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Top Scholars Voice Opposition to Polish 'Holocaust Law'



A monument to the Jewish victims of the 1941 Jedwabne pogrom in Poland, vandalized with swastikas in 2011. Photo: Reuters / Marcin Onufryjuk.

BY BEN COHEN

Israel and Poland agreed on Monday to bilateral talks over the Warsaw government's commitment to a new bill criminalizing any discussion of Polish collusion with Nazi Germany during the Holocaust, as Holocaust historians continued to express alarm at the far-reaching implications of the pending legislation.

Following a telephone conver-

sation on Sunday between Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his Polish counterpart Mateusz Marowiecki, Netanyahu's office said on Monday that "teams from the two countries would open an immediate dialogue in order to try to reach understandings regarding the legislation."

In his earlier remarks to the Israeli cabinet's weekly meeting on Sunday, Netanyahu made clear his "fierce objection" to the legislation,

stressing that Israel had "no tolerance for the distortion of the truth, the rewriting of history and the denial of the Holocaust."

Several of the world's best-known Holocaust scholars warned on Monday that the proposed legislation could censor further investigation into the plight of Poland's Jews under the Nazi occupation. In separate interviews with *The Algemeiner*, the

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Netanyahu Warns Putin That Israel Will 'Stop' Iranian Encroachment in Syria, Lebanon

BY JNS.ORG

In his meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin on Monday, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu warned Putin that Israel will "stop" Iranian encroachment in Syria and Lebanon.

"The question is: Does Iran entrench itself in Syria, or will this process be stopped. If it doesn't stop by itself, we will stop it," Netanyahu told reporters as he was leaving Moscow.

"We also spoke about Lebanon, which is becoming a factory for precision-guided missiles that threaten Israel.



Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Russian President Vladimir Putin meet in Moscow on Jan. 29, 2018. Photo: Kobi Gideon / GPO.

These missiles pose a grave threat to Israel, and we will not accept this threat," he added.

The Israeli leader said that Iran is "in the process of" building weapons factories inside of Lebanon.

"I explained our policy. These are not idle words," he said. "The Russians understand our position, they understand well the significance that we give to these threats."

Netanyahu's rhetoric comes after an IDF spokesperson

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Pence and The New York Times

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ShabbatCalendar

Parshat YITRO
פרשת יתרו

Times for New York City, Friday Candle Lighting
Shabbat Begins: 4:57pm | Shabbat Ends: 5:59pm



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Opinion.

Poland and the Jewish World: A Defining Moment

DAVID HARRIS
NEW YORK

When I went to my first Polish-Jewish encounter — in Chicago, in the early 1980s — I was struck by how thin the veneer of relationships was.

While everyone at the table professed a desire to be there and contribute to forging friendly and cooperative ties, as soon as any historical question arose, the conversation quickly descended into arguments and accusations on both sides.

But for a few admired voices — on the Polish side, most notably the legendary wartime figures Jan Karski and Jan Nowak — it's likely that the entire initiative would have collapsed from mutual recriminations.

The essence of the dispute revolved around core narratives.

For the Jewish participants, essentially, Poland was a nation that was steeped in antisemitism — before, during, and after the war. Everyone had a story to tell of family members who were persecuted, killed, or exiled for no reason other than their Jewish identity. Unless the Polish side unflinchingly acknowledged this, no new chapter in the relationship could be written.

For the Polish participants, antisemitism may have existed here and there, but it

wasn't endemic, and, in any case, what about anti-Polish demonization among Jews? And why didn't Jews ever acknowledge Poland's repeated suffering as a nation? Was World War II only about Jewish tragedy? And what role did Jews play in the subsequent communist repression of Poland?

As time passed, including the participation of a new generation of Poles who came to the US for political reasons, and of Jews who were more removed from Poland's immediate history, hope emerged that the past could be viewed more dispassionately, while building a common agenda around a Polish pope who reached out to the Jews, an anti-communist front supporting Polish dissidents, and maybe even a greater willingness to listen to one another rather than block out contrasting viewpoints.

Indeed, noteworthy progress was achieved by the late 1980s and through the next couple of decades.

Poland re-emerged as a democratic nation, established strong ties with Israel, witnessed the rebirth of a small but vibrant Jewish community, and invited Jews worldwide to witness the "new" country.

Many were impressed by what they saw, including in recent years the remarkable Warsaw-based Polin Museum, which recounts a 1000-year history of Jews in Poland, highlighting both peaks and valleys, of which there were many, in the complex encounter.

But now all this progress is at risk, triggered, above all, by a new Polish bill

A memorial at the site of the 1941 massacre of Jews in Jedwabne, Poland.
Photo: Au58 via Wikimedia Commons.

adopted by one house of Parliament. It has unleashed an avalanche of arguments and accusations from both sides, threatening to bring us back to the charged atmosphere of three and four decades ago.

For the bill's sponsors, it is simply an effort, at its heart, to criminalize attempts to describe Poland as complicit in the Holocaust, especially those who speak of "Polish death or concentration camps."

They assert that those camps were conceived, built, and operated by Germans; that the infamous three words at the entrance to Auschwitz were in German, not Polish; that many non-Jewish Poles were also arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and killed by the Third Reich; and, moreover, that Poland, unlike France, Norway, or Hungary, didn't have a collaborationist regime working for the Nazis.

But for many Jews, including such Israeli leaders as Benjamin Netanyahu and Yair Lapid, this entire initiative is nothing more than a naked attempt to shield Poland from an honest examination of its wartime attitude toward Jews.

In Lapid's case, he went so far as to accuse Poland of running "death camps." One American Jewish leader rushed to Lapid's defense, asserting that Poland should "apologize" to Lapid for challenging this assertion and "move on."

There's too much at stake to allow this shouting match to continue unchecked. Poland, Israel, and the Jewish world are all, in a deeply meaningful way, umbilically linked. There is no Polish history without Jews, and no Jewish history without Poland. Israel has few

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New York Times Editorial Tests Trump on Holocaust

IRA STOLL
BOSTON

A New York Times editorial urged President Donald Trump to emphasize Jewish victimhood in his statement this year for International Holocaust Remembrance Day.

The Times editorial said in part that Trump: *has passed along tweets from unabashedly anti-Semitic accounts, and has been slow to denounce assaults, vandalism and other Jew-hating acts, which the Anti-Defamation League says have risen sharply. In the first nine months of 2017, the latest period with available numbers, the league reported there were 1,299 such episodes, an increase of 67 percent over the 779 recorded in the same stretch of 2016.*

It's ironic, to say the least, to have a lecture about antisemitism and Holocaust memory emanating from the newspaper editorial column of *The New York Times*. That's the same newspaper editorial column that has called for cutting military aid to Israel, while defending the Iran nuclear deal that provides hundreds of billions of dollars in sanctions relief to the Holocaust-denying, Jew-killing, terrorism-sponsoring government of Iran. It's the same newspaper that awarded a gold ribbon to a reader comment describing Israel's prime minister as "parasitic thug." The newspaper that editorialized against the "odor" of religious Jews in a Brooklyn public swimming pool while

praising a Canadian public pool that offered similar accommodation to religious Muslims. The newspaper that botched its own coverage of the Holocaust at the time so badly that a Times own executive editor, Max Frankel, later described it as a "staggering, staining failure." The newspaper whose staff critic used a Jewish museum's recent exhibit about the murderous Nazi Adolf Eichmann as an opportunity to bash Israel for having "kidnapped" Eichmann. (One wonders whether any of the Times' own offenses were enumerated among the ADL's soaring count of what the Times calls "other Jew-hating acts.")

Leave aside, though, the hypocrisy. There's something just odd about the Times' wallowing in Jewish victimhood. The editorial describes the Jews as "Hitler's greatest victims." Of all the possible epitaphs for a people, this is a strange one: *those Jews, they sure are great victims*. The victimhood theme is reinforced by the word-choice in this sentence in the Times editorial: "Unlike previous presidents, Mr. Trump couldn't be bothered on a July visit to Warsaw to stop at the site of that city's notorious Jewish ghetto."

The Times' own stylebook, in its entry on "notoriety," says it "means more than just fame. Use it only to mean *unfavorable repute*."

My authoritative Webster's Second Unabridged definition of "notorious" lists the "well-known" meaning as "rare," with the main meaning being "widely but unfavorably known or talked about."

"Notorious" just isn't the right word, given that the Warsaw Ghetto, of all Holocaust-related

sites, is one known not only for Jewish victimhood but for Jewish resistance. Jews fought back against the Nazis and held out for nearly a month in what the US Holocaust Memorial Museum calls "the largest, symbolically most important Jewish uprising, and the first urban uprising, in German-occupied Europe." That action wasn't "notorious." It was heroic.

The Warsaw Ghetto was also the site where Rabbi Kalonymus Kalmish Shapiro, rebbe of the Piaseczno Hasidim, wrote the 86 sermons that have become known as the *Aish Kodesh*, or Holy Fire. As Henry Abramson, the author of a book about the *Aish Kodesh*, wrote at Lehrhaus last year, "*Aish Kodesh* is a work of phenomenal spiritual heroism, a testament to human resilience and even angelic holiness radiating from the very depths of human depravity. It will undoubtedly serve as a source of guidance and inspiration for students of Judaism in particular and religion in general."

Rather than portraying the Warsaw Ghetto as a site of Jewish military and spiritual heroism, the Times describes it as "notorious." Three quarters of a century after what Max Frankel called the "staggering, staining failure" of the Times' Holocaust coverage, the newspaper just can't seem to get the story right, even in an editorial whose ostensible purpose is instructing the president on what the Times calls the "moral test" of Holocaust remembrance.

It's all almost enough to make a reader suspect that what the Times really has in mind here may not be so much Holocaust remembrance, but rather turning the whole thing into a political cudgel with which to bash the president.

World News.

Pope Urges Europe to Be More Active in Fighting Antisemitism

BY REUTERS
& ALGEMEINER STAFF

Pope Francis called on European countries on Monday to do more to fight antisemitism, saying indifference on the issue was a virus that could allow the ideas of racial hatred to spread.

Francis issued his appeal in a speech to a Rome conference on the responsibility of states to fight antisemitism and crimes associated with it.

"We are responsible when we are able to respond. It is not merely a question of analyzing the causes of violence and refuting their (antisemitic crimes') perverse logic, but of being actively prepared to respond to them," he told the event organized by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

A number of European nations have made it illegal to deny the Holocaust, the Nazi attempt to exterminate European Jewry during World War Two.

Last week, Germany's lower house of parliament called for the creation of a new government post to oversee the fight against antisemitism, following the burning of Jewish symbols and Israeli flags.

"Indifference is a virus that is dangerously contagious in our time, a time when we are ever more connected with others, but are increas-

ingly less attentive to others," the pope said.

Francis, who made an emotional visit to the former Nazi death camp at Auschwitz in 2016 and visited Rome's synagogue the same year, said the "vaccine" against "so many deplorable forms of apathy" is memory.

Quoting his predecessor, Pope John Paul, Francis said everyone should work for a future where "the unspeakable iniquity of the Shoah will never again be possible." Shoah is the Hebrew word for the Holocaust.

Poland, where Auschwitz is located, has also seen acts of antisemitism recently.

One, exposed by a television station, showed people in a forest last year chanting "Sieg Heil" on what would have been Adolf Hitler's 128th birthday.

About 60,000 people, some carrying banners with slogans such as "pure blood, clear mind," marched in a far-right demonstration in Warsaw in November and arsonists set fire to a synagogue in Sweden last month.

Ronald Lauder, president of the World Jewish Congress, said: "In country after country, we are watching a growing wave of far-right, ultra-national, and in some cases neo-Nazi parties gaining strength."

"New Europe is suddenly looking an awful lot like the Europe of the 1930s," Lauder told the conference held at Rome's Foreign Ministry.

UN Ambassador Haley Stresses Syria Atrocities, Iran Provocations

BY JNS.ORG

The US ambassador to the UN, Nikki Haley, spoke out forcefully against the atrocities committed by President Bashar al-Assad in Syria on Monday, during a visit to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC with a delegation of UN Security Council diplomats.

"We must always remember the victims of genocide and honor their memory, and we must stand against the atrocities of today," Haley said, after the delegation toured a special exhibit devoted to the ongoing war in Syria. "Sadly, arbitrary detention, torture, and forced disappearance are some of many atrocities the brutal Assad regime is committing against its own people. The international community — including and especially the Security Council — must take a stand against the regime and use all available tools to help

the Syrian people."

Earlier in the day, Haley led the diplomats on a visit to on a visit to Joint Base Anacostia-Bolling in Washington, DC, where they viewed missiles and other weapons supplied by Iran to Shia Houthi insurgents in Yemen. "We believe what the council saw today makes it clear that the evidence continues to grow that Iran is blatantly ignoring its international obligations," Haley said.

The delegation was told by President Donald Trump over lunch at the White House that the "United Nations Security Council, in particular, is very important to us."

"The power and the respect that it has all over the world is very, very excellent," Trump said.

Trump noted that the delegation "has seen the missiles from Iran, and they're looking at some of the atrocities taking place in Syria."

"There's much work that we have to, together, do," Trump told the group.

for the Lebanese website Ahewar.

Netanyahu also said that he discussed the Iran nuclear deal with Putin, saying that he raised his "objections" to the accord and echoed what he has heard on the issue from President Donald Trump.

"I can't speak for the Russian position, but they understood that if certain changes weren't made, it is very possible that the US would make good on its threat" to pull out of the agreement, said Netanyahu.

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Encroachment

made a rare plea to the Lebanese people, in a letter published by a Lebanese opposition news website, that their countries could head towards war if Iran and Hezbollah continue to build up their presence in Lebanon.

"Lebanon has become — both by its own actions and omissions and by a blind eye from many members of the international community — one large missile factory," IDF spokesman Brig.-Gen. Ronen Manelis wrote

In Rare Move, IDF Warns Lebanon of War if Hezbollah and Iran Continue to Grow Presence



The Israel-Lebanon border area. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

BY JNS.ORG

In a rare contribution by an Israeli official to Arab media, IDF spokesman Brig. Gen. Ronen Manelis warned in a op-ed on a Lebanese opposition website that a war could break out between the two countries if Iran and Hezbollah's presences in the country continue to grow.

"Lebanon has become — both by its own actions and omissions and by a blind eye from many members of the international community — one large missile factory," Manelis wrote for the Lebanese website Ahewar.

"It's no longer a transfer of arms, funds or consultation. Iran has de-facto opened a new branch, the 'Lebanon branch.' Iran is here," he said.

At the same time, Manelis pointed out that Hezbollah has continued to grow its control over the Lebanese government, while simultaneously building its own terror infrastructure.

"In Lebanon, Hezbollah does not conceal its attempt to take control of the state," he said, adding that Hezbollah has built "terror infrastructure and factories to manufacture weapons under the nose of the Lebanese government."

While Manelis acknowledged that

this past year, like every year since the 2006 Second Lebanon War, has seen "relative stability on the Lebanese front," he emphasized that Hezbollah and Iran are making Lebanon increasingly unstable.

"The past year has been further proof that Hezbollah serves as an operational arm of Iran. In every place where there was instability, we discovered the fingerprint of Iran and everywhere we discovered Hezbollah's involvement," Manelis wrote.

Israeli leaders have repeatedly warned both Lebanon and the international community of Hezbollah's buildup in southern Lebanon since the 2006 conflict. The IDF believes that Hezbollah has at least 100,000 short-range rockets and several thousand longer-range missiles that can strike Tel Aviv. While the terror group has been preoccupied with fighting in the Syrian Civil War in recent years, many experts believe that with that conflict winding down, Hezbollah could focus its attention toward Israel once again.

"The future of Lebanese citizens is in the hands of a dictator who sits in Tehran," Manelis wrote, adding, "I think it is right to warn the residents of Lebanon of the Iranian game in their security and in their future."

Israel and Croatia Agree to Pursue \$500 Million F-16 Fighter Jet Deal

BY JNS.ORG

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Croatian Prime Minister Andrej Plenkovic have agreed to advance the sale of Israeli F-16 fighter jets to Croatia.

"This development is another expression of the deep ties between the two countries," the Israeli Prime Minister's Office said in a statement.

The agreement, which was reached during a meeting on the sidelines of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, would see some 30 aging F-16 fighter jets sold to Croatia for nearly \$500 million. The

deal would require approval by the US, which produces the Lockheed Martin jets.

Croatia has been looking for some time to replace its fleet of 12 Soviet-era Mikoyan MiG-21 fighter jets and has examined offers from other countries, including French Mirage jets and Sweden's Saab JAS-39 fighter jets.

Israel, which has the largest contingent of F-16s outside of the US, has been retiring its fleet of F-16A and F-16B fighter jets in recent years, and has reportedly offer Croatia a mix of both the older F-16A/B variants as well as F-16 C/D versions, which are still in active service in the Israel Air Force, *The Jerusalem Post* reported.

World News.



Former US President Barack Obama. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

In Synagogue Talk, Obama Defends 2016 UN Measure

BY JNS.ORG

Former President Barack Obama this week defended his decision to allow a December 2016 United Nations Security Council resolution condemning Israeli settlements to pass in the waning days of his administration, blaming the “skyrocketing” pace of settlement construction.

“The pace of settlement construction skyrocketed making it almost impossible to make any kind of Palestinian state,” Obama said during a talk at Temple Emanu-El in New York City on Wednesday, the Daily Mail reported.

“Voting against the resolution would have damaged our credibility on affirming human rights only when it’s convenient not when it has to do with ourselves and our friends,” the former president said.

At the time, the Obama administration

refused to use US veto power in the Security Council to block Resolution 2334, breaking with decades of American policy of defending Israel against one-sided UN measures targeting the Jewish state.

Obama also downplayed America’s relatively strained relationship with Israel under his administration, arguing that his decisions on the Jewish state were reflective of the strong bonds between the countries.

“To be a true friend of Israel it is important to be honest about it, and the politics of this country sometimes do not allow for it,” Obama said.

Obama pointed to the September 2016 signing of a historically large \$38 billion US military aid package to Israel as a sign that he is a staunch supporter of the country.

“It is not a subject for dispute,” Obama said, explaining that his staff joked often that he was “basically a liberal Jew.”

Israel Implements ‘Gradual Reopening’ of Its Embassy in Jordan

BY JNS.ORG

Israel is implementing the reopening of its embassy in Jordan this week, after the Israeli and Jordanian governments earlier in January announced an agreement to restore the diplomatic office. The embassy had been closed since July 2017, when an Israeli security guard at the site fatally shot two Jordanians in what the Israeli government described as an act of self-defense.

The guard, Ziv Moyal, shot a Jordanian who attacked him with a screwdriver, while a second Jordanian was killed by a stray bullet. As part of the compromise to restart full diplomatic relations, Israel was forced to apologize for the incident as well as a previous incident

involving the killing of a Jordanian judge at an Israel-Jordan border crossing in 2014. Israel also offered financial compensation to the families of the Jordanians killed in the incidents.

Israel is expected to appoint a new ambassador to Jordan in the coming weeks. Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman Emmanuel Nahshon told The Associated Press on Tuesday that a “gradual reopening” of the Jewish state’s embassy in Amman is underway.

Israel and Jordan signed a peace treaty in 1994 and maintain significant security and economic cooperation, despite Jordan’s large Palestinian population that is generally disdainful of Israel.

concentration camp” to describe the Nazi death factories constructed on Polish soil, “this is not about sensitivity, this is not about their emotions, this is political,” Abraham Foxman, the national director emeritus of the Anti-Defamation League and the head of an antisemitism study program at the Museum of Jewish Heritage — A Living Memorial to the

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Continued from Below

Holocaust in New York, declared.

“The purpose here is to rewrite history and prevent history from being written,” Foxman said of the Polish legislation.

In an interview last September with *The Algemeiner* — when he was still Poland’s deputy premier — Prime Minister Marowiecki positioned his government’s historical campaign alongside present-day attempts to secure war reparations from the German government.

“Today, Poland cannot pay for crimes and sins that were not ours,” Marowiecki said in that interview. “We were actually falling victim to what the Germans have done during the Second World War, and they have never paid for this, for the material losses.”

This deeper sense of historical injustice on the government’s part has helped to drive the legislation, Dr. Rafal Pankowski — a Warsaw-based scholar of contemporary antisemitism and racism, and co-founder of the anti-fascist NGO “Nigdy Wiecej” (“Never Again”) — told *The Algemeiner* on Monday.

“The legislation doesn’t say actually anything about the ‘Polish death camps’ description, which — as the Israeli government and the major Jewish organizations have readily acknowledged on many occasions — is an insensitive form of words,” Pankowski said. “It says that anybody can be criminalized, anybody who says anything about the ‘responsibility’ or ‘co-responsibility’ of the ‘Polish state or the Polish nation in the crimes of the Third Reich, or any other crimes against humanity or war crimes or crimes against peace during World War Two.”

This last clause is of particular significance because of its potential to turn Polish culture and history upside down. “Remember, the Nobel Prize-winning Polish poet Czeslaw Milosz wrote ‘Campo di Fiori,’ about how some Poles were out dancing while the Warsaw Ghetto was in flames,” said Prof. Michael Berenbaum, an American scholar of the Holocaust and a former director US Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Holocaust Research Institute.

Milosz’s poem — which includes the stanza, “That same hot wind/Blew open the skirts of the girls/And the crowds were laughing/On that beautiful Warsaw Sunday” — “would be illegal under this legislation,” Berenbaum asserted.

Accompanying what Berenbaum denounced as a “defiling” of Polish culture is the fundamental revision of Poland’s wartime history. “To leave out the contributions of non-Jewish Poles to the persecution and suffering and murder of Jewish Poles would be to falsify the historical record,” Prof. Alvin Rosenfeld — Irving M. Glazer Chair in Jewish Studies at Indiana University Bloomington — told *The Algemeiner*.

An important element of the Polish government’s complaint lies in the fact that from 1939-89, the country was under successive Nazi and Soviet occupations, which meant that the history books had already been written by the time an untainted account of Poland’s wartime experience could emerge. What this conceals, however, is that much of the path-breaking research on incidents of Polish collaboration with the Nazi authorities has been conducted since the end of Communist Party rule in 1989.

In that regard, Rosenfeld highlighted the contributions of the historians Jan Gross and Jan Grabowski in spotlighting the role played by Polish police and civilians in persecuting those Jews who managed to escape deportation from 1941 onward — about 10 percent of the pre-war Jewish population of 3 million, the vast majority of whom were slaughtered by mobile killing squads and, later on, in the death camps. Gross and Grabowski have also revealed the participation of Poles in anti-

Jewish pogroms in 1941, as well as for two years after 1944, when Jews who survived the Nazis were frequently targeted by antisemitic and anti-Communist violence.

All this has led to the ongoing public vilification of the two historians in Poland. Pankowski pointed out that on Sunday night, one commentator on Polish television went so far as to question whether Gross — a professor at Princeton University — should even be considered a genuine historian, and therefore exempt from the legislation on “academic grounds.”

Moreover, the dispute over the proposed legislation has played out against the background of rising antisemitism and racism in Poland — on unvarnished display from the country’s soccer stadiums to its growing array of media platforms. “You have nationalism, neo-Nazism, antisemitism,” Foxman observed. “You have the political wind moving to the right.”

Having been rescued by his Polish Catholic nanny from the clutches of the Nazis and raised as a Catholic before he was eventually reunited with his parents in 1944, Foxman is one of the last people to diminish the complexity of the historical issues at hand. “The historical record shows that Poles were both victims and victimizers,” he said.

But the Polish government’s determination to flatten this history into a one-dimensional narrative of victimhood is itself leading to disturbing, flagrantly-biased inversions of the past, Pankowski argued. He pointed to a parliamentary resolution passed last October acclaiming the 75th anniversary of the National Armed Forces (NSZ). “This group was not the mainstream resistance, it was not the Polish Home Army,” Pankowski explained. “It was basically the military incarnation of Poland’s National Radical Camp of the 1930s. They were anti-German, yes, but they were far more anti-Communist and anti-Jewish.”

Pankowski noted that the resolution passed by the parliament had included a paragraph paying tribute to the Brygada Swietokrzyska (Brigades of the Holy Cross) — a unit of the NSZ that many historians agree was armed and supported by the Nazi occupiers. After the passage of the resolution, Polish President Andrzej Duda praised the NSZ as resistance fighters who had aided in “the liberation of Poland from both occupants” — Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

“What was shocking was that this vote was unanimous,” Pankowski continued. “It showed the weakness of the opposition, as well as the power that this far right, nationalist vision of Polish history exercises. The National Armed Forces was a far-right, antisemitic group, it had this one unit that collaborated with the Nazis, and yet the Polish parliament has voted to honor them.”

Both Foxman and Rosenfeld cautioned that the proposed legislation would have a censorious impact on future research into the Nazi occupation of Poland. “If they enforce such a law, it would chill scholarly work on the war years and the Holocaust,” Rosenfeld said. “I don’t know of any precedent for that.”

Prof. Berenbaum was confident that the bill, if passed, would backfire soon enough, as no Polish law would be able to prevent the passage across the internet of historical research based on authoritative primary and secondary sources.

“The real danger lies in something else,” he stated. “You have a new young generation in Poland. This is the third generation that’s been lied to — the first generation was lied to by the Germans, the second was lied to by the Soviets and the Polish Communists, and this new generation is being lied to by the Polish government.”

“The government is building up the distrust of the younger generation,” Berenbaum added. “They are going to ask, ‘What else are these guys hiding?’”

Continued from Page A1
Opposition

Holocaust experts all agreed that the bill reflected a concerted effort by right-wing Polish governments over the last decade to rewrite the country’s history in accordance with a nationalist political agenda.

While Poles can justifiably be offended by historically-careless terms such as “Polish

U.S. News.

Advocacy Groups: Federally-Funded Mideast Studies Centers Being Misused for Anti-Israel 'Indoctrination'

BY SHIRI MOSHE

Fourteen prominent Jewish and advocacy groups urged a key Senate committee to reform the Higher Education Act (HEA), which they claim is being "misused to promote biased, one-sided, and anti-Israel programming in our nation's Middle East studies centers."

In a letter sent to Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP) Committee chairman Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-TN) and ranking member Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA) on Wednesday, the coalition of signatories accused Middle East studies programs funded in dozens of universities under the law's Title VI statute of amounting to "unbalanced and biased efforts at indoctrination."

Title VI programs were first introduced in 1958 as a way to cultivate American expertise in foreign languages and different world regions during the Cold War era. The frequent exclusion of "scholars with diverse perspectives" harms these objectives, and violates a requirement put forth by Congress when it reauthorized an amended version of the HEA in 2008, the groups claimed.

"Biased professors have leveraged Title VI funds to cement their control over both their programs and the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), the principal academic organization for scholars of the region," charged the coalition, which includes the American Jewish Committee, American Council of Trustees and Alumni, and Endowment for Middle East Truth, among others.

Rather than fostering objective scholarship, MESA "now empowers an intellectually corrupt elite and encourages polemical politicized work that has transformed Middle East studies centers into a source of anti-American and anti-Israel propaganda," they continued.

The signatories alleged that such a disproportionate focus on Israel harms US national security interests, as it has led the centers, for instance, "to either ignore or understate the impact of the Syrian revolt against Assad and the rise of ISIS, and to ignore or understate the expansion of Iranian hegemony in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, and Afghanistan."

"These analytical failures cost America both lives and billions of dollars," and also have an impact on the wider population, the groups wrote.

Title VI requires centers to conduct "public outreach" efforts, such as K-12 teacher training programs, meaning that the public is also exposed to "politicized materials" with little or no oversight, the coalition asserted. "Consequently, students too young to recognize biases are indoctrinated and arrive at college predisposed to accept politicized interpretations of the Middle East."

The groups emphasized that Congress should not silence the viewpoints currently being promoted in these programs, but rather ensure that others are also heard, per federal law. They encouraged the HELP Committee to adopt reforms laid out in the HEA reauthorization bill that passed the House Education and Workforce Committee in December, dubbed the PROSPER Act.

These include requiring Title VI recipients to annually report on their efforts to uphold viewpoint diversity, and barring grantees from promoting "views that are discriminatory towards any group, religion, or population of people."

They also called for defining key terms in Title VI to improve enforcement, and requiring the Department of Education to score Title VI applications on their success in encouraging viewpoint diversity.

"Studies have repeatedly shown that Federal funds are being used by our nation's top universities to promote one-sided, and often anti-Semitic, programming that masquerades as scholarship," said Tammi Rossman-Benjamin, director of the campus watchdog AMCHA Initiative, which signed the letter. "It violates the law and completely distorts the scholarly and educational mission of the university."

The Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, another signatory, stressed that the reforms will help ensure "that students are exposed to the widest range of viewpoints, research, and scholarship."

"This should be welcome news to those universities that embrace freedom of speech and academic freedom — and a wakeup call to those that do not," said Alyza Lewin, the center's director of policy.

MESA, which did not respond to requests for comment by press time, has previously rejected charges that federally-funded

Middle East studies centers are steeped in anti-Israel bias. Amy Newhall, MESA's executive director, dismissed a 2014 statement issued on Title VI by several of the same signatories behind Wednesday's letter as a "politically motivated [attack] on scholars and academic institutions."

"MSA resolutely opposes all forms of hate speech and discrimination, including anti-Semitism," and supports action in response to such incidents on campus, she told Inside Higher Ed.

Newhall accused "partisan political groups based outside academia" of aiming "to shut down open discussion of issues of public concern by demonizing academic and other critics of Israel, Zionism, and U.S. policy in the Middle East, in many cases by tarring them with the brush of anti-Semitism."

"They are even willing to threaten federal funding for university-based Middle East



Map of the Middle East. Photo: Erika Wittlieb.

studies centers," she said, "which have a long and distinguished history of providing the United States with thousands of people trained in the languages, politics, cultures and histories of this critical region."

The HELP Committee will hold its fourth hearing on reauthorizing the HEA on Tuesday. Sen. Alexander has indicated that he wants to have the Senate reauthorization bill prepared "by early spring."

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Opinion.

Dershowitz Doubles Down Defending Qatar

SHMULEY BOTEACH
ENGELWOOD

Over the weekend Prof. Alan Dershowitz said that had he known about a recently unearthed 2005 photo of Barack Obama and Louis Farrakhan, "I would not have campaigned for Barack Obama."

But how does this square with Dershowitz not only traveling across the world to meet with the emir of Qatar — whose support for Hamas and terrorism against Israel by far outweighs the antisemitic sins of Farrakhan — and then having Dershowitz become a public defender of Qatar? Can someone tell me what is going on? Dershowitz returned from his all-expenses-paid visit to the emir extolling Qatar's virtues and parroting the emir's call for US help to end the blockade imposed by its neighbors. Rather than apologizing for his misstatements about Qatar, and his shilling for a terrorism-financing regime, Dershowitz has doubled down on his positions.

Responding to critics, his defense is that he cannot be bought, cannot be fooled, *The New York Times* agrees with him, the Saudis are worse human rights abusers than the Qataris, and he cannot understand anyone objecting to his suggestion that claims about Qatari misbehavior be investigated.

Let me take the last point first, since it is a straw man. I have no objection to an investigation, but Qatar's human rights abuses are well documented, as is its aid to Hamas, sponsorship of terrorism and harboring of terrorist leaders. Israel's former ambassador to the UN, Ron Prossor, summed up the case well in a 2014 *New York Times* op-ed that branded Qatar the "Club Med for Terrorists."

Calling on the civilized world to isolate Qatar, Prossor observed that "Qatar is not a part of the solution but a significant part of the problem" and that "the message to Qatar should be clear: Stop financing Hamas."

I did not accuse Dershowitz of being "bought," but he apparently believes he needs to defend himself from such accusations because of his admission that he accepted an all-expenses-paid trip to Qatar from the emir, offered through a PR company, with the expectation that he would come back and recite the emir's talking points.

Dershowitz wants us to believe that the Qataris can't pull the wool over his eyes. But they did. He tries to get around it with his suggestion about conducting an investigation, but this was an admission that Qatar

had managed to sow reasonable doubt in the mind of the famed defense attorney about its complicity in terrorism.

Jonathan Schanzer, vice president of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, tweeted in response to Dershowitz's article about his visit, "Stick to what you know," and later observed, "The man [Dershowitz] defends Israel until he's blue in the face and then normalizes Hamas's top patron." Schanzer, who believes Qatar should be designated a state sponsor of terrorism, told *Haaretz*, "There is a lot of material they [visitors to Doha] should become aware of about Qatar's ties to Hamas, al-Qaida, the Taliban, the Muslim Brotherhood and other problematic actors."

When confronted with Qatar's abysmal human rights record and authoritarian government, Dershowitz's response is that the *Times* says the Saudis are worse. His best-defense argument for Qatari enlightenment is that he saw an Israeli tennis player while he was there at a time the Saudis had banned an Israeli chess delegation.

Seriously, this is your best case? I doubt he'd go to court with such flimsy arguments.

If Dershowitz wants to bring up Israel, then he also should mention that Israel and Saudi Arabia are working together to stop Iran's nuclear and hegemonic ambitions while Qatar is collaborating with the genocidal mullahs.

Dershowitz created another straw man by suggesting that his critics believe the "Saudis are the good guys and the Qataris are all evil." I certainly have never defended the Saudis, but I'm not sure how Saudi misbehavior justifies his fawning article about Qatar.

Dershowitz forgets that the pro-Israel community's revulsion for Qatar has to do with terrorism financing against Israel, not its dispute with Saudi Arabia. There is no need for an investigation into Qatar's record, this has already been done by the State Department. Dershowitz repeats some of that report's findings, but instead of denouncing Qatar's abuses he repeatedly changes the subject to the Saudis.

He also reiterates his support for *Al Jazeera* on free-speech grounds. Fine. But he should at least acknowledge that *Al Jazeera* is not a legitimate news organization but a Qatari propaganda tool, akin to the *Pravda*. Instead of addressing the network's antisemitism and unrelenting attacks on Israel, however, he changes the subject to the Saudi media.

He said he did not compare Israel to Qatar and then repeated the comparison that "they are both subject to boycotts and are surrounded by enemies who seek their destruction." Saying it a second time does not make it any more accurate. It's a ludicrous

comparison, as I noted in my initial critique. Qatar is not subject to a global boycott campaign and its neighbors do not seek its destruction. They want it to stop threatening their interests by sponsoring terrorism and collaborating with Iran against Sunni Muslims.

He turns again to the *Times*, whose reporting on Middle East issues has always been problematic, to try to defend Qatar's sponsorship of terrorism. The quote, however, says nothing about Qatar's support for the Muslim Brotherhood, which is one of the objections the Gulf states raise against the sheikdom.

More important, the *Times* report did not respond to my central concern about Qatar's support for Hamas. If they are no longer supporting Islamists in Libya and Syria as the *Times* claims, that is nice, but irrelevant.

Qatar has been the largest provider of financial aid to the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip. Notably, at the same time that Doha was signing an anti-terrorism deal with the United States, Qatar said it would continue to support Hamas. Not surprisingly, last November Qatar condemned Israel for destroying a Hamas terror tunnel. And let's remember that it was Dershowitz who published a 2014 book titled *Terror Tunnels: The Case for Israel's Just War Against Hamas*, which makes his defense of Hamas' patron Qatar all the more astonishing.

Alan also tries to justify his soft-peddling of Qatari collaboration with Iran by quoting the *Times'* assertion that the other Gulf states have forced Qatar into closer ties with Tehran, and that Doha and Tehran have to cooperate because of a shared gas field. The Gulf States imposed their blockade, however, because Qatar was already collaborating with Iran as the Islamic Republic pursues its hegemonic designs in the region, and threatens Sunni states, regional stability, Western interests and Israel.

I am appalled that Dershowitz would defend Qatar's relations with a country that is threatening genocide against the Jewish people.

Alan and the other Jewish leaders who accepted junkets are providing cover to the emir, who has never repudiated his 2014 blood libel, delivered at the United Nations, that Israel was guilty of "war crimes" in Gaza.

The emir, who falsely accused Israel of "targeting civilians," and said that "babies were killed while in the arms of their mothers," knew his Hamas client provoked the Gaza war with thousands of rockets rained down on Israeli cities and that the IDF did everything in its power to limit civilian casualties while Hamas was using innocent Palestinian infants and children as human shields. Nevertheless, the emir called for Israel to be shunned by diplomats throughout the world: "Those who killed ... children in Gaza [should] not be received in the diplomatic forums."

and made them whole again, that took the language of the Bible and the landscape of the Psalms and made them live again," Pence said. "And it was faith that rebuilt the ruins of Jerusalem and made them strong again. The miracle of Israel is an inspiration to the world. And the United States of America is proud to stand with Israel and her people, as allies and cherished friends."

Watching Pence's address, I could not help but recall the very different actions of the last vice president who visited Israel.

Joe Biden visited Israel in March 2010. Almost exactly at the moment that Biden was speaking at a press conference with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, "somebody" leaked to the press that the Israeli government supposedly had just announced plans to build 1,600 Jewish homes in "occupied East Jerusalem."



Doha, Qatar. Photo: StellarD via Wikimedia Commons.

This liar is the man who is now being defended by Dershowitz and, through Nick Muzin, visited by Rabbi Menachem Genack, Martin Oliner, Malcolm Hoenlein and others. They are all being used in a PR campaign, bankrolled by Qatar, which is predicated on the antisemitic belief that American Jews have the power to change US policy and that thus making nice with the Jews while making no changes on policy will lead the administration to pressure the Gulf States to end the blockade.

But one thing Dershowitz dare not do is use the memory of the Lubavitcher Rebbe to defend Qatar. Dershowitz invokes a conversation he apparently had with the Rebbe about Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, in which the Rebbe encouraged engaging the senator, who later became a close ally of Israel.

Comparing a US senator, however controversial, with the chief founder of Hamas is outrageous. The Rebbe was outspokenly and vociferously opposed to Jewish leaders granting legitimacy to Arab leaders who had Jewish blood on their hands, castigating even great heroes like Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir for meetings with Arab leaders who threatened Israel.

Rather than dodge the issues by calling for an investigation and changing the subject to Saudi behavior, Alan has an obligation to speak out against Qatar's continued support for terrorism, incitement against Israel through *Al Jazeera*, and cooperation with Iran's genocidal regime. It would be a shame to allow his prestige as a strong supporter of Israel to be co-opted into a kosher stamp of approval for the Qatari regime.

And if Dershowitz disagrees with me, then I suggest that he and I publicly debate the issue of whether Jews should be publicly meeting with and defending the emir prior to any discernible change in Qatari policy vis-a-vis Hamas, and any editorial change in *Al Jazeera* toward Israel. Dershowitz is famous for his belief in airing differences through respectful public debate. The dialogue about the emir's infiltration of the Jewish community cannot wait.

Let the live public discussion begin.

Shmuley Boteach, "America's Rabbi," whom the Washington Post calls "the most famous rabbi in America," is founder of The World Values Network and is the international best-selling author of 31 books, including his most recent, "The Israel Warrior." Follow him on Twitter @ RabbiShmuley.

In fact, it was not some new plan, but an unexceptional housing construction project that had been slowly winding its way through the Israeli bureaucracy for years. The Israeli government did not make some grand "announcement" at the moment of Biden's visit; the old plan just happened to advance slightly through the normal bureaucratic procedures.

The plan was not for 1,600 "homes," which sounds as if Israel was going to build 1,600 separate houses. It was for 1,600 apartments in apartment buildings, meaning that it would take up less than one-tenth of the land that houses would require. In any event, nobody would be displaced by the new apartments; they were in Ramat Shlomo, an existing Jewish neighborhood in Israel's capital of Jerusalem.

But of course, the Obama-Biden administration, unlike the current US government,

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Two Vice Presidential Visits to Israel — One Big Difference

STEPHEN M. FLATOW/
JNS.ORG

Anybody who watched Vice President Mike Pence's address to the Knesset had to be

deeply impressed by his heartfelt solidarity with Israel. His repeated pledges of support for the Jewish state were authentic and unwavering.

Unlike the previous president, who seemed to think the Jews took an interest in *Eretz Yisrael* only because of the Holocaust, Pence did not shy away from affirming the Jewish people's ancient ties to the land of Israel.

"It was the faith of the Jewish people that gathered the scattered fragments of a people

Opinion.

Along Strategic Highway, Israel Treads a Fine Line Between Security and Everyday Life

YAAKOV LAPPIN
JERUSALEM

For Israeli security personnel who guard the strategically significant Route 443 — one of only two highways connecting Jerusalem to Israel's coastal plain along the Mediterranean Sea — the difference between stopping contraband food or an armed terrorist isn't very large.

"I tell the soldiers here, if you caught food smugglers, you also prevented a future terrorist attack. Someone who smuggles eggs into Israel will then try to smuggle people. If he ... succeeds, he'll smuggle in terrorists after that," said Lt.-Col. Arik Yaakobi, commander of the IDF's Military Police Taoz Battalion.

Route 443, a busy traffic artery, is anything but an ordinary highway. If anything would happen to Israel's key highway — Route 1 — Route 443 would be the only main connection between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. But unlike Route 1, it runs right through Palestinian areas, in between hostile villages that overlook the traffic from nearby hills.

According to Yaakobi, "The big majority of the Palestinian population just wants to make a living honorably. We have to be able to distinguish between them, and the one who comes to attack. This requires a huge intelligence effort, and our ability to identify intentions."

These days, Route 443 experiences at least one attack a week — in the form of a

firebombing or rock-throwing. Recent weeks have seen an uptick in incidents, as Israeli-Palestinian tensions rose following President Donald Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

Yet current incidents are down compared to 2015 and 2016, when high levels of terrorism, most of it unorganized, occurred.

"This is a highly threatened crossing," Yaakobi said, as his jeep pulled up at the Bell checkpoint. "This road leads to Ramallah, and several Palestinian villages. Soldiers here are on the highest alert, with a bullet in the barrel."

Yaakobi, a 40-year-old father of three from northern Israel, commands units that are in charge of crossings between Israel proper and Judea and Samaria (the territories), guarding "gates" that stretch from the Jenin area in the north, to the Ofer Crossing near Jerusalem. His battalion secures crossings on Route 443.

Standing at the Maccabim Crossing, where the highway leaves Israel, Yaakobi explained why Route 443 requires military protection.

"Without going into politics, what's west of the crossing is Israel," he said. "To the east is Judea and Samaria. A big part of the Israeli population does not understand this at all when it drives here. There are six Palestinian villages on the right and left side of this highway."

Fifteen years ago, during the Second Intifada, the highway experienced many security incidents, particularly firebombing and rock-throwing attacks on cars. That led the Israeli government to ban Palestinians from the



An IDF soldier standing guard at a military base. Photo: IDF.

highway. The country's High Court of Justice, however, deemed that decision illegal in 2007.

"The High Court said that the road runs through Judea and Samaria, so the state cannot prevent Palestinians from driving here. It told the state to manage the security risk. That's where we come in," Yaakobi said.

Today, anyone — Israeli or Palestinian — can drive down Route 443 in the sections that run through the territories (though most cars are driven by Israelis). The Taoz Battalion maintains the checkpoints and crossings, operating at varying levels of severity, scrutinizing all vehicles seeking to merge with the traffic. The battalion also runs crossings such as Maccabim, through which Palestinians with permits enter Israel daily for work or humanitarian purposes.

"We're trying to make the crossing process faster and more efficient all the time, to improve the quality of life for all populations," Yaakobi said.

In March 2016, a Palestinian pedestrian approached the Bell checkpoint just before it closed down for the night. Soldiers gestured for the man to head back, and he turned around, as if to comply.

"The soldiers also turned around, turning their backs to him, and that was their mistake. He produced a gun and shot them both. They were injured in the legs. Both made a full recovery," Yaakobi recalled. The terrorist escaped on foot, only to be arrested a few months later by the IDF.

The checkpoint is currently at Level 4, the highest level of screening, the commander explained. "Every vehicle that arrives here is stopped and searched. All of its occupants are checked," he said.

"We set the level in line with intelligence alerts. When we see a rise in the chances of an incident, we raise the level of scrutiny," Yaakobi added.

Soldiers rely on their training to pick up suspicious signs, whether in vehicles, drivers or pedestrians, and they must make split-second decisions around the clock. The Taoz Battalion intercepted five separate attempts by terrorists in recent months to arrive at the IDF's Samaria Court with pipe bombs. Had the attacks not been foiled, they would have struck a highly symbolic blow against a military official building.

The young soldiers and officers stationed at these places make life-and-death decisions every time that they let a car pass, particularly at crossings that lead into central Israel or Jerusalem. "They have a second to look at the car. If the soldier clears the vehicle, they are actually saying, this person will not go to Tel Aviv or Modi'in to conduct a terror attack," Yaakobi said.

The personnel are assisted by a network of high-tech cameras and other means, but most of the major decisions are still based on their training — and their eyes. "Israeli citizens have no idea that any of this is going on. Nor should they be concerned with it," said Yaakobi. As his vehicle passed a gas station, he recalled that an IDF soldier was stabbed to death there in November 2015, by a terrorist; the terrorist was shot dead by soldiers at the scene.

Sec.-Lt. Inbal (full name withheld for security reasons), the crossings commander at Maccabim, had the morning shift — which, like all shifts, lasts for eight hours — when Yaakobi visited her crossing.

"My company is in charge of this crossing, to let other companies head out to training. We're here for two-and-a-half weeks," she told JNS.

"Lots of infiltrators try to enter Israel illegally," she said. Just that morning, her personnel intercepted an electric shocker disguised as a flashlight.

"We have to grow accustomed to this place," she added, while looking at the Maccabim Crossing bustling with vehicles in multiple lanes — which were carefully watched over by young soldiers who stopped a vehicle every once in a while. "It takes time."

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Difference

did not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. So, even apartments in the uncontroversial Ramat Shlomo neighborhood were suddenly branded "illegal Israeli settlements."

TIME magazine declared that Israel had "publicly humiliated" Biden. An article in *The Atlantic* was headlined "Israel Humiliates Joe Biden." And so it went, a carefully choreographed "crisis" that sure sounded a lot like the infamous "echo chamber" that presidential aide Ben Rhodes later boasted about creating to promote the Iran deal. We may never know who leaked the Jerusalem "news" to the press, but I have my suspicions.

The only actual humiliation that took place was when Biden forced Israel to publicly apologize, even though it had done nothing wrong. The ugly episode would, of course, be followed by many other instances in which the president, vice president, secretary of state or other Obama administration officials chastised Israel or leaked anti-Israel accusations to the press.

Friends of Israel have not yet forgotten Biden's deeply disturbing decision to honor J Street by addressing its national conference in 2016. Legitimizing a group whose only purpose is to undermine Israel's positions was bad enough. But in his address, Biden outrageously accused Israel of being the obstacle to peace, because of what he called "the steady and systematic expansion of settlements."

Yes, that was the accusation made by the vice president whose administration had successfully pressured Israel into freezing



US Vice President Mike Pence addresses the Knesset in Jerusalem, Jan. 22, 2018. Photo: Reuters / Ariel Schalit / Pool.

Jewish housing construction for 10 months, in exchange for an unfulfilled US promise that the Palestinians would resume negotiations.

Now contrast that vice president with his successor: "We stand with Israel because your cause is our cause, your values are our values, and your fight is our fight," Mike Pence said in the Knesset. "We stand with Israel because we believe in right over wrong, in good over evil, and in liberty over tyranny. We stand with Israel because that's what Americans have always done, and so has it been since my country's earliest days."

He might have added "except between 2008 and 2016" to that last sentence. The sad truth is that "standing with Israel" was not the policy of the Obama-Biden administration. But it is now, and that's what matters most.

Stephen M. Flatow, a vice president of the Religious Zionists of America, is an attorney in New Jersey. He is the father of Alisa Flatow, who was murdered in an Iranian-sponsored Palestinian terrorist attack in 1995.

Continued from Page A2
Poland

better friends in Europe today than Poland. So too, by the way, the United States. And does Poland really want to reopen conversations about the Jewish blood spilled in Jedwabne, Kielce, etc.?

To get things back on track, here's what could be done:

Polish leaders ought to withdraw the legislation and focus on education, not criminalization, about inaccurate and harmful speech.

The bill's sponsors might also wish to express regret about the timing, as this became a topic of discussion precisely as the world was marking International Holocaust Remembrance Day.

And, finally, Poland, like every nation, has an imperfect history. That calls for an open-mindedness and courage to examine, and admit, shortcomings, which should be a hallmark, not a

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Loyalty

nation is a wise and understanding people" (Deut. 4:6). Torah continues to inspire not only Jews but all who seek guidance in hard times.

So, if you find yourself in a situation of conflict that threatens to break something apart, whether a marriage, a family, a business, a community, a political party or an organization, framing a covenant will help keep people together, without any side claiming victory or

blind spot, of any democratic society.

For its part, the Jewish world must stop claiming that there were wartime "Polish camps." There were Nazi German camps in Poland.

In addition, Jews should acknowledge the extent of Polish losses during the war, as well as the valor of the resistance movement and the contribution to the Allied war effort of Polish pilots, soldiers, cryptographers, and partisans, not to mention the thousands of "Righteous Among the Nations" honored by Yad Vashem.

And finally, there should be more visits to Poland to see the country for itself rather than through the prism of others' accounts.

For those of us, and I include the American Jewish Committee (AJC) centrally here, who have struggled to write a bright new chapter in Polish-Jewish relations, this is a key moment. We dare not lose the momentum gained in recent years.

defeat. All it needs is recognition that there are certain things we can do together that none of us can do alone.

Covenant lifts our horizon from self-interest to the common good. There is nothing wrong with self-interest. It drives economics and politics, the market and the state. But there are certain things that cannot be achieved on the basis of self-interest alone, among them trust, friendship, loyalty and love. Covenant really is a life- and world-changing idea.

Impressions.

New York Times Editorial Condemning Pence Israel Trip Tells Its Own Sad Tale

BY IRA STOLL

The American vice president flies to Israel, meets with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and gives a speech speaking of the parallels between Israel and America. The speech is full of Hebrew and biblical references.

Vice President Mike Pence this week? Well, yes. But Vice President Al Gore did pretty much the same thing in 1998.

The big difference is how *The New York Times* covered the two events.

The *Times* greeted Vice President Pence's trip with a sharply critical editorial headlined "Mike Pence's Self-Serving Trip to the Holy Land."

The *Times* editorial complained that Pence's address "was replete with biblical references to Jewish

And President Trump reaffirmed that, if both sides agree, the United States of America will support a two-state solution. (Applause.)

We know Israelis want peace, and we know that Israelis need no lectures on the price of war. ... you, who know the price of war, know best what the blessings of peace can bring — to you, to your children, and future generations.

The United States appreciates your government's declared willingness to resume direct peace negotiations with the Palestinian Authority. And today, we strongly urge the Palestinian leadership to return to the table. Peace can only come through dialogue. ... there are those who believe that the world can't change; that we're destined to engage in endless violence; that age-old conflicts can't be solved; and that hope itself is an illusion. But, my friends, President Trump doesn't

and may God continue to bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Gore's speech, by contrast, didn't mention "Ishmael," or "Haram al-Sharif" or "Palestinians" at all. Rather than asking God to "bless the State of Israel and all who call these lands their home," as Pence put it, Gore concluded simply, "May God bless those who struggle in their dream. And may God bless Medinat Israel."

Yet Gore's visit drew no condemnatory editorial from the *Times*.

What explains the different treatment? It can't have been any difference in the speeches. Pence's was more extensive in its discussion of the Palestinians. Otherwise, the two texts were quite similar.

The two vice presidents even recited the same Hebrew blessing. Pence: "I say, along with the good people of Israel, here and around the world: Shehecheyanu, v'kiyimanu, v'higyanu la'zman ha'zeh." Gore: "Blessed art Thou our God, ruler of the Universe. Shehechianu v'kiemanu v'higianu la'zman hazeh! He has kept us alive and sustained us and brought us to this time."

Netanyahu was Israel's prime minister on April 30, 1998, as he is again today, nearly 20 years later.

The *Times* editorial falsely characterizes the Trump administration's stance as a radical departure from past practice: "Although President Trump insists he wants an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal, he has, unlike his predecessors, chosen to disqualify America as an honest broker."

Yet Gore's speech wasn't honest brokerism. Gore said, "my heart and the hearts of all Americans beat with yours this evening, as we hallow the 50th year of Israel's birth. ... I remember the prophecy of Ezekiel — that God would raise you up; that bone would join to bone, sinew to sinew, and that He would breathe life into your flesh and restore you to your land. I recognize you — and President Clinton and I are proud, as are all Americans, that the United States was the first nation to recognize the State of Israel — eleven minutes after you proclaimed your independence (applause) on the 5th of Iyar, 50 years ago. We Americans feel our ties with Israel are eternal."

Pence's speech also made the point about recognition: "Seventy years ago, the United States was proud to be the first nation in the world to recognize the State of Israel."

What's different this time around that merited the *Times* editorial criticism? Maybe it has to do with the political parties of the American politicians. Perhaps Pence gets more hostile treatment from the *Times* because he is a Republican, while Gore is a Democrat. The *Times* editorial page, after all, leans Democratic.

But there's also a second possible explanation, a more troubling one: that the *Times* editorial position has worsened over the past two decades, so that it's now more hostile to Israel, or more outspoken about that hostility, than it was 20 years ago. Not much has changed in the warmth of the US-Israel relationship, as the remarkable similarities and consistencies between the Gore and Pence speeches demonstrate. What has changed is the *Times*. The newspaper is, alas, more hostile than ever to that special relationship, more determined to rip asunder what Gore called eternal ties and what Pence called "an unshakeable bond between our people."



US Vice President Mike Pence touches the Western Wall in Jerusalem's Old City, Jan. 23, 2018.
Photo: Reuters / Ronen Zvulun.

ties to the Holy Land. He referred to God's promise to the Jews that 'he would gather and bring you back to the land which your fathers possessed' and to 'the Jewish people's unbreakable bond to Jerusalem.'

The *Times* editorial went on, "Even more striking was what Mr. Pence didn't say. He mostly chose to ignore Israelis' shared history with the Palestinians, only reaffirming support for a two-state solution 'if both sides agree.'"

In fact a careful reading of Pence's speech discloses that, contrary to the false claim by the *Times*, the vice president did not ignore, or even "mostly chose to ignore," the Palestinians.

Here are some passages from the Pence speech:

Under President Trump, the United States of America remains fully committed to achieve a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians. (Applause.)

In announcing his decision on Jerusalem, the President also called, in his words, "on all parties to maintain the status quo at Jerusalem's holy sites, including at the Temple Mount, also known as the Haram al-Sharif." And he made it clear that we're not taking a position on any final status issues, including the specific boundaries of the Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem or the resolution of contested borders.

believe it. I don't believe it. And neither do you.

I stand here today in the city whose very name means peace. And [as] I stand here, I know that peace is possible because history records that Israel has made the very difficult decisions to achieve peace with its neighbors in the past... The winds of change can already be witnessed across the Middle East. Longstanding enemies are becoming partners. Old foes are finding new ground for cooperation. And the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael are coming together in common cause as never before... today, Jews, Christians, and Muslims — more than half the population of the Earth, and nearly all the people of the Middle East — claim Abraham as their forefather in faith. Only steps from here, in the Old City of Jerusalem, we see the followers of these three great religions in constant contact with one another. And we see each faith come to life in new and renewed ways every day.

At the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, we see a Christian child receiving the gift of grace, in baptism. At the Western Wall, we see a young Jewish boy being bar-mitzvahed. And at the Haram al-Sharif, we see young Muslims, heads bowed in prayer... May God bless the Jewish people, may God bless the State of Israel and all who call these lands their home,

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AJ; 12/29; 1/5/12/19/26; 2/2

PUMPEDISA,LLC.Articles of Org. filed NY Sec. of State (SSNY) 08/03/2017. Office inKINGS COUNTY.SSNY desig. agent of LLC upon whom process may be served. SSNY shall mail copy of process to 4809 AVENUE N, #317, BROOKLYN, NY 11234. Purpose: Any lawful purpose.
AJ; 1/5/12/19/26; 2/2/9

Notice of formation of limited liability company(LLC) Name: HERA PROPERTY CONSULTING,LLC. Articles of organization filed with the Secretary of State of New York (SSNY) on 10/02/2017. Office location: Kings county. SSNY has been designated as the agent of the LLC upon whom process against it may be served. SSNY shall Mail copy of the process to: United States corporation agents,inc. 7014 13th Avenue, suite 202 Brooklyn, NY 11228. Purpose: all lawful activity
AJ; 1/12/19/26; 2/2/9/16

SUPREME COURT – COUNTY OF KINGS JPMORGAN CHASE BANK, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, SUCCESSOR IN INTEREST BY PURCHASE FROM THE FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION AS RECEIVER OF WASHINGTON MUTUAL BANK F/K/A WASHINGTON MUTUAL BANK, FA, Plaintiff against JESSIE LOZADA; BENJAMIN LOZADA; MRS. LOZADA, a woman who refused to identify her first name, et al Defendant(s). Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale entered on March 27, 2017. I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction in Room 224 of the Kings County Courthouse, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, NY. on the 15th day of February, 2018 at 2:30 p.m. premises described as follows: All that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, with the building and improvements thereon erected, situate lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York. Said premises known as 167 Euclid Avenue, Brooklyn, NY. 11208. (Block: 4129, Lot: 23). Approximate amount of lien \$ 328,267.43 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed judgment and terms of sale. Index No. 506966/2014. Zvi Storch, Esq., Referee. Fein, Such & Crane, LLP Attorneys for Plaintiff 28 East Main Street, Suite 1800 Rochester, NY. 14614 (585) 232-7400
AJ; 1/12/19/26; 2/2/

Notice of formation of limited liability company (LLC) Name: Melinda Michael LLC. Articles of organization filed with the secretary of state of New York(SSNY) on 01/04/2018. Office

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location: Richmond County. SSNY has been designated as the agent of the LLC upon whom process against it may be served. SSNY shall Mail copy of the process to: Shanna Walker 65 Grand View Avenue Staten Island NY 10303. Purpose: all lawful activity
AJ; 1/12/19/26; 2/2/9/16

Notice of formation of limited liability company (LLC). Name: Polished & Professional Staffing, LLC. Articles of organization filed with the secretary of state of New York (SSNY) on 12/28/2017. Office location: Bronx County. SSNY has been designated as the agent of the LLC upon whom process against it may be served. SSNY shall mail copy of process to: Ivette Torres 3139 Waterbury Ave. Bronx , NY 10465 . Purpose: all lawful activity
AJ; 1/12/19/26; 2/2/9/16

SUPREME COURT – COUNTY OF KINGS U.S. BANK NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AS TRUSTEE ON BEHALF OF THE HOLDERS OF CSAB MORTGAGE-BACKED PASS-THROUGH CERTIFICATES, SERIES 2007-1, Plaintiff against WILLIAM A. STALLONE, et al Defendant(s). Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale entered on November 29, 2017. I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction in Room 224 of the Kings County Courthouse, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, NY. on the 15th day of February, 2018 at 2:30 p.m. premises described as follows: All that certain piece or parcel of land, together with any improvements thereon erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn , City and State of New York, designated on the Tax Map of the City of New York, for the Borough of Brooklyn, as said Tax Map was on May 27, 1981, for Block 7949, Lot 235, being more particularly bounded and described as follows: BEGINNING at a point on the northerly side of Preston Court distant 527.85 feet Westerly from the corner formed by the intersection of the Northerly side of Preston Court with the Westerly side of East 56th Street; RUNNING thence northerly at right angles to Preston Court and part of the distance through a party wall 165.73 to land now or formerly of the right of way of the Long Island Railroad Company; THENCE westerly along said land of the Long Island Rail Road Company 20.01 feet to a point; THENCE southerly at right angles to Preston Court 165.34 feet to the Northerly side of Preston Court; THENCE Easterly along the Northerly side of Preston Court 20 feet to the point or place of BEGINNING. Said premises known as 21 Preston Court, Brooklyn, NY. 11234. (Block: 7949, Lot: 235). Approximate amount of lien \$ 303,103.81 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed judgment and terms of sale. Index No. 500904-14. Steven Naiman, Esq., Referee. Eckert Seamans Cherin & Mellott, LLC Attorney(s) for Plaintiff 10 Bank Street Suite – 700 White Plains, N.Y. 10606 (914) 949-2574
AJ; 1/12/19/26; 2/2/

Azna Realty LLC Arts. Of Org. Filed w/ SSNY 12/27/17. Off.in Kings Co.SSNY desig.as agt.of LLC whom process may be served.SSNY shall mail process to the LLC, 919 81st St., Brooklyn, NY 11228. Purpose: any lawful activity
AJ; 1/12/19/26; 2/2/9/16

NOTICE OF SALE SUPREME COURT COUNTY OF KINGS NATIONSTAR MORTGAGE LLC, Plaintiff AGAINST Thakor Madhoo, et al., Defendant(s)

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Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale duly dated November 27, 2017 I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction at the Room 224 of Kings County Supreme Court, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201, on February 15, 2018 at 2:30PM, premises known as 205 HALE AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NY 11208. All that certain plot piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York, BLOCK 3960, LOT 6. Approximate amount of judgment \$651,242.34 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed Judgment for Index# 512152/2015. Leonard C. Spector, Esq., Referee Gross Polowy, LLC Attorney for Plaintiff 1775 Wehrle Drive, Suite 100 Williamsville, NY 14221 51064
AJ; 1/12/19/26; 2/2/

Notice of formation of limited liability company(LLC) Name: Marta Marie LLC Articles of organization filed with. Secretary of State of New York(SSNY) on 01/02/2018. Office location: Kings county. SSNY has been designated as The agent of the LLC upon whom process against it may be served. SSNY shall Mail copy of the process to: Marta Castaing 279 Prospect Pl.#3 Brooklyn, NY 11238. Purpose: all lawful activity
AJ; 1/19/26; 2/2/9/16/23

NOTICE OF SALE SUPREME COURT COUNTY OF KINGS HSBC Bank USA, National Association as Trustee for Wells Fargo Asset Securities Corporation, Mortgage Pass-Through Certificates Series 2006-AR14, Plaintiff AGAINST Janice Smith a/k/a Janice T. Smith a/k/a Janis T. Smith; et al, Defendant(s) Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale duly dated September 29, 2016 I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction at the Kings County Supreme Court, 360 Adams Street, Room 224, Brooklyn, NY 11201 on February 22, 2018 at 2:30PM, premises known as 2 Paerdegat 3rd Street, Brooklyn, NY 11236. All that certain plot piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of NY, Block 8031 Lot 6. Approximate amount of judgment \$640,204.53 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed Judgment Index# 503256/2015. Philip L. Kamaras, Esq., Referee Shapiro, DiCaro & Barak, LLC Attorney(s) for the Plaintiff 175 Mile Crossing Boulevard Rochester, New York 14624 (877) 759-1835 Dated: December 28, 2017 50973
AJ; 1/19/26; 2/2/9/

REFEREE'S NOTICE OF SALE IN FORECLOSURE SUPREME COURT – COUNTY OF KINGS NATIONSTAR MORTGAGE LLC, Plaintiff – against – DERRICK GEORGE A/K/A DERRICK R. GEORGE, et al Defendant(s). Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale entered on June 16, 2016. I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction, in Room 261, Kings County Supreme Court, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, Kings County, New York on the 22nd Day of February, 2018 at 2:30 p.m. All that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements thereon, erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York. Premises known as 4413 Clarendon Road, Brooklyn, (City of New York) NY 11223. (Block: 4944, Lot: 18) Approximate amount of lien \$360,048.71

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plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed judgment and terms of sale. Index No. 506255/2013. Frank R. Hurley, Jr., Esq., Referee. Davidson Fink LLP Attorney(s) for Plaintiff 28 East Main Street, Suite 1700 Rochester, NY 14614-1990 Tel. 585/760-8218 Dated: November 30, 2017
AJ; 1/19/26; 2/2/9/

NOTICE OF SALE SUPREME COURT - COUNTY OF KINGS HSBC BANK USA, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AS TRUSTEE FOR WELLS FARGO ASSET SECURITIES CORPORATION, MORTGAGE ASSET-BACKED PASS-THROUGH CERTIFICATES SERIES 2007-AR9, Plaintiff -against- JOYCELIN DOVE, GLADSTONE DOVE, WARREN BLAKE, NATIONAL CITY BANK, CITY OF NEW YORK ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROL BOARD Defendant(s) Pursuant to a judgment of foreclosure and sale entered on October 12, 2016 I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction to the highest bidder at ROOM 224 F/K/A ROOM 274 OF KINGS COUNTY SUPREME COURT, 360 ADAMS STREET, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11201 on February 22, 2018 at 2:30 PM premises known as 298 SCHENCK AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NY 11207. ALL that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, situate lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of KINGS, City and State of New York. Block: 3995 Lot: 23 Approximate amount of lien \$690,841.78 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed judgment Index # 509904/2014 DORON LEIBY, ESQ., REFEREE STEIN, WIENER AND ROTH, L.L.P., ATTORNEYS FOR THE PLAINTIFF ONE OLD COUNTRY ROAD, SUITE 113 CARLE PLACE, NY 11514 DATED: January 12, 2018 FILE #: WELLS 64337
AJ; 1/19/26; 2/2/9/

Notice of formation of limited liability company (LLC) Name: Tzvi Vchomid LLC. Articles of organization filed with the Secretary of State of New York(SSNY) on 12/14/2017. Office location: Kings county. SSNY has been designated as the agent of the LLC upon whom process against it may be served .SSNY shall Mail copy of the process to: Tzvi Vchomid LLC 134 South 9 Apt. 4-A Brooklyn, NY 11211. Purpose: All lawful activity
AJ; 1/26; 2/2/9/16/23; 3/2

STATE OF NEW YORK SUPREME COURT: COUNTY OF KINGS U.S. BANK NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AS TRUSTEE FOR CITIGROUP MORTGAGE LOAN TRUST INC., ASSET-BACKED PASS-THROUGH CERTIFICATES, SERIES 2006-WMC1, Plaintiff, vs. JOSEPH SINGER, YOCHAVED R. SINGER A/K/A YOSSY SINGER A/K/A YOCHAVED SINGER A/K/A YOCHAVED KNOBLOCH, et. al., Defendants PLEASE TAKE NOTICE THAT In pursuance of a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale entered in the office of the County Clerk of Kings County on December 11, 2017, I, Aaron D. Maslow, Esq., the Referee named in said Judgment, will sell in one parcel at public auction on March 1, 2018 at the Kings County Supreme Court, Room 224, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, County of Kings, State of New York, at 2:30 P.M., the premises described as follows: 1861 61st St Brooklyn, NY 11204 SBL No.: 5519 - 53 ALL THAT TRACT OF PARCEL OF LAND situate in the Borough of Brooklyn, Kings County, State of New York The premises are sold subject to

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the provisions of the filed judgment, Index No. 501886/2015 in the amount of \$532,366.32 plus interest and costs. Megan S. Kale, Esq. Woods Oviatt Gilman LLP Plaintiff's Attorney 700 Crossroads Building, 2 State St. Rochester, New York 14614 Tel.: 855-227-5072
AJ; 1/26; 2/2/9/16/

Notice of Formation of WOODHULL RECORDS, LLC Arts. of Org. filed with Secy. of State of NY (SSNY) on 10/16/17. Office location: Kings County. SSNY designated as agent of LLC upon whom process against it may be served. SSNY shall mail process to CFG-NY, Inc., 80 8th Ave., Ste. 301, NY, NY 10011. Purpose: Any lawful activity.
AJ; 1/26; 2/2/9/16/

REFEREE'S NOTICE OF SALE IN FORECLOSURE SUPREME COURT – COUNTY OF KINGS CITIMORTGAGE, INC., Plaintiff – against – ANTHONY FONTANA, et al Defendant(s). Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale entered on January 17, 2017. I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction, in Room 274 of Kings County Supreme Court, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201 on the 1st Day of March, 2018 at 2:30 p.m. All that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York. Premises known as 1942 East 34th Street, Brooklyn, New York 11234. (Block: 8500 and Lot: 64) Approximate amount of lien \$574,360.05 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed judgment and terms of sale. Index No. 500204/2014. Charles L. Emma, Esq., Referee. Davidson Fink LLP Attorney(s) for Plaintiff 28 East Main Street, Suite 1700 Rochester, NY 14614-1990 Tel. 585/760-8218 Dated: December 19, 2017
AJ; 1/26; 2/2/9/16/

NOTICE OF SALE SUPREME COURT COUNTY OF KINGS U.S. BANK, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, SUCCESSOR TRUSTEE TO BANK OF AMERICA, N.A. AS SUCCESSOR TO LASALLE BANK, N.A. AS TRUSTEE FOR MERRILL LYNCH FIRST FRANKLIN MORTGAGE LOAN TRUST, MORTGAGE LOAN ASSET-BACKED CERTIFICATES, SERIES 2007-2, Plaintiff AGAINST ANNISA DANCE and RUSSELL DANCE, et al, Defendant(s) Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale duly dated February 01, 2017 I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction at the Room 224 of Kings County Supreme Court, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201, on March 01, 2018 at 2:30PM, premises known as 686 WORTMAN AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NY 11208. All that certain plot piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York, BLOCK 4546, LOT 100. Approximate amount of judgment \$844,763.15 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed Judgment for Index# 511425/2014. David J. Hernandez, Esq., Referee Gross Polowy, LLC Attorney for Plaintiff 1775 Wehrle Drive, Suite 100 Williamsville, NY 14221 51088
AJ; 1/26; 2/2/9/16/

NOTICE OF SALE SUPREME COURT COUNTY OF KINGS PNC Bank, National Association, Plaintiff AGAINST Renata Ramdass; et al,

Continued on Page A10

Tradition.

The Bond of Loyalty and Love



JONATHAN SACKS
LONDON

In the course of any life there are moments of awe and amazement when, with a full heart, you thank God *shehecheyanu vekiyemanu vehigiyanu lazeman hazeh*, “who has kept us alive and sustained us and brought us to this day.”

Two that particularly stand out in my own memory were separated



by almost ten years. The first was the Lambeth Conference at Canterbury in 2008. The conference is the gathering, every ten years, of the bishops of the Anglican Communion – that is, not just the Church of England but the entire worldwide structure, much of it based in America and Africa. It is the key event that brings this global network of churches together to deliberate on directions for the future. That year I became, I believe, the first rabbi to address a plenary session of the conference. The second, much more recent, took place in October 2017 in Washington when I addressed the friends and supporters of the American Enterprise Institute, one of the world's great economic think tanks.

The two gatherings could not have been less alike. One was religious, Christian, and concerned with theology. The other was secular, American, and concerned with economics and politics. Both of them, though, were experiencing some kind of crisis. In the case of the Anglican Church it had to do with gay bishops.^[1] Could the Church accommodate such people? The question was tearing the Church apart, with many of the American bishops in favour and most of the African ones against. There was a real sense, before the conference, that the communion was in danger of being irreparably split.

In Washington in 2017 the issue at the forefront of people's minds was quite different. A year earlier there had been a sharply divisive American Presidential election. New phrases had been coined to describe some of the factors involved – post-truth, fake news, flyover states, alt-right,

identity politics, competitive victimhood, whatever – as well as the resurfacing of an old one: populism. It all added up to what I termed the *politics of anger*. Was there a way of knitting together the unravelling strands of American society?

The reason these two events are connected in my mind is that on both occasions I spoke about the same concept – the one that is central to this week's parsha, and to biblical Judaism as a whole, namely *brit*, covenant. This was, in the seventeenth century especially, a key concept in the emerging free

societies of the West, especially in Calvinist or Puritanical circles.

To grossly simplify a complex process, the Reformation developed in different directions in different countries, depending on whether Luther or Calvin was the primary influence. For Luther the key text was the New Testament, especially the letters of Paul. For Calvin and his followers, however, the Hebrew Bible was the primary text, especially in relation to political and social structures. That is why covenant played a large part in the (Calvinist) post-Reformation politics of Geneva, Holland, Scotland, England under Cromwell, and especially the Pilgrim Fathers, the first European settlers in North America. It lay at the heart of the Mayflower Compact (1620) and John Winthrop's famous “City upon a Hill” speech aboard the Arbella in 1630.

Over time however, and under the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the word “covenant” was gradually supplanted by the phrase “social contract.” Clearly there is something similar between the two, but they are not the same thing at all. In fact, they operate on different logics and they create different relationships and institutions.

In a contract, two or more people come together, each pursuing their self-interest, to make a mutually advantageous exchange. In a covenant, two or more people, each respecting the dignity and integrity of the other, come together in a bond of loyalty and trust to do together what neither can achieve alone. It isn't an exchange; it's a moral commitment. It is more like a marriage than a commercial transaction. Contracts

are about interests; covenants are about identity. Contracts benefit; covenants transform. Contracts are about “Me” and “You”; covenants are about “Us.”

What makes the Hebrew Bible revolutionary in political terms is that it contains not one founding moment but two. One is set out in 1 Samuel 8, when the people come to the prophet Samuel and ask for a king. God tells Samuel to warn the people what will be the consequences. The king will take the people's sons to ride with his chariots and their daughters to work in his kitchens. He will take their property as taxation, and so on. Nonetheless, the people insist that they still want a king, so Samuel appoints Saul.

Commentators have long been puzzled by this chapter. Does it represent approval or disapproval of monarchy? The best answer ever given was provided by Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Chajes, who explained that what Samuel was doing at God's behest was proposing a social contract precisely on the lines set out by Thomas Hobbes in *The Leviathan*. People are willing to give up certain of their rights, transferring them to a central power – a king or a government – who undertakes in return to ensure the defence of the realm externally and the rule of law within. The book of Samuel thus contains the first recorded instance of a social contract.

However, this was the second founding moment of Israel as a nation, not the first. The first took place in our parsha, on Mount Sinai, several centuries earlier, when the people made with God, not a contract but a covenant. What happened in the days of Samuel was the birth of Israel as a kingdom. What happened in the days of Moses – long before they had even entered the land – was the birth of Israel as a nation under the sovereignty of God.

The two central institutions of modern Western liberal democracies are both contractual. There are commercial contracts that create the market; and there is the social contract that creates the *state*. The market is about the creation and distribution of wealth. The state is about the creation and distribution of power. But a covenant is about neither wealth nor power, but rather about the bonds of belonging and collective responsibility. As I put it in *The Politics of Hope*, a social contract creates a state. A social covenant creates a society. A society is the totality of relationships that do not depend on exchanges of wealth and power, namely marriages, families, congregations, communities, charities and voluntary associations. The market and the state are arenas of competition. Society is an arena of co-operation. And we need both.

The reason that the concept of covenant proved helpful to the Anglican bishops on the one hand, and the American Enterprise Institute on the other, is that it is the supreme example of a bond that brings together, in a single co-operative enterprise, individuals

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and groups that are profoundly different. They could not be more different than the parties at Mount Sinai: God and the children of Israel, the one Infinite and eternal, the other, finite and mortal.

In fact the very first human relationship, between the first man and the first woman, contains a two-word definition of covenant: *ezer ke-negdo*, meaning on the one hand “a helper” but on the other, someone “over-and-against.” In a marriage, neither husband nor wife sacrifice their distinctive identities. At Sinai, God remained God and the Israelites remained human. A symbol of covenant is the *havdalah* candle: multiple wicks that stay separate but produce a single flame.

So covenant allowed the Anglican Communion to stay together despite the deep differences between the American and African churches. The American covenant held the nation together despite, in Lincoln's day, a civil war, and at other times, civil and economic strife, and its renewal will do likewise in the future. In Moses' day it allowed the Israelites to become “one nation under God” despite their division into twelve tribes. Covenants create unity without uniformity. They value diversity but, rather than allowing a group to split into competing factions, they ask each to contribute something uniquely theirs to the common good. Out of multiple Me's they create an overarching Us.

What made these two experiences in Canterbury and Washington so moving to me was that they showed how prophetic Moses' words were when he told the Israelites that the Torah and its commands “will show your wisdom and understanding to the nations, who will hear about all these decrees and say, ‘Surely this great

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Continued from Page A9

Defendant(s) Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale duly dated September 14, 2016 I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction at the Kings County Supreme Court, 360 Adams Street, Room 224, Brooklyn, NY 11201 on March 1, 2018 at 2:30PM, premises known as 964 East 43rd Street, Brooklyn, NY 11210. All that certain plot piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of NY, Section 23 Block 7746 Lot 59. Approximate amount of judgment \$384,277.96 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed Judgment Index# 502013/2014. Steven H. Richman, Esq., Referee Shapiro, DiCaro & Barak, LLC Attorney(s) for the Plaintiff 175 Mile Crossing Boulevard Rochester, New York 14624 (877) 759-1835 Dated: January 18, 2018 51322 AJ; 1/26; 2/2/9/16/23; 3/2

Notice of formation of limited liability company(LLC) Name: Sweetcase Studio,LLC.Articles of organization filed with the Secretary of State of New York(SSNY) on 12/19/2017. Office location: Kings county SSNY has been designated as the agent of the LLC

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Upon whom process against it may be served. SSNY shall Mail copy of the process to: Sweetcase Studio LLC 115 8th Ave. Apt.6 Brooklyn, NY 11215 purpose: all lawful activity AJ; 1/26; 2/2/9/16/23; 3/2

Notice of Qualification of GFE BROADWAY-BROOKLYN LLC Appl. for Auth. filed with Secy. of State of NY (SSNY) on 11/29/17. Office location: Kings County. LLC formed in Delaware (DE) on 11/03/17. SSNY designated as agent of LLC upon whom process against it may be served. SSNY shall mail process to the LLC, Attn: George Fellows, 462 Mariner Dr., Jupiter, FL 33477. DE addr. of LLC: c/o National Registered Agents, Inc., 160 Greentree Dr., Ste. 101, Dover, DE 19904. Cert. of Form. filed with DE Secy. of State, 401 Federal St., Dover, DE 19901. Purpose: Any lawful activity. AJ; 2/2/9/16/23; 3/2/9

SUPREME COURT – COUNTY OF KINGS JPMORGAN CHASE BANK, NA, Plaintiff against ZISEL BRIEGER; LARRY BRIEGER, et al Defendant(s). Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale entered on December 2, 2016. I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction in Room 224 of the Kings County Courthouse, 360 Adams Street, Brooklyn, NY, on the 8th day of March, 2018 at 2:30 p.m. premises described as follows: All that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, with the building improvements thereon erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York. Said premises known as 1252 58th Street Brooklyn, NY, 11219. Tax Account Number SBL #: 5704 – 28. Approximate amount of lien \$ 622,641.64 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed judgment and terms of sale. Index No. 16371-11. Salvatore Scibetta, Esq., Referee. Fein, Such & Crane, LLP Attorneys for Plaintiff 28 East Main Street, Suite 1800 Rochester, NY. 14614 (585) 232-7400 AJ; 2/2/9/16/23;

NOTICE OF SALE SUPREME COURT COUNTY OF KINGS Homebridge Financial Services, Inc., Plaintiff AGAINST Josianne Valery; et al, Defendant(s) Pursuant to a Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale duly dated February 1, 2017 I, the undersigned Referee will sell at public auction at the Kings County Supreme Court, 360 Adams Street, Room 224, Brooklyn, NY 11201 on March 8, 2018 at 2:30PM, premises known as 871 East 46th Street, Brooklyn, NY 11203. All that certain plot piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of NY, Block 4980 Lot 51. Approximate amount of judgment \$405,534.36 plus interest and costs. Premises will be sold subject to provisions of filed Judgment Index# 501049/2014. Joseph Defelice, Esq., Referee Shapiro, DiCaro & Barak, LLC Attorney(s) for the Plaintiff 175 Mile Crossing Boulevard Rochester, New York 14624 (877) 759-1835 Dated: December 27, 2017 50905 AJ; 2/2/9/16/23;

CW Fulton LLC Arts. of Org. filed w/ SSNY 1/22/18. Off. in Kings Co. SSNY desig. as agt. of LLC whom process may be served. SSNY shall mail process to the LLC, 150 Myrtle Ave., Fl. 2, Brooklyn, NY 11201. Purpose: any lawful activity. AJ; 2/2/9/16/23; 3/2/9

Social.



Artifacts showing Jewish life in Shanghai on display on at the Amud Aish Memorial Museum. Photo: Shiryn Solny.

‘Touching History’: Holocaust-Era Artifacts Tell Story of Jewish Refugees in Shanghai

BY SHIRYN SOLNY

As the world marked International Holocaust Remembrance Day on January 27, a recently unveiled exhibit at a Holocaust museum in Brooklyn tells the largely untold story of Eastern European religious Jews who fled the Nazis — and found refuge in Shanghai.

Last October, the Amud Aish Memorial Museum launched “A Precious Gift: Escape to Shanghai,” featuring original artifacts that give a glimpse into the lives of Orthodox Jews starting from their time in Eastern Europe, through their travels to Shanghai and ultimately their religious life in China — before they found a permanent home elsewhere. The exhibit also highlights the heroic efforts of worldwide government officials who risked everything to help Jews. The exhibit also explains how Shanghai was a safe haven because it did not require entry visas, and maintained open borders for all immigrants until the late 1930s.

The many artifacts on display in the exhibit include a transit visa issued by the Japanese Vice Consul in Lithuania, Chiune Sugihara, who disobeyed orders from his superiors and authorized travel papers for Jews; sacred religious texts printed by Jewish refugees in Shanghai; candlesticks with Chinese writing on them, bought by a Polish Jew in Shanghai; and a marriage contract from a Jewish wedding that took place in China after the war.

Small group workshops, specifically for middle school students, accompany the exhibit, and focus on the individual story of a Holocaust survivor. One such workshop explores the experience of Judith Cohn-Goldbart, a Jewish girl whose family left Berlin for Shanghai shortly after Kristallnacht in 1938. Judith remained in Shanghai until years after the war, and was a teacher at the religious girls’ school established there. Participants in the group workshops are given the opportunity to examine copies of original artifacts from Shanghai, such as a Jewish student’s report card.

“It feels like they’re touching history,” Chavi Felsenburg, acquisitions curator at the Amud Aish Memorial Museum and leader of many of the workshops, told JNS. “It just makes the story more real. It puts all the information ... together in perspective.”

She added: “I think people leave inspired. It really does affect them. ... [Within] the groups that come, very often I’ll have someone raising their hand saying, ‘This was my grandmother. This was my aunt.’”

Dovid Reidel, director of the museum’s research and archive division, said that Amud Aish received its first collection of artifacts related to Shanghai in 2013, the same year that the museum opened. The vast collection received at that time included notes that a Jewish refugee kept from his doctors in Shanghai, pamphlets that came

with medication that he bought, and X-rays of his eyes. Another early Shanghai collection that the museum received belonged to Cohn-Goldbart, and was discovered by relatives that emptied her Los Angeles home after she died. They donated documents and items to the museum in large shopping bags, unsure of what exactly they possessed, but hoping that the museum would give them some answers.

The museum, which is located in a mainly residential area of Brooklyn, focuses on the Holocaust from the vantage point of Orthodox Jews — how they lived, how they maintained their religion and more. Many items in the Shanghai collection were donated by Orthodox Jews who preferred not to give the items to any other museum, Felsenburg said.

“They thought maybe it wouldn’t come across in other museums the same way. It’s more from a cultural perspective, but not from a spiritual one. So even though some of the items were ordinary items that other people might have too, it’s about what they meant to these people.”

The museum named this year’s exhibit “A Precious Gift” for a number of reasons, Reidel explained.

“On one hand, it talks about that it really was a gift from Hashem, the opportunity for several thousand — the number is about 20,000 — Jews to be rescued through Shanghai,” he said. “But part of what we show is each of these groups, whether it was German Jews or Lubavitch (Chabad) Jews, they were limited with what they could take along with them, and you can see this one taking a sefer (book of Hebrew religious literature) where he was writing his notes from yeshiva. ... When they get to Shanghai, they set up the yeshivas again, they’re printing sefarim (plural for sefer). They’re building a Jewish school for girls.”

Reidel continued: “The [exhibit] title refers to [a quote] that [Hashem] says, ‘I gave you my precious gift the Torah, do not forsake it.’ And that’s what you see. Wherever religious Jews travel, they take along with them the Torah, and ultimately that was crucial to rebuilding the Torah world that we have today.”

He also added: “You see the human resilience of a person to rebuild in general and also you see the spiritual resistance. ... We have all been impacted by the survivors of Shanghai, as well as the survivors in general, and we try to bring it back to both.”

Shanghai is best known among the Orthodox Jewish community for its connection to the Mir Yeshiva, which was founded in Lithuania and was the region’s only religious school that had most of its students (approximately 300) survive the Holocaust. Its students relocated to Shanghai, taught religious classes in the community, and remained there — until eventually moving to Jerusalem or Brooklyn, where they re-opened branches of their school.

Lebanese Director Arrested in Past Gets Historic Oscar Nod

BY SHIRYN SOLNY

A Lebanese director who was arrested for filming in Israel had his movie receive an Oscar nomination on Tuesday for best foreign language film.

Ziad Doueiri — director of Lebanon’s official Oscar submission “The Insult” — made history by earning his home country its first-ever Oscar nomination since it began submitting films in 1978. No Lebanese film prior to “The Insult” even advanced to the shortlist.

The film is about an altercation between a Lebanese Christian and a Palestinian refugee that leads to a heated trial, national attention and discus-



Ziad Doueiri. Photo: Facebook.

sions about the animosity between the Lebanese and Palestinians. Israel is brought into the mix and Doueiri explained about the film: “It’s a story of two people, one who is seeking justice and the other who doesn’t believe in it. The film is also about [how] you cannot have exclusivity on massacres. The Palestinians, in the last 20, 30, 40 years, they have kind of gained a monopoly on their suffering. ‘The Insult’ is a way of saying, ‘You can’t blame Israelis all the time.’”

Doueiri, who emigrated to the United States in 1983, was detained in Beirut in September after the film premiered at the Venice Film Festival and garnered one of its main stars a best actor award. The award-winning director had his passports confiscated and was required to appear in court the next day before a military judge.

The main reason for his arrest circled around “The Insult,” but his 2013 film “The Attack” was also used against him, Doueiri told *Deadline*. Lebanese citizens are banned from visiting the Jewish state and “The Attack” was partially shot in Israel. Doueiri said the the arrest was actually “based on ‘The Insult’.. The BDS wanted to shut down ‘The Insult’ because of the content, but they couldn’t do it legally,” though they did have reasons for “The Attack.” The issue was resolved immediately, Doueiri said, because “the judge was smart enough to say even though ‘The Attack’ violated the law by shooting in Israel years ago, the statute of limitations had run out.”

Doueiri told *Deadline* it felt gratifying having “The Insult” selected as Lebanon’s Oscar entry. He said, “When you are attacked in such a vicious manner and then arrested, it fragilizes you. No matter how optimistic you are or how much you want to tell the truth.” He added about the Oscar nomination, “[It] gives you some sort of redemption even though it’s not your fault. It gives you some comfort that you are protected from some place. Those that attack you will attack you more, but you become more immune.”

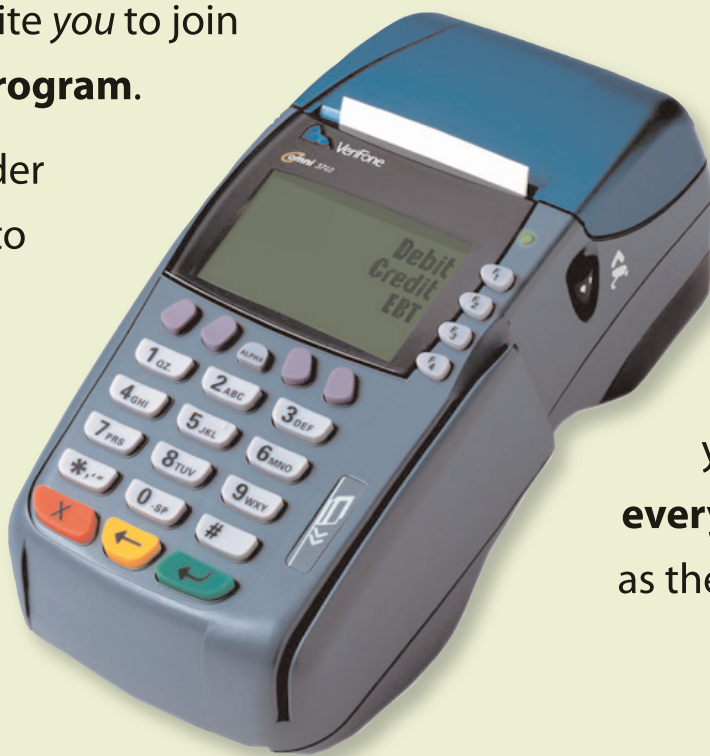
The Oscar bid comes not long after Lebanon made headlines for banning Steven Spielberg’s “The Post” over the filmmaker’s support for Israel. Lebanon’s Interior Ministry later overturned the move.

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