as editor of the section devoted to current events, and subsequently as writer of the regular monthly literary survey. Among his personal friends were Dr. Thon, Berdichevsky and Frischman. His chief fame stemmed from the fact that his name appeared next to that of Dr. Herzl on the invitation to the first Zionist Congress.

This is not the place to deal with his subsequent withdrawal from the Zionist Movement, not to speak of his omissions and faux pas during the period of Nazi persecution. It is characteristic, however, that in his memoirs published in 1946, the chapter entitled "Frontal Service Against the

War of Extermination" deals solely with the central role that he played in the trial that took place in Switzerland (1933–35) about the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion". He also participated in the summer of 1939 in the Evian Conference on refugees.

Ehrenpreis undoubtedly was one of the most illustrious intellects in his generation. It required little effort on his part to master the Swedish language and culture and to



Mordechai Ehrenpreis



Markus Melchior

became one of the top-notch Swedish prose writers of his generation. Already in the year 1917 he participated in the editorial board of *Israelita* the periodical brought out by the Union of Jewish Youth in Scandinavia. It is suspected that Ehrenpreis' attempt to disseminate Jewish literature through this medium was among the factors that led to the closing down of this publication at this stage. The paper tried to base itself on regular subscribers and these could not be secured. In October 1927 the editorial board announced the closing down of the publication. It intended renewing it at the earliest possible opportunity in somewhat changed form. In all future metamorphoses of the Journal, the relinquishment of the standard and prestige that the Journal enjoyed in Ehrenpreis' period became most pronounced, for the paper limited itself to the function of providing "information" to members. Its place of publication changed from time to time, and was generally the same as the place of domicile of the Union's leadership and administration which, to this day, wanders from one Scandinavian country to another.

Ehrenpreis, however, evinced fresh initiative. At the beginning of 1928 the first number of *Judisk Tidsscript* made its appearance. Until 1932, eight numbers of this periodical appeared annually. In 1933 the number rose to ten. Since then it has been appearing monthly for the last 30 years. In the first period, Ehrenpreis secured the cooperation on the editorial board of Hugo Valentin, one of the noblest figures ever produced by Swedish Jewry. Valentin was professor of history in the University of Upsala and President of the Zionist Organisation of Sweden, and in fact of the whole of Scandinavia. It is easy to imagine why in 1933 the paths of these two people who were so grifted yet so different in character, parted. Valentin tended to find a place for himself in the actual struggle for the fate of European Jewry and the Zionist enterprise, whereas Ehrenpreis retreated ever deeper to his ivory tower. It was only by great tenacity that he persisted in bringing out the paper. In his memoirs he repeatedly asked himself: "Why have I come and have found no one; why have I called, and received no answer?" Indeed, *Tidsscript* laboured under a miserably small number of subscribers, but those who lent their shoulder to the wheel were of a different type from those of *Israelit*—young people who were in search of something entirely different from what Ehrenpreis offered them. The "Independent Periodical for Jewish Teaching and Culture" reached the cream of the Jewish and non-Jewish intelligentsia, and in some measure returned the Jews to their sources and so raised the prestige of the Jewish people in the eyes of the gentiles. This prestige undoubtedly was also the factor that brought a sufficient number of advertisements to *Judisk Tidsscript* so as to cover its expenses. This was undoubtedly a glorious enterprise that Ehrenpreis bequeathed to his heirs. On Ehrenpreis' death, Valentin returned to the editorial board and administered the publication until his death in 1963, which witnessed also the end of *Tidsscript*.

The 1930s, however, called for a more daring Jewish organ and for greater involvement in what was taking place in the stormy world. And so another native of Sweden appeared in the arena in the person of Daniel Brick, a young, serious intellectual who undoubtedly had an honourable position in Sweden's cultural and political life awaiting

him. In 1932, Daniel Brick founded *Judisk Kronike* which he brings out to the present day. Its frequency of publication changed in acordance with circumstances, but never at greater intervals than once a month. For many years this newspaper also had to contend with great financial difficulties. It was a militant Zionist organ. Although there was no flaw in its standard, a considerable time was required until it succeeded in gaining for itself a measure of prestige equal to that carried by the name Ehrenpreis. Moreover, the nature of this periodical made it necessary for the subscription rates to be within reach of students, apprentices and members of the rank and file. The allocations made by the Zionist Organisations and the National Funds were modest over many years. In actual fact, Daniel Brick maintained both himself and his paper from the income of his late wife, the famous photographer Anna Rivkin-Brick whose enthusiasm for Zionism did not fall short of her husband's.

The *Kronike* was, and still is the only publication that reports regularly on events in Jewish organisations in Sweden, on guests arriving from abroad and on life in the Jewish world.

The Jewish community in Sweden publishes, at varying intervals, a bulletin of internal information for its members.

World War II did not in itself bring about a change in the situation and conditions of work of the Jewish Press in Sweden, since this country succeeded in maintaining its neutrality. Not so, Denmark. Here the situation was different even in World War I when Copenhagen was the seat of the Central Zionist Bureau and at various stages people like Jabotinsky (who left a great impression on the students in a lecture that lasted three hours) Meir Grosman, Yechiel Tchlenow, Nahum Sokolov, Leo Motzkin, and others were active there. Their presence, in addition to the efforts of the immigrant and the locally born youth to create a Jewish cultural life, led to a flourishing Jewish press, partly in Yiddish. They all, however, succeeded in holding out for only a limited period of time. At the end of the war, the need arose again for a Jewish Press in the language of the host country.

At that time, the Bnai Brith Lodge was founded in Copenhagen, mainly through the efforts of the Chief Rabbi at the town, Dr. Mordechai Shorenstein, who, twenty years later, founded the Tel Aviv Zoo, and who was also one of


Jodisk Folkestemme № 2

יודישע

פאָלקסשטימע

ערשיינט יעדען דינסטאג אין פרייטאג.

Yudishe Folksshtime, *Yiddish bi-weekly, Copenhagen (1915)*

the chief fighters for the integration of the East European immigrants. This Lodge which was known as the "Denmark Lodge" supported the publication of the "Periodical for Jewish History and Culture" under the editorship of the librarian of the community, Rabbi Josef Fischer, and the historian, Julius Salomon. The editorial board also had the participation of one of Scandinavia's Jewish spiritual giants, Professor David Simonson, a native of that country, who resigned from his post as Chief Rabbi in 1899 in order to devote himself to his vast library (of over 50,000 volumes), to philanthropic activity and to research. This periodical was devoted mainly to the history of the Jews in Denmark. But it published also critical articles and important evaluations such as Simonson's article on the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Jewish historian Graetz.

George Brandes published in that paper his famous retraction from his previous derisive attitude to Zionism. Over a period of eight years, 18 numbers of *Tidsscript* appeared. The small Jewish community did not produce a sufficient number of readers to justify the continuation of these publications which were of a high standard. The end came in 1925.

Among the amateur editors of the Jewish Press in Copenhagen was Max Goldschmidt. From 1920–23 he edited *Israeliten* which was founded in Oslo and, as we have mentioned, was transferred in 1923 to Stockholm under the editorship of Ehrenpreis. In 1926 the diligent Goldschmidt began bringing out a paper under the same name but of a local Copenhagen character. Simonson marked the great event in an article that he wrote for its first number. The

framework of the publication, however, remained fairly limited. *Israeliten* ceased publication in March 1928, but Goldschmidt renewed the publication of a permanent periodical for the Danish community. On Rosh Hashana of the year 5689, the first number appeared of *Judisk Familiblad,* which actually continues to appear as the unofficial monthly of the community to the present day except for an interval of the five years of German occupation, and a change in name in the course of time.

The paper received reserved support from the community which published its official announcements in it. Under the new law of the year 1935, which also reflected the final naturalisation of the immigrants who arrived some 20–30 years previously, an elected consultative assembly was set up to serve by the side of the administration of the autocratic community. Since then, the paper has been able to report on the closed meetings of this institution and the community has participated in various ways in financing the publication which is distributed free of charge to all families in the communities.



Chief Rabbi Markus Melchior (centre)

One step was to employ a special writer of leading articles. In 1934, Dr. Markus Melchior (who was editor of the newspaper from the time of its renewal of publication in 1945 until his appointment as Chief Rabbi in 1947) returned to Denmark. Dr. Melchior was a native of Denmark. Seeing that Dr. Max Friediger the Chief Rabbi at the time, did not agree to the appointment of an associate rabbi, the community created a special post for Melchior. It consisted of a variety of functions, important as well as unimportant. He was charged, inter alia, with the writing of leading articles and surveys of events in the Jewish world.

Since Melchior's command of the Danish language did not fall short of that of Ehrenpreis, and since he had intimate knowledge of the satanic power that was beginning to hold central Europe in its grips, and his outlooks were markedly Zionist, the newspaper which had previously been of a "pale" nature began to take on a clearly marked direction. Zionism was a dirty word among the leaders of the community. Melchior's outlooks on general world Jewish questions opposed their traditional separatist outlooks. In the course of time the paper's new line began to leave its mark and together with other factors, among them the Chairman of the Zionist Organisation, Benjamin Slor, a native of Petah Tikva who, in the middle of the 1930s, was elected a member of the community council—led to a revolutionary turn in Danish Jewry, such as the community's joining the public protests against the "White Paper" of 1939, although such awakening did not necessarily stem from purely Zionist-ideological reasons, but mainly from a concern for the fate of central European Jewry which was then living in the shadow of the Nazi horror. When Denmark was occupied by the Germans on April 9, 1940, the community decided to stop the publication of the paper, although officially non-intervention by the Nazis in internal Danish affairs had been promised, and the community and its institutions even succeeded in those days to maintain their principal activities.

In actual fact, this publication, which appeared for the longest period among Danish Jewry, was no more than a leaflet of announcements concerning times of prayer etc.,

which were copied from communal announcements in the general daily press. It was only on rare occasions that it included also articles and reports. In the last years before the Nazi Occupation it bore the character of a "Yiddishist" organ with Bundist inclination despite its being written in fairly bad Danish. Its main importance lay in the fact that, thanks to its advertisements, it served as a source of livelihood for its publisher. Its publication was not renewed after the war, and no one felt its lack.

On the other hand, without detracting from Rabbi Melchior's rights, the lack was felt in the period between the two World Wars of a clearly Zionist periodical. This want was filled only during the time that the State of Israel was established, thanks to the initiative of a group of young people. From the period between the two World Wars, mention may be made of other periodicals brought out by the pupils of the Jewish elementary school, which were fairly poor in Jewish content. There were also internal publications in German, brought out by the "Hachsharah" in Denmark, and a leaflet produced by the Scandinavian Jewish youth in Copenhagen, which appeared from 1936 until 1940.

In Norway and Finland there was actually no foundation for the publication of independent Jewish papers since the number of Jewish residents in these two countries did not amount to even 2,000. This does not mean to say that there were no people among them capable of writing for, and editing papers. Suffice it to mention the name of Prof. Oscar Mendelsohn of Oslo. It was only that the readership was very limited.

In World War II, about half the Jews of Norway were sent to their death at Auschwitz; a number of people in the Finnish Jewish communities fell at the front; Danish Jewry remained more or less intact for only relatively few met their deaths at Teresienstadt and fewer still were killed as a result of enemy action. The final affiliation of the refugees of the 1930s with the communities, and in the case of Sweden, a not insignificant number of people rescued by Bernadotte and, at a later stage, emigrants from Israel—in some measure expanded the ranks of the community. The experience of the Holocaust on the one hand, and the establishment of the State of Israel on the other, infused Jewish life into the existing communities.

Obviously, one cannot expect the appearance of worthy successors to the generation of David Simonson, Mordechai Ehrenpreis, Hugo Valentin, Markus Melchior and Daniel Brick, especially as an appreciable section of the young people, imbued with Jewish consciousness, are being drawn to Aliyah to Israel.

Hungary's Jewish press

David Schön

"Hungary" embraces, in this review, all the areas belonging to the state down to the end of World War I. When the Hapsburg Monarchy broke down, the successor states annexed 71% of the area of Hungary with 58% of its former general population. As for the Jews, 51% remained outside the reduced frontiers of the state as laid down in the Trianon Peace Treaty, the remainder becoming Rumanian, Czechoslovak, Polish and Italian citizens. According to the 1920 census, there were 473,353 Jewish residents in the reduced area of Hungary, of whom 215,560 (45.5%) were resident in the capital Budapest.

Despite the basic changes that set in as a result of the crumbling of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Jews preserved their attachment to Hungary. This attachment found expression first of all in their organisational frameworks, the outstanding distinguishing mark of which was the complete separation between the Orthodox and the "Neologues", so much so that they found it impossible to meet in a common cemetery. The second distinguishing mark is their close attachment to the Hungarian language and culture. Fifty years after the political changes (including the Holocaust) that had set in, the Jews still constitute a primary factor in the editorial staffs of newspapers appearing in the Hungarian language in Slovakia, Transylvania and Yugoslavia, as well as in Hungarian schools, the theatre and literature. This Hungarian singularity has left its mark also in the State of Israel.

Another important detail is that the Jews of the abovementioned areas were taken to Auschwitz in the time of the Holocaust and that the overwhelming majority (about 600,000) of them perished in the death camps. Only the Jews of Southern Transylvania, which then belonged to Rumania, escaped this fate. And so, about 120,000 Jews remained in the Budapest Ghetto, which was incidentally the only Ghetto in the whole of occupied Europe which the Germans did not manage to liquidate. The number of Hungarian-speaking Jews is today estimated at over 500,000, of whom about 200,000 are living in Israel.

The Jewish press in Hungary had its beginnings at the time of the general foment in the '40s of the last century, and all these beginnings experienced a common fate—their first issues were, in most cases, also their last. In the best of cases only a few issues appeared. A period of forty years elapsed until the first weekly *Egyenlöseg* appeared and continued to be published for many years.

The first Jew to engage in the editing of a paper in Hungarian was Herman Klein who, in 1842, brought out a Jewish paper in German called *Der Ungar* (The Hungarian), but this paper ceased publication after the appearance of several issues. It is universally conceded, however, that the pioneer of the Jewish press in Hungary was Leopold Loew, the Rabbi of Segedin, who in 1847 began publishing *Magyar Zsinagóga* (The Hungarian Synagogue). The only issue of this publication appeared in the city of Papa (where Loew was Rabbi at the time). In a leading article, the editor proposed a translation of the Bible into Hungarian (and by way of demonstration published a passage from the Book of Joel)—a plan that was fully implemented only 60 years later.

Leopold Loew, Rabbi and researcher in the field of Jewish studies, was one of the founders of the liberal stream and an outstanding figure in the 19th century. Born at Czernahora (Moravia), he was educated at various Yeshivot and subsequently at the Universities of Vienna and Budapest, and in 1841 was appointed Rabbi of Nagykanizsa. From 1846 he served as Rabbi of Papa. In 1848 Loew was among the supporters of the Hungarian Revolt and when that was suppressed he was imprisoned but released at the end of 1849. Loew was one of the protagonists of the struggle for equality of rights for the Jews of Hungary, in exchange for which he demanded that the Jews adopt, in addition to their duties as citizens, also the goals and aspirations of the

national Hungarian society. He is usually regarded as the direct opposite of Rabbi Moshe Sofer (better known as the "Hatam Sofer"), Rabbi of Bratislava, at present the capital of Slovakia, who combated these tendencies. The influence of these two personalities accompanied Hungarian Jewry down to the days of the Holocaust: Leopold Loew was teacher and mentor of the Neologues whereas Rabbi Moshe Sofer was the Halachic authority for Orthodox Jewry.

Hungarian Jewry is composed of two different elements: East European Jewry on the one hand and West European Jewry on the other. As from the middle of the 18th Century, two different streams of Jewish immigrants began flowing to Hungary through Moravia in the West and Galicia in the East. Somewhat belatedly, the Berlin Enlightenment, founded by Moses Mendelssohn, began making incursions to Hungary through Moravia whereas the Chassidic Movement began spreading in the country through the medium of the Jews of Galicia and Bukovina. These two distinct sectors never merged, and this fact became clear in the 60s of the last Century when the Hungarian Government reached an agreement with the Emperor of Austria resulting in the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. By dint of this agreement, Hungary attained independence in several spheres and the government which decided to organise also the religious, educational and cultural life of its Jewish citizens, in 1868 invited the representatives of Hungarian Jewry so that they might themselves decide on the path to follow. When the leaders of traditional Judaism realised that the government sided with the Reform trend, which had a tendency to Hungarian-national assimilation, and did everything (even at the cost of pressures and falsifications) so that they might attain a formal majority, they withdrew from the Conference and declared a ban on its deliberations and resolutions. That was the first step towards a complete split which, in the course of time, was transformed into a form of life and outlook. These two factions united only some 70 years later when they both found themselves in the Ghettoes and in the trains that took them to the extermination camps.

It is natural that the first Jewish paper in Hungary should have been born under the influence of the "Enlightenment". The spokesman of Orthodox Jewry also discovered, albeit at a later period, the force inherent in an organ of expression. At no time, however, did they ascribe the same value and importance to a newspaper as did the secular section of Jewry. The handing down of the Law of Sinai wielded more influence on their approach to any given problem than the most convincing of leading articles in a paper.

In the first decade after the 1848 revolt, no one as much as attempted to bring out a Jewish paper. The first step in this direction was taken in 1858, again on the initiative of Leopold Loew. He brought out a "Jewish Theological Monthly" under the name of *Ben-Hananya* in the town of Szeged in the German language, because the editor had two objectives in mind: on the one hand, he wished to create a link with the supporters of the liberal trend in the West, whose language was German, and on the other hand, he wished to create a platform for Jewish *Wissenschaft* the "official" language of which in those days was German. *Ben-Hananya* appeared for nine consecutive years and Loew succeeded in rallying around his monthly the best writers and scholars, both in Hungary and abroad, who dealt with all the problems of society, politics and learning connected with Judaism and especially in all matters relating to Emancipation. This monthly is regarded down to the present day as the most important document reflecting the cultural aspirations of Hungarian Jewry.

Towards the '60s of the last Century, a change set in in the attitude of Austria towards the Hungarian rebels, and the authorities introduced several concessions in the direction of a liberalisation of the regime, including freedom of the press. In 1860 there appeared in Budapest the paper called *Carmel*—which bore the sub-title *Allgemeine Judenzeitung* (General Jewish paper) and several months later there appeared a weekly in the Hungarian language entitled *Magyar Izraelita* (The Hungarian Jew).

In 1864 there appeared also a weekly called *Izraelita Közöny* (Jewish Mouthpiece). All these publications represented the new trend whereas Orthodox Jewry continued to have resort to the old communications medium—the "placard" pasted up on the walls of synagogues or houses of study.

In Hungary the struggle between the Liberals and the

Orthodox took on a special character bearing a local stamp. In the demands by the Liberals for equality of rights in Hungary, there was actually a covert proposal for a "package deal" somewhat to the following effect: The Austrians will sooner or later make peace with you and you, Hungarians, will be the sole rulers of the enlarged state. We are on the threshold of a period of tremendous development. We Jews know German and have links with all parts of the world. From the purely practical standpoint, therefore, it would be to your advantage to grant us equality, freedom of movement and action. However, when you take over the government, you will be faced with serious problems. You have no majority without us .... You will undoubtedly try to convert the minorities into loyal citizens; you will try to "Hungarise" them, to build Hungarian schools for them; to impart the Hungarian language to them. How will you be able to do that without us? There are thousands of villages throughout the country where a Hungarian foot had never trodden. We, however, are fully integrated among them. It is the Jew who runs the local "pub", who is the local merchant, who imports and exports. It is he who maintains good relations with the village priest and teacher, with the secretary of the village council and the members of the police. His "pub" is a sort of meeting-house where the affairs of the village are thrashed out and where public opinion is formed. Even elections to Parliament will be unable to bring you satisfaction without the active support of the Jews. Furthermore, there is a vast difference between us and the other national minorities. On the other side of the border they have their brethren living and they naturally tend to irredentism, but as far as we are concerned, the road to Jerusalem is long .... True, we adhere to ancient religious laws and practices; we recite our prayers in the Hebrew language, we express yearning for Zion, but we are prepared to make a far-reaching revision. In exchange for equality of rights, we are prepared to become full-fledged Magyars, patriots heart and soul—"Magyars of the Jewish confession", the same as Magyars of any other confession —Catholics, Protestants, Unitarians, etc. We shall be the standard bearers of the Hungarian language and culture. The pioneers of "Hungarisation" among the national minorities.

That was the basic philosophy of the Neologues. In exchange for a national assimilation among the Hungarians, all they asked for was religious autonomy.

The first papers in Hungary tried to convince the Jewish masses that equality of rights carried in its wings a glorious future and that the price that they were asked to pay was worthwhile. In this goal they saw the be all and end all even after the publication of the law of equality, and the central paper which served as a guide for Hungarian Jewry for a period of 57 years (until the abolition of the achievements of the Emancipation in 1938), *Egyenlöseg* (Equality) continued to appear.

In the first stage Orthodox Jewry accepted the stand of the "Hatam Sofer", Rabbi Moshe Sofer, who was opposed to equality of rights. He believed (as was subsequently borne out in reality) that equality would lead to Reform and assimilation. He was of the opinion, as one historian put it, that "equality of rights would indeed grant the Jews civil rights but in exchange deprive them of their soul". But although, to begin with, they accepted the "Hatam Sofer's" attitude, they acquiesced de facto in Emancipation and enjoyed its fruits. Exactly 40 years after the "Hatam Sofer's" death, his son, Rabbi Shimon Sofer, was elected a member of the Austrian Parliament and the Orthodox press was jubilant over the fact that "we have been privileged to see 'Torah and greatness' in one and the same place". The writers of the articles were inclined to read an act of "the sanctification of the name" in the very fact that Rabbi Sofer conducted "Mincha" prayers with a Minyan in one of the halls in the Parliament building.

In the year 1867, which was a year of great changes in the life of Hungary, there set in a departure also insofar as the Jewish press was concerned. The orthodox trend, which was known by the name of "Shomrei Dat", had come to the conclusion that in its struggle for rights and independence, it had to employ modern communications media, namely the press. On November 10, 1867, the first orthodox newspaper made its appearance in Budapest. It was a weekly called *Magyar Zsido* (Hungarian Jew), and was edited by Albert Farkas. In 1869, the editorship was entrusted to Zigmund Kraus, who had made a name for himself as a sharp controversialist and fearless fighter for the rights of

Orthodoxy. Three years later, in 1870, the paper was closed down, but Orthodox Jewry no longer gave up an organ of its own: for ten years running there appeared in Budapest *Shevet Achim,* its official organ (in the German language but in Hebrew characters), under the editorship of Yitzhak Reich. As from 1888, the Orthodox community published a daily paper called *Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung.* Its language was pure German but in Hebrew transliteration. It had the clear purpose of manifesting Conservatism and separatism. This approach was taken up also in the Synagogue. Sermons in the Hungarian language were absolutely forbidden whereas German was universally used. This daily paper appeared in Budapest for over 30 years. With the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the division of the State, the paper lost its contacts with the majority of its readers and was closed down. Later on, the Hungarian orthodoxy brought out a weekly in the Hungarian language in Budapest (under the editorship of Leopold Grosberg).

Hungarian Jewry had gained civil and political emancipation and there was great jubilation in the progressive Jewish camp. True, victory was not complete: despite assistance from Government factors, hegemony did not pass into their hands. The Orthodox withdrew from the general organisation and Kaiser Franz Joseph I granted them autonomy. In the process of their organisation, they realised that they constituted a majority and the progressives were forced to recede and so declare that they, too, abided by the Shulchan Aruch. No one spoke about religious reform any longer. The War was conducted over the hesitant elements who called themselves adherents to the "status quo" and preferred not to join any party.

The establishment of the joint monarchy granted the Hungarian people not only political liberty and an elected Government but also economic prosperity. In the development of the State the Jews played a decisive role—in commerce, industry, banking, shipping, building, the Stock Exchange, insurance, etc. When a Hungarian nobleman bearing a resounding historical name appeared as President of a vast concern, then it was clear that in most cases his function was nominal. It concerned a Gentile who, for a sizeable sum of money, had agreed to lend his name to the list of Jewish directors.

However, Jewish achievements in the field of the arts were characterised by precaution. They advanced in slow steps. Data at the end of the 19th Century shows that about 20% of the painters, sculptors, actors, musicians, etc., were Jews. On the other hand, the press became a Jewish estate. Of the 1214 editors of newspapers and periodicals, 516 were Jews. The Jewish journalist moulded public opinion. They edited most of the daily papers of large circulation, leaving the papers published under the patronage of the Church and periodicals of an antisemitic stamp in the hands of non-Jewish editors. For antisemitism reared its head simultaneously with the economic upsurge. The capitalist developments undermined the old economic and social structure in the whole of Europe but the opposition between industry and agriculture was nowhere so pronounced as in Hungary. And so a deep hatred arose towards the new regime, the representatives and standard bearers of which were Jews.

And so it happened that less than eight years after the Jews had achieved their longed for equality, one of the Deputies in Parliament belonging to the ruling liberal party, delivered an antisemitic speech in the House. The antisemitic Deputies, who had united into a strong Parliamentary faction, complained about the marked influence of the Jews, particularly in the press.

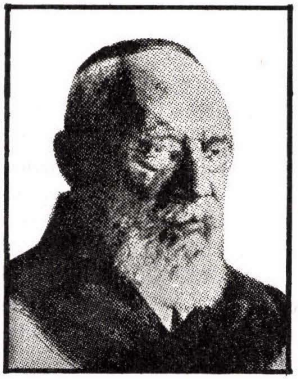
The antisemitic foment reached its peak in 1883, at the time of the notorious Tisza-Eszler blood libel which formed a chapter in itself in the history of Hungarian Jewry. Natanal Katzburg, the historian of antisemitism in Hungary, established that "from the point of view of the echoes and reactions in various countries, particularly from the point of view of their influence on the Jewish world, there was no antisemitic manifestation from the Damascus Libel down to the Dreyfus affair that had aroused such great interest. That was the first blood libel trial of its scope conducted on modern legal lines in a country that was generally regarded as liberal."

The Tisza-Eszler blood libel marked a departurre also in the Jewish press in Hungary. At the time of the trial the urgent need arose of a Jewish paper that would present a comprehensive and faithful picture of the trial itself and that would combat the antisemitic press that published sheaves of material from so-called "experts" proving, on the

basis of so-called "sources" from the Talmud and Rabbinic literature, that the Jews made use of Christian blood in the baking of Matzot. The War against the antisemites aroused the need of a newspaper in the language of the State whereas the orthodox press was brought entirely in Hebrew or "Jewish German". And so, it came about that the work was done by the Neologues. And so the paper *Egyenlöseg* (Equality) entered the picture. As already mentioned, the antisemitic foment commenced shortly after the granting of emancipation. Already in the first decade, the opinion was voiced that the law had to be abrogated and mention was made of a new law that would forbid Jews to acquire immovable property and that would introduce a "numerus clausus" in several of the free professions, such as banking, the law, journalism, etc. At the end of the 1870s several memoranda were presented to the Government by various districts demanding, among other things, an abrogation of the emancipation law.

In order to defend the achievements of the emancipation, the weekly *Egyenlöseg* was founded in 1881. Its founder and editor was Bogdany Mór a sharp controversialist who gained fame by the novels that he had written. At the time of the trial in 1883 *Egyenlöseg* began to appear as a daily and its circulation rose. The paper published comprehensive reviews of the trial and fought vehemently against the wicked libel. After the trial, when spirits subsided and the tension dropped, interest in the paper was also reduced, and so *Egyenlöseg* became a weekly again. But financially it rested on weak foundations. In 1886 Mór handed over the paper to one of his assistants Miklós Szabolsci who, until then, served as deputy editor. This paper, which had undergone various metamorphoses, had served for almost ninety years, ever since its first appearance, as the official organ of Hungarian Jewry. The paper was closed down twice; in 1919 during the Communist regime of Bela Kun together with all the other "bourgeois" papers, and in October 1944, when Fraz Solasci head of the "Arrow Cross" Movement rose to power. The Jews of Budapest were then closed in a Ghetto and massacres and excesses commenced.

In 1938, when the "Jewish laws" were introduced, *Magyar Zsidó Ujság* (the newspaper of Hungarian Jews) appeared as the official paper of the Union of Jewish Communities. During the German occupation it served as the organ of the "Judenrat", and on orders from Eichmann and his henchmen, it endeavoured to "soothe" Hungarian Jewry. One recalls especially the leading article entitled: "Work and do not despair!", which appeared at the time of the deportations when scores of thousands of Jews were transported at accelerated rates to Auschwitz. After the liberation, the editorial staff was reorganised and since then a paper by the name of *Uj Elet* (New Life) has been appearing twice monthly as the official organ of the Centre of Jewish Communities in Hungary. It is entirely oblivious of the existence of the State of Israel. Even at the time when the two countries maintained diplomatic relations, the paper refrained from printing news concerning Israel. Even in rare cases, when the news item concerned Israel, the name "Israel" is always left out. For example, when celebrations were held on the occasion of the 80th birthday of Max Brod, no mention was made of the fact that the writer was living in Israel and that the celebrations took place in Tel Aviv.



Leopold Loew



Miklós Szabolsci

Szabolsci was among the workers on *Egyenlöseg,* at the time on the Tisza-Eszlar blood libel trial. A former Yeshiva student and a gifted and ambitious young man, he had decided to unravel the mystery of the disappearance of the Christian girl who, according to the accusations had been slaughtered by the Jews, who had made use of her blood

for the baking of Matzot. Szabolsci had contacted the accused and the witnesses and learned that confessions had been extracted from them by torture. He exerted influence upon them to file complaints against their investigators, intervention led to a renewal of the enquiry, as a result of which the accused were acquitted.

As from 1886 Szabolsci was, for almost thirty years, the publisher and editor of *Egyenlöseg*. The paper developed speedily and became the organ and guide of Hungarian Jewry insofar as their political, social and cultural aspirations were concerned. It left an indelible impress on Hungarian Jewry, and from the point of view of its influence, it was unique of its kind in its time. In the period in which he edited the paper, Hungarian Jewry had reached unprecedented economic achievements and political influence, and numbered close to 1,000,000—one of the most important communities in the whole of Europe. Despite the fact that Szabolsci combated Orthodoxy, its influence was considerable also in the Orthodox camp. At the beginning of the present Century, when one began to wonder whither Hungarian Jewry was heading, someone remarked mockingly: "After all, what's the problem? The sons of the Neologues are converting to Christianity, the sons of the Orthodox are becoming Neologues; the sons of the Chassidim are becoming shaven Orthodox whereas Galicia is maintaining a flow of reinforcements to the Chassidic camp, so that the status quo is assured for ever and aye . . .". This remark was made in ironic vein but it nonetheless expressed a bitter truth. The data concerning mixed marriages and conversions to Christianity bear this out. The "Hungarian Jewish Lexicon" contains hundreds of entries about Hungarian Jews who distinguished themselves in the economic, political, scientific, literary, artistic fields, etc., and carries a star by the side of the names of those who had converted to Christianity. The outstanding fact was that the Lexicon was strewn with stars.

After the acquittal of the accused, in the blood libel trial, *Egyenlöseg* launched a struggle for an equality in status of the Jewish religion with that of the Christian religion. "The reception of the Jewish religion" (that was the name of the legal act) meant that every Jew was in duty bound to belong to the community and that the community had the right to impose taxation on its members and the right of receiving a fixed allocation from the Government budget to cover expenses. This struggle was conducted beside the editor of the paper by the leading party keyworkers of Jewish extraction. After a prolonged Parliamentary struggle (the priesthood opposed the "Reception"), the law was passed in 1895 and all looked upon it as a tremendous victory for *Egyenlöseg*.

On the initiative of *Egyenlöseg,* a series of institutions of a country-wide nature was established, one of them being "Kozalap" (public fund) which was set up to mark the granting of equality to the Jewish religion "in order to encourage the development of Hungarian Jewry in the national spirit" (obviously the spirit of Hungarian nationalism . . .). The Fund allocated the sum of 150 Crowns (a vast sum in those days) to young officers, graduates of the Military Academy, of the name of "Ludovika". It set up Hungarian schools for Jewish children in the Hungarian-Galician border region, granted scholarships to young Jewish artists and scientists, and supported widows and orphans. Among the cultural enterprises set up on the initiative of *Egyenlöseg,* mention should be made of IMIT (the Jewish Hungarian Society for Literature), which ever since its foundation in 1894 down to the Holocaust developed a ramified literary and scientific activity. Among other things, it brought out the Scriptures in scientific Hungarian translation, a History of the Jewish People and a History of Jewish Literature. The Association's Annuals (close to 40 volumes appeared), are regarded as a veritable treasure house of literary creations, data about Hungarian Jewish life, historical documents and folklore. The Association was headed by famous men in the field of Jewish Wissenschaft.

Egyenlöseg had three principal adversaries: Orthodoxy, Zionism and antisemitism. In its first years it combated religious antisemitism and in the year 1917 it began to fight against "scientific" antisemitism. It changed its policy also in regard to Zionism. For a long time it maintained a derisive policy towards Zionism, spoke about young people who were day-dreamers, who dreamed about a Jewish State and a Jewish Army. But, with the first sproutings of the Third Aliyah, it declared an outright war against Zionism, describing it as treachery against the State.

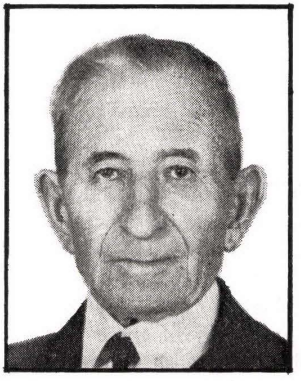
After the founder's death, the editorship was taken over by his eldest son, Dr. Lajos Halasz who was a gifted poet

and endeavoured to give his readers an insight into Chassidic literature, particularly from German translations and adaptations. Halasz the son, also headed the paper for close to thirty years, but never gained successes or victories. After the First World War (1914–1918), and the truncation of the area of Hungary, there arose a strong antisemitic movement; a "numerus clausus" was introduced for higher education, and most of the public offices were closed to Jews. Graduates of High Schools were forced to go abroad and, on the initiative of *Egyenlöseg,* a Committee was set up to look after students without means. The material existence of the paper was, it is true, secure also during these years, but from the point of view of its public standing, it had sunk to a low. New spirits had begun to make themselves felt in Europe; Hitler was rising in power and there was no doubt that Hungary, which was continually talking about a "revision" and the return of "pillaged" territories—would join him. In this general atmosphere of antisemitism, the name "Equality" at the head of a Jewish paper, could arouse only derision, or in the best of instances—pity ....

In 1937 a "law concerning the limitation of Jewish rights" was tabled in the Hungarian Parliament. When the law was passed, it transpired that it did not satisfy the demands of the extremists, who increased in number from day to day. A new law was, therefore, tabled, requiring the removal of Jews from among other places, newspaper staffs and theatres. The large papers in Jewish ownership were closed down and *Egyenlöseg* was forced to change its name. Signs of the Holocaust appeared on the horizon.

This survey is intended to describe the history of the Jewish press in Hungary—that is the press written by Jews for Jewish readers. But there was a Jewish press of a different kind in Hungary as well. Despite the fact that its editors made desperate efforts that it should be of a general-liberal nature and even Hungarian-nationalist in character, both Jews and non-Jews knew full well that it was actually a Jewish press. So long as the Jews of Hungary enjoyed (at least in theory) equality of rights, this hidden Jewish press was allowed to exist. But, on the introduction of the "Jews laws" it disappeared altogether. It proved to be the first victim of the Holocaust, whereas the turn of the expressly Jewish press came round six years later when the Jewish masses began to be transported to the death camps.

How did it happen that in Hungary's heyday the press was almost entirely in Jewish hands? The evidence given by Miklós Farago a well-known journalist before World War I, is of interest. (After the Holocaust Farago joined his children who live in Eretz Israel, and he died in 1972 at the age of 87. Down to his last day, he contributed regularly to *Ui Kelet,* the Hungarian Daily published in Tel Aviv.) Farago was in his time a member of the editorial board of



Miklós Farago



Joseph Patai

Az Est (The Evening), the most widely circulated paper in Budapest. As one of the shining stars in the firmament of Hungarian journalism, Farago was deeply involved in the political life of the country and had a close knowledge of the moulders of public opinion. In an essay on the Hungarian press, he writes:

"I want to say why over 90% of the journalists were Jews and how it happened that this Jewish press had no connection whatever with Judaism. In order to understand this strange phenomenon it should be remembered that after the 'conciliation' of the year 1867 (referring to the agreement for cooperation between Hungary and Austria), the layer of the Hungarian middle class was so thin that even the addition of the gentry (lower nobility) could not supply the manpower needed to fill the place of the Austrians in the government officialdom in the regional administrative network and in the municipalities. There was also need to provide a cadre of officers for the new Hungarian Army.

The Jewish youth who, upon the granting of equality, had succeeded in becoming "Hungarianised" had a vast field of activity open to it especially as the period coincided with the spiralling development of capitalism. Thus, the Hungarian Jewish youth created the modern commerce, the industry, the banking institutions and obviously also the "by-product" of all these—the modern press. It did not come up against impediments in any field for the simple reason—that the Hungarian middle class realised at the time that this hunting field was not at all suitable to it. ... The two large papers *Az Est* (The Evening) and *A Vilag* (The World), began to appear at about the same time. ... As far as I recall, on the editorial board of *A Vilag* only the editor-in-chief, Dr. Jartin, was a Gentile, and he, too, migrated to America after some time and his place was taken by a Jew, Ludwig Furies. On the editorial staff of *Az Est,* when it first began publication, there were in all two Gentiles among the 20–22 journalists who worked on it—Laszlo Fenyes and Dr. Lajos Halasz.

But, when they began scrutinising who was a Jew and who was a 'Gentile by birth', the genealogy of these two also became suspect... The journalists of Jewish extraction did everything in their power (even subconsciously) that the paper should bear a Hungarian character ... They, therefore, took every precaution that the Hungarian should not be able to discern between the lines the Jew who was at work. For that reason, every matter of Jewish interest insofar as it was not immediately clear that it served Hungarian national interests, should be suppressed. That is why the Jewish journalists and the Jewish public workers kept on declaring repeatedly that Zionism was treason against the Homeland. If the press in that liberal period had been in Christian hands, the whole of the Jewish question would have received a more favourable treatment because a true Hungarian does not always feel the need of walking about in underwear of a Red-White-Green colour (the colours of the Hungarian national flag). A true Gentile does not have to prove that he is Hungarian whereas a Jew has to do so every hour of the day and night."

It is usual to ascribe developments in Hungarian Jewry to the internal rift that took place 100 years ago, which in addition to the split between the two camps, led also to Hungarian Jewry being cut off from the body of the Jewish people. Not only had Neologian Jewry become a peculiar creature but even Orthodox Jewry had withdrawn and closed itself in specific frameworks. A sort of specific Jewish-Hungarian Ghetto had arisen, without any window to the general Jewish world. The most painful outcome was that the Jews of Hungary acted as they did in 1944. Despite the news that reached them throughout the years about the horrors of the Holocaust, they did not want to believe that a similar fate lay in wait also for them. That is why the "Hungarian chapter" constitutes the most tragic chapter in the whole of the history of the Holocaust.

If we accept the approach of Farago the internal rift and segregation did not succeed in crystallising within a few score of years a specific character essentially different from the general Jewish character. The truth is that this process was fed by the covert Jewish press which intentionally blurred boundaries and educated its readers to complete assimilation. From this point of view, the evidence of Herzl, who visited Budapest, the city of his birth, many times after the Zionist Congress, but the general press entirely ignored him, is of interest. Herzl conducted negotiations also with the owners of the newspaper *Egyenlöseg,* but without success. He once said to his cousin Jena Herzl Haltai, who was a famous journalist, writer and playwright: "Make even a Red-White-Green Zionism as long as you make it, because Hungarian Jewry stands in need and will continue to stand in need of Zionism".

To another editor (Erno Mezei) he wrote as follows, about a year before his death: "... I would readily give up the Jews of Hungary if I knew that through their patriotism they would escape the evils of antisemitism. I do not like to speculate on the ills of my fellow creatures, but I feel certain that the Hungarian Jews too will be pursued by their fate—and the later their doom comes the more difficult and more cruel it will be. The deeper the roots they strike in the country, their fate will be the more horrible. There is no escape from the plague of antisemitism and then they will be able to 'make their Sabbath' with their patriotism. Meanwhile, we, who are given to derision, will arise and build a spacious home for those creatures who today do not want to know anything about us."

David Wolfson and Nahum Sokolov also tried their luck in Hungary but were to be sorely disappointed and em-

bittered. On the occasion of one of his visits, Sokolow is reported to have said that "Hungarian Jewry is the dead branch on the tree of the Jewish people".

Until the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918, two newspapers held unlimited sway, as we have already mentioned, in the Jewish community in Hungary: the weekly *Egyenlöseg* brought out by the Neologues, and the daily *Allegemeine Jüdische Zeitung* brought out by the Orthodox. The other publications served mainly professional interests such as the monthly of the communal officials, the organ of the Jewish teachers, the monthly of the Association of Rabbis, etc. For a short period there appeared also a women's paper called *Magyar Zsidó Nö.*

At the beginning of the Century (1903) an attempt was made to bring out a Zionist paper. Its first editor was Ermin Bokor and the paper's name was *Zsidó Neplap.* But the paper did not last for very long. The second attempt was called *Zsidó Elet* (Jewish Life), also edited by Bokor. But it soon followed in the footsteps of its predecessor. In 1908 there appeared in Budapest a monthly entitled: *Magyar Cionista Szervezet* (The Hungarian Zionist Organisation). It was a modest publication, consisting in all of four small pages. A year later *Zsidó Szemle* (Jewish Review) came out, first as a monthly and later on as a fortnightly. Only as from 1918 did the paper begin to appear as a weekly (as from 1925 and onwards under the editorship of Dr. Joseph Schoenfeld), but it never reached a sizeable circulation nor did it carry any public weight.

Herzl's prophecy was realised with astounding exactitude: after the loss of 600,000 Jews in the Holocaust, the majority of Hungarian Jewry joined the Zionist Movement. In 1946, 93,616 surviving Jews in Hungary purchased the Zionist Shekel. The Zionist press, too, flourished, but its golden era did not last for very long. The moment that the regime was taken over by the Communists (1948) all activity was paralysed and a silence descended over Hungarian Jewry.

The monthly of Dr. Joseph Patai *Mult és Jövö* (Past and Future), which came out in Budapest from 1911 down to the period of the Holocaust, succeeded in creating for itself special status. In fact, an attempt was made to renew it also after the Holocaust. Dr. Patai (formerly Klein), the son of Orthodox parents, had studied in famous Yeshivot


UNGARLÄNDISCHE
JUEDISCHE ZEITUNG
No. 1. Budapest, 10 [illegible] 1915. VIII. Jahrgang.

German-language Jewish newspaper issued in Budapest during WWI

and at the Neologue Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest, received the degree Doctor of Philosophy, and served for many years in the Real High School of Budapest as teacher of Hungarian and German languages and literature. A man of great learning and enlightenment, he was also a gifted poet, and at the age of 18 brought out a book of Hebrew poems entitled "Shaashuei Alumim" (The Delights of Youth). He also engaged in publicistics and criticism and before long joined the editorial staff of *Egyenlöseg.* But, the Zionist Patai (who was later to become Herzl's biographer), a devotee of the Hebrew language and literature (he subsequently translated and published in five volumes a splendid anthology of Hebrew poetry from Yehuda Halevy down to the poets of the Hebrew Renaissance in the Twenties of the present Century), failed to find his proper place on the editorial board of *Egyenlöseg* and decided to found a platform of his own.

Dr. Patai set his monthly a very high literary and artistic standard. The contributors included the best writers, artists and men of learning in Hungary and other countries. Each issue served as a monograph on a certain theme, devoted to one of the great Jewish creations. The illustrations, too, were of a high artistic standard and, thanks to this monthly, Hungarian Jewry received information about Jewish literature and art.

Dr. Patai made incursions through the breaches that revealed themselves after the historical rift and herein is to be found the secret of his success. On all occasions he declared that his monthly had no connection whatever with politics and he addressed himself to every Jew—Orthodox as well as Neologue. He adopted this policy also in regard to the



Jewish newspapers in various languages that appeared in Hungary; some of them continue to appear in Argentina and Israel

Jewish national revival. For him, Eretz Israel was the holy land and Hebrew the holy language. He wanted to avert opposition at all costs and primarily on the part of the spokesmen of the two official Jewish factions. This policy proved to be justified. "Past and Future" was widely circulated among all classes and was read avidly even by Jews who had passed the threshold into Christianity. That was a special group of subscribers who received the monthly into their homes in a closed envelope ... "Past and Future" engaged also in book publishing and, within a short time, became a flourishing business.

The great privilege of the monthly lay in the fact that in 1926 there was established on its initiative a body called "The Union of Hungarian Jews for Palestine". The name

"Zion" was not mentioned. Its programme spoke first of all about the creation of economic and cultural ties between Hungary and Palestine, about support for the scientific work done by the University in Jerusalem and about furthering the sentimental and scientific interests of the Holy Land. There was also a Department for the development of the Holy Land (in other words the "Keren Hayesod") and a Department for Land Settlement (parallel to "Jewish National Fund"). This plan received the approval of the authorities and Jews of high standing, such as Barons and Royal Counsellors agreed to stand at the head of the organisation.

Dr. Patai's monthly took its first steps in the liberal period that preceded World War I, but it waned when Hungary was occupied by the Nazis (1944) and the Jews were expelled to the extermination camps. In the interim there was a relatively short period (1919–1923) when "Past and Future" appeared as a political weekly and fought the battle of Jewry against its enemies. Hungarian Jewry then experienced a very difficult period. The War ended in military defeat, the revolution broke out and at a certain stage, the Communists, headed by the Jew Bela Kun, took over. With the assistance of the Allies, the Communist regime was deposed and the Government was taken over by Admiral Horty, who introduced the "White Course" which had a markedly antisemitic character. The new regime claimed that the Communists were to blame for the national disaster and this trend was identified with Jewry. Horty's men made pogroms on the Jews and, in the first National Assembly, anti-Jewish legislation was promulgated. In 1920, the "numerus clausus" law was passed. In these years of crisis Dr. Patai proved himself to be a fearless fighter, who fought the battle of his oppressed brethren at very great danger to himself. In 1923, the weekly was closed down by the authorities and Dr. Patai decided to bring out his monthly after its former model.

In 1938, Dr. Patai handed over the editorship of the monthly to a relative and came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel, building his home at Givatayim on the street that bears his name to the present day. In 1942, when he attained the age of 60, a special Committee brought out his selected works in Hebrew in four volumes. He died in the Spring of 1953.

The role played by the Hebrew language in the Hungarian Jewish press was very small. Local conditions led to the fact that Jewish learning found no foothold in Hungary. Nonetheless, there did exist a vitality and urge of creativeness among the handful of learned Jews in Hungary, and it is this vitality that led to the appearance of several Hebrew papers in the '70s of the last Century.

In 1874, there appeared at Marmaros Sziget an informative-publicistic Hebrew weekly called *Hator,* edited by Abraham Ginzler. About a year later, Jacob Fisher of Pressburg (Bratislava) brought out a Hebrew weekly called *Hayehudi,* which was literary in character. At about the same time, Yehuda Leib Landesburg of Oradea, founded a monthly called *Beit Vaad Lahahamim.* It was conservative in character and did not digress from the moderate "Haskala" (Enlightenment) which dealt mainly with research, linguistics, grammar, poetry, etc.



Ernst Marton

The scholar Yosef Cohen, drew up a bibliographical list of the Hebrew and Yiddish press in Transylvania, over about 100 years which shows that in that region there appeared 58 newspapers and periodicals in Hebrew characters, of which 38 were in Hebrew and 20 in Yiddish. Of the 38 newspapers, 32 were periodicals devoted to Torah learning.

It is worthwhile mentioning two important publications in the Hebrew language—one in the field of Torah learning and the other in the field of Jewish Wissenschaft: the fort-

nightly entitled *Tel Talpiot* and the monthly entitled *Hatsofe Me'eretz Hagar*.

Tel Talpiot began its appearance in 1892 at Vaiczen under the editorship of Rabbi David Zvi Katzburg, and ushered in the publication of the ramified Torah press which flourished in Hungary from the end of the 19th Century and onwards. This fortnightly earned unusual success. The first issues were out of print immediately they were published and there was need to reprint them. The secret of its success is to be found in the fact that the editor devoted considerable space to topical Halachic problems, such as the quesion of civil marriage under the Halacha, the laws pertaining to proselytism as regards the offspring of such marriages, conditional "Kiddushin", the granting of dispensation to "Agunot" (deserted wives) on the basis of photographs, the baking of Matzot by machine and by electrically driven machinery. The publication also dealt with problems concerning the settlement of Eretz Israel, such as the purchase of Etrogim from Eretz Israel and the question of the secular schools in the country. Great historical value attaches also to the discussion of Zionism in the Orthodox camp in the pages of *Tel Talpiot* in the years 1897 and 1904. *Tel Talpiot* appeared for 45 years and was one of the few Hebrew periodicals that existed uninterruptedly for such a long period. It served as a faithful mirror of Torah literature in recent generations and contributions by the leading Rabbis of the generation were printed on its pages.

In the heyday of Jewish *Wissenschaft* in Europe, Hungary served as an important centre in this field of study. The German language then served as a lingua franca for various centres because it was a language spoken and read by scholars of both the West and the East. The group of Jewish


UJKELET

Uj Kelet, *founded in Cluj (1920), appears at present in Tel Aviv*

scholars that concentrated around the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest published, it is true, a periodical of its own in Hungarian, entitled *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* but the limitations of this language necessarily reduced its readership to Hungarian speakers only. There was need for a scientific platform in a language understood by wide circles. The Jewish scholars of Hungary, headed by Professor Yehuda Blau, decided to bring out a new Quarterly for Jewish *Wissenschaft* in the Hebrew language. Its first issue came out in 1911, and its appearance was interrupted by World War I. Its publication was renewed in 1921 when its name was changed to *Hatzofe Lehochmat Yisrael*. The editors point out that "the Hebrew language is the natural language of Jewish *Wissenschaft* and not only the language of learning and research into antiquities".

The editor, who was a noted scholar, succeeded in rallying around this publication the world's leading scholars and *Hatzofe Me'Eretz Hagar* speedily became one of the leading periodicals devoted to Jewish learning and created an honoured place for itself in the Jewish learned press.

The Jews of Hungary looked upon World War I as a a patriotic war and obviously the Jewish press, too, was imbued with a spirit of patriotism. It systematically reported on soldiers and officers of Jewish origin who had shown courage on the battlefield and had received decorations for their acts of valour. It is no mere coincidence that the first volunteers emanated from the Zionist Youth Movement. The Jewish Students Association "Maccabiah", which in 1914 had membership of close to 1,000, decided that all its members, without exception, must enlist and volunteer for service at the Front. This personal example was intended to show how unjust the antisemites were in dubbing the Jews as cowards and shirkers.

Many of the members of "Maccabiah" fell in battle, among them also the President of the Organisation and editor of its Organ, Teman Lajos. Many returned from the front with the highest decorations for distinction in battle.

In the autumn of 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy fell, the Jews of Hungary stood at the crossroads, and the question of national identity and political loyalty arose in all its seriousness. In this stormy period, there appeared at Klausenburg (Cluj) the capital of Transylvania, which in the wake of the war came under Rumanian rule, a small

weekly called *Uj Kelet* (The New East). Its editor was a 22-year old youth by the name of Ernst (Ezekiel) Marton, a law student, the son of a small town Orthodox Rabbi. He was one of the remnants of the Zionist Students Association "Maccabiah". The paper's programme was clear: to struggle for the implementation of the Zionist idea, and for the attainment of minority rights by the Jew and the upbuilding of a national Jewish life in the Diaspora. The National Movement of the Jews of Transylvania, for whom *Uj Kelet* served as an organ, raised its banner when the spiritual and political climate was most suitable for the purpose. In nearby Hungary ("The Motherland") antisemitism had run wild; pogroms were being staged against the Jews and it was difficult to identify oneself spiritually and culturally with a nation which harboured hatred and derision towards its Jewish citizens. The new Rumanian regime was interested in reducing the Magyar image of Transylvania, and so they looked with favour upon the crystallisation of the Jews as a separate national minority after the fashion of the veteran Germany minority. The Zionists launched an all-out campaign in the communities and everywhere received a clear majority. In the Orthodox communities the leadership was taken over by the Mizrachi, whereas in the Neologue communities by the General Zionists.

In 1920 *Uj Kelet* began to appear as a daily and many of the students and leading public workers rallied to its flag. Beside the daily paper, *Uj Kelet* published also an illustrated weekly called *A Föld* (The Earth), devoted to the upbuilding of Eretz Israel. A publishing house was also founded by the paper under the name of *Kadimah,* which succeeded in attracting the leading writers and poets.

Uj Kelet was also, from the professional point of view, a paper of high standard. To its merit must be ascribed the fact that it brought to its readers a feeling of Jewish unity and wholeness. Jews and non-Jews alike saw in *Uj Kelet* an expression of the authoritative opinion of Transylvanian Jewry. The antisemites, too, looked upon the paper as "the address of Judaism", and during the pogroms (1923 and 1927) the hooligans made their first attack on the paper, destroying the editorial offices and the printing shop and only then passed over to the synagogues in the city.

Uj Kelet appeared in Klausenburg for 22 years, and throughout that time was headed by Dr. E. Marton who, in the course of the years, became a revered Zionist leader who gained the highest respect from all quarters. It was he who delineated the clear-cut policy of the paper. In 1930, Dr. Marton was elected Deputy Mayor of Klausenberg (the first Jew to be elected to this office), and when the country-wide Jewish party was formed, Rumanian Jewry elected Dr. Marton to Parliament. In 1940, when the Northern region of Transylvania passed over to Hungary, the paper was closed down on orders from the authorities. Eight years later, the paper renewed its appearance in Tel Aviv, under the editorship of Dr. Marton (who died in 1960) and the writer of these lines.

The appearance of *Uj Kelet* in 1918 served as a spur to the development of the remaining Jewish press in this region. The Zionist Organisation in the district of Banat, brought out in the years 1920–1940 a weekly by the name of *Uj Kor* (New Times), whereas the centre of Orthodox communities brought out at Nagyvarad a weekly in Hungarian by the name of "The Truth". Each faction in the Zionist Movement brought out an organ of its own. The most widely circulated among them was the weekly *Népünk* (Our Nation), which appeared at Oradea in the years 1929–1940. The orientation of the paper was religious-Zionist, but it devoted considerable space to the internal strife that fomented the Orthodox communities and often led to the intervention of the authorities to scandals, to rifts and splintering. The owner of the paper was Alexander Wasserstrom, a Mizrachi activist in Transylvania, while its editor was the gifted journalist and writer Zoltan Leitner who, at the end of the 1930s, joined the Revisionist Movement.

In September, 1940, the Northern Region of Transylvania was annexed to Hungary and the Jewish press was paralysed. The general instructions were that all newspapers must obtain new permits from the new authority—but the Jewish papers were not granted the necessary permits. The fate of the Jewish papers on the Rumanian side of the border was similar. When the Northern region of Transylvania was cut off from the country and King Carol was forced to abdicate, the links between Rumania and Hitlerite Germany were strengthened. New decrees were issued against the Jews affecting also their papers, so that by the end of 1940, the last Jewish paper was closed down.

The coming four years were years of great suffering and enforced silence. The Jews of Northern Transylvania were subject, first of all, to the slow process of extermination (expulsions to Kamenetz-Podolsk in 1931 and the labour squads in the years 1942–43), but when Hungary was occupied by the Germans in March 1944, the process received increased momentum: in the months of May-June, 1944, all the Jews of Northern Transylvania were transported to Auschwitz, and among the young and strong people among them who passed through the selection, only a small percentage survived. The lot of the Jews resident in the southern district proved to be better: despite the evil decrees, they were not handed over to the Germans and lived to see the fall of this devil in human guise and the first glimmer of liberation.

After the Holocaust, attempts were made in Hungary and in Transylvania (the Northern district of which had meantime returned to Rumania) to reconstitute the Jewish press. One after another papers in Hungarian and Yiddish were founded, most of them serving the Zionist Movement over its various streams, and the minority the Yevsekzia. At first there even appeared signs of prosperity in these two factions. However, in the year 1948, when the Communists concentrated all the foci of power in their hands, including the press, the knell was rung also for these papers. The Jewish voice was silenced forever.

The Jewish press in Rumania

Meir Zayit

Rumania as a country under that name appeared on the map a little over 100 years ago. For a long period there existed two independent principalities—Walachia with its capital Bucharest, and Moldavia with its capital Jassi—that united in 1862, elected a Prince to reign over them, and so became the United Kingdom of Rumania. In 1918 this country expanded to become Great Rumania with the annexation of Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania. In a survey of the Jewish press in Rumania, we shall include the papers that appeared in old Rumania (Moldavia and Walachia) ever since their unification, as well as before that event. As for the remaining regions, we shall limit our survey to the press appearing in Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transylvania, Banat, or Marmorosh, during the period beginning 1918 when these regions became part of Rumania. A remark must be made as to the concept "Jewish press". We shall not limit ourselves to a survey of the papers published in Yiddish or Hebrew, but shall survey all the journals that engaged, in various languages, in specific Jewish affairs. Such papers appeared in Rumanian, Russian, (in Bessarabia), German, (in Bucovina), Hungarian (in Transylvania) and even in French.

The Jewish Press in Rumania has a long history and it may be said that it occupies one of the principal places from the historical point of view in the story of the Jewish press generally. The first newspapers in Rumania began to appear almost simultaneously in 1829: *Albina Rumanesc* (The Bee) in Rumanian, in Jassi, the capital of Moldavia and *Carierul Romanesc* in Bucharest. In 1855 there appeared the first two-language paper *Israelitul Romin*—in Rumanian and French.

In 1859 the journalist Marcu Feldman who began his career on the Rumanian paper *Zimbrul,* initiated the publication of a two-language paper called *Gazeta Evreiasca* (The Jewish Paper) of which only eleven issues were brought out in Jassi, whereas in Bucharest there appeared in the same year the paper *Time to Speak* in Yiddish which included many words and even whole sentences in Hebrew. This paper was brought out by circles close to Rabbi Malbim who fought the Rabbi's battles against his opponents.

In the 1860s, until about the middle of the 1870s, there appeared at least half-a-dozen two-language papers, mainly Rumanian and French. That was the period when an intellectual stratum began to be formed and the paper served as an important necessity in their life. It was then, too, that many Jewish immigrants from Galicia began arriving to Rumania. French influence left its mark on the whole of the country including the Jewish population, whereas the Galician Jews brought with them an attachment to German culture. Hence the linguistic mixture—French-Rumanian, German-Rumanian, Yiddish-French. As time went on, the Rumanian elements increased and most of the Jewish papers began appearing in Rumanian alone.

The first paper in Yiddish *Korot Haitim* (History of the Times), began appearing in Jassi, in 1855, that is seven years before the rise of the United Kingdom when Jassi was still the capital of the Principality of Moldavia. With interruptions of shorter or longer durations, the paper continued to appear for close to eight years.

The Yiddish paper, bearing the Hebrew name, *Hayoetz Leveth Yisrael b'Rumania* (Advisor to the Jews in Rumania), which was called *Hayoetz* in short, had a much longer life—over forty years. It commenced its appearance in 1873 in Bucharest, as a weekly, and as from 1885 as a bi-weekly. Only one prolonged interruption in publication took place throughout that period, when its editor was exiled from Rumania. He was Yehiel Michal Ouziel, the scion of a family that had been resident in Rumania for 500 years. Like all the periodicals of that time, *Hayoetz* was published in a Germanised Yiddish.



Yiddish newspapers in Rumania

From the pages of this paper are reflected the struggles of Rumania Jewry for civil rights, stormy historical affairs, such as the Dreyfus affair and its bearings in Rumania, etc. The paper brought out a library under the name "Die Yudische Bibliotek" which included novels, stories, etc.

Der Yudisher Telegraph is the only daily newspaper that at any time appeared in Rumania in Yiddish (apart from Bessarabia). Insofar as we are aware, it is also the first Jewish daily newspaper in the world. It began to appear on April 2, 1877 and its publication as a daily continued until September 15, 1878. Those were the days of the Russian War against the Turks. The Rumanians rebelled against the Turkish regime and joined the Russians. There were Jewish contractors and suppliers who looked after supplies to the army. These thirsted for news, and so it was possible to maintain a daily paper during that period. The publisher and editor was Joseph Uzileski, the son of founder of *Hayoetz* who added a Rumanian suffix to his Hebrew name, as other Jews were in the habit of doing. The paper carried news from the war, and it was also the first paper to print paid advertisements. After the closing down of the original *Hayoetz* he continued his father's enterprise under a slightly different name: *Der Wahre Hayoetz.*

Dos Folksblat which presented itself as a "political, literary, commercial and public organ of Rumanian Jewry was founded in April 1891, appearing every Friday. After some time it began appearing twice weekly, on Tuesdays and Fridays. Then its publication was interrupted but it was renewed again under the name *Dos Naye Folksblat.* Its purpose was to provide news from the communities, and from the world at large, about events in the State and in the provinces. The publisher and editor in chief was Gubber Sufrin. The editorial offices were situated in Jassi. One series of the paper appeared in the years 1891–2 and the second, in the years 1895–96.

In the history of the Jewish press in Rumania, in Yiddish and in Hebrew, an important and honourable place is occupied by Elazar Rokach, among the founders of Rosh Pina, who spent a long time in the service of Zionist work in Rumania. He founded newspapers and engaged in propaganda for Aliyah to Eretz Israel and the establishment of settlements there. Here are some of the newspapers that he founded in Yiddish. *Di Hofnung,* Piatra Neamtz, 1882, editor Elazar Rokach, appearing three times weekly. *Der Veker,* about which an announcement was carried in *Dos Naye Folksblat.* Its editor apparently was Elazar Rokach. It appeared twice weekly. It was transferred to Bucharest in 1896. *Der Yudischer Gaist*—Jassi, 1898. Appeared twice weekly. Editor—Elazar Rokach. There are undoubtedly other papers in Yiddish which carried the name of Elazar Rokach.

Der Veker, whose appearance was announced by *Dos Naye Folksblat,* was apparently the first weekly brought out by the Jewish Social Democratic circle, "Lumina" (The Light) founded in Jassi, and possibly also the first Jewish paper in Rumania with a socialist trend. The paper began to appear in Jassi every Friday in the year 1896.

Die Yudische Zukunft began to appear in Jassi once weekly in 1898. The publisher was M. Michoels. The editor was Uri Keish who founded and edited all types of newspapers, travelled through the Jewish townlets in order to gather subscriptions and donations for his publications, and became famous, and also symbolized the Jewish press in its decline.

Licht is a special and important phenomenon in that it was a collection of articles appearing four times annually under the editorship of Yaakov Botoshansky. Around this collection there gathered a group of the best Jewish writers in Rumania. Four issues in all appeared of this publication, but the influence of *Licht* transcended by far the limited number of issues of it that appeared.

In the field of the Hebrew Press, the relative poverty of Rumanian Jewry as compared with the Yiddish press comes to the fore. There is no doubt that in this field more than in Yiddish, the relative proximity of the Jewish centres in which the Hebrew press developed had its influence. Jewish intellectuals who knew Hebrew, from Jassi, Bucharest, Galatz, or other centres, received regularly the *Hashachar* from Vienna, *Hamaggid* from Luck, *Hatzefira* from Warsaw or *Hamelitz.* The Hebrew-reading public was far too small and so did not ensure a regular appearance and existence for the Hebrew press as was enjoyed by that appearing in Yiddish.

But here, as in the Yiddish press, the role of Elazar Rokach as initiator and pioneer is outstanding. He failed seven times or more, but always made new attempts. Apart from his there appeared also other names, some of them well-known in Hebrew literature and publicistics generally: The writer David Yeshayahu Zilberbush, well-known in Haskalah literature, who died at a ripe old age in Tel Aviv in 1936; M. Bronstein (Mibashan), author of a history of the Jewish people, text books, and translator, who was also a gifted journalist; the writer and public worker, A.L. Zisu who became one of the most important and outstanding figures in Rumanian Jewry, and others.

Among the periodicals in Hebrew that appeared until 1918, we find the following periodicals: *Zimrat Haaretz,* a leaflet appearing twice annually in Jassi as from the year 1872. The editor was Matityahu Simha Rabner; *Hahelech*—founded in Jassi on September 18, 1876, appeared once weekly under the editorship of Moshe Wernstein; *Yisrael*—began to appear in Jassi as a weekly under the editorship of Elazar Rokach on January 5, 1881; *Haor*—Botoshani, January 1882, a monthly edited by Zvi Elazar Tashler and David Yeshayahu Zilberbush; *Hamelitz*—Piatra Neamtz. The first number appeared in 1909 as a monthly on behalf of Zeirei Zion under the editorship of M. Bronstein (Mibashan) and A.L. Zisu.

The existence of the Hebrew papers was short-lived; but their influence on the enlightened young generation was considerable. Young people were influenced by the booklets and papers which smacked of provincialism and some of them reached over also to the central Yiddish press which appeared in those days in Czarist Russia.

The transition of Rumanian Jewry from Hebrew, Yiddish, and other languages (German and French) to Rumanian was fairly speedy. By setting up a network of primary and secondary schools which were maintained by the communities and philanthropic institutions in which the language of tuition was Rumanian, with the addition of Hebrew and religious study, the Rumanian language was transformed from the language of commerce and the street into the language spoken also in the home, as well as the language of

Jews who read books, and engaged in cultural activity.

The large number of journalists of Jewish origin, assimilated Jews or Jews who still maintained their Judaism and served in the general press proves the speedy integration of the Jews into the press and literature also in a period when serious limitations and anti-Jewish laws were in force. Much more so in the relatively liberal period following World War I.

Obviously, the share of the Jewish press, that is to say, the press that dealt solely with Jewish affairs and addressed itself to Jewish readers, was not wanting. This is borne out by the large number of papers and periodicals. We have at our disposal several score names of such papers and it is doubtful whether we have succeeded in reaching over to all of them.

The most outstanding figure in the Jewish press in the Rumanian language is that of the journalist Moses Shwartzfeld who devoted over 60 years of his eighty-six years of life to the service of the Jewish press in the Rumanian language, particularly to the weekly *Egalitatea* (Equality). This was the most important Jewish paper in the Rumanian language in the period preceeding World War I. He was born in Jassi in 1857, and received a combined Jewish and wide general education. In 1874 his brother Elias began publishing the weekly *Revista Israelita.* The first number appeared in Jassi on May 31, 1874. It was a weekly devoted mainly to history and literature, almost everything being written by that diligent young man who also engaged in translations. When Elias moved to Bucharest he entrusted the care for the newspaper into the hands of his younger brother Moses. In all, 27 issues of this weekly appeared. The last issue bore the date January 1, 1875. In the midst of the Russo-Turkish war, (1877) in which Rumania participated at the side of the Russians, the Schwartzfeld brothers began their important enterprise *Anuarul Pentru Israeliti* (Annual for Jews) which appeared regularly for 19 years. In its volumes we find researches, biographies, literary pieces, reports, descriptions of Jewish life, book reviews, articles on the history of the Jews in Rumania, the history of the Jewish people, general history, literature, folklore, medicine, philology, technical matters, law, etc. This annual fulfilled an important function in molding the image of the Jews who remained loyal to their people and desired to contribute their share to raising the cultural standards of their brethren and to developing their national consciousness. The annual became a centre of attraction to young forces many of whom later made a name for themselves in Rumanian and Jewish liberalism: Dr. M. Gaster, later to become Chief Rabbi of the Sephardi Community in England; L. Schein, Lazar Shainanu (the famous philologist); A. Candria-Hecht, teacher, philologist, pedagogue and author of French-English and Russian textbooks, etc.; Ronati Roman, a playwright who wrote the drama *Menase,* the most important in Rumanian dramaturgy; A. Shturman, the well-known poet, and many others.

Even before the appearance of the newspaper *Egalitatea,* and after the closing down of the paper *Revista Israelita* M. Schwartzfeld founded in Jassi the paper *Fraternitatea*—(Brotherhood) and participated in organising the Aliyah of the first group of immigrants to Eretz Israel—those 228 Jews who, in August 1882, left Galatz on s.s. Thetis.

Egalitatea began publication on April 15, 1890 and continued to appear except for one interruption when the war broke out in 1916, until 1940. Schwartzfeld did all the work on the paper, including prolonged journeys in order to collect debts, to increase circulation, etc. Right from the inception the paper conducted a struggle for equality of rights for the Jews of Rumania, combated antisemitism and all the manifestations of hatred of the Jews. Little wonder, that it was the first Jewish paper in Rumania to be closed down when the Fascists came to power in 1940.

Among the other papers dating back to the period before World War I, whose publication continued also after the War, was *Curierul Israelit,* organ of the "Union of Local Jews" which, after the War, became the "Union of Rumanian Jewry". The Editorial Board of *Curierul* included prominent public figures and journalists, such as Advocate William Filderman, Zeltzer-Seratianu, Horia Carp and others.

Neamul Evreiesc was a weekly, founded in Jassi in 1906 and subsequently transferred to Bucharest where it appeared for years under the editorship of Jacques Lester. *Zion* was the new organ of the Zionist Organisation in the years preceding the first World War. In January 1907 a new weekly made its appearance: *Viata Israelita* (Jewish Life), but apparently it was very short-lived. *Vocea Dreptatu* (The Voice of Justice) and *Cronica Israelita* also appeared inter-

mittently as weeklies which were not long-lived nor were they published regularly. Another Zionist newspaper appeared in Jassi: *Sionistul* (The Zionist) whereas at Botosani there appeared the paper intended for teachers *Institutorul Evreu* (The Jewish Teacher).

On the outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt in 1907 there was an increased tendency among the Jews who had been hard hit by the uprising to emigrate from Rumania. We find expression to their tribulations in the Jewish press generally but also in a special organ of their own *Retacitorul Evreu* (The Jewish Wanderer). The list is completed by the papers: *Prasa Israelita* and *Revista Israelita* under the Editorship of Dr. A.M. Bak.

A special and important place must be accorded to the monthly *Hatikvah* which commenced publication in Galatz in 1915 under the editorship of Leibush Gold. The monthly had the participation of a considerable number of young publicists, poets and essayists. The front page was drawn by the artist Rubin who was later to gain fame as one of the most famous painters in the Jewish world under the name of Reuven.

Two drastic changes set in in the life of the Jews of Rumania after the year 1918. In the first place the country was expanded several-fold all at once through the annexation of Bessarabia which had been Russian since 1812, Transylvania, Banat, Marmoresh and Bucovina that had been under the rule of Austria-Hungaria which increased the Jewish population of that country to about 800,000, more than three times the previous number.

Secondly, the granting of equality of rights to all the Jews, over which a fierce struggle had been conducted between the Jews and the frequently changing Government. At the Berlin Congress (1878) Rumania undertook to grant equality of rights to all its citizens, irrespective of religion and nationality. This undertaking was a condition for the recognition of its independence by the Powers. But Rumania broke that commitment in very shameful fashion. Moreover,



Rumania's multilingual Jewish Press between the World Wars

the Rumanian Governments, one after another, introduced stringent anti-Jewish laws with the result that only about 2,500 of the nearly 800,000 Rumanian Jews were granted civil rights although they were bound to shoulder all civil duties. The same situation obtained also after World War I. At the Versailles Peace Conference the Rumanian representatives were called upon to agree to grant citizenship to the Jews of the country or to acquiesce in the refusal of the Powers to confirm the annexation of the vast territories which then expanded the country's borders. The struggle for civil rights was in actual fact the essence of all the Jewish struggles for equality also in the years between the two World Wars. These struggles occupied the main attention of the Jewish press in Rumania in that period.

Among the papers that appeared before World War I, and it is doubtful whether we have mentioned all of them, only three remained and continued publication: *Egalitatea, Curierul Israelit* and *Neamul Evreiesc,* the least known of the three. New trends of opinion as well as new parties and organisations led to the establishment of additional newspapers. The better known among them are:

Mantuirea (The Redemption), which began to appear as a daily—the first and only daily newspaper that Rumanian Jewry had in the Rumanian language, under the editorship of A.L. Zisu, the well-known publicist and Zionist keyworker. For almost one year the paper appeared as a daily and then had to close down owing to financial difficulties. However, it renewed its appearance as a weekly and sometimes as a fortnightly. The editor was one of the most sharp-witted and acid-pen writers that Rumania produced. His paper brought Rumanian Jewry a new note—the note of Jewish nationalism, not that of a cringing Jew trying to obtain rights through the goodwill of the gentiles, but a Jew proud of his Judaism and standing up for his national rights. *Mantuirea* appeared with various intervals some of them of considerable length, until 1940. It was renewed as a militant Zionist weekly after the fall of Antonescu's Fascist regime, being published regularly during the years 1944–1948. The paper was closed down and its editor was arrested together with the other "Prisoners of Zion" of those days. A.L. Zisu succeeded in coming on Aliyah to Israel with the changes that set in in the attitude of the Rumanian regime to the State of Israel. He died in Tel Aviv a short time after his arrival to the country.

Renasterea Noastra (Our Revival), was another Zionist weekly founded in 1923 by a group of Zionist students and academics who fought for new paths in the Zionist Movement. This group adopted a plan of activity that is reminiscent in some way of the Radical Zionists in Poland under the leadership of Yitzhak Gruenbaum. The first editor of the paper was Advocate Sammy Stern (Shmuel Kochavi); he was succeeded in 1933 by the journalist L.B. Wexler, who was followed on the reappearance of the paper in 1944, by Moshe Moscovich (Moshe Emanuel). *Renasterea* preached extensive Zionist activity in the spirit of the Helsingfors Programme: Jewish education for the children, the Zionist conquest of the communities, the establishment of a Jewish National Party, a struggle for the defence of Jewish rights everywhere and at the same time Aliyah to Eretz Israel as a task and duty incumbent upon every Zionist.

Indeed, this publication which received wide circulation, was the motive force for Zionist organisation in the direction of more extensive activity, communication with the Jews in the annexed territories (Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania) for the establishment of the Jewish National Party, for the fostering of national consciousness and pride.

The Zionist Organisation within whose ranks the various trends vied with one another was also in need of an organ of its own. On the transfer of the Centre of the Zionist Federation from Galatz to Bucharest there began appearing *Stiri din Lumea Evreasca* (News from the Jewish World), which was founded in 1922.

During its most glorious period it was a weekly appearing in large format, which had the participation of some of the leading Jewish writers, poets and essayists who wrote in Rumanian. In the years of its decline, the publication was reduced to a weekly which contained only information on what was taking place in the Zionist Movement in Rumania and throughout the world. Throughout the years of its publication, with the various changes that set in in the composition of the Zionist Federation and its leadership, the weekly succeeded more or less in pleasing everyone. *Stiri* disappeared from the scene with the closing down of the Jewish newspapers generally. The attempts to renew publication after the fall of Rumanian Rascism did not succeed.

In the '20 and '30s Bucharest proved an attraction for young forces from all parts of the country. From the occupied regions Jews began flocking to the new capital where they established themselves in work and in business and also began to seek a field of spiritual activity in continuation of their former cultural and public activities. And so Zionist parties began cropping up, one after another, each with an organ of its own in the Rumanian language, in addition to the paper of the local Jews who had either been resident in Bucharest or who had come from the provincial towns of Old Rumania.

The oldest of the party newspapers was *Muncitorul Evreu* (The Jewish Workman)—the organ of Poalei Zion which began to appear in the year 1932. There had been groups of local Poalei Zion well before World War I. One of them gave up its independence after the war and collectively joined the Rumanian Social Democrat Party in 1920. In place of those who left, there appeared the members of Poalei Zion of Czernowitz who moved over to Bucharest and began publishing an organ of their own under the editorship of S. Frisch. The paper, however, was not long-lived. It appeared at infrequent intervals and constantly laboured under a shortage of funds but also a lack of a clear-cut balance between Zionism and Socialism. Obviously also the monarchical Rumanian regime kept an eye on a publication of this type.

At that time there were founded in Bucharest and in several provincial towns the first branches of Zeirei Zion—Hitachdut. But this party, too, drew its main strength from the immigrants from Bessarabia and even from Russia, Bucovina and Transylvania, and these founded their organ *Tribuna* in 1933. The Editor-in-Chief was Joseph Lerner (Laron), while the actual editor was a gifted young writer


Anul II No. 74 3 Lei Exemplarul în toată Țara Miercuri 2 Decembrie 1925 15 Chislew 5686

RENAȘTEREA

NOASTRA

ORGAN NAȚIONAL-EVREESC

Redacția și Administrația Bucureșți, strada Șelari No. 7, etaj I Director: S. L. STERN

Apare de două ori pe săptămână Miercuri și Sâmbătă

Abonamentul:

Renasterea Noastra, *Zionist weekly, Bucharest, 1923–*

by the name of B. Yosif. *Tribuna* appeared every fortnight and served also as the organ of "Gordonia". It also allotted considerable space to news about activities in "Hechalutz". In the years 1937–1939 the influence of "Gordonia" gained the upper hand in the editorial board and the publication was transformed virtually into the organ of this Movement although, in the meantime, there had been a unification between Zeirei Zion and Poalei Zion in Rumania (January



Moshe Emanuel

1936). Officially this paper was the organ of the United Party after *Muncitorul* had closed down for lack of funds. *Tribuna* ceased appearing in the summer of 1940 and its publication was never again resumed.

Miscarea Sionista (The Zionist Movement) was the organ of the General Zionists, mainly of those circles who were at variance with *Renasterea*. It is hard to define them as Zionists of faction B because they admired Chaim Weizmann and supported his policy in the Zionist Movement but the local friction was sometimes very tense and they prevented any sort of rapprochement. The paper appeared at very infrequent intervals and did not succeed in creating a place for itself among the reading public.

The Revisionist Movement, which was formed in Rumania about the year 1926 or 1927, had several organs. The first among them *Drumur Noua* (New Paths) appeared as a monthly and sometimes at greater intervals in Galatz, as from the year 1929, under the editorship of Advocate

Katz. The monthly did not arouse any considerable repercussion and when Revisionist activity increased and the centre was transferred to Bucharest there began appearing there, in the summer of 1933, a fortnightly *Cuvântul Evreiasc* (The Jewish Word) which levelled stringent criticism at the official leadership, combated the Chalutzic Movement etc.—in the accepted style of those days, possibly in a much more stringent form than usual. The editor was S.L. Ariel.

There were also newspapers—Zionist as well as non-Zionist—in the provinces, some of them appearing in out-of-the-way places.

In Jassi there appeared as from 1931 *Tribuna Evreiasca,* under the editorship of Beno Kaushansky (B. Baruch). It was closed down with the rise to power of the Fascist regime, and was not renewed after 1940.

Vointa (The Will) was a "popular-Jewish" weekly founded in Jassi in 1919. It was not, however, long-lived, nor did it make any mark on the community.

At Galatz, which before World War I was the centre of the Zionist Federation, an attempt was made in 1927 to publish a local Zionist paper *Opinia Sionista* (Zionist Opinion), under the editorship of Rudolf Abramovitz. Only about 10 issues came out, at Focşani, the town where the first Zionist Conference (before the Katowitz Conference) was held, there was founded in 1920 the paper *Legionarul* under the editorship of M.L. Klein, who was then the local correspondent of the large Rumanian newspapers. It lasted for about a year.

All these papers were informative in nature, containing information on Jewish life, on public struggles, etc. Some of them also encouraged Jewish literature and dealt with various social problems, etc.

Hasmonea was a monthly of the Zionist Students Association, known by that name, and is the most important of these publications. The Association itself was founded during World War I, in 1915, before Rumania joined the War. During this period only one issue appeared. After the War the Association renewed its activities and *Hasmonea* began appearing as a monthly devoted to problems besetting the Jewish people, Zionism, public problems affecting Rumanian Jewry, Jewish literature throughout the world. Its first editor was S. Stern (Kochavi) and he was succeeded in the editorship by Sammy Singer and Leon Mizrachi. *Has-*


TRIBUNA EVREEASCĂ

Organ Sionist independent

APARE SĂPTĂMÂNAL

Sub conducerea unui comitet

Tribuna Evreeasca, *Zionist weekly, Iasi, 1931–1940*

monea appeared uninterruptedly for almost 20 years and wielded considerable influence, particularly on the Jewish intelligentsia that was imbued with a national consciousness.

The Zionist Students Association founded in 1924 a Jewish newspaper for children in the Rumanian language. *Copilul Evreu* (The Jewish Child) was the name given to this publication which appeared twice a month. Its first editor was Mendelovich-Merom. He was followed by M.H. Badi. Its last editor was Nahum Kitzler. This paper published material translated from the Hebrew—writings by Bialik, Mendele, Agnon; and from the Yiddish—Shalom Alechem, Zalman Rosenthal, Reisin, Shalom Asch, etc. As from 1925 there appeared also a Hebrew page that was vocalised, but which was stopped after about five years. Like most of the other Jewish newspapers that had a fairly long existence, this children's paper was also closed down in 1940.

Adam was a monthly devoted to literature, the arts and politics, and was founded and edited by the writer Luda in 1928. It appeared regularly every month until 1940. The monthly, in the form of a 24–32 page pamphlet, was greatly appreciated by its readership. The editor succeeded in attracting a group of writers who wrote in Yiddish or Hebrew and whose creations were translated into Rumanian. But the paper did not take up any marked political stand of its own. In general it tended towards Zionism.

Cugetul Evreu (The Jewish Thought) appeared from time to time in Galatz in 1925. *Ilustratiunea Evreiasca* (The Jewish Illustrated) was an illustrated fortnightly in magazine format devoted to Jewish and Zionist affairs, founded by Osias Abraham in Bucharest in 1930. It appeared every two weeks for about one year.

The literary-journalistic activity of "Hechalutz" and of the Youth Movements commenced in Hebrew but later on passed over to Yiddish and Rumanian. The Chalutzic Move-

ment struck root, captured the local youth and the lack of a knowledge of Hebrew made activity in Yiddish, Rumanian and Hungarian (in Transylvania) mandatory.

The "Hechalutz" organisation, which was founded as a general organisation, the initiators of which were refugees from the Ukraine, was first consolidated in Bessarabia and from there branched out to all parts of the country. The first organ of "Hechalutz" was *Alim* which appeared in stencil, officially once a month, but in actual fact at greater intervals, as possibilities allowed. Insofar as the various Youth Movements were strengthened within "Hechalutz" they began bringing out numerous periodicals of their own, so that the publications of the central and general organisation "Hechalutz" became redundant. And so we can mention a fairly large number of publications by the various Youth Movements as against the marked paucity of "Hechalutz" publications.

The first of the Youth Movements in Rumania after World War I was, with the exception of the Students Association, "Hasmonea", the A.T.S. Association (Asociata Tineretului Sionista)—the Zionist Youth Organisation. This was a general organisation that embraced Zionist Youth regardless of trend and without the duty of Chalutzic implementation. This organisation brought out a pamphlet of its own in Rumanian *Cumpana* (Balance) under the editorship of the poet Eliahu Meitus as from 1929. It appeared at Focşani where the editor was resident.

In 1927 a faction of this organisation merged with "Hashomer Hatzair" and became the Rumanian branch of this Movement. Another faction set up "Gordonia" in Bucharest and after some time it found its way to this Movement on a country-wide scale through the establishment of branches in the provinces and unification with other movements: "Hechaver", "Hechalutz Hatzair", etc. Those who remained in A.T.S. organised Circle of Zionist Youth and "Herzlia" which after some years, in 1932, set up jointly the "Zionist Youth" in Rumania. The kaleidoscope of youth movements was completed by "Betar", "Bnai Akiva", "Dror-Habonim"—and obviously each of these movements had one or more organs of their own, some of them in stencil, some of them in print and some of them even appearing in imposing and embellished form.

"Hashomer Hatzair" began publishing in 1930 the monthly *Hashomer Hatzair* in Rumanian, of which several issues appeared. For the most part it used to publish translations of articles from the Hebrew "Hashomer Hatzair" that appeared in Warsaw, for only a very small part of the material was of "local production". Subsequently, in 1935, there began appearing *Al Hamishmar* in Rumanian, as a periodical, as well as other publications in stencil. In 1934 an attempt was made by "Hashomer Hatzair" to bring out a childrens newspaper: *Pentru Copilul Evreu* (For the Jewish Child). Only two issues came out, under the editorship of Mordechai Amitai. However, the movement throughout the years continued to bring out various publications, mainly for internal needs.

C.T.S., which in 1932 became the "Zionist Youth" published in the years 1931–1932 a monthly *Moledet* under the editorship of Zelicovich—the "father" of the Movement. This monthly (only the name of which was in Hebrew, for the whole material was in Rumanian) appeared at Bacau in imposing graphic form, and was of a general character although it contained also controversial material concerning rival youth movements. Lack of financial means led to the closing down of the monthly and the movement subsequently remained satisfied with publications in stencil, which were infinitely cheaper—in Rumanian, Hebrew and Hungarian.

"Gordonia" began publication in Hebrew. *Alon* was the name of its first internal organ. It appeared in Hebrew and in the first period contained reproductions of the proceedings and resolutions of the Centre of the Movement concerning its ideological trend. Subsequently we come across material of a local nature, which was more interesting, about the organising of branches, meetings, council meetings, etc. *Alon* appeared at Kishinev, the seat of the Centre of the Movement until 1932, when it was transferred to Bucharest and became a regular organ, although as from 1929 it appeared at most irregular intervals. Its editors were changed with the change of guard, as in all the other movements. In January 1933 there appeared in the Rumanian language a pamphlet entitled *Gordonia*. On the initiative of the leadership of the movement then appeared the monthly *Derech Hanoar,* of which only two issues came out—one in December 1933 and the other in February 1934. Its editor was Moshe Hurwitz. These issues had the participation of Elkana Margalit, Zvi Yatom, Shmuel Kushnir, Meir Zayit

and others. Additional publications of *Gordonia* were: *Die Tat* in Yiddish, July 1935; *Hatsofar*—a monthly for the young members (12–15 age group) instructive pamphlets, etc.

Similar internal publications were brought out also by the leaderships of "Bnai Akiva", "Dror" (which commenced in Rumania somewhat belatedly when compared with the other movements—only in the year 1933) "Brisia" (the Youth Movement in Transylvania which in 1924 was transformed into "Habonim" in the wake of its unification with this movement and subsequently its unification also with "Dror").

When Rumania joined the Fascist camp in 1940, the closing down of the Jewish papers was the first expression of the policy of the regime against the Jewish population. After the War, the publication was renewed of several periodicals but this period transcends the framework of the present book. We shall merely mention that these papers, too, were quickly liquidated when the regime was taken over by the Communists. At present there appears in Rumania one paper entitled *Periodical of the Jewish Communities in Rumania.* It appears in three languages: Hebrew (one page), Yiddish (three pages) and Rumanian (four pages). The material published in this paper consists of a sermon on the weekly portion of the Law, news about activities in the Jewish communities in Rumania and throughout the world (including Israel), notices of outstanding cultural events, chapters on the past history of Rumanian Jewry, with special stress on spiritual and cultural life. The periodical is the only organ appearing also in Hebrew in any Communist country.

In 1918 the "old" Rumanian Kingdom was transformed into Great Rumania with the annexation of Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania.

In these provinces then were large Jewish Communities which had fostered ramified cultural activities and obviously brought out also Jewish newspapers. We shall mention only those papers that appeared in these regions in the period when they formed part of Rumania, that is in the years 1918–1940.

The first paper in Yiddish that began to appear in Bessarabia under Rumania was *Der Yud* founded in 1920. For almost two years it was published as the only Yiddish daily in Rumania. Another daily was founded in 1923 under


Comisiunea mixtă de Cenzură Chișinău
No. 1 (144)
ערד און ארבעט
ERD UN ARBET

Erd un Arbet, *fortnightly of Zeirei-Zion (Hitachduth), Chisinau, 1920–*

the name *Unzer Zeit* (Our Times). The first editor of this daily was Michael Landau, who was for some time a member of the Rumanian Parliament. He subsequently came on Aliyah to Israel where he died. The paper had a considerable circulation and was also long-lived. Landau edited it until the year 1933. From that year and onwards its editor-in-chief was Zalman Rosenthal, a gifted writer, poet and journalist in both Yiddish and Hebrew. *Unzer Zeit* was closed down in 1938 under orders from the authorities when the anti-semitic government of Goga-Cuza, which ruled for only six weeks, came into power. However, it managed to close down the great democratic newspapers of Rumania as well as the only Yiddish daily which appeared in Kishinev. In the 15 years of its publication *Unzer Zeit* played an important role in the life of Rumanian Jewry generally and in that of Bessarabian Jewry in particular. The paper spread over to communities beyond Bessarabia and had a wide circulation among Yiddish readers also in Jewish communities outside Bessarabia and so fulfilling an important national mission. The paper disseminated in thousands of copies special editions of Jewish classics, such as Mendele Mocher Sefarim, Shalom Aleichem, as well as "The History of the Jewish People" of Graetz and Dubnow.

Unzer Zeit brought out also children's papers—one in Yiddish ond another in Hebrew, but these were short-lived.

Erd un Arbeit (Land and Labour) was the organ of the Zeirei Zion Party (and after the unification—the organ of Poalei Hitachdut). In 1928 it began appearing in Kishinev twice a month but changed its format and often appeared in the form of a pamphlet and later on in the

format of a newspaper. The first editor was Leib Glantz, who was followed by Issar Rabinovitch, Meir Kotik and Yitzhak Korn. This paper, too, was proscribed in 1938. Then too, the legal status of the party that brought out the paper was withdrawn, but was subsequently reinstated under a new name "Binyan HaAretz" (Upbuilding of the Land) —and the ideological-political issues which were brought under the name *Zeit Fragen* (Topical Problems) appeared in the years 1938–1939 in Kishinev under the editorship of Yitzhak Korn until his Aliyah to Eretz Israel.

Other parties saw to bringing out organs of their own. The Revisionist Party published *Oif der Vach* (On Guard) as the organ of the Central Committee of "Hatzohar" in Bessarabia. It commenced publication in December 1927. Other papers appearing here: *Di Vach,* Kishinev 1928, was the organ of national religious Jewry of Bessarabia, under the editorship of J. Applebaum; *Der Shtub Journal,* a monthly organ of national religious Jewry under the editorship of Joseph Applebaum, appeared in Kishinev in 1933; The Zionist Organisation of Bessarabia published a leaflet of its own in Yiddish: *News of the Zionist Organisation of Bessarabia,* whereas the Jewish National Fund also published a Bulletin *Jewish National Fund* which served its activities (Kishinev, 1923). *Dos Cooperative Wort* was the monthly of the Cooperative Movement in Bessarabia. It was founded in 1923 and closed down by the authorities after 15 years' publication, in 1938. *Der Funk* (The Spark) appeared as a "non-party political" monthly devoted to culture, society and literature, as from 1924. *Der Shtrom* (The Stream) was a literary monthly, edited by M. Chayimsky, Kishinev, 1930.

Bucovina (with Chernowitz, its capital city) was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918. The German language reigned supreme mainly among the Jewish intelligentsia. In the same language there appeared in Chernowitz, in the period between the two World Wars: *Ostjuedishe*



Bulletins of Zionist factions in Hebrew and Yiddish


Freitag, 19. Dezember

Ostjüdische Zeitung

Organ für die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Interessen der Bukowinaer Judenschaft.

Ostjüdische Zeitung, *Zionist weekly, Cernauti, 1918–1940*

Zeitung (Paper of Eastern Jewry) was a daily which appeared intermittently three times a week and sometimes once a week only. It was founded by Dr. Meir Ebner and was published under his editorship as well as under the editorship of Dr. Thau. The paper was founded in 1918 and appeared regularly until 1940 when the Russians entered Bucovina.

Morgenblatt (Morning Paper) was founded in 1918 as a bilingual paper—German and Rumanian, under the editorship of Julius Webber and Dr. Elias Weinstein. *Neue Juedische Rundschau* (New Jewish Review) a weekly under the editorship of Dr. Manfred Reifer, founded in 1925. *Dos Naye Leben,* a weekly, organ of the Bund, founded in 1920 by Dr. Kisman, appeared until 1939. *Die Juedische Hoffnung*—a fortnightly devoted to literature and to national and cultural problems commenced its appearance in March 1921 under the editorship of Dr. M. Goldstein. *Arbeter Zeitung,* organ of the Jewish Social Democrat Party, Poalei Zion, was founded in 1921 in Chernowitz as a weekly, under the editorship of S.L. Steinmetz. *Der Yudisher Fraint* (The Jewish Friend), organ of religion Jewry in Rumania, appeared in Chernowitz for several years, beginning April 1928, under the editorship of Daniel Sternfeld. *Chernowitzer Bleter,* was founded in Chernowitz as an "independent" weekly but had a marked anti-Zionist tendency. Its editor was S. A. Sofer. It began publication in 1929. *Die Freiheit* (Liberty), organ of the Left Poalei Zion Party, was founded in Chernowitz after the split in Poalei Zion in 1920. It was published under the editorship of Fyvel Sternberg and Shlomo Bikel. *Dos Judishe Vort,* organ of the Agudat Israel Centre, appeared in Chernowitz as from 1934, under the editorship of M. Cohen. After the War its publication was renewed for some time at Arad (Transylvania). *Aufbau,* organ of Poalei Zion and "Dror", appeared twice monthly in Chernowitz as from 1935, under the editorship of Dr. Zvi Ellner. *Bei Unz* (With Us), was published by the youth organisation of Poalei Zion in Chernowitz, as from 1936. *Dror*—in Yiddish, appearing twice monthly, was intended for members of Poalei Zion only; it was published in Chernowitz in 1937. In addition, *Eretz Israel* was a one-time publication of the Zionist Organisation. There were also publications by the Jewish National Fund, etc.

The region of Transylvania was also under Austro-Hungarian rule, but seeing that it belonged to the Hungarian part of the Empire the Hungarian language was predominant, as is borne out by the Jewish press mostly in Hugarian, but a few also in Yiddish.

The most important paper was *Ui Kelet* (The New East). This daily paper of a marked Zionist-national tendency was founded in 1918 in Cluj, the principal city of Transylvania, by Dr. E. Marton, and appeared until the Hungarian conquest in 1940. It was later on transferred to Israel where it appears in Tel Aviv to the present day under the editorship of the widow of the founder.

Ui Kor (New Era) was a Zionist paper in Timisoara, which appeared with various intervals as from 1923; *Juedische Presse* appeared as from 1929 at Siget and Oradea, under the editorship of Shlomo Schwartz; *Transylvanische Presse,* a weekly that appeared in 1929 at Bia-Mare under the editorship of Moshe Lipstick; *Marmorische Bletter* was published at Siget. Devoted to literature, the arts and the sciences, it appeared as from 1931 under the editorship of Dr. M. Sternberg and Prof. Jacob Dermer; *Bulletin Agudat Israel* (Yiddish and Rumanian) appeared at Arad in 1947.

The Jewish Press in Bessarabia and Bucovina was liquidated in 1940 with the Soviet conquest. Many of the journalists, prticularly those known to be Zionists, were arrested and exiled to Siberia.

Our survey covered over 100 years of the Jewish press in Rumania. It was a long and interesting period, replete with ups and downs, important achievements and many dangers. The Jewish press accompanied Jewish life in Rumania and served faithfully the Jews of that country, both as a public and as individuals.

This press played a leading role in the war against ignorance which was fairly widespread, preached enlightenment,

urged the sending of children to schools and generally encouraged a rise in the standard of living and of culture.

The Jewish press conducted a fierce struggle for equality of rights. The press that was surveyed in these pages, fostered almost without exception national ideas, the aspirations of the Hibbat Zion Movement and subsequently the outlooks of the Zionist Movement. The assimilationist circles which looked upon themselves as "Rumanians of the Mosaic persuasion" or "Rumanian Israelites", as the term was current in Rumania, also devoted considerable space in their organ *Curierul Israelit* to information about events in Eretz Israel and surveyed news from Eretz Israel in positive fashion. Obviously there were also assimilationist Jews of another type, such as refused to admit the existence of the Jewish people and of its right to national independence in its historical homeland. But these did not find any place in the Jewish press. Assimilationist Jews belonging to this circle participated in several general papers among the most widespread in the country, that were read mainly by Jews. They took up a decidedly negative stand to all manifestations of separate Jewish organisation and it was only out of deference to their reading public, generally Jews, who had a marked leaning to Zionism, that from time to time they paid lipservice to Zionism.

It was against them that the Jewish press, particularly in the Rumanian language, conducted a prolonged and militant struggle. No less difficult was the war against manifestations of Leftist assimilation (principally Communist), and the press did much in order to educate a young generation imbued with national feelings.

The Rumanian press conducted a war against the manifestations of antisemitism which were so numerous in this country. For over 50 years the notorious A.C. Cuza had been active in the press which sowed hatred and poison for the Jews and paved the way for Hitler and Goebbels. It was necessary to reply, to dispel lies and distortion and to enlighten public opinion. The "general" press, an appreciable part of which was in the hands of assimilationist Jews, remained oblivious of this, or tried to minimise the danger. The Jewish press, without exception almost, fought courageously and issued warnings against this danger. These warnings generally fell on deaf ears. The authorities, whether intentionally or out of neglect, were not alert and pogroms broke out sometimes in one region, sometimes in another.


פתח-עת
של ההתאחדות הדתית ברומניה העממית הרומנית
דם ואש ותימרות עשן
הקדושים והטהורים...

Three-language monthly in the Rumanian People's Republic

The Jewish press also served as a faithful bridge between Rumanian and world Jewry. From its columns the readers learned about the principal events in the Jewish world, and particularly in Eretz Israel, and so were able to rejoice in times of joy and to mourn in times of sorrow and to rally in times of evil.

The Jewish press in Rumania reflected the life of the Jewish community in this country which was small at the inception of the last century and grew to peak numbers, reaching over 800,000—in the period between the two World Wars. This community suffered great losses in the period of the Holocaust (about half the Jewish population was destroyed), and of the remainder the overwhelming majority went on Aliyah to Israel. (Over 350,000 Rumanian Jews now live in the State.) Of Rumanian Jewry, only about 100,000 now remain in that country but most of them look forward to the day when they, too, will be able to go on Aliyah.

Jewish periodicals in Yugoslavia

Yakir Eventov

Das Jüdishe Centralblatt was the first Jewish organ in the regions that now constitute Yugoslavia; its language was German. True, already in the first half of the 19th century single Jewish publications were brought out in the printing press of the Serbian Duke in Belgrade. But one-time leaflets and pamphlets even though written in Hebrew or Ladino cannot be classed as newspapers. *Zentralblatt* was edited at Bjelovar by Rabbi Grünwald and was also printed at Bjelovar in the print shop of Jacob Fleischman. Incidentally, the name of the newspaper was far too pretentious since it was a paper of very modest proportions which appeared in the Croatian provincial town. Until 1871 very few people knew of the existence of this out-of-the-way place which was hemmed in some military border region. The military government did not allow Jews to settle there. Indeed, the Jewish community at Bjelovar was founded at a very late date, after the end of the military government. It was recognised by the civilian government in Croatia only in 1879. But hardly had three years gone by than in 1882, Dr. Greenwald's newspaper boasted to be the central organ of the Jews.

Among the publications that began appearing from time to time were two weeklies in Ladino, both of them of a popular nature and style. Their first issues saw light before the turn of the 19th century. These were *La Alborada* brought out by Jacob Capon of Sarajevo, and *El Amigo del Pueblo* under the editorship of Alitch of Belgrade.

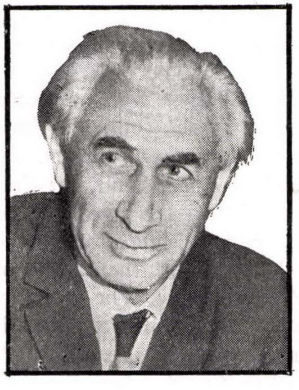
From then on, the Zionist cause served as the central motive for the development of the Jewish press. At the beginning of the century there appeared in the Croatian capital Zagreb, the Zionist monthly *Zidovska Smotra* (the Jewish Observer) (1906–14)—a Zionist monthly founded by 22 year old Alexander Licht who was later to head the Zionist Moxement in Yugoslavia. The first issues of this monthly left their impression on enlightened circles. They had the participation of David Alcalay a leading Belgrade Jew and a delegate to the first Zionist Congress at Basle, of Hebrew cultural workers at the time, such as Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis of Diekovo, and other scholars. The assimilationists who held sway over the community councils were rather shocked by these Zionist organs. The differences of opinion that arose between them and those who supported Jewish revival became ever deeper. In the course of time, this problem took on manifestations of open warfare. To begin with, the assimilationists had the upper hand, but after the First World War, the relation of forces changed also on the Jewish arena. Meanwhile, the editorial offices of *Smotra* was moved in the years 1909–11 to Osejk, the capital of Slavonia, and an important Zionist centre. The monthly became a fortnightly and its academic standard was reduced, and the paper assumed a more popular nature. In 1912, the editorial offices were returned to Zagreb where the fortnightly began to appear under the editorship of Samuel Pinto and Alfred Singer—down to the outbreak of WWI (1914).

Less than two months before the Balfour Declaration in September 1917, there appeared at Zagreb the first issue of the newspaper that was to take the place of *Smotra* namely *Zidov–Hajehudi* (1917–41). For almost 25 years, this newspaper courageously and honourably represented the Jewish cause throughout Yugoslavia. It carried out its journalistic mission from Zagreb whose Jewish community in


ŽIDOV

ZAGREB, PETAK 27 MARTA 1936

the period between the two World Wars was changed from a nest of assimilationists into a vibrant Zionist centre. The fortnightly was speedily transformed into a weekly. The influence of Licht on its policy was marked. Under his direction the newspaper showed preference to the problems of Eretz Israel over those of the Diaspora, although it did not underrate the problems of the Jewish community and of Diaspora life. Obviously, whenever need arose, it also fought



Zev Glück



Zvi Rotem

manifestations of antisemitism, futile accusations or the danger of mass expulsion which threatened the Jews of Bosnia or Voidvodina, very sensitive border regions in Yugoslavia. Right to the end, the paper clung to the principle of Jewish unity at all times and under all conditions. This was borne out not necessarily during the period of the prolonged "Sarajevo Dispute" which will be described later on. The importance attaching to *Zidov* in the study of the Jewish community in Yugoslavia was even greater. In the field of Hebrew writing much was attained by Jacob Maestro and Samuel Romano. Their translation can withstand artistic and linguistic tests to this day. The festival numbers of the newspaper were marked by impressive supplements. The paper ran columns devoted to art, music and sports as well as the cooperative movement. The newspaper was the official organ of the Zionist Organisation over all its institutions, trends and parties. The editors of the paper, in chronological order were: Edmond Fischer, Alfred Singer, Joel Rosenberger, Drago Steiner, Yakir Eventov, Zvi Rotmiller–Rotem, Otto Gross and Zev Glück. The five last mentioned were members of the Eretz Israel Labour camp.

The paper introduced a service of reportage from Eretz Israel, first from the pen of Dr. Shlomo Levy and of the Yugoslav pioneers who had gone on Aliyah to Eretz Israel, and later Gerda Luft Arlosorov wrote about events in Eretz Israel over a number of years. Z. Rotem continued to write his reviews from 1934, the year of his Aliyah, until the closing down of the paper. In the 1930s the editorial board of *Zidov* opened up a special section which was printed from time to time in Cyrillian characters.

Zidov struggled hard, but honourably, for the existence of the Jewish community in Yugoslavia during the last pre-war period. Licht and Gottlieb came out with daring accusations against Nazi atrocities in the countries of German occupation. Despite strict censorship, *Zidov* remained for some time a lone fortress in Yugoslavia which dared publicly to lift its voice against the Nazi monster—until it was finally subdued. Under pressure from the German ambassador its publication was forbidden, and on March 8, 1941, its last number was published.

The lot of the remaining papers were no better. Several other monthlies appeared in Zagreb. "The Union of Jewish Youth Association" (S.Z.O.U.–Savez zidovskih omladinskih udruzenja) brought out its organ *Gideon* (1919–26) in Croatian, followed by *The Youth* (1926–33), and from 1937 onwards which moulded the character of a progressive generation of Jewish youth in the spirit of Labour Palestine,



Gideon, *pro-Labour Zionist youth monthly (Croatian), 1919–1926*

and for the most part aspired to implement Halutzik life. The Aliyah of the Yugoslav youth began to flow despite all impediments in organised groups of the "Shomer Hatzair", "Blue-White" and other organisations. *Zidov* and *Hanoar* had publishing houses in Serbo-Croatia which brought out many translations from Hebrew, Yiddish and German.

"The Youth League" brought out, beginning 1921, a children's newspaper *Haaviv* (Spring).

In simple outward form there appeared for four years (until the Holocaust) the Movement's Paper of "Hashomer Hatzair" also in Zagreb.

A special place in the history of the Yugoslav press was occupied by the organ of the Association for the Advancement of Jewish Art—*Omanut* (1936–41). The Association was founded by artists and amateurs, and organised exhibitions of artists and sculptures, arranged concerts in the synagogue and in other places. Before the Holocaust it remained the only publisher on the European continent which which brought out compositions by Jewish composers. The monthly *Omanut* appeared at Zagreb, and its editor was Hinko Gottlieb (who died in Israel in 1948).

Belgrade which had a tradition of publications in Hebrew and Ladino, did very little in the period between the two World Wars to further the Jewish press in Serbian. The Zionists of Belgrade cooperated with their colleagues at Zagreb also in the field of the press.

Despite this, however, there cropped up at Vojvodina Zionist newspapers of all shades of opinion, generally in German but also in Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian. Their journalistic standards did not always justify their independent publication, although there were several publications of good standard among them.

The most important of the Zionist weeklies was *Juedisches Volksblatt* (1920–25) edited by Adolf Schreiber. On the initiative of Meir Voltman (Tuval) *Volksblatt* gave way in 1933 to *Zsido Ujsag* a Jewish paper in Hungarian. Before a year was out, however, it made way for *Jevrejske Novine* a Jewish newspaper in Serbo-Croatian and German. When Zidov ceased publication in March 1941, Novine came to the assistance of the Zionist Movement by supplying the *Zidov* subscribers with copies of its paper. In order to cooperate in the editing of the paper, Zev Glück, the last editor of Zidov, moved to Novisad. This cooperation continued for about one month and ceased with the fall of Yugoslavia at the beginning of April, 1941.


Jevrejske Novine

Jevrejske Novine, *Zionist weekly (Croatian a. German), Novisad, 1934–1941*

The other Jewish weeklies at Vojvodina were *Haivri,* Novisad, 1924, appearing in German under the editorship of Ziga Hendler; *Israel* at Backa Topola, 1925, in German, edited by Pinhas Keller in the spirit of Religious Zionism in the style of Mizrachi; *Szombat Subotitsa,* under the editorship of Imre Vidor; *The Kingdom of Israel,* Novisad, 1932, in Serbo-Croatian, organ of the Revisionist party, under the editorship of Julius Dochani and Victor Stark; *TransJordan* organ of the Revisionist Youth (Serbo-Croatian); *Our World, Novi Becej,* a youth paper edited by Andre Weiss; *Maccabi Sport* edited by Namdor Lustig, etc., etc.

Special mention should be made of the annual *Jevrejski Almanach,* Varsac, which, despite its technical drawbacks, published in its five volumes important material on the history of the Jewish community in Yugoslavia.

Another trend of development was taken by the Jewish press at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The first attempt to bring out a Zionist weekly was made also here on the initiative of the National Jewish Association (Zidovsko Narodino Drustvo). However, at Sarajevo the attempt was preceeded by events whose influence was to be felt for a long time. When in 1918 demobilized soldiers began returning from the various fronts, they included veteran members of Bar Giora, a Jewish students association from Yugoslav territory who had studied in institutions of higher learning in Vienna. When they returned to Sarajevo, they found the Jewish community divided. The split had been caused by false accusations. A group of Sephardi Jews submitted a memorandum to the Serbian governor of Sarajevo, accusing the Ashkenazi Jews of collaborating with the Austrian occupation regime. According to this memoran-

dum, the Ashkenazi Jews who had arrived to the country a few years previously, served as a tool in the hands of the Austrian occupation forces, and as such had also won their confidence. On account of their services to them, they were preferred wherever public offices, orders for the army and other public tenders, were to be had. As compared with them, the Sephardim occupied a secondary role throughout the occupation. In order to mend this historical injustice, and to return the balance for the long resident Sephardi Jews, the complainants came to the conclusion that the redundant Ashkenazi Jews had to be expelled, and their community disbanded. The governor seized this complaint, and the orders of expulsion which were issued against the Ashkenazi Jews of Bosnia were met with sharp reactions and stormy protests from Jews in all parts of the new State. True, the expulsion was not carried out but this attack on the foundations of Jewish unity led to a wide rift between the Jewish communities in Bosnia.

In this murky atmosphere there was founded at Sarajevo in 1918 the first Zionist weekly *Zidovska Svijest* (Jewish Consciousness)—in Serbo Croatian. In its first issue it called for a return to Jewish unity which had become undermined. It succeeded in concentrating around it many of the intellectual Ashkenazim as well as Sephardim who supported the Zionist outlook for Jewish national revival. The first editor of the paper was Yitzhak Altarat (Altiss). The opponents of Zionism in the Sephardi camp succeeded in thwarting the paper and in annulling its license to appear. The paper it is true, was forbidden to appear, but instead there arose under a different name *Zidovska Narodna Svijest* (National


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ЖИДОВСКА СВИЈЕСТ i ŽIDOVSKA SVIJEST

KULTURNO-POLITIČKI TJEDNIK

Broj 58. i 59. Saraj vo. 17. Ševala 5680. 6. februara 1920. God. II.

Zidovska Svijest, *weekly, Sarajevo, 1918–*


POŠTARINA PLAĆENA U GOTOVU

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JEVREJSKI GLAS

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Jevrejski Glas, *pro-Zionist weekly (Serbo-Croatian), Sarajevo, 1934-1940*

Jewish Consciousness) a renewed edition of the previous weekly. The composition of the editorial board remained unchanged.

The competitive weekly *Jevrejski Zivot* (Jewish Life) in Serbo-Croatian, was the organ of the Sephardi intellectuals who in the period of the "Sarajevo Dispute" covered up the act of undermining Sephardi-Ashkenazi unity. A deep chasm had been created between the opposing camps which it was difficult to bridge. After years of tension and strife spirits calmed down. The opponent of yesteryear made it up. One time publications were brought out which are of great value such as a collection of essays on Maimonides and an annual *Benevolencia-Potpora* (Associations for the Aid to the Jewish Youth), in Sarajevo and Belgrade in 1933. Former rivals now sat around the same table. *Jevresky Zivo,* the organ of Cessationist Sephardism ceased publication and in its place there appeared *Jevrejski Glas* (The Jewish Voice) in Serbo-Croation—a weekly of a Zionist character, prepared to seek the cooperation of every trend in Jewry. However, this idyll did not last for very long. Before the outbreak of WW II the situation of the Jews became aggravated also in Bosnia. The Jewish enemies made no distinction between veteran Jews and those newly arrived to the country. Under pressure of the Third Reich, anti-Jewish decrees increased in number. The fall of the diaspora meant the loss of its press, and during the holocaust the toll rang for the hope to revive the Jewish press in the place from which it sprang and blossomed.

Jewish newspapers in Bulgaria

Raphael Ben-Shoshan

The first Jewish printing press in Bulgaria was founded in the town of Ruse (Rustchuk) in the year 1893, 15 years after the political independence of the country, and in September of the same year, the first Jewish paper began to appear in the form of a fortnightly under the name of *El Tresoro,* in Ladino, then the vernacular of the Jews of Bulgaria. The periodical appeared for three years. Until the end of the 19th Century, other Jewish printing presses were opened in the cities of Plovdiv and Sofia, and their existence served as a basis for the development of the Jewish press.

The Jewish community in Bulgaria was liquidated at the beginning of the 1950s when most of the Jews in that country came on Aliyah to Israel, and that marked the end of the Jewish press there. Of the 50,000 Jews there remained in Communist Bulgaria only about 4,000, for the most part old people, and the only Jewish paper that appears once a month in Sofia is *Yevreyske Vesti* (Jewish News), which is actually the organ of the Jewish Communists. This periodical was founded as far back as the year 1933, under the covert patronage of the Communist Party in Bulgaria, which was then illegal.

About 200 Jewish papers appeared in Bulgaria in the 50 years since the beginning of the 20th Century. At first the language of the overwhelming majority of these publications was Ladino. Slowly, however, with the rise of the intellectual stratum among the Jews, the number of papers in Bulgarian also increased. Until the outbreak of the Balkan War in 1912, there appeared in Bulgaria 57 papers — 41 of them in Ladino, and only 9 in Bulgarian. About half-a-dozen periodicals appeared in two languages, one in Hebrew and one in French. The majority of these papers were informative and non-party in character, their editors determining their trend and policy. Only very few papers had a national-Zionist tendency. The first such paper, which appeared at the end of the 19th Century, was *Carmel* in French, the language that served the very thin stratum at the time of the Jewish intelligentsia which was brought up in the "Alliance" Schools. This paper, however, did not continue its appearance for even one year because its editor, the Zionist Josef Marko Baruch, was forced to leave Bulgaria under pressure from the plutocratic elite that governed the Jewish community. Other Zionist attempts during that period also failed the most important among them being *Hamishpat,* which appeared for less than one year in Bulgarian and Ladino, on the initiative of the Zionist youth, as an organ of the Zionist Organisation in the Bulgarian capital. The first Zionist paper that broke the shackles of the "notables" in the community was the organ of the Zionist Organisation *Hashofar,* which appeared from 1901 until 1913 in Ladino, subsequently until 1933 in Ladino and Bulgarian, and then until 1945 in Bulgarian alone.

At that time there appeared also other Jewish periodicals close to the governing circles in the community, of Leftist groups, of local institutions and others. Most of these papers wielded a very limited influence and were short-lived.

In the short period from the Balkan war (1912–13) until the end of World War I, the Jewish papers in Bulgaria showed a decline, for only about 10 papers appeared during that period, most of them of a mushroom character — four each in Bulgarian and Ladino, and two in other languages. *Hashofar,* which until then enjoyed an important status among the Jewish public, also stopped its appearance being reissued only after the end of World War I.

Yevreyskoye Echo (the Jewish Echo), was the first ideological organ of the Zionist youth in Bulgaria, which was published at Rustchuk as the organ of the "Mikra" Association, which was the name of the branch of the Association for Hebrew Language and Culture in Bulgaria. This periodical, which published much of the writings of the political Zionist leaders at the inception of the Movement, contributed largely to the consolidation of the ideological founda-


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פוליין די תיסטוריתם פי נוֹדידתים

Haïm Kamerman
Roustchouk.

יפתח ה" לך את אוצרו הטוב
היל דיין טיהלרם סו בוהין טריזורו
דברים כ"ח, י"ב.

משה בר מיימון.
(הרמ"בם)
סו בידה, סו אוברה אי סו פילוסופיאה, סיגון איל
איסטוריאנו גריטס.
(קונטינואסיין דיל נו' 16.)

Il Tresoro, *fortnightly, 1st Ladino paper in Bulgaria, Ruse, 1893–1896*

tions of the Zionist Movement among the Jewish youth. The continuation of this periodical in the years 1917–20 was *Yevreyski Glas* (the Jewish Voice) in Sofia, where the majority of the members of the paper's editorial board were then resident. It was the organ of the organised Zionist youth on a country-wide scale. In the two periods of its existence at Rustchuk and Sofia the paper took up a militant attitude against the anti-Zionism Left and Right. It also combated the official leadership of the Zionist Organisation and supported the Revisionist trend in the Movement.

The years following World War I marked the heyday of political and cultural activity of Bulgarian Jewry. The Zionist Movement in the period following the Balfour Declaration reaped many successes in capturing the leadership of the Jewish communities and its influence also grew on the network of Jewish schools and on other Jewish institutions in the country. The following are the most important among over two dozen Jewish papers which made their appearance in the years 1918–1923:

Pro Causa Judaica, a fortnightly that was published in Sofia, rallied around it the anti-Zionist intelligentsia from the Right and the Left. Officially this was the organ of the "Israelite Union Club", the spokesmen of which on the one hand belonged to the Jewish faction in the Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria, and on the other hand, it represented the outlooks of the communal notables. A monthly in Bulgarian *Haivri Hatzair* (for some time it had a Hebrew supplement) was the organ for the Association for the Hebrew Language and Culture and disseminated a Zionist ideological trend. The paper came out in the years 1919–22, first at Plovdiv and afterwards in Sofia. Zionist circles close to the paper began bringing out in 1921 a weekly by the name of *Yevreyski Preglad* (Jewish Review) in Bulgarian. This weekly appeared for three years and in the course of time became the organ of the intellectual Zionist youth who were not satisfied by official Zionist activity in Bulgaria. A monthly, which engaged mainly in Jewish literature in a Zionist spirit, was *Yevreyska Mysl* (Jewish Thought) which appeared for one year on the initiative of High School pupils in Bulgaria. Communists, who conducted a struggle against Zionism, brought out in the years 1921–23 a fortnightly by the name of *"Bratstvo"* (Brotherhood) in Bulgarian.

From the year 1924 until the close of the 1930s there appeared in Bulgaria almost 100 Jewish periodicals, for the overwhelming part in the Bulgarian language, and only



Hashofar, *organ of Zionist Organization in Bulgaria, 1901–*

seven each in Ladino and in Hebrew. In these years the Zionist Movement was the prevailing force in the communities, in the schools and in all the Jewish public institutions in the country, for only mere remnants of anti-Zionist tendencies remained. The following are the most important papers of the period:

El Judio (The Jew), under the editorship of the well known Sephardi journalist Dov Elnakawe, did much to spread the Zionist idea among Ladino speakers. The paper first appeared in Turkey but with the decline of public life among the Jews there, Elnakawe transferred his paper to Bulgaria, where he brought it out in the years 1925–1929.



Poalei-Zion, *Zionist-Socialist (Bulgarian), Ruse-Sofia, 1930–1948*



Sionistitchesko Zname, *General-Zionist organ, Sofia, 1933–1934*

At the beginning of the 1930s, Elnakawe migrated to Argentina and continued to bring out his paper there. The Poalei Zion Movement brought out its organ *Poalei Zion* in Bulgarian in the years 1927–40, first at Ruse and subsequently in Sofia. From the middle of 1926 there appeared for about 18 months the organ of *Hashomer Hatzair* in Bulgarian and in Hebrew. Subsequently, there appeared under this and other names, other editions of the organ of this group. The Halutz Movement in Bulgaria published, among others, in the years 1932–33, its organ *Bahazit* (Sofia). The Revisionists brought out two papers—both of them in Sofia, and the Bulgarian—*Rassvet* (The Dawn) was the official organ of the Movement and came out from 1927 until the pro-Nazi regime of Bulgaria forbad its publication in 1940; *Josef Trumpeldor* came out in the years 1933–34, first as a monthly and subsequently as a fortnightly. *Syonistitchke Zname* (The Zionist Flag) was the organ of the General Zionist Association in Bulgaria (Sofia, 1933–1934). A bimonthly by the name of *Yevreyska Tribuna* (Jewish Tribune) was, from June 1926 until the Spring of 1929, at Ruse, the organ of the Jewish intellectuals of all Zionist trends.



Rassviet, *fortnightly of Revisionists (Bulgarian), Sofia, 1927–1940*

During that period there appeared also several score periodical publications, for the greater part short-lived, of public organisations, youth groups, Hechalutz, sports associations (Maccabi), WIZO, trade unions and others. In the 1930s there appeared also numerous one-time leaflets.

The years of World War II were a period of ever stringent decrees against the Jews of Bulgaria, beginning with the laws at the inception of the War, which limited Jewish organisational activity, and ending with the Nuremberg laws during the period of Bulgaria's pact with Nazi Germany. The defeat of Germany led to the taking over of the power by the Communists in the autumn of 1944. At the beginning of the Communist regime there still appeared various bulletins by Jewish organisations, not in print—this was forbidden by the Government—but in mimeograph. But even this activity came to an end very soon, whether on account of proscription by the authorities or on account of the exodus of the Jews of Bulgaria, which commenced in 1948 when the greater majority of the Jewish community came on Aliyah to Israel and the community in Bulgaria ceased in practice to exist as an ethnic unit.

Salonika: a prospering Ladino press

Shalom Reuven and Gershon Hel

Before the Holocaust Salonika was one of the world's main centres for the Jewish press in Ladino (Judaeo-Spanish dialect). The press in this language, which was printed in Rashi characters, had an age-long tradition. The first Ladino paper appeared in Amsterdam in 1675. In the middle of the 19th Century papers in this language began to appear in Gibraltar, Izmir, Constantinople and Bulgaria. In the last quarter of the Century the Ladino press began to flourish and continued to do so during the first decades of the 20th Century, when periodicals in that language appeared also in Egypt, in countries overseas and even in Vienna. These papers educated generations of Jewish readers, were imbued with a printing houses which turned out books of a devotional character, of Jewish learning and prayerbooks.

The Jewish community of Salonika was one of the oldest Jewish communities in the world. It is believed that the first Jewish settlers in that city hailed from Alexandria in Egypt and arrived there some two centuries before the destruction of the Second Temple. For long generations this community turned out prominent Jewish scholars, particularly since the 16th Century when Salonika became one of the important centres for the exiles from Spain and Portugal as well as for refugees from North African countries, Sicily, the Princedoms of Italy and France. It is believed that for a certain period in the 17th Century Salonika was inhabited by the largest Jewish community in the world. As far back as the 16th Century there were founded in Salonika Jewish printing houses which turned out books of a devotional character, of Jewish learning and prayerbooks.

Two large fires in Salonika in the 20th Century proved to be historical turning points in the history of the community. The first, in the year 1917, led to 50,000 members of the community remaining without shelter and the disaster induced many of its victims to emigrate, but mainly to France. In the years 1932–4, the community was visited by antisemitic outbursts and a whole Jewish quarter was burned to the ground. In the wake of this conflagration, there was a relatively large Aliyah to Eretz Israel (bringing with it a sizeable number of Jewish stevedores, almost the only Jews to engage in this occupation in the world, who became the pioneers among workers in the deepwater port of Haifa which was inaugurated in the summer of 1933). Close to 44,000 Jews (95% of the Jewish community in Salonika) met their death in the Holocaust. The overwhelming majority among them were taken to the death camp at Auschwitz. only very few remnants of the victims returned from Bergen-Belsen. At the beginning of the 1970s there were only about 1,500 Jews in Salonika, and the destruction of the community in that city meant also the end to its Jewish press in the Ladino language.

Yehuda Nahama (1826–1899) was the pioneer of the Jewish periodical press in Salonika in the second half of the 19th Century. However, his paper *El Lunar* (The Moon) remained satisfied with the translation of articles from Hebrew papers which appeared in Russia and in Poland, and with commercial reviews.

The first informative paper by the name of *La Epoca* began appearing in 1875. It was founded by the printer, Saadi Halevi Ashkenazi (died 1915). His son Shmuel Levi was its editor. Levi, a gifted writer, and a popular figure, lent his paper a varied character. He saw that it provided the readership with as extensive information as possible about the world at large and Jewish life in particular, as well as about economic developments in the Ottoman Empire. He also published criticism of the way the community and its institutions were conducted and encouraged the dissemination of knowledge and the study of vocations as factors in the improvement of the economic situation of the Jews and of their social standing.

Like *El Tiempo* (The Times) in Constantinople, the largest Ladino paper at the time, *La Epoca,* too, endeavoured

to enrich the Spanish-Jewish dialect and to render it more flexible. Some of the collaborators in Levi's paper became, in the course of time, leading functionaries in conducting Jewish communal affairs, and a few of them also headed the Zionist Movement. The directors of the paper, however, were opposed to Zionism, and the trend adopted by the paper of preaching religious reform did not meet with the approval of the majority of Salonika Jewry, who were steadfast to Jewish tradition.

At the end of 1897 the publication commenced, under



Avanti! *Radical-Socialist daily (Ladino), Salonika (1922)*

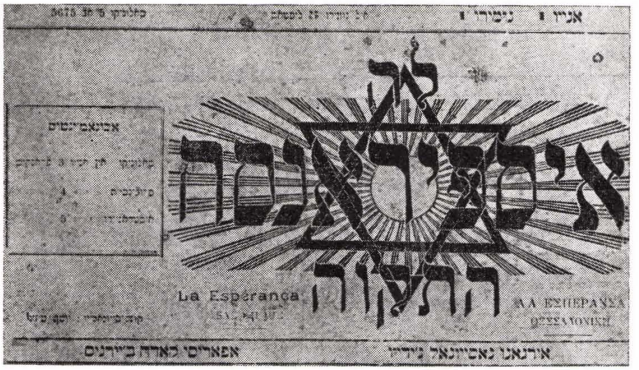
the direction of Moché Mallah and the editorship of David Florentin, an ardent Zionist, of *El Avenir* (The Future), which aimed at neutralising the influence of *La Epoca*. This paper, indeed, succeeded in attracting many of the readers of Samuel Levi's paper. Although Zionism was an illegal movement under the Ottoman regime—Eretz Israel formed part of the Turkish Empire—Florentin conducted from the columns of his paper propaganda for the settlement of Eretz Israel and debated, sometimes very sharply, with *La Epoca* on questions of Jewish tradition, Hebrew and education for Jewish national values. In 1909, Florentin brought out at Salonika *Revista Populara* (Popular Paper)—a national periodical which also published numerous articles on popular science. Florentin's partner in this periodical was Yossef Uziel, a gifted writer, who formerly cooperated with Levi's paper. Uziel engaged in journalism also in Israel, to which he came on Aliyah in 1920. (He died in Israel in 1968.)

The twelve years or so that preceded World War I were years of great prosperity for the Jewish press in Salonika. Apart from the Balkan wars, this period witnessed also the revolution of the Young Turks, who included also many Jews, and the renewal of the constitutional regime in Turkey. (Until 1908 the relatively progressive constitution of the year 1876 was a dead letter.) Following the liberalisation of the regime, the first daily paper in Ladino *La Libertad* (Liberty) was founded in Salonika under the editorship of Elie Arditti. The trend of the paper was national. It was not, however, long-lived. Mentèche Ben-Sanji, the editor of *El Emparsial* (The Impartial), was also a man of national outlook. The paper began to appear in 1910, but the editor took care to preserve moderate neutrality towards both the Zionist Movement and religious matters. In 1912, when Salonika was occupied by Greece, Ben-Sanji began bringing out *El Liberal* (The Liberal), which took over *El Emparsial* and *La Epoca*. Ben-Sanji was a profuse writer and initiated numerous journalistic enterprises.

Ladino-writing Jews were also pioneers of the Socialist press in Salonika which, at the beginning, was influenced by the revolution of the Young Turks. The Socialist Federation was founded in the year 1910, and a year later two papers which disseminated Socialist ideas began publication. "El Club Lavorador" (The Workers Club), which was founded in 1908, then began publishing *El Jornal del Lavorador* (The Workers' Paper)—at first in four languages, Ladino, Turkish, Greek and Bulgarian, and afterwards in two, Ladino and Greek. The organ of the Socialist Federation *La Solidaridad Ovradera* (The Workers Union) began publication in 1911, first once weekly and subsequently twice weekly. Avraham Benaroya, who edited the Ladino section in *Jornal del Lavorador,* was editor of the Federation paper and stringently criticised the Municipal administration and the institutions of the Jewish community, combated the dictatorial tendencies of the Young Turks Party and defended the liberation of Albania from Turkish rule.

On account of his support of the Albanian revolt, the

paper was closed down, but continued to appear under the name of *Avanti* (Forward), first twice or three times a week, and subsequently as a daily paper. In 1915, three years after the occupation of Salonika by the Greeks, *Avanti* conducted a stringent campaign against the entry of Greece into the War. The publication of the paper was suspended when the French and British armies entered Salonika, but its appearance was speedily renewed on the intervention of Joseph Nahama who, in his capacity of inspector of schools run by the "Alliance Israélite Universelle", had influence on French circles. (Nahama, the historian of Salonika Jewry, was imprisoned in the Bergen-Belsen Camp during World War II, and after the Holocaust wrote in collaboration with Rabbi Michael Molho, another research worker, the chapter on the destruction of Greek Jewry.) One of the regular col-



La Esperança, *1st pro-Zionist paper (Ladino), Salonika, 1915–1920*

laborators of the Socialist paper was the well-known educationist and philologist from Eretz Israel, Yitzhak Epstein, who at the beginning of the Century came to Salonika at the invitation of "Kadima", the Association for the Dissemination of the Hebrew Language. In 1923, the paper was taken over by the Communist Party and its editor was then Jacques Ventura, a gifted propagandist and journalist, who was for some time Member of Parliament in Athens, as representative of The Greek Popular Party. The former editor, Benaroya, an ardent Socialist, a native of Bulgaria who had settled in Salonika, came on Aliyah to Eretz Israel after the Holocaust.

Another daily paper, which played an important educational role in Salonika, was *La Verdad* (The Truth). Its editor was Yitzhak Chaki, a native of Larissa, a tailor by vocation, but an educated and dynamic man who did much in organising the Jewish artisans in a vocational federation. He was closely connected with the Greek Popular Party, was twice elected to the Greek Parliament in the 1930s,



Tikvatenu, *Mizrachi mouthpiece, Salonika*

and in 1932 was elected to the Senate. His paper fought for the Jewish rights as equal citizens in the State. During the last period of the paper's existence, its editors were Albert Molho and Shlomo Reuven.

Since the beginning of the 1920s, there began appearing in Salonika weeklies and monthlies of various trends, both Zionist and non-Zionist as organs of various organisations. The first Zionist Organizations were established as far back as the end of the 19th Century, and on the eve of World War I, were over 20 in number in Salonika. In the spring of 1909 the "Club des Intimes" (Club of Friends) brought out a weekly by the name of *La Nacion* (The Nation), which espoused Turkisation but, for fear of negative reaction on the part of the Ottoman regime, opposed Zionism. Most of the members of this Association had been educated in

the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" schools and other educational institutions, were not assimilationists in the West European sense, but Jews proud of their people and loyal to their faith. The editor of *La Nacion* was Moise Cohen, a graduate of the Beth Yossef Yeshiva and subsequently a violent opponent of the Zionist Movement. However, as far back as 1908, this Friends Club had invited for lectures such people as Jabotinsky and Victor Jacobson the banker



David Florentin

who conducted Zionist activity in Turkey, and during the years of World War I headed the Zionist Office in Copenhagen.

Zionist members of the Club who did not accept the ideological line of *La Nacion,* withdrew and founded "El Nuevo Club" (The New Club), an association which published *Tribuna Libera* (Free Platform). The editor of this paper was David Matalon who was several times a Member of Parliament in Athens. *Tribuna* published a lot of serious publicistic material in the Zionist-national spirit, as well as researches in the field of Judaism and the Jewish National Movement. Among the contributors to the paper were David Florentin, Yossef Uziel, Max Nordau and others.

In the autumn of 1917, about two months after the great fire, when the town was still under the occupation of the French and British forces, two gifted journalists, Mentèche Ben-Sanji and Elia Veissi, began publication of the daily *El Pueblo* (The People), which continued to come out for almost 16 years. Ben-Sanji was an ardent Zionist, a man of great energy and of strong moral principles. He fought relentlessly for the rights of the Jews of Salonika, for reforms in the institutions of the Jewish community and in particular for equality of rights of the poor Jews in the elections to the Community Council—as far back as the days of the Ottoman regime, franchise was granted only to those who paid the "Poll Tax"—and obviously also against manifestations of antisemitism. Following differences of opinion between the editor and the party of David Matalon, who was



למען ישראל

PRO-ISRAEL

LE JUDAISME MONDIAL PREND LA DÉFENSE DE NOTRE CAUSE

LA QUESTION DU REPOS DOMINICAL SERA SOUMISE A LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS

LE CONSISTOIRE DES JUIFS D'ANGLETERRE PRIE LE GOUVERNEMENT ANGLAIS D'INTERVENIR AUPRÈS DU CABINET GREC

Mr. Lucien Wolf au nom du Joint Foreign Committee représentant le Board of Deputies des Juifs Anglais et l'Anglo-Jewish Association, a adressé dernièrement au Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat des affaires Etrangères d'Angleterre une lettre par laquelle il demande que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britanique fit des représentations amicales auprès du Cabinet Grec au sujet de la revision de la loi établant à Salonique les dispositions de la loi du repos dominical obligatoire.

La lettre relève que la mesure en question constitue « non seulement un acte d'injustice et d'intolérance religieuse » mais aussi « une violation d'engagements solennels pris par le Gouvernement Hellénique lors de l'annexion de Salonique, et depuis fréquemment confirmés par des hommes d'Etat grecs et même incorporés dans des lois qui n'ont pas été abrogées ».

Une copie de la lettre de Mr. Venizelos, Ex-Premier Ministre, promettant implicitement la continuation du privilège accordé aux Juifs de travailler le dimanche, y est jointe.

La lettre de Mr. Wolf ajoute que si le gouvernement anglais pense ne pouvoir pas intervenir, le Joint Foreign Comitee se propose de soumettre les faits au Conseil de la Ligue des Nations et espère que, dans ce cas, il aura l'appui des délégués anglais au Conseil.

Le gouvernement anglais n'ayant pas répondu dans le sens espéré, le Joint Foreign Committee est revenu à la charge. Il résulte toutefois de ce qui précède que la question du repos dominical des Juifs sera soumise à la prochaine session de la Soc. de Nations.

LE GRAND-RABBIN D'AMSTERDAM TÉLÉGRAPHIE AU GOUVERNEMENT GREC

Le Grand-Rabbin d'Amsterdam a adressé en date du 20 Août au Gouverne ment Grec et à l'Assemblée Nationale la dépêche suivante :

« Le soussigné apprend avec épouvante la nouvelle de l'adoption de la loi forçant les Israélites au repos dominical. Comme le repos de deux jours par semaine est impossible économiquement, cette loi serait désastreuse pour l'existence des Juifs grecs.

« Ayant confiance en vos sentiments de justice et d'équité, le soussigné demande instamment la modification de cette loi injuste. »

LE GRAND-RABBIN D'AMSTERDAM
L. S. ONDERWIJZER

Pro-Israel, *Zionist (French), Salonika, –1934*

Chairman of the Bnai Brith Lodge in Salonika, and other personalities, mainly over matters of state and elections to the Jewish Community Council, the status of the paper was undermined and it was closed down in the summer of 1933.

Another daily paper in Ladino was *Il Tiemplo* (the Time), founded by Izaac Florentin in 1925. The paper had always a limited circulation on account of its opposition to the Zionist Movement, nor was it marked for a high journalistic standard.

Differences of opinion between the editors of *El Pueblo* induced Elia Veissi to part from partnership with Ben-Sanji and in August 1929 began bringing out a paper of his own, *Action* by name. At first the paper espoused Socialism and served as the organ of The Popular Bloc. Subsequently it was joined by two of the Zionist leaders in Greece, Elie Frances and Yosef Angel, who gave the paper a national-Zionist character (Angel subsequently settled in Eretz Israel). Veissi continued to be a member of the Editorial Board, but he was not allowed to influence the tendency of the paper which became an important factor in Jewish public life. In August 1938, the administration of the paper, which was marked for its good informative



La Renasencia Judea, *fortnightly, Zionist (Ladino-French), Salonika, 1917–*

standard, was taken over by Albert Molho, a gifted writer and a journalist of biting pen. Despite Molho's tendency to the Left, the paper continued to preserve its national policy. Three years previously, *Action* merged with *La Prensa Libera* (The Free Press) and from then on the paper's name was *La Action-Prensa*. The motivation for the founding of *La Prensa Libera* in 1934 was political. It was established on the intervention of Daniel Allalouf, a member of the Greek Parliament and of its Monarchist faction. The paper was not opposed to the Zionist Movement, but its support of the Monarchist Party aroused the chagrin of the Republican Party headed by Eleutherios Venizelos, which had little sympathy for the Jews on account of their positive attitude to the Monarchist Party.

El Messagero (The Harbinger) was the last daily in Judaeo-Spanish printed in Rashi characters to appear in Salonika. Its founder was Elia Veissi, who denied the Zionist-national idea but, in order that his paper might gain circulation, he lent it a moderate-national trend and published information on the events of the Jewish world. Its publication was suspended shortly before the German occupation of Salonika (at the beginning of April 1941). Veissi met his death in the Holocaust.

Some half-dozen other journalistic attempts in Ladino, which did not succeed, were made in Salonika, and we shall not dwell upon them.

Finally, it should be mentioned that since the beginning of the 20th Century, there appeared in Salonika some 20 or so weeklies, almost all of them in Ladino, whose publishers wished to present the reader with light, humouristic and satirical reading material. Their main purpose was to provide the readership with pleasant reading material for the Sabbath rest day, and to dig at personalities and institutions for deeds which the editors regarded as worthy of criticism. About a dozen of these periodicals continued to appear for a considerable length of time.

The Zionist Movement did not have a daily paper of its own, but it did bring out weeklies, monthlies and annuals which were marked by a clear Zionist policy. The first such periodical was the weekly *La Esperansa* (The Hope), which Zionist Associations (Bnai Zion, Nordau, Maccabi and Kadima) began publishing in the summer of 1915. The appearance of this weekly was suspended as a result of the

great fire of 1917, but was renewed in the winter of 1918. Several months later, an interruption in the publication of the paper occurred again, but with the establishment of the Zionist Federation in Greece the publication of *Esperansa* was renewed in the spring of 1919 as the official organ of the Federation. In 1920, however, Yosef Uziel, the editor of the paper, went on Aliyah to Eretz Israel, and since then the weekly ceased publication. The Editorial Board included,



Moise Haimis



Avraham Racanatti

among others, Isaac Albo, Avraham Racanatti and David Florentin.

In the year 1917, under the influence of the political foment which arose in the wake of the Russian Revolution, a militant fortnightly was founded under the name of *La Renassencia Judia* (The Jewish Renaissance). Its founders, who included Elie Frances and Isaac Angel, were young Zionists who regarded *Esperansa* as far too moderate and wanted to launch a more dynamic Zionist activity and so were determined to combat the opponents of the Jewish National Movement, especially the Socialists and Communists among them. The trend of the paper, which appeared in two languages, Ladino and French, was General-Zionist, and supported the policy of Chaim Weizmann. The paper continued to appear until 1921, but renewed publication in 1926 as the organ of the Zionist Federation. Its publication was stopped in 1936 on account of the limitations imposed by the dictatorial regime of General Metaxas. During the last years of its publication, it also had a Greek section.

We shall mention several other Zionist periodicals which represented different trends in the Movement. *Pro-Israel* appeared in Ladino and French and subsequently in French alone; a supplement in Hebrew entitled *Hashachar* was the organ of the Young Mizrachi. Under the editorship of the writer of these lines, there appeared two papers—*La Nacion,* organ of the Herzlian Youth, which was published by the Bnai Mizrachi-Brith Trumpeldor Association, and *La Boz Zionista* (The Zionist Voice), organ of the Revisionist Party. The Young Mizrachi Association also brought out a monthly by the name of *Torah va'Avodah.* Zionist Associations, particularly those linked with Mizrachi and the Revisionist youth (Betar), also brought out leaflets in Hebrew. Several Zionist groups brought out annuals in Hebrew and Ladino, some of which published historical and literary researches.

Since the beginning of the 20th Century there appeared in Salonika numerous Jewish papers in French. The Alliance schools were very active in the dissemination of the French language; the first of these schools was founded in the year 1873. Sam Levi was the editor of the paper *Le Journal de Salonique* which appeared as early as the beginning of the Century. In the year 1909 there began to appear the evening daily *L'Indépendant,* whose owners were Avraham Mataraso and Lazar Nafosi; subsequently its editor became Mentèche Ben-Sanji whose articles had wide repercussions beyond the Jewish readership of the paper. (Ben-Sanji met his death, together with the other members of the Jewish community, in the Holocaust.) An anti-Zionist daily paper, by way of counteraction to Ben-Sanji's publication, was *L'Information,* whose publisher was Albert Garasso, and its editors were Jacques Ventura and Albert Molho, members of the Left.

For many years there appeared in Salonika the informative paper *Le Progres* (The Progress), whose owner was Avraham Levi and its editor Sam Modiano. The paper was of a commercial nature, and throughout the years of its existence preserved strict neutrality insofar as the social trends in the community, including the Zionist Movement, were concerned.

Another daily paper, *Le Flambeau* (The Torch), was

owned by Elie Frances, one of the leaders of General Zionism in Greece, and used to publish considerable material of Zionist content. The above-named Albert Molho, a Socialist leader in Salonika, who subsequently joined the Communist camp, brought out a paper by the name of *La Volonté* (The Will), whose publicistic section was thrown open also to views opposed to those of the editor, including articles of a Zionist tendency.

Finally, we must mention the serious periodical in French —*Connaître* (To Know) whose tendency was general-humanist and its pages were open to discussion of Jewish problems in general, and of Zionist problems in particular.

In the period between the two World Wars the Jewish community in Salonika was the largest among the Jewish communities in Greece, but the city of Salonika was in all about 30 years within the Greek frontiers and the Greek language was little spoken by the Jews of Salonika who did not read in that language. We shall make mention of the principal papers (on the basis of the few existing sources) concerning Jewish papers in historical Greece which appeared in the language of that country.

As far back as the end of the 19th Century, there appeared in the island of Corfu (Kerkira), a Jewish monthly by the name of *Israilitis Chronografos* (The Jewish Chronographer), whose founder and editor Moise Haimis disseminated Zionist ideas among the Jews of Greece and whose paper also reached the Greek-speaking Jews of Egypt and America. In due course Haimis moved to Athens where he brought out a high standard Jewish monthly by the name of *Israilitiki Epitheorissis* (Jewish Periodical), which gained support for Zionism among the Jews of Greece within the frontiers of that country at that time. This periodical appeared from 1912 until 1916.

In the town of Tricala, a local lawyer, the Zionist Yomtov Yacoel, brought out a periodical by the name of *Israil.* In due course, Yacoel moved to Salonika where he became Legal Adviser to the Jewish community. Previously Yacoel had brought out a paper in Athens by the name of *Nea Sion* (The New Zion).

In due course the paper merged with *La Renassencia Judia,* a paper in Ladino, published in Salonika. Yacoel met his death in the Holocaust. He left behind a diary depicting the sufferings of the Jewish community during the period of the Nazi occupation.

Until the year 1937, there appeared in Athens a Zionist monthly by the name of *Foni Tou Israil* (The Voice of Israel). It was brought out by the Zionist Association in the Greek capital and its editor was the President of the Association, Raphael Constantinis, who after the Nazi occupation was editor of *Evraiki Estia* (The Jewish Home). His associate editor was Asher Moissis who, for several years before World War II, was President of the Zionist Organisation in Greece, and after the emergence of the State of Israel, was its first diplomatic representative in Athens. *Evraiki Estia* ceased publication on the death of Constantinis. At present there appears one Jewish periodical in Greece—*Israilitiki Epitheorissis,* the same as the name of the paper that appeared in the Greek capital for several years before World War I. The owner and editor of this paper is Marcel Yoel.

INDEX OF NAMES

Abeles Otto 357
Abramovitz Rudolf 424
Abramovitz Z. 136
Abramski J. (Rabbi) 295
Agnon S.J. 265, 268
Agronski (Agron) Gerschon 186, 424
Ahad Haam 168, 279, 281, 294
Ahimeir (Bar-Yohai, J. Ben Shamai) Aba 93
Akerman J.B. 104, 107, 108
Aktzin Hertz 310
Albo Isaac 444
Alcalay David 431
Alexandroni Alexander 151
Alitch 431
Allalouf Daniel 443
Alouche Felix 379
Alperin Aaron 371–376
Alta Philip 380, 381
Alter Abraham Mordechai (Rabbi) 97
Alter Arie Leib (Rabbi) 97
Alter Leon 181
Alter Mendele 98
Alter Mordechai 124
Alter Moshe Bezalel (Rabbi) 98
Alter S. 168
Alter Victor 115, 121, 181
Alter Yitzhak Meir (Rebbe of Gur) 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 250
Alteratz (Altis) Yitzhak 434
Alterman J. 285
Altschuler M. 295
Amiel Moshe Avigdor (Rabbi) 165
Amitai Mordechai 425
Amrungen van (Arnon) J. 384
Amsterdam Shaul 135
Andruse K. 381
Angel Issac 444
Angel Josef 443
An-sky S. 67, 169, 229, 298
Antonescu 422
Apelbaum Ze'ev, 2, 15
Appelbaum 77
Applebaum Joseph 427
Appenszlak (Pierrot) Jacob 146, 147, 148
Appenszlak Pola 145, 149, 294
Arditi Elie 440
Ariel S.L. 424
Arlosorof Ch. 86, 89, 123, 313
Arnhold H. 295
Asch Shalom 19, 37, 57, 79, 148, 280, 309, 357, 371, 373, 374, 424
Ashkenazi Saadi Halevi 439
Auerbach Rachel 218–221
Averbuch M. 373

Baal Shem Tov 109
Bab Julius 331
Babitzki Leibush 226
Babitzki Nahum 226
Bach Hans 325
Badenberg von 297
Bader Gershon 276
Badi H.M. 424
Baeck L. 327, 338
Bak A.M. 421
Balaban M. 148, 160, 241
Balfour 9, 182, 328, 329, 332, 340, 381
Bar Arie 2, 173–203
Baranik (Eilon) Benzion 244
Barbusse Henri 310
Barlicki Norbert 84
Baron Noah 136
Bartel Kazimierz 35, 199
Baruch Josef Marko 435
Bashevis Singer Isaak 126, 216, 376
Bass Noah 240
Bassuk Moshe 124
Bauer Jacob 358
Baum Karl 358, 365
Beck Josef 27, 130, 201, 269
Becker Abraham 300
Becker J. 229
Beigel (Avigal) M.A. 170
Beilis Mendel 59, 60, 64, 81, 106, 217, 252
Beilis Shlomo 235
Bein Leibl 93, 141, 142
Bela Szereny 363
Belmont Leo 60
Belz Rabbi of 368
Ben-Adir A. 313
Benaroya Avraham 440, 441
Benedict Moritz 355
Ben-Eliezer (Glambotski) Moshe 251, 285, 288, 297
Ben-Ever (Benever) 189, 190
Ben Gavriel J. 364
Ben Gurion David 53, 106, 123, 124
Ben-Hananya 404–444
Ben-Sanji Menteche 440
Ben Shoshan Raphael 435–438
Ben Tov Mordechai 166
Ben Yitzhak Abraham 279
Ben Zvi Yitzhak 63
Benes Eduard 200, 363
Berdichevski Micha Yosef 166, 397
Berezovski David 239
Bergelson David 289, 293, 313
Berger Herzl 124, 126
Berger Ludwig 268
Bergmann Hugo 364, 365
Berkelhammer Sarah 272
Berkelhammer Wilhelm (Ze'ev) 260–265, 267, 269
Berlin Meir (Rabbi) 104, 297
Berman Jacob 187, 188, 190, 201, 202, 267
Bernheim 177
Bernholz Moshe 166
Bernstein Fritz 383
Bernstein Reuven 316
Bernstein (Bar-Haim) Zvi 315, 316
Beseler von 100
Bialik Ch. N. 151, 168, 169, 268, 269, 279, 285, 424
Bialopolsky Abraham 128
Bidarida Guido 394
Bieber Shlomo 64
Bikel Shlomo 428
Bikel Samuel 273
Bilu J. 295
Bimco Fischel 253
Birnbaum (Matityahu Acher) Nathan 102, 104, 109, 275, 390
Bistrizki Nathan 171, 268
Blank S.L. 170
Blau Yehuda 414
Bloch Joseph 356
Bloch Pierre 378

Bloch Yitzhak 355
Blum Léon 377
Blumenthal M. 297
Bochman Berl 257
Bodek J. 274
Boigman Herschel 248
Boiko Arie (Leibele) 90
Boim B. 244
Bokor Ermin 411
Bolin Michael 245
Bomash Meir 251, 252
Bomza Nahum 218, 219
Bord J. 244
Boreisza Jerzy 151
Bornstein Jacob 142, 158
Bornstein Yitzhak 68, 82
Borochov Ber 133, 135, 288
Botoshansky Jaakov 419
Bragin 291
Brahms J. 301, 306, 309
Brandeis Louis 329
Brandes George 399
Brandstätter Roman 70, 151
Brat Yitzhak 243–247
Braun 78
Breinin Reuben 161
Breisher Zelig 136
Brenner J.H. 166
Breuer Yitzhak 101
Brick Daniel 398, 399, 401
Brod Max 363, 365, 407
Broderzon Moshe 210, 254, 255
Brojdo M. 265
Bronstein (Mibashan) M. 419
Broshi Zelig 389
Brutzkus B. 283, 288
Buber Martin 171, 325, 365
Buchsbaum Mordechai 134
Bulak-Bulachowicz 38
Burek (B. Yakir) Jacob 247
Burstein Pinhas 231

Cahan Abe 237
Candria-Hecht A. 420
Capen Jacob 431
Carlebach Emanuel (Rabbi) 100, 103
Carlebach Ezriel 208, 272
Carp Horia 420
Carpi Leone 394
Chaki Yitzhak 441
Charny Vladek Baruch 117
Chaymsky M. 427
Cherikover Eliahu 375
Chilinowicz (Hilinovitz) Benzion 42, 77, 79
Chmielnitzki Bogdan 9
Chomsky Yitzhak 373
Cincinnatus Aaron 232
Ciolkosz Stanislaw 84
Citron Shmuel Leib 223
Cohen Alexander Z. 83
Cohen-Hadaria René 379
Cohen Herman 325
Cohen Josef 413
Cohen M. 428
Cohen Moise 442
Cohen Moshe 230
Cohen Pinhas (Rabbi) 100, 103
Cohen S. 388
Cohen-Zedek Josef 274
Cohen Zvi 257
Cohn Gustav 379
Cohn Hans 364
Colbi Saul P. 393–395
Constantinis Raphael 445
Coppeleman Shmuel 383
Corinaldi Gino 394
Cossmann Ludwig 322
Creveld van A. 381
Cuza A.C. 429
Czarny Daniel 248
Czernin Ottokor 357

Damilak Joseph 248
Daszynski Ignacy 28
Davids J.Z. 383
Dawidson Joseph 151
Dermer Jacob 428
Der Nister 289, 313
Deutscher Moshe 103, 104
Deutscher Yitzhak 268, 269
Diamant Joseph 268, 272
Dickman Shlomo 151
Dienemaun Max Dr. (Rabbi) 325
Dimanstein Shimon 289, 290, 291
Dinezon Jacob 42
Dinur B.Z. 295
Dissenchik Arie 307
Dmowski Roman 19
Dochani Julius 433
Dollfuss E. 358
Drachle M. 246
Dreikurs Leib 142
Dreyfus A. 406, 418
Dror Shlomo 315
Druk David 58, 297
Druyanow Alter 279, 280
Dubin M. 303, 308
Dubinsky R.R. 301
Dubnikov H.A. 170
Dubnow Simon 141, 159, 281, 299, 426
Dubois Stanislaw 129
Duker A.G. 294
Dvozhetzki Mark 232
Dzerzhinski F. 194

Ebner Meir 428
Eck Nathan 169
Edelheim Margarete 331, 333
Edelman (Mulah) Shmuel 136
Ederstheim H. 382
Edut Fanhum 300, 301, 302, 303, 310
Efroikin Israel 371, 375
Ehrenburg I. 293
Ehrenpreis Mordechai (Markus) (Rabbi) 397–401, 431
Ehrenreich H.L. (Rabbi) 365
Ehrlich Shlomo 272
Ehrmann Naphtali Hertz 101
Eichmann Adolf 181, 407
Eiger Akiba (Rabbi) 62
Einhorn Aaron 43, 47, 220, 221
Einhorn Bracha 221
Einhorn David 371, 375
Einstein Albert 159
Eisenbaum Antoni 145
Eisenstadt Baruch 136
Eisenstadt (Yudin) J. 225
Eisenstadt S. 279, 280
Eisenstein S. 293
Eismann Heinrich (Chaim) 239
Eisner Georg 331
Elbaum Moshe 142, 143
Elbogen Ismar 327
Elfant Hersh Mendel 368
Eliasberg Alexander 325
Eliasch A. 382
Eliashev (Israel Elyashiv) (Baal Machshavot) Isidore 311
Eliasz Mania 118
Elimor Gershon 311–319
Elisheva 170
Ellenberg (Shmaryahu) Zygmunt 262–265
Elluer Zvi 428
Elnakave Dov 437
Elyashiv Esther 318
Elyashiv M.S. 297, 298, 316
Emiot Israel 109, 110
Emper Abraham 90
Ephraimchik (Abba ben Efraim) Abba 316
Epstein Shachne 291, 293
Epstein Yitzhak 441
Erem Moshe 132–136, 318
Erik Max 136
Erlich Henryk 115, 121, 181
Erter Yitzhak 274
Eshkoli A.Z. 170
Esther 288
Ettinger Lazar 297, 301
Ettlinger Jacob (Rabbi) 97
Etzion I. R. 313
Eventov Yakir 431–434

Falk Wilhelm 265
Falko Gabriella 394
Fantl G. 364
Farago Miklós 409, 410
Färber Meir 354–359
Farbstein Heshel-Joshua 59, 154, 164
Farkas Albert 405
Feder Richard (Rabbi) 364

Federbusch S. 161
Fefer Itzik 290, 292, 293
Feigel J. 244
Feigenbaum Israel Issar 168
Feigenbaum Moshe 102
Feinkind Shlomo 129
Feldman Israel 118
Feldman Marcu 417
Feldschuh (Ben Shem) Reuven 168
Fichman Jacob 167, 169, 172
Fiedler Arkady 181
Filderman William 420
Fin Shmuel Yosef 223, 226
Fink Yacob 379
Finkelstein A. 301
Finkelstein Chaim 34–43, 53, 136
Finkelstein M. 301
Finkelstein Nehemia 37, 41, 42, 43, 59
Finkelstein Noah 40, 372
Finkelstein Ozer 314
Fischer Edmond 432
Fischer Jacob 413
Fischer Jean 387
Fischer (Ariel Joseph) Joseph 377
Fischer Karel 362
Fischer Morris 387
Fischer Yosef (Rabbi) 399
Fischl (Avigdor Dagan) Victor 364
Fischlovitz Leon 266
Fischlowitz Stanislaw 266
Fisher Oscar 387
Flakser Menahem 139–144
Fleischer Jacob 272
Fleischmann Gustav 364
Fleischman Jacob 431
Flinker (Der Umbakanter) David 2, 102, 103, 106, 109, 110, 111
Florentin David 440, 442, 444
Florentin Isaac 443
Foch Diodato 394
Fogel Zygmunt 148
Foigel A. 253
Ford Henry I. 180
Frances Elie 443, 444, 445
Frank E.N. 153, 155, 279, 372, 373, 375
Frank Shmuel 257, 388
Frankel J. 13
Frankel Zacharias 327
Frankfurter David 82
Franz Joseph II. 35, 406
Frenkl 201
Freund Jacob (Kuba) 262–265
Friede Maximilian 87
Friedheim Z. 316
Friediger Max (Rabbi) 400
Friedman Adolf 325
Friedman Alexander Zusha 104, 105, 108, 109
Friedman (Eliahu) Eliezer 318
Friedman Joseph 136
Friedman (Elyashiv) Samuel 314
Freidman Mendel 245
Friedmann Franticek 364
Frisch S. 423
Frischmann David 19, 57, 153, 155, 168, 169, 270, 279, 280, 286, 397
Frostig Moshe 276, 277
Fuchs Alfred 362, 365
Fuchs Eugen 325, 330
Fuchs Joel 390
Fuchs Lazar 254, 255
Fudiman Josef 373
Furies Ludwig 410
Furman Reuven 245
Furt Z. 314

Galant Jonah 292
Galvestone 18
Gam D. 244
Ganszyniec Ryszard 199
Garasso Albert 444
Garber Mania 210
Garfunkel Leib 311, 314
Garnitzki J. 301
Garyn Nathanel-Tony 376–379
Gaster M. (Rabbi) 420
Gavze Aaron 37, 40, 43
Gehorsam Abraham 327
Geiger Abraham 327
Gelberg Anatoli 209
Geller J. 377
Gens Shimon 318
Ger Meir 136
Gershuni Gershon 135
Gertz-Movshovits M. 304, 306
Gessen J. 281
Getschlich Abraham 371
Gezerd 389
Gilels S. 293
Ginsburg M. 168, 246
Ginsburg S. 281, 285, 286, 288
Ginsig Azriel (Rabbi) 388
Gintzig J. 388
Ginzler Abraham 413
Glantz Leib 427
Glasman Arie 319
Glazman Joseph 315
Glezer (Gal-Ezer) Eliahu 313
Glicksman Abraham 142
Glikson Moshe 282, 286, 295
Glück Zeev 432, 433
Gnessin M. 287, 295
Godard Justin 377
Goebbels Joseph 110, 200, 270, 429
Goering Herman 31, 270, 337
Goethe Johann W. 167, 334
Goetz Georg 337
Gold Hugo 364, 365
Gold Leibush 421
Goldberg 139, 140
Goldberg Abraham 29, 30, 48, 52–55, 151, 152, 213, 373
Goldberg B. 288, 295
Goldberg Leah 319
Golde 291
Goldman Nahum 71
Goldschmidt Max 399, 400
Goldshmidt A.J. 229
Goldshmidt Samuel 312, 313
Goldschmied Leopold 365
Goldshtein Alexander 280
Goldstein Julius 325
Goldstein (Der lustiger pessimist) J.S. 55, 253, 254
Goldstein Leopold 365
Goldstein M. 428
Goldstein Moshe 363, 367
Gordon A.D. 166
Gordon Moshe 167
Goren Nathan 312
Gorky M. 287
Gotthelf Yehuda 9–15, 124, 166, 169, 171
Gottlieb Franticek 364
Gottlieb H. 432
Gottlieb (Amit Jacob) Jacob 316
Gottlieb L. 244
Gottlieb S. 68
Gottlieb Yoshua 52, 53, 64, 66, 68, 74, 76, 78, 84, 86, 87, 208, 213, 250, 251
Grabski Stanislaw 27, 30, 35, 41, 44, 46, 80, 158, 159, 244
Graetz H. 41, 399, 426
Grafman Abraham 79, 315
Graser Zalman 243
Gravitzki Josef 36
Greenberg Ephraim 312
Greenberg Uri Zvi 75, 77, 87, 94, 167, 269, 279, 324
Greenblat (Goren) Nathan 314, 318
Gribashuk L. 301
Grinspan Hershel 200
Grodzenski A.J. 232, 234, 373
Gromyko Andrei 293
Gronemann Sammy 72
Gros Kalman 306
Gross Dawid 365
Gross Otto 432
Grosberg Leopold 406
Grosman Moshe 43
Grossman Meir 59, 182, 185, 294, 314, 315, 371, 399
Grossman Vladimir 373, 375, 390
Gruenbaum Benzion 143
Gruenbaum Yitzhak 17–33, 34–37, 44–48, 50, 52, 53, 59, 79, 122, 134, 141, 146, 150, 151, 152, 155, 161, 171, 172, 267, 277, 280, 286, 371, 422
Gruenberg Yitzhak 255

Gruenwald Max 327
Gruenzweig Heinrich 387
Grün N. 377
Grünwald (Rabbi) 431
Gumpertz Aron Salomon 321
Gurfein Rebecca 272
Gustlof 82
Gut Otakar 362

Habas Bracha 171
Hadakov M. 308
Hadosh Leib 313
Haimis Moise 445
Halasz Lajos 408, 409, 410
Halevy Yehuda 411
Halkin S. 170, 293
Haller Josef General 20
Halperin Falk 280, 287
Halprin Jacob 225, 226
Halpern 263
Halpern Yehiel 122, 123, 132, 262, 264, 265, 281, 285
Halter Shlomo 111
Hamburski Emanuel 249, 250, 252
Hartglas Apolinary 146, 272
Hartman Moritz 362
Hat Jacob 300
Hayat Israel 379
Hazan S. 246
Hazaz H. 169
Heftman (Emanuel) Josef 64, 71, 79, 153, 154, 158, 160, 163, 209, 279
Heilikman T. 288
Heine H. 169
Heinemann E. 338
Heivin Shlomo 136
Hel Gershon 439–445
Helman Jacob 126, 128, 132, 299, 300, 302, 303, 308, 312
Helman Moshe 250
Hendler Ziga 433
Henich (Isch) Henryk 205, 208, 209
Hermann Hugo 363
Herman Leo 363
Herman Nahum 371
Herrendorf S.J. 366–369
Hershel 94, 209
Hertz 60
Hertz J.S. 113–121, 119
Herzl B.Z. 18, 85, 263, 274, 275, 335, 355, 372, 397, 410, 411
Herzl Haltai Jena 410
Hescheles Henryk 277, 278
Hickel Max 355, 365
Hilberg Arnold 355
Hildesheimer Azriel 97, 101, 327
Hilinovitz Benzion 64
Himmelstein Menashe 248
Himmler Heinrich 270
Hirsch Baron 373
Hirsch Samson Raphael (Rabbi) 97, 101, 327
Hirschberg Alfred 337
Hirschfeld Ludwig 356
Hirschfeld Oscar 356
Hirschhorn S. 17, 64, 66, 68, 79, 147, 148
Hitler A. 31, 33, 48, 49, 53, 64, 107, 122, 126, 178, 181, 182, 186, 189, 191, 195, 200, 202, 213, 218, 220, 269, 270, 271, 272, 310, 328, 330, 334, 335, 336, 374, 381, 390, 409, 429
Hodes Leivik 121
Hoffman Jacob 307
Hofstein D. 289, 290, 293
Holoweszko M. 244
Holzberg Yitzhak Raphael 313
Horoncik S. 126, 129
Horovitz Michael-David 387
Horowitz Elhanan 241–242
Horty Nicholas 413
Huberman Bronislav 131
Hurwitz Moshe 425
Hurwitz Tuvia (Rabbi) 104

Idelson A. 280, 283
Iltis Rudolf 365
Indelman (Yinnon) Moshe 41, 43, 220
Insler Abraham 48, 70, 71, 148, 151, 152
Isserson 148
Iwask 295
Iwaszewicz 87
Izban 136

Jabotinsky (Hash-Bar) Eri 93, 94
Jabotinsky Ze'ev 32, 49, 52, 53, 66, 73, 74, 75, 80, 86, 87, 91, 93, 122, 123, 166–170, 248, 307, 314, 315, 358, 371, 372, 394, 442
Jacobovitz I. 372
Jacobowitz (Henry-Zwier) H. 389
Jacobowitz S. 389
Jacobson Victor 176, 331, 364, 377, 442
Jaffe Mordechai 318
Jafris 84
Jagiello 61, 251
Jagoda 244
Jakobowitz (Akavia) A.L. 158, 172, 280
Janowski J. 89
Janowski Shmuel 58, 59, 64, 68, 281
Jarblum (Aniutin) Mark 136, 371, 374
Jartin 410
Jasny A. Wolf 249–256
Javorovitz Israel 315
Jehoash 43
Jellinek Adolf (Chief Rabbi) 355
Joelson Moshe 167
Jucht Z. 247
Judim 271
Juris A.S. 126, 135

Kaczynski (Bishop) 198
Kaganovski Ephraim 142, 220
Kahan Israel 144, 251, 253, 254, 256
Kahan Jacob 158, 161, 168, 169, 170
Kahan Mark 73, 74, 75, 86–88, 92
Kahan Shoshana 143
Kahaneman Joseph 313
Kahn D. 382
Kahn Lazar 67, 77, 78, 100, 141, 143, 144, 253–256, 374
Kahn R. 382
Kaleko S. 337
Kalinin Michail I.
Kallus L. 363
Kalmanovitz Z. Hirsch 301, 310, 313
Kaminer Mendel 104, 106
Kaminer Meshulam 102–105
Kaminska Esther-Rachel 55
Kaminska Ida 55
Kanfer Moshe 265, 268, 272
Kantor J.L. 157, 297
Kantorovitz N. 124, 125
Kakowski (Cardinal) 197, 198
Kaplan Haim Aaron 131
Kaplan Pesach 67, 237, 238
Kaplanovitz Dan 231
Kapper Siegfried 362
Kareski Georg 189, 190
Karlinski (Karlinius) Ber 64, 65, 73, 82, 89, 208
Karlinski J. 89
Karlinski Ruth 220
Karpinovitz Moshe 225
Kassin Baruch 239
Kassman Abraham 249
Katz (Yassi) 424
Katz B.Z. 161, 279, 282, 287, 294, 295
Katz Mane 148
Katz Moshe 286
Katz Mordechai 313, 315
Katz Pinhas 89
Katzburg David Zvi (Rabbi) 414
Katzburg Natanal 406
Katzenelbogen Uriah 318
Katzenelson Sigmund 363
Katzenelson Yitzhak 167, 169
Kaufman Haim 143
Kaushansky (B. Baruch) Beno 424
Kaveh (Vanwild) A. 142
Keish Uri 419

Keller Pinhas 433
Kempner Stanislaw 146
Kenner Jacob 134, 136
Kerenski Alexander 248
Kesselman 62
King Carol 415
Kipnis Menachem 51, 208
Kipnis-Osicki M.L. 143
Kirshrot Jan 146
Kirzhnitz A. 288, 294
Kisch Egon Ervin 361
Kisch I. 387
Kisman 428
Kitai J. 126, 303, 304, 308, 310
Kitai M. 298
Kitzler Nahum 424
Klarman Josef 73, 75
Klatz S. 142
Klausner Joseph 159, 168, 279, 286, 294, 315
Klebanov Jacob 282, 288
Klein H. 365
Klein Herman 403
Klein Jonah 363
Klein M.L. 424
Kleinman Moshe 276, 285, 311
Kleinov von 63, 64
Klepfish Heschel 107, 111
Klinov Isaiah 318
Klog Lazer 105
Klummel Meir 52
Knut David 377
Kober Adolf 327
Koenig Alexander 83
Kohen Moshe 311, 319
Kohn Jindrich 362, 363
Korczak Janusz 148, 149
Korfanty Wojciech 84
Korn Yitzhak 427
Korolenko Vladimir 237
Kossowski V. 120, 225
Kotarbinski Tadeusz 199
Kotik Meir 427
Kotlovitz Chaim 234
Kowalczuk 278
Kowalski Juda Leib (Rabbi) 165
Kragen Henryk 267
Kraus Zigmunt 405
Kraushar Alexander 145
Kreindler Leo 340
Kretchmer G.H. (Liliput) 297
Kreplika Jacob 388
Kroblovski A. 257
Kronenberg J. 231
Kroy Zvi 124, 128
Kruk Herman 83
Kruk Joseph 257
Krylov Ivan A. 237
Krynski Magnus 58, 59
Kuba Eli 391
Kubovitzki (Kubovi) A.L. 389, 391
Kucharzewski Jan 19, 60, 61
Kugel Chaim 363, 366
Kun Bela 407, 413
Kupferberg Alfred 338
Kurzman J. 168
Kushnir Shmuel 425
Kushnirow A. 289
Kutcher Ber 55
Kwitko Leib 259, 313

Lachover Fischel 161, 168
Lajos Teman 414
Lambert Raymond (Raoul) 377
Lamm Josef 365
Landau Jacob 182, 185, 188, 196
Landau Leib 217
Landau Michael 426
Landau Rafal 267
Landau (Noda Biyehuda) Yechezkiel (Rabbi) 108, 365
Landau Zdenek 364
Landesburg Yehuda-Leib 413
Laserson M. 308
Lask I. 372
Lattes Dante 394
Latzki Bartoldi W. 302, 303, 308
Launer Bernard 60
Lauterpacht Hersch 268
Lavi Uri 15
Lawrin Arne 361
Lazar Bernard 377
Lazar David 259–272
Lazar Haya 223–235
Lazar (Leizerovich) Isador (Isidor) 251, 297, 311
Lazerson M. 251
Lebenhart Filip 363
Lecache Bernard 378
Lederer (Leda) Eduard 362
Léhar 337
Lehmann Meir (Rabbi) 97, 101
Lehrman A. 142
Leibl (Alexander) Daniel 135
Leitner Zoltan 415
Leivik 167
Lenin 191, 194, 269, 287, 290, 298, 331
Lensky H. 295
Lerer Yechiel 129
Lermontov Y. 169
Lerner (Laron) Joseph 423
Lescinsky (Leschinski) J. 119, 121, 126, 128, 169, 298, 313
Lesley Jacob 257
Lessing 337
Lester Jacques 420
Lev (Poet) 136
Lev Yitzhak 134
Levavi (Babitzki) J. 295
Levenberg S. 126
Levenberg Zalman 307
Levi Avraham 444
Levi D. 355
Levi Julius 357, 358
Levi M. 356
Levi Sam 444
Levi Shmuel 439, 440
Levin Chaim 231, 232
Levin David 170
Levin Emma 171
Lewin-Epstein (Halevy) 59, 164
Levinsky Yom-Tov 386–391
Levinson Abraham 167, 171, 294
Levitas L. 301
Levite Leon 52
Levy Israel (Rabbi) 377
Levy Joseph 170
Levy Shlomo 432
Lewenstein J.A. (Loewenstein J.L.) 209, 219
Lezerowitz S.J. 251
Libenstein (Livneh) Eliezer 166
Lieber Morris (Rabbi) 376
Lieberman Herman 84
Licht Alexander 431, 432
Lichtwitz (Uri Naor) Hans 363, 365
Liema de Nehemia 380, 383
Lifschitz I. 387
Lifshitz (Rabbi) 250
Lindman 384
Lipec Dov 319
Lipecki Baptain 181
Lipkin (J. Avigal) Yitzhak 169
Lipsker Wolf 108
Lipski 181
Lipstick Moshe 428
Litai A. 287
Litichevsky I. 387
Litvakov Moshe 290, 291
Locker Berl 123
Loew Leopold (Rabbi) 403, 404, 407
Loew (Maharal) Rabbi 365
London J. 375
Lozovsky (Abramovitz) Salomon 371, 372
Lubienski Von 189
Luboshitski A. 171
Luda 424
Luft-Arlosorov Gerda 364, 432
Lurie Zvi 166
Lusternik M. 169
Lustig Namdar 433
Lutoslavski 23
Luzinski S. 289
Luzzati Luigi 159
Luzzatto Moshe Chaim 109
Lux 178
Luxenburg Aaron 257
Lyrik A.S. 41

Macdonald Ramsey 163
Mackiewicz Stanislaw 84

Maestro Jacob 432
Maimonides 108, 434
Malbim (Rabbi) 417
Mallah Moché 440
Mann Heinrich 237
Manger Itzik 65, 211
Manoah Yoshua 167
Marcel Joel 445
Marein Yitzhak 305
Margalit Elkana 425
Margolin Feivel 226, 227
Margulies Heinrich 357
Mark Judel 314
Mark Moshe 104
Markish Peretz 208, 289, 371, 375
Markowicz Arthur 262
Markowicz Milan 262
Markovitz Ezra 361–365
Markus V. 362
Markuze J. 244
Marlovski Zvi 240
Marshak S. 293
Marton Ernst (Ezekiel) 413, 415, 428
Marx Karl 195, 269
Masaryk Jan 364
Masaryk Thomas 176, 361–364
Mastboim Joel 89, 136
Matalon David 442
Mataraso Avraham 444
Ma-Yafit G. 373
Mazur Eliahu 107
Mechele Lazar (Rabbi) 367
Medem Vladimir 114, 117, 121
Meilachowitch 239
Meisel Eliayahu Chaim (Rabbi) 250
Meisel Maurycy 128
Meisels 59
Meisels M. 367
Meitus Eliahu 425
Meizel Nahman 206, 207
Melchior David 397–401
Melchior Marcus (Rabbi) 398–401
Meller Mordechai 318
Meller Pesach 259, 260, 261, 297
Mendel 355
Mendele Mocher Sepharim 63, 64, 79, 148, 224, 279, 424, 426
Mendelovich-Merom 424
Mendelsohn Moses 321, 327, 404
Mendelsohn Oscar 401
Mendelson Stanislaw 62, 146, 259, 294
Menkes 148
Merezhin A. 287, 290
Mering 257
Merker 388
Merlin Samuel 89–92
Merzer 148
Meshorer Tuvia 318
Metaxas General 444
Michaels M. 419
Michalewicz Beinish 114, 121
Michman Yosef 380–386
Michoels S. 293
Mickiewicz Adam 270
Mieses M. (Rabbi) 148
Milano Ittiel D. 393
Miliukov Pavel 248
Miller M. 365
Milstein 58
Minks A. 274
Mints Benyamin 106, 107, 108
Mizrachi Leon 427
Modiano Sam 444
Moisis Asher 445
Molho Albert 441, 443, 444, 445
Molho Michael (Rabbi) 441
Molotov V. 195, 196, 202, 371
Mor L. 274
Mor Mendel 274, 275
Morevski Abraham 126
Morgenthau H. 173
Moskovsky Israel 313
Motzkin Leo 176, 335, 373, 399
Moses Zigfried 272, 334
Movshovitz M. 298
Mozes Mendel 57–64, 182, 187, 188, 189, 200, 202, 203
Mueti Serge 379
Mukdoni Alexander 251, 252, 313
Mülbauer Joseph 377
Nachalnik (Der Wanderer) Urke 93
Nadir Moshe 167
Nadler Shmuel 109
Nafasi Lazar 444
Nahama Joseph 441
Nahama Yehuda 439
Nahon Umberto 394
Narutowicz Gabriel 24, 45, 46, 83, 174
Nataf Eli 379
Natanson W. 266
Nauman M. 179
Neiditch Ytzhak 474
Neiman J.M. 36, 251, 253, 254
Neimark D.L. 117
Nemcowicz Lavi 104
Neufeld Daniel 145
Neumann Oskar 364, 365
Newerly J. 148
Nicolai Nicolaevitch 63, 223
Niewiadomski Eligiusz 24, 45, 83
Niger Shmuel 167, 229, 280, 282, 295
Nir Rafalkes Nahum 133, 283
Nissenbaum Yaacov 242
Nissenbaum Yitzhak (Rabbi) 65, 153, 154, 155, 164, 165, 279
Nitzevitz Israel 318
Nomberg H.D. (Hersch David) 17, 57, 64, 66, 67, 68, 72, 79, 206–210, 280, 297
Nordau Max 372, 442
Nordheim Lyon 384
Novakovsky J. 290
Novichovitz A. 316
Novomiast (Nof) Peretz 272
Noy (Neustadt Melech) M. 124, 126, 136
Nudelman Moshe 142
Nussbaum Henryk 60, 145
Nussbaum L. 365

Oistrach David 293
Olswanger 227
Olszanski 81, 82
Opatoshu Josef 64, 79, 148
Opoczynski 91
Oppenheimer Franz 325
Or (Orenstein) Jerzy 112
Orenstein (Oren) Mordechai 166
Orlean Judah Leib 104
Ornstein-Hoofien 382
Orzech M. 120
Orzeszkowa Eliza 264
Osias Abraham 424
Osipovich Nahum 281
Ottolenghi Josef 394
Ottolenghi Mario 394
Ouziel Yehiel Michal 417
Orace Ittora 394
Oxenberg 210

Pacifici Alfonso 393, 394
Papiernikov 136
Paraffe Pierre 377
Patai (Klein) Joseph 409, 411, 413
Patt Yacov 116
Paula 210
Peel Lord 53, 197
Peker Meir 128
Peretz Y.L. (Yitzhak Leibush) 13, 19, 57, 79, 148, 153, 207, 208, 211, 280
Perl Josef 273
Perla Joshua 64, 65, 72, 76, 89, 306, 307
Perlman Asher 195
Pessler B.Z. 109
Peterzail Yaakov 135
Petlura Semion 38, 82, 357
Pfeffer Zvi 268, 272
Philippson Ludwig 327, 329
Pieracki (General) 270
Pilsudski Josef 24–29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 68, 83, 126, 150, 160, 190, 199, 202, 212, 259, 269
Piltzky Ovadia 294
Pines M.J. 297
Pinto Samuel 431
Platt J.M. 253

Pleschner Max 362
Podliszewski Abraham 154, 158
Podruzhnik Joshua 387, 388
Poincaré R. 22
Polak Joseph 364
Polakova Irma 364
Polianker H. 293
Poliakov 161
Pollack H. 301, 306, 309
Pomerantz B. 169
Pomerantz M. 82
Popper-Linkeus Joseph 357
Porat (Poretzki) Eliahu 297–310, 305, 307
Port Hillel 299
Posner Stanislav 191
Poznanski A.S. (Rabbi) 165
Prager Moshe Mark 111
Prat A. 282
Prato (Rabbi of Egipt) 379
Prato David 394
Prilutzki Nahman 58, 64, 82
Prilutzki (Prilutski) Noah 17, 23, 24, 51, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 68, 72, 75, 79, 141, 147, 192, 371, 374
Prilutzki Zwi 57, 58, 64, 65, 70, 74, 77, 280
Prinz J. (Rabbi) 384, 385
Pristor Mrs 32, 108
Propes A.Z. 167
Propus J.J. 64, 71
Pruzanski Abraham 66
Pruzansky Chaim 58, 66–69

Rabin Dov 238–241
Rabinovitch Issar 427
Rabinovitz Leib (Shimoni Leibl) 318
Rabinovitz Oskar 365
Rabinowitz Akiva 280
Rabinowitz Eliahu Akiba (Rabbi) 97
Rabner Matityahu Simha 419
Rachel 166
Racker 357
Rafaeli A. 265
Rafes M. 290
Rakous Vojtech 362
Rakovski Zvi 158
Rapaport B.Z. 169
Rappaport Charles (Shaul) 371
Rappaport David 372
Rath Ernst Von 340
Rathenau W. 271
Rauschning D. 189
Rawicz Melech 205–218
Razumny Mark 304, 309, 310
Reb Binyamin 158
Recanati Avraham 444
Redicek Josef 362
Regensburg 229
Reich Leon 27, 35, 46, 52, 141, 278
Reich Yitzhak 406
Reichenberg Abraham 209
Reichman-Jungman Eva 325
Reif Mendel 218
Reifer Manfred 428
Reinis J. 310
Reis Anshel 128, 136
Reisfeder Jacob 142
Reisin Abraham 64, 79, 233, 371, 372, 424
Reisin (Jude Shimlevitz) J. 228
Reisin Sarah 233
Reisin Shaul 233
Reisin Zalman 227–233
Reisser Gabriel 327, 328
Remba Eizik 153–172
Reuven Shalom 439–445, 441
Ribeisen Michael 210
Ribbentrop Joachim 181, 202
Ricardo B.J. 384
Rieger Shaul 123
Ringel Michael 276
Ringelblum Emanuel 135
Risch 69
Ritter (Rabbi) 382
Rivkin-Brick Anna 399
Rivotzki Abraham 136
Robinson Jacob 312, 314
Rodal Leibl 83, 143
Rogovoi Abraham-Mordechai 102, 104, 107, 108
Roisman R. 142
Rokach Elazar 419
Rokach Yehoshua (Rebbe of Belz) 97
Rom Brothers 117, 223, 239
Roman Ronati 420
Romanowski W. 132
Romans Samuel 432
Ron (Danzigerkron) M. 2, 15, 54, 208, 309
Roosevelt Franklin D. 173, 191
Rosen Ber J. 142, 206, 209, 219, 220
Rosen Joseph 134
Rosenberg (Czenstochov) 257
Rosenberg S. 375
Rosenberger Joel 432
Rosenberger Herzl 315
Rosenfeld ("Bonche") Abraham 89
Rosenfeld Alexander 89
Rosenfeld Shalom 2, 77
Rosenfeld (Shamai) Shalom 72, 155
Rosenhaus Liema 136
Rosenson J.S. 315
Rosental Aaron 234
Rosenthal Zalman 424, 426
Rosner Leopold (Lippa) 268, 272
Rosner Mordechai 109
Rosovski M. 301
Rotenstreich F. 148
Rothschild Edmond (Baron) 63, 381
Rotmiller (Rotem) Zvi 432
Rotstein (Nissenson M.) Shmuel 97–111
Rubacha Nissan 245
Rubashov (Shazar) Zalman 123, 124, 125, 136, 167
Rubin (Reuven) 421
Rubinlicht Arie 241
Rubinstein Moshe 241
Rubinstein Reuven 311–314, 318
Rubinstein Yitzhak (Rabbi) 229
Rublee Charles 339
Salant Israel (Rabbi) 101
Salgeter S.M. 382
Salomon Julius 399
Salpeter 390
Samet Shimon 272–278
Santo Shimon 354, 355
Sarni Bella 369
Schalit Leon 357
Schalit Zalman 163, 297
Schatz-Anin (Uriah Max, Schatz Z.) M. 309, 310
Schechtman Josef 75, 302, 307, 371
Schein (Lazar Shainann) L. 420
Scheps (A. Alami) A.H. 58, 62, 64
Scherer Emanuel 118
Schiller 169
Schipper Yitzhak 18, 51, 134, 148, 151
Schlang Fabian 272
Schmitz Siegfried 357
Schnauer Paul 355
Schneider S. 314
Schneur Zalman 64, 65, 66, 70, 73, 85, 279, 298, 371, 374
Schneurson Fishel 170
Schneurson (Yerushalmi) Leib 94
Schoenfeld Joseph 411
Scholem Gershom 335
Schön David 403–416
Schor M. 148
Schorr Jeshua Heszel 274
Schreiber Adolf 433
Schriftgiesser 104
Schultz Bronislav 131
Schwalbe (Szwalbe) Nathan 64, 79, 84, 129, 130, 146, 147
Schwarsbart Ignacy (Yitzhak) 264–269, 272
Schwartz Kopel 167
Schwartz Shlomo 428
Schwartz Soloman 196
Schwarz Pinhas 83, 117
Schwartzbart Shalom 82, 357
Schwartzfeld Elias 420
Schwarzfeld Moses 420

Seb Leopold 281
Segalowitz Z. 64, 66, 76, 78, 89, 206, 208, 220
Seiden Benyamin (Benno) 267, 268
Seidenbeutel (Brother) 148
Seligman 170
Serpov 136
Shabad Zemach 229
Shachter Haim 2, 14, 15
Shaier Elimelech 108
Shalit Moshe 227
Shalom Aleichem 19, 64, 79, 148, 249, 280, 298, 424, 426
Shapira (Rabbi of Munkatch) 363
Shapira (A.D. Shafir) A.D. 319
Shapira Meir (Rabbi) 109
Shapira Yitzhak 73, 102, 103, 158
Shapiro A.D. (Rabbi) 313
Shapiro-Blond S.F. 116
Shapiro Chaim Eliezer (Rabbi) 366
Shapiro Nahman 318
Shatzky J. 294
Shefner (Schefner) Baruch 121, 208, 216, 253, 254
Shereshevski Samuel 313
Sherman Bezalel 136
Shibolet L. 314
Shifman (Ben-Sira) Pinhas 170
Shimoni (Shimonovitz) David 169, 279
Shimoni V. 136
Shmeruk H. 295
Shmidt Jerachmiel 315
Shneiderman S.L. 375
Shneierson (Rabbi of Lubavich) 168, 193, 308
Shofman G. 170
Shoham Matityahu 169
Shorenstein Mordechai (Rabbi) 399
Shragai S.Z. 257
Shreir (Shrira) S. 244
Shtiff David 292
Shtockhammer Shimshon 107
Shturman A. 420
Shulman Victor 118, 121
Shumaliski L. 318
Shurer Chaim 130, 167
Shuster Gedaliah 316
Sicher (Rabbi) 364
Sigeter (Gottlieb) Hersch-Leib 367
Sikorski General 24, 266
Silberbush David Yeshayahu 419
Silva Rosa de J.S. 385
Simonson David 399, 401
Simpson John Hop 340
Sinar Mordechai 247–248
Singer Alfred 431, 432
Singer (Regnis) Bernard 84, 129, 149, 272
Singer Efraim 142, 153, 158
Singer J.J. 148, 209, 373
Singer Ludvik 364
Singer Mendel 358
Singer Sammy 424
Sirkin Nahman 286, 288
Skladkovski General 29, 111, 126, 269
Skrzynski Alexander 27
Sleifer Joseph 384
Sleifer Yitzhak 384
Sliwniak 148
Slonimski Chaim Selig 98, 145, 153, 154
Slor Benyamin 400
Slutzki Yehuda 279–295
Smidt E. 316
Smolar Boris 192, 243, 244
Smolenskin Peretz 274
Sneh (Kleinbaum) Moshe 44–55, 150–152
Sofer Moshe (Hatam Sofer) 404, 405
Sofer S.A. 428
Sofer Shimon (Rabbi) 405
Sokolov Florian 147
Sokolov M.B. 108
Sokolov Samuel 147
Sokolow (Sokolov) Nahum 62, 98, 146, 153–155, 157–160, 163, 164, 176, 254, 274, 279, 329, 332, 373, 399, 410, 411
Solovechik Yitzhak 241
Soloveichik A. 160, 164
Sopher Shimon (Rabbi) 97
Spector Mordechai 57, 59, 64, 280
Speyer A.A. 382
Spiegel (Stranger) Shimon 103
Spinoza Baruch 191
Spiridonova Maria 298
Spirman L. 124, 125
Spitalovitz (Schiff) Jerucham Fischel 102
Sprinzak Joseph 268
Staal L.D. 381
Stalin Joseph V. 179, 181, 195, 196, 202, 269, 310, 371
Stark Victor 433
Starzynski 78
Stavsky Abraham 86, 89
Stavsky Dov 59
Steiger Stanislaw 81, 173, 217
Stein 64
Stein August 362
Stein Menachem 169
Steinberg Nahman Yitzhak 206
Steinbox Daniel 119
Steiner Drogo 432
Steiner Hanna 364
Steinman (Ba'al-Dymyon) Nahum 313
Steinmetz S.L. 428
Stern (Yair) Abraham 89, 90, 91, 93
Stern Israel 211
Stern (Shmuel Kochavi) Sammy 422, 424
Sternberg Fyvel 428
Sternberg M. 428
Sternberg S. 289
Sternfeld Daniel 428
Sternfeld Yitzhak 246
Stiebel Abraham Joseph 161, 168, 169, 286
Stiegler 136
Stoecker Adolf 322
Straubaum (Dov Tibbon) Bronislaw 48, 152
Strassman Henryk 91
Strassman Lilka 91
Straszewicz Ludwig 60
Strauss Herbert A. 14, 321–354
Stricker Robert 355, 357, 358
Strug Andrzej 129
Stuchinski Abraham 316
Stuchko 298
Stupnitzki S.J. 64, 66, 73, 75, 76, 77, 208, 242, 302, 303, 306, 307, 310
Sudarski Mendel 314
Sufrin Gubber 418
Suritz Michael 66 70, 72, 74
Susicky J. 364
Swet Gershon 81
Swiatopelk-Mirsky 57
Swislocki Samuel 149, 150
Szabolsci Miklós 407, 408
Szefer Raphael 42
Szereszevsky Michael 87
Szymel Moshe 151
Szymkiewicz Samuel 119

Taeubler Eugen 327
Tagore Rabindranath 169
Tal Yustus (Rabbi) 384, 385
Tartakower Orich 167, 170
Tartas David 321
Tashler Zvi Elazar 419
Taub Ezekiel (Rabbi) 108
Tcherikower Eliahu 371
Tchernichov Joseph 226
Tchernichovsky S. 168, 170, 279
Tchernowitz Shmuel 153, 279
Tchitcherin G. V. 271
Tchlenow Yechiel 399
Tchudner Meir 158
Teitelbaum A. 384
Temkin Moshe 170
Tennenbaum Abraham 249, 250,
Teytz Victor 362
Thau 428
Thieberger-Engel Nelli 363
Thieberger Friedrich 364

Thomas Alador 248
Thon Osias (Yehoshua) 26, 27, 29, 31, 35, 46, 47, 52, 141, 155, 158, 160, 161, 170, 260–263, 270, 397
Tiegel Avraham 387, 389
Tisch Eliahu 262, 263, 264
Tobias 321
Tourez Jonathan 379
Toury Jacob 321
Trainin A. 282
Tran J. 301
Traub Zalman 312, 314
Treistman Eliezer Leib (Rabbi) 250, 251
Trivus J. 283
Trotsky Lev 194, 269, 371
Trotzki David 391
Trunk J. 206
Tsanin Mordechai 2, 121
Tshonowitz Asher 143
Tunkel (Der Tunkeler) Josef 59, 64, 66, 81, 82, 93, 280
Turkow Mark 64, 67, 79–85, 209
Tzarfat Reuven 318
Tzofnat (Baal Haturim) A. 158

Uger Isaiah 249–256
Ulmanis K. 126, 305–310
Urmacher Z. 300–303
Uziel Yossef 440, 442, 444
Uzileski Joseph 418

Vaida George 377
Valdemaras 84
Valentin Hugo 398, 401
Van der Horst Alexander 388
Varshaviak Y. 170
Varshawski Ozer 371, 375
Veissi Elia 442, 443
Veiter A. 229
Venizelos Elentherios 443
Ventura Jacques 441, 444
Verber Abush 136
Vidor Imre 433
Vinaver M. 281
Virnik Jerachmiel 315
Vlodarsky 287
Vogel Ernst 365
Vohryzek Victor 362
Voltman (Tuval) Meir 433
Vries S.P. (Rabbi) 384

Wadias Schoenbrun Nikolai 265
Wagman Saul 147
Wagmeister S. 244
Waldshein Emil 262, 364
Wasserman Abba 306
Wassermann Jacob 297
Wasserstrom Alexander 415
Wasserzug Joseph 146
Wazyk Adam 147
Wdowinski 73
Weber Baruch 274
Webber Julius 428
Weinberg Samuel 71, 72
Weinerman Alexander 306
Weinert Yitzhak 274
Weingot Nahum Leib 100–103
Weinreich Max 228, 229, 298
Weinstein A. 286, 288
Weinstein Elias 428
Weinziher Michael 148
Weis 243
Weiss Andre 433
Weisbart S. 83
Weisberg J. 257
Weisel von Wolfgang 75, 315
Weiss Asher Selig 367, 368
Weissenberg J. M. 210
Weizman Haim 29, 37, 52, 123, 159, 263, 293, 329, 331, 332, 383, 423, 444
Weltsch Felix 362, 363
Weltsch Robert 167, 321, 332, 338, 356, 357, 363
Wendrof Z. 192
Werner Sigmund 355
Wernstein Moshe 419
Wexler L.B. 422
Wigodski Jacob 227, 229
Wilner Bronislaw 246
Wilson W. (President) 175
Winnik J. 300–310
Wirnik Jerachmiel 167
Wislicki Waclaw 47, 49
Witos Wincenty 83, 269
Wittenberg S. 308, 310
Wittenberg Sima 310
Wohlgemuth Joseph 101, 325
Wojciechowski 24, 81, 173
Wolfovsky M.Z. 170
Wolfson David 410
Wolkowicz Samuel 147
Wolnerman Yitzhak Leib 98
Wyszynski (Cardinal) 198

Yaari Chaim 122–132, 130
Yacoel Yom-Tov 445
Yaffe J. 301
Yaffe Leib 224–229, 268, 280
Yafet Yehudah 65
Yakubowitz A.L. 65, 164, 172
Yashunski 295
Yatom Zvi 425
Yatziv Y. 167
Yatzkan S.J. 18, 19, 29, 59, 65, 99, 149, 280, 371–374
Yawrovsky (Lipson) Mordechai 387, 388
Yedidia (Gottlieb) Shalom 88–89, 149–150, 276
Yellin-Mor (Benyamin) Nathan 89–95
Yeushson (Yustman B., Ichele) 43, 47, 53, 54, 57, 59, 64, 66, 79, 280
Yevin Yehoshua 93
Yitzhaki J. 136
Yoffe (Yoh Michael) Abraham 304, 308, 310
Yosif B. 423
Z. (Zipper) 188, 189
Zacharias 205
Zack Abraham 64–78, 66, 82
Zagan Shachna 134
Zagorodski J.H. 59, 61, 64
Zakheim 139
Zangwill Israel 159
Zapitzki Nahum 90
Zaslavski David 291
Zayit Meir 417–429
Zbar Abraham 237–238
Zeidman Hillel 108, 111
Zeidschnur Abraham 231
Zeitlin (Politicus) Aaron 141, 158, 161, 169, 170, 172
Zeitlin Elhanan 141, 143, 209
Zeitlin Hillel 19, 57, 58, 60, 64, 65, 66, 73, 75, 77, 158, 169, 280
Zeligowski (General) 229, 230
Zelikovicz 425
Zeltzer-Seratianu 420
Zemach Shlomo 279
Zeromski Stefan 270, 271
Zevin Shlomo Y. (Rabbi) 99, 295
Zhitnitzki H.L. 47, 253
Ziev B. 301
Zilburg Moshe 142
Zinberg Israel 281, 283, 289, 295
Zingman Kalman 313, 318
Zipper Gershom 276
Zipor-Blei 136
Zisu A.L. 419, 422
Zitron S.L. 294
Zlatopolsky-Persitz 285
Zohar Zvi 170, 171
Zrubabel Jacob 133
Zuckerman Baruch 132
Zunz Leopold 327
Zusman A. 283
Zygelbaum Artur 88
Zylberberg (Kaspa) B. 89
Zylberberg Eliezer 58, 66, 69, 70
Zylberberg N. 89
Zytlinska Reizel 220

Abendland Das 355
Adam 424
Action 443
A Föld 415
Alarm Der 333
Albatros 324
Albina Rumanesc 417
Allgemeine Jüdishe Zeitung 406, 411
Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums 327, 328
Al Hamishmar 247
Al Hamishmar (Romania) 425
Alim 425
Alliance Israélite Universelle 378
Alon 425
Annuaire de la Communauté Israélite d'Anvers 387
Annuarul Pentru Israeliti 420
Antwerpener Letz Der 387
Apikoires Der 292
Arbeter Der (Berdichev) 290
Arbeter Informator 248
Arbeter Leben 318
Arbeter Shtime 248
Arbeter Shtime (Petrograd) 286
Arbeter Shtima Di (Riga) 305
Arbeter Zeitung 133, 136
Arbeter Zeitung (Chenstochov) 257
Arbeter Zeitung (Kharkov) 286, 318
Arbeter Zeitung (Rumania) 428
Archive Israélite de France 376
Atidot 223
Aufbau 428
Avanti 440, 441
A vilag 410
Az-Est 409, 410

Baal-Meloche Der 316
Baderech (Netherlands) 384
Bahazit (Sofia) 438
Bamaaracha 315
Bama'avar 167
Barkai 287
Bar-Kochba 388
Batog 306
Bei Unz 428
Beit Vaad Lahahamim 413
Belgishe Bleter 390
Belgisher Tog Der 389
Ben-Kochav 171
Benevolencia-Potpora 434
Beobachter an Der Weichsel Der 12
Bergsaser Folkszeitung 368
Berliner Tageblatt 101, 322, 330
Beth Avraham 168
Bezbozhnik 292
Bialystoker Express 143
Bialystoker Shtern 292
Bialystoker Tageblat 280
Binyan Ha'aretz 427
Birnbaum's Dr. Wochenblat 275
Birobidzhan 293
Birobidzhaner Stern 291, 293
Birobidzhanskaya Zviezda 291
Bishevilei Betar 315
Blätter für die Jüdische Frau 364
Bletel Dos 367
Bnai Brith (Germany) 323
Bnai Brith Blätter 364
Bnai Brith Mitteilungen für Oestereich 358
Bratstvo 436
Brisker Togblat 246
Bulletin Agudat Israel (Romania) 428
Bulletin of the Jewish National Council of Eastern Galicia 275
Bundesblätter 365

Cahiers Sionistes 377
Carmel 435
Carmel (Allgemeine Judenzeitung) 404
Carpaten-Russer Shtime 368
Central Blad voor Israeliten in Nederland 381
Ceskozidovske Listy 362
Ceskozidovsky Kalendar 362
Chaliastra 375
Chronika Yevreyskoy Zhizni 288
Chwila (Lwow) 48, 88
Chwila (Moment) 265, 267, 275, 277, 278
Chwila Wieczorna 88
Connaître 445
Cooperative Wort Dos 427
Copitul Evreu 424
Côte Libre 386
Cronika Israelita 420
Cugetul Evreu 424
Cumpana 425
Curierul Israelit 420, 422, 429
Curierul Romanesc 417
Czenstochover Reklamenblat 257
Czenstochover Togblat 257
Czenstochover Weker 257
Czenstochover Wochenblat 257
Chenstochover Zeitung 257
Chernovitzer Bleter 428
Cuvántul Evreiasc 424
C.V. Zeitung 325, 328, 330–340

Darkenu 109, 168
Davar 124, 135, 162, 253, 262
Davar (Milano) 394
Défendont Nous 378
Derech Hanoar 425
Derech Hashomer Haleumi 168
Dienstogishe Kurent 9, 11
Dienstogishe un Freitogishe Kurent 9
Diglenu 108, 109, 168
Divrei Haolim 104
Dostrzegacz Nadwislanski 12, 145
Dror 168, 285
Dror (Czernovitz) 428
Drumur Noua 423
Dwa Grosze 61
Dyhernfurter Privilegirte Zeitung 321
Dziennik Popularny 48

Echo Zydowskie 109
Egalitatea 420, 422
Egyenlöseg 403, 407–411
Einikeit 292, 293, 294
Eiserne Besen Der 355
El Amigo del Pueblo 431
El Avenir 440
El Club Lavorador 440
El Emparsial 440
Eliacin 378
El Journal del Lavorador 440
El Judío 437
El Liberal 440
El Lunar 439
El Messagero 443

El Pueblo 442, 443
El Tiempo 439
El Tresoro 435
Emes 193, 290, 312, 314
Emigrant 281
En Avant 379
Entre Nous 378
Epoche (Paris-Varsaw) 375
Erd Arbeter Der 288
Erd un Arbet 314
Erd un Arbet (Romania) 426
Eretz Israel 288
Eretz Israel (Paris) 377
Eretz Israel (Romania) 428
Evraiki Estia 445
Express (Bialystok) 237
Extrablat 255, 256
Ezra 358

Fakel Die 368
Far Alemen 318
Far Amcho 316
Farmest 292
Farn Folk 287, 288
Fenyes Laszlo 410
Flambeau 391
Flugblat 227
Foi et Réveil 378
Folk un Arbeit 389, 390
Folk Dos 226, 242, 281, 299–307
Folk un Land 273
Folksblat 252–255
Folksblat (Kovno) 292, 312, 314, 319
Folksblat Dos (Romania) 418
Folksvort 122, 132
Folkszeitung 64, 91, 113–121, 128, 131, 158, 183, 213, 254
Folkszeitung (Kiev) 286, 288
Folkszeitung (Vilna) 225
Foni Tou Israil 445
Forwards (Forwerts) 89, 118, 237, 239, 253
Fraind Der 9, 19, 57, 113, 230, 249, 251, 279, 280
Frankfurter Allgemeine 101
Frankfurter Zeitung 322, 330
Fraternitatea 420
Freid 291
Freie Jüdische Lehrerstimme 358
Freiheit Die (Romania) 428
Friend Der (Antwerp) 388
Frimorgen 301–306, 310, 312
Frimorgen (Riga) 126, 242
Funk Der 427
Funken 318

Gallim 316
Galizianer Bote 274
Gartenlaube 323
Gazeta de Amsterdam 9, 10, 321
Gazeta Evreiasca 417
Gechalutz 288
Gedank Wegen Zion Der 249
Gemeindeblatt 323, 326, 346, 365
German Gazette 227
Geschichte und Wissenschaft Des Judentums 325
Ghetto Zeitung 256
Gideon 432
Glos Zydowski 146
Golos Bunda 283
Gordonia 274
Gordonia (Romania) 425
Grininke Beymelech 280
Grodner Fabriksbletl 239
Grodner Kurier 240
Grodner Leben 241
Grodner Moment 239, 240
Grodner Radio 240
Grodner Shtime 241
Grodner Zeitung 239
Grosse Schau Platz Der 321
Grossloge für Deutschland 326

Ha'am 225, 282, 284, 285, 287, 294, 295
Ha'Aretz 295
Haaviv 433
Haboker 9
Hacarmel 223
Hachayim 224
Hagina 285
Hahelech 419
Haint 9, 12, 17–59, 64–68, 70, 73, 80, 84, 86, 91, 99, 123, 131, 139, 149–152, 158, 162, 172, 205, 213, 220, 241, 242, 254, 280, 282, 294, 372, 373, 374
Haint (Riga) 308–310
Haintige Nayes 312
Haintike Nayes (Grodno) 240
Haintiker Tog 233
Haivri 104, 274
Haivri (Vojvodina) 433
Haivri Hatzair 436
Hakoach 358
Hakochav 171
Hakol 98
Halevanon 97
Hamagid 279, 294, 419
Hamashkif 294
Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt 323
Hameassef 321, 327
Hamedinah 167, 315
Hamelitz (Oddessa) 9, 13, 18, 237, 419
Hamelitz (Piatra Neamtz) 419
Hamevaser 274
Hamishpat 435
Hamizrachi 164
Hamizrachi (Netherlands) 382, 383, 384
Hamodia 97
Hamodia (U.S.S.R.) 280
Handel un Industrie Zeitung 316
Hanoar 433
Hanoar Hatzioni 168
Haolam 276, 279, 281, 294
Haor (Botoshani) 419
Hapeles 97
Hapoel Hatzair 279, 294
Haroeh Vehamevaker 274
Hashachar 274, 280, 419, 444
Hashavua 224
Hashiloach 156, 279, 281, 285, 287, 294, 397
Hashofar 435, 437
Hashomer Hatzair 166, 167, 260, 425
Hashomer Hatzair (Bulgaria) 437
Hashomer Hatzair (Romania) 425
Hashomer Hatzair (Slovakia) 365
Hasmonea 424
Hatekufa 168, 169, 270, 286, 287
Hatikva (Belgia) 387, 388
Hatikva (Rumania) 421
Hator 413
Hatsofar 426
Hatzofe Lehochmat Israel 414
Hatsofe Me'eretz Hagar 414
Hatzefirah (Hatzefira) 9, 17, 18, 36, 98, 153–164, 170, 237, 259, 279, 281, 282, 294, 295, 419
Hatzofeh 9, 237, 318
Hayehudi 413
Hayoetz Leveth Yisrael (Rumania) 417, 418
Hayom (Odessa) 9, 14
Hayom (Warsaw) 157–161
Hazman (Vilna) 223, 226
Hazman (U.S.S.R.) 279, 281, 294
Hazman (Russia) 9
Heatid 165, 166
He'avar 286
Hechalutz 275
Hechalutz Hatzair 168
Hechaver 172
Hed Lita 312
Herutenu 384
Het Beloofde Land 386
Hickl's Illustrierter Jüdische Volks Kalendar 365
Hofnung 225, 419
Holtz Hendler Der 225, 280
Hond de Meijer 383, 386

Iidisze Cajtung 341
Il Corriere Israelitico 393
Il Giovane Israele 394
Il Tiemplo 443
Il Tresoro (Bulgaria) 436
Ilustratiunea Evreiasca 424
Illustrierte Monatshefte für die gesamten Interessen des Judentum's 355

Ilustrirte Yudische Prese 375
Illustrowany Kurier Codzienny 263
Im Deutchen Reich 330, 331
Imre Noam 274
Information Juive 379
Information sur les Atrocités Nazies 379
Informatsie 316
Institutorul Evreu 421
Internatsional Der 286
Israel (Firenze) 393, 394
Israel (Yugoslavia) 433
Israel Dei Ragazzi 394
Israelit 97
Israelit Der 325, 326
Israelita (Scandinavia) 398
Israelita Köröny 404
Israeliten (Oslo) 399, 400
Israelitiki Epitheorissis 445
Israelitis Chronografos 445
Israelitisches Familienblatt 323, 326, 328
Israelitul Romin 417
Israel's Shtime 371
Israil 445
Iton Katan 171
Ittonenu 365
Ivri Anochi 274
Izraelita Polski 145 146
Izvestia 283

J'accuse 379
Jerozolima Wyzwolona 91
Jerusalem Post 186
Jeschurun 327
Jevrejski Almanach 433
Jevrejski Glos 434
Jevrejski Zivot 434
Jevrejskie Nowiny 433
Jewish Chronicle 185
Jewish National Fund 427
Joodsche Jeugdkrant De 386
Joodsche Post De 384
Joodsche Wachter De 382, 383
Joodsche Weekblad 389
Jud Der 371, 372
Jude Der 99, 321, 324–328
Jude Der (Vienna) 357–358
Judenpest Die 355
Judenstaat Der 365
Jüdish Liberale Zeitung 348
Jüdishe Centralblatt Das 431
Judishe Shtime (Munkatch) 367
Judishe Vort Dos (Romania) 428
Judishe Vort (Zsido Szo) 365
Jüdische Arbeiter Der 358
Jüdische Arbeit und Wanderfürsorge 323
Jüdische Arbeiter und Wanderfürsorge 325
Jüdische Freie Presse (Cologne) 350
Jüdische Herold Der 365
Jüdische Nachrichten 365
Jüdische Presse (Slovakia) 365
Jüdische Presse (Vienna) 58, 358
Jüdische Presse Die 347
Jüdische Rundschau 186, 325, 326, 328, 331–340, 357, 364
Jüdische Sozialpflege und Soialpolitik 323
Jüdische Volkszeitung 358, 365
Jüdische Weg Der 358
Jüdische Wohlfahrtpfflege und Sozialpolitik 325
Jüdische Zeitung Die 356–358
Jüdische Zeitung für Ostdeutchland 325
Jüdischer Almanach 364
Jüdisches Familienblatt 365
Jüdisches Nachrichtenblat 340
Judisk Familiblad 400
Judisk Kronika 397, 399
Judisk Tidsscript 398, 399
Juedische Hoffnung Die 428
Juedische Presse (Romania) 428
Juedische Volksstimme Die 355, 356, 358, 365
Juedisches Volksblatt 433
Jung Jude 363
Junger Leninets 291
Jutrzenka 145

Kadimah (Paris) 378
Kadimah (Rumania) 415
Kamf 309, 310
Kapper 363
Karaimskoye Slovo 294
Kavkazer Vochenblat 86
K.C. Blätter 326
Kemfer Der 286
Kikeriki Der 355
Kohelet Mussar 321
Kol Machzikei Hadat 97
Kolosia 281
Kolot 169
Kolvirt Emes 291
Kolvirt Shtern 391
Komunist Der 228
Komunistishe Fon 290
Komunistisher Veg Der 290
Kopike Die 99
Korot Haitim 417
Kovler Shtime 246, 247
Kovner Emes 292
Kovner Tog 313
Kovner Zeit 313
Krasnoye Znamia 228
Krementchuker Arbeter 290
Ktav Et 429
Kultur un Leben 316
Kurier Czerwony 69
Kurier Der 389
Kurier Polski 60
Kurier Poranny 60, 61, 83
Kurier Warszawski 62, 147
Kurioser Antiquarius 321
Kustar 291
Kveyten 318

La Alborada 431
La Boz Zionista 444
La Centrale 388
La Comunita Israelitica 394
La Defence Economique 391
La Epoca 439, 440
La Esperansa 441, 443, 444
L'Affirmation 377
La Fraternité 379
La Justice 379
La Libertad 440
La Nacion 441, 442, 444
L'Ancien Combatant Juif 378
La Nostra Bandiera 394
La Nouvelle Aurore 377
L'Appui Français 377
La Prensa Libera 443
La Rassegna Mensile di Israel 394, 395
La Renasencia Jude 443, 444, 445
La Revue des Etudes Juives 377
La Revue Israélite 378
La Revue Juive 377, 379
La Revue Litteraire Juive 377
La Settimana Israelitica 393
La Solidaridad Ovradera 440
La Terre Promise 377
La Terre Retrouveé 377
La Tribune Juive 378, 391
L'Avenir Illustré 379
L'Avenir Juif 287
La Verdad 441
La Vie d'Israel 379
La Vie Juive (Algiers) 379
La Volonté 445
Leben 318
Lebens-Fragen 113, 118
L'echo Sioniste 377, 379
Le Droit de Vivre 378
Le Flambeau 444
Legionorul 424
Lehavot 169
Le Jeune Juif 378
Le Journal de Salonique 444
Le Journal Juif 377
Le Juif 378
L'Emancipation Juive 378
Lemberger Shtern 292
Leninveg 291
Le Progres 444
Letste Nayes 390
L'Étudiant Juif 389
Letzte Nayes (Paris) 372
Letzte Nayes (Riga) 301, 310, 316
Letzte Nayes (Vilna) 227, 228, 316

L'Éveil des Jeunes 377
Licht 419
L'idea Sionistica 394
L'ideé et l'action 377
Lidove Listy 361
Lite (Lithuania) 318
L'Illustration Juive 378
Limbrul 417
L'Indépendant 444
L'Information 444
Linguistishe Samlung 292
L'Israélite Français 376
Listy Zidovske Mladere 364
Literarishe Bleter 215
Literarische Revue 375
Literarishe Tribune 215
Lodzer Folkstime 253
Lodzer Morgenblat 250, 251, 252
Lodzer Nachrichten 249, 250
Lodzer Tageblat 250, 253, 254, 255, 256, 280
L'Opinion Juive 378
Lubliner Express 241
Lubliner Nayes 241
Lubliner Tagblat 241, 242
Lumina 419
L'Univers Israélite 376
Lvivska Pravda 278

Maariv 307
Maariv Der 388
Maccabi 388
Maccabi Sport 433
Machaneh Israel 389
Madrich Betar 167
Magyar Israelita 404
Magyar Zsidó Nö. 411
Magyar Zsidó Szemle 114
Magyar Zsidó Ujsag 405, 407
Magyar Zsinagóga 403
Maly Dziennik 198
Mantuirea 422
Marchanten Stimme Die 388
Marmorische Bletter 428
Me'et Le'et 223, 294
Menorah 358, 379
Merci Erno 410
Metzuda 167
Mezritcher Kleinhendler 248
Mezritcher Leben 248
Mezritcher Wochenblat 247
Mima'amakim 316
Minsker Stern 292
Minsker Zeitung 280
Miscarea Sionista 423
Moledet (Romania) 425
Moment 9, 42, 47, 53, 56–89, 92–95, 123, 130, 131, 132, 139, 195, 205, 213, 241, 242, 280, 282, 294, 313, 315, 374
Moment (Kovno) 315
Monatsausgabe 333
Monatsblatt des Jüdischen Kulturbunds 326
Monatsschrift 325
Monatsschrift der Oestreichischen Union 356
Mör Bogdany 407
Morgen 275
Morgen Der 325, 333
Morgenblat 277
Morgenblatt (Romania) 428
Morgen Post 305, 306
Morgenshtern Der 281
Moriah 260
Moznayim (Antwerp) 387
Mult és Jövö 411
Muncitorul Evreu 423
Munkatcher Humorist 367, 368
Musu Garsas 312

Nash Golos 283
Nashe Utro 239
Nasz Kurier 147
Nasz Przeglad 48, 64, 69, 84, 129, 130, 145–149, 151, 213
Nationaldeutsche Jude Der 325
Nationale Vochenshrift 245
National Zeitung 297
Naye Folksblat Dos 418, 419
Naye Folkszeitung 118
Naye Leben Dos (Romania) 428
Naye Leben Dos (Rovno) 247
Naye Leben Dos 237
Naye Presse 248, 374, 375
Naye Vort Dos 122–132, 244
Naye Welt Die 58
Naye Wort Dos (Czenstochov) 257
Naye Zeit 286
Naye Zeit Di (Paris) 375
Nayer Folksblat 255, 256
Nayer Haint 38
Nayer Morgen Der 230, 231, 275
Nayer Tog 38
Nayer Weg Der 315
Nayer Zhurnal 372
Nayes (Warsaw) 60
Nayes (Belgium) 389
Nayes (Vilna) 230, 313, 314
Nayes Lodzer Morgenblat 280
Nea Sion 445
Neamul Evreiesc 420, 422
Népünk 415
Netivot 318
Neue Freie Presse 101, 355
Neue Jüdische Monatshefte 325
Neue Juedische Rundschau 428
Neue Rundschau 322
Neue Weg Der 365, 388
Neue Welt Die 357, 358
Neuzeit Die 354
New Left 269
News of the Zionist Organization of Besarabia 427
Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad 380, 381
Novaya Zhizn 287
Novi Becej 433
Novy Voschod 281
Nowa Gazeta 146
Nowa Reforma 260, 261
Nowe Slowo 48, 150–152
Nowiny Kurier 272
Nowy Dziennik 48, 259–272
Nowy Gloss 70, 71
Nowy Put 282, 288

Octyaber 290
Odesser Arbeter Der 290
Oesterreich-Ungarische Kantorenzeitung 358
Oesterreichische Wochenschrift 355
Ofakim 170, 171
Ofboy 292, 310
Ofn Sprachfront 292
Ofn Visenschaftlechen Front 292
Ohalenu 167
Oif der Vach 427
Oifen Sheidweg 375
Oko Wolynskie 245
Oktiaber (Minsk) 193
Oktyaberl 291
Olam Katan 172
Olameinu 286, 319
Olat Shabbat 273
Omanut 433
Ons Organ 388
Opinja 48, 50, 152
Opinja Sionista 424
Ort 323
O.S.E. 378
Ostatnie Wiadomosci 159
Ostjuedische Zeitung 428
Otzar Hachayim 365
Ovent Kurier 142, 234, 235
Ovent Post 305, 306, 308

Paix et Droit 378
Palestina (Oddessa) 283
Palestina (Vienna) 358
Palestine (Paris) 377
Palestine Bulletin 186
Palestine Nouvelle 377
Paris 375
Paris-Sion 377
Pariser Bleter 372
Pariser Haint 372–375
Pariser Leben 375
Pariser Morgenblat 374
Pentru Copilul Evreu 425
Periodical of the Jewish Communities in Romania 426
Petach 319
Petrograder Tagsblat 282
Piata Rano 149
Piatra Neamtz 419

Pinsker Leben 245
Pinsker Shtime 245
Pinsker Voch 245
Pinsker Wort 245
Pioner 291
Pismo Codzienne 118
Plotzker Israel 257
Poalei-Zion 437
Podlasier Zeitung 248
Poleser Express 246
Poleser Shtime 246
Poleser Tog 246
Poleser Vochenblat 246
Pomoschtsch 283
Posledniye Novosti (Paris) 248
Prager Presse 361
Prager Tagblatt 361, 362
Prasa Israelita 421
Presse Di 110
Prigorianski Krai 243
Pro Causa Judaica 436
Pro Israel 442, 444
Proletarier Der 257
Proletarisher Gedank Der 288
Prolit 292
Przeglad Codzienny 62, 145, 294
Przyszlość 274, 276

Quand Même 379

Race et Racisme 378
Radio 81
Rassviet (Sofia) 437
Ratenbildung 292
Razsviet 280–283, 288, 294, 295
Renasterea Noastra 422, 423
Researches of the Jewish Historical-Archaeographical Committee 292
Retacitorul Evreu 421
Revista Israelita 420, 421
Revista Populara 440
Revue Juive de Lorraine 378
Rimon (London-Berlin) 353
Robotnik 191
Royte Nodel Die 291
Royte Velt Di 292
Royter Emes 298, 304, 309
Rozwoj 362, 363
Ruf Der 305, 390

Samedi 372, 378
Schild Der 326, 328
Schnaider Der 225
Selbstwehr 361, 363, 364, 368
Seven days Illustrated (Paris) 375
Sevodnia 300–302, 304, 306
Sevodnia Vecherom 301
Shaarei Torah 168
Shachrit 279
Shem Mishimon 168
Shevet Achim 406
Shibolim 172
Shomer Zion Haneeman 97
Shtern (Minsk) 228
Shtime Di 241
Shtralen 292
Shtrom 288
Shtrom Der 427
Shtub Journal Der 427
Siedlecer Wochenblat 248
Sion (France) 272
Sionistitchesko Zname 437
Sionistul 421
Slowo 84
Sneh 169, 170
Solasci Fraz 407
Sotsial-Demokrat Der 286
Sotsialistishe Dorf Dos 291
Souvenir et Science 378
Sovietish 292
Sovietish Heimland 295
Sovietishe Literatur 292
Sozialistische Monatshefte 322
Sport Zeitung 68
Staatszionist Der 325
Stalindorfer Emes 291
Ster 48, 50, 152
Stern Der (Kiev) 293
Stern Der (Vilna) 225, 226, 280, 290
Stimme Die 357, 358
Stiri din Lumea Evreasca 422
Süddeutsche Monatshefte 322
Svobodny Put 283
Syonistskaya Mysl 286
Szombat Subotitsa 433

Tarbut 170
Tat Di 89–95
Tat Die (Romania) 426
Tehumim 169
Tel-Chai 365
Telegraf Der 9
Telegraph 275
Tel-Talpiot 414
The Jewish Chronicle 376
The Kingdom of Israel 433
Tikvat Israel 382, 384
Tikvatenu 441
Time to Speak 417
Tog 229, 232, 233
Tog Der 37
Tog Der (Paris) 374
Togblat 19, 131, 249, 275–278, 286, 288
Togblat (Petrograd) 286
Torah Va'avoda 444
Trans Jordan 433
Transylvanische Presse 428
Tribuna (Kiev) 192
Tribuna (Prag) 362
Tribuna (Romania) 423
Tribuna (U.S.S.R.) 291
Tribuna Evreasca 424
Tribuna Libera 442
Trumpeldor Josef 437
Truth The 415

Uj-Elet 407
Uj-Kelet 409, 414, 415, 428
Uj-Kor 415, 428
Undzer Shtime (Paris) 376
Undzer Veg (Germany) 341
Ungar Der 403
Univers 377
Unzer Chenstochover Express 257
Unzer Express (Chenstochov) 257
Unzer Express 70, 93, 139–144, 213, 240, 374
Unzer Fraind 226
Unzer Front 248
Unzer Grodner Express 240
Unzer Handel 318
Unzer Leben 57
Unzer Leben (Bialystok) 237
Unzer Leben (Kovel) 247
Unzer Leben (Odessa) 282, 286
Unzer Leben (Varsaw) 241, 280
Unzer Morgen 239
Unzer Ruf 314
Unzer Shtime 228, 257
Unzer Tageblat 256
Unzer Tog 38
Unzer Tog (Vilna) 229–232
Unzer Tribune 256
Unzer Vort (Odessa) 286, 312
Unzer Vort (Paris) 375
Unzer Weg (Belgium) 391
Unzer Weg (Chenstochov) 257
Unzer Weg (Latvia) 300, 301
Unzer Weg (Lita) 314, 315
Unzer Weg (Volyn) 244
Unzer Wort (Grodno) 241
Unzer Zeit (Romania) 426
Unzer Zeitung 257

Vach Di 427
Varhait Di 290
Varshever Express 139
Varshever Kurier 142
Varshever Radio 68, 88, 234
Veker Der (Minsk) 225, 286, 288, 290
Veker Der (Romania) 419
Velt Di 94, 288, 318
Veltshpigel 318
Verband der Jüdischen Jugendveraine Deutchlands 323
Vestnik Trudovoy Pomoschtschi 283
Vestnik Yevreyskoy Obshtchiny 281
Vestnik Zidovske Nabozenske Obce Prazske 364
Viata Israelita 420
Viener Morgenzeitung 357
Vilner Emes 235, 292

Vilner Express 235
Vilner Folksblat 225
Vilner Radio 233, 234
Vilner Togblat 225, 280, 281
Vilner Vochenblat 225
Visenschaft un Revolutsie (Kiev) 292
Vispe 318
Vocea Dreptata 420
Voch Di 318
Voch Di (Belgium) 390
Voelkischer Beobachter Der 88, 338
Vointa 424
Volyn 246
Volyner Leben 244, 245
Volyner Nayes 244
Volyner Shtime 244, 245
Volyner Voch 244
Volyner Yudisher Kurier 244
Volyner Zeitung 243, 244
Volynia Haivrit 244
Vort Dos 122–126, 312
Vortrupp Der 325
Vossische Zeitung 101
Voyna i Yevrei 281
Vozroozhdenie 281
Vrije Gedachte De 391
Vrydagavond De 384, 385

Weekblad voor Israelietische Huisgezinnen 382
Weg Der 9, 57, 249, 300, 301
Wegveiser Der 389
Weker Der (Paris) 375
Welt Die (Austria) 355
Weltbühne Die 322
Wiener Morgenzeitung 357, 358
Wirtschaft Die 358
Wolynskoie Slowo 243
Woman The 385
Wort Dos (Kaunas) 313
Wort Dos (Paris) 89, 314

Yevreyska Mysl 436
Yevreyska Tribuna 437
Yevreyskaya Letopis 288
Yevreyskaya Mysl 283, 289
Yevreyskaya Nedela 282, 288
Yevreyskaya Proletarskaya Mysl 288
Yevreyskaya Robochaya Chronika 283, 285
Yevreyskaya Starina 281, 288
Yevreyskaya Zhizn 282
Yevreyske Vesti 435
Yevreyski Glas 436
Yevreyski Preglad 436
Yevreyski Proletari 283
Yevreyski Rabochi 288
Yevreyski Student 282, 288
Yevreyski Vestnik 288
Yevreyskiye Vesti 282
Yevreyskoye Echo 435
Yiddishe Sprach Di 292
Yiddishe Velt Di 280
Yiddishe Zeitung Di (Antwerp) 389
Yiddisher Emigrant Der 280
Yiddisher Student Der 387
Yisrael 419
Youth The 432
Yud Der 102–104, 155, 288
Yud Der (Minsk) 286
Yud Der (Romania) 426
Yudenshtat in Eretz Israel 315
Yudische Bibliotek Die 418
Yudische Zukunft Die 419
Yudishe Bilder 309
Yudishe Blat Dos 372
Yudishe Folk Dos 17, 18, 36, 155, 305
Yudishe Folksblat Dos (Munkatch) 367, 368
Yudishe Folksshtime 399
Yudishe Leben Dos 313
Yudishe Post Di 274
Yudishe Presse 389
Yudishe Shtime 316, 318, 363
Yudishe Shtime Di 297, 299, 311, 312
Yudishe Togblat Dos 105–111
Yudishe Vort Dos 100–103, 286, 315
Yudishe Woch Di 244
Yudische Zeitung 363
Yudishe Zeitung Di (Munkatch) 367
Yudishe Zeitung (Vilno) 229, 230
Yudisher Arbeter Der (Brussels) 388
Yudisher Arbeter Der (Paris) 372
Yudisher Fraint Der 428
Yudischer Gaist Der 419
Yudisher Kooperator Der 316
Yudisher Kurier Der 244
Yudisher Poyer Der 291
Yudischer Student Der 316, 326
Yudisher Telegraph Der 418
Yudisches Folksblatt 363
Yudishes Togblat 9, 100
Yunge Gwardie 291
Yunger Arbeter Der 291
Yungwald 291

Zafririm 172
Zaria 244
Zay Greit 291
Z.D.R. (Zeirim Datiim Revisionistiim) 315
Zeit (Vilna) 231, 232
Zeit Di (Krakov) 122, 314
Zeit Di (London) 185
Zeit Die 257
Zeit Fragen 427
Zeitshrift (Minsk) 292
Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Chechoslovakei 364
Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland 325
Zeitschrift für Politik 322
Zeitschrift für Statistik und Demographie der Juden 325
Zeitschrift fuer Jüdische Fammilien-Forschung 325
Zeitung (Lvov) 274, 275
Zeitung (Paris) 371
Zeitung Di (Belgium) 390
Zentralblatt 431
Zidov-Hajehudi (Zagreb) 431
Zidovska Narodna Scijest 434
Zidovska Rocenka 365
Zidovska Smotra 431
Zidovska Svijest 434
Zidovske Besidky 364
Zidovske Listy pro Cechy Meravu a Slezsko 364
Zidovske Zpravy 362, 364
Zidovsky Kalendar 364
Zimrat Haaretz 419
Zion 420
Zion Wächter Der 97
Zionistische Rundschau 358
Ziv 316
Ziv Neéman 273
Zsido Elet 411
Zsido Neplap (Chechoslovakia) 363
Zsidó Neplap (Hungary) 411
Zsido Naplo 369
Zsidó Szemle 411
Zsido Ujsag 433
Zsidu Csaladi Almanach 363
Zukunft 322
Zukunft Die 315

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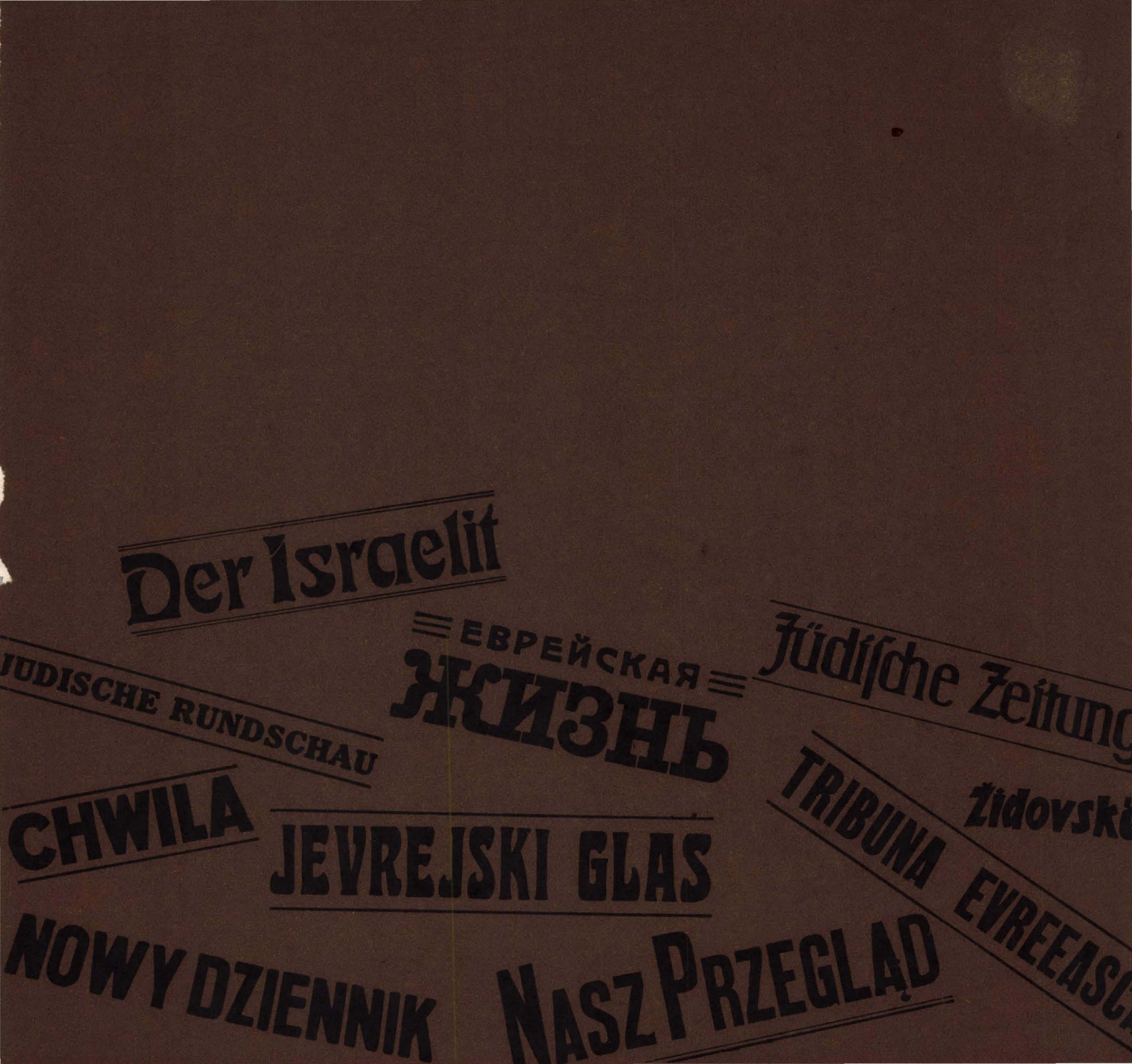
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Der Israelit
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