

Western Europe

Great Britain

National Affairs

ON MAY 3, 1989, MARGARET THATCHER celebrated the completion of ten years as prime minister. The anniversary brought no relief, however, from the problems, primarily economic, facing the country in general and the Conservative government in particular. In February the annual rate of inflation rose to 7.5 percent and in June to 8.3 percent, the highest in seven years. When, in August, the monthly trade deficit reached £2.06 billion, the second largest on record, there was no alternative for the government but to raise base lending rates to 15 percent, the highest in eight years. In October Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson resigned unexpectedly. Although he gave as his reason his long-running disagreement with Sir Alan Walters, the prime minister's economic adviser, it was clear that Lawson and the prime minister were also at odds over the question of British entry into the European Monetary System. A badly handled reshuffle of senior government posts in July had earlier added to Mrs. Thatcher's embarrassment.

The repercussions were felt in the political sphere. In the June elections for the European Parliament, Labor took 45 of the 78 British seats; and in December, 60 Tory MPs failed to vote for the prime minister in the first Tory leadership contest in 14 years. Mrs. Thatcher's opponent was Sir Anthony Meyer.

The principal beneficiaries of economic difficulties and Tory disarray were Neil Kinnock and the Labor party. The center parties virtually collapsed as Labor enjoyed a period of resurgence. Over the year as a whole, polls showed Labor leading the Tories by between 5 and 10 points and ending the year with a lead of 7 points. This was not only a negative reflection of the government's problems but a tribute to Labor's decision—finally approved in June—to drop such unpopular policies as unilateral disarmament, renationalization, and high taxation. Labor began to talk the more acceptable language of free markets, improved public services (including the National Health Service), and private property.

Relations with Israel

Throughout the year the government strove to convince Israeli leaders that Britain's policy was unchanged. Its aim, Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe told the *Jewish Chronicle* in January, was to secure the establishment within secure and recognized borders of the State of Israel in conditions of peace and security, while recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. These objectives, he said, could only be secured by negotiations in circumstances free from violence.

Although Britain seemed prepared to take a back seat in these negotiations—the United States and not Britain was the main third party in Arab-Israeli negotiations, Prime Minister Thatcher emphasized in January—it was anxious to play a constructive role in promoting peace talks under U.S. leadership. Both Thatcher and Minister of State at the Foreign Office William Waldegrave urged Israel to take advantage of the new opportunities opened up by the Palestine Liberation Organization's alleged preparedness to talk and recognition of Israel's right to exist. Thatcher repeated this call during London visits by Israeli foreign minister Moshe Arens in February and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in May, and again when she was in Morocco in March. Waldegrave, in Israel in February and March, emphasized that "the proliferation of weapons within the region and the inexorable demographic changes are powerful reasons why the problem will only become more intractable if the opportunity is missed."

Egyptian involvement in the peace process was explored when Thatcher met Egypt's foreign minister, Dr. Esmat Abdel-Meguid, in London in June, and when Waldegrave told Parliament in October that the government fully supported Egyptian efforts to seek clarification of Shamir's election proposals and to promote talks in Cairo between the Israeli government and Palestinians from inside and outside the occupied territories. In November Waldegrave had talks in Cairo with Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and other leaders about the stalled peace process.

"It remains our policy that a confederation or some kind of confederate state is the right outcome," Waldegrave told the House of Commons in January, and Thatcher repeated throughout the year that Britain did not support demands for an independent Palestinian state. Although no visit to Britain by PLO leader Yasir Arafat was seriously mooted, government officials on several occasions held talks with PLO representatives. The PLO had met the criteria for Britain to hold discussions with them, Waldegrave told Jewish communal leaders protesting his meeting with Arafat in Tunis in January, when he also provoked a strong Israeli reaction by seeming to equate the former terrorist activities of some Israeli leaders with those of the PLO. Waldegrave also met with Bassam Abu Sharif, Arafat's political adviser, in London in January, and angered the Israeli embassy in London by his apparent acceptance of Abu Sharif's denial of Arafat's threat to "give ten bullets in the chest" to anyone who tried to stop the *intifada*. Abu Sharif had talks at the Foreign Office in April and in July met with Foreign Minister Howe. The Foreign

Office explained that the purpose of this first meeting between a cabinet minister and a PLO official, condemned by Israel's London embassy, was to encourage the PLO to stick to its moderate policy. The meeting was just a "short call" and did not represent an upgrading of relations between Britain and the PLO. In October senior Foreign Office official David Gore-Booth met with Arafat in Tunis.

Britain made no secret of its views on Israeli policy. In March Tim Eggar, undersecretary of state at the Foreign Office, described Israel's continuing military presence in southern Lebanon as "provocative, destabilizing and against Israel's long-term interests." In May the Foreign Office condemned Israel's handling of rioting Gaza crowds when four Arabs were killed and over 140 injured. The human cost of the tactics pursued by Israeli armed forces was "intolerable," a Foreign Office statement said. In June Britain voted in favor of a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning Israeli policies in the occupied territories. In August the Foreign Office condemned the seizure by Israeli commandos of Sheikh Abdel Karim Obeid, key figure in Hezbollah terrorism in south Lebanon, but made it clear that it did not hold Israel responsible for Hezbollah's retaliatory killing of U.S. Lt. Col. William Higgins.

In May the British government rejected Israel's request to buy gas masks as protection against chemical warfare, as such equipment was on the list of items banned under the British arms embargo imposed on Israel because of the invasion of Lebanon.

The Labor party's new Middle East policy—published by its national executive in May and approved by the party conference in October—called for the Palestinians to be free from Israeli occupation but stressed that built-in guarantees for Israel's security were essential. It showed a "marked improvement" on earlier Labor party pronouncements, said Peter Gruneberger, director of Labor and Trade Union Friends of Israel. The new policy recognized the PLO as the "internationally recognized representative of the Palestine people," called for a peace conference involving Israel, the PLO, and Israel's Arab neighbors to be convened by the UN Security Council, and urged Israel to talk to the PLO on the basis of Arafat's assurances. Although the document said "Jerusalem must never again be obscenely divided," Labor's October conference passed a resolution calling for a Palestinian state and the internationalization of Jerusalem.

Labor continued to find fault with Israeli policy in the territories. In February Manchester city council's ruling Labor group vetoed an official visit to Israel by its lord mayor "at this time." In June over 80 Labor MPs signed a motion calling on the government to introduce limited sanctions against Israel "to prevent an escalation of brutality in the occupied territories and to encourage the Israeli government to enter meaningful negotiations." In July the Labor-controlled Nottingham city council canceled a reception in honor of Israeli ambassador Yoav Biran in protest of Israel's treatment of the Arabs on the West Bank.

The leadership of the Conservative Friends of Israel (CFI) was divided on Middle East policy. In January Michael Latham, CFI's parliamentary group vice-president

and chairman of the all-party British-Israel parliamentary group, said Israel would have to get used to the new reality of an internationally respectable PLO or become "totally isolated." But CFI director Michael Fidler wrote to the prime minister and foreign secretary urging them to avoid meeting Arafat, who "was and still is the leader of an international terrorist movement." Robert Rhodes James, CFI's new parliamentary group chairman, warmly welcomed British initiative in beginning a real dialogue with the PLO, after it had renounced terrorism and accepted Israel's right to independent existence. He was, he said, saddened by the Israeli government's negative response. In April he told a Zionist Federation (ZF) meeting that "the overwhelming majority of CFI strongly supports the growing number in Israel itself which favors the opening of negotiations with PLO." Both Latham and Rhodes James criticized Israel's kidnapping of Sheikh Obeid in August. "My concern as a British MP," said Latham, "is not just with Israel's prisoners but also with British hostages in Lebanon" whose position may have been made more difficult. With a membership of more than 200 MPs, including the prime minister and some cabinet ministers, CFI was one of the largest lobbying groups in the House of Commons.

A Conservative Friends of Palestine group was launched at a meeting addressed by the PLO's London representative, Faisal Oweida, at the party conference in Blackpool in October.

In June a new Social and Liberal Democrats Friends of Israel was formed.

Nazi War Criminals

The War Crimes Inquiry set up in February 1988 to investigate alleged Nazi war criminals living in Britain recommended in July that the law be changed to allow prosecution of people who were currently British citizens or living in the United Kingdom for war crimes committed in Germany or German-occupied territory during World War II. The 109-page Hetherington-Chalmer Report said sufficient evidence already existed against at least three individuals to warrant criminal prosecution. Of almost 300 names submitted to the inquiry, 75 needed further investigation and another 46 persons had to be traced. Because of the age and frailty of the witnesses, the report recommended use of live TV hook-ups to question those residing outside the United Kingdom. Commenting on the report, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd said, "We are impressed by the force of the argument that led the inquiry to its clear conclusion that legislation was required."

The Jewish community launched a major lobbying campaign prior to the introduction of a bill in the House of Commons to enable prosecution of war criminals. A war-crimes campaign rally was held in Manchester in October. The Union of Jewish Students (UJS) sent an information kit to every college in the country and lobbied more than 150 MPs at the House of Commons. The parliamentary All-Party War Crimes Group held a rally in London and organized a conference attended by Nazi hunters from Canada, Australia, and the United States, some 40 MPs, lawyers,

historians, and Holocaust survivors and chaired by Merlyn Rees, former Labor home secretary. Simon Wiesenthal and Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits appeared on national television to urge passage of the bill, and a public meeting held at Friends' House, London, heard Tory MP Rupert Allason warn that Britain would stand alone with Syria as a haven for Nazi war criminals if the law was not changed.

In December the bill obtained a convincing majority in the House of Commons (348 votes to 123); in the Upper House, however—despite a moving appeal by Chief Rabbi Jakobovits—a clear majority voted against the legislation. At the end of the year it was expected that a cabinet committee, headed by Prime Minister Thatcher, would meet to consider further action.

In July lawyers for alleged war criminal Antanas Gecas prevented Scottish Television from showing a documentary film, *Crimes of War*, on the grounds that it would be prejudicial to Parliament's consideration of the war-crimes report. The program alleged that Gecas, aged 71, who lived in Edinburgh, was involved in the mass slaughter of Jews in his native Lithuania in 1941.

In October a Ministry of Defense Inquiry concluded that Austrian president Kurt Waldheim was not responsible for the murder of British servicemen that occurred when he was a Nazi intelligence officer in Greece. It also rejected charges that Britain had covered up to protect Waldheim after 1945.

Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism

Fewer anti-Semitic incidents were reported in the first three months of 1989 than in the same period in 1988, according to the Board of Deputies of British Jews. In the London borough of Barnet, where an estimated 20 percent of the population was Jewish, 14 out of a total of 80 cases of racial attack and discrimination were directed explicitly against Jews, according to the local Community Relations Council's annual report. "Given the number of Jews in the area," said a Board of Deputies spokesman, "the number is not significant." No marked increase was reported in the number of racial incidents in the London borough of Hackney, where 20 Jews were victims of racial harassment in 1988 and where Scotland Yard launched a London-wide information campaign against racial harassment in January.

The Holocaust memorial in London's Hyde Park was desecrated on two consecutive weekends in August, coinciding with neo-Nazi demonstrations in North London.

A controversial meeting of Euro-Ring, an underground network of European neo-Nazis, took place in Birmingham in May, after a Board of Deputies request that neo-Nazis be denied entry to Britain was refused. By contrast, in May Camden Council canceled a scheduled concert at Camden Center, Central London, sponsored by extreme right-wing groups.

Organized anti-Israel activity took various forms this year, but was most evident on the campus. In May some 150 Muslims marched through Manchester in an anti-Israel protest. In February the deputy PLO representative in London, Karma

Nabulsi, called for a boycott of Israeli goods; in November organizations supporting the Palestinians launched a "Boycott Israeli goods and holidays" movement.

Though the annual National Union of Students (NUS) conference in Blackpool in March was described as one of the most hostile to Israel in recent memory, NUS's president banned a leaflet distributed by the General Union of Palestinian Students that accused Israel of seeking the genocide of the Palestinians in the 1982 Lebanon invasion. An NUS antiracism conference in November also condemned as anti-Semitism a ban on Jewish Society participation in a London School of Economics (LSE) antiracism event on the grounds that Zionism was racist. The LSE student union later passed a motion condemning both left- and right-wing anti-Semitism.

The Sunderland Polytechnic student union defeated a motion equating Zionism with racism but passed an amendment recommending a policy of mutual recognition of Palestinian and Israeli rights. A policy of mutual recognition was also adopted by Manchester University students after the defeat of a motion condemning Israel's response to the *intifada*, proposed by Students for Palestine.

The University of Manchester's Institute for Science and Technology (UMIST) was a center of conflict this year. In May Muslim fundamentalists disrupted Jewish students' Israel Independence Day celebrations. In October UMIST's student union barred the Islamic Cultural Society for a month, after the group distributed anti-Semitic literature at the Freshers' Fair. When the union tried to reduce tension between Muslim and Jewish students by issuing a code of conduct treating both groups as equals, the UMIST Jewish Society rejected the code, claiming that Jews were victims and should not be viewed in the same light as their aggressors. In December Islamic activists failed in an attempt to have the Israeli flag and Israeli produce banned from the campus, and an anti-Israel motion at the student union was defeated.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of Great Britain was estimated at 330,000.

The total number of synagogue marriages rose in 1988 for the first time in six years, according to the Board of Deputies Community Research Unit. At 1,104, it was 5.2 percent above the 1987 figure of 1,049. Within the total, the number of Progressive marriages declined (from 246 in 1987 to 228 in 1988), the largest drop occurring in the Liberal sector (from 62 to 46), while there were increases throughout the Orthodox community. Of the 702 marriages in the Central Orthodox group in 1988 (659 in 1987), 10 percent of the individuals involved had been married before.

The statistics suggested that two-thirds of young single Jews of marriageable age were not marrying in a synagogue, the research unit reported, a fact that raised concern for the community's future.

Burials and cremations under Jewish auspices fell to 4,420 in 1988 from 4,486 in 1987.

Birth statistics, based on *brit milah* (circumcision) data, showed a rise to 3,532 in 1987 from annual averages of 3,332 in 1982-86 and 3,299 in 1977-81.

British Jewry and Israel

Britain's Jewish community was "agonizingly split" over the *intifada*, the peace process, and talks with the PLO, said "shadow" foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman, whose meetings with PLO leaders, including Yasir Arafat, were condemned by some sectors of the community. Kaufman was talking to a meeting of the left-wing Zionist organization Mapam, also addressed by West Bank activist Faisal Hussein in London in March. In January the right-wing National Zionist Council passed a resolution condemning British policy vis-à-vis the PLO, while the Zionist Labor movement Poale Zion called on Israel to test the PLO's sincerity about participation in the peace process. In February British Friends of Peace Now organized the first public meeting in Britain between a Knesset member (Ran Cohen of the left-wing Citizens' Rights Movement) and PLO's London representative, Faisal Oweida.

Only 50 or so of the 130 British Jews invited to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's Solidarity with Israel conference in Jerusalem in March chose to attend. It was thought that some, at least, boycotted the conference to prevent Shamir from using it to claim Diaspora support for his policies. (The critics included philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin and MPs Greville Janner and Ivan Lawrence.) Shamir visited London in May and was greeted with a supportive reception by British Jewry at London's Guildhall, organized by various Zionist groups and the Joint Israel Appeal (JIA). During that visit there were also critical letters from Jews in the *Guardian* newspaper and a pro-Palestinian demonstration at Downing Street in which members of the Jewish Socialist Group took part.

Divided sympathies on the Board of Deputies came to a head in September, after June Jacobs, foreign affairs committee chairwoman, met PLO official Bassam Abu Sharif. In response to calls for Mrs. Jacobs's resignation, President Lionel Kopelowitz said that "while there is certainly room for differing points of view on points of detail, there must be basic agreement on fundamental issues." In November Mrs. Jacobs agreed not to confer with PLO members while she remained a committee head.

In November Lord Goodman, president of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, shared a platform with Hani al-Hassan, Yasir Arafat's chief political adviser, at a meeting that was organized by the independent Radical Society, chaired by Evelyn de Rothschild, and attended by William Waldegrave and Faisal Oweida. The Radical Society announced plans for a second meeting that would allow the Israel government's point of view to be aired.

Communal Activities

The Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) was attempting to meet the needs resulting from government cutbacks, such as providing care for Alzheimer's-disease patients discharged when large long-term mental hospitals, especially around London, were closed. In April JWB announced the purchase of a site in Hendon, North-West London, for a £400,000-center to provide services for people suffering from mental illness and for their families.

The combined family-center approach, already operating in Redbridge and Edgware, was extended to Hackney, where over 5,000 elderly Jews lived in difficult inner-city conditions. In January JWB, the Jewish Blind Society, Ravenswood Foundation, and Norwood Child Care formed the Hackney Jewish Family Service, with a staff of 26 social workers and specialists. In April Norwood and Ravenswood announced plans to build a center in Hendon to give respite to families in crisis, thus providing a new dimension to the services offered by children's agencies.

In December Norwood received official approval from the secretary of state for health to start the Norwood Jewish Adoption Society, the first of its kind in Britain, in April 1990. It would have legal authority to deal with all aspects of the adoption of Jewish children and to ensure that all Jewish children available for adoption remained within the community.

Soviet Jewry

Organizations working in behalf of Soviet Jewry responded differently to the radical changes taking place in Eastern Europe this year. For example, not all groups welcomed the February visit to Britain by the Shalom Jewish Theater group of Moscow, primarily because it was under the auspices of Vanessa Redgrave Productions and backed by the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee. Responding to critics of the visit, Neil Bradman, National Council for Soviet Jewry chairman, who attended the only official Jewish reception for the company, which was hosted by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, said: "It is important that those involved in the campaign attend such meetings so that they can fully appreciate the complexity of the situation."

When the Bolshoi Ballet visited Britain in the summer, cochairwoman Margaret Rigal of the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry (35s) thought it "appalling" that the Ben Gurion University Foundation should use a ballet performance as a fund-raising event. "We are still working for refuseniks who want to leave the Soviet Union," Rigal said. "While that continues, we deplore any semi-official acknowledgement of such companies as the Bolshoi Ballet which is closely associated with the Soviet regime." Opposing her view, Bradman noted that "when Soviet artists and organizations are performing in Israel, I can not see why Jewish organizations in the diaspora should not support the Bolshoi." The 35s demonstrated outside the London Coliseum at the controversial performance in July, which raised over £40,000.

Differences over policy emerged again in August when the chief rabbi's Rosh Hashanah message upset some Soviet Jewry activists by suggesting that there was too much concentration on demanding emigration rights for Soviet Jews and not enough on improving the religious and cultural life of those wanting to stay in the Soviet Union. In October John Fenner, incoming chairman of the National Council, said that a "complete refocusing" of the movement for Russian Jewry was needed to meet the dramatic political changes in the Soviet Union.

Conventional protest methods were still employed, however. Prior to President Mikhail Gorbachev's two-day official visit to Britain in April, the National Council lobbied William Waldegrave, Neil Kinnock, and Norman Willis, Trade Union Congress general secretary. Leading members of British WIZO petitioned Prime Minister Thatcher to press Gorbachev to allow all Jewish mothers, wives, and families to go to Israel. Members of the West London Synagogue and the Student and Academic Campaign for Soviet Jewry (SACJSJ) mounted a vigil outside the Soviet embassy following Gorbachev's arrival, while a daylong refusenik celebrity roll call took place at the entrance to Downing Street, where he had talks. The All-Party Parliamentary Committee for the Release of Soviet Jewry placed an advertisement in the *Times* criticizing the Soviet Union for its abuse of human rights. In their meetings, Thatcher told Gorbachev that, though Britain was pleased that the Soviet Union was granting permission to many refuseniks to leave the Soviet Union, further measures were needed to satisfy public opinion.

Neil Bradman was invited to be the first nongovernmental representative on the British government delegation to the June Human Rights conference in Paris, at which members of SACJSJ lobbied delegates. SACJSJ also committed itself to a two-year program to pressure Gorbachev on human rights, prior to the planned 1991 human-rights conference in Moscow.

Religion

The process of choosing a successor to Chief Rabbi Jakobovits when he reached the retirement age of 70 in February 1991 began in January 1989. The Chief Rabbinate conference, representing all sections of the community, established a 36-member committee to consider methods of selecting and appointing the chief rabbi, his duties and salary, the funding of his office, and the relationship of the Chief Rabbinate to its congregations. The committee comprised 15 United Synagogue (US) representatives, 5 from the Federation of Synagogues, 12 from the provinces, 1 from overseas, the chairman of Jews' College, and the president of the National Shechita Council, and was headed by US president Sidney Frosh. In April it appointed a 10-member subcommittee, whose first task was to concentrate on the terms, duties, and funding of the office. As the year drew to a close, Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks emerged as the favorite in the search for a new chief rabbi.

A statement by the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (ULPS) in December said that the chief rabbi had no authority to speak for its members. Rosita Rosenberg, ULPS director, said the statement was issued at a time when Lord

Jakobovits's successor was being chosen to make clear that "our relationship to the office of the Chief Rabbi is not dependent on the person who fills it."

The US membership numbered some 110,000 people—about half of London Jewry and one-third of all British Jews. Members complained in April when synagogue membership fees were increased—in some congregations to over £400. For financial reasons, the US closed its Israel office, which had been opened on a six-month experimental basis as a drop-in center for US members visiting Israel.

The average age of the officers of the traditional Orthodox, right-of-center Federation of Synagogues fell from 76 to 54 when its 80-year-old president, Morris Lederman, resigned after 36 years in office and after elections in March swept out the old guard. Accountant Arnold Cohen (aged 52) was elected president, unopposed. Cohen told the *Jewish Chronicle* that the new officers would be investigating possibilities of creating new congregations, but that there would definitely be no merger with the United Synagogue. Meanwhile, some London Federation synagogues in aging and declining communities reported falling membership: at Clapton, founded 70 years ago, membership had declined from 900 at its peak to less than 400; Leytonstone and Wanstead had a total membership of 100 families, compared with 250 in the 1960s. In March, members of Shepherds Bush and Fulham Synagogue voted to close their 76-year-old institution.

The two representative bodies of British Sephardim, the Sephardi Federation of Great Britain and the British Sephardi Council, agreed in April to work together for a year as the Confederation of British Sephardim before considering a final merger. The two bodies were formed in 1986 after a dispute with the World Sephardi Federation. The three London synagogues of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation—Bevis Marks, Lauderdale Road, and Wembley—had a combined membership of some 1,500.

The Campaign for the Protection of Shechita opposed the government's proposed new animal-slaughter legislation, describing the main change introduced—that animals had to be slaughtered in an upright pen instead of the present revolving one—as "halachically unacceptable." Dayan Yaacov Lichtenstein, head of the Federation Beth Din, and some rabbis of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations joined the protest, but the majority of British rabbinic authorities saw no objection to the new regulation. In July Chief Rabbi Jakobovits wrote to Agriculture Minister John MacGregor on behalf of all sectors of the Orthodox community expressing satisfaction that the proposals safeguarded the basic elements of kosher slaughter, but noting some anxiety about the wording of the regulations.

In September the United Synagogue formed its own slaughtering operation and withdrew from the projected London Shechita Authority (LSA), scheduled to replace the London Board for Shechita. The move followed a dispute between the US and the lay board of management formed to run the LSA and comprising representatives of the US, the Federation, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation, and the independent Western Synagogue. Its withdrawal, the US claimed, was based on the management committee's refusal to guarantee that it "would carry out all

the instructions of the rabbinical board concerning the performance and supervision of shechita." US officials denied Federation claims that the dispute was precipitated when the management committee rejected rabbinic orders to appoint Rabbi Osher Ehrentreu as the LSA's rabbinic coordinator.

In January a £1-million appeal was launched to furnish and decorate the new Liberal Jewish Synagogue in London's St. John's Wood, which would include a day-care center and nursery facilities. The synagogue and a block of flats were being built on the site of the old demolished synagogue building and were due to be completed in autumn 1990.

A new organization, Bamah (Forum), was formed in January by members of Progressive, Orthodox, Sephardi, and Masorti synagogues to promote inter-Jewish dialogue.

Education

In January the United Synagogue proposed an expenditure of £2.16 million on educational activities in 1989, from a total budget of £2.69 million. The US was disappointed by the results of a new arrangement made with the Joint Israel Appeal whereby one-third of all proceeds from the Kol Nidre appeal in US synagogues would go to education. The 1989 appeal raised less than hoped for: a total of £630,000. Of the 1988 total, £500,000 went to Israel, £123,000 to British education.

Plans to open Immanuel College, the new Jewish secondary school in Bushey, Hertfordshire, in September 1990, appeared to be in jeopardy when the Jewish Educational Development Trust (JEDT) had difficulty raising the necessary funds. The crisis was precipitated in August by the surprise resignation from various communal posts of businessman Stanley Kalms, chairman of JEDT and Jews' College, and driving force behind the new school. Kalms explained that he had been active in communal leadership long enough, but it was rumored that he was unhappy over the inadequate fund-raising support for the school. JEDT trustees planned to meet in the new year to decide the future of the school, named after Chief Rabbi Immanuel, Lord Jakobovits.

Shortages of teachers of Jewish studies and Hebrew caused the Institute of Jewish Education at Jews' College to start a recruitment drive in January. In July the US raised salaries of Jewish studies teachers at its Jewish Free School, which employed 16 teachers for its 1,400 pupils. In February the US council voted for a major restructuring of its part-time religion classes, described by critics as "sterile, archaic and fundamentally wasteful." Plans included absorbing smaller synagogue classes into area centers, phasing out examinations, and making the curriculum more practical than academic.

Chief Rabbi Jakobovits reported in July that Jews' College had completed the most successful year in its 132-year history, with a record student intake of around 100, including part-time students. By December 129 students were enrolled, and a new one-year course leading to a certificate in higher Jewish studies had been

started. This was in response to suggestions at a "Traditional Alternatives" conference sponsored by the college in May to examine Orthodoxy and the future of the Jewish people.

In June Leo Baeck College, the Progressive movement's rabbinical training institute, was certified by the Council for National Academic Awards to give degrees in Jewish studies.

A report sponsored by the Jerusalem-based International Center for the University Teaching of Jewish Civilization and released at the annual conference in Cambridge in July of the British Association for Jewish Studies contrasted lack of Jewish support for Jewish studies at British universities with Muslim encouragement of Arabic studies. The report came shortly after the failure of a plan to set up a £1.25-million foundation to support Jewish studies chairs, launched by the Center's British committee in December. Jewish studies had to rely increasingly on outside sponsorship, the report said, because of government higher education cuts. One result of the lack of funding was that young scholars had little prospect of permanent employment in Britain.

Despite the difficulties, a new lectureship in modern Jewish history was created in University College, London's Hebrew and Jewish studies department, and a two-year research fellowship in Yiddish was offered at Queen Mary College, London, where a degree course in Yiddish began in September. The college already had a center for East London studies.

At the instigation of Joint Israel Appeal chairman Trevor Chinn, the professional heads of six organizations formed a working group to review educational needs and advise how money from Israel allocated to Diaspora education could best be spent in Britain. Organizations represented were JEDT, the US board of religious education, the progressive Center for Jewish Education, the Zionist Federation's educational trust, and the British offices of the World Zionist Organization's Torah and Youth and Hechalutz departments.

In February it was announced that a major Holocaust resource center would be established at Yakar, the educational institute in Hendon, North London.

Community Relations

Chief Rabbi Jakobovits wrote to the *Times* in March condemning the publication of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*. Both Rushdie and the Ayatollah Khomeini, who called for the writer to be killed, had "abused freedom of speech," he wrote, suggesting that Britain should bar publication of "anything likely to inflame, through obscene defamation, the feelings or beliefs of any section of society, or liable to provoke public disorder and violence."

Publications

This year's H.H. Wingate Literary Awards for excellence in books of Jewish interest went to Anthony Read and David Fisher for *Kristallnacht* (nonfiction) and to Aharon Appelfeld for *For Every Sin* (fiction).

Books on general Jewish history published this year included *The Jewish Heritage* by Dan Cohn-Sherbok; *Heroes of Israel: Profiles of Jewish Courage* by Chaim Herzog; and *Jewish History: Essays in Honor of Chimen Abramsky*, edited by Ada Rapaport-Albert and Steven J. Zipperstein.

New works on Anglo-Jewish history included *The Royal Navy and Anglo-Jewry, 1740–1820* by Geoffrey L. Green; *The Club: The Jews of Modern Britain* by Stephen Brook; *The Jews of England: A Portrait of Anglo-Jewry Through Original Sources and Illustrations* by Jonathan Romain; *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880–1920* by Eugene C. Black; and *Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. 29, 1982–1986. Memories of London's East End were contained in *Born to Sing* by Alexander Hartog; *East Endings* by Harry Blacker; and *Echoes of the East End*, edited by Venetia Murray. Two anthologies of note were *Gown and Talith*, edited by William Frankel and Harvey Miller, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Cambridge University Jewish Society; and *A Jewish Childhood*, edited by Antony Kamm and A. Norman Jeffares.

Three books on Austrian Jewry were published this year: *Vienna and Its Jews: The Tragedy of Success, 1880s–1980s* by George E. Berkley; *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938* by Steven Beller; and *The Jews in the Age of Franz Joseph* by Robert S. Wistrich.

Among new works relating to the Holocaust were *Out of the Ashes: The Impact of American Jews on Post-Holocaust European Jewry* by Yehuda Bauer; *The Holocaust in History* by Michael Marrus; *The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe* by Samuel P. Oliner and Pearl M. Oliner; and personal reminiscences: *I Shall Live* by Henry Orenstein; *I Light a Candle* by Gena Turgel; *Berlin Days, 1946–1947* by George Clare; and *Alicia: Memoirs of a Survivor* by Alicia Appleman-Jurman. Martin Gilbert's *The Second World War* could also be mentioned in this category.

Newly published studies of anti-Semitism included *Traditions of Intolerance*, edited by Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn; *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society During the Second World War* by Tony Kushner; and *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria* by Peter Pulzer.

New biographical and autobiographical works were *Justice Not Vengeance* by Simon Wiesenthal; *When Time Ran Out* by Frederic Zeller; *An English Jew: The Life and Writings of Claude Montefiore*, selected, edited, and introduced by Edward Kessler; *Arlosoroff* by Shlomo Avineri; *Scenes from a Stepney Youth* by Charles Poulsen; *Golda Meir: The Romantic Years* by Ralph G. Martin; *The Two Zions: Reminiscences of Jerusalem and Ethiopia* by Edward Ullendorff; and *Battlefields*

and *Playgrounds*, an autobiographical novel set in Hungary during the Holocaust, by Janos Nyiri.

Books on Israel and the Middle East were *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922* by David Fromkin; *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement, 1925–1948* by Yaacov Shavit; *A History of Israel* by Rinna Samuel—one of many histories published to coincide with Israel's 40th anniversary; *A History of Israel's Military Elite* by Samuel M. Katz; *Suez 1956: The Crisis and Its Consequences*, edited by William Roger Louis and Roger Owen; *British Army and Jewish Insurgency in Palestine, 1945–1947* by David A. Charters; *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs* by David Pryce-Jones; and *The Invisible Bomb: The Nuclear Arms Race in the Middle East* by Frank Barnaby.

Works in various areas of Judaica were *Blue Horizons*, a collection of Lionel Blue's reflections; *Vocalised Talmudic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* by Shelomo Morag; *The Grammar of Modern Hebrew* by Lewis Glinert; and *Tradition and the Biological Revolution* by Daniel B. Sinclair.

Among new works of fiction were *Who Ever Heard of an Irish Jew? and Other Stories* by David Marcus; *White Snake* by Leon Whiteson; *Swann Song* and *Divide and Rule* by Elizabeth Russell Taylor; *All You Need* by Elaine Feinstein; *For Every Sin* by Aharon Appelfeld; *Lewis Percy* by Anita Brookner; *Out of the Ashes* by Maisie Mosco, the fourth volume in her *Almonds and Raisins* series; *Dictionary of the Khazars: A Lexicon Novel in 100,000 Words* by Milorad Pavic; and *Cosmetic Effects* by Clive Sinclair. A noteworthy new work of literary criticism was *Joyce and the Jews* by Ira B. Nadel.

Poetry of the year included *A Century of Yiddish Poetry*, selected, translated, and edited by Aaron Kramer; *White Coat, Purple Coat: Collected Poems, 1948–1988* by Dannie Abse; and *Ripples*, poems by the late Moshe Davis.

Books on Jewish subjects for younger readers were *Examining Religions: Judaism* by Arye Forta; *The Hasidic Story Book* by Harry M. Rabinowicz; and *The Young Reader's Encyclopaedia of Jewish History*, edited by Ilana Shamir and Shlomo Shavit.

New works on Jews in distant lands were *India's Bene Israel: A Comprehensive Inquiry and Source Book* by Shirley Berry Isenberg; and *Indian Jews and the Indian Freedom Struggle*, a treatise by Percy Gourgey. An overall picture was contained in *The Jewish Communities of the World: A Contemporary Guide*, edited by Antony Lerman.

Personalia

Sir Eric Sharp, chairman and chief executive of Cable and Wireless, was created a life peer. Knighthoods went to Jack Zunz, founder and formerly cochairman of Ove Arup, the structural engineering company; Trevor Chinn, for his work as vice-chairman of the Wishing Well Appeal for Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children, London; and Prof. Eric Ash, rector of the Imperial College of

Science, Technology and Medicine, London University.

In August the chief rabbi was awarded the Jerusalem Prize for his "exceptional contribution to Jewish education."

Among British Jews who died in 1989 were Beryl, Lady Stone, philanthropist and activist in Israeli and domestic educational causes, in London, in January, aged 80; Louis Jacob, atomic scientist, in Glasgow, in January, aged 84; Hilde Himmelweit, professor of social psychology at the London School of Economics, 1964–83, in March, aged 72; Meir Raphael Springer, leading figure in the World Aguda movement, in March, aged 79; Sholom Schnitzler, the Csaba Rav, an eminent talmudist, in March, aged 68; Joseph Frankel, professor of politics, Southampton University, in March, aged 75; Henry Myer, distinguished World War I soldier and leading communal figure, in April, aged 96; Jakub Kaletzky, concert pianist, in April; David Morris, pediatrician, in April, aged 73; Jacob Weinberg, rabbi of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation, in Edinburgh, in May, aged 89; Lydia Pasternak Slater, translator of her brother Boris Pasternak's poetry, in Oxford, in May, aged 87; Lydia Sherwood, actress, in May, aged 85; David Jones, Variety Club of Great Britain public relations officer, in May; Rudi Rome, society band leader, in May, aged 77; Maurice Lew, emeritus rabbi of the West End Great Synagogue, London, in June, aged 78, on board ship; Richard Ferdinand, Lord Kahn, distinguished Cambridge University economist, in Cambridge, in June, aged 83; Harry Ariel, Yiddish actor, in July, aged 74; Dora, Baroness Gaitskell, widow of Labor party leader Hugh Gaitskell, in July, aged 88; Boruch Moshe Cymerman, Aguda leader and educator, in July, aged 78; Lola Hahn-Warburg, who played a leading role in the rescue of Jewish children from Nazi Germany, in July, aged 78; Stanley Waldman, Master of the Supreme Court, in July, aged 65; Benny Caplan, former British featherweight boxing champion, in July, aged 77; Robert Barer, microbiologist, in July, aged 72; Julian Layton, stockbroker and champion of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany, in August, aged 84; Saul Reizin, *Jewish Chronicle* journalist, in September, aged 77; Michael Fidler, president of the Board of Deputies 1967–73, Conservative MP, and founder and director of the Conservative Friends of Israel, in September, aged 73; Walter Stanton, headmaster of the Hasmonean School, in October, aged 74; Isaac Shasta, president of the Conjoint Board of Elders of the Manchester Congregations of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, in October, aged 78; Isaac Nathan Fabricant, rabbi of the Brighton and Hove Hebrew Congregation for over 50 years, in October, aged 83; Rabbi Dr. Alex Spitzer, for many years director of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, in November, aged 92; Anne Frankel, journalist, in November, aged 43; Harry Livermore, Lord Mayor of Liverpool 1958–59, in December, aged 81; Myer Domnitz, Jewish educator, in December, aged 80; Samuel Pelten, Yiddishist, in December, aged 87.

France

THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW, 1988–1989, was an eventful one for France generally and for the Jews of France. From January 1988 to June 1989 there was a succession of elections—presidential, legislative, local, municipal, and European Parliament (not to mention a referendum on New Caledonia). The problems posed by the far Right, the Middle East, and the treatment of immigrants to France continued as focuses of national concern. An issue of special urgency for Jews, the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz, attracted national interest, as did the visit to Paris in May 1989 of PLO chief Yasir Arafat at the government's invitation. Last but not least, 1989 was the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, a celebration in which the Jewish community took its own part.

National Affairs

The period of “cohabitation” between a Socialist president and a prime minister belonging to the Right ended with the victory of Socialist François Mitterrand (54 percent in the second round against 46 percent for Gaullist Jacques Chirac) in the presidential election (April 24 and May 8, 1988), and that of the Socialists (275 out of 575 seats in the National Assembly) in the legislative election that followed (June 5 and 12). On May 10, 1988, a new government was formed, headed by Michel Rocard and composed mainly of Socialists. A noteworthy feature of the elections was the success of National Front (NF) leader Jean-Marie Le Pen in the first round of the presidential election (14.4 percent), the highest the far Right had ever obtained in such an election; on the other hand, with 6.76 percent, the Communist party had its lowest vote ever.

The National Front failed to translate its presidential success into seats in the National Assembly: the reintroduction of a majority uninominal constituency system allowed it, with a global percentage of 9.65 percent, only one representative. However, the NF could still be satisfied with its results in the local and municipal elections. In the latter, the fact that it succeeded in winning seats on many city councils, occasionally proving itself indispensable for building anti-Socialist majorities, showed the party's capacity to advance in large parts of the country among an increasingly diversified population of voters. By-elections in the course of 1989 confirmed that trend: in December 1989, the NF candidates won 61.3 percent in Dreux and 47.18 percent in Marseilles (second round of legislative by-elections) and 50.81 percent in Salon de Provence (second round of a local by-election).

As in previous years, the Right was ambivalent in its dealings with the National Front. Before the presidential election, Jacques Chirac, leader of the Rally for the

Republic (RPR), expressed his intention "to understand all the French without any exception" but stressed his "uncompromising rejection" of racism. At the same time, Charles Pasqua, the director of his campaign and a prominent member of his party, said in an interview that "in the main, the National Front had the same concerns, the same values" as the Right. The situation changed in September 1988 after Le Pen's "joke" (see below), when RPR decided to "condemn any electoral alliance with the NF, on both the local and national level," and in December 1989 after the by-elections, when several leaders of the Right called for a "republican front" against the far Right.

The Right and Anti-Semitism

Before the presidential election, Claude Labbé, an important member of Jacques Chirac's party, declared that "Le Pen is neither a racist nor a Nazi," and that the real problem "is Simone Veil. The more she talks, the more anti-Semitism she creates." (Veil, a former French minister of health and former president of the European Parliament, always rated in the polls as one of France's most popular politicians, was a frequent target of the far Right. A Jew and a survivor of the camps who spoke out frequently against racism and intolerance, she was depicted by far Rightists as a symbol of "Jewish" liberalism. After she introduced the law legalizing abortion, she was accused of causing a "Holocaust of French babies.")

Remarks made by Jean-Marie Le Pen and his supporters were prominently featured in the media. One year after he declared that the gas chambers were a subject of debate among historians and "a point of detail in the history of WWII," Le Pen caused a new scandal on September 2, 1988, when, playing on the name of the civil service minister, Michel Durafour, he called him "Durafour-crématoire" (*four* = oven; *four crématoire* = crematorium, specifically that employed by the Nazis). That so-called joke provoked intense reactions, even inside the NF, and several prominent party members (including the only member of the National Assembly elected in June) decided to quit. One of the former leaders of the NF, Dr. François Bachelot, declared then that "the new line of the NF was openly founded on racism and anti-Semitism." A civil suit was brought against Le Pen three days later, but the process was delayed because of Le Pen's immunity as a member of the European Parliament (his immunity was finally lifted by a vote of that body on December 11, 1989).

In August 1989, in an interview in the far-Right fundamentalist Catholic daily *Présent*, Le Pen denounced "those international bodies that are against the national spirit," among them "the Jewish international." Although this occurred in the middle of the summer vacation period—typically a time of public indifference to news—the new anti-Jewish attack evoked an uproar. Its effect was heightened when Claude Autant-Lara (an 88-year-old film producer, elected in June 1989 to the European Parliament on the NF list) declared in an interview published by the monthly *Globe* that Simone Veil "played on our heartstrings ["played the mando-

lin," in the French idiom] with that [the deportation of the Jews]," adding: "But she came back, did she not? And she is feeling very good. . . . So, when one talks to me about genocide, I say, in any case, they missed old mother Veil!" The fact that Autant-Lara was also prosecuted did not stop Le Pen. In December, in a TV debate, he asked Minister of Planning Lionel Stoléru, a Jew: "Is it true that you have dual citizenship?" (meaning French and Israeli), adding: "You are a French minister. We have the right to know who you are." The political effect of these utterances was not entirely clear. On the one hand, the NF was becoming more and more isolated on the political scene and suffered the loss of some of its most active personalities; on the other hand, its identity as a party became sharper and, as the results of by-elections showed, the scandal had limited effects on the voters.

The wide publicity given to the NF somewhat blurred other phenomena, such as the increasing number of vandalism acts against synagogues and graveyards. Already in June 1988, the yearly conclave of French rabbis expressed its concern over this problem. Such attacks occurred intermittently in 1989, the identity and motivation of the perpetrators being seldom determined. (In March two skinheads were arrested for the desecration of a Jewish graveyard in the small city of Eleu-dit-Leauwette, in northern France.)

Middle Eastern Policy

Although the *intifada* took up increasing space in media reports on the Middle East, Middle Eastern policy was actually dominated in 1988–89 by three issues: the French hostages and relations with Iran; the situation in Lebanon; and the Palestinian question. The release of the last three French hostages held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian factions, just before the second round of the presidential election, allowed a definite improvement in relations with Iran (e.g., renewal of diplomatic links in June 1988; visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas to Teheran in February 1989). Temporary setbacks were caused by Iranian calls to murder author Salman Rushdie and the Iranian demands to release Anis Naccache (a pro-Iranian Lebanese terrorist sentenced to life by a French court for the attempted murder, in Paris, of former Iranian prime minister Shapur Bakhtiar), on the basis of alleged promises made by Jacques Chirac prior to the release of the French hostages. As for Lebanon, France expressed its traditional involvement in that country by condemning Israel for its raids in southern Lebanon (for instance in May 1988), and by trying to intervene with humanitarian means when the interfactional wars were especially bitter, in the spring of 1989.

Relations with Israel

In 1988, according to the Israelis, relations with France showed a decided improvement. In July, Israeli ambassador Ovdia Soffer praised the "balanced and careful position" of France, which "created a climate of confidence between France

and Israel without damaging the good relations France maintains with the Arab countries." That climate was not harmed even after Foreign Affairs Minister Roland Dumas met with Yasir Arafat in Strasbourg in September, where the PLO leader had been invited by the European Parliament. Ambassador Soffer described the visit of Israeli president Chaim Herzog to Paris (October 17–21) as "the crowning of good French-Israeli relations."

Warm feelings began to cool, however, toward the end of the year. France did not recognize the Palestinian state declared in November 1988 in Algiers, but in December it granted the PLO representation in Paris the diplomatic status of a "general delegation." France also supported the idea of an international conference—opposed by the Israelis—a message that was conveyed by Roland Dumas on his visit to Israel in January 1989, along with doubts about the chances of the peace plan put forward by Israeli premier Yitzhak Shamir based on elections in the occupied territories. President Mitterrand urged Shamir—on his visit to Paris in February 1989—to "take into account the reality as it is today." One month later, Mitterrand announced his intention to receive Yasir Arafat in the French capital. With the notable exception of the Jewish community, this decision met, if not with general support, at least with a good deal of understanding. Former president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing only regretted the "official character" of the visit; Simone Veil, who would have liked "very precise promises" from Arafat, still felt that "the important thing is to make peace progress"; the Socialist chairman of the National Assembly, Laurent Fabius, said that "talking with somebody does not mean that you adopt his positions."

According to an opinion poll published on May 2, the first day of Arafat's visit in Paris, 51 percent of the French felt it was "quite normal" for Arafat to be invited officially, 31 percent were against the visit, and 18 percent had no opinion; 48 percent believed that the visit would have a positive effect on a future Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. While opponents of the visit stressed Arafat's failure to repudiate past terrorist actions and the fact that the PLO covenant calling for the destruction of Israel had not been amended, most commentators focused on analyzing the implications of Arafat's declaration on TV that the covenant was "*caduque*" (obsolete).

Immigration and Related Issues

Although the return of the Socialists to the government put an end to proposed new restrictive legislation on the acquisition of French citizenship, the question of immigration still polarized French attitudes. A dramatic and revealing episode took place in the last months of 1989 when the principal of a secondary school in Creil (an outlying suburb of Paris) decided to bar three Muslim teenage girls from school as long as they wore the "Islamic scarf," the *chador*, within the school confines. The problem occupied headlines for several weeks, stimulating debate on tolerance, the rise of fundamentalism, the meaning of secularity in public schools, the role of

schooling in the integration of second-generation immigrants, and so on. The picture was further complicated by revelations that in some schools a few Muslim girls would not attend classes in natural sciences, art, or physical education, because they were “against religion,” and that Jewish children refused to attend lessons on Saturdays.

These issues posed a challenge to the traditional secular French view that religion was a purely private matter that should not be expressed in school. Minister of Education Lionel Jospin tried to find a middle way, encouraging dialogue and reminding schools that they were to serve as a tool for integration, not for exclusion. The Council of State finally decided that wearing religious garb or symbols in school did not harm secularity but that disseminating religious propaganda or refusing to attend certain classes should be prohibited.

The issue clearly had ramifications for the Jewish community. The Representative Council of Jewish Organizations (CRIF) supported “discussion between families, children, and teachers” in a secular school, to ensure that “schools show tolerance and respect for the various faiths,” but reminded parents of the option of private religious schools for those who could not accept the rules of secular schools. Rabbi Alain Goldmann, Paris chief rabbi, declared that “those who refuse Moslem children the right to wear the *chador* or Jewish children the right to wear the *kippah* in school are intolerant,” adding: “Today, it is no more the religious who show intolerance, as is often said, but the secularists.”

Although the practical problem was partly solved by the end of the year, when the minister of education issued regulations in accord with the position of the Council of State, the public debate went on. It revealed a significant change in the general mood: after two decades in which “difference” was highly praised, priority was now given to integration through adherence to the common values of the French democratic and secular society. Although the Jewish community was often cited as an example of successful integration, Jewish leaders emphasized that integration had a price—the full acceptance of the common values of the national collectivity.

Nazi War Criminals

On May 24, 1989, Paul Touvier, the head of the Milice (the French fascist militia) in Lyons in 1943–44, was arrested in Nice, where he had been hiding in a monastery run by arch-conservative, dissident Catholics. Sentenced to death in absentia in 1945 and 1947, Touvier had enjoyed considerable protection in certain Catholic circles, enabling him to survive in hiding until the sentences expired in 1967. Pardoned in 1971 by President Georges Pompidou, Touvier was charged again in 1973 with “crimes against humanity,” for which there was no statute of limitations. The specific crimes were the murder of Victor Basch (aged 81, former president of the Human Rights League) and his wife (aged 82), on January 11, 1944, in a suburb of Lyons; the execution of seven Jewish hostages in the Lyons area on June 28, 1944,

as reprisals for the murder of Philippe Henriot, the Vichy minister of information; the arrest of the caretaker of a synagogue in Lyons and his wife (the couple was later sent to Auschwitz); and the arrest on April 24, 1944, in Montmélian (Savoie) of a group of 57 Spanish refugees and partisans, of whom only 9 came back from the camps.

Despite the arrest of Touvier, it remained difficult to bring to judgment persons involved in World War II crimes against humanity. On July 2, 1989, Jean Leguay, one of the heads of the Vichy police in the occupied zone between May 1942 and January 1944 (therefore involved in the mass arrest of Jews in July 1942), died before he could be brought to trial. He had been under indictment since 1979. In September, Serge Klarsfeld lodged a complaint of crimes against humanity against René Bousquet (aged 80 in 1989), secretary-general of the Vichy police from April 1942 to September 1943. According to Klarsfeld, the reopening of his file, which had been closed in 1949, was called for by the discovery of new evidence. This included instructions sent by Bousquet in the summer of 1942, adding new categories of Jews to be arrested from among those that had so far been spared: children under 18 and parents of very young children.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

There were no major changes in the estimated Jewish population of France, which remained, according to most sources, 550,000–600,000, mainly found in the urban areas of Paris and its suburbs (around 350,000), Marseilles and the south coast (60,000), Lyons (25,000), Strasbourg (15,000), Toulouse (12,000), Grenoble (7,000), and Bordeaux (5,000).

In June 1988, a synagogue was inaugurated on the island of Guadeloupe, French West Indies, for a community of around 3,000 souls, 95 percent of them Sephardim, which had started to develop in the mid-1970s. Composed mainly of merchants (one-third), civil servants, and members of the liberal professions, the community had its kosher meat sent by plane from Paris.

A celebration marking the departure of the 50,000th French immigrant to Israel was held at the beginning of 1989, organized by Radio Shalom, a Jewish radio station. According to figures published in *L'Arche* (January 1989), the average number of immigrants per year in the '80s was around 1,000. The average age of French immigrants to Israel in 1987 was 29; 40 percent were academics; 8 percent defined themselves as very observant, 33 percent as observant, 36 percent as nonobservant, and 23 percent as secular; 60 percent said they had no relationship with the organized Jewish community.

The main results of a large survey of French Jews were made public at the end of 1988. The study was carried out in the framework of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié

(FSJU, the United Jewish Philanthropic Fund), at the request of the French Coordination Committee for Jewish Education (an ad hoc body of communitywide representatives) and sponsored by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the commission for Jewish education of the Jewish Agency. Carried out under the supervision of a scientific committee of French and Israeli sociologists, the survey covered a sample of over a thousand Jewish family heads selected according to several criteria: Jewish name, self-identification as a "Jew" or an "Israelite," age over 16, living in one of the 17 districts chosen for the size of their Jewish population.

The survey produced a number of interesting findings about the French Jewish community. Whereas 85 percent of the sample declared that all or most of their friends were Jews, the link to institutional Judaism appeared to be rather weak. Only three organizations were spontaneously cited by more than 25 percent of the sample: the FSJU, the organization concerned with culture and social welfare; the United Jewish Appeal, which raises money for Israel; and the Consistory, the central religious body. Thirty-five percent indicated that they had no contact at all with the organized community; 13 percent very seldom (not more than once a year); 16 percent occasionally (2–3 times a year); 13 percent often (4–5 times a year); 22 percent very often (once a month or more). A rough typology showed four concentric circles: the nucleus of the "regulars" (22 percent); the wider circle of those (30 percent) having some contact with organized communal life; the circle of the "distant" (33 percent), who had no contact with institutions but still lived in a primarily Jewish social network; and the circle of "those who turned away" (15 percent), who were cut off from all Jewish contact.

As far as religious practice is concerned, 36 percent said they were not observant at all, while 14 percent declared that they observed all the *mitzvot*. Israel and the support of Israel seemed to be a crucial factor in identification: 75 percent had gone to Israel at least once; 90 percent believed that every Jew should feel solidarity with Israel; 23 percent labeled themselves "convinced Zionists" (though 41 percent of this group did not agree that every Jew should actually live in Israel), 46 percent, "Zionist sympathizers," and 30 percent, "not Zionists." Education appeared to be the main avenue of contact with the organized community: 64 percent of families with children of school age had had them enrolled at one time or another in some Jewish educational framework (school, Talmud Torah, youth movement, vacation center).

The survey confirmed the postwar psychological change that had occurred in French Jewry in the direction of greater positive identification: only 5 percent of the sample labeled themselves "Israelites" (a name once considered by assimilationists as less "offensive" than the negatively connoted "Jew"). The fact that 17 percent of the sample described themselves as neither Ashkenazi nor Sephardi was interpreted as a sign of the emergence of a new, distinctive French Jewry. The fairly high socioeconomic level of the community was also illustrated by the survey: 76 percent belonged to the upper class or upper middle class (merchants, manufacturers, executives, or professionals) and 45 percent had completed higher education.

Community Relations

In the political sphere, community leaders continued to warn against the progress of the National Front and to press for freedom for Soviet Jewry and Syrian Jewry. Through the Representative Council of Jewish Organizations (CRIF), the Jewish community expressed its concern about the NF after the first round of the presidential election. It issued statements warning against any compromise "with those who oppose the values" of democracy (April 26, 1988) and called on opinion makers in business, politics, and universities to fight the far Right (end of May 1988).

In the period under review, attention concentrated heavily on the developing relations between Europe and France and the PLO. Before Yasir Arafat's appearance at the European Parliament in September 1988—an act termed by CRIF president Théo Klein as "political stupidity" and "moral hypocrisy"—CRIF focused its campaign on the problem of terrorism. Telegrams were sent to the ministers of interior and justice warning of the possible presence of international terrorists among those accompanying Arafat, and the demonstration that took place in Strasbourg on the day of the visit (September 13) paid homage to all victims of terror. CRIF's position was that "as long as the PLO has not adopted a clear stand putting an end to the option of terrorism and opening itself toward recognizing the legitimacy of the State of Israel, all those European initiatives . . . can have only negative effects." The positions stated by the PLO in Algiers during the meeting of the Palestine National Council in November 1988 did not basically change the official position of French Jewry. Chief Rabbi Joseph Sitruk said that he "hoped that the Palestinian decision was not mere theater," adding that "only the Israelis can draw the political implications" of the PLO move.

The prospect of a visit by Arafat to Paris, announced at the end of March 1989, was almost unanimously denounced by most Jewish organizations. One of the few exceptions, the Cercle Bernard Lazare, a small but influential group of Jewish intellectuals close to the Israeli Mapam party, charged that official Jewish reactions "were seldom based on political analysis." In April CRIF held a number of special meetings; on April 3, it officially expressed its disapproval of the initiative. In a letter to the French president, Théo Klein asserted that "we would probably accept the significance of your decision if we were assured that before the meeting you would obtain recognition of the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in the land of Eretz-Israel (Palestine), the disavowal of the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, the end of violence, and the possibility of holding free elections in the territories that had been occupied until 1967 by Jordan and Egypt." In a parallel letter, Klein urged the Jewish community "to express ourselves in the quiet and dignified way befitting a free community."

Still, in April a second message was sent to Mitterrand, signed jointly by Théo Klein, David de Rothschild (FSJU), Roger Pinto (European Sephardi Federation), Joseph Sitruk (chief rabbi of France), Ady Steg (Alliance Israélite Universelle), Jean-Paul Elkann (Central Consistory), and Jacques Orfus (Federation of Zionist

Organizations in France), expressing their "indignation" and calling for a debate in Parliament so that "each citizen in this country knows the motives of your announced initiative and that political leaders . . . can express themselves and take their share of responsibility."

On May 1, one day before Arafat's coming, quiet demonstrations took place at sites that had been targets of terrorist attacks: Rue des Rosiers, Rue de Rennes, and the Point Show shopping gallery in Champs Elysées. A bigger demonstration was held on May 2 in Rue Copernic; the demonstration, which was supposed to be silent and dignified, got somewhat out of control, and Théo Klein had some difficulty in being heard. Demonstrations also took place in Strasbourg, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulouse.

Communal Affairs

The second (and statutory last) term of CRIF president Théo Klein came to an end in May 1989 under the difficult circumstance of Yasir Arafat's visit to Paris. A strong and original personality, Klein was depicted as follows by the magazine *Actualité Juive*: "Often controversial but always respected and even admired by his fiercest opponents, Théo Klein has given his function a scope it did not have before." Klein himself described the "responsibility of the president of CRIF" as "double, in the sense that he has the duty both to address the outside world in the name of the community, but also to talk to the community." "Being the president of CRIF," he added, "means being able to meet a challenge every day and, if possible, remaining at peace with one's conscience."

Four candidates vied for the votes of the CRIF General Assembly. Henri Hajdenberg, president of the *Renouveau Juif* (an association that had been loudly critical of the Jewish establishment at the end of the 1970s), wished "to give the necessary impulse to the new dynamic and influential generation," at a time when the main strength of CRIF lay in "the reputation of its president with the administration, the media and public opinion, Jewish and non-Jewish alike," in short, its ability to influence public opinion. Jean Kahn, vice-president of CRIF, president of the Jewish community of Strasbourg, and president of the Commission on European Institutions of the European Jewish Congress, presented himself as "the successor to President Klein," emphasizing his loyalties: "loyalty to Israel, loyalty to the Jewish mission of justice and defense of human rights, loyalty to French Jewry inside a reconstituted Europe." Edouard Knoll, the president of the Jewish National Fund in France, underlined "CRIF's limited success in its relations with the Jewish population" and called for a new pattern of broader representation of French Jewry. Hubert Dayan, president of the AMIF (Association of Jewish Physicians in France), did not present any explicit program.

The elected candidate was Jean Kahn, who won in the second round, 84-22, over his main challenger, Henri Hajdenberg. Kahn, aged 60, was a former lawyer who had taken over the family textile business and had been the president of the Strasbourg

community since 1972. At his first press conference, the newly elected president confirmed his intention to maintain CRIF's character as a "body for political representation" and not let it be transformed into "a militant structure." He warned against "irresponsible minorities," stressing the fact that the Jews "are a part of French society from which we do not want to exclude ourselves." One month later, the executive of CRIF appointed as vice-presidents Nicole Goldmann (vice-president of FSJU), Jacques Kupfer (president of French Herut and representative in CRIF of the Federation of Zionist Organizations), and Roger Pinto (president of Siona), while former vice-president Henry Bulawko was made honorary vice-president.

Toward the end of the year, elections took place in the Paris Consistory (Consistoire), the body concerned with Jewish religious affairs. The two lists that competed for the 14 seats to be filled (out of 26) represented, perhaps for the first time in the history of the venerable institution, two fairly different approaches to its functioning. The first list, led by lawyer Albert Benatar and supported by Consistory president Emile Touati, defined that body's purpose "inside the French national community" as "allowing as many Jews as possible to practice the *mitzvot*," and stressing the Consistory's role as "a religious association" that should not deal with "politics, social action or anything else." The second list, led by Benny Cohen, called for more activism, for "a living Consistory, a dynamic Consistory, a Consistory where it would not be difficult to find somebody willing to talk [in public]." Out of 29,800 electors, 3,268 (less than 11 percent) took part in the vote. Benny Cohen's list won all the seats to be filled, making its leader virtually the new president of the Paris Consistory.

ISRAEL

Parallel with its political activity on matters affecting Israel, the community found various means to demonstrate solidarity with the Jewish state. In addition to public celebrations for Israel's 40th anniversary, a CRIF delegation visited Israel (May 1-6, 1988) in what was, according to Klein, "a trip to the heart of the problem and not a simple solidarity visit." A mass meeting was organized in October 1988 for the visit of Israeli president Chaim Herzog to Paris, and a reception in February 1989 for the visit of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. In March the CRIF leadership decided, after a lengthy debate, to take part in the international "Solidarity Conference" of Diaspora Jews convened in Jerusalem for the purpose of expressing "support for the Israeli democracy in its search for security and for ways to peace with the Palestinians and the neighbouring Arab states."

INTERNAL DEBATES

A certain confusion could be felt in 1988, mostly among intellectuals outside the organized community, about Israel's handling of the *intifada* and the increasing

dominance of the religious parties in Israeli life. Divisive as these issues were, however, more serious rifts appeared in 1989, not over the Middle East but over the self-definition of the community itself, the vision of its future, and the nature of relations between its various components. A major survey published in January 1989 in *L'Express* depicted a Jewish community wavering between "total assimilation" and the "reassertion of its identity." The writer could well have added, "wavering between acceptance and rejection of Western modernity." The national debate aroused by the *chador* school controversy over the rights of religious-ethnic communities versus general secular norms also became an internal Jewish issue. When Chief Rabbi Sitruk declared that he "could understand that one might be bothered by a *chador* or a *kippah*" but that an order to remove them would be "harsh intolerance," writer Alain Finkielkraut replied angrily that "we ought to be living in a time when the Jews are the model for Islam [in France], a model of integration; instead, the extremist and fanatic Islam is for some Jews a model for their own tribalization." Philosopher Shmuel Trigano counterattacked: "If Alain Finkielkraut has lately declared himself a secularist and an atheist, if he feels that the structure of the Jewish community is archaic and tribal, he should not demand or expect anything from the rabbinate."

As illustrated by this exchange, the end of the decade of the '80s saw French Jewry at a crossroads between two approaches—that of traditional religious observance and that of the old French secular Judaism—and split between two poles of thought: universalism and exclusiveness, openness and particularism, each position viewing the consequences of modernity for Judaism in a different light. In a community large enough to harbor any number of approaches, but in which organized life was too limited for them not to meet in the communal framework, clashes were unavoidable. Moreover, each position tended to feel excluded by the others and to convey its frustration through the national press as well as through the Jewish media, thus involving French society at large in the "Jewish wars."

Jewish-Christian Relations

Although relations between the Jewish community and the French Catholic episcopate remained basically cordial—the French rabbinate, for example, joining Church protests against Martin Scorsese's movie *The Last Temptation of Christ*—one could sense a definite deterioration. In 1988 Jews were dismayed by the meeting of Pope John Paul II with Austrian president Kurt Waldheim during the pope's visit to Austria, especially by his silence on the subject of Jewish fate in the Holocaust at a stop at the Mauthausen concentration camp. On the pope's visit to Strasbourg in October 1988, he met with representatives of the local Jewish community: René Weil, president of the Consistory of the Bas Rhin; René Gutman, chief rabbi of the Bas Rhin; and Jean Kahn, president of the Strasbourg community. They attempted to raise questions on such issues as the uniqueness of the Shoah and the Vatican's recognition of the State of Israel, but failed to engage the pope in serious dialogue.

In 1989, despite the strong support of the French bishops for carrying out the agreement reached in Geneva in February 1987 by Catholic and Jewish representatives to move the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz, the controversy over the matter poisoned the atmosphere. In February, Théo Klein, chairman of the Jewish delegation to Geneva, issued an initial protest over the delay in fulfilling the terms of the agreement. The dispute became more heated in July, when it became clear that the agreement was not being respected, and in August, when Polish cardinal Jozef Glemp denounced an alleged Jewish anti-Polish campaign through the allegedly Jewish-controlled media. In the French media, which showed an enormous interest in the issue, the opinions expressed showed the difficulty non-Jews had in understanding the Jewish point of view. Several people, among them well-known intellectuals, said that the nuns "did no harm" in praying for all the victims of Nazism and wondered about the Jewish attitude of exclusiveness toward the Holocaust. On a TV program, Jean Kahn, the newly elected president of CRIF, declared that the Jews "do not want the Shoah to be Christianized." He was answered by a Catholic priest who maintained that "other nations can claim the same distress and the Jews seem to deny that." Hostility decreased in mid-September when the Vatican issued a statement calling for the agreements to be fulfilled. In an interview on French TV on September 10 (as quoted in *Jour J*), Elie Wiesel summarized in a rather pessimistic way the effect of the controversy in France: "If they [the nuns] stay, we shall have lost; if they go, we shall also have lost: imagine the Carmelites leaving Auschwitz in front of all the TVs in the world, expelled by the Jews."

Memorializing the Holocaust

The question of keeping alive the memory of the Shoah continued to be of concern. Efforts were made to increase the awareness of non-Jewish youth: CRIF and the World Jewish Congress sent secondary schoolchildren (140 in 1988, 150 in 1989) to the site of the concentration camp at Auschwitz for what was called a "study day and not a pilgrimage"; the France Plus organization sent a group of young second-generation North African immigrants for a similar excursion. Scholarly research was encouraged by the creation of private foundations, among them the Memory of Auschwitz Foundation and the Buchman Foundation. The latter, founded by a survivor of the Holocaust to perpetuate the memory of his wife and daughter who perished in the camps, awarded its 1988 prize to the historian Joseph Billig, author of numerous works on the Holocaust and on the persecution of the Jews in France under the Vichy regime; its 1989 prize went to young historian Anne Grynberg, for her doctoral thesis on "Jewish Internees in Camps in Southern France, 1939-42," and to the American scholar William G. Glicksman, for the totality of his works. On the 50th anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, a converted train coach was inaugurated as a museum in Drancy, the city near Paris from which 80,000 Jews were deported.

Several symposiums devoted to the Holocaust were held in this period. Some

followed a conventional approach, such as one sponsored by B'nai Brith in Marseilles (May '88): "How Can We Transmit the Memory of the Shoah?"; and one arranged by the Jewish students union (Union des Etudiants Juifs de France, UEJF; March '89): "From the Generation of Memory to the Generation of Recollection." A more controversial program was that organized by Shmuel Trigano on behalf of the Alliance (November '88): "Thinking Auschwitz," which aimed at "opening a new age of reflection on the Shoah in a perspective both philosophical and theological" and at "questioning Auschwitz as a means of identification for the Jews." The fact that the organizers questioned what they felt was the "institutionalization" of the Shoah (libraries, university chairs, etc.) was sharply denounced by some survivors; one of them, Henry Bulawko, termed it "blasphemous and dishonest."

Culture

Jour J, a new daily newspaper based mainly on news-agency dispatches, was launched on March 21, 1988, with the purpose of filling the gap created 15 months earlier by the discontinuation of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency's daily bulletin in French. A one-man enterprise initiated by a Jewish journalist who invested his own capital, *Jour J* received only limited financial support from the community (FSJU provided free access to its technical services and invested some funds). Although the need for such a publication was widely acknowledged, there were questions about its financial viability. It probably suffered, too, from the success of the Jewish broadcast media; a May 1988 survey found that in the Paris area, Jewish radio programs were listened to daily, on average, by some 19,000 people. In the national Jewish survey cited above, 60 percent of the sample said they listened to Jewish radio: 30 percent regularly, 30 percent occasionally. According to David Saada, director of FSJU, Jewish radio was "very clearly the first medium in the community."

On the other hand, a more specifically targeted newspaper, the monthly *Actualité Juive*, clearly aimed at the "masses" and distributed in places frequented by observant Jews (e.g., kosher butchers), was able, with 2,700 subscribers and a total run of 20,000 copies, to increase its frequency to twice a month (end of October 1988). The purpose of *Motus*, a new "bimonthly of Jewish expression," launched at the end of 1989, was slightly different: it meant to feature Jewish cultural life, to show that "the community was not closed in on itself" and "had views on the political and cultural phenomena affecting society." At the end of March 1989, the Consistory started its own new publication, *La lettre du Grand Rabbin de France*, intended for community administrators and rabbis.

Cultural life, which remained active, featured an impressive number of symposiums, some of them organized by Jewish institutions together with non-Jewish bodies. One such was on "the symbiosis of the French and Jewish cultures" (January '88), which took place in the City Hall of Paris and was sponsored by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe. Others were more directly linked to current

issues, like the one organized in October '88 by the Jewish students union (UEJF), France Plus (a non-Jewish organization active in the integration of immigrants, mostly North Africans), and the monthly *Passages*, on "What Kind of Dialogue Between Arabs and Jews in Tomorrow's France?"

The Jewish community played its own part in the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution. The first event took place at the Rachi Center (a major academic-cultural facility in Paris) in November '88, with a symposium on "Revolution, Political Power and Human Rights." In June '89 the yearly meeting of the Alliance Israélite Universelle was devoted to "The AIU and the 1789 Heritage." In October the Alliance opened a big exhibition on "Jews and Citizens," composed of documents from various museums and libraries in France and abroad. A film made by two academics, Lilly Scheer and Pierre Sorlin, *The Jews in France and the Revolution*, was shown on several different occasions.

The 1988 colloquium of French-speaking Jewish intellectuals was devoted to "The Question of the State." The 1989 colloquium on the "*Quant-à-soi*" (reserved behavior; keeping one's distance) examined the relationship between the individual and the community and between the community and the larger collectivity (nation, state). It was a subject that aroused strong feeling, and some of the sessions took place in an unusually agitated atmosphere.

The new building for the library of the Alliance Israélite Universelle was inaugurated in September 1989. Financed by the city of Paris and private donors, the new building permitted better access to the documents and more comfortable conditions for people using the library, the largest Judaica and Hebraica library in Europe (100,000 books, 20,000 periodicals, 4,000 fragments from the Cairo Genizah, and 900 manuscripts, 450 of them in Hebrew).

Publications

Works of nonfiction published in 1988–89 tended to focus on two main themes: World War II and the Holocaust, and the French Revolution and problems of emancipation. Representative of the first category were the following: Gilles and Jean-Robert Ragache's book *La vie quotidienne des écrivains et des artistes sous l'Occupation* ("The daily life of writers and artists during the occupation"); Claude Bochurberg and Jacqueline Baldran's work on *Brasillach et la célébration du mépris* ("Brasillach and the celebration of contempt"), on the anti-Semitic, collaborationist journalist and writer who was sentenced to death and executed in 1945 and who was revived as a kind of romantic figure in the '70s and early '80s; Carole Sandrel's memoir *Le Secret* ("The secret"), the story of a Jewish child who spent the war in hiding; the *Chronique du procès Barbie; pour servir la mémoire* ("Chronicle of the Barbie trial; for the sake of memory"), a collection of the main texts, documents, and evidence produced at the trial, with prefaces by Cardinal Albert Decourtray and Marek Halter; *La mémoire vaine* ("Vain memory"), a short essay by Alain Finkielkraut in which the author questions the excessive media coverage of the trial and

devotes an important chapter to defining the concept of crimes against humanity; Stéphane Courtois, Denis Peschansky, and Adam Raisky's research on Jews and foreigners in the French Resistance, *Le sang de l'étranger* ("The blood of the foreigner"), the first book on the subject totally based on archival documentary sources; *La politique nazie d'extermination* ("The Nazi policy of extermination"), proceedings of a symposium held at the Sorbonne in December 1987, edited by François Bédarida, with contributions by Saul Friedländer, Yehuda Bauer, Christopher Browning, Eberhard Jäckel, Michael R. Marrus, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Léon Poliakov, and Georges Wellers. To these publications, originally written in French, one should add the long-awaited translation into French of Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews*.

The anniversary of the revolution inspired a number of publications, among them a reissue of Abbé Grégoire's famous 1787 *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des juifs* ("Essay on the physical, moral, and political regeneration of the Jews"); the narrative history of Patrick Girard on *La révolution française et les Juifs* ("The French Revolution and the Jews"); Robert Badinter's *Libres et égaux* ("Free and equal"), on the emancipation; the translation from Hebrew of Michael Graetz's *Les Juifs en France au 19ème siècle, de la Révolution française à l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* ("The Jews in France in the 19th century, from the French Revolution to the AIU"), based on vast research in documentary sources. There were also two new books on the 19th-century Jewish politician Adolphe Crémieux, minister of justice in 1848 and in 1870, best known for the decree granting French citizenship to Algerian Jews: a biography by Daniel Amson, *Adolphe Crémieux, l'oublié de la gloire* ("Adolphe Crémieux, forgotten by glory"), which was awarded the Bernard Lecache antiracist prize of LICRA (the League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism); and Carol Iancu's *Bleichröder et Crémieux, le combat pour l'émancipation des Juifs de Roumanie* ("Bleichröder and Crémieux, the fight for the emancipation of Romanian Jews").

On the subjects of anti-Semitism, the extreme Right, and racism, new books worthy of note were: *L'antisémitisme* by Yves Chevalier, based on a doctoral dissertation in sociology, an attempt to formulate a global theory of anti-Semitism, relating it to the scapegoat mechanism; *L'extrême droite en France, de Maurras à Le Pen* ("The far Right in France, from Maurras to Le Pen") by Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia; *Les langues du Paradis* ("The languages of paradise") by Maurice Olender, a study of the concepts of "Aryan" and "Semite" in the newly born social sciences in the 19th century; *Moscou, troisième Rome* ("Moscow, third Rome") by Léon Poliakov, on the Russian mystical idea of Russia as the new center for Christianity after the fall of Rome and Byzantium.

New works of history and sociology included Doris Bensimon and Joëlle Alouche-Benayoun's *Juifs d'Algérie, hier et aujourd'hui* ("Jews of Algeria, yesterday and today"), based on oral histories of Jews in France, collected as part of a study of acculturation processes; Doris Bensimon's *Les Juifs en France et leurs relations avec Israël (1945-1988)* ("The Jews of France and their relations with Israel"), a

sociodemographic study of the Jewish community, giving an account of Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Muslim relations; Moïse Abinum's *Les lumières de Sarajevo, histoire d'une famille juive d'Europe Centrale* ("The lights of Sarajevo, a history of a Jewish family in Central Europe"), on the descendants of Avram Abinum, first rabbi of the Travnik community in the 17th century; and Renée David's *Femmes juives* ("Jewish women"), a collection of biographies of Golda Meir, Simone Veil, Rosa Luxembourg, and others. In *Vidal et les siens* ("Vidal and his family"), sociologist Edgar Morin presents an objective, scholarly account of the wanderings of his father and others of his family from Saloniki to France at the beginning of the century, at the same time managing to provide a rich portrait of the Judeo-Spanish communities in Greece and France. A photo album on *The Jews of Tunisia* contained texts written by 14 authors.

On Middle East issues, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber published an essay, *Le choix des Juifs* ("The choice of the Jews"), in which he concludes, based on a long stay in Israel, that the future of the country lies in the high-tech development of the Negev. Théo Klein, the president of CRIF, was coauthor, with Hamadi Essid, the representative of the Arab League in Paris, of a book giving their parallel views on the Middle East, *Deux vérités en face* ("Two truths in confrontation"). Problems in Jewish-Christian relations were the impetus for Raphaël Draï's polemical *Lettre ouverte au cardinal Lustiger sur l'autre révisionnisme* ("Open letter to Cardinal Lustiger on the other historical revisionism"), describing the deteriorating climate between Jews and Christians and the feeling among certain Jews that the Church did not really accept the legitimacy of Judaism.

Personalia

Among Jews honored in 1988–89, the following were made knights in the Legion of Honor: Marie-Claire Mendès-France, the widow of former prime minister Pierre Mendès-France, and president of the Mendès-France International Center for Peace in the Middle East; author Marek Halter; historian of anti-Semitism Léon Poliakov; and Stella Rozan, president of the International Council of Jewish Women. Colette Kessler, vice-president of the Jewish-Christian Friendship Association and an active member of the French Jewish Liberal (Reform) movement, was made a knight in the National Order of Merit. Former chief rabbi René Samuel Sirat; Louis Cohn, retired director of the teaching service of FSJU; and Edgard Guedj, retired deputy director of FSJU, received the Vermeil Medal of the city of Paris.

Among prominent Jews who died in 1988 were Isaac Pougatch, aged 91, one of the most engaging figures in the Jewish community and a pillar of Jewish education in postwar France; Ita-Rosa Hallaunbrenner, aged 88, one of the main witnesses in the Barbie trial, three of whose five children were caught in Izieu (April 6, 1944) and gassed in Auschwitz, as was her husband, Jacob, who was arrested by the Lyons Gestapo; Paul Lazarus, aged 78, president of the Jewish community of Metz; Chaim Sloves, aged 83, born in Bialystock, one of the great names of 20th-century Yiddish

literature; Fortunée Benguigui, aged 84, another witness at the Barbie trial, who lost three children in Izieu and who died at the very moment it was announced that she had been awarded the Legion of Honor.

In 1988 the Jewish community mourned one of its most prominent intellectuals, a man whose influence continued for decades, even after he had moved to Israel. André Néher, born October 22, 1914, in Obernai (Alsace), died on October 23, 1988, in Jerusalem, where he had lived since 1969. A graduate of the rabbinical school in Montreux, Switzerland, Néher studied German literature and wrote his doctoral dissertation (1947) on the prophet Amos; he founded the chair of Jewish studies at the University of Strasbourg. Among his 23 published works, which were translated into many languages, were *L'essence du prophétisme* ("The essence of prophecy," 1955); *Moïse et la vocation juive* ("Moses and the Jewish vocation," 1956); *Le puits de l'exil; la théologie dialectique du Maharal de Prague* ("The well of exile: the dialectic theology of the Maharal of Prague," 1966); *L'exil de la parole: du silence dans la Bible au silence d'Auschwitz* ("The exile of the word; from the silence of the Bible to the silence of Auschwitz," 1970); and *Faust et le Maharal of Prague* (1987). A member of the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Néher was president of the French section of the World Jewish Congress from 1965 to 1969.

Several leading Jews died in 1989. Sam Hoffenberg, aged 76, a member of the executive of CRIF, secretary-general of the Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr, president of Brith Ivrit Olamith and French B'nai Brith, represented the International Council of B'nai Brith in UNESCO for 18 years; a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto, he had been able to complete, a few weeks before he died and with the help of historian Patrick Girard, a book on the last Jews in Warsaw, *Le camp de Poniatowa*. The painter Benn (Bension Rabinovitch), aged 83, was born in Bialystock and lived in Paris since 1930; his works, inspired by the Bible, had been displayed in exhibitions all over the world; in 1988, Benn was awarded the Honor Prize of the Academy of Sciences, Literature and Arts of the city of Lyons, and a museum devoted to his work was opened in Pont-Saint-Espirit. Bernhard Blumenkranz, aged 76, was a distinguished historian, author of *History of the Jews in France* (1972), president of the French Commission on Jewish Archives, and vice-president of the Cercle Bernard Lazare.

NELLY HANSSON

The Netherlands

National Affairs

THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF Christian Democrats (CDA) and Liberals (VVD), headed by Rudolf Lubbers (CDA), which had been expected to remain in office until the quadrennial parliamentary elections of 1990, was prematurely dissolved on May 2, 1989. The immediate cause was a dispute over the income-tax deduction for travel between home and place of work. However, deeper causes contributed to the breakup, such as the VVD's sense that it was dominated by the CDA (it held six posts against the CDA's ten) and disunity within the VVD over various issues, including the party's future course, whether more to the right or more to the left, or keeping to a middle course.

New parliamentary elections for the 150-member Second Chamber of Parliament were held as soon as possible after the summer holiday, on September 6, and after a brief election campaign in which the CDA and Labor (PvdA) emerged as the two main contenders. Although public-opinion polls had predicted a close race, the CDA retained all its 54 seats, whereas the PvdA lost 3, dropping from 52 to 49. The VVD dropped from 27 to 22, as had been expected, since many VVD supporters blamed the party for causing an unnecessary cabinet crisis. Of the other parties, the center-left D'66 got 12 seats, or 3 more than it had held previously. The Green Left—a combination of three extreme-left small parties, the PPR, the PSP, and the Communists—retained its 6 seats, and other parties got 1 or 2 seats, including the extreme right Centrum party, which won a seat again.

A new coalition was formed with the PvdA, and on November 7 a new cabinet was sworn in, with Lubbers as premier and minister of general affairs, Wim Kok (PvdA) as vice-premier and minister of finance, and Hans van den Broek (CDA) again, for the third time, as foreign minister. Though Kok had promised to appoint at least four women cabinet ministers, there were in fact only two. Of the fourteen cabinet ministers, two had a Jewish father (but not a Jewish mother), viz., Prof. Ernst Hirsch Ballin (Justice) and Hedy D'Ancona (Welfare and Culture). The new under secretary for education, Jacques Wallage, had two Jewish parents.

In the elections for the 25 members of the Dutch delegation to the European Parliament—which aroused little interest—the Socialists and the Green Left both made slight gains.

President George Bush of the United States and Mrs. Barbara Bush spent 25 hours in the Netherlands on July 17–18, in the first official visit of a U.S. president to the Netherlands. His visit, which followed a ten-day trip to Poland, Hungary, and France, was limited to the cities of The Hague—where he was received by Premier

Lubbers and Foreign Minister Van den Broek—and the nearby town of Leyden. It was from Leyden that the Pilgrim Fathers, from one of whom Bush is said to descend, departed for the Western Hemisphere in 1620, after a nine-year stay in the Netherlands. The visit was meant to stress the good relations between the United States and the Netherlands.

The economy prospered in 1989. Exports increased. Inflation increased by only 1.5 percent, and the national income rose by 3 percent. Some 100,000 new jobs were created. Still, unemployment remained at around 400,000, and was particularly high among the so-called *allochthones*, immigrants mainly from Turkey, Morocco, and Surinam, who now numbered about 750,000. The integration of these *allochthones*—in particular the children and youths among them, who numbered some 70 percent of the total—cost the government \$500 million annually and resulted in many problems. Of the *allochthones* born in the Netherlands, about 80 percent left elementary school prematurely; there were, as well, immigrant youths who arrived in the Netherlands past elementary school age. In order to enhance employment opportunities, some municipalities gave preferential treatment to *allochtones* in positions for which their skills were adequate.

The first Muslim elementary schools opened this year in Holland, one in Rotterdam and one in Eindhoven, where Muslim children, in addition to the regular curriculum, were taught the Koran. A new mosque, with room for 850 worshippers, was opened in Eindhoven. The largest in the Netherlands, the mosque was mainly for Turks, who had collected the necessary money among themselves and their compatriots in nearby Belgium and West Germany.

Holocaust-Related Issues

The emotion-laden matter of the possible release of the last two war criminals remaining in prison in Holland, both Germans—Ferdinand H. Aus der Fünten and Franz Fischer—came to an end on January 27, when the two were freed but immediately taken to the West German frontier and expelled. Known as the “Two of Breda,” they had been held in a prison in that town for over 40 years. Minister of Justice Frits Korthals Altes took the initiative in a letter to the Second Chamber of Parliament dated January 24, in which he stated that the continued imprisonment of these two men, then aged 79 and 87, respectively, was senseless and inhuman. He had support for his position, he indicated, from 19 prominent Dutchmen, many of them lawyers, who had sent him a private letter expressing this view. In order to avoid arousing public passions, a parliamentary debate was hastily scheduled for Thursday night, January 26, if necessary to be continued on Friday morning the 27th. In the debate, nearly all parties were divided among themselves, usually with two spokesmen, one in favor of the release and one against. Eventually it was decided, by a vote of 85 to 55, to release and expel the prisoners. A few hours later, the two men were taken to the West German border and there handed over to West German police. Both, in fact, died

not long afterward, Aus der Fünten on April 7 and Franz Fischer on September 21.

Their deaths brought to an end an issue that had occupied the Dutch public for over 40 years. During 1942–1944, both men had occupied key positions in the deportation of tens of thousands of Jews, Aus der Fünten in Amsterdam and Fischer in The Hague. The original Four of Breda—as they then were, with the addition of Willy Lages and Joseph Kotälla—had been sentenced to death by postwar special tribunals. In 1951, with the courts unable to reach a decision on their requests for mercy, it was decided that it would be more humane to change the sentences to life imprisonment. All other war criminals jailed in the Netherlands, both Dutch and German, except the 40 who had been sentenced to death in the first postwar years and been executed, had long been released, the very last around 1960. But attempts to release these four always met with fierce opposition, from both Jewish and wartime resistance circles, to whom the four men had come to symbolize the very essence of Nazi evil.

In 1966, however, Willy Lages, who was said to be mortally ill, was released by then Minister of Justice Ivo Samkalden—who was, incidentally, of Jewish origin—and allowed to spend his last months or years in his native village in West Germany. In 1972, then Minister of Justice—later Premier—Andries van Agt wanted to free the remaining three, but backed down in the face of opposition in Parliament and the public. In 1979 Joseph Kotälla, who had been partly paralyzed for a long time, died in prison. In 1987 the remaining two wrote a letter in which they expressed regret for what they had done, without asking for mercy.

Among the aforementioned 19 persons who wrote to the justice minister, some had been prominent in resistance organizations; two were eminent lawyers of Jewish origin. In the broader public, some who had been strongly against the release in 1972 now supported it, such as (non-Jewish) psychiatrist Johan Bastiaans, who argued that healing the wounds of the past was now more important than the fear of adding to survivor trauma. All Jewish organizations continued their opposition to the release, based on Jewish sensitivities. The reason why the release came when it did was probably because the 19 letter-signers, or at least their nucleus, had announced that they would make the letter public—which would again have led to public turmoil.

As it happened, on January 23, representatives of the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW) and of organizations dealing with non-Jewish war victims were invited to see the minister of welfare, Elco Brinkman, who informed them that the government intended to release the Two of Breda. He further indicated that the government would reimburse these organizations for additional expenditures arising from increased applications for help by war victims emotionally affected by the release. (Subsequently, the Ministry of Welfare and Culture made a special grant of some \$750,000 annually for three years for expanded counseling services.) On January 24, the minister of justice, in the presence of the premier and at his request, received representatives of the Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Liberal Jewish communi-

ties, as well as of the Netherlands Zionist Organization and the Center for Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI), to inform them of the cabinet decision. The Jewish representatives protested, but to no avail. For at least a fortnight after the release, public debate on the matter continued in the press, on radio, and TV, with emphasis on the suffering the release caused to victims of Nazism.

There were developments in the cases of two Dutch war criminals, Jan Olij and Abraham Kipp, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment *in absentia* in the postwar years, primarily for handing over numerous Jews to the Germans. Olij was discovered to be living in Argentina, but that country, after lengthy diplomatic negotiation, refused to extradite Olij, on the grounds that he was now an Argentinian national and that the crimes he was convicted of did not exist in Argentina's statute books. Kipp was found to have died several years earlier in Switzerland.

Relations with Israel

The Netherlands continued to deny diplomatic status to the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in The Hague, who was the director of the PLO Information Office there. But the new incumbent in this position, Afif Safieh, a Christian Arab born in East Jerusalem, used every opportunity to enhance the importance of his position and of the PLO in the country.

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek had been invited by the PLO in November 1988 to visit PLO headquarters in Tunisia. After the statement by PLO head Yasir Arafat in Geneva in December of that year, recognizing the State of Israel's existence and renouncing terrorism, Van den Broek thought the time had come for a cautious approach to the PLO. Rather than going himself, however, he sent a three-member delegation to Tunisia, on January 8, consisting of the director-general of political affairs in his ministry, the director of the Middle East Division, and the Netherlands ambassador in Tunisia. Although they had been promised a meeting with Arafat, he never appeared, and the delegation met only senior PLO representatives. After waiting for Arafat for nearly three days, the delegation returned home late on the 10th. It was later learned that Arafat, newly named president of the "State of Palestine," had not thought the level of the Dutch delegation high enough. Reporting to Parliament on this visit on January 13, Van den Broek stated that for the time being he would not seek to establish contact with the PLO.

Also in January, a six-member delegation of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions (FNV) visited Israel and the occupied areas. They asked the Histadrut to urge the Israeli government to give full rights to the Palestinian trade unions; on their return they criticized the Histadrut for failing to recognize the Palestinian trade unions fully.

From January 31 to February 2, a symposium on "The Israeli-Palestinian Problem in European Perspective" took place in The Hague. It had been organized by an ad hoc organization, the Middle East Dialogue Project, which was believed to be PLO-inspired. A 17-member PLO delegation participated, headed by Bassam

Abu Sharif, one of Arafat's main political advisers, as well as a number of left-wing Israelis, such as Me'ir Pa'il and Ran Cohen, as well as Abba Eban. The latter had been strongly advised by the Israeli government not to take part, but did so all the same. Dutch foreign minister Van den Broek had been asked to open the symposium, which he did, at least partly in deference to Eban, and then left immediately, but not before Bassam Abu Sharif shook hands with him, an act recorded by several press photographers.

From September 5 to 15, a delegation of the Netherlands Council of Churches visited Israel and the occupied areas, at the request of the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC) and the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Michael Sabbah, to express solidarity with Palestinian Christians and with the Palestinians in general and to study their situation. On its return, the delegation, headed by council chairman Prof. Dirk C. Mulder, reported that the human rights of the Palestinians were being systematically violated by Israel. It also expressed support for the two-state solution and said it was Israel's turn to recognize the right of the Palestinians to a state of their own, now that the PLO had recognized the right of existence of the State of Israel. Its report got ample coverage in the Dutch news media.

Considerable commotion was caused by a solidarity meeting with the Palestinians organized by PLO representative Afif Safieh in The Hague on November 23, to mark the second anniversary of the outbreak of the *intifida* and the first anniversary of the proclamation of the Palestinian state. As speakers he had invited representatives of most political parties as well as the chairman of the Netherlands Council of Churches, Dirk Mulder. The Liberals (VVD) rejected the invitation outright; representatives of the other parties did so only after considerable pressure. Mulder kept his promise to appear; however, he explained to the audience that his group felt solidarity both with Israel and with the Palestinians. Still, OJEC, the Consultative Council of Jews and Christians, which had insisted strongly that Professor Mulder refrain from speaking, suspended relations with the Council of Churches.

On December 19, a closed meeting took place in Amsterdam of 30 persons of Jewish origin who had been individually invited to discuss the Palestinian problem. The meeting was organized by the Dutch branch of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East (ICPME) in Tel Aviv. A press communiqué afterward stated that the overwhelming majority of those present were in favor of a dialogue with the PLO.

On December 8, in Amsterdam, a small group of women of the Dutch branch of the Israeli "Women in Black," at the request of the latter, held the first of their monthly one-hour demonstrations calling for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. In Israel, the mass peace demonstration around the walls of Jerusalem's Old City on December 30 was attended by representatives of Dutch peace organizations, such as Pax Christi and the IKV (Inter-Church Peace Council).

In September the Netherlands minister for development aid gave a sum of \$600,000 for a period of four years to the Palestine Red Crescent for the training of nursing personnel in Cairo.

The import of fruit from the Gaza Strip to the European Common Market, on which the European Community had so strongly insisted, even threatening Israel with sanctions if it did not agree to permit shipments, was largely a failure. After the first shipment arrived in Rotterdam in December 1988, with much fanfare, only a small part of the scheduled 16,000 tons actually reached the continent, and even of this much remained unsold. The failure resulted in mutual accusations of deceit and incompetence by the Gaza fruit growers and the Dutch importer. Prospects for the 1989-90 season were not bright either.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

Although no reliable figures were available, the number of Jews living in the Netherlands was estimated at about 25,000, the large majority of whom were unaffiliated with the organized Jewish community. The Netherlands Ashkenazi community (Nederlands Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, NIK) gave its present membership as 5,800, down several thousand from the previous year's figure. The drop resulted from a different method of calculating membership by the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam (NIHS). The latter had hitherto counted as members all Jews of Ashkenazi origin living in the city who had not explicitly renounced their membership, even though they had not been active or involved for years. Eliminating this latter element, the number of members of the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam and the surrounding area was reduced from 4,800 to 3,000. The Hague area had 400 members; the Rotterdam area, 360; the three together, 3,760, or 65 percent of the country total. There were, in addition, 9 middle-sized communities, ranging in size from 225 members (Bussum, east of Amsterdam) to 85 members (Groningen), totaling 1,125 members, and 21 small communities, each with fewer than 75 members, totaling 930 persons. The whole of the province of Limburg was now officially one community, and the two neighboring communities of Doetinchem and Terborg, east of Arnhem, merged to form one, De Achterhoek.

The Portuguese (Sephardi) Jewish community had some 600 members and one congregation, in Amsterdam.

The Liberal Jewish community had some 2,400 members, in six congregations, of which only those in Amsterdam and The Hague had full-time rabbis and could hold regular weekly services. Two part-time rabbis also served Liberal congregations.

Communal Affairs

For the first time in its 175-year history the NIK appointed a rabbi for itself, in the person of Dutch-born Raphael Evers, aged 38, who, in addition to having

received ordination (*semikhah*) in Jerusalem, held M.A. degrees in psychology and law. Since 1981 he had been director of studies at the Netherlands Ashkenazi Rabbinical and Teachers Seminary, a position he continued to hold. The board of the NIK felt the need to have a rabbi represent it as such, as well as in contacts with the news media. Previously, rabbis in the Netherlands served only local districts, to which they were appointed by the District Councils of the NIK. The tasks of Rabbi Evers were carefully defined so as to avoid conflict with the local rabbis.

On February 12, Rabbi Lody van de Kamp, formerly rabbi of the Ashkenazi congregation of The Hague, and Rabbi Frank Lewis, formerly of London, were officially installed as communal rabbis of Amsterdam. Together with Isaac Vorst, who had already been a pastoral member of the rabbinate for many years, the Amsterdam Ashkenazi rabbinate was once again up to its traditional complement of three.

In Rotterdam, Rabbi Hans Rodrigues Pereira was appointed as "central figure," primarily for pastoral work, in a part-time position.

The Sephardi community (PIG) celebrated the 350th anniversary of the União, the amalgamation of the three formerly separate Sephardi congregations in Amsterdam, on April 7–8, with a special synagogue service and a luncheon for members only. The famous Sephardi Synagogue in Amsterdam, over 300 years old, was in need of extensive restoration, which the congregation itself was unable to pay for, though the government and the Amsterdam municipality promised to pay part of the costs. A "Friends of the PIG" foundation was established, with a board consisting of both Jews and non-Jews. During his official visit to the Netherlands (October 2–4), the president of Portugal, Mario Soares, visited the synagogue and also the adjoining Sephardi Etz Hayim Library.

The Jewish community of Utrecht, with some 200 members (against 1,800 in 1940), celebrated its 200th anniversary this year. Among other activities, it published a reprint of the history of the Utrecht Jewish community written by the late Utrecht Jewish historian Jacques Zwarts, who perished in 1943, with the addition of more recent data.

The Jewish women's group Deborah celebrated its tenth anniversary with a weekend in the country, March 3–5. The newly created Deborah ring was presented, for the first time, to Bloeme Evers (née Emden), the group's inspiring chairwoman almost from the beginning.

Membership in the Netherlands Zionist Organization (NZB), which had been steadily declining, was down to about 1,200, the large majority of whom were members on paper only. Moreover, the group's financial situation caused serious concern; the subsidy of the World Zionist Organization was drastically cut, and due to overspending during previous years there was a budget deficit. Most of the local branches had practically no activities.

Sar-El, a newly established group to recruit volunteers—both Jews and non-Jews—for temporary work in Israel, for instance in hospitals, met with enthusiastic response.

The Netherlands Circle for Jewish Genealogy—established in 1987—had almost 300 members, both Jews and non-Jews, in Holland and abroad. In addition to holding monthly meetings and publishing a quarterly, *Misjpoqe*, on March 13 it held a highly successful conference in the center of the country at which members could exchange information.

The cornerstone was laid for a new Jewish old-age home in Amsterdam's southern suburb of Buitenveldert, where a large number of Jews lived. It would replace the present Beth Shalom home in the western outskirts of Amsterdam, which was not conveniently situated for the city's Jewish population.

The Jewish Maimonides Lyceum in Amsterdam celebrated its 60th anniversary on March 12 with an evening program attended by some 700 former pupils.

Community Relations

The Council of State on April 18 rejected the demand by the Netherlands Society for the Protection of Animals that kosher slaughter for export no longer be permitted. The number of animals slaughtered for export—to Switzerland and to Israel—far exceeded that slaughtered for local consumption. The animal protection group did not appeal.

The cost of providing protection for Jewish buildings was a matter of continuing concern. In a memorandum to the Second Chamber of Parliament in November, the cabinet wrote that although the protection of buildings was primarily the responsibility of those directly concerned, an exception could be made for buildings of Jewish institutions in view of the continuous real danger to them and the financial efforts already made by the Jewish community for their own security needs.

Jewish-Christian Relations

The issue of the convent at the site of the Auschwitz concentration camp continued to arouse strong feeling in the Dutch Jewish community. When Holland's highest Roman Catholic official, Adrian Cardinal Simonis, told an interviewer in August that attitudes of certain fanatical Jews were inflammatory and did not help matters, Dutch Jewish representatives canceled a scheduled meeting with him, one which they had requested, largely to discuss other matters. In 1986 the same Cardinal Simonis—who later apologized for his words—had written to Cardinal Macharski of Krakow expressing support for Jewish sensibilities in the Auschwitz matter. A temporary storm was also caused by the bishop of Haarlem, Msgr. Herman Bomers, who told the Dutch-Jewish weekly *Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad*, among other things, that, as a Christian, his ultimate hope was that the Jews would recognize Jesus as the messiah. Some weeks later, he too publicly apologized for his words.

The Netherlands Episcopate contributed \$50,000 to the Polish bishops toward the construction of a center for prayer and contemplation at a site near, but not at,

Auschwitz. The Netherlands Roman Catholic Council for Israel issued a statement criticizing the convent at Auschwitz for obscuring the fact that the vast majority of persons killed there were Jews. Another voice critical of the convent was that of OJEC, the Consultative Council of Jews and Christians, which also protested the "selective indignation" expressed by a delegation of the Netherlands Council of Churches that visited Israel early in September and criticized Israel's treatment of the Palestinians but not Palestinian violence.

The so-called Houses of Learning, established under the auspices of the OJEC, where Jews and Christians together studied Bible and Judaism, continued to flourish all over the country, though nearly all the participants were non-Jewish.

Culture and Education

A facsimile edition of the Amsterdam Large *Mahzor*, written around 1240 in or near Cologne, was presented to the chairman of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community, which owned the original volume, during the International Conference of Jewish Museums held in Amsterdam August 29–September 1. The original prayer compilation, which was presented to the congregation in 1669 by the famous Amsterdam printer Uri Phoebus Halevi, was now on permanent loan to the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam. The facsimile edition, printed by Messrs. Brill in Leyden, included an introduction by Prof. Albert van der Heide of Leyden and shorter essays by other scholars. Its publication was subsidized by the Netherlands Foundation for Scientific Research.

With the teaching of Hebrew in government secondary schools threatened by a reorganization plan, teachers of Hebrew—both Jewish and non-Jewish—met on September 13 to discuss ways and means to guarantee its continuation, if only for two hours a week in the highest grades. In 1970 Hebrew was taught at 70 secondary schools in Holland; in 1989 the number had dropped to 8. In most cases instruction was of biblical Hebrew and was offered primarily for future Christian theology students.

The Anne Frank House, which had some 600,000 visitors in 1989, mostly tourists, applied for permission to build an extension. Neighbors objected to the planned addition, but no final decision had been taken by the Amsterdam municipality at year's end.

An exhibition on anti-Semitism was opened on May 25 in the Anne Frank House by Elie Wiesel, who had been invited to come from the United States for the occasion. On October 11, the Anne Frank Medal was presented to the Netherlands Auschwitz Committee for its efforts to combat anti-Semitism.

Two main temporary exhibitions were shown this year at the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam, one on Russian-Jewish avant-garde artists between 1912 and 1928, originated by the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and one on Russian-Jewish history between 1880 and 1985, originated by the Jewish Museum in New York.

Some personnel changes occurred this year in chairs of Jewish studies in Dutch

institutions. Yehuda Ashkenazy retired as a teacher of Rabbinics at the Roman Catholic Theological Academies of Amsterdam and Utrecht; he had occupied the Amsterdam post for 20 years. Born in Czechoslovakia and a survivor of Auschwitz, he reached Holland in the 1960s. Known as a teacher who aroused enthusiasm for his subject, he was honored with a jubilee volume on his departure. Ashkenazy remained director of the B. Folkertsma Foundation for Jewish Studies in Hilversum. The two posts he left vacant had not been filled by the end of the year, in part because the new requirement that women be given preference in academic appointments resulted in a protracted search process.

Rena Fuks (née Mansfeld) was given a three-year appointment to a special chair in Jewish studies at the University of Amsterdam established jointly by the Foundation for Jewish Studies and the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW). Funds for the post came from unclaimed legacies assigned by the government to the JMW. Mrs. Fuks, who received her Ph.D. at the University of Amsterdam on May 11, with a thesis on the history of the Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th centuries, had been lecturing on Jewish history and Yiddish for several years. (She was, incidentally, the wife of Leo Fuks, the retired librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana.)

Ido Abram was appointed to a part-time position as professor of Shoah education at the University of Amsterdam in a special chair established by the Folkertsma Foundation and the Foundation for Educational Research at the university. Abram would continue to serve as director of the Pedagogical Study Center in Amsterdam.

Memorials, Restorations, and Commemorative Events

The restoration of some unused or only partly used synagogue buildings, carried out largely at non-Jewish local initiative, continued this year. In Zwolle, the capital of the province of Overijssel, the large synagogue dating from 1899, of which only part was currently being used as a synagogue, was reopened in September in an official ceremony. The adjoining street was renamed for Samuel J. Hirsch, the last chief rabbi of Zwolle, who passed away in 1941. In Boertange, in the extreme northeast, and in Meerssen, in the extreme southeast, near Maastricht, small synagogues that had ceased being used by 1940 were restored as cultural monuments.

Monuments in memory of local Jews who perished during World War II were unveiled this year in Dordrecht, in the town hall; in Vierlingsbeek, in the Jewish cemetery; in Gulpen, in the southeast of Limburg; in Gorinchem, at the site of the demolished synagogue; in Leyden, at the site of the former Jewish orphanage from which all the children were deported on March 17, 1943; in Amsterdam, at the site of the former Jewish Boys' Orphanage Megadle Jethomim, from which some 100 children were deported on March 5, 1943. The Amsterdam building was demolished some years ago, and its site was now incorporated in the modern Music Theater. The monument was erected at the initiative of a group of surviving orphans. A monument was also unveiled at the site of the former Jewish Work Village Wierin-

germeer, in the north of North Holland province, where from 1933 to 1941 young Jewish refugees from Germany were trained in trades and agriculture to facilitate their emigration overseas.

In Brunssum, in the south of the province of Limburg, a reunion took place on May 7 of over 700 Jews, now scattered all over the world, who had been hidden there as small children by non-Jewish foster parents during the years 1943–45. The children were taken to the village by members of the resistance group NV, many of them having been removed from the Jewish day nursery that stood opposite the Hollandse Schouwburg in Amsterdam, which in 1942–43 served as a collection center for Jews who had just been rounded up by the Nazis, prior to their transfer to Westerbork. About 1,000 children were saved in this way.

One of those who helped to smuggle the children out of the Hollandse Schouwburg was Walter Susskind, a young German Jew who was later deported to his death. In his honor, the Walter Susskind Memorial Fund was established, in Boston, for the artistic education of underprivileged children, as part of the Young at Arts Project(s) of the Wang Center in Boston. The establishment of the fund, which was initiated by Maurice and Netty Vandepoll, originally of Amsterdam and now living in Boston, was marked by a gala dinner on November 4. Among the guests were the governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, and the present mayor of Amsterdam, Ed van Thijn, himself a Jew.

A very different ceremony took place on October 17 and 18 in Bytom (formerly Beuthen) and the adjacent Szczecin in Upper Silesia, now part of Poland. A monument was unveiled to the 109 Dutch Jews who, as part of the so-called Kosel group of forced laborers, perished in this place between August 28 and December 12, 1942. Relatives and friends of the deceased attended the ceremony as guests of the Netherlands War Graves Foundation.

An exhibition was shown in May, in Apeldoorn, on the history of the "Apeldoornsche Bosch," the large central Jewish psychiatric hospital in the center of the Netherlands, dating from 1909, from which all 1,200 patients and some 50 staff members were deported January 22, 1943.

Publications

New books about Dutch Jewry included *De verdwenen Buurt. Drie eeuwen centrum Joods Den Haag* ("On the Former Jewish Quarter of The Hague") by I.B. van Creveld; *Joods Nederland* ("A Guide Through Jewish Monuments in the Netherlands") by J. Stoutenbeek and P. Vigeveno; *Antisemitisme in Nederland 1945–1948* by Dienke Hondius; and *Zonder Jas de straat op* ("Without a Coat into the Street"), a novel about second-generation Jews by Helene Weyel. The Balans publishing company, which had published the diaries of Ety Hillesum in 1983, this year published a volume containing 24 essays written in reaction to the diaries.

In addition, Dutch translations appeared this year of works by such authors as Chaim Potok, Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Primo Levi, Philip Roth, Amos Oz,

Yehuda Amichai, A.B. Yehoshua, David Grossman, and Yoram Binur, and by the philosopher Emanuel Levinas and the "liberation theologian" Marc H. Ellis.

Personalia

David Goudsmit, who retired at age 80 from his position as librarian of the Sephardi Etz Hayim Library and who had been a Jewish teacher for many years, was honored at a reception on September 3 by the Netherlands Ashkenazi community. The same month, the Dutch-Jewish author Siegfried E. van Praag, who had been living in Brussels for some 50 years, was honored at a reception in Amsterdam on his 90th birthday. Prof. Hans Bloemendal celebrated his 40th year as cantor of the main Amsterdam synagogue. He had many records of cantoral music to his credit.

The Dutch Visser-Neerlandia Prize for important contributions to the spread of the Dutch language was given to a Belgian, Louis Davids, of Antwerp, who had been chief editor for many years of the *Belgisch-Israëlietisch Weekblad*. The weekly was published in Dutch for its Flemish-speaking readers (written Flemish being identical with Dutch).

The film *Leedvermaak* by Frans Weiss, based on the play of the same name by Judith Herzberg, received three Golden Calf awards at the Ninth Netherlands Film Festival in September.

Among leading Dutch Jews who died in 1989 were Abel J. Herzberg, aged 95, author, lawyer, and Zionist, recipient of many Dutch literary prizes, who was regarded by many non-Jews as the leading representative of Dutch Jewry; Dr. Maurits Goudekot, aged 76, a founder member of the postwar Liberal Jewish community, which he headed for many years, a former chairman of the Netherlands Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW), and active in many other Jewish organizations; Joost Glaser, aged 73, a retired officer in the Dutch army in the Dutch East Indies who, after his return to Holland, was a director of JMW, a member of the executive of the NIK, and active in B'nai Brith and in the OJEC; and Louis Alvarez Vega, aged 84, for many years secretary of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam and keeper of the Sephardi cemetery in Ouderkerk.

HENRIETTE BOAS

Italy

National Affairs

THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SCENE in 1989 was still dominated by conflict between the two main partners in the coalition government, the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Socialists (PSI). Ciriaco De Mita, prime minister as well as secretary of the Christian Democratic party, was regarded by leading members of his own party as the person chiefly responsible for the tensions. De Mita also came under fire from the press for his role in the illegal distribution of funds for the reconstruction of Irpinia, an area devastated by an earthquake in 1980. In March De Mita was removed from his position as secretary of the party and replaced by Arnaldo Forlani, who was on friendlier terms with the Socialists. In May De Mita resigned from the leadership of the government, and Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti, the former minister for foreign affairs, was chosen as prime minister. The new coalition government he led was similar to the former one but characterized by much better relations among the partners. The Socialist Gianni De Michelis became Italy's new foreign affairs minister.

A scandal involving the Atlanta, Georgia, branch of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL, the largest bank in Italy) unfolded before the public in the course of 1989. It came to be known as "Iraq-gate." The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation discovered that since 1987, the director of BNL's Atlanta branch, Christopher Drogoul, had issued letters of credit as financial guarantees for the export to Iraq of arms and other strategic items produced by Italian companies. Such export was forbidden both by the European Community (EC) and the Italian government. The credit guaranteed by the Atlanta branch of the BNL amounted to a record \$3.3 million, a sum almost as large as the authorized capital of the bank.

The results of the FBI investigation were partially disclosed by the Italian press in September, along with charges that the director of a secondary branch of a publicly owned bank could not have guaranteed such large sums unless top figures in the BNL authorized his decisions, or were at least made aware of them. As a result of the scandal, Nerio Nesi, general director of the BNL, resigned. At the end of September the Iraqi ambassador to Italy, Mohammed Said al-Sahaf, threatened to suspend all payments of sums owed by his country to Italy unless the latter continued to grant credits and loans to Iraq. The press dropped the matter after a few weeks, but it raised important questions about Iraqi connections in Italy that remained unanswered.

Relations with Israel

Italy's official position regarding Israel and the Middle East did not change in 1989. Both in bilateral relations and in EC forums, Italy was highly critical of Israeli policy and quite sympathetic to the PLO. At the same time, there were some positive developments in the cultural and economic fields.

In the winter the Italian government launched an aid program of about \$75 million for the Arabs of the occupied territories of Israel. The humanitarian project, the largest ever adopted by any European government, focused on providing medical equipment and personnel and developing hospitals in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

A matter that threatened to raise tensions between Italy and Israel emerged in January, when Judge Carlo Mastelloni of Venice indicted Zvi Zamir, former head of Israeli intelligence, as being directly responsible for the sabotage of an Italian Air Force plane that crashed near Venice in November 1973, killing five Italian intelligence officers on board. The aircraft had been used a few months earlier to fly five Palestinian terrorists, freed by the Italian government, from Rome to Malta. The release of the terrorists was said to be part of a general agreement between Italian intelligence and some Arab terror organizations. From the start, Italian authorities maintained that the crash was an accident and not an act of sabotage. However, persons in the intelligence community with close ties to Libya and the Arab countries leaked rumors to the press and hinted in interviews that Israel was responsible. Their campaign was backed and supported by the Neo-Fascist party (MSI). After the indictment of Zamir, no further developments in the case occurred this year.

Prime Minister De Mita and Foreign Affairs Minister Andreotti arrived in Israel for a three-day official visit on April 23. They met with President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Shimon Peres, and members of the Italian Jewish community in Israel. De Mita and Andreotti expressed cautious support for Shamir's recently announced peace plan based on free elections in the territories, but insisted that Israel come to terms with the fact that the PLO was considered by the Palestinians as their legitimate representative. They even encouraged local Palestinian leaders from the territories to accept the Israeli initiative as a first step toward serious negotiations. Israeli officials expressed satisfaction with the visit, hoping that De Mita's and Andreotti's cautious if skeptical interest in Shamir's proposals would help Israel gain the support of the EC for its peace initiative.

Israeli prime minister Shamir briefly visited Italy on November 23, where he met with Italian president Francesco Cossiga, Prime Minister Andreotti, Foreign Affairs Minister De Michelis, President of the Senate Giovanni Spadolini, and other political leaders. The meetings focused on Shamir's peace plan, which Italian leaders seemed to find moderately interesting but viewed with reservations.

The already high interest of the Italian public in the Israeli-Arab conflict was heightened by the participation of some 1,200 Italians in the massive peace demon-

stration held in Jerusalem on December 30. The initiative for the human chain around Jerusalem's Old City walls was taken jointly by a Christian pacifist organization based in Assisi and some Israeli groups, chief among them Peace Now. The demonstration, which was intended to encourage Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, was attended by Israelis, Palestinians, Europeans, and people from all religious denominations and faiths. When the demonstration was about to end, the Israeli police attacked a group of Palestinians who were shouting pro-PLO slogans, using water cannons and plastic bullets to disperse them. Several Italians were beaten by the police, and a young Italian woman, Marisa Mannu, who was watching the scene from the window of an East Jerusalem hotel, was injured and lost her right eye as a result of glass shattered by a police water cannon. Severe criticism was expressed by the Italian press and political bodies about the behavior of the Israeli police.

Despite their political differences, cultural relations between the two countries remained strong. Significantly, Prime Minister De Mita and Foreign Affairs Minister Andreotti began their official visit to Israel in April by meeting with Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz, the renowned Talmud scholar and founder of a Moscow yeshivah. Rabbi Steinsaltz presented Andreotti with an ancient Torah crown to symbolize the fact that the Italian foreign minister had achieved "a crown even higher than those of the priesthood, royalty and Torah learning, the crown of a good name, for he helped the Jewish people to restore Torah in the USSR." Andreotti actually did play an important role in the advancement of Steinsaltz's projects in the USSR, his personal interest leading to the deep involvement of Italian institutions such as the C.N.R. (National Council for Research) and the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, which agreed to finance the translation of the Talmud into Russian.

Italian industrialist and investor Carlo De Benedetti, owner of Olivetti and other important firms, visited Israel in July, at the invitation of Finance Minister Shimon Peres, who hoped to attract Italian investment. De Benedetti, who seemed to be particularly interested in Israeli projects in the field of communications, such as the Amos satellite, declared that he had not come to give advice and had no immediate investment plans; he also said that his interest in Israel was purely economic. He saw potential in a combination of Israeli brain power and Italian marketing capacity, but warned that the country's economic potential would soon be wasted unless Israel solved its problems with the neighboring Arab countries. He also urged Israeli businessmen, industrialists, and politicians to be less American-minded: Europe is not less important than the United States, he said, and it is much closer.

In December the mayors of Milan, Paolo Pillitteri, and Tel Aviv, Shlomo Lahat, signed an agreement for the twinning of the two cities, defined by Pillitteri as similar, "for they are both the pulsing heart of their own country's finance and trade: Milano and Tel Aviv are both dynamic, modern, and sophisticated."

Four Italians were honored this year as "Righteous Gentiles" by Israeli authorities. Giorgio Perlasca, an 80-year-old retired businessman, was called the "Italian Wallenberg" for the role he played in saving Jewish lives in Budapest in the years 1944-45. Himself trapped in Budapest in 1943 on business, he was interned but

managed to escape. As a former soldier in the Italian contingent supporting Franco in the Spanish Civil War, he was entitled to Spanish citizenship, which he received from the Spanish legation in Budapest. In the guise of an official Spanish representative, he was able to rescue some 3,000 Jews, providing them with shelter, food, and false documents.

Pellegrino Riccardi, now a retired judge, was a magistrate in the northern town of Fornovo during the years 1943–45. He saved several Jewish families, providing them with documents under false names and organizing their flight to Switzerland. Riccardi also took care of a nine-month-old child until the child could be returned to his parents a few months later.

The brothers Oreste and Dante Soffici, who passed away some years ago, were Tuscany peasants who gave shelter for a year and a half to two Jewish children who managed to escape when their parents were arrested by the Fascist police in December 1943. The parents were subsequently killed in Auschwitz, whereas the children remained with the Soffici brothers up to the end of the war.

Anti-Semitism

In 1989 there were fewer anti-Semitic acts in Italy than in 1988, but still more than in previous years. At the annual meeting of the Commission on Anti-Semitism of the European Jewish Congress (EJC) held in London, March 9–10, Adriana Goldstaub of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC, a research institute based in Milan) reported that during 1988, the number of anti-Semitic incidents had increased in Italy by more than 30 percent (the count includes newspaper and magazine articles). From this point of view the Italian situation differed from the trend prevailing in the rest of the European continent, where the number of anti-Semitic acts was reported to be diminishing. According to Goldstaub, a new kind of anti-Semitism, based on anti-Zionism, was on the rise. Others at the meeting suggested that anti-Semitism might be increasing as part of the wave of xenophobia sweeping Europe. The growing presence of foreign workers from Third World countries, most of them of Muslim religion, who had come to Italy and other Western European countries in recent years, awakened latent racist attitudes, provoked acts of hostility against Asians and Africans, and led to the meteoric rise of right-wing groups on the political scene. Many worried that such a climate of opinion, though not directly hostile toward the Jews, fostered a general animosity toward all "foreigners," including the Jews.

In January, in Rome, the Associazione per l'Amicizia Ebraico-Cristiana (Association for Jewish-Christian Friendship), a group involved in interfaith dialogue, presented the results of a survey on anti-Semitic prejudice among adults and high-school students in Italy. The survey was based on a questionnaire of 44 items administered to 1,000 people in several towns and, though not scientifically conducted, showed interesting results: the lessening of old stereotypes rooted in Chris-

tian beliefs and the strengthening of anti-Zionist, sometimes even anti-Semitic, tendencies among the young. Only 2 percent of adults and 4 percent of students thought that Jews bore lasting responsibility for the death of Jesus, and 80 percent of both groups felt that Jews had the right to build their homeland in Palestine. On the subject of the Palestinians, 28 percent of the students and 6 percent of the adults said they had been forced out of their homes and land by the Israelis in 1948; 43 percent of the students and 23 percent of the adults assigned Israel heavy responsibility for the existence of Palestinian refugee camps; 12 percent of the students said that Israel was an imperialist state; 21 percent defined Israeli policy in the occupied territories as "genocide." Asked to express individual views about both the present situation in the Middle East and the Jews in Italy, some 40–45 percent of the students said that the "[Israeli] Jews were crushing others as others crushed them in the past," and that there were "too many Jews in Italy." Most of those interviewed, both adults and youngsters, estimated that the Italian Jewish community numbered more than 100,000, while in fact it included a third that number.

The most publicized episode of anti-Semitism occurred in the month of July. Ronnie Rosenthal, an Israeli soccer player, signed a contract with Udinese, an Italian A-League team based in the northern industrial town of Udine. Following his arrival in Udine in early July, Rosenthal and the managers of the team were targets of a strong anti-Semitic campaign aimed at preventing Rosenthal from playing. The campaign was based on anonymous threats and acts of intimidation, such as anti-Semitic graffiti bearing swastikas and coffins with the name of Rosenthal that appeared on the walls of Udine. The affair's climax came when Rosenthal underwent medical examinations required by his contract and the physicians found a congenital malformation in his spinal column. Udinese managers were advised to dismiss Rosenthal, which they did. Rosenthal and his agent maintained that the malformation was not serious and had not prevented the player from performing excellently in the recent past. They charged the managers of Udinese with hiding behind the malformation and actually seizing the opportunity to get rid of Rosenthal, who had become a cause of friction between the team and part of its supporters.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

An estimated 31,000 Jews were affiliated with one or other of the local Italian Jewish communities, with no significant change in number over the previous year.

Communal Affairs

The agreement ("*intese*") between the *Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane* (UCEI),¹ the roof organization of the Italian Jewish communities, and the Italian state, was finally approved by the Italian Chamber of Deputies and Senate at the beginning of the year and became an official law of the state on April 7. (On the agreement, its background, content, and significance, see AJYB 1989, pp. 328–30.)

The UCEI was active in the European Jewish forum and participated in several meetings organized by the European Jewish Congress (EJC). The activities of that body, a branch of the World Jewish Congress, gained momentum this year due to the process of political liberalization taking place in Eastern European countries, which enabled long-separated Jewish communities to establish closer contact. In addition, the growing economic, legislative, and political integration of European Community (EC) countries necessitated greater cooperation among the various national Jewish communities in Western as well as in Eastern Europe.

The annual meeting of the EJC, held in London, September 10–12, was attended by representatives from East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and the USSR. The discussions, chaired by Israel Singer of the World Jewish Congress, dealt with the challenge facing "European Jewry under the new world order." Tullia Zevi, president of the UCEI and a member of the EJC's executive, chaired the session on relations with the Catholic Church in light of the controversy over the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz (see below).

The EJC executive meeting held in London in the same period was attended for the first time by a representative of Soviet Jewry, Michael Chlenov. UCEI representative Tullia Zevi raised strong objection to the congress rule limiting the presidency to French and English delegates, alternating in the position, and threatened to withdraw Italian participation in the EJC if it were not changed. The EJC executive held another important meeting in Paris on December 10, at which the situation in the countries of the collapsed Communist bloc was discussed at length with the representatives of Eastern European communities. It was decided to coordinate the struggle against anti-Semitism on a continental scale and to lay the groundwork for the establishment of a Jewish lobby in Brussels, the site of most of the EC's decision making as well as its representative bodies. More than 3,000 lobbies already operated in Brussels.

With the twin goals of reinforcing Jewish identity and producing new communal leadership, the board of governors of the European Council for Jewish Community Service (ECJCS), meeting in Frankfurt April 9–10, adopted a unified educational plan for all European Jewish communities. The governors, among whom was a representative of the UCEI, approved a common curriculum plan, courses for teachers in Jewish schools and Jewish social workers active in their communities, and other initiatives. The community of Rome was among those chosen for the

¹Formerly UCII. One word was changed in 1987 from "Israelitiche" to "Ebraiche."

introduction of a new instructional approach in Jewish schools.

The Italian Zionist Federation, WIZO, and other Zionist organizations held a conference in Milan on "Italian Jewry and Israel," March 11–12, which was attended by representatives of all the Italian communities and by Israeli officials. Discussions focused on the stance taken by Italian Jewry toward the situation in Israel, in light of the general anti-Zionist atmosphere sweeping Italy. The Israelis expressed regret that the participants failed to declare Italian Diaspora support for Israel publicly when Israel was attacked. It was countered that Italian Jews did support Israel, but that the bilateral relations were more complex than could have been stated in a public document.

Representatives of Italian Jewry were invited by the Israeli embassy in Rome to participate in Prime Minister Shamir's international "Solidarity" conference held in Jerusalem, March 20–22. The Italians signed the final statement, which expressed support of Israel's desire for peace and affirmed the democratic nature and behavior of the Jewish state, but it was known that the statement was actually a modified version of an earlier statement that proved too controversial. Italians were instrumental in softening the original and drafting a text that was general enough to win wide support.

A group of Italian Jews who participated in the activities of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East organized an international forum in Milan, November 16–18, to discuss Israeli peace prospects. Among those who attended and participated in the discussions were Israeli Knesset members Lova Eliav (Labor party) and Shulamit Aloni (Civil Rights Movement); Yasir Abed Rabbu (PLO executive); and representatives of the Italian Communist party and the central committee of the USSR's Communist party. Abba Eban (former Israeli MK) and Richard Murphy (U.S. assistant secretary of state) sent videocassettes with prerecorded speeches. The forum attracted considerable media attention.

Community Relations

The long-lasting fight of the UCEI, the Protestant churches, and other groups for a complete secularization of the Italian public school (see AJYB 1988, p. 297) achieved a remarkable victory this year. In the spring the Corte Costituzionale (Italy's Supreme Court) ruled that students who chose not to attend the optional lessons in Catholic religion could not be compelled to attend a substitute class, that such a practice was inherently discriminatory. Problems arose, however, when it became clear that the minister of education, the Christian Democrat Giovanni Galloni, did not intend to implement the court's decision.

Since the early seventies, many Soviet Jews who were permitted to leave the USSR stopped in Italy on their way to the United States, most of them residing in Ladispoli, a small town on the seashore in the Rome metropolitan area. Over the years some 8,000 Soviet Jews arrived in the town, spending from a few months to two years there while waiting for permits to emigrate to the United States. Permits were

granted to 85 percent of the Soviet Jews; 15 percent were refused and later decided either to move to Israel (10 percent of the whole) or to stay in Italy (5 percent). Financial aid and social assistance were provided to the immigrants by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), while the Roman community never became deeply involved in their situation. With the liberalization of Soviet emigration policy, the number of Soviet Jews in Ladispoli climbed in the course of 1989 to more than 10,000. In the meantime, the U.S. administration decided to adopt new, more restrictive criteria for granting refugee status, the only way in which these Soviet Jews could be permitted to enter the United States. This raised anxiety in the Soviet colony in Ladispoli, at a time when Jews were also becoming targets of hostile acts from the local population. AJDC president Sylvia Hassenfeld visited Rome in July in order to pursue ways to ease the tensions inside and outside the colony, meeting with Italian authorities, including Prime Minister Andreotti and leaders of the UCEI.

The second international meeting of Jews of Libyan origin was held in Rome, January 19–22. The gathering, which was mostly a social event, included discussions on the present situation of Libyan Jews, lectures on their history and culture, exhibitions and concerts, and dances. It concluded with a gala banquet attended by several leading Italian personalities, among them Foreign Minister Andreotti, who played a decisive role in the granting of Italian citizenship to Jews of Libyan origin who were forced to leave that Arab country following the Six Day War and chose Italy as their place of residence (see AJYB 1990, p. 350). Before 1948 there were about 40,000 Jews living in Libya. Some 33,000 left the country between 1948 and 1951, in the main emigrating to Israel. The rest of the community was expelled in 1967: most of its members settled in Italy, others preferred France, Spain, and the United States. In Italy there were about 3,000 Jews of Libyan origin, 2,000 in Rome, where they were very active in the local community and maintained a synagogue of their own.

Jewish-Catholic Relations

Overall, the relations of the Jewish world with the Catholic Church in 1989 could be described as complex and contradictory. The year started well, with signs of improvement and clarification in the relationship. In January the archbishop of Siena, Ismaele Castellano, paid a visit to the local Jewish community, in a meeting in the ancient synagogue of that town. He was welcomed by the *hazzan* and the rabbi of Siena, who read psalms and prayers in Hebrew and Italian. In his remarks, Archbishop Castellano said that all forms of anti-Semitism had to be eradicated, “for the Jewish people is the beloved brother of the Christian people” and “is still the covenanted people.”

In February the Pontifical Commission “Iustitia et Pax” issued an interesting and important document on racism, a large part of which was devoted to anti-Semitism. The document praised the role of the Jewish people in the course of history as

essential to the divine plan for salvation and redemption. The commission admitted that in the Middle Ages Christians had humiliated and often accused Jews of crimes that were never actually committed. The document declared modern anti-Semitism to be an ideology opposed to the teachings of the Church and strongly condemned Nazism as an aberration. Of particular interest, the document revealed that the encyclical "*Mit brennender Sorge*" ("With Burning Anxiety"), issued by Pope Pius XI in 1937, which strongly condemned Nazism and its myths of race and blood, was to have been followed by another, sharper and more specific, statement against Hitler's anti-Semitism, in an encyclical written by Pius XI but not completed before his death. According to the *Iustitia et Pax* document, his successor, Pius XII, "took in some elements" of his predecessor's fierce condemnation of Nazi anti-Semitism.

The document further affirmed that racism had not yet disappeared and that it was based on "the rejection of differences." From this point of view, anti-Semitism still represented the "most tragic form of racism." Anti-Zionism was defined as different from anti-Semitism, "since it consists of a protest against the State of Israel and its policy"; anti-Zionism, however, often is a way to "conceal anti-Semitism, which fuels and provokes it," the document stated. This last passage was regarded by several Italian Jewish figures—among them Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff and UCEI president Tullia Zevi—as an important turning point in the official position of the Church on this subject.

In September the Episcopal Conference of Italy (CEI; the decision-making body of the Italian Catholic Church formed by all the bishops of the country) decided to celebrate an annual day of "study and meditation to deepen the knowledge of Judaism and further advance the Catholic Church's relations with the Jewish people." This initiative was regarded as extremely positive by both Jews and Christians.

By contrast with all this, Pope John Paul II seemed still to express himself, at least in part, in the metaphors of an older Catholic theological tradition. In speeches delivered in August, he referred to the ancient Israelites as being "disloyal to the Covenant of Sinai." "Such a covenant," he said, "was established between the Lord and the people of Israel. The history of the Old Covenant shows us that this commitment [of the Jews] was often disregarded by them. The Prophets, in particular, rebuked Israel for its sins and lack of loyalty, and saw the grievances of its history as divine punishments. They [the Prophets] . . . announced a New Covenant to come." Such remarks, especially coming in the midst of the controversy over the Carmelite convent in Auschwitz, provoked a wave of sharp criticism from both Jews and Christians involved in interfaith dialogue.

The polemic over the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz—in which Italian Jews actively participated—largely dominated the second half of the year. Under the provisions of an agreement signed in Geneva in 1987 by the Catholic cardinals of Krakow, Paris, Lyons, and Brussels, and by European Jewish leaders, among them UCEI president Zevi, by the end of February 1989, an international center of "information, education, meeting and prayer" would be built by the European churches somewhere outside the Auschwitz camp. It was commonly understood—

though the written agreement was not actually specific on this point—that the Carmelite nuns, who had settled in a building at the edge of the Auschwitz death camp in 1984, would move to the new site by that deadline.

When it became clear that the terms of the agreement were not being implemented and that the deadline was approaching, international protest began. The tension between the Polish Catholic Church and the Jewish world reached its climax in mid-July, when a group of American Orthodox Jews, led by Rabbi Avraham (Avi) Weiss of New York, climbed over a fence into the convent and were attacked by some Polish workers. Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, head of the local diocese, later suspended the project, charging a “violent campaign of accusations and defamation” on the part of “certain Western Jewish circles.”

UCEI leaders and other Jewish figures publicly protested and called for compliance with the Geneva agreement. The Italian press, though condemning the “intemperance of the extremists [among the Jews],” mostly sided with the Jewish position. Prominent Catholic figures in Italy, too, indicated that although they favored the idea of a Carmelite convent in Auschwitz, the feelings of the Jews, who had been the major victims of Nazism, should be taken into account and the convent moved elsewhere. According to a survey published by the Catholic weekly *Il Sabato*, most of the Italian bishops agreed with this position. The Protestant churches in Italy also expressed solidarity with the Jewish position and asked the Polish Catholic Church to honor and implement the Geneva agreement.

The president of the regional council of Valle d’Aosta, an alpine area on the Swiss and French borders, offered to host the nuns from Auschwitz in a Carmelite convent in that region. At the same time, Prime Minister Andreotti proposed to resettle the convent in the area of the Fosse Ardeatine, near Rome—the site chosen by the Nazis in 1944 for the execution of more than 340 Italians, many of them Jewish. The executions were in retaliation for a bombing carried out by partisans against German troops. Both Jewish and ex-partisan organizations rejected the prime minister’s proposal, arguing that since the Nazis murdered Jews and Christians alike at the Fosse Ardeatine, the site should not be consecrated to any one religion, and should not be involved in parochial disputes.

At the beginning of September, in an interview with the Italian press, the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, expressed his anger at the supposed anti-Polish attitude of the Jews. He said that Jewish lobbies around the world were attempting to discredit his country through the international media, which they controlled. His views were sharply condemned by the Italian press and public opinion, Catholic and secular alike.

Culture

Work continued in 1989 on the preservation of Italian Jewry’s artistic and cultural treasures. Also this year, some of the cultural heritage of Italian Jews traveled overseas to be displayed to an appreciative American public, and Jewish and Israeli

cultural programs again proved appealing to the Italian public.

The National Jewish Bibliographic Center in Rome continued its work of compiling a complete catalogue of Jewish bibliographic and archival materials in Italy. Librarians and experts of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem visited Italy frequently in order to help the center's personnel with various problems, while Italian librarians attended special workshops in Jerusalem designed for them. The UCEI and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem drafted a cooperative program for increasing knowledge of Judaica sources in Italy and for their preservation.

Three important Jewish manuscripts, their existence previously unknown, were discovered this year in the National Library in Florence: a fragment of Ezekiel in "*masora magna et parva*," possibly from the 10th century; a folio from a manuscript edition of the Babylonian Talmud (Ketubot 25), 14th century; and a codex with biblical fragments from approximately the same century. The last two items may have been written in Spain.

Two Italian local authorities announced that they would contribute financially to the preservation of the Jewish cultural heritage in the country: the Regione Lazio to activities of the National Jewish Bibliographic Center, and the Regione Veneto to the rich library and archive of the Jewish community of Venice.

Two interesting international conferences were organized under the terms of the cultural agreement signed in 1988 between Italy and Israel (see AJYB 1990, pp. 346–47). The fourth "Italia Judaica" conference was held in Siena, June 12–16. Scholars from different countries presented papers on "The Jews in United Italy, 1870–1945." A conference attended by Israeli, Italian, German, and American scholars on "Fascism-National Socialism-Antisemitism-Holocaust: Links, Interactions, Differences" was held at Bar Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel), December 11–14.

One of the most significant cultural events of the year took place in the United States: the exhibition "Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy," which was on view at the Jewish Museum of New York from September 17 to February 1, 1990. Organized with the help of Jewish institutions and individuals in the United States and Italy, the exhibition focused on four time periods (the Roman Empire; the Era of City States, 1300–1550; the Era of the Ghettos, 1550–1870; and From Risorgimento to the Present). Supplementing the exhibition were screenings of movies on Italian Jewish subjects, a concert of music written by the Mantuan Jewish composer Salomone Rossi (late 16th–early 17th centuries), and an international conference on the history and culture of the Italian Jews, with the participation of internationally renowned scholars (September 17–18). The American press showed considerable interest in the exhibition, which was praised by the critics and visited by huge crowds. An exhibition on Jewish art and culture in Emilia Romagna (an area in northern Italy) was on display in San Francisco, September 22–December 30. Organized and originally displayed in Ferrara (Italy) in 1988–89, this exhibition, too, drew many visitors.

The abbey of Praglia, near Padova, exhibited a series of oil paintings on wood on

biblical subjects (September 11–December 3), possibly produced as part of a *sukkah*. The panels had been discovered in the abbey itself by a rabbi from Jerusalem, Marcel Goldstein, in 1986. The abbey also presented an exhibition on Jewish life and culture in Italy, “*Midor Ledor*” (“From Generation to Generation”), divided in three sections: books and manuscripts; the cycle of the holidays; the life cycle.

The Israeli film *Berlin Jerusalem* by Amos Gitai was screened at the Venice Festival in September, to acclaim from the Italian public and critics. The film is based on the confrontation of the German Jewish poet Elsa Lasker Schuller, who arrived in Palestine in the 1930s, and the Russian revolutionary Mania Shochat. Interest in Israeli cinema remained high when the Cinematheques of Bologna and Tel Aviv, in cooperation with Italian and Israeli institutions, organized a successful “Week of the Israeli Cinema” in Bologna, December 10–16.

The Israeli writer David Grossman, already popular in Italy, was awarded the Vallombrosa Literary Prize in June.

Publications

The proceedings of several important conferences were published this year. One was the third international “Italia Judaica” conference, held in Tel Aviv in June 1986 on “The Jews in Italy from the Period of Segregation to the First Emancipation.” A second conference, “Ovadyah Yare da Bertinoro and the Jewish Presence in Romagna in the Fifteenth Century,” took place in Bertinoro in 1988. A third conference, on recent developments in anti-Semitism and the so-called revisionist historiography, “Judaism and anti-Judaism,” was held in Florence in 1988.

Two important studies in the history of Italian Jews were reissued this year: *Storia degli ebrei italiani durante il fascismo* (“History of the Italian Jews Under Fascism”) by Renzo De Felice, a noted authority on the Mussolini regime; and *Storia del ghetto di Roma* (“History of the Ghetto of Rome”) by Attilio Milano.

The findings of the preliminary investigation and trial of those who directed the only concentration camp established in Italy, San Sabba (near Trieste), were edited by Adolfo Scarpelli and published under the title *San Sabba—Istruttoria e processo per il Lager della Risiera*.

Il vino e la carne (“The Wine and the Flesh”) by Ariel Toaff, professor at Bar Ilan University, a history of the Jewish presence in Perugia in the Middle Ages, was extremely well received.

The prestigious literary monthly *Nuovi Argomenti* dedicated its January issue to new Israeli poets and writers, publishing a selection of short novels, tales, poetry, and essays.

Personalia

The Gold Medal for civil bravery, Italy’s highest decoration, was awarded posthumously to Nathan Cassuto, who perished in the Holocaust, by the Ministry of

Interior. Son of the famous Judaica scholar Moshe Umberto Cassuto, the younger Cassuto had been a physician and rabbi who served briefly as chief rabbi of Florence before being deported by the Nazis in 1944.

Cesare Musatti, one of the founders of modern psychoanalysis in Italy, died in Milan in March at the age of 92. He was born in Trieste to a Jewish father and a Catholic mother, but always considered himself fully Jewish. In the 1920s, after completing his medical studies in Padua, he became a pupil of the psychoanalyst Edoardo Weiss, who had trained earlier in Vienna under Sigmund Freud. Musatti played a crucial role in spreading Freud's theories and approaches in Italy and was among the founders of the Italian Society for Psychoanalysis. In 1938, following the promulgation of the racial laws, he was dismissed from the university. A prolific writer and a beloved professor at the universities of Padua and Milan in the postwar period, Musatti was very popular in Italy, appearing frequently on television programs.

Fausto Sabatello, an active Zionist and founder of the Jewish National Fund (KKL) in Italy, died in Jerusalem in April, aged 84. Sabatello, who directed the KKL in Italy for almost 50 years, took part in the activities of the Italian maquis against the German occupation in Rome in the years 1943–44.

Emilio Segrè, one of the most prominent physicists of the century, a Nobel Prize laureate, died in August, aged 84, in California. Born in Tivoli, near Rome, in 1905, upon completing his studies he became an assistant to Enrico Fermi. In 1938, after the racial laws were promulgated, Segrè emigrated to the United States, where he joined the physics department at the University of California and established his permanent home.

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