

JEWISH Frontier

MARCH ■ APRIL ■ 1998

WAR & PEACE
in the Middle East

ISRAEL'S
IDENTITY PROBLEMS

*Fantastic
Journey*

Through HERZL's
Altneuland

SOLDIER
of
PEACE

•
The
YITZHAK
RABIN
Story

Getaway to the
CHANNEL ISLANDS

•
HANAN AYALTI's
Legacy

•
LIKUD & LABOR
The Differences

SINCE 1934 • A LABOR ZIONIST JOURNAL

JEWISH Frontier

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War and Peace in the Middle East

By Susan Hattis Rolef

In February, Gulf War hysteria in Israel reached a high pitch. In the battle for attention between one set of experts who argued that the likelihood of an Iraqi attack against Israel was close to nil and another set of experts who explained the likely effects of an Anthrax attack and the ways of treating them — the latter seemed to have gained the upper hand in Israeli public opinion. And so, the kibbutz that manufactures plastic sheets and psychologists specializing in the treatment of anxieties laughed all the way to the bank. Israel's enemies (and friends) took note of how easily Israel becomes hysterical and starts threatening to use the weapons it does not admit having, and the Hinterland Command in the IDF got the fund allocations it demanded but didn't get when the budget was passed two months earlier.

The hysteria vanished just as quickly as it appeared, following the brief visit to Baghdad of UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. The fact that at the end of March another round of the Gulf War is no less and no more likely than it was at the end of February, seems totally irrelevant, proving for the umpteenth time that it is not so much the facts that matter, but what is in the head.

The Iraq situation and the question how President Saddam Hussein would react in face of an American effort to "flush him out", temporarily diverted attention in Israel from the danger of a renewed outbreak of the *Intifada* as a result of the *de facto* stalemate in the peace-making process with the Palestinians. Though during a recent visit to several European capitals, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu peddled some general thoughts, mostly technical by nature, on how to break out of the stalemate (of which more below), the main Israeli effort has been concentrated on attempts to change the *status quo* in Southern Lebanon, where quite a large number of Israeli soldiers have recently been killed.

A new Israeli initiative, first aired in the beginning of the year and recently discussed by Israeli Minister of Defense Itzik Mordechai with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, calls for an Israeli withdrawal from Southern Lebanon on the basis of Security Council Resolution 425, in return for appropriate security arrangements for Israel. Though the initial Lebanese reaction was favorable, very rapidly, under instructions from Damascus, the Lebanese leaders changed their cue, and stated that Resolution 425, which speaks of the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon, is not something to be bargained about, but simply to be implemented unconditionally by Israel.

Thus the Netanyahu Government is now learning the lesson that the Rabin Government learned back in 1994/95 — namely, that even though there are technically few problems on the way to reaching a satisfactory and workable agreement between Israel and Lebanon, which will both get the Israeli forces out of Southern Lebanon and ensure the security of the settlements in northern Israel, Syria will not let this happen before an agreement is reached regarding the future of the Golan Heights. It is no secret that the only agreement Syrian President Hafiz Asad is willing to consider would involve Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights — something the Netanyahu Government isn't even willing to discuss. Thus, Mordechai's statement that an agreement in Southern Lebanon will facilitate the negotiations between Israel and Syria, is, in *real politik* terms, definitely a case of placing the cart before the horses and thus a non-starter, and one cannot help wondering what made Israel's current government believe that anything had changed in the last three to four years in the Syrian approach to the issue.

The most recent idea, publicly raised by Minister for Infrastructures, Ariel Sharon, that Israel should simply start implementing

Security Council Resolution 425 in specific areas in Southern Lebanon, and then see how the Lebanese Government reacts, is interesting, reminding us that even though Sharon is one of Israel's most controversial politicians (just as he was one of Israel's most controversial military commanders) he is also one with a highly original mind and substantial daring. Whether or not Sharon's idea is taken up as Israel's official policy is yet to be seen.

Lebanon is not the only issue in which the Netanyahu Government has placed the cart before the horses. The same applies to the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. The only major issue about which the Israeli Government seems willing to talk to and cooperate with the Palestinians, is the war against terror. This is important in itself, but cannot possibly lead to real progress in the peace-making process, or a defusion of the timebomb that is ticking in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The terror can indeed be contained and its murderous results limited by technical means. However, the motivation of young Palestinians to enlist in terrorist organizations and be willing to give their lives for the "holy cause", cannot be eliminated, nor even contained, unless the underlying problem of Palestinian frustration and hopelessness is addressed.

When the Netanyahu Government says that first the terror must be eliminated and then Israel will agree to a permanent solution, it is definitely a case of placing the cart before the horses. However, the fact that this Government has also made it quite clear that the permanent solution it foresees for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip looks something like the Bantustans that used to exist in South Africa, suggests that even if the horses are placed before the cart, we are liable to discover that the Government's horses are made of clay.

The storm raised in the second week of March, around a TV interview given by Labor Party chairman Ehud Barak to journalist Gideon Levy (who back in the early 80s was one of Shimon Peres's promising young aides), indirectly highlighted the problem. In the interview Barak stated "If I were a young Palestinian, it is possible that I would join a terrorist organization," adding that as a Palestinian he would subsequently probably have turned

to the political venue. These words were said in response to a question posed by Levy, as to what he — Barak — who had fought for many years as a military commander against the terror, would do if he were a young Palestinian. After giving his answer, Barak added that this was an unfair question, since the terrorist organizations act in an inhuman and base manner, and engage in the killing of innocent citizens, women and children.

Barak's words caused quite a storm. Right wingers accused him of encouraging young Palestinians to join the Hamas; members of the Labor Party sighed that their chairman still had a lot to learn about avoiding certain types of public statements because they are liable to be taken out of context, while a member of the Hamas, standing trial in Israel for participating in several terrorist acts in which innocent civilians were killed, told a TV reporter that he felt no regrets about what he had done, and that even Barak had recognized the justice of what the Hamas, Fatah and Hizballah were doing.

From a tactical point of view Barak made a mistake, and his response to the criticism of what he had said ("What did you expect me to say in response to this question? That if I were a young Palestinian, I would turn into a primary school teacher?") indicated that he did not understand, or at least refused to admit, that he had made a mistake. A more experienced and seasoned politician would have realized that the sentence about joining a terrorist organization would be taken out of context and used against him. Nevertheless, there was something encouraging about what Barak said, for it indicated that he understands that in the state of frustration and hopelessness in which most Palestinian youths find themselves, joining a terrorist organization is an obvious option for those with an activist inclination. A man who understands the connection between frustration and hopelessness on the one hand, and terror on the other, also understands that the main way to get rid of the terror is to do away with this frustration and hopelessness. In other words, Barak understands that the Palestinians must be offered a real solution to their problem if one wants to uproot the terror.

One of the major problems with the attitude of the Netanyahu Government to the peace-

making process (besides the fact that it views it primarily as a hot potato inherited from the previous Government — not a desirable thing in itself) is precisely the fact that it does not perceive of it as a process, which seeks to change the reality. With the exception perhaps of Sharon, no one in this Government seems to have any sort of dynamic perception of what is going on in the Middle East or how one can try to influence what is going on in this region.

There seems to be no serious thought about how to defuse the Palestinian problem — not just momentarily, as recently happened after Israeli soldiers at a road block shot three innocent Palestinian workers dead because they misjudged the situation (Netanyahu and other Israeli leaders reacted by apologizing and appealing both to the Palestinian Authority and directly to the Palestinian population, to show restraint). But as a long term strategy, there seems to be no serious thought about how to defreeze the negotiations with Syria — the only negotiations that can not only remove the threat of the Hizballah and other terrorist organizations from Southern Lebanon, but lead to a new reality of comprehensive peace in the region. Finally, there seems to be no serious thought about how to confront the non-conventional threat coming from the direction of Iraq and Iran, beyond trying to convince the

Russians and others to avoid helping these two states build up their non-conventional capability, threatening to respond non-conventionally to a non-conventional attack, and distributing gas masks and antibiotics to the civilian population.

One of the underlying premises which led the Rabin Government to accept the Oslo process, despite all the misgivings, was that while the Palestinian problem in itself does not pose an existential threat to Israel, only if the Palestinian problem is really and truly resolved will it be possible to build up a regional coalition, with Israel as a member, against the region's "mad regimes". The same type of reasoning also applied to the search for an agreement with Syria over the Golan Heights, a search within the framework of which Barak, as Chief of Staff, met the Syrian Chief of Staff in Washington. Supposedly Israel can go on existing for many more decades without giving up the Golan Heights and without an agreement with Syria. But in the absence of such an agreement regional unity, not only for the purpose of building a "new Middle East" but also in order to confront the non-conventional threat posed by the madmen, is impossible. Furthermore, there is always the danger that in the absence of an agreement, after Asad Syria might itself turn into a "mad state". □

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Identity Problems

By Misha Louvish

Israel was established as a "Jewish State." This was specified in the United Nations General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947 and in the Proclamation of Independence of 14 May 1948. What does this mean? Neither document defines the term, but it is obviously of central significance.

During two millennia of dispersion, it is the status of "Jewishness" that has bound together Jews from different countries, citizens of the countries where they lived, as one people, which in the course of this century has re-established its National Home in the ancestral homeland.

The fact that Israel was established as a Jewish State does not give Jewish citizens any special privileges by law. It is reflected, however, in the Law of Return, which endows every Jew abroad with one crucial privilege: the right to settle in Israel and receive citizenship immediately on arrival, but once he has done so his legal status is the same as that of all other citizens, such as Muslim or Christian Palestinian Arabs.

Does the fact that Israel is defined as "a Jewish State" involve any religious obligations on the part of its citizens or institutions? It should not: Herzl entitled his historic pamphlet *Der Judenstaat* — "The State of the Jews" — not *Der Juedischer Staat* — "The Jewish State." It does, however, involve one privilege which is at the same time an obligation: by Israeli law Jews may only be married or divorced according to Jewish rabbinic law, and accordingly it may be necessary to rule whether an individual is a Jew or not.

According to both Jewish rabbinic religious law and the Law of Return passed by the Knesset, a Jew is defined as a person born of a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism. It is the second part of this definition that is the source of the controversy. Under both Israeli civil law and orthodox rabbinical law, a Jew by birth remains a Jew no matter what his beliefs or way of life may be. A non-Jew who wants to

join the Jewish people, however, has to be "converted to Judaism."

The Law of Return does not define the term "giyur" — conversion — but orthodox rabbinical law obliges the applicant for recognition as a Jew to accept "the yoke of the Torah and the commandments," i.e. to undertake to live according to the precepts of Jewish religious law. This requirement may lead to exorbitant demands, such as enrolling the applicant's children in orthodox schools.

Most Jews outside Israel, especially in North America, belong to the Conservative or Reform Jewish communities, and their conversions are not recognized by the orthodox community. The religious parties presented to the Knesset a draft law providing that conversion to Judaism in Israel shall be valid only subject to confirmation by the Chief Rabbinate.

The proposal aroused widespread opposition: it was regarded as a slap in the face to the majority of Jews in the Diaspora. The Government appointed a committee, headed by Yaakov Ne'eman, a distinguished lawyer who is now Minister of Finance, to seek a compromise on the question of conversion.

The committee arrived at a historic compromise: the Conservative and Reform representatives agreed that all conversions in Israel shall be carried out according to rabbinical law. At the same time they proposed that a joint institution, representing all three trends, be set up to prepare candidates for conversion.

Despite this conciliatory attitude the orthodox Chief Rabbinate of Israel has refused to approve the latter proposal. It does not recognize the authorities of any non-orthodox variety of Judaism. It cannot, of course, deny the Jewishness of anyone born a Jew or Jewess, but it will not accept the validity of any conversion abroad that has not been carried out by the orthodox rabbinate.

At the same time the rabbinical leaders de-

nounced the Conservative and Reform movements in the most virulent terms. They pointed to extreme variations from traditional Jewish practice, such as "marriages" between homosexual couples or unions of mixed couples conducted in cooperation by a priest and a rabbi. They also alleged that the non-orthodox were to blame for widespread assimilation among diaspora Jews.

Frontier readers are better qualified than I am to decide whether such irregular marriages are widespread enough to justify these strictures, and whether the existence of Conservative and Reform communities facilitates apostasy from Judaism or provides those who are not prepared to observe all the provisions of rabbinic law with a viable way of remaining Jews.

In Israel the religious politicians, especially the *haredim*, the ultra-orthodox, lose no opportunity to impose their way of life on the community. In theory, such questions are regulated by the "status quo" agreed to by Ben-Gurion and the religious leaders in the early years of the State. Conditions change, however, and the status quo is under continual pressure from both sides.

It was agreed, for example, that full-time yeshiva students should be exempt from army service, but the numbers of these *yeshiva bachurim* have swelled to enormous proportions, and we now have large numbers of healthy young men who not only do not join the army and do not engage in productive work but spend their time and energies in talmudic studies and the production of large families which are maintained at public expense.

In the name of Sabbath observance, attempts have been made by the Ministry of the Interior, which, by the coalition agreement, is headed by a *haredi* minister, to close down kibbutz shopping centers, which do not, of course, obstruct sabbath observance by the religious. Tel Aviv mayor Ronni Millo has been criticized for permitting cultural events on the Sabbath.

The religious parties have just registered a famous victory: the enactment of a law forbidding the import of non-kosher meat, which, apart from the rights of non-observant Jews, is an obvious violation of the rights of Muslim and Christian citizens, who make up about a fifth of the population. The struggle for religious freedom continues. □

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Labor and Likud — the Difference

The Oslo Process

The Oslo Agreement is based on the principles of mutual recognition and territorial compromise. The Oslo "process" is based on the principle of gradualism, including the gradual redeployment of Israeli forces on the West Bank as the Palestinian Authority assumes both political and security responsibility in agreed-upon areas.

Labor believes it is essential to adhere to the Oslo "process" which is gradual and step by step. The idea of conducting negotiations over permanent status issues immediately, without pursuing a more gradual, supervised implementation process, is to risk undermining the entire peace process by addressing the most explosive issues in an atmosphere of distrust and enmity.

Likud seeks to ignore the Oslo "process" and to advance immediately to permanent status talks without having created conditions conducive to rational and cautious decision-making based on agreed and acceptable incremental changes in political and security realities on the ground.

Settlements

Labor opposes construction of new settlements or the expansion of existing settlements before the final status agreements are reached.

Likud will not build new settlements at this time. However, the Likud-led government has approved the expansion of existing settlements including the creation of new neighborhoods often well beyond the borders of current settlement boundaries.

Labor would extend Israeli sovereignty over areas of major Jewish settlement blocs. (It has been estimated that 70% of the settlers are located in several settlement blocs and a small number of other settlements close to the pre-1967 border, on a total about 10% to 15% of the West Bank land mass).

Likud seeks to maintain sovereign control over nearly all of the 140 settlements spread

throughout Palestinian areas in the West Bank, even though most are relatively small and are located in areas contiguous to major Palestinian population centers.

Har Homa

Labor considers Har Homa to be within the southern municipal boundaries of Jerusalem. The governments of Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres were committed in principle to developing Har Homa. However, out of recognition of the consequences of a unilateral action of this kind, approval of implementation was withheld until final status talks establish undisputed boundaries for all of Jerusalem.

Likud, without heeding the warnings of Israel's security establishment and without due consideration of the political consequences, chose to initiate the development program of Har Homa.

Territories and Borders — Final Status Guideline

Labor's position is that the final status borders must be based on three principles:

1. Population separation between the 2 million-plus residents of the Palestinian entity on the West Bank and Gaza strip and the State of Israel.
2. Adjustments in the pre-1967 borders to accommodate Israel's security requirements.
3. There will be no foreign army west of the Jordan River.

To ensure stability in the Israeli-Palestinian relationship and the viability of the emerging Palestinian entity, geographical contiguity must be allowed for on most of the West Bank.

Likud seeks to extend Israeli sovereignty over a majority of the territory on the West Bank. Included would be as many as 120 or more Jewish settlements, many of which are located within, or contiguous to, areas with large Palestinian population concentrations. This will ensure the fact that there will be many small enclaves of Jewish settlers dis-

persed throughout the Palestinian-controlled territories.

This Likud "peace plan" will result in preventing the creation of a viable, contiguous Palestinian entity, a Palestinian *sin qua non* to a political settlement. It will also perpetuate and exacerbate a Bosnia-like integration of population and territory.

The Jordan Valley

Labor will make the Jordan River Israel's eastern *security* border.

Necessary and appropriate security arrangements will be made to ensure an Israeli presence in the Jordan Valley.

Likud calls for the extension of Israeli sovereignty, over the entire Jordan Valley area, making the Jordan Valley Israel's eastern *political* border.

Jerusalem

Labor is committed to maintaining Jerusalem as the united capital of Israel, under Israeli sovereignty. The Palestinian residents of the city will enjoy municipal rights in the quarters in which they reside, and special arrangements will be made for the sites sacred to Christians and Islam.

Labor favors the preservation of separate residential neighborhoods in the city, in order to prevent unnecessary friction between the Jewish and Arab residents.

Likud, while advocating that Jerusalem remain united and under Israeli sovereignty, has encouraged and supported Jewish habitation in areas of the city such as Ras El Amud and Silwan, which until now have been populated exclusively by Arab residents.

Syria

Labor-led governments, under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, affirmed the principle of land for peace in Syrian track negotiations.

The depth of Israel's territorial compromise on the Golan Heights is to be predicated on the depth of the peace, normalization arrangements and on security arrangements. Water sources, their protection and use, as well as arrangements for economic cooperation, will also be essential elements to any agreement.

Likud appears to be ready to consider a territorial compromise on the Golan Heights. However, its refusal to acknowledge the progress

which was made in negotiations conducted by the Labor government has created a stalemate on the Syrian track.

Lebanon

Labor seeks a comprehensive agreement with the Lebanese, providing for security arrangements in southern Lebanon which end terrorism and which guarantee peace and security for the residents of the region, as well as along Israel's northern border.

Likud's inability to reopen talks on the Syrian track has perpetuated the conflict with Hizbollah terrorist forces in Lebanon.

Economics

Labor favors a free market economy, gradual privatization and reduced government involvement in the economy. Labor maintains that government must act with social responsibility, recognizing that the provision of education, health and other social services cannot be guaranteed by the market place. Labor does not agree with the extreme philosophy of socio-economic Darwinism. Social stability and justice must be guaranteed by responsible government.

Likud's extreme commitment to market forces and its support of West Bank settlements have resulted in enormous cuts in the education budget, in the reduction of essential social services, in a crisis in the medical system and in high and increasing levels of unemployment and social discontent.

Religious Pluralism

Labor is committed to the unity of the Jewish people. It affirms the legitimacy of all religious streams and asserts that Israel is a democratic, Zionist and Jewish State in which all have the right to live in an atmosphere of tolerance and true equality.

The Labor Party is opposed to the passage of legislation in the Knesset which would deny the rights of non-Orthodox religious groups in Israel.

Likud is committed to an agreement with its extreme Right wing, religious and haredi (ultra-Orthodox) coalition partners. This agreement obliges the Likud to support legislative and other arrangements designed to ensure the centrality and authority of the Orthodox rabbinate in matters of personal status and religious practice in Israel. □

Again a "Final Solution"?

By Henry L. Feingold

Whether Saddam can be stopped from further developing his lethal chemical and biological warfare capacity is a matter of world import. But there is a special aspect of the mortal danger such a capacity poses that Israel and Jews everywhere face alone. The missiles that rained down on Tel Aviv during the Gulf War were not merely a clever ploy employed by Saddam to bring the Arab world to Iraq's side should Israel respond. Recent revelations indicate that Baghdad's strategic planning called for the total elimination of Israel by dropping canisters of deadly anthrax from a pilotless MIG. Fortunately, such planes were not available at the time and hopefully are still not. What is a matter of deep concern is that in extremist circles of the Arab world the fantasy of the total elimination of Israel at one blow has attained a certain legitimacy. What Saddam, Hizbollah and the panoply of Islamic fanatics allow themselves to contemplate is a kind of "final solution" by germ and chemical warfare rather than Zyklon B.

The story of Iraq's grand strategy vis a vis Israel was casually mentioned recently in the final paragraphs of a *New York Times* background story on the current state of Iraqi preparedness to wage chemical and germ warfare. (It was repeated in Franklin Foer's "Toxic Shock," *The New Republic*, March 16, 1998, pp. 12-15). Surprisingly the article created little stir in the Jewish press. Most experts believe that Iraq's capacity to deliver such a blow has been diminished and that, aware of the massive retaliation from Israel that would this time follow such an attack, Iraqi leadership would hesitate to mount a first strike. But whether such rationality reigns in a leadership who unilaterally decided to "take" Kuwait, located in a volatile oil-rich strategic area, as if no one would notice, should be questioned.

Once before in the recent Jewish experience at the outset of the Holocaust the assump-

tion that their tormentors were after all reasonable men led many astray. That is the reason why rescue strategies in the ghettos were based on the notion that the Nazis were surely not foolish enough to expend precious resources to liquidate a population stock possessing the highest level of craft skills in eastern Europe. It was believed that surely precious rolling stock would not be used to transport Jews to their death when the Wehrmacht on the Russian front needed supplies for a campaign that was taking longer than planned. Forgotten was that madness, especially the madness of those who are about to see their world go under, assumes its own logic. Wiping out the imagined enemy at one below becomes an enormous temptation. After all, it takes only one missile or one man with a suitcase to do the job. Ask the now-imprisoned terrorists who planned to blow up New York's Twin Towers. They were not Iraqis nor the crazed voices on the Palestinian street who call for the use of gas against Israel. There continues to be madness in the world, nowhere more so than in the world of Islamic fanaticism.

It is in that context of Islamic extremism that the use of American air power alone, without actual military occupation of Iraq, takes on an ominous meaning for Israel. Anything less than the toppling of the regime holds out the danger that Israel could become the target of a vengeful Iraqi leadership in its death throes. The chorus for destroying Israel once and for all would be joined by all those fundamentalist Islamic elements that view Israel as merely a pawn of the U.S. We are after all dealing with a leadership so desperate to retain its germ warfare capacity that it allows its population to suffer horrendous deprivation brought on by the economic sanctions. That kind of desperation does not hold out much hope that the group around Saddam is capable of making a sane survival decision based on a normal power calculus. It is that awareness that al-

lows Labor and the Likud to agree that containment is not enough. Real security requires a change of government in Baghdad.

In prior years limited use of military power in Somalia, Grenada, Libya and Panama and in the Gulf War itself have cast some doubt that there is such a thing as an effective "surgical" or limited use of power. Yet it is precisely such limited use of power with which the American people are most comfortable. That comfort finds its roots in American political culture. Our system of governance teaches that the use of power is most effective when it is not committed but simply is allowed to play its role behind the scenes. War is an inefficient use of power. The conception that unilateral unchecked power is dangerous is at the very heart of the separation of powers on which our political system is based. What better lesson can one learn from comparing the interwar period with the Cold War years than that maintaining rather than actually using military power, is the surest way to prevent war. There are those who point out that the Cold War where the two super powers checked each other's possible abuse of power produced a more secure world.

Yet there is something anomalous in the way Washington handles the ongoing crises. We seem to want to spank Saddam rather than to change the situation. For those readers who recall the years preceding World War II and the public outcry against involvement in Korea and Viet Nam there is nothing more startling than to note how ready the Clinton administration is to unilaterally assume the role of international policeman in Iraq. We forget that there is little desire to assume the cost in American lives and fortune a full policeman's role would entail. Washington intends to play only a limited role from the air. For Israel that may not be enough.

By the time these musings appear in print the reader will have learned whether or not the fragile agreement stitched together by UN Secretary-General Annan has held. But whatever the case the Iraq embroilment is only a symptom of the deeper polarity that will fuel history in the decades to come. Israel lies squarely on a fault line which will divide the world in the 21st century much the way the East-West division did in the second half of the twentieth. That will come as a surprise to those

who took seriously the notion that liberal democracy and the related freemarket system would rule supreme and that we were at the end of history driven by the East-West polarity. That was proposed less than a decade ago in a prize-winning book that saw "the end of history," written by the well-known political theorist, Frances Fukuyama. Clearly American hegemony is challenged and in the vanguard of the opposition is Islam which resists crossing the threshold to modernity with all its might.

The new polarity grows out of the old. At the height of the Cold War there was also talk of a subsidiary North-South tension between developed and undeveloped nations. The subsequent "kick off" of the Pacific Rim nations and the decline of the former Soviet Union to almost Third World status altered the North-South configuration. What seems to be emerging is a division between nations prepared to enter the 21st century based on a willingness to allow an ever-increasing amount of knowledge and communication between free autonomous citizens. These are societies anxious above all else to solve the perennial problem of scarcity and ignorance. On the other side are societies who for various reasons reject materialism and individualism and the high cost in social chaos they see as being integral to modernity. At the head of this array are Islamic nations, especially those of the Arab world, who find the principles of modernity especially anathema. They see in modernism only corruption and lostness. America, the "Great Satan" which is already becoming postmodern and Israel which has a special relationship with it, are seen as the corrupters of the world. Both are despised with a fervor only religion can bestow.

If the current crisis is resolved by force will the Arab world then abandon its opposition to the West which Israel has come to represent? When the bombing is done will Hamas, Hezbollah or Saddam Hussein and Quaddafi, be better able to reconcile themselves to Israel's existence? Whether it is Soros in Indonesia, Monica Lewinsky in the Oval Office or Albright in the State Department, the Arab Street sees Jews everywhere. They are the wielders of the modernity that they are convinced aims to destroy their way of being. The fissure which has become apparent through the Iraqi crises goes beyond the Arab-Israel tension. It is part of the conflict between the modern and anti-

Sharett Center Renews Activities

On the secluded small street in Jerusalem called Alharizi, is a modest building that houses the headquarters of the World Labor Zionist Movement. It also houses the Moshe Sharett Educational Center, named after Israel's first Foreign Minister.

The Center (MSEC) was established in 1976 to promote the democratic values of progressive Jewish Zionism through educational activities. A veteran educational institution with an outstanding record of service and achievement, MSEC reaches out to all segments of Israeli society, including historically underrepresented communities such as new immigrants, Arab Israelis, women, and *mizrachim*. MSEC acts as a support network for Jewish Zionist activism in addition to carrying out its own projects in informal education and immigrant absorption. Over the last twenty-two years, thousands of new immigrants and veteran Israelis have benefited from MSEC programs. Past MSEC programs include the research and publication of books, reports, and journals on Zionism, seminars on democracy, pluralism, and tolerance in high schools and community centers across the country, and classes and workshops on Israel and progressive Zionist values in development towns and other areas with high concentrations of new immigrants. Today, MSEC is spearheading a revolution in informal education. MSEC's Computer Mobile is a national initiative to bring the tools of high technology to Israel's most underrepresented communities. MSEC's Computer Mobile reaches out to socially and economically underprivileged segments of Israeli society with a program that combines a concrete contribution to social mobility with a massive educational campaign for the values of democracy.

modern. For those who have not noticed it is the same tension that also exists within Judaism and is at the heart of the silent civil war that threatens its survival from within.

The truth is that by dint of its location, religion, and history, Israel finds itself the very heart of a conflict of which the current debacle in Iraq is merely the latest phase. One thing is clear: the hope that with all that has happened to them in the bloody twentieth century, Jews would be allowed to retreat to some backwater so that they might lick their wounds does not seem to be in the offing. Instead Jews

The Challenge

Such historically underrepresented populations as new immigrants, Arab Israelis, *mizrachim*, and others in the lower economic strata are routinely faced with sub-standard services in the realm of education. This expresses itself in poor and outdated equipment and learning materials, run-down and temperature exposed classrooms, and under-qualified teaching staff. The resources taken for granted in middle and upper-class neighborhoods are unheard of in this periphery.

Sub-standard education feeds the cycle of poverty and unemployment in underprivileged communities. Ill-equipped by their educational experience to compete in the professional world, young people face un- and under-employment. When the traditional tools of democracy — access, representation, equality — break down, the values of democracy — peace, pluralism, and social justice — become suspect. Fundamentalist movements, promising prosperity and hope to their followers, are on the rise in Israel, particularly among the most disenfranchised populations, while the Zionist tradition of democracy ebbs in relevance and power.

MSEC Responds to the Crisis

MSEC was established to reach Israelis from all walks of life, and provide a bridge to the values of progressive Zionism. The populations most alienated from these tenets today are communities on the periphery of Israeli society. MSEC has therefore created a massive campaign to re-introduce progressive Zionism and the democratic ideals it cherishes to these communities. □

again find themselves at the center of a historical canvas where the conflict is most intense and the human cost is bound to be high.

In the meantime it should come as no revelation that there are leaders in the Arab world that think in terms of "final solutions." That is what canisters of anthrax and pilotless MIGs are all about. But there are rational leaders too and even reasonable mullahs. Surely they understand that should such a blow be directed at the people of Israel, it would this time trigger a terrible retaliation. The agonizing question is whether such voices can make themselves heard in Baghdad. □

Soldier of Peace:

The Life of Yitzhak Rabin by Dan Kurzman. 555 pp.
HarperCollins Publications, 1998. \$30.

Reviewed by Joseph Adler

So often we recognize the true measure of a person only in retrospect, when someone is gone, and his or her legacy becomes clear. Yitzhak Rabin was such a figure. He lived the history of his nation — from the heroic struggle of Israel's birth to the repeated defense of its existence, to the quest for peace and acceptance after decades of conflict and bloodshed. Indeed, he personified in his lifetime the wisdom of Kohelet whose words he appropriated in his speech on September 13, 1993 on the south lawn of the White House at the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, namely:

A time to be born, and a time to kill;
A time to weep, and a time to laugh;
A time to love, and a time to hate;
A time for war, and a time for peace.

Dan Kurzman, reporter, broadcaster and foreign correspondent, winner of numerous journalistic awards, and best-selling author has produced a dramatic and fascinating biography of Rabin that simultaneously tells the story of a pioneering nation's maturation into a modern thriving state. Written in a fast flowing style the book reads like a novel, and is destined to become the standard work on the life of the soldier-

statesman. The author draws heavily on a variety of primary and secondary sources, and especially on Israeli and American archival material, and on interviews he conducted with over two hundred individuals.

Yitzhak Rabin was born in 1922, the same year the British separated Transjordan from Palestine and placed the Hashemite dynasty on the throne. His parents Rosa Cohen and Nehemiah Rabin were well known figures in the Jewish Palestine labor movement. Activists, they had little time to devote to their son who grew up under Spartan conditions, lonely and shy. After graduating from Kadouri Agricultural College, he joined at age nineteen the Palmach, the elite fighting force of the Jewish community of Palestine. In 1941, Rabin took part in the operation in which the Palmach spearheaded the Allied invasion of Syria, which at the time was occupied by the Vichy French. Later, he participated in underground actions against the British Mandatory Regime and led a force in the liberation of "illegal immigrants", survivors of the Holocaust, held by the British in a detention camp at Atlit. On June 29, 1946, Black Sunday,



Rabin was arrested and imprisoned by the British at Rafah. Upon his release he remained active in the Palmach.

During Israel's War of Independence, Rabin was placed in command of the Harel Brigade which was prominent in the battle for Jerusalem. He also played a key role in the sinking of the *Altalena*, a French vessel carrying arms and men to reinforce the army of the Irgun. Following the conclusion of hostilities Rabin took part in the armistice negotiations on the island of Rhodes.

Continuing his military career, Rabin advanced rapidly through the ranks, serving at various times as commanding officer of Israel's Northern Sector; Chief of the army's Manpower Branch; Chief of Operations; and finally in 1964 as Chief of Staff of the Israeli armed forces. In this latter post he was responsible for the plan on which Israel's campaign in the Sinai Peninsula during the Six-Day War was based. The great victory resulting from his tactical

decisions made Rabin a national hero.

In 1968 he left the army for a much cherished post as Ambassador to the United States. During his five years in Washington D.C. he helped to strengthen America's policy toward Israel. Following the disastrous Yom Kippur War, Rabin succeeded Golda Meir as Prime Minister, thus becoming the first sabra in the young nation's history to reach the pinnacle of power. During his stewardship there occurred the daring rescue by Israeli commandoes of hostages taken captive by terrorists from a French aircraft and brought to Entebbe, Uganda.

Forced to resign his high office as a result of a scandal involving illegal banking accounts held by his wife while he was Ambassador to the U.S., Rabin for a time remained out of politics. He opposed the invasion of Lebanon undertaken by the Begin administration, and once again became active in Labor Party politics. During the Peres-Shamir government, Rabin was chosen as Defense Minister, and it was during his term in office that the Intifada broke out. In June of 1992, Rabin for the second time became Prime Minister of Israel, and together with Shimon Peres launched the peace offensive which led to the Oslo Accords and a formal peace treaty with the Kingdom of Jordan. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts (along with Peres and Arafat), Rabin was felled some months later by an assassin's bullet after delivering a speech whose motto was "Peace — Not Violence" (November 4, 1995).

Among the more startling revelations in *Soldier of Peace* are the author's description of Rabin's back channel contacts

with the Palestine Liberation Organization over a period of at least ten years; his secret meetings with King Hussein of Jordan in the early 1970s; the role played by a secret mediator in keeping the lid on the bitter Rabin-Peres feud (a rivalry that persisted for twenty years); the love-hate relationship with Henry Kissinger; Rabin's involvement in the Iran-Contra Affair; and his admiration of Nixon and U.S. Secretary of State Baker.

More astonishing, however, is Kurzman's assertion, indeed it is the main theme of his book, that Rabin was actually far from the "hawk" he was portrayed to be prior to the Oslo Accords, and that his drive for a comprehensive peace dated back to the beginnings of his military career. Rabin's dream of peace, the author insists, while often camouflaged by his reliance on tough security measures, actually crystallized in his early days as a Palmach officer. His experiences during the War of Independence left him guilt-ridden and haunted with memories of the men under his command that he had sent to their deaths in impossible battles. Rabin's search for peace would become more compulsive in the days leading up to the Six-Day War. He feared at the time that Israel might not survive the conflict. His drive for peace took another serious turn in the late 1980s when as Minister of Defense, he realized that no military tactic could suppress the Intifada, the Palestinian popular uprising that drained Israel of so much blood, money and confidence. However, always pragmatic, Rabin was convinced that peace could only be obtained if Israel remained militarily superior to its Arab neighbors so that they would come to the conclusion that reconciliation was a better

policy than warfare. Thus, while having no liking for violence, Rabin, who had earned the name "Mr. Security", did not hesitate to strike back against terrorist attacks, while at the same time allowing his representatives to negotiate secretly at Oslo and elsewhere.

Enriching the biography and interspersed throughout the work are numerous vignettes and anecdotes of the events and personalities that touched upon Rabin's life. Considerable space is thus given to the mental and physical exhaustion that engulfed Rabin on the eve of the Six-Day War. Although Rabin was able to shake off his depression within one day and lead the army to Israel's greatest victory, the incident was cruelly exploited by his political rivals, notably Ezer Weizman and Shimon Peres. They spread the story that the general had suffered a complete nervous breakdown, and that he should be removed from his command.

Similarly, in graphic detail, Kurzman offers a mesmerizing account of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin by Yigal Amir, a Yemenite Orthodox extremist who believed he was instructed to carry out the deed by God.

On a lighter note the author describes Rabin's encounter with Betty Ford during an official reception in Washington. The First Lady asked Rabin for a dance, and the latter visibly embarrassed replied, "I'm sorry, Mrs. Ford, but I simply don't know how to dance. Not a step, and I wouldn't dream of mauling your toes." Undaunted by this unexpected refusal the President's wife informed Rabin to have no fear since as a young woman she used to teach dance, "and I protected my toes from men less skillful than you." Then with-

out further ado she whisked Rabin onto the dance floor, where after some shuffling of feet he was rescued by Henry Kissinger.

Equally indicative of Rabin's unease during certain social occasions is Kurzman's depiction of the ceremony at the White House for the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles. The Prime Minister, fidgety and uncomfortable, found himself sandwiched between Peres, his political nemesis, and Arafat his terrorist enemy. While the world looked on incredulously, Arafat extended his hand and Rabin — nudged slightly by President Clinton — slowly, tentatively reached out and limply took it, a pained grimace on his face.

The humaneness of Rabin behind his cold and dour exterior is exemplified by the author in his description of a visit with a companion named Eitan Haber to Richard Nixon in San Clemente following his resignation from the presidency. On their arrival Haber facetiously asked Nixon whether he could use his tape recorder, or was it too dangerous. Nixon laughed at the reference to Watergate, but Rabin turned red in his face, and his eyes flamed with anger. Later he berated Haber, for he considered it shameful to treat the former president's fate as a joke.

In conclusion *Soldier of Peace* is a well-written, highly informative book that merits the attention of both scholars and general readers. It engages the reader's attention to the very last page. For a people who in two thousand years of exile were too often powerless in the face of oppression, Yitzhak Rabin's life embodied the independence and self-sufficiency of modern Israel. Through deeds as well as words he helped bring an entire region to the threshold of a new and better day. □

67 Palestinians Suspected of Cooperating with Israel Have Been Murdered

(Communicated by the Government Press Office, April 6, 1998)

The Agreement

Under the terms of the Oslo Accords, the Palestinian Authority (PA) is obligated to protect Palestinians suspected of cooperating with Israel and to refrain from harassing them.

The Interim Agreement (Oslo 2) of September 28, 1995 (Article XVI, para. 2) states, "Palestinians who have maintained contact with the Israeli authorities will not be subjected to acts of harassment, violence, retribution or prosecution. Appropriate ongoing measures will be taken, in coordination with Israel, in order to ensure their protection." The Article containing this obligation is entitled "Confidence Building Measures," and its preamble states that both sides will carry it out "to establish a solid basis of mutual trust and good faith."

A similar undertaking was previously made by the Palestinians in the May 4, 1994 Gaza-Jericho Agreement (Article XX, para. 4), which established the PA.

The Violations

Since the PA's establishment four years ago, more than 160 Palestinians suspected of cooperating with Israel have been wounded or killed. Rather than protect such people, the PA and its security services have targeted and intimidated them in violation of the accords.

Since May 18, 1994, when the PA assumed control over Gaza and Jericho, a total of 67 Palestinians suspected of cooperating with Israel have been murdered (including nine suspects being held in Palestinian prisons) and 96 others injured. Most of those killed and injured were residents of Judea and Samaria. □

The Palestinian security services expend considerable efforts to monitor and interrogate Palestinians suspected of cooperating with Israel. Suspects have been kidnapped by the PA security services and forcibly detained in Palestinian prisons, where they have been questioned about their alleged ties to Israel. The most recent assault on a Palestinian suspected of cooperating with Israel took place on March 29, 1998, when the body of Ribbi Musfi, aged 48, was found on the outskirts of Palestinian-controlled Jericho. Evidence in the possession of the Israel police indicates that Musfi had been called in to an interrogation by the Palestinian security forces in Ramallah. Since that time, and until his body was discovered, there had been no trace of his whereabouts.

Government to Approve Development for Bedouins

(Communicated by Prime Minister's Media Adviser, April 8, 1998)

The Directors-General for the Bedouin sector in the north will prepare a multi-year development plan for the Bedouin communities in the north — to be submitted for Government approval within one month. The plan aims at closing gaps in various spheres.

The main elements of the plan, presented April 8, 1998, by Prime Minister Netanyahu during his visit to Tuba Zangaria, are:

1. The Government will develop road, water and sewage infrastructures within the Bedouin communities.
2. The Government will build public institutions (schools, kindergartens, medical clinics and day care centers) in the communities.
3. The Government will construct neighborhoods for discharged soldiers.
4. The Government has begun preparing blueprints to enable orderly construction in all Bedouin communities. □

Altneuland

By Theodor Herzl

Chapter 1

Sunk in the depths of depression, Dr. Friedrich Loewenberg sat at the round marble-topped table of his coffeehouse. It was one of those pleasant old-fashioned Vienna cafés in the Alsergrund, and he had been frequenting it for many years, ever since his student days. He came in round about five every afternoon, as regularly as any bureaucrat. The pale, sickly waiter always greeted him courteously; and Loewenberg bowed politely to the pale girl behind the cash-desk without ever speaking to her. Then he sat down at the round table, drank his coffee, and read all the papers which the waiter brought him one after the other. When he had run through the dailies and weeklies, the humorous papers and the trade journals, which took an hour and a half at least, he would converse with his friends or pass the time in solitary day-dreaming. Or rather, he had formerly chatted with his friends. Nowadays only the dreams remained to him, for the two good fellows who for years had spent these somehow empty and yet fascinating hours in the Café Birkenreis with him had both died within recent months. Both had been older than himself, and, as Heinrich had written him in his last letter, posted before he shot himself, it was, "so to speak, chronologically comprehensible that they should give way to despair before he did". Oswald, the other friend, had gone to Brazil to help establish Jewish settlements and had died there of yellow fever.

So Friedrich Loewenberg sat alone at his table, as he had sat for some months past, and, when he had finished with his pile of papers, just gave himself up to his day-dreams, making no attempt to find companions. He was too tired and worn to seek new friends — as if he were an old, old man, not a youth of twenty-three. There he sat and stared, unseeing, into the smoke-misted corners of the large room. Round the billiard table, handling their cues with confident, firm gestures, stood a few young people. They were merry enough, even though their situation was not much different from his own. They were young doctors, newly qualified lawyers, civil engineers. They had finished their studies, but had not yet found work. Most of them were Jews and they used to complain — in the intervals of playing billiards or cards — how hard it was to make a living "in these days". Meanwhile they squandered "these days" on endless games. Loewenberg was sorry for them, while envying their improvidence.

Actually they were no more than proletarians, victims of a way of thinking which had prevailed among the Jewish lower middle class two or three decades before. The fathers had wanted their sons to be more than they themselves had been. No more business, no more buying and selling! The young people, therefore, entered the professional classes in droves, with the result that there might have been foreseen — a glut of professionals who could not find work, were unsuited to a simpler way of life, could not slip into the Civil Service as their Gentile colleagues did, and were now unemployed and unemployable. At the same time, they had a certain sense of duty towards their class, a silly and pathetic pride in it, and rows of imposing but worthless letters after their names. Those who had some capital could live on it for a time, or they continued to be a burden on their fathers. Others became fortune-hunters, with the pleasant prospect of ending up as bondslaves to their wives and fathers-in-law. Others again entered into cut-throat competition with each other, and that in professions calling for a highly ethical standard of conduct. So here they offered a sorry spectacle, at once odd and pitiful; the same young men who thought themselves too good to be mere businessmen now did business as "professionals" specializing in unmentionable diseases or shady lawsuits . . .

Epilogue

. . . But if you do not will it, it is and will remain a fairy-tale, this story that I have told you.

I meant it to be a fairy-tale with a moral. More fairy-tale than moral, some critics will say. And others — More moral than tale!

For now, dear book, after three years of work, we must part — and your path of sorrows is before you. You will have to make your way through hostility and misrepresentation, as through a dark, evil forest.

But if you meet kindly people, my child, greet them in the name of your father. He believes that dreaming is as good a way of spending our time on this earth as any other, and *dream and action are not so far apart as is often thought*. All the activity of mankind was a dream once — and will again be a dream. □

— Theodor Herzl

Fantastic Journey

THROUGH HERZL'S ALTNEULAND

By Nahum Guttman

Marcel was busy trimming a customer's hair as I halted my stroll down Jerusalem's Ben Yehuda Street to peek into his barber shop. As he spotted me, he waved me in and I soon forfeited my long locks, saved for more than a month in anticipation of my forthcoming trip to Israel, so that I could patronize Marcel's emporium as I usually do on my journeys to Jerusalem. But this time, there was an extra element in my plan — Ben Yehuda had been the site of a terrorist double suicide bombing in September, leaving some five Israelis dead and over a hundred injured. Had the pedestrian mall returned to normal?

We found the area less crowded than usual, partly because of the overcast skies, but also because of the terrorist event. But mainly, because of the dearth of tourists, the American Jewish sissies who shied away from the Middle East because of some rumblings in Iraq. Some of the Ben Yehuda stores seemed to fare well, some were severely harmed by the absence of customers. But then we noticed a spurt of activity in a souvenir shop. It turned out that a bevy of cheerful women, gaily dressed in Japanese garb, were selecting items to remember Jerusalem by. It was a contingent of the Makuya organization of Japanese Christians friendly to Israel; later we came across more of them at the *Kotel*.

We spent the first four nights of our visit in a modest hotel, the Windmill. The place was empty, and the two of us rattled around the lobby, wondering how the hotel could remain in business. Only a small cluster of children from a special home had been brought for

a weekend. A day later, our anxiety was allayed: a tourist bus parked in front of the hotel and let out 80 young men and women — a Christian group from Norway. To some extent, this made up for the disgraceful absence of American Jews who were quick to back out when Saddam Hussein lifted a wicked finger against the West.

Still disturbed by the almost eerie quiet of Ben Yehuda we returned another day — Purim eve — and the scene changed radically. Music filled the air. Groups of teenage boys and girls promenaded down the street, in fanciful costumes. The sidewalk cafes filled with diners. It was evident that terror was not to prevail this day, when Haman's demise was celebrated with abandon.

The main goal of our March pilgrimage to Jerusalem was to attend the *Bat Mitzva* of our second granddaughter, Liora. This twelve-year-old sabra had been studying her Torah portion diligently for months. Her mother, Naomi, was busy all week preparing goodies for the kiddush luncheon. Her father, Aharon, and older sister Carmela, were engaged in setting up the hall for the expected guests. Five-year-old Doriel was primed to act as unofficial hostess, which she was to be, with remarkable aplomb.

The religious part of the *Bat Mitzva* ceremony was conducted in the Conservative congregation, *Shevet Achim*, which had facilities in the Tali public school in Gilo. Started by Americans, the congregation has persisted over the years. On Friday evening, the rabbi's

brief Hebrew sermon was translated by one of the women into Russian — for a number of newcomers from the former Soviet Union had been attracted to this branch of Judaic observance. While the ultra-Orthodox rabbinate and the Conservative/Reform wings are battling over their respective jurisdictions, here in Gilo, on the grass roots level, a quiet revolution is taking place. The current rabbi is a young man from the Bronx, who has been ordained in Jerusalem by the Conservative institutions. (The rabbi's grandfather, we learned, was an active Farband member in New York — Philip Kahn.) On the *bimah*, besides the rabbi, were two women, draped in talit, who read the Torah with apparent skill and understanding.

As the sabbath morning services proceeded, more guests continued to arrive. And young Doriel was on the spot to welcome them. First there was the contingent from Kfar Blum, the kibbutz in northeastern Israel — our niece Shlomit and husband and three children: they merited an award for coming the longest distance, having to rise very early on their day of rest, to reach Jerusalem by 10:00 a.m. Shortly afterwards, in streamed another contingent, via station wagon, from Afikim and Maoz Hayim. They were the families of our two nieces-in-law and a niece. And finally, a couple from kibbutz Bror Hayil, near the Gaza Strip, cousins of my wife, Miriam. This influx of so many secular kibbutzniks to a bat mitzva in Jerusalem says something about the true relationship of many secularists to Jewish tradition. The extended Guttman clan in Israel is indeed diversified along the religious spectrum, but solidly united in their Zionist ethos.

Our son Josh, who had flown in from New York for a weekend, just to attend the *bat mitzva* of his niece Liora, was called to the Torah. In the midst of the reading, the woman Reader stopped short. There was a hurried consultation with the rabbi, and after some careful perusal of the scroll, it was determined that there was indeed a typographical error. The scribe had penned a singular noun when it was supposed to be a plural. Immediately the flawed scroll was set aside and a kosher one placed on the *bimah*. Josh was then allowed to complete his blessings.

Orit, Aharon's niece from Netanya, had come to the services and was called to the Torah. Next day, Sunday, she was to report for induction into the Israel Defense Force.

In Israel, Purim is not a one-day affair. Festivities stretch out over a week or so. And this year, of course, many events were linked to the 50th anniversary of the nation's rebirth. So it was, one evening, that the students of the Tali school put on a dance program in the Gilo community center. Our Liora was to perform in one of the numbers. The large gymnasium was filled with parents and siblings of the dancers. There was no scenery, just the wide open space of the gym. Groups of dancers sat on the floor, rising gracefully as their turn came. Taped music, with full orchestral accompaniment, gave powerful backing to the young terpsichoreans. Seamlessly, the units melded one into the other, each number representing another theme of the decades of Israel's half-century.

Then, in a flash, the calendar flipped back six decades to 1938 when we made our first trip to Eretz Yisrael. The music man was playing a melody we had not heard in a very long time: *Shir Ha'emek*. The song of the valley — the valley of Jezreel. Here, the grandchildren of that era of pioneers were dancing, in true halutzic style, idyllic steps of a youthful Zionist generation. In 1998, they were singing/ dancing a melody of love to the Emek — rest has come to the toiler, as evening spreads over the fields of Emek Yizrael . . . Dew is below and a moon above, from Bet Alpha to Nahalal . . .

From Bet Alpha to Nahalal . . . the refrain refuses to leave one's mind. It is good to know that the youth of hilly Jerusalem still respond to the spell of the Emek, that Nahalal still evokes nostalgia for an era long past and a yearning to sustain the social dynamism of those golden days, as we celebrate Israel's Golden Jubilee.

While in the vicinity of Jerusalem, we look about for signs of development. Right here in Gilo, we find pocket-sized sitting areas for the weary pedestrians treading up the steep hills. In the main shopping area, signs welcome you to "UpTown" — a new 30-story residential tower is under construction. From the main highway, you turn off into the new Tunnel, leading to Kiryat Arba and Hebron, a time-saver and security by-pass.

Son-in-law Aharon sits on the local community council. He takes me to a meeting held in a cultural center deep in the Jerusalem Forest,

devoted to environmental issues. Before the meeting starts, we sit for a cup of coffee; at our table are several Arabs, from Bet Safafa, the Arab community of some 7,000 souls nestled inside Gilo. There are common concerns about the environment, a subject too long neglected by the Israeli public, and the Government, too. So these Jewish and Arab neighbors sit together, braintrusting, searching for solutions to their very local problems.

After the session in the Jerusalem Forest, Aharon takes me to the new city hall for the reception tendered by Mayor Ehud Olmert in honor of a score of community activists. Aharon accepts his certificate with a modest gesture; his many hours of volunteerism have been acknowledged. But there is still much more to do to enhance life in Gilo.

One side trip is slated for March 12th, which happens to be Purim. It is to the seaport of Ashdod, south of Tel Aviv. Years ago Ashdod was a scraggly village on the coast. Today it is a booming city, with wide thoroughfares and many high rises. The occasion for the visit is to attend the dedication of a Kupat Holim clinic in honor of Dr. Sol Stein who is celebrating his 92nd birthday by sponsoring this new medical facility "while I'm still alive".

Time is running out, and we must use our final days of this journey to visit three central points on our spiritual map: Maoz Hayim, Afikim and Kfar Blum. With Naomi at the wheel, we can do it with one overnight Friday stop at Kfar Blum.

Maoz Hayim, niece Nehama's habitat, is in the Beisan Valley, abutting the Jordanian frontier. A relatively small kibbutz with about 300 inhabitants, its homes are surrounded by brilliant flowers. In spite of the economic woes besetting many of the collective settlements, Maoz Hayim is doing quite well: its plastics factory is operating at full speed, and its large dairy herd produces a satisfactory income.

Afikim is another story. In the 1930s it set the pace for developing industry in the rural settlements. The legendary Mitya, a Russian halutz, whose peasantlike appearance belied a sharp, creative mind, founded a plywood factory in this remote Jordan Valley kibbutz, an area devoid of natural resources. The giant logs needed as raw material had to be imported from Africa, unloaded at Haifa and hauled overland by truck to the factory. For decades,

this operation was successful; new products were turned out; extra hands were hired from outside the collective community. However, the economic picture turned upside down. Afikim's pioneer venture lost its hold, and last year the plant was shut down, with the firing of 150 workers. Today, the kibbutz is in search of a new venture that will replace the long-lived staple of its economy.

Despite the economic crisis, Afikim is a lively community. We spent the day with our two nieces-in-law, both recent widows, whose husbands died a few months apart of cancer. Miriam, who spent her childhood in Sweden, and Alena, from Brazil, are fast friends, busy with their kibbutz duties and caring for their children, the next generation of Guttmans in Afikim.

Our nieces led us to the kibbutz cemetery on the banks of the Jordan. Here are buried my brother, Zvi, and his wife Miriam, who had settled in Afikim in 1934. Nearby are the graves of their two sons, Natan and Nachi. Next to Nachi is his daughter, Dovrat, who was killed in a traffic accident on the road just outside the kibbutz. Miriam and Alena light memorial candles at the graves of their respective husbands.

We bid farewell to the living and the dead, and move on, northward to Kfar Blum.

For anyone associated with the American Labor Zionist movement, Kfar Blum is a "must". In this kibbutz reside veterans of the movement, including founders of the Habonim youth organization over 60 years ago. At a *kum-sitz* in the apartment of the Sassons (he is the former Harry Sosewitz of Chicago and she is Esther Schmitzer of Minneapolis) a minyan of us sat and schmoozed. The spirit was upbeat, testimony that a good dose of Zionist zeal in one's youth does have an affirmative effect in old age.

Kfar Blum had long been noted for its guest house. Now, it has been enlarged to accommodate even bus loads of tourists, of which there were several during our stay. Scattered throughout the area are air raid shelters, fortunately not pressed into use lately.

We made a *bikur holim* call on Engee Caller, recuperating from a severe illness in the infirmary. That facility is to be enlarged to accommodate the growing number of elderly, members of the kibbutz and other residents of Upper Galilee. Engee is the archivist who

guards the historic treasure of Kfar Blum and of the Habonim estate.

Late Saturday, we drive back to Jerusalem, via fine roads toward Haifa (which we bypass this time). We spot a road sign reading "Nahalal"; regretfully we cannot stop to pay respects to the *moshav* founded by Shmuel Dayan and where Moshe Dayan spent his youth. Traffic is heavy. Israelis are winding up Purim week. Movement in the Tel Aviv area is all but impossible. The road to Jerusalem is clogged. But finally we make it to Gilo.

Our last day in Jerusalem. The plane leaves past midnight. We have time to attend a dance program in which Carmela performs. There is a variety of styles on stage. An outstanding number is put on by a Moroccan troupe in colorful native dress. But they are all wonderful Israeli teenagers, talented, charming, enthusiastic. It is a wonderful note on which to conclude this spectacular journey to the Promised Land.

As we reached the Ben-Gurion airport to board our El Al plane, the skies let loose with a torrent of rain. I blessed the downpour, as the country can use every drop of water. Next morning, we were informed by Naomi by phone that Jerusalem had had a record snow fall — precipitation that was also most welcome. We had come at the tail end of winter and left as Spring broke out, reviving the countryside and lifting the spirit of the people.

In 1897 Theodor Herzl convened the first World Zionist Congress, dreaming of a reborn Jewish State. In a subsequent novel, Herzl tried to picture what that state would look like. In 1998 we can tell Herzl: your dream has become a reality. Some five million Jews populate that State which is replete with the old and the new. Herzl — you can be proud of your *Altneuland*. □

CONTRIBUTORS

Theodor Herzl founded the World Zionist Organization in 1897.

Susan Hattis Rolef is our regular Israel correspondent.

Misha Louvish, veteran journalist and political analyst, has translated works of David Ben-Gurion.

Henry L. Feingold, professor of Jewish history at Baruch College, is general editor of the five-volume *Jewish People in America* (Johns Hopkins Press).

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David Rosenthal resides in Philadelphia. His articles on Jewish personalities and Zionist topics have appeared frequently in *Jewish Frontier*.

Haim Chertok lives in the Negev and writes for the *Jerusalem Post*. His current book is *Israeli Preoccupations* (Fordham University Press).

Mary Schulman, a member of LZA Branch 520 in the Bronx, was born in Leningrad in 1910, lived through the Russian revolution of 1917, moved with her family to Latvia and arrived in New York in 1923. She earned degrees at Hunter College and City College of New York. She has taught mathematics, physics, biology and Russian at the Bronx High School of Science. Her book, *Moses Hess: Prophet of Zionism*, was first published in 1963 by Thomas Yoseloff, from which this chapter was taken.

The Sarah Lederman LZA Branch 977



Salutes the people of Israel on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the reborn Jewish State. May you and we proceed toward the fulfillment of our dreams — a country blessed with Peace and Social Justice for all.



Hanan Ayalti

A Significant Novelist Who Reflected His Era

By David Rosenthal

The life of Hanan Ayalti (Klenbort), his aliya, his departure from the kibbutz and from Israel, his literary and journalistic work, all reflect the struggles of his generation, which had accepted the challenge of rebuilding the Jewish world and in that process also of transforming the character of the Jewish personality.

Members of *Hashomer Hatzair* believed that the Jewish world was unable to see that it had no future. It was satisfied with an "illusory security and stability." *Hashomer* worked to make basic changes in this "sick reality."

Most of the *Shomrim* were children of the Jewish upper-middle class. They had not come to Zionism by way of a socio-economic and political analysis of the situation of the Jewish masses. They were convinced, however, that they could find intellectual satisfaction, as individuals and as a group, in helping to build a new society in Eretz Israel. The *galut* culture in Yiddish was completely foreign to them.

Shomrim believed that only young people who were free of all entanglements — of family or career — contained within themselves the potential to be revolutionaries. They believed that only such young people could create a culture whose values would be higher than those of the older generation, with its compromises and its conventional falsehoods. Their ideological teachers were Marx and Freud, Buber and Gordon, to mention only a few of the thinkers who inspired them.

In Eretz Israel, the *Shomrim* separated themselves from the rest of the workers. They led an isolated life. They began to reject the teachings of *Hapoel Hatzair* and of A.D. Gor-

don, in which they found too much of Tolstoy and of vegetarianism. In 1927 the difficult economic conditions impelled their kibbutzim — Bet Alpha, Mishmar HaEmek, Merchavia, and Gan Shmuel — to join together and form Kibbutz Artzi.

This separation was deepened by the introduction of the principle of "ideological collectivism" into the ranks of *Hashomer Hatzair*. The *haverim* of *Hashomer* all had to adopt not only the same way of life, but even the same ideological and tactical principles, without exception. Under the influence of *Hashomer Hatzair* in Galicia, the *Shomer* groups moved very close to the beliefs of the Third International and the Soviet Union.

Splits in the Hashomer Hatzair "Fortress"

This ideological uniformity led to splits in the "fortress" of *Hashomer Hatzair*. The *haverim* who were dissatisfied argued that you cannot build freedom in one corner while "the forces of yesterday" are dominant all around you; that the *Hashomer* kibbutzim were not connected to the revolutionary forces in the world; that the kibbutzim had deepened and strengthened their own internal and spiritual life to the point where they were now a closed-off world unto themselves, without a common language even with the surrounding people in Eretz Israel.

Some of the *haverim* began, therefore, to leave the movement. Some joined the Communist Party, which had partners in the Arab world — the effendis and their priests, the Muftis. The Communist Party openly urged

the Arabs to commit bloody anti-Jewish attacks, in line with the slogan: "Jewish blood is oil on the wheels of the Revolution."

This crisis did not bypass Poland. Here the more Zionist elements joined such organizations as Hashomer Haleumi or Hertzelia, movements which grew out of dissatisfaction with the left-wing activities of *Hashomer Hatzair*. Around 1931 these organizations united under the name *Hanoar Hatzioni*. A significant number of Shomrim, driven by the difficult political and economic situation in the Jewish community, rushed to join the Communist ranks. Dr. Reuben Feldshu (Ben Shem) immortalized the searchings and the divagations of *Hashomer Hatzair* in his book, "Red Souls."

I have presented the above historical background here because it served as the material for Ayalti's literary work dealing with that period, which he had experienced first-hand. The product of a traditional Jewish home, graduate of a Hebrew high school, he made aliya as a member of *Hashomer Hatzair* at the end of the 1920s or the early 1930s, in the period of ideological confusion in *Hashomer Hatzair*. He joined Kibbutz Binyamina, went through the training period of "absorption" — difficult and irregular physical labor — and lengthy emotional disputes. In such a situation, the idea of "going out into the wide world" ripened within him.

Hanan Ayalti was not "the right material" to participate in a "collectivist way of thinking." Dogmatic ideas and automatized carriers of ideas were foreign to his character. He had to go his own way. He could therefore not be carried along by a strict, rigorous "movement program." It was inevitable that Ayalti would have differences of opinion with *Hashomer Hatzair* on all questions whose solutions were "definitive" and "unquestioned" for all the other members of the organization.

Literary and Journalistic Achievements

Ayalti's literary and journalistic achievements include Yiddish stories published in the *Folks-Tseitung* in pre-war Poland and a novel in Hebrew, *Bimkhilot*, Shtibl Publishers, Tel Aviv, 1934. The following are all in Yiddish: "Boom in Chains," Kletzkin, Vilna, 1936; "The

Non-Existent Hotel," Montevideo, 1944; "Father and Son," awarded the Louis Lamed Prize, 1945, Buenos Aires; "Without a Curtain," Notes from a Diary about Soviet Russia; "Farther than Brooklyn," New York, 1959.

Although some critics preferred "Father and Son" and "Farther than Brooklyn," others were of the opinion that Ayalti's most important work was "The Non-Existent Hotel," a two-volume novel of over 500 pages, in which the searchings and strayings of the *Shomer* youth served the author as material for his theme. The protagonists of this novel come to Eretz Israel from Poland as *halutzim*. After difficult experiences and serious disappointments, they join the Communist Party and propagate its hostile and extreme anti-Zionist line. The Mandate power then deports them and they take up residence in the "non-existent hotel" in Paris. The significance of this hotel lies in the fact that "it did not exist for the world" and therefore is "outside the purview of the police."

At that time Spain was the country where the future of the world was being decided, where the decisive battles against fascism were being waged. Here the former *halutzim* were scattered, "some in the trenches and some in the hospitals; some fell in battle. And on the international cemetery in Madrid the number of grave-markers bearing the inscription 'Freedom Fighter' kept growing. With others, no one even knew where they were buried. . ."

In "Father and Son," the hero, Jacques Sokolovski, is also a fighter against fascism. The time: Hitler's occupation of France. This, however, is not the only struggle in which Jacques Sokolovski is engaged. He is also struggling with his father over Yiddishkeit, a struggle that is part of the life experience of every generation. Even the Hebrew prophets dreamed about a time without conflicts between parents and children, and that time is still beyond realization.

Far from his parental home, Jacques thinks about the house he left without so much as a goodbye. "At that time he didn't regret it. He had become estranged from his parents, seemed to have nothing in common with them. He could talk with them neither about his personal life nor about what was going on in the world. . . But now he felt somehow closer to them. . . Maybe a common fate evokes the feel-

ing of closeness and love. Estranged? Their hearts were beating with the same hope, bleeding with the same despair. A wave of affection and longing broke over him. . . How wonderful it would be if he could look into his home now, if only for a moment, and see his father who had grown so old and gray in the last few years. How he would like to comfort his mother who, with her sad and devoted eyes had shared his tragedy over Zhema, not even daring to ask him what was hurting him so. . .”

Ayalti is an organic part of his characters, for whom the kibbutz becomes too restricting. They were caught up in “the dynamic of important world events,” as they used to say in those circles. In my memory he remains a man with a clear, sober mind, with lively gusts of humor and with a realization that although our world is, after all, “God’s world,” it can also be a *gehennum*.

Ayalti has deep roots in modern Yiddish-Hebrew culture. In Paris, when he and his wife were part of Hannah Arendt’s circle, he remained “his own man.” In New York, too, he was known as a writer who kept apart from the alarms and the clamor of “official circles.”

We were friends for more than forty years. But I must add immediately that the word “friends” is not to be understood here in the usual sense. We never exchanged news about our families. Our personal lives, our joys and our concerns, lay outside the borders of our relationship. The connecting link was rather our mutual interest in political and social themes, in literature, in Zionism and the State of Israel. And although the personal element was absent — the ingredient which creates closeness between individuals — ours was still a deeply rooted friendship.

In the course of those forty years we met face-to-face only a few times. Our conversations were mostly over the telephone; in recent years, every Sunday morning.

* * *

It was in New York in the early 1950s. Berl Locker was on a tour in this country. All sections of the Labor Zionist movement had joined together to arrange a mass meeting for him at the Roosevelt Auditorium downtown. The meeting took place on a Saturday evening. The hall was packed with *haverim* and at the

head table were all the national leaders of the movement.

After the program I stood near the entrance for a few minutes, watching as people formed into little groups, perhaps to talk about the day’s events, or to meet the cars that had brought them to the hall, or to try to flag down cabs. Then I noticed that one of the persons getting into a cab was Berl Locker, all by himself. The incident saddened me. Had we behaved this way in Poland toward prominent guests?

Several days later, near Adelphia Hall, I met Hanan Ayalti. Among other things, I told him about the reception for Berl Locker and I couldn’t resist making the comparison with Poland. I mentioned one of the first mass meetings I had ever attended in Warsaw. It was 1933, on the eve of the 18th Zionist Congress. A meeting had been arranged at the Novosci Theater with the participation of labor leaders from Eretz Israel — David Ben-Gurion and David Rosenbaum (Hashomer Hatzair). As I mentioned Rosenbaum’s name I could see Ayalti’s eyes light up. Even his tone grew livelier.

David Rosenbaum, it turned out, was a close friend of his who later became head of the publishing house of Kibbutz Artzi. (In Israel Rosenbaum’s name was David HaNegbi.)

This coincidence made our meeting more natural. We had found a link which recalled similar traditions, similar attitudes toward communal life. On American soil, where “people remain lonely and cold among themselves” (Liessin), such a coincidence indicated that the friendship would continue “on solid ground.”

* * *

It was the first Sunday after Hanan Ayalti left this world, around the hour when I used to telephone him.

“You miss Ayalti,” my wife said to me.

Without a doubt, Hanan Ayalti is sorely missed. By his family, above all. But also by his friends, who feel that with his passing, *their* world too has grown poorer. . . □

See review on page 30
The Presence Is In Exile, Too
by Hanan Ayalti

Moses Hess and His Times

By Mary Schulman

Moses (Moritz) Hess was born in Bonn, Germany, on January 12, 1812. He was the son of a well-to-do merchant who was at the same time a strictly orthodox Jew. When business necessitated the family's settling in the Rhine-land city of Cologne, the nine-year-old Moritz was sent to Poland to be brought up in the Jewish religious spirit, in the study of the Bible and the Talmud, by his pious grandfather. The latter was a rabbi of the old school, whom Moses loved and from whom he acquired the deep love for the Jewish people which never left him even though he wandered far afield. His mother too had left an indelible mark upon the sensitive boy. She was a descendant of a long line of Jewish learned men and rabbis, and had often impressed him with pride in his Jewish heritage. It was from her that he received his deep reverence for women as the focal point of Jewish family love, out of which "inexhaustible fountain the redeemers of humanity have drawn their inspiration."¹ Many years later, Moses Hess paraphrased the Book of Genesis, "In thee (i.e., the mother) shall all the families of the earth be blessed." In one of the letters that make up *Rome and Jerusalem*, he wrote lovingly of his mother:

I constantly have the image of my mother before me. I lost her in my youth, at the age of fourteen, but till recently she appeared to me almost every night in my dreams, and I remember her words: "Listen, child, you must study diligently. Mohrich [a Jewish martyr] was one of my ancestors, and you are fortunate to be studying under your grandfather. It is written that when grandfather and grand-

child study the Torah together, the study of the divine Law will never more forsake the family but will be handed down from generation to generation." The words of my mother must have impressed me deeply, for I still remember them distinctly.

The influences of both mother and grandfather left a lasting imprint upon him. However, when these orthodox influences were removed, first by his mother's death and then by his leaving his grandfather's house for the university at Bonn in 1830, he was gradually weaned away from his Jewish interests and was soon plunged into more worldly concerns, as were most of the German Jewish intellectual youth of his time. What little contact he had had with his father dwindled as his interest in the radical ideas prevalent in university life grew. Hess never formally finished his studies at the university, even though the honorary title of "Herr Doctor" was eventually bestowed upon him. With all his youthful zeal and ardor he threw himself into the labor of saving the poor and the oppressed of the world. In 1840, while he was in Paris, he read avidly the new literature on socialism. Several books on the subject had been published simultaneously that year — those of Proudhon and Blanc among others. The socialistic utopias which these writers proposed fired Hess's imagination, and he became an enthusiastic champion of the wronged. Yet at this time he did not champion his own people, his own oppressed nation. His was a broader field of concern — that of the entire European proletariat, and indeed of the whole human race. In fact, he was so taken up with the idea of social regeneration that he decided to carry out his convictions in practice by marrying a Gentile prostitute, Sibyl Pritsch, whom

¹ This and all subsequent quotations from the works of Hess are, unless otherwise noted, from his *Rome and Jerusalem*.

he hoped to lift out of the depths into which she had sunk. This marriage brought about the final rift with his father, and they never saw each other again.

Enamored of the new gospel, Hess set out upon a one-man mission to bring it to his native Prussia. At the time, Hegel's philosophy was the chief force affecting the minds of the young German intellectuals of Berlin. There, in one of the coffee houses, the young élite gathered to discuss Hegel and the implications of his philosophy. The group called itself the Young Hegelians, and was nicknamed The Professors' Club. It was to this club that Hess returned from Paris with his newly acquired religion. In 1841 he had already written *Sozialismus* and *The European Triarchy*, in which he gave intimations of his new doctrine, and his fame among the Young Hegelians who had read his publications was assured. Hess was somewhat older than most of the others, and was soon their tacitly acknowledged leader and confidant. Most of them liked the gentle, inspired man who preached to them of brotherly love, and they readily fell under his missionary spell. One by one they too became socialists, and they had soon out-socialized Hess himself by inciting riots in the streets. Dr. Arnold Ruge, one of the maturer and more conservative members of the club, disapproved of the violence and the use of force with which the young zealots wished to bring about the millennium, and in this he was in agreement with the saddened Hess. For Hess was gentle by nature, and believed that humanity could not but agree ultimately to a peaceful brotherhood for the mutual benefit of all men; and he went about his gentle preachings. It was in this same coffee house, in a single afternoon, that he was to convert to socialism the young Friedrich Engels, who had come from Manchester to Berlin because he had wanted to learn wisdom from the young intellects there. Karl Marx, who was then a newcomer to the club, did not succumb to Hess's oratory at that time, and was in fact opposed to Hess's socialistic ideas. It was some time later, when during another trip to Paris Hess introduced Marx to Heinrich Heine and his coterie, that Hess's socialism found a warmer response in Marx. Heine, the social lion of Paris, had surrounded himself with the best minds of the era. Marx was brought in contact with the intellectual

leaders of France, and when he saw that these were taken up with socialist ideas, he became more receptive to Hess's doctrines. From then on the paths of the three — Marx, Engels and Hess — were to cross again and again, first as allies and later as sworn antagonists. But before the split came, it was once again Hess who was instrumental in launching Marx upon his socialistic career. When the *Rheinische Zeitung* was started by the Rhenish businessmen to counteract the Catholic influence of the *Cologne Gazette*, Jung and Oppenheim, the young editors of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, both of whom had been Young Hegelians, chose their entire staff from among the members of the club, and Hess became an unofficial adviser and consultant. It was thus only natural that the paper should assume a socialistic tone. Hess was asked to interview Karl Marx as a prospective contributor, and at that time expressed his approval of Karl in the most glowing terms. Hess also launched Engels upon overt socialist activities. In order to find proselytes to the new cause in Westphalia, Hess and Engels "barnstormed" through the province, holding dramatic meetings throughout the countryside, and making socialism popular among the bourgeois merchants, police and town clerks. And when some time later Marx founded the first Communist Party in Germany, Hess demonstrated his sympathy by becoming one of its seventeen original members. Only one, Weitling, was a true proletarian; the rest were intellectuals like Hess and Marx. Even by this time, there was no love lost between Marx and Hess, but Marx despised the dreamer and the Jew in Hess and made no effort to hide these ill feelings from his former mentor.

The final falling out between Hess and Marx and Engels came in 1847, when Marx, wanting to do away with all opposition to himself, tried to purge Weitling from the Party. Hess was furious, and said so in outspoken terms. Marx now had a perfect excuse for trying to purge Hess, his rival for power, as well. Hess resigned in disgust, wanting nothing more to do with such fellow socialists.

For some years after that, Marx and Engels spent much time in trying to find something to pin on Hess in order to "annihilate" him, but found nothing more scandalous than the accusation that Hess's wife was a "whore and that

Hess himself was riddled by gonorrhoea," and this came from Engels, the onetime proselyte of Hess, who was at the time having a clandestine affair with Hess's Sibyl. How little they succeeded in hurting Hess's prestige can be gathered from the fact that when Marx organized the Workers' Educational Association in Germany, the president-elect was Hess and not Marx; whereupon Marx's fury knew no bounds. And he managed to get even when by trickery Engels was able to send his own Preface to the *Communist Manifesto* instead of Hess's to the London League of the Just gloating to Marx over the coup that he had put over on "Mosi." When the *Communist Manifesto* appeared in print on the eve of the 1848 Revolution, it contained all the spleen and venom of which Karl Marx was capable. The Jews and the ineffectual dreamers — Hess of course included — were castigated in virulent terms. Hess would have had to be a saint indeed to continue his association with Marx and Engels and this time their ways parted for good. About ten years later, however, their paths crossed once more. When Ferdinand Lassalle, the leader of the Social Democrats in Germany, was killed in a duel, and his post was offered to Moses Hess, Hess, tired and disillusioned, refused the post, and the ripe plum fell at last into the lap of the power-hungry Marx. But Hess was not vindictive, nor was he any longer interested in who was to lead the German socialists. He was engrossed in another field now, one nearer home.

After the failure of the 1848 Revolution, Hess severed himself from his fellow socialists and began to occupy himself instead with the wave of anti-Semitism that had followed in the wake of political reaction. His mind had been weaned away from its concern with the European proletariat, and he became a scholar again, chiefly in the natural sciences. From his studies he drew up his philosophy of the universe, and subsequently his philosophy of Zionism. In his *Die Heilige Geschichte der Menschheit, von einem Junge Spinoza*, a sacred history of mankind, interpreted in the light of Spinoza's and Hegel's concepts of a creative evolution, he identified love as the binding force between thesis and antithesis, a synthesis and a breaking down, the opposing tendencies of the universe. His *Rom und Jerusalem: Die Letzte Nationalitätsfrage*, published

in 1861, and his *Die Dynamische Stofflehre, The Dynamic Philosophy*, published posthumously in 1877 by his wife, were the chief expressions of this philosophy. Out of these studies he came back to his own Jewish people, to the conviction that his first concern was the restoration of his oppressed brothers to their own land as a preliminary step towards the regeneration of all the peoples of the world. He had moved from the cosmopolitan idea of a brotherhood of man to Jewish nationalism as a necessary step towards the perfection of society, when all peoples would live together in a brotherhood of nations. The crystallization of his ideas of such perfection is contained in his *Rome and Jerusalem*, his magnum opus. After its publication his life was committed to further study of the natural sciences and to the further clarification of his idea of Jewish nationalism and its position in the scheme of world's progress towards perfection and fulfillment. When he died in 1875, at the age of sixty-three, his wife, whose gratitude and love except for the Engels incident had seldom wavered, had him buried near his parents, and immediately thereafter persuaded a friend of his to publish his sequel to the genetic view of the world, *The Dynamic Philosophy*.

Rome and Jerusalem will always be the chief monument to his genius. France, the "creative genius of human progress," had stirred his imagination by its struggle for freedom. While he was under her influence he had been imbued with the hope of saving all the poor of mankind. But under the influence of his scientific studies he narrowed down his concern to one particular segment or organ of society and then returned to the idea of humanity as a concatenation of organs, the separate nations. These organs could be united in a federation of peace and love if they could but learn to practice the Mosaic laws of justice in their own internal affairs as well as towards their fellow nations. This was the central theme of his great work — the reaching of the era of the Messiah. His coming back to his own people, which culminated in this book, was not a sudden occurrence but had had its beginnings in 1840, more than a decade earlier, when he had been shaken by the Damascus Affair, which had evoked his "cry of anguish" for his people. The post-1848 reaction made him aware of a plight more serious and terrible than that of the European proletariat, namely

that of the Jews. Under the despotic reaction and anti-Semitic attacks, the wave of assimilation among the Western Jewry had received a severe blow.

Like a clap of thunder anti-Semitism brought home the utter failure of assimilation as the solution of the Jewish problem. Anti-Semitism swept over Europe like a broom, carrying away any hope of the Jew's finding equality and dignity in the eyes of the Gentile world. To their misguided hopes the assimilationists received an answer written in blood. David Gordon of Lyck, East Prussia, editor of the *Hammagid*, Rabbi Hirsch Kalisher of Thorn, the author of *Emunoh Yeshoroh (The Right Faith)*, 1861, and Elijah Guttmacher were at that time advocating Jewish colonization in Palestine. All three had been moved to this by persecutions, and all three proposed the same avenue of escape to the Jews — a solution of the Jewish problem superseding and overshadowing all the previous solutions. In these writings Hess found an answering chord. Even at the time of the Damascus Affair he had firmly believed in the indestructibility of the Jewish nationality. "We shall always remain strangers among the nations," he wrote at the time. But his brother socialists gave scant sympathy to his concern, and it was relegated to his subconscious, to be revived at a more propitious time.

Other fuel as well continued to feed the puny flame of Jewish patriotism that lay dormant during his struggle for liberalism and cosmopolitanism. He was aware of the advances of Jewish science. Jewish historians were writing of the glory of Judea, emphasizing the unity of the Jewish race throughout centuries of persecution. Hess was sensitive to all these interacting forces in the world of his day. And he gave voice to the conclusions reached by his alert mind as he held up the many-faceted ideas for the world's inspection. His was an appeal to reason. In his *Rome and Jerusalem* he gave historical, social, economical, psychological, scriptural and idealistic bases for regarding Zionism as the only solution to the Jewish problem, and thus became the first Jew to give real impetus to Zionism.

Thus Moses Hess, whose original concern had been for all of humanity, but whose chief concern came to be for the Jewish race, which he considered the creative organ of humanity,

has been recognized by Jewry. Such was his value to the Jews that, though he had flouted Jewish tradition by marrying outside his faith his body was nevertheless interred in the orthodox cemetery at Cologne. [His remains were later transferred to Israel.]

By the time of his death, the despised apostate had come to be revered as a prophet. □

IN MEMORIAM

We extend our condolences
to our Friend and Colleague
Jerry Goodman
on the passing of his mother
ESTHER GOODMAN ZASLOW z'l

Daniel & Elaine Mann
Bethesda, MD

The Labor Zionist Alliance
mourns the passing of one
of our most dedicated and
beloved Chaverim

HARRY PANITZ

who represented the best
traditions of our movement
while forthrightly supporting
our efforts to renew and
enhance our Organization.

LZA BRANCH 977

wishes to honor the memory of
CHARLES COGEN

first president of the Teachers Union
of New York City,
who died February 17, 1997 at age 94.
A lawyer, teacher and trade unionist,
he was a fervent adherent of the
Labor Zionist cause.

Some Getaway!

By Haim Chertok

As I write the Yassir-begot, Bibi-fostered stand-off shows little sign of abating. Israeli government priorities and those of the Palestinians simply are not commensurable. Most people I know are holding their breaths, awaiting the next explosion. Yet I also suspect that, like myself, a great many Israelis, while execrating their own government's self-righteous style and chronic incompetence, still respond to its insistence on voicing what feel like some unequivocally home truths.

As for the Syrian track, talk of a brokered settlement involving American guarantees may still be muted, but, if not this year or the next Albright trip, then it will likely get louder with the next Administration or following the next war. In short no agreement seems conceivable without American guarantees, which, given the credibility of U.N., inevitably would mean American troops.

From several perspectives, this looms as such a disturbing prospect that, in spirit of denial, last week I turned, I imagined, entirely elsewhere: a new collection of essays called *Independent Spirit* by Irish writer Hubert Butler, who died in 1991. And what should I stumble across after only ten minutes of browsing but an acerbic passage so portentously pertinent as to feel uncanny: in a piece that first appeared in 1950 reference to the fine deportment, indeed the scandalous composure under Nazi occupation of residents of the Channel Islands, the very locale where two summers ago my wife and I aimed ourselves for a vacation precisely because they seemed as remote from Israeli preoccupations as Euro-possible. "The readers of the *Guernsey Evening Post*," Butler acidly

remarked, "were shocked and repelled no doubt to see articles by Goebbels and Lord Haw-Haw, but not to the pitch of stopping their subscriptions. How else could they advertise their cocker spaniels and their lawn mowers or learn about the cricket results?"

The island of Guernsey, our getaway target, best-known to overseas depositors, dairymen, and philatelists, is a twenty-four square mile triangular wedge that houses some 50,000 residents and, like the neighboring islands of Jersey and Alderney, a distinctive breed of bovine. In the course of a week of traipsing its hiking trails and of frequenting the cafes and museums of St. Peter Port, its capital and only city, we encountered not a single Israeli or stray American. Our escape from the Israeli-bred anxieties seemed almost total.

True, my *kippa* generated three snappy encounters with native islanders. A counterman in a health food restaurant: "I lived on a kibbutz about ten years ago. Stayed a year. Loved it. Left behind some old flames." A grade school teacher sunning at the beach: "Our church group visited all the holy places with Father Mallory. Jerusalem, the Galilee, Bethlehem. It was wonderful." A museum attendant: "I was evacuated as a youngster, a wise move for someone named Levy, eh? No, never been to Israel."

The first hours and days of feeling out a new place, getting the lay of its contours, twistings, turnings and responding to its special scent or flavor are very special, an obvious analogue to the pleasure and excitement of new acquaintances. With its beaches, rocky coast, public market, curiosity shops, harbor, and sea cliff trails, Guernsey did not disappoint. Our guest house had been inhabited for a year by Victor Hugo, exiled to Guernsey for republican politics in 1855. We enjoyed the great writer's view of the harbor. Equipped with strategically-placed mirrors that enabled him to see around corners (and paranoia), eccentric furnishings, and secret passageways, Hugo designed and built a grander house for his wife and children a few doors up the street, close by the edifice inhabited by his mistress. He lived there for fifteen years; today it be-

longs to the City of Paris and is the major meeting ground for French tourists.

The political and religious background of these islands is both intriguing and instructive. Appertaining to the Duchy of Normandy since 933 (hence to Britain after 1066), even after England absentmindedly forfeited nearly all the rest of its Norman possessions — Calais, the last holding, fell in 1558 — the Channel Islands remained steadfastly British. Although French was spoken in many quarters until very recently, neither repeated French attacks nor ecclesiastical ties to Caen ever eroded the loyalty of the islanders. (Today, like a small Wales, most of the island's churchgoers are Methodists. A very small Jewish community resides on Jersey but only a sprinkling may be found on Guernsey.) In return for their affiliation to Britain, the Channel Islands have long enjoyed a large measure of autonomy and, in the event of attack, the promise of protection of the crown.

As expected, most of Guernsey's visitors are Brits seeking out milder weather and rows of peaceful hedgerows and lanes close to home. And then there are the Germans. The Channel Islands, you see, were the only British Isles occupied by the Nazis during the war. Exulting in his easy conquest, viewing it as a trial run for the conquest of Britain, Hitler ensured orders that treatment of the natives echo the severity of the climate.

Certain that the British would make strenuous efforts to recapture them, Hitler stationed an excessive number of troops on the Islands, diverting weapons, materiel, and slave laborers to construct an impressive network of concrete bunkers to guard the coastline. And there resting and rusting to the present day, gun emplacement and cement outcroppings are grafted into hillsides, one every few hundred or so yards along the rockier sectors. Here, where once the Wehrmacht kept watch, hikers — even a few strays from Israel — now pause to take in the spectacular view, a sandwich and a drink out of the sun, or simple seclusion. And it is both here and at the "Museum of the Occupation" where the muted but distinct tones of German tourists may be overheard.

What about the British pledge to defend the Islands which over the centuries had manifested such remarkable fealty to the crown,

whose young men had traditionally volunteered in disproportionate numbers to fight British wars? Hitler had it just about as wrong as the Islanders. In the years between the world wars the War Office silently decided that, all in all, the Channel Islands had little strategic importance. (Astonishingly, it actually rescinded subsidies to help finance local militias.)

In May 1940 the Lieutenant Governor of Jersey, after informing the War Office that his island was virtually defenseless, pleaded for troops. The Chiefs of Staff initially considered sending a battalion to Jersey and another to Guernsey, then reconsidered and dithered for a while until ultimately withdrawing the entire British military establishment. Many able-bodied men, many women, children, and Jews were shipped to Britain. The Islands were declared "demilitarized," a change of status which, unfortunately, was not conveyed to the Germans. The result was that before debarking from Normandy, the Germans strafed tomato trucks and other military targets and several dozen lives were needlessly lost. Inexplicably, Whitehall failed to grasp that Britain had pledged itself responsible for their defense.

In the course of the Occupation, the three Jews who had remained on Guernsey were all betrayed and deported to concentration camps. To this day among the older generation of islanders, tension between those who found some means to resist and those who cooperated too enthusiastically with the Occupation is a livid wound. As for *les misérables* of Jersey, Alderney, and Guernsey, they were not liberated by the power that had guaranteed their safety until May 9, 1945, two days after the unconditional surrender of the German high command. A pitiable postscript to VE-Day,

And so my wife and I scampered across France toward the land of the Hebrew-speakers where any sort of peaceful settlement with its northern neighbor will surely rest upon the guarantees of yon distant, friendly power. No, I'm not in principle of the camp of the territorial expansionists, but I really do wonder Israel might not yet do better to furnish our northern frontier with arrays of Victor Hugo's mirrors than in relying on the pledges of any benevolent power. □

What Ails Zionism? (continued)

Dear Editor:

Since Professor Feingold's answer, which appeared in the January-February issue of the *Frontier*, took up as much space as did my letter on the topic of "What Ails Zionism", I respectfully request permission to keep the dialogue going so that I may reply to Professor Feingold.

I do not waver from my basic belief that Herzl's Zionism had nothing to do with religion. It was a political movement that sought the establishment of a Jewish homeland. The fact that religious groups believed in and supported Zionism did not give Zionism itself a religious character.

After the establishment of the State, Professor Feingold now gives the movement a hitherto unexpressed obligation, namely to act as the world-wide support network for Israel. With all due respect, I believe that that is his own personal interpretation which he then tempers by saying that his Zionism "remained separate, not only in fact but also in ideology." He fails to illustrate that precept but then turns 180 degrees and says, "Israelism is merely the latest form of Zionism."

That is exactly the point that I made originally. Today, now, at the present time, Israel and Zionism are one and the same.

What was the highlight of the recent World Zionist Congress, as related by Daniel Mann in his report in the current issue of the *Frontier*? "... religious pluralism. Everyone knew that this would be a central theme of the Congress..."

Go on to the article of Rabbi Chinitz. "Then we switched to Pluralism, thinking that if we can't separate religion from State, let us get in on the goodies and get our share of the religious pie being cut up by the government." Isn't the government, by cutting up a religious pie, fostering the divisiveness and the resentment caused by the pronouncements of the Orthodox leaders in Israel?

Go further in this last issue of the *Frontier* to the little article about Labor Party leader Ehud Barak. When he called for the end of exemptions for Orthodox youth who use their studies as a way of avoiding military service, the leader of the ultra-Orthodox party deemed this to be a "divorce between the religious and the Labor Movement." In other words, the threat to the political power of the Labor Movement is the issue, not the holiness of the studies, the continuing religious education or the continuity of the Jewish people.

I almost feel as if Professor Feingold is pulling my leg when he cites Poland, Ireland and Spain as examples of democratic governments. Judenrein Poland, whose church still spews anti-semitism to a point where the Vatican is embarrassed and has to step in. Ireland, where for nine hundred years the Catholics and the Protestants are at war and Spain, where the Basques and the Catalans are fighting for secession. And as to the bigotry and prejudice of the Bible Belt states here in this country which Professor Feingold cites as another example of a democratic system of government, I dread the day when we will see the IDF leading a little Ethiopian child to the doors of an Orthodox Talmud Torah. Are these the kind of democracies that Israel should emulate?

If Zionism has any ongoing function it is to see to it that Israel remains a strong, democratic and secular government. Get the religious parties out of the Knesset; stop government support of religious ideologies by separating the church (synagogue) and the State. There is no malaise in ourselves or in our history. Let the Kulturkampf continue as it has in Jewish history for thousands of years. Those conflicts will be resolved and others will take their place. If, however, those conflicts are religious in nature they have no place in the halls of government.

Perhaps, what ails Zionism is that it has no definition and can therefore not define its purpose.

Very truly yours,
LEON H. GILDIN
Sedona, Arizona

The Presence Is in Exile, Too

Hanan J. Ayalti,
edited by Marcia and
Daniel Klenbort,
various trans. Black
BeltPress, (256p).

"When Israel is in Exile, then the Presence is in Exile, too!" This mournful refrain from a Hebrew prayer captures the spirit of this posthumous collection by Ayalti (aka Chonel Klenbort). Evoking the lives of Jews dispersed from Eastern Europe in the 1930s and '40s as they find refuge in France, New York, Mexico and the imaginary country of "Trataguay," these short stories (many previously published in *Commentary*, *Midstream*, *Short Story International*, etc.) are touching and inspiring without being sentimental. In the title story, a rabbi living in Paris between the wars is asked to provide minyan — a minyan is the quorum of 10 men needed for prayers for mourners. Reb Issachar becomes "an entrepreneur in the Kaddish business," housing his minyan in a cafe that also shelters prostitutes, including Rachel, who begs the men to accept her money and pray for her deceased father. In "After a Cold Winter," a recent widower tries to seduce an African-American domestic who has come to clean his Brooklyn apartment and ends up making her a poignant offer. In the haunting "The Man from Les Milles," survivors of a concentration camp in Vichy France meet in New York after the War. Although the prisoners of Les Milles weren't beaten or herded into gas chambers (merely frozen, starved and terrorized), the searing effects of the Holocaust still dominate their lives. Ayalti himself fled from the Nazis to South America and came to the U.S. in 1946. His fiction, written in Hebrew and Yiddish, is marked by matter-of-fact compassion. □

— Reprinted from *Publisher's Weekly*,
April 28, 1997

"The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, an almost fanatical love of justice and the desire for personal independence — these are the features of the Jewish tradition which make me thank my stars that I belong to it."

— Albert Einstein, 1934

Mazal Tov to

GEORGE LEVY

Your LZA Chapter is happy to extend best wishes on this special day — your Bar Mitzva — on April 4th. May you go from strength to strength!

A Tribute to . . . Dr. Sol Stein

On March 12th, a group of residents of Ashdod gathered with a contingent representing the Israel America Foundation, to dedicate a new *Kupat Holim* clinic in the name of Dr. Sol Stein and his wife Luba. At 92, Dr. Stein had flown to Israel for the special occasion to climax a lifetime of service to the Zionist cause.

Born in Vilna, Lithuania, Dr. Stein left for Belgium as a youth, and earned a doctorate in financial and commercial sciences at the University of Ghent. He then launched his career as a fund-raiser for major Israeli causes. He spent five years as director of the Jewish National Fund in Belgium. Fleeing from Europe with his wife after the invasion of Belgium in 1940, he settled in Philadelphia, where he continued his JNF work for 20 years. Then came a stint as national executive director of the National Committee for Labor Israel and the Israel Histadrut Campaign. In 1960 Dr. Stein developed the Israel Histadrut Foundation, in cooperation with Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg. Over the years, the Foundation amassed a total of over \$120 million in bequests and charitable remained trusts. He retired in 1984, but continued to support efforts on behalf of Histadrut social, health and cultural programs.

For 15 years, Dr. Stein conducted a weekly Yiddish radio program in New York, and wrote columns for the Jewish Forward. In 1967 he founded, with assistance from Histour in Israel, the Isram Travel Company, now one of Israel's largest travel agencies.

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