Western Europe

Great Britain

National Affairs

The dominant event in the country's political life in 1990 was the forced resignation of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at the end of November, after 11 years in office. This development climaxed mounting dissatisfaction among Conservatives with their own government's steady decline in popularity. Dramatic evidence of public sentiment was provided in a series of Conservative losses in by-elections during the year.

The principal reason for the government's unpopularity was the community charge (or poll tax), designed to cover the expenses of local government. Despite provisions for rebates and relief, the tax—which had gone into effect in April 1990—was widely felt to be inequitable, to the extent that even many Conservative local councillors resigned rather than implement it. Moreover, it turned out to be far higher than Conservative spokespersons had predicted: an annual average of £363 rather than the anticipated £278. Bitterly opposed by the Labor party and Liberal Democrats, the tax provoked many demonstrations, which culminated in London on March 31 in widespread violence, fights with the police, and looting; 340 arrests were made. In July the government introduced a £3.3-million package intended to hold down the level of the tax by increasing rebates and transitional relief.

The disarray in Conservative ranks was compounded by internal differences over the extent of British participation in the European Community, with Mrs. Thatcher isolated in the strength of her determination to hold out against the possible introduction of a single European currency. The final stage of the crisis was triggered by the resignation in November of Deputy Premier Sir Geoffrey Howe, the only remaining member of Mrs. Thatcher's original cabinet of 1979. In his resignation letter, Sir Geoffrey pointed explicitly to his differences with the prime minister over the issues of European and monetary policy.

On November 3, Michael Heseltine, a former defense secretary who had resigned from the government in 1986 over inter-European industrial cooperation, attacked
Mrs. Thatcher's policies and style of government; on November 13, Heseltine announced that he would stand against Mrs. Thatcher in a contest for the leadership of the Conservative party. At the first round of voting on November 20, Heseltine won enough votes to deny Mrs. Thatcher a decisive majority. Rather than face further humiliation, she withdrew from a second ballot, leaving three candidates in the field: Heseltine, Chancellor of the Exchequer John Major, and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. When Mrs. Thatcher made clear her preference for Major, the other candidates withdrew. John Major was named prime minister on November 28.

Relations with Israel

The Gulf crisis changed Britain's attitude toward the PLO's role in the Middle East peace process, but that took place late in the year. In February, Prime Minister Thatcher was still urging Israel to talk to Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories and to be prepared to exchange land for a secure peace. PLO leader Yasir Arafat's political adviser, Bassam Abu Sharif, met with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in March, when the PLO's London office was accorded the title "delegation," though the Foreign Office denied that this upgraded the group's status. In May Hurd said that it was only a question of timing, not of principle, before he met with Arafat. Until August, William Waldegrave, minister of state at the Foreign Office, met regularly at the Foreign Office with Abu Sharif. The Board of Deputies of British Jews and Israeli officials continually protested these meetings as not conducive to furthering the peace process.

Following an attack by Palestinian terrorists on Israeli beaches in May, Israel's ambassador told the Foreign Office in June that Israel expected Britain to end the dialogue with the PLO, and Hurd demanded renunciation of terrorism in practice as well as in rhetoric. However, despite Arafat's refusal to condemn the attack, Thatcher claimed, in July, that the U.S. administration had urged Britain to maintain links with the PLO; the U.S. embassy denied the allegation. Hurd told a Board of Deputies delegation voicing concern at Britain's continued relations with the PLO that the government still thought Arafat was trying to follow a policy of nonviolence, though he was under pressure from other Palestinian groups to return to terrorism. A four-point plan drawn up by Hurd for American and European involvement in the peace process called for the PLO to adhere strictly to the renunciation of terrorism and for Israel to begin talks with representative Palestinians.

Hurd continued to favor a meeting between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs, even after Saddam Hussein's August invasion of Kuwait, but when he visited the Gulf states in September, he no longer specifically mentioned the PLO. Further ministerial meetings with the PLO would not be authorized, he said, unless it stopped supporting Baghdad, though meetings below ministerial level would continue. Arafat had made a "serious mistake," he continued, which had dealt a tremendous blow to the Arab cause and weakened the PLO's case for inclusion in any talks with Israel.
Throughout the year, Britain consistently supported an American role in the peace process and favored an international conference as the best forum for settling the dispute. In June, Hurd, visiting Jordan and Saudi Arabia, called for greater international involvement in the Middle East peace process, including a visit by a representative of the United Nations secretary-general. In October Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel rejected Hurd’s suggestion for permanent members of the UN Security Council to take part in a peace conference on the Middle East.

Although Britain remained critical of Israel’s handling of the intifada, in February, Waldegrave told Israeli deputy foreign minister Benjamin Netanyahu, in London, that Britain opposed the economic or scientific sanctions against Israel recommended by the European Parliament. In May Hurd described the killings in Israel as “tragic” and warned of future dangers. In June Britain joined other European Community leaders at their Dublin summit in reprimanding Israel for its “lamentable position concerning the observance of human rights in the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories.” Visiting Israel in October, Hurd angered Israelis by stating that Israel’s security could not rest on closed schools, illegal settlements, and collective punishment. Once Saddam was out of Kuwait, he said, Israel would have to do some fresh thinking. In return, Britain would be prepared to ask Syria and Saudi Arabia to recognize Israel, but only after the dispute was settled.

Although she believed that Jerusalem should remain undivided in any solution, Prime Minister Thatcher criticized Israeli settlement of Soviet immigrants on the West Bank. “We have all worked very hard to secure their right to emigrate,” she told the Board of Deputies in February. “It would be a very ironic and unjust reward . . . if their freedom were to be at the expense of the rights, the homes and the land of the peoples of the occupied territories.” In April, she told the Kuwaiti newspaper Al Qabas that the settlement of Soviet Jewish immigrants in the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, was illegal and “likely to make the search for peace in the region even harder.” In December, British citizens were advised not to visit East Jerusalem and “other occupied territories.”

In November Britain resumed the diplomatic ties with Syria it had broken off in 1986, based on evidence of Syrian involvement in a plot to blow up an El Al plane at London’s Heathrow airport. Britain had now received “confirmation that Syria rejects acts of international terrorism and will take action against their perpetration,” Hurd told the House of Commons.

In March the PLO’s British representative, Faisal Oweida, was invited to address the Scottish Labor party conference in Dunoon, against the wishes of Labor’s national executive. Tory MPs tabled a motion in Parliament registering “total disapproval” of his presence and condemning Scottish Labor’s refusal to allow a reply by a representative of Israel or the Jewish community. George Galloway, MP, former chairman of the Labor party in Scotland, said, “We have had a policy in Scotland of supporting the Palestinian struggle for self-determination for ten years.” In October, two leading Jewish benefactors, Sir Trevor Chinn and Cyril Stein, withdrew financial backing from Labor Friends of Israel (LFI), following its joint meeting with the pro-Arab Middle East Council during the Labor party Blackpool
conference. The same month, Labor foreign-affairs spokesman Gerald Kaufman presented his view of desired diplomatic developments once Saddam Hussein had withdrawn from Kuwait: an international conference that would achieve justice and self-determination for the Palestinian peoples; an end to the ordeal of the Palestinian refugees; security for the states in the region, including Israel and her neighbors; an end to intervention in Lebanon with the withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli forces; removal of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons from the entire Middle East; and an end to the "disgusting" arms trade. In December Kaufman committed the Labor party to continuing efforts to convene an international Middle East peace conference under UN auspices.

For seven weeks in October-November, a large-scale festival of Israeli music, theater, and visual arts was held at London’s Barbican Center.

**Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism**

Concern over anti-Semitism in Britain rose during the last eight months of the year. Attacks on Orthodox Jews in North London’s Stamford Hill district were reported in April; synagogues were daubed (Staines in June; Dollis Hill, North-West London, in August; Watford in November); and cemeteries were desecrated in London (Edmonton and Bushey in May; Willesden in May and August; Enfield in November) and the provinces (Leeds and Blackley, Manchester, in December). In August the Prisoners’ Memorial, Dollis Hill, dedicated to those who died in concentration and prisoner-of-war camps, was desecrated. In November, Chief Superintendent Sally Hubbard, head of London’s Metropolitan Police community-involvement branch, told a meeting on security convened by the Board of Deputies that since figures of anti-Semitic incidents were first collated in January, the branch had received details of 46 cases: 7 of physical assault, 29 acts of vandalism, 4 cases of anti-Semitic literature, and 6 reports of verbal abuse.

Many of the anti-Semitic incidents were followed by public demonstrations, mainly organized by local antifascist associations and supported by the Jewish Socialist Group and left-wing organizations. Members of the government and the police also gave evidence of taking the anti-Semitic threat seriously. In May Prime Minister Thatcher pledged support for efforts to ensure that Jewish cemeteries were safe from attacks by anti-Semites. In July Metropolitan Police commander Sir Peter Imbert said that Scotland Yard had declared the hunt for the anti-Semitic vandals who desecrated Edmonton top priority. Extra patrols and resources had been made available and there were good links between Scotland Yard and the Board of Deputies. Curbing racial attacks generally would be a prime target of London’s police this year, Imbert stated. In August Home Secretary David Waddington, meeting with Jewish leaders, expressed the government’s vigorous commitment to tackling racial violence in all its forms.

Still, Scotland Yard’s Imbert stated that he was increasingly frustrated by the lack of progress in prosecuting race-hate cases: 19 cases had been forwarded by his office
to the Attorney General, who decided whether or not they should be followed up by the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP). In each case it was decided not to prosecute. In October Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, wrote to the DPP expressing “public concern and puzzlement” at its continued failure to take action.

The volume of anti-Semitic literature increased markedly this year. In June, for example, blood-libel leaflets were distributed in Kensington and Chelsea, London, and a broadsheet, “Holocaust News,” was circulated in Stanmore, Middlesex; hate leaflets were delivered in Canterbury in July and in Manchester in August. In July the government’s law officers ruled that the police should launch an investigation into the publication of two leaflets about ritual murder, “Jewish Tributes to Our Child Martyrs” and “The Ultimate Blasphemy,” both distributed by the Dowager Lady Birdwood’s Choice Organization.

In November, in an effort to persuade the government to prosecute producers and distributors of anti-Semitic literature, more than 100 MPs signed an early-day motion tabled by Labor’s Greville Janner and sponsored by representatives of all the main parties. It called for “swift and effective action” to curb neo-Nazi activities, expressed deep concern at the increase in the dissemination of anti-Semitic materials in the United Kingdom, and pointed out that none of the briefs against 20 racist publications provided since 1986 to the Attorney General by the Jewish Board of Deputies had resulted in prosecution. Also in November, the DPP refused Dr. Kopelowitz’s request to meet to discuss the lack of prosecutions because he did not wish “to expose the service to pressures which might threaten its independence.” However, a spokesman for Attorney General Sir Patrick Mayhew told the Jewish Chronicle, “We are very hopeful that within three months the various strands we are following up will come together.”

In December Mayhew told the House of Commons that there had been a considerable increase in racist and anti-Semitic literature in the past year. “The law officers and the Director of Public Prosecutions take extremely seriously the writing, publication and distribution of such odious material.” Of the 20 cases highlighted by the Board of Deputies in the past three years, he said, only 7 had not been investigated by the DPP. He maintained that the reason there had been no prosecutions for anti-Jewish literature since 1986 was lack of evidence.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews aroused some criticism because of its measured, low-profile response to anti-Semitic episodes. After the Edmonton cemetery desecration in May, a board spokesman accused the media of “attempting to whip up an atmosphere of anti-Semitism in Britain.” The board, he claimed, neither suppressed nor sensationalized news of anti-Semitic incidents. In June board president Kopelowitz said there was no concerted anti-Semitic campaign in Britain. Incidents had increased, he conceded, but the overwhelming majority were minor. This assessment was supported by police officials. According to Scotland Yard’s liaison officer to the board, “anti-Semitic incidents constitute a tiny proportion” of all racial crimes, which had risen 22 percent in the past year, and Sally Hubbard
said that investigations had uncovered no evidence of any organized campaign against Jews.

One of the Board of Deputies’ critics, Gerry Gable, editor of the antifascist magazine *Searchlight*, told the European Parliament’s Commission of Enquiry into Racism and Xenophobia, meeting in London in May, that the board had ignored warnings of anti-Semitic attacks. In July, Prof. Geoffrey Alderman of London University accused the Board of Deputies of trying to delude itself and the community that anti-Semitism did not exist. “They like to project an image of a community integrated into society,” he said. In August, Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits said in an interview with *Sky News*: “I do not think anti-Semitism is in danger of upsetting the stability of the Jewish community in this country.” In September, a board representative refused to share a platform with Gable at a meeting on fighting anti-Semitism arranged by the Friends of the Union of Jewish Students, a new body created to maintain post-college links for young Jews.

Despite its reticence, the Board of Deputies was clearly concerned about the broader problem of racism and anti-Semitism in particular. In November it sponsored a series of information meetings about hate attacks. The same month, the board’s defense department met with leaders of Afro-Caribbean and Hindu communities eager to develop their own defense structures. In December the board initiated a meeting between North London Orthodox Jews and black leaders of the New Assembly of Churches, in an effort to improve relations.

RIGHT-WING GROUPS

When violence erupted at a British National party (BNP) election meeting in Tower Hamlets, East London, in April, the Board of Deputies expressed “extreme concern” about the growth of right-wing activity in the East End. An unsuccessful attempt by the BNP to hold a rally in Dundee, Scotland, in May, was followed by actions directed against the synagogue and prominent members of that city’s Jewish community. In June BNP head John Tyndall was expelled from the United States, and in October Greville Janner successfully lobbied to persuade Home Secretary Waddington to bar German neo-Nazi Manfred Roeder from entering Britain as the BNP’s guest. In August the National Front (NF) marched in Enfield; in October, clashes between the BNP and antifascists in the East End led to violence and arrests; and in November the BNP marched through Bethnal Green, East London. Despite these occurrences, Scotland Yard’s Sally Hubbard denied that anti-Semitic and racist parties were gaining strength in Britain. “The British National Party and the National Front are in evidence,” she said, “but their numbers are pathetic.”
Although the National Organization of Labor Students (NOLS) became less overtly anti-Zionist after leader Paul Richards espoused political Zionism, following a trip to Israel sponsored by the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic activity on university campuses continued. There were complaints of organized hostility against Jewish students at the London School of Economics (LSE) in April, though these were partially offset by the formation of an Israel-Palestine dialogue group in May and a formal statement by LSE's students'-union executive, issued in July, condemning the equation of Zionism with racism. In October, at Southampton University, the students'-union executive distributed notices advocating a boycott of Israeli produce; Swansea University students'-union members ordered the removal of a booklet on Zionism; at the University of Manchester's Institute of Science and Technology, Islamic Society members complained about the Israeli flag at a Jewish Society booth; Leeds University's Palestinian Solidarity Society mustered heavy support to defeat a Jewish students' motion. In December the students' union at Polytechnic of Central London banned Jewish Society posters on the ground that they were sympathetic to Zionism.

On the positive side, a motion condemning anti-Semitism was passed at Essex Polytechnic in October; Jewish students at Birmingham Polytechnic won a motion calling for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians; and an anti-Israel motion was thrown out at Central London Polytechnic. In November the Leeds Polytechnic Jewish Society persuaded the students' union to pass a resolution against anti-Semitism; and at Manchester University, the students' union defeated an Islamic Society resolution branding Israel as racist and passed a Jewish Society resolution advocating mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians.

The Union of Jewish Students took an active part in the campaign against anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. In March it organized a conference on racism at York University, in conjunction with the commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the massacre of the Jews of York at Clifford's Tower. In October the UJS set up a hot line for reporting anti-Semitic incidents; and in November it held a conference on European anti-Semitism. The UJS joined with the National Union of Students (NUS) and the Student and Academic Campaign for Soviet Jewry (SACSJ) to lobby Parliament, with several items on their agenda: prosecution of publishers of race-hate literature; pressure to be put on Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev to condemn Soviet anti-Semitism; and the adoption by Britain of the package of 77 antiracist measures approved by the European Parliament. The UJS walked out of NUS's conference in Newcastle in November after the defeat of its motion protesting attempts to redefine "anti-Semitism" as both anti-Jewish and anti-Arab. The Leeds University students' union subsequently condemned this redefinition. After a sustained and successful effort by Leeds and Manchester Jewish students to obtain seats on their universities' and polytechnics' delegations to NUS's December conference at Blackpool, that body amended the disputed motion, declaring that anti-Zionism
was “often a cloak” for anti-Semitism. The group also adopted a major educational campaign against racism, anti-Semitism, and fascist activity. In November the Board of Deputies announced a joint program with the UJS for the board’s community security organization to train Jewish students in self-defense. In December the UJS conference reaffirmed its support for mutual Israeli-Palestinian recognition.

**Nazi War Criminals**

Despite an impassioned plea by Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits for its passage, in June the House of Lords rejected the War Crimes Bill on a free vote, by 207 votes to 74. The bill, which would have enabled the prosecution of alleged Nazi war criminals currently living in Britain, had been approved at its second reading in the House of Commons in March, by 273 votes to 60, and had completed its committee stage in April unamended.

Among the peers objecting to the bill were Lord Campbell, who charged that it was “no more than a cruel vendetta against frail old men” whose crimes were committed over 40 years ago; Lord Chancellor Hailsham, who said that fair trials would be impossible because of the difficulties of getting reliable witnesses after so many years, and that the bill referred only to crimes committed in Germany and German-occupied territory; and Lord Shawcross, who maintained that retribution did not cease to be retribution by posting the label “justice” on it.

Following the defeat in the Lords, it was announced in the Commons that the bill would be reintroduced the following year. This was confirmed when Queen Elizabeth, in her speech opening Parliament in October, said, “My government will introduce a Bill to bring to justice suspected war criminals living in this country.” Prime Minister John Major affirmed his commitment to the bill in November. It was understood that if the measure failed in the Lords a second time, the government could invoke the Parliament Act and send the bill directly to the queen for Royal Assent.

Despite the bill’s defeat, it was reported in June that a Scotland Yard unit would begin to track the movements of alleged war criminals. In July, following an intimation by Sir Geoffrey Howe, deputy leader of the Conservative party, that “suggested amendments” might be attached, 30 peers from all political parties, including the chief rabbi, called on Prime Minister Thatcher not to allow the bill to be watered down when reintroduced. Nevertheless, in November, Home Secretary David Waddington agreed to consider amendments.

In June the Simon Wiesenthal Center handed the Home Office nine new cases of Lithuanian citizens who had found refuge in Britain. Two alleged Nazi war criminals died in Britain during the year: Andrei Pestrak, accused of involvement in the persecution and murder of Jews while serving in the Ukrainian police battalion, died in April, aged 76; Paul Reinheits, alleged to have deported thousands of fellow Latvians to slave labor in Germany, died in Gravesend, Kent, aged 86. His name figured among the original 17 alleged Nazi war criminals living in Britain whose files
the Simon Wiesenthal Center presented to the Home Office in 1986.

A £600,000-defamation action brought by Antonas Gecas against Times Newspapers, following the publication of articles alleging his involvement in wartime atrocities, was settled out of court in June. The Times apologized and withdrew allegations that Gecas had been an SS officer, had an SS tattoo, and had belonged to an SS death squad during World War II.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of Great Britain was estimated at 330,000. The total number of synagogue marriages fell to 1,057 in 1989 from 1,104 in 1988, according to the Board of Deputies Community Research Unit. This was the second lowest level of the century. The number of burials and cremations rose to 4,635 in 1989 from 4,428 in 1988. Total births in 1988, calculated from figures for circumcision, were estimated at 3,681, 4.2 percent more than in 1987.

Increased attention was paid to intermarriage this year. The 120 Jewish partners who attended a seminar for intermarried couples at the Reform Steinberg Center were divided equally between men and women, according to the seminar organizer, Reform rabbi Jonathan Romain. Two-thirds had attended part-time religion classes from ages 5 to 13; 20 percent had been to Jewish day school; three-quarters had attended Jewish youth clubs; nearly half had siblings married out of the faith; 70 percent were synagogue members.

In a Jewish Chronicle survey based on a representative sample of 500 of its London readers, 34 percent said they would accept the marriage of one of their children to a non-Jewish partner; 44 percent would not approve but would stay in touch with the couple; only 6 percent would break off contact with their child.

Communal Activities

Twelve percent more children were referred to Norwood Child Care in 1989, according to its annual report published in August. Of the 1,800 children on Norwood’s books, 10 percent were “at risk of physical, sexual or emotional abuse.” Until recently, the agency had dealt with few child-abuse cases. “Child abuse has always been around,” said executive director Sam Brier, “but now the public, as well as the professionals, are much more aware of it as an issue. The Jewish community is no longer immune from almost all of the problems affecting children in the wider community.”

Financial hardship among Jews was also increasing. Three-quarters of the London families Norwood helped were receiving government benefits to supplement their incomes. In Manchester, the Jewish poor were worse off now than ten years
ago, said Mike Anderson, director of Manchester’s Jewish social services, which helped 200-300 individuals yearly. There were, he said in March, “significant pockets of very poor people” in the 35,000-member community. In 1980 they struggled to make ends meet; now they could not afford the basic necessities of life. In August, directors of Jewish social-service agencies in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, and Birmingham collaborated to pool ideas and discuss problems, notably their insufficient resources for implementing government policy to resettle mental patients within the community.

Jewish Care, the new welfare agency formed through a merger of the Jewish Welfare Board and the Jewish Blind Society and headed by Lord Young of Graffham, in May took over Waverley Manor, an independent Jewish old-age home in Hendon, North-West London, with 58 residents, which was experiencing financial problems. In June Jewish Care opened the Shalvata Center, also in Hendon, where social workers, psychotherapists, and a consultant psychiatrist assisted individuals with emotional and stress problems. In September the first Jewish Care center offering both permanent and respite care for physically disabled young people opened in North-West London. In November Lord Young issued a four-page document calling for a unified Anglo-Jewish fund-raising structure combining both Israeli and domestic causes. British Jewry, he said, neglected domestic causes by putting support for Israel above all else.

Religion

In April Rabbi Jonathan Sacks was appointed the new chief rabbi. The 200-member Chief Rabbinate Conference approved the recommendation made in February by the selection committee set up by the United Synagogue (US) and headed by its president, Sidney Frosh. The committee’s unanimous decision followed the withdrawal from the chief rabbinate contest of Chief Rabbis Cyril Harris of South Africa and Yisrael Lau of Tel Aviv. Current chief rabbi Lord Immanuel Jakobovits agreed to defer his retirement, due to take effect in September 1990, so that Rabbi Sacks could spend a year studying in Israel. “I want to come to the position having immersed myself in an atmosphere of Torah learning and Eretz Yisrael,” said 42-year-old Sacks, who would be the first chief rabbi born and reared in a London United Synagogue family. He intended to run a “very open Chief Rabbinate” and would “encourage communal debate,” he said. “I am determined as far as possible to emphasize what unites Jews and encourage an atmosphere of mutual respect, but there can be no compromise on matters of halakha (Jewish law).”

In January Rabbi Dr. Louis Jacobs, leading rabbi of the Masorti (Conservative) movement, told a lecture audience that the chief rabbi’s authority was not accepted by his movement. Its position was the same as that of the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (ULPS): “The Chief Rabbi represents only those communities which elect him.”

Rabbi Sacks, whose successor as principal of Jews’ College was Rabbi Dr. Irving
Jacobs, gave the keynote address at a well-attended seminar in March on "Women and the Jewish Future," hosted by the college, the second in the series "Traditional Alternatives." In November he gave the prestigious BBC Reith lectures on "Religion and Ethics in a Secular Society."

Lord Jakobovits continued to arouse discussion over his views and activities. In July, in Jerusalem, the chief rabbi singled out the Lubavitch movement when criticizing the "streak of messianic fervor" in Jewish life today, in his presidential address to the 25th-anniversary meeting of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. In the ensuing debate in Britain, an official of the United Synagogue (US) challenged the chief rabbi's implication of a Lubavitch takeover of Jewish schools. The influence of the 45 Lubavitch part-time teachers, out of a total staff of 450, at US religion classes was negligible, according to Michael Cohen, executive director of the US Board of Education. People who worked for the US were US employees, instructed not to use the US as a vehicle for propaganda or to promote ideologies, he said. Nonetheless, Lubavitch director Shraga Vogel claimed that six Lubavitch rabbis served US communities in London and four in the provinces; and there were nine Lubavitch teachers in Jewish day schools in Britain. In addition, there were five Lubavitch centers in London and six in the provinces; two Lubavitch yeshivahs with 79 students; 900 children were educated in Lubavitch day schools; and there was a Lubavitch college for higher rabbinical studies in Leeds.

In September Lord Jakobovits visited Gerald Ronson, who together with Anthony Parnes and Ernest Saunders, all Jewish businessmen, were in Ford open prison, Sussex, convicted of theft, conspiracy, and false accounting during a takeover battle by Guinness for the Distillers' Group four years earlier. Members of the Board of Deputies of British Jews called on fellow board member Prof. Geoffrey Alderman to resign, following his claim in *The Times* in October that certain sections of the British Jewish community accepted "financial wrong-doing," and his appeal for a firm stand by Jewish religious leaders. "I have not heard of one rabbi," wrote Alderman, "who has publicly condemned the Guinness three."

The United Synagogue faced a serious financial crisis, with a deficit in June of £722,000 and with 17 of its synagogues registering losses, as high interest rates made it hard for many members to pay their dues. Two of its major synagogues, Hendon, and Boreham Wood and Elstree, Herts., contemplated changing their relationship with the US from constituent to affiliated status, which would enable them to pay less toward US central services. The US itself announced plans to sell off its valuable silver collection, which came from the now-defunct Great Synagogue. In December, the US council, in an unprecedented move, refused to approve a budget showing a shortfall of £1.1 million until threatened with mass resignations by its president and officers. The Kol Nidre appeal raised only half its goal; shehitah (ritual slaughtering) services showed a larger deficit than anticipated; membership fees were seriously in arrears; and receipts from functions catered under London Beth Din auspices had fallen 10 percent. As a result, budget cuts were proposed for the coming year in education expenditure, staffing, and the Jews' College grant.
In December, Sidney Frosh, who had been reelected president in a contested June election, announced a major review of the use of US buildings in the next six to nine months, including three London synagogues—Golders Green and Hampstead in the North-West and the Central in the West End—which might be merged or redeveloped as part of a program to turn assets into cash. The merger between the independent Western and US Marble Arch Synagogues took place in December, forming the Western Marble Arch, the only “associated” synagogue of the United Synagogue, i.e., with its own constitution and allowed to appoint its own ministers, after consulting the chief rabbi. It agreed to make contributions to the US for common religious and charitable purposes.

In February the right-of-center Federation of Synagogues appointed a four-member team to investigate what president Arnold Cohen called the legacy of “financial chaos” he had inherited when he took office the previous year. Team chairman Harold Ragol-Levy said in July that £500,000 recovered in February from previously undocumented accounts in Jersey and London banks “substantially represented the proceeds of the sale of five affiliated synagogues.” In June, the federation put up for sale its Whitechapel, East London, headquarters, housing its Beth Din, administrative offices, Great Garden Street Synagogue, and the Kosher Luncheon Club, because of the shift of Jewish population to North-West London suburbs. A new £1.3-million building in Hendon would house the federation offices and the Beth Din. The federation also planned to create a new synagogue in Arkley, Hertfordshire, to cater to that area’s growing Jewish population.

Rabbi Tony Bayfield, director of the Sternberg Center, published an essay in the Center’s journal, Manna, in April—written after consultation with Reform rabbis and lay leaders—emphasizing kashrut and Shabbat observance through prayer and study and proclaiming Israel as “central to Jewish life and a focal point for all Jews.” In July, Ruth Cohen, new Reform Synagogues of Great Britain chairwoman, indicated in an interview that the movement had become “more traditional in the last ten to twenty years.”

In September the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues decided to postpone redevelopment of its London headquarters, described as “the symbol of going into a new era,” because of the economic climate.

Conflict between the US and Federation of Synagogues kashrut organizations continued throughout the year. In March, El Al, the Israeli airline, transferred responsibility for its kashrut to the federation, after the US-sponsored London Beth Din insisted that airline meals be served to passengers in sealed containers. Chief Rabbi Jakobovits, London Beth Din president, expressed “profound regret” that the federation had granted the airline a kashrut license which, he claimed, meant a lowering of kashrut standards. The London Beth Din announced plans to set up its own airline meals service.

Controversy over new government regulations restricting shehitah (ritual slaughter) continued until they became law in July, when Orthodox rabbis agreed to abide by them, “provided strict rabbinical control was maintained.” The focus of conflict
was the new upright animal pen mandated by the legislation, which the Rabbinical Council of Independent Orthodox Jewish Communities claimed would deprive "thousands of Jewish families of meat," but which the chief rabbi said had been approved by a meeting of British rabbis four years earlier. In June the Federation of Synagogues asked the Board of Deputies of British Jews to inform the government that the Jewish community was deeply divided over the legislation. The board's executive committee replied by castigating the federation's religious authorities for refusing to support the chief rabbi and accept the regulations, claiming that the federation had caused discord in the community and "provided ammunition to our enemies." There were calls to quit the board at the federation's executive meeting.

Education

The new Jewish secondary school in Bushey, Hertfordshire, opened in September, after the Jewish Education Development Trust, which bought the site, pledged £9 million toward the school's £12-million cost, and the local North London community agreed to raise the remaining £3 million. Called "Charles Kalms, Henry Ronson, Immanuel College," after the fathers of businessmen-philanthropists Stanley Kalms and Gerald Ronson, as well as the chief rabbi, the school opened with 23 boys and 17 girls. Girls and boys were taught in separate classes but came together for informal activities.

In April the US council approved plans for a major reorganization of its part-time religion classes. The plans, contained in a hundred-page report, "Jewish Education for US Communities," called for changes in syllabi, examinations, and scheduling, as well as teacher-training and supervision. Changes over the next two years would raise annual US expenditure on the 4,400 children in its 45 centers from the current £850,000 to over £1 million (or one-third of the total US education budget).

Over one-third of British university departments teaching Judaism and subjects of Jewish interest had suffered cuts in faculty and resources, according to a 1989 survey by Dr. Sharman Kadish, research fellow at Royal Holloway and New Bedford College, London University, and published by the Oxford Center for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies and the International Center for the University Teaching of Jewish Civilization, Jerusalem. Out of 37 of these departments, 15 experienced cuts, 9 were expanding, and 4 terminated their Jewish studies courses. The author noted that departments were only able to expand through private donations. "It is likely that Jewish civilization studies will become increasingly dependent on outside funding in future," the survey concluded.

In March the private Spiro Institute agreed to fund courses in Jewish history scheduled to close at Warwick University. In June the Jewish Chronicle announced that it was endowing in perpetuity a chair of Jewish studies in the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, University College, London, to commemorate its 150th anniversary in 1991. In August it was reported that the chair in Jewish studies projected for Manchester University would become a visiting professorship for two
years, after which its future would be reassessed. In September the Oxford Center for Post-graduate Hebrew Studies inaugurated a visiting lectureship in contemporary Judaism in the name of comedian Jackie Mason.

Publications

This year saw the debuts of the first British Hebrew-language publication, *Hayisraeli shel London* ("The Israeli of London"), and the first scholarly Yiddish journal in 60 years, *Oksforder yiddish*, a yearbook of Yiddish studies, edited by Dovid Katz, who also edited the book *Dialects of the Yiddish Language*. An American, Ned Temko, was appointed the new editor of the weekly *Jewish Chronicle*.

New fiction published during the year included *Exquisite Cadaver* by Wolf Mankowitz; *Kingdom Come* by Bernice Rubens, based on the life of the false messiah Shabbetai Zvi; and *Brief Lives* by Anita Brookner.

Among new studies of British Jewry were *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, a collection of historical essays, edited by David Cesarani; *The Jews of Britain* by Pamela Fletcher Jones; *Anglia Judaica or a History of the Jews in England*, retold by Elizabeth Pearl, an edited version of the 1738 literary work by D'Blossiers Tovey; and *Second City Jewry* by Kenneth Collins, a history of the Jews of Glasgow. *The Preservation of Jewish Records*, a pamphlet by Bill Williams, aimed to facilitate such activity.

Works on other Jewish communities included *The Ghetto of Venice* by Roberta Curiel and Bernard Dov Cooperman; *The Jews of the Soviet Union: The History of a National Minority* by Benjamin Pinkus; *The Jews of Modern Egypt, 1914–1952* by Gudrun Kramer; *Jews in Contemporary East Germany* by Robin Ostow; and *The Double Eagle: Vienna-Budapest-Prague* by Stephen Brook, who also wrote *Winner Takes All: A Season in Israel*. Survey of Jewish Affairs 1989, edited by William Frankel, should also be noted in this category.

New works of religious significance were the *New Authorized Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth*, edited by Chief Rabbi Jakobovits; *Fountain of Blessings, the Code of Jewish Law* by Dayan Pinchas Toledano; *Tradition in an Untraditional Age: Essays on Modern Jewish Thought* by Jonathan Sacks; *A Thread of Gold: Journeys Towards Reconciliation* by Albert H. Friedlander, a description of the interfaith work that earned him the Sternberg medal; *Moments of Insight: Biblical and Contemporary Jewish Themes* by Jeffrey M. Cohen; and *Jews, Idols and Messiahs* by Lionel Kochan.

New works of biography and autobiography included *Lord Jakobovits*, the authorized biography of the chief rabbi by Chaim Bermant; *Arnold Schoenberg: The Composer as Jew* by Alexander L. Ringer; *Ibn Gabirol* by Raphael Loewe; *The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane—From FBI Informant to Knesset Member* by Robert I. Friedman; *Dangers, Tests and Miracles* by Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen of Romania, as told to Joseph Finklestone; *On Parade, Memoirs of a Jewish Sergeant-Major in World War II*, by Leonard Sanitt; *Marina Tsvetayeva* by Elaine Feinstein; *Recollec-
tions and Reflections by Bruno Bettelheim; Gorbals Voices, Siren Song, the third volume of Ralph Glasser’s autobiography; Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyll by Frank Danby; Montague Burton: The Tailor of Taste by Eric Sigsworth; and Marcus Sieff on Management by Marcus Sieff.


Works relating specifically to Poland and the Holocaust were The Convent at Auschwitz by Wladyslaw T. Bartoszewski, who also edited Polin, A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies, volumes 3 and 4; My Brother’s Keeper: Recent Polish Debates on the Holocaust, edited by Antony Polonsky; I Remember Nothing More: The Warsaw Children’s Hospital and the Jewish Resistance by Adina Blady Szwajger; and The Warsaw Ghetto by Joe J. Heydecker.

Books concerned with the wartime experiences of French Jewry were Swastika over Paris: The Fate of the French Jews by Jeremy Josephs; and Petain’s Crime: The Full Story of French Collaboration in the Holocaust by Paul Webster.

Personal accounts of wartime experiences were contained in In the Sewers of Lvov by Robert Marshall; A Refugee’s Flight from Germany in the Thirties by Frederick G. Cohn; A Child’s War—World War II Through the Eyes of Children by Kati David; A Cup of Tears, a diary of wartime Warsaw, by Abraham Lewin; Survivors Speak Out, a collection of poems and accounts; and Lodz Ghetto: Inside a Community Under Siege, compiled and edited by Alan Adelson and Robert Lapides. I Came Alone: The Stories of the Kindertransports, edited by Bertha Leverton and Shmuel Lowensohn, and And the Policeman Smiled by Barry Turner are on the same theme. We Will Remember Them, compiled by Henry Morris and edited by Gerald Smith, is a record of the Jews who died in the armed forces of the Crown, 1939–1945.

New works on Israeli-Arab relations included Judaean Journal by Jacques Pinto, the diary of an Israeli officer serving in the West Bank at the height of the intifada; Behind the Star by former BBC correspondent Gerald Butt; Four Arab-Israeli Wars and the Peace Process by Sydney D. Bailey; 1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians, essays by Benny Morris; Israel, Palestinians and the Intifada by Geoffrey Aronson; Palestine and Israel: The Uprising and Beyond by David McDowall; Facts
and Fables: The Arab-Israel Conflict by Clifford A. Wright; G-Suit: Combat Reports from Israel's Air War by Merav Halperin and Aharon Lapidot; and Economic Cooperation and Middle East Peace by Haim Ben-Shahar. Mine Enemy by Amalia and Aharon Barnea tells of the moving friendship of an Arab and an Israeli couple.

Other new works on Israel were The Elections in Israel-1988, edited by Asher Arian and Michael Shamir; Legal Dualism by Eyal Benvenisti; Management in the Land of Israel by Peter Lawrence; Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientations, 1948-1956 by Uri Bialer; The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal, edited by S.I. Troen and M. Shemesh; The Peace Movement in Israel 1967-87 by David Hall-Cathala; Journey to the Promised Land, edited by Nachman Ran; The Slopes of Lebanon, a collection of essays, reviews, and addresses by Amos Oz; Studies in Contemporary Jewry, vol. 5: Israel: State and Society, 1948-1988, edited by Peter Y. Medding; The Imperfect Spies by Yossi Melman and Dan Raviv; and Chariots of the Desert by David Eshel. Specifically devoted to Jerusalem were Jerusalem: City of Mirrors by Amos Elon; and My Jerusalem: Twelve Walks in the World's Holiest City by Teddy Kollek and Shulamith Eisner.

Poetry published during the year included Different Enclosures, the poetry and prose of Irena Klepfisz; Sleeping with the Professor's Daughter by Dan Hershon; The Hutchinson Book of Post-War British Poets, edited by Dannie Abse; and Collected Poems by Karen Gershon.

Two new works on anti-Semitism were Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism in the Contemporary World, edited by Robert S. Wistrich; and The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth-Century Britain, edited by Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn.

Personalia

Sir Jeffrey Sterling, chairman of the P & O shipping, real estate, and hotels group, and Sir David Wolfson, one of Prime Minister Thatcher's advisers, were made barons in her resignation honors. Lady Porter, Westminster Council's Tory leader, became Dame Shirley Porter. Stanley Clinton Davis, former Labor MP and European Commission member, was made a life peer, taking the title of Lord Clinton-Davis of Hackney. Knighthoods went to Sir Brian Wolfson, chairman of Wembley Stadium, the government's National Training Task Force, and the National Economic Development Council's leisure and tourism committee; Sir Ronald Grierson, director of the South Bank Arts Center and Arts Council member; Geoffrey Leigh, chairman of Allied London Properties; Sir Anthony Epstein, professor of pathology at Bristol University; Sir Paul Fox, BBC Network Television managing director; Sir Sydney Lipman, Monopolies and Mergers Commission chairman; and Sir Allan Green, Director of Public Prosecutions.

Among British Jews who died in 1990 were Stuart Albert Samuel Montagu, Lord Swaythling, communal figure, in January, aged 91; Leon Blumenson, Yiddish actor, in January, aged 84; Siegfried Hirsch, former Hendon Adath Yisroel Congregation
president, in February, aged 85; Harry Levine, teacher, journalist, and minister of Norwich congregation, in February; Bennie Abrahams, communal worker and Lord Mayor of Newcastle 1981–82, in February, aged 83; Rabbi Icchak Feld, Jewish scholar, in February, aged 79; Vivian Lipman, civil servant and Anglo-Jewish historian, in March, aged 69; Maurice Gaguine, for almost 50 years rabbi of the Withington Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation, in March, aged 71; Nathaniel Mayer Victor, third Baron Rothschild, oil executive and head of Prime Minister Edward Heath's “think tank” 1971–74, in March, aged 79; Harry Mizler, boxer, in March, aged 77; Sir Alan Marre, distinguished civil servant and Britain's first Jewish Ombudsman, in March, aged 76; Beatrice Jeannette Barwell, Zionist champion of Jewish education, in March, aged 75; Rabbi Lipa Baum, minister, Yiddish scholar, and talmudist, in April, aged 70; George Lyttleton, Leeds education worker, in April, aged 86; Alan Silverman, Jewish welfare-work activist, in May, aged 68; Bezalel Stern, vice-president of British Agudas Yisroel and Agudas Yisroel World Organization executive council member, in May, aged 90; Yehuda Lisky, Yiddish writer, in May, aged 90; Asa Benveniste, poet, in May, aged 64; Geoffrey Salmon, former president of J. Lyons and Company, and philanthropist, in May, aged 82; Joe Loss, dance-band leader, in June, aged 80; Samuel Sacks, doctor, Hebrew scholar, talmudist, and Zionist, in June, aged 95; Leonard Sachs, television personality, in June, aged 82; Arthur Sunderland, Jewish journalist, in July, aged 75; Bruno Marmorstein, lawyer, scholar and communal worker, in July, aged 79; Rachel Beth-Zion Abrahams, Zionist historical writer, in August, aged 88; Aryeh Chontow, Torah scholar and philanthropist, in September, aged 74; Harold Altman, communal worker, in October, aged 78; Sir Ben Lockspeiser, aeronautics expert and government administrator, in October, aged 99; Rita Blond, noted Zionist, in October, aged 84; Sidney Bloch, leading welfare worker, in November, aged 66; Sir Alan Mocatta, High Court judge, in November, aged 83; Hyam Morrison, philanthropist, in November, aged 85; Ernst Saly Frankel, leading British Zionist, in November, aged 88; Phyllis Gerson, welfare worker, in December, aged 87; Michael Marchant, for 20 years World Sephardi Federation secretary, in December, aged 98.

LIONEL & MIRIAM KOCHAN
France

The year 1990 saw France facing difficult challenges emanating from both outside and inside the country: outside, the end of the post-Yalta power balance in Europe and the achievement of German unification; inside, growing public impatience in the face of ongoing economic restructuring, expressed through distrust of "classical" political parties and hostility toward immigration. Two events that captured public attention this year were the crisis in the Persian Gulf and the desecration of the Jewish cemetery at Carpentras, the latter taking place against a background of the growing influence of the National Front (FN).

National Affairs

By the end of the 1980s, three clear trends had emerged in French politics: (1) the phenomenon of voter abstention, confirmed in 1990 in all by-elections, which was new in France and thus could be considered a symptom of a social-political crisis; (2) the success of movements which seemed to represent an alternative to the classical parties: the National Front and the Greens; and (3) the focus on themes that had been introduced into the debate and were promoted by the FN, such as immigration, a widespread sense of general insecurity, and national identity. Various scandals linked to the financing of the major political parties contributed to their deteriorating status.

Although virtually absent on the national level—with only one representative in the National Assembly—the FN continued its rise on the local level. According to data released by the end of the year by the Ministry of Interior, 35 mayors, 1,667 town councillors, 4 general councillors (district level), and 116 regional councillors belonged to the FN. The FN claimed some 80,000 members, although the figure of 50,000 seemed closer to reality. At its congress in Nice (March 30–April 1) the party defined the "conquest of power" as its aim.

Although that power seemed far out of the reach of a party considered a threat to democracy by a large majority (around two-thirds) of the French in opinion polls, the polls also showed that a significant minority (20 to 30 percent) shared the FN's ideas and could be considered potential voters. The results of the by-elections that took place in 1990 were particularly revealing. Up to Carpentras, in May, the FN showed a gain of two to nine points over previous elections in the same constituencies. Immediately after Carpentras, one by-election seemed to show that the FN had been harmed, but this proved temporary. The overall trend remained upward. In June, the FN came in second, with 27 percent of the votes, in the first round of the municipal by-election in Villeurbanne (a big, traditionally socialist, working-class
suburb close to Lyons) and gained in the second round (36 percent). In December, it came in second in the first round of the municipal by-election in Nice (25 percent of the votes) and was fairly close to taking over the municipality in the second round with 48 percent of the votes.

Political analyst Jean Bothorel (Le Figaro, January 7, 1991) claimed that the image of the leader of the National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen, was "almost normalized," and that the party's growth was no longer linked solely to the issue of North African immigrants. He noted that while Le Pen had found very few allies in intellectual, academic, or cultural circles, or in the world of communication, he was experiencing less and less rejection by business leaders, high public officials, and the military.

Like the FN, the Greens also benefited from the general distrust of the traditional parties, in 1990 gaining 13 to 15 percent in by-elections. Although the Greens definitely opposed the FN's ideology, they refused either to call on their voters to oppose the front or to enter a "republican front" with other parties against the FN (doing so, they argued, would indicate that what distinguished them from the other parties was less meaningful than their differences with the FN, which was not the case).

**Middle East Policy**

France's involvement in Middle Eastern affairs in the first half of 1990 was fairly limited. The French will to normalize relations with Iran led to a presidential pardon of terrorist Anis Naccache and his expulsion to Iran, in July, along with four other members of the commando unit that had attempted to murder former Iranian prime minister Chappur Bakhtiar in July 1980. France expressed the hope that this gesture would "facilitate the liberation of all Western hostages still detained" in the Middle East. In Lebanon, in October, when Christian general Michel Aoun was defeated in his rearguard battle against the Syrians, he found refuge in the French embassy in Beirut.

Beginning in August, it was the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the ensuing crisis in the Persian Gulf area that captured public attention. After attempts to find a diplomatic solution failed, the debate in France centered on two questions: French participation in a possible war that might be declared by the United Nations and France's position vis-à-vis the leader of the coalition against Iraq, the United States. Despite the opposition of Minister of Defense Jean-Pierre Chevènement, who advocated a more lenient position limited to a strict implementation of the first boycott decisions taken by the United Nations, France adopted a policy of firmness, making Iraq responsible for the "logic of war" in the Gulf (the expression came from the mouth of President François Mitterrand in August). Espoused by the president of the Republic, the policy met with consensus among all major parties, whose leaders were regularly consulted, and a broad majority of the public.

Yet, by the end of the year, a line was drawn between the major political parties,
on the Right and the Left, which supported the presidential policy in the Gulf, and
the protest movements (Communists, FN, the Greens, and the remnants of the far
Left), which tried, but with limited success, to mobilize public opinion against a
possible war. FN leader Le Pen went to Iraq to negotiate freedom for French
hostages and put forth a fairly complex rationale for his position: Iraq was entitled
to question its borders; Kuwait, as a state, had no historical roots; French involv-
ment could create a tremendous wave of anti-French feeling in the Arab and Islamic
worlds; and, above all, French attention should be entirely devoted to the “real
threats”: the Soviet Union in Europe and the immigrants at home. Other pacifist
movements expressed a more classical anti-American type of argument against what
they saw as a war “for oil.” It was only natural that, in such a context, the autumn
meeting in France of Minister of Foreign Affairs David Levy of Israel with President
Mitterrand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard, Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland
Dumas, and the chairman of the National Assembly, Laurent Fabius, did not draw
any particular attention.

Relations with Israel

As far as the Arab-Israeli conflict was concerned, there were no new French
initiatives, and the only noteworthy event was a meeting between President Mitter-
rand and PLO leader Yasir Arafat, in Paris, on April 4. Arafat’s presence on French
soil for the third time in 18 months had come to seem almost routine and, unlike
the two previous occasions, did not even give rise to a mass protest by the Jewish
community. The Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France (Conseil
Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France, CRIF) expressed its “anxiety and
failure to understand” such a meeting and its hope that President Mitterrand would
tell Arafat that his opposition to Jewish immigration to Israel was unacceptable. The
CRIF statement also emphasized that the PLO’s “message of peace was a mere
pretense,” that it remained a “supporter of armed conflict.”

Anti-Semitism

According to year-end statistics of the Ministry of Interior on racist and anti-
Semitic incidents, anti-Semitic incidents involving violence remained stable in 1990,
but there was a sharp rise in the number of incidents that did not directly involve
physical violence. For anti-Semitic incidents, the figures were: 20 violent actions (3
injured) and 372 threats and insulting actions (among them 172 in May after the
Carpentras desecration, which was more in one month than in any entire previous
year). Figures for racist-xenophobic violence were: 52 violent actions (1 dead, 36
injured; 37 of the violent actions directed against North Africans) and 278 threats
and insulting actions (among them 198 against North Africans). The figures showed
that racist violence was more widespread and more harmful than anti-Semitic
violence. At the same time, they highlighted the tremendous snowball effect of
FRANCE / 323

Carpentras, which inspired a wave of incidents, minor in themselves but concentrated in time and numerous enough to create, at least for a while, a real climate of insecurity among Jews.

As in previous years, some of the incidents were linked to supporters of the FN or to what could be called contamination spread by the FN’s approach to the “Jewish question.” Although Le Pen created no new scandals in 1990, on two occasions he reiterated his view that the Nazi gas chambers were “a detail in the history of World War II,” which he had first expressed in 1987: in an interview with the daily Le Quotidien (February 9) and two weeks later in an election meeting in Sarcelles (quoted in Jour J, February 28). In 1990, Le Pen and the circles close to the FN focused on the theme of “Jewish power,” denouncing both the “institutional tools” of Jewish power (B’nai B’rith; CRIF and its president, Jean Kahn) and the “hidden tools” of Jewish power, particularly the press. Le Pen stated as an objective truth the substantial representation of Jews among journalists: “There are many Jews in the press, like there are many Britons in the fleet and Corsicans in the customs.”

The FN and its close circles also denounced the alleged privileges of Jews (and of foreigners) who were allowed to be “anti-Catholic” and/or “anti-French,” whereas the law prohibited any attack against the Jews. The fundamentalist pro-FN Catholic daily Présent (December 28), under the headline “The privilege. One may attack the Church, but not Judaism,” wrote: “Any criticism of the Jewish religion or of the policy of the representative institutions of the Jewish community is seen as an act of anti-Semitism; and ‘anti-Semitism is not an opinion, it is an offense’—whereas anti-Christianism is not an offense, but an opinion; . . .”

Apart from these themes, which were dominant on the far Right during the entire year, the crisis in the Persian Gulf provided new ground for attacks against Jews, who were accused of supporting a war against Iraq in order to help Israel, in conflict with French interests.

Finally, the mayor of Nice, Jacques Médecin, who had declared that he “shared the theses of the FN up to 99 percent,” provoked an incident in April, when he did not protest the presence in his city, to attend the FN congress, of former Waffen SS member and leader of the German Republikaner party Franz Schönhuber. Further, he gave clear hints that he meant to enlarge his municipal majority with the addition of FN town councillors. Three Jewish town councillors immediately resigned. Médecin reacted on the local TV (April 3): “I do not know any Israelite who would refuse a present when offered one. And, as far as I am concerned, I do not know any mayor who could say: ‘I refuse votes which are brought to me.’ ” He added: “I am not the one who has made room [for the FN town councillors]. It is the Jews who have left.” (Médecin ran away from France in October in order to escape charges of misappropriation of funds.)

Several initiatives were taken throughout the year against manifestations of racism, anti-Semitism, and intolerance. Among them was an ecumenical statement published on January 24 at the initiative of the Council of Christian Churches and
signed by representatives of the Orthodox Interepiscopal Committee, the Catholic Church, the Protestant Federation, the Paris Mosque, and, on behalf of the Jewish community, the chief rabbi of Paris and the president of CRIF. In the summer, the UEJF, the Union of Jewish Students in France, arranged a "protest tour," which took UEJF speakers into 23 main cities in France, where they met with local opinion-makers and press to raise awareness of racism and anti-Semitism. On November 14, 12 mayors of big cities belonging to the major parties of the Right and Left gathered to discuss the problem of racism.

CARPENTRAS

The desecration that was discovered on the morning of May 10 in the Jewish cemetery of Carpentras in the south of France—belonging to one of the oldest Jewish communities in the country—was immediately granted the status of an exceptional and symbolic event. First, the desecration was directed not only against the graves but against the dead themselves. Not only were over 30 graves damaged, but the corpse of an 80-year-old man buried two weeks earlier was dug out of the earth and defiled (an attempt was made to impale it, and a Star of David was placed on the body). Whereas other desecrations in the past had hardly caught the attention of the press, Carpentras, because it trespassed the borders of the "usual" pattern, produced broad coverage in the media and a strong emotional reaction among non-Jews and Jews alike. President François Mitterrand's immediate visit to Chief Rabbi of France Joseph Sitruk, at his home, highlighted the public reaction.

The general climate of opinion supported an unequivocal interpretation of the event as motivated by anti-Semitism. All opinion polls showed the growing popularity of the FN and Jean-Marie Le Pen. The desecration followed the anniversary of the 1945 victory over Nazism, which had featured—one of the major TV channels—a documentary film on Nazi Germany and anti-Semitism. Thus, just as the bombing of the Rue Copernic Synagogue in October 1980 was presumed to be an attack by French anti-Semites (in fact the police investigation showed later that the bomb had been set by Middle Eastern terrorists), there now seemed every reason to fear an anti-Jewish outbreak in France. Hence the emotion which led some 200,000 French to attend a mass demonstration in Paris on May 14 against anti-Semitism, racism, and intolerance, with the participation of all political leaders (except the FN) and of President Mitterrand himself.

The Carpentras desecration had further repercussions in 1990. In the days and weeks after Carpentras, France was the scene of a wave of cemetery desecrations, both Jewish and non-Jewish, that apparently inspired other desecrations in East Berlin, Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, Israel, Poland, and elsewhere. The attention devoted in France to the most morbid aspect of Carpentras, the outrage to the dead, also had unforeseen consequences. The mere fact that the investigation questioned the reality or the "completeness" of the impalement served to devalue the desecra-
tion act itself, as if a “simple” desecration would have been acceptable.

Finally, in the absence of any clear-cut finding by the police inquiry (which was first directed at far Right and skinhead circles but later theorized that drunk youngsters or satanic sects were involved—a thesis that would deny the specifically anti-Semitic nature of the event), some backlash was inevitable. The hasty declaration by French Minister of Interior Pierre Joxe after the desecration (“There is no need for a police investigation in order to know who the criminals are. . . . The criminals have a name. They are called racism, anti-Semitism, intolerance.”) was interpreted as a denunciation of the National Front and subsequently opened the door to questions about possible political manipulation of the event.

The backlash was illustrated by a widely discussed article in the bimonthly *Le Débat* (September-October 1990), in which sociologist Paul Yonnet analyzed the main outcome of Carpentras (what he called the “Carpentras machine”) as a “purge syndrome.” He also denounced the attention devoted to “false or recreational anti-Semitism” and accused French Jews of the very intolerance commonly attributed to French society in general: “It is the Jews who close themselves in a communitarianism that is racist toward non-Jews; they do not accept exogamous marriage, they restrict their schools to their own children, and they denounce the ‘non-Jewish Jews.’” According to Yonnet—who fiercely denied being anti-Semitic—the Jews of France want to build “an ethnic-religious, or even an ethnobiological-religious, thus racial, community.” In an interview with the weekly *Le Point* (November 5), Yonnet elaborated on these views: “It [the Carpentras machine] is composed of four elements. First, the feeling that the rise of the National Front is inexorable, that the whole society is going to fall into Le Pen-ism. The second element is all the publicity given to anti-Semitism under the pretext of denouncing the real, but soft, anti-Semitism of Le Pen and of the people who surround him. Then comes a kind of back-and-forth movement between Vichy and the present time. . . . Once it is completed, the machine can start isolating Le Pen; the only thing that is needed is the opportunity.”

Beyond the problem of the “use” that he felt had been made of the Carpentras desecration, another disturbing point emerged from Yonnet’s analysis: his tolerance of even a limited degree of anti-Semitism, what he called “soft” anti-Semitism. Coming from a man who was in no way identified with the far Right, and in the absence of any answer to the basic question of who committed the desecration, Yonnet’s line of thought received attention and was taken over by other people, contributing to a perception that Carpentras had been, if not a manipulated event, at least one whose importance had been highly exaggerated.

**OPINION POLLS**

Polls conducted after Carpentras showed a number of ambiguities. According to one published in the daily *Le Parisien* (May 17), a huge majority (96 percent) were
shocked by the event: 41 percent, deeply; 36 percent, very much; 19 percent, somewhat. Yet 35 percent agreed with the statement: “It is acceptable for people to express hostile remarks about Jews, since everyone in a democracy should be able to express themselves.” A small majority (56 percent) agreed with this statement: “Taking into account what happened to the Jews during World War II, it is not acceptable for people to express hostile remarks about the Jews.” Although a majority (55 percent) felt that the National Front was “an anti-Semitic party,” 57 percent felt that “it is acceptable to invite Mr. Le Pen to take part in [TV] programs, since he is the leader of an important political party.” Only 33 percent shared the opposite opinion, that “it is acceptable not to invite Mr. Le Pen for he helps to propagate racism and anti-Semitism in the country.” A similar question asked in a poll published in the weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* (May 17) had similar results: 54 percent felt that Jean-Marie Le Pen should be invited to appear on “popular TV programs . . . for he represents part of the voters.” The poll in *Le Parisien* also showed that even in the aftermath of Carpentras, the view that “Jews have too much power in France” was shared by a not negligible part of the public: 17 percent totally or somewhat agreed with the statement: “Some people feel that Jews in France today have too much power” (14 percent did not answer).

**Holocaust Denial**

In the area of “classical” French revisionism, one development in 1990 was the discontinuation of the *Annales d’Histoire Révisionniste*, edited by “leftist” Pierre Guillaume, and its replacement by the *Revue d’Histoire Révisionniste*, edited by Henri Roques, the retired engineer and author of the doctoral thesis on the Kurt Gerstein papers whose doctoral degree was revoked in 1986 by administrative decision. (See AJYB 1988, pp. 276–77.) Together with the production of the new quarterly, the efforts of classical revisionists focused on intensive distribution of revisionist literature—mainly in letter boxes—whose main purpose was to bring to a large audience the results of the “Leuchter report” (by an American revisionist, “proving” that mass murder by Zyklon B was impossible) and videocassettes of Robert Faurisson.

A new phenomenon that started in the autumn of 1989 and grew in 1990 was “post-revisionism,” spread through the medium of the monthly *Revision*, edited by Olivier Mathieu and Alain Guionnet. To the post-revisionists, the “scientific” demonstration of the nonexistence of gas chambers was no longer the main purpose. In their openly anti-Semitic publication, the two editors of *Revision* focused on the denunciation of what they called “the Shoah-business,” i.e., the moral, political, and financial exploitation of the Holocaust by Jews, and on anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic themes, the latter illustrated by numerous comments on circumcision and the publication in installments of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. On May 14, Guionnet was given three concurrent three-month jail sentences (i.e., a total of three months) for provocation of racial hatred and racial defamation in the September, October, and November 1989 issues of *Revision*. 
Yet another demonstration of revisionism received attention in broader circles when the daily *Le Monde* (January 28-29) quoted sections of a recent article in a special issue of a high-level academic journal, *Economies et Sociétés*, devoted to the theme of “vassalized France.” The author, a professor of economics at the University of Lyons III, Bernard Notin, expressed clearly racist and revisionist opinions when he denounced “Nobel’s band holidaying in Paris at the initiative of the Jewish entourage of the President” (of the Republic) and used the gas chambers to exemplify what he called a “venomous sophism”: “The proofs that are proposed in order to demonstrate their existence evolve according to the circumstances and the moment, but they come from a box of tricks with three drawers. In the lowest: a tour of the premises (not very credible). In the middle: the assertion by the victors (they have existed). In the top: hearsay (the story of the man who has seen the man who has seen the man who . . .). On the whole, one postulates their existence, and no matter what the reality of that reality is. One can identify here the basis of all tyrannies.”

The novelty in this episode was both the academic position of the author and the high caliber of the publication in which he expressed his views. Reactions to it were, not surprisingly, very strong. The director of CNRS, the National Center for Scientific Research, called Notin’s paper “scandalously anti-Semitic and with very little scientific content” and decided to discontinue the CNRS subvention to the journal. In February, the university council of Lyons III suspended Notin until steps could be taken by the minister of education to move him to another university. In May, six well-known academics published an appeal calling for an end to academic cooperation with colleagues who, “acting in the framework of their professional activities or using their [academic] titles . . . call themselves revisionists and are nothing but falsifiers of history or those who publicly support the enterprise of xenophobic and racist hatred which, under the banner of nationalism, is nothing but the negation of the authentic values of Republican France.” In July, Notin was tried and fined, after a complaint was filed by the antiracist organization MRAP. The disciplinary section of the administrative council of the Lyons III university decided to suspend him from any teaching and research activity for one year and to fine him half his salary during that period. Notin appealed that decision.

The Notin case highlighted important characteristics of French revisionism generally: the continuous effort of the revisionists to obtain academic recognition, particularly after the Roques-thesis affair; the sensitivity of a large segment of public opinion to the problem, as a result of media denunciation; and, finally, the difficulty of preventing the expression of revisionist views.

“Nobel’s band” refers to various Nobel prizewinners, such as Elie Wiesel, who were brought to Paris in the early ’80s by President Mitterrand in order to promote a humanistic climate of thought. It is also a pun on the title of a book by Louis-Ferdinand Céline, *Guignol’s Band*. 
LEGAL MEASURES

New regulations aimed at curbing racial and religious discrimination, as well as public denial of the Holocaust, were promulgated on July 13. While antiracist organizations and personalities such as Serge Klarsfeld welcomed the measures—particularly the one that made it an offense to publicly deny the Holocaust—others raised questions about their legitimacy. Nor did opposition come only from the Right. Journalists, for example, objected to more limitations on freedom of the press. There was also a feeling that the measures were directed against Le Pen ad hominem, in order to obtain by legal means what political confrontation had been unable to achieve, i.e., stopping the rise of the FN.

Among academics (including militant antirevisionists) it was felt that historical questions should be left to academics. Said historian François Bédarida in an interview with *Le Monde* (May 15): "It is not by law that one establishes the validity of a historical work. As much as it is legitimate to prosecute incitement to racial hatred, it seems to me stupid and counterproductive to forbid a historical lie. The condemnation of revisionism as a gigantic intellectual swindle by the international scientific community is sufficient . . . on condition that the media refrain from providing too big a platform for the holders of counter-truths." Bédarida was the author of a booklet on World War II and the gas chambers that was distributed free of charge by the Nathan publishing house to all schoolteachers in an effort to counter revisionism.

Other Holocaust-Related Matters

The problematic relation of the French to their own past during the Second World War—the attempt to find a balance between the two equally false images of a totally "resistant" or a totally "collaborationist" France—was reflected in the ongoing difficulties involved in bringing René Bousquet to trial. Bousquet had served as secretary general of the Vichy police and was accused of responsibility in the arrests of Jews, particularly the mass arrests in July 1942. In May, 19 new complaints were lodged against him. That the issue was not only a legal one was crudely expressed by Ministerial Delegate to Justice Georges Kiejman, who declared, "Beyond the necessary fight against oblivion, it might seem important to preserve the civil peace," adding: "There are other ways than a trial to denounce the cowardice of the Vichy regime" (*Liberation*, October 22). Serge Klarsfeld fiercely denounced Kiejman, "this son of a Jewish deportee, appointed ministerial delegate to justice in order to ensure the impunity of the chief of the Vichy police" (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, October 25). He also deplored "the political refusal to pass judgment on the anti-Jewish actions of the Vichy government, its police and its administration" (quoted in *L'Événement du Jeudi*, December 27).

These events had to be understood in the context of the widespread ignorance of World War II that prevailed among a good part of the French postwar generation.
A survey published in *Le Monde* (June 13) covered two samples: one of 400 students in secondary schools and universities; the other of 200 persons representing the 18–44-year-old population at large. Fifty percent of the 18–44-year-olds (26 percent of the students) believed that “during the years of the Occupation, the main preoccupation of the majority of the French” was to “resist the occupier”; 33 percent (21 percent of the students) believed that it was “SS” who conducted the arrests of Jews in July 1942, 19 percent (14 percent of the students) that it was “German soldiers”; 44 percent (63 percent of the students) knew that the arrests had actually been carried out by the French police. Even more disturbing was the fact that while 65 percent of the 18–44-year-olds (80 percent of the students) felt that “the use in several concentration camps of toxic gas to kill the deportees” was “clearly proved,” 23 percent (15 percent of the students) felt that it was “a fact that happened but which has not been clearly proved”; and 10 percent (2 percent of the students) that it was “a fact that has not been clearly proved.”

Apart from highlighting the crucial importance of education, the poll showed the vulnerability of the postwar generation to revisionist or revisionist-type theories, despite intense efforts by both Jewish and non-Jewish bodies to maintain the memory of past events. In 1990, for instance, the city of Lyons hosted an exhibition on Anne Frank which was visited by some 50,000 school pupils. Among other initiatives, an association formed by the Jewish community of Lyons carried out a national fund-raising campaign, with the help of several non-Jewish celebrities, and in March acquired the house in Izieu where 44 Jewish children had been arrested by order of Klaus Barbie in 1944. The purpose of the association was to turn the site into a museum chiefly for children, with a permanent exhibition on the theme “How dictatorships are born.” In April the weekly *L'Express* published a heavily documented article on the camps in Beaune-la-Rolande and Pithiviers where Jewish children whose parents had been deported were held and kept in frightful conditions by the French police until their turn came to be deported, without the local population reacting in any way. An exhibition on “Vichy Propaganda,” prepared by the Museum of Contemporary History of the Library of Contemporary Documentation, opened in June in the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris. One of the exhibition organizers, historian Denis Peschansky, stated: “In order to fight racism and anti-Semitism effectively, the Vichy period has to be better known.”

**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. Still, new figures made public at the beginning of 1990—from a survey carried out in 1988 under the auspices of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU)—showed a number of interesting
developments over the previous 15 years. According to Erik H. Cohen, the main author of the 1988 study (writing in the Jewish monthly *L'Arche*, January 1990), one change was in the area of geographical distribution. Whereas in 1976 Jews were distributed roughly 50–50 between the provinces and Paris and surroundings, in 1988, 43.8 percent of Jewish families lived in the provinces, 26.2 percent in Paris suburbs, and 29.9 percent in the city of Paris. In terms of individuals, 41.4 percent resided in the provinces, 31.1 percent in Paris suburbs, and 27.5 percent in the city of Paris. Cohen also noted a movement toward the outer suburbs of Paris, to the detriment of the closer suburbs.

Regarding occupational distribution, he noted a strong movement toward higher executive and managerial positions and the professions (38 percent of the adult Jewish population were in this category), which he interpreted as a sign of a growing integration of the Jews in French society. A rise in intermarriage figures was also notable: 31 percent of 18–29-year-old married Jews were intermarried, with the rate declining by age: 26 percent among 30–49-year-old married Jews, and 14 percent among the 50-and-over married Jews. The birthrate, which had risen steadily from 1951–1955 through 1971–1976, thereafter took a downturn. In religious practice, 45 percent of Cohen's sample said they ate kosher food at home and 24 percent both at home and outside; 15 percent declared themselves to be observant.

According to sources in the Jewish Agency (*Jour J*, January 5), 1,100 Jews from France made *aliyah* in 1989 (up 1 percent). The same sources stressed that France was the only Western country whose immigration to Israel had not dropped.

**Communal Affairs**

The mass immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel was a matter of top priority for community institutions. Besides the traditional fund raising carried out by the United Jewish Appeal of France (AUJF), CRIF was active in the political sphere, working to counteract the propaganda that depicted Soviet immigration to Israel as a new obstacle to peace in the Middle East, accused Israel of settling the immigrants in the territories, and called on France to use its influence with the Soviet Union to stop emigration. CRIF raised the problem several times in meetings with French authorities (particularly in the meeting of April 26 between President Mitterrand and the president of CRIF, Jean Kahn, who was accompanied by the president of the commission on Soviet Jewry of CRIF). Stressing the fact that only a tiny minority of the immigrants were indeed settling in the territories, CRIF called for France to consider providing economic aid for integration of the new immigrants. Soviet immigration was also discussed in a meeting on February 1 between Chief Rabbi Joseph Sitruk and Prime Minister Michel Rocard. An appeal signed by several dozen intellectuals, published in the general press, called for solidarity with Soviet Jews and Israel and appealed for humanitarian relief. News of the anti-Jewish activities of Pamyat in the USSR and rumors of a possible wave of anti-Semitism created much concern. The French Union of Jewish Students (UEJF)
demonstrated against what was perceived as an immediate danger to Soviet Jews.

The question of the "Jewishness" of Soviet Jews immigrating to Israel became a subject for internal communal debate, with more traditional circles suggesting that attention should be given not only to material integration but to spiritual integration as well. The broader implication of the debate was a question about the use made in Israel of funds raised in the Diaspora. When asked by the daily *Jour J* (June 15) to comment on the request by some French religious leaders that the United Jewish Appeal set aside 15 percent of the raised funds for "the spiritual integration of Soviet Jews," Chief Rabbi Sitruk replied carefully: "I think this is an interesting approach. . . . One has to negotiate. Today, those who give the money do not want to be only cows waiting to be milked. They also want to give their views on the way their funds are used. This seems to me very healthy and very responsible."

The fate of Syrian Jewry remained of concern, although nothing seemed to change in that situation. March 4 was a day devoted by the community to a national conference on Syrian Jewry.

Other opportunities for communal involvement came in the wake of developments in Eastern Europe. At the beginning of the year, the FSJU put its organization at the disposal of a national movement for solidarity with the Rumanian people and launched an "SOS-Rumania" campaign, together with ten other Jewish organizations, including CRIF and the European Jewish Congress.

Humanitarian efforts were also directed close to home. Despite the high degree of social integration and prosperity in the French Jewish community revealed by the sociological surveys, many Jews in France were caught in the wave of unemployment and poverty affecting the nation as a whole. In December 1989, the FSJU national council decided to include in its 1990 budget the sum of 15 million francs (almost $3 million) for social welfare. In February, the CASIP (Comité d'Action Sociale Israélite de Paris), a philanthropic organization created in 1809, together with the Paris Consistory, organized "Tsedakah Sabbath." This gave the director of CASIP, Gabriel Vadnai, an opportunity to publicize the fact that his association was providing full support for some 6,500 families and helping the hundred or so families who still came to France every year from North Africa, most of the time in difficult circumstances. CASIP's activity included a clothing service, an employment office, a students' residence, a residence for old people, and a day nursery.

"What is important," said Vadnai, "is that people know that there are in France Jews who are poor, Jews who are unemployed, Jews who are in a social situation of great precariousness. One should know that all Jews are not rich, that the poorest have not all gone to Israel, in contrast with what some would like to believe."

France acquired its first female rabbi in 1990. Rabbi Pauline Bebe, 26, who was ordained in London after three years' study at the Leo Baeck Institute, started her duties as a rabbi on September 1 in the synagogue of the Mouvement Juif Libéral de France (MJLF), created in 1977 by Rabbi Daniel Farhi. The MJLF community included some 1,200 families in Paris and belonged to the World Union of Liberal Judaism.
ISRAEL-RELATED ACTIVITY

The traditional solidarity of French Jewish institutions with Israel was reiterated on different occasions, such as the terrorist attack on a bus transporting Israeli tourists on the road between Cairo and Ismalia in Egypt, in which 10 people were killed and 16 wounded (February 5), an incident that produced intense emotion. In line with its official neutrality in Israeli affairs, the CRIF welcomed the new Israeli government constituted in June by expressing the wish that “in the traces of the peace process initiated by the former [Israeli] government, all efforts will be made to quickly conclude negotiations that will restore peace and put an end to all violence.”

The consensus on Israel was disturbed, however, when former CRIF president Théo Klein allowed a letter to be published (Jour J, June 18) that he had sent to Israeli president Chaim Herzog on June 1. In the letter, Klein asked what he called an “anguished question,” wondering whether, in the event that “the government of Israel was to refuse any meeting with a Palestinian delegation even close to PLO, we Jews in the Diaspora—fraternal allies of Israel directly concerned with its future—would not be led, if not morally forced, to explore the reality of a political opening newly proclaimed in the name of that organization.” Klein insisted on the word “explore,” which did not mean “negotiate,” but his letter evoked strong reactions. CRIF president Jean Kahn repeated the terms of his June message, which he said expressed “the feeling of the whole Jewish community” and to which he was not willing to add anything, for the sake “of the unity of our community.” Kahn stressed that Klein had expressed his own personal views (Jour J, June 19).

The reaction of the consistory was far more bitter. On June 20, Jour J published a message to President Herzog signed by Chief Rabbi Sitruk, Paris chief rabbi Alain Goldmann, the president of the Central Consistory, Jean-Paul Elkann, and the president of the Paris Consistory, Benny Cohen, expressing their “total confidence in the actions taken by Israeli leaders.” They maintained that the “democratically appointed” Israeli government “should not be the object of any pressure from the Diaspora,” and that “any person who would do so... should do it personally and not through the press.” The summer vacation period and the tension in the Persian Gulf area more or less put an end to the polemics.

The incident in October on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem was met with a fairly embarrassed statement by CRIF (October 17), which declared that the organization “grieved for the dead of all religions in Beirut, Jerusalem, Kuwait, and the sufferings of the hostages of all countries detained in Iraq.” CRIF added that “linking the oil problems, the physical destruction of the independent state of Kuwait, and the future of the Palestinians, went against both common sense and morals.”

The Gulf crisis, above all the isolation of Israel—totally deprived of tourism in the last months of 1990—was a matter of deep concern to the Jewish community in this period. CRIF organized a “mission of solidarity” to Israel, with 400 participants, November 25–28. So did several other organizations, among them FSJU,
which marked its 40th anniversary by sending a mass mission to Israel by way of Budapest, where the participants met Soviet immigrants and shared the same plane to Israel.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

The process of German unification was carefully followed in Jewish circles, with the full knowledge that whatever one's opinion, the process was ineluctable. Attention focused mainly on the acceptance by a unified Germany of its historical responsibilities. Apart from steps taken together with the head of the German Jewish community, CRIF president Kahn met with Lutz Stavenhagen, the German minister for European Affairs, on September 24, and expressed concern about the absence from the preamble of the unification treaty of any explicit allusion to the years 1933–1945. In an interview with Le Figaro (October 5), Kahn repeated his view that "the unification of Germany should not be made at the price of a partial, or, even worse, total, amnesia." But the next day, Kahn expressed his satisfaction with the statements of President Richard von Weizsäcker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl on German responsibility for "Jewish martyrdom" (Le Monde, October 6).

Internal Debates

Debate continued this year on the nature of the Jewish community and Jewish pluralism. Les Nouveaux Cahiers, the quarterly of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, devoted a large part of its 100th issue, published in the spring, to this question. It included a paper by historian Pierre Birnbaum on "Citizenship and Particularism," one by sociologist Martine Cohen under the title "From Integration . . . to Social Separatism?" in which the author wondered about "the weight of active minorities," and a debate chaired by David Kessler in which Rabbi Gilles Bemheim, philosopher Alain Finkielkraut, and philosopher Sylvie Jessua shared their thoughts on the confrontation between secular and religious Jews.

The nature of the relationship of Jews to the State of Israel became an issue when the French press reported a statement made by Chief Rabbi Sitruk in Israel: "Every Jew from France is a representative of Israel" (Jour J, July 10). Philosopher Alain Finkielkraut reacted angrily on a major radio station, saying that he "would have expected to find [those words] in the mouth of an anti-Semite rather than in the mouth of a chief rabbi" (France-Inter, July 10, quoted in Jour J, July 12). Rabbi Sitruk clarified his point in a statement the same day, in which he said: "I just wanted to express the idea that the Jewish people stand together all around the world and in Israel. . . . I did not have in mind the faintest idea of dual loyalty." He added: "The community does not talk with one voice. It is heterogeneous and pluralistic. I am tired of those maneuvers which try to oppose one part of the community to the other."
The question of Jewish communal representation was also at stake. The gentlemen's agreement that had been in force for several decades, dividing areas of responsibility between the major organizations (political representation to the CRIF, religious and moral authority to the consistories and the chief rabbi, culture and welfare to the FSJU), came under heavy questioning. In an interview with Jour J (June 26), the newly elected president of the Paris Consistory, Benny Cohen, was asked: "Are you entitled to speak in the name of the community?" He answered: "We are the only real representatives of the community. The Paris Consistory controls around a hundred synagogues. If one takes into account that two hundred people regularly attend [the services in] each synagogue, we represent 20,000 people. We are the first Jewish organization in France, probably in Europe, maybe in the world." Cohen also presented the chief rabbi of France as the leader of the Jewish community: "The recent events in Carpentras have shown that the leader of the Jewish community in France at the highest level is indeed the chief rabbi of France. I take as proof the presence of President Mitterrand at his home." Benny Cohen then questioned the authority of CRIF: "It is true that the CRIF represents many organizations, but those organizations do not represent very much. I do not see in whose name they speak." He concluded: "The Consistory is recognized and accepted by the entire population. We are very close to the community and the community is very close to us. . . ."

Cohen's statements highlighted a number of existing problems that went beyond institutional or personal ambitions. First, the gap between the size of the Jewish community (around 600,000) and the low rate of participation in Jewish communal life (including the consistories, even with the unavoidable links created through synagogues, weddings, divorces, burials, and consumption of kosher food). Second, the problem of the political representation of a body, the "Jewish community," which was more an aggregation of individuals than an officially constituted entity. Third, the growing conflict between advocates of unconditional support of Israel and a more critical stance, a conflict that CRIF perpetually sought to transcend by adopting "consensual" positions which neither satisfied nor dissatisfied anybody fully. Fourth was the question of the definition of the Jewish community as a religious or as a secular entity. And fifth was the ambiguous role played, consciously or not, by the French authorities. When President Mitterrand chose, after Carpentras, to pay a visit to the chief rabbi of France and not the president of CRIF, he might have (although there was no evidence) been demonstrating his discontent over the fierceness of CRIF's reactions in 1988-89 to the presence of Yasir Arafat in Strasbourg and then in Paris.

CRIF's answer to Benny Cohen took the form of an interview with its president, Jean Kahn, in Jour J (June 28). Kahn refered to his agreement with the chief rabbi of France "on a precise definition" of the role of each. If we acknowledged him, said Kahn, as the highest moral authority of the Jewish community in France, he himself wanted CRIF to maintain the political reponsibility for the community, as it had done for the last 40 years. Kahn offered his own experience as president of the Jewish
community in Strasbourg as an example of what should be achieved on the national level: "I believe that I have been successful in protecting the unity of that community, since one finds there observant Jews, Jews who are less observant, and Jews who feel linked to Judaism only by cultural and historical ties."

The president of FSJU, David de Rothschild, tried to defuse the debate. "I might be wrong or I might be right, but I tend to think that there is neither a crisis nor a mini-crisis. There is a community leader who recently came into office [Cohen], . . . who made a sharp, a little hasty, a little inopportune statement. It happens. I am convinced that he is aware of that situation." Finally, on June 28, Chief Rabbi Sitruk, president of CRIF Jean Kahn, president of FSJU David de Rothschild, and president of the Paris Consistory Benny Cohen held a meeting and issued a communiqué in which they "jointly assessed the primacy of CRIF in the political representation of the Jewish institutions in France and reiterated their confidence in CRIF's leaders. They acknowledged the absolute necessity of a strengthened cooperation in order to make possible the harmonious coexistence of all trends of thought inside the community." The communiqué put an end to the quarrel and CRIF called on its members to behave as if nothing had happened.

Culture

A number of symposiums and study days took place this year, on more diverse subjects than usual. The 950th anniversary of Rashi's birth was marked by events throughout the year in Rashi's home city of Troyes, where the erection of a Rashi memorial was announced. In February the Rashi European Academic Institute (Institut universitaire européen Rachi, inaugurated in 1989, chaired by René-Samuel Sirat) organized a symposium on Rashi and Bernard de Clairvaux, the founder of the Benedictine monastic order. In April a study day was devoted by WIZO to the theme of "The Jewish Woman and Study." In July the European Association for Jewish Studies gathered several dozen academics from all over the world for a symposium, organized by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna and René-Samuel Sirat. In December, Gallia Judaica, a team of researchers directed by historian Gérard Nahon, held a symposium on the theme "Jewish Culture in Medieval Northern France: From Rashi to the Tosafists, the French Talmud."

Israeli culture was represented in Paris, from January to April, through dance, poetry (the poet Haim Gouri appeared at the Centre Georges Pompidou on February 12), art, and film (starting April 24, the Paris film library showed a series of Israeli films, 30 of them presented in France for the first time). Cinema was also the theme of the "Jewish Culture Days on the Screen" (February 3–8) in the Rashi Cultural Center in Paris, with a program prepared by the Institute for Audiovisual Jewish Memory (Institut de la Mémoire Audiovisuelle Juive).

A European convention of Sephardi youth took place in March—preparatory to the world Sephardi convention planned for the end of the year in Jerusalem—with delegations from Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain. The meetings
focused on the theme of “Jews and Sephardim, an Identity, a Future.” In May the World Jewish Congress, the Center for Hebrew Law (Centre de Droit Hébraïque) of Paris II University, and Paris I University offered a symposium on “Jews and Judaism in Europe After 1492,” with the participation of several academics from Eastern Europe. Among the speakers were Michael Chlenov, member of the Moscow Academy of Science; Valeri Engel, president of the Moscow Jewish Historical Association; and, on the French side, Robert Badinter, René-Samuel Sirat, André Kaspi, Doris Bensimon, Mireille Hadas-Lebel, and Haim Vidal Sephiha. Also in May, European B’nai B’rith, WIZO, and the Union of French Jewish Students had a “day of reflection” in which, among others, Annie Kriegel, Joseph Rovan, and Alexandre Adler shared their feelings on “religion and politics in Eastern Europe,” “the Jewish condition and the crisis of the nation-state,” and “rebirth of anti-Semitism?” In October the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, an archives and research center on the Holocaust) held a symposium organized by Renouveau Juif, the association of sons and daughters of Jewish deportees in France, and the commission for memory of CRIF. The subject was the status of the Jews under Vichy; the chairman was Robert Badinter.

The 1990 Buchman Prize for a work on the history of the Holocaust was awarded to journalist and writer André Frossard, member of the French Academy, a former Resistance member and victim of Klaus Barbie, who published Le Crime contre l’humanité, his testimony at the Barbie trial. The 31st colloquium of French-speaking intellectuals was to have taken place in mid-December, but various last-minute difficulties forced the organizers to cancel it.

From November 20 until January 31, 1991, the Museum of Jewish Art in Paris displayed a major exhibition of work by Devi Tuszynski (“the prince of miniature”), on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

In the Jewish press, the major event was the discontinuation of the daily Jour J after 15 months of existence. Jour J had announced a temporary stoppage in July for the summer vacation, but was unable to restart in September. Despite the widespread feeling in community circles that a daily was an indispensable source of information, Jour J had not been able to gather more than 1,400 subscribers, which was not sufficient to ensure its survival.

Publications

Among many books published in 1990, a number were devoted to World War II. Robert et Jeanne. A Lyon sous l’Occupation (“Robert and Jeanne: In Lyons during the occupation”) by Annette Kahn evoked the memory of the author’s parents, Jews and resisters, and their tragic story (the mother was deported to Auschwitz on August 11, 1944, and the father was executed in Lyons on August 24, 1944). L’oeuvre de secours aux enfants (OSE) sous l’Occupation en France (“The rescue of children under French occupation”) by Sabine Zeitoun is an adaptation of the
author's doctoral dissertation, a detailed study of the work of an organization devoted to saving children, which provides insights into the question of UGIF (the Jewish organization created by Vichy). In *Ces enfants qui nous manquent* ("Those children we miss"), Antoine Spire tries to reconstruct the route and life of the children of Izieu, chiefly through use of the letters they sent to their parents. Alain Michel's *L'étoile et la francisque—Des institutions juives sous Vichy* is based on the archives of the consistory during World War II, which were saved and kept after the war by the late Maurice Moch.

Several new publications were devoted to Jewish thought. These included *L'Ecclésiaste et son double araméen* (on Kohelet and its Targum) by Charles Mopsik; *Ouvertures hassidiques* ("Hassidic overtures") by Marc-Alain Ouaknin, an introduction to the world and thought of Hassidism; *Prophètes, talmudistes, philosophes* by Charles Touati, a collection of papers on the debates between Jewish thinkers from antiquity to modern times; and *La littérature rabbinique* by Maurice-Ruben Hayoun.

The attitudes of Christian intellectuals toward Jews and Judaism in medieval Europe is the subject of Gilbert Dahan's carefully documented work *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen-Age*. In *Amsterdam au temps de Spinoza, argent et liberté*, Henry Mechoulan analyzes the relationship between the spiritual debates and the economic and social conditions of Amsterdam in that period. Another historical work is a biography of the chief rabbi of the Ottoman Empire, Haim Nahoum, *Un grand rabbin sépharade en politique 1892-1923* by Esther Benbassa. In *Le Bosphore à la Roquette: la communauté judéo-espagnole à Paris: 1914-1940*, Annie Benveniste provides a sociological profile of a Judeo-Spanish community in Paris. Jean Baumgarten is the author of an introduction to the history of the Yiddish language, *Le yiddish*. The relationship of Marx and the Marxists to Judaism is treated in two books: Enzo Traverso's *Les marxistes et la question juive, histoire d'un débat (1843-1943)*, and Francis Kaplan's *Marx antisémite?* André Chouraqui's autobiography, *L'amour fort comme la mort* ("Love as strong as death"), could be considered both a historical document and an account of a fascinating life. The author was born in Algeria, fought in the Resistance in France in 1941, immigrated to Israel in 1956 and became deputy mayor of Jerusalem, where he constantly promoted dialogue and peace between peoples and translated into French both the Bible and the Koran.

Several new books were devoted to French or French-speaking Jewry. In the literary sphere, the *Anthologie des poètes juifs de langue française de la Renaissance à nos jours* by Jacques Eladan contains texts from four centuries. In a philosophical work, *La joie austère*, former chief rabbi René-Samuel Sirat engages in dialogue with interviewer Emmanuel Hirsch. In the area of sociology, in *Les enfants du juif errant* ("The children of the wandering Jew"), Fernande Schulmann presents the results of some 30 interviews with French-speaking Jews living in Israel. The development of the Jewish community in France since the Emancipation is the subject of a collective work published under the editorship of Pierre Birnbaum, *Histoire politique*...
des juifs de France, with contributions by, among several others, Phyllis Cohen Albert, Alain Dieckhoff, Dominique Schnapper, Aron Rodrigue, and Pierre-André Taguieff. In Les juifs dans la politique française, de 1945 à nos jours, Maurice Szafran discusses Jews and politics in France and the relations of Jewish politicians with their community. In Mitterrand, Israël et les juifs, Yves Azeroual and Yves Derai provide a journalistic account which contains—together with a few mistakes—some original documents, such as an account of the difficult meeting between the CRIF and President Mitterrand after Arafat's first visit to Paris. Juif-en-France is a collection of essays and articles by the former president of the Paris Consistory, Emile Touati, containing his reflections which, he explains in the introduction, are "not academic" but "rooted in the factual experience of a militant and a community leader."

**Personalia**

The following were made knights in the Order of the Legion of Honor: Albert Mallet, president of the local Jewish radio station Radio-Shalom; lawyer Yves Jouffa, president of the League for Human Rights; Raphael Hadas-Lebel, councillor of state; Gilberte Djian, former president of French WIZO and president of the French section of the World Jewish Congress; Jacques Lévy, general director of the Alliance Israélite Universelle; Dr. Jean Marx, honorary president of the Jewish community of Avignon; lawyer Joseph Roubache, founder of the France-Israel Association of Lawyers and president of the French committee of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers. The following were made officers of the Legion of Honor: Henry Bulawko, honorary president of CRIF; François Bernard, councillor of state and former principal private secretary of Minister of Defense Charles Hernu; Rabbi Charles Liché of the Place des Vosges Synagogue in Paris and president of an association providing financial aid to schools.

William Goldnadel, attorney and leader of Renouveau Juif, was elected president of the Center for Information and Documentation on Israel and the Middle East (CIDIP). Aude Weill-Raynal, lawyer, was elected vice-president. Marc Rocheman was elected the new president of the Union of Jewish Students in France (UEJF) in December 1989. David Kessler, philosopher and official at the Council of State, was chosen as the new president of the Jewish Liberal Movement in France (MJLF). Odette Kurz, president of the French section of WIZO, had to resign for personal reasons and was replaced by Nora Gaillaud-Hofman.

Among prominent Jews who died in 1990 were Rabbi Abraham Edery, director of Ozar Ha-Torah France, a network of Orthodox Jewish schools; Polish-born David Szmulenski, a pioneer in Palestine, fighter in Spain in 1936, Resistance fighter in France, arrested in 1941 and deported to Auschwitz after having been in several jails and camps, who stayed in Poland in 1945 and came back to France in 1968, aged 78; Henri Fiszbin, son of Jewish immigrants from Poland, former member of the Communist party, and leader of a breakaway group that joined the Socialist
party in 1988, aged 59; Frédéric Rossif, born in Montenegro, lived in Paris since 1945, cinema and TV film producer (*Mourir à Madrid*, *Le Temps du Ghetto*, *Un Mur à Jérusalem*, *De Nuremberg à Nuremberg*), aged 68; Rabbi Israel Salzer, chief rabbi of Marseilles from 1929 to 1974, a translator of the Gemara into French, wartime chaplain in the underground, aged 85; Dr. Sigismond Hirsch, Resistance member arrested in 1943, later a member of both consistories, aged 84; André Amar, Salonikan-born, studied philosophy at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, member of the Jewish Resistance, arrested in July 1944, escaped from the last convoy to Auschwitz, helped organize postwar services for Jewish deportees, president of the executive of the United Jewish Appeal of France, member of the central committees of the Alliance and of the French section of the World Jewish Congress, member of the planning committee for the colloquiums of French-speaking intellectuals, banker, teacher of the history of ideas, and author, aged 82; Rabbi Haim Yaakov Rottenberg, head of the ultra-Orthodox community in France, founder of a yeshivah and a kollel (150 students) and the Yad Mordekhai network of schools (350 students); Emeric Kohn, born in Hungary, living in France since 1931, honorary director of the Paris Consistory, former secretary general of the Eclaireurs Israélites de France (the Jewish scouts), former head of the section for reception and rehabilitation in the Social Service for Youth, head of the section for fund raising in the FSJU, secretary general of CASIP, secretary general and later director of the Paris Consistory, aged 77; Jean Zacklad, teacher of philosophy in the Yavne Jewish secondary school and author, aged 61; Pierre Auer, president of the Association of Jewish Pharmacists in France, member of the commission for political studies of CRIF, organizer of interfaith meetings on ethics and recent medical research.

Nelly Hansson
The Year 1990 was one of relative political stability and economic prosperity in the Netherlands. Inflation was negligible—2¼ percent—half that of any other European Community country. However, because the government deficit necessitated cuts in the expenditures of most government departments and the institution of wage controls, the governing coalition (Christian Democrats—CDA, and Labor—PvdA)—which had taken office in 1989 with the slogan of “social renewal”—was unable to implement many of its campaign promises. Inevitable resentment among many of those usually voting Labor resulted in serious losses for that party during the municipal elections of March 21, particularly in Amsterdam, traditionally a Labor bulwark. The extreme right-wing Centrum Democrats (CD) and Centrum parties (CP) increased their representation from 0.9 percent to only 1.1 percent, thus—despite the mass presence of immigrants in the country—remaining a negligible factor.

Unemployment continued to drop, owing to increased job vacancies (though unemployment among recent immigrants remained high). Still, some very large firms announced layoffs, among them Philips Electronics, Fokker Aircraft, KLM Aviation, AKZO, and Shell. They blamed a variety of causes, such as the low exchange rate of the dollar and foreign competition, as well as high wages. It was expected that as a result of the newly relaxed relations between East and West, Dutch defense industries and the armed forces would have to be cut back. In fact, beginning October 29, compulsory service for young men of military age was reduced from 14 to 12 months.

At the end of November, the country registered its 15-millionth inhabitant. The number of Muslims, and, to a lesser extent, of Hindus and Buddhists—the latter two categories mainly so-called Hindustanis from Suriname—had risen dramatically. In 1960 there were only some 1,400 Muslims in Holland and 175 Hindus and Buddhists. In 1990 these figures had risen to 460,000 Muslims and 80,000 Hindus and Buddhists. Whereas in 1960 there had been only one mosque in the country, that of the Ahmadiyyah movement in The Hague, there were now at least 200 mosques, often in premises originally constructed for some other purpose. Nationally, the percentage of so-called allochthones, or immigrants, most of them from Asia and Africa, was about 6 percent, but higher in the big cities.

The number of those applying for political asylum amounted to some 22,000 in 1990. Among the applicants were several hundred Palestinians from Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan and some 200 Russian Jews. These 22,000 were in addition to
many thousands who were still awaiting a final decision on their applications. This process could take up to three years since applicants who were rejected could appeal twice to a higher court, with the help of specialized lawyers paid by the Ministry of Justice. Some 85 percent of the applications were rejected; however, of those who appealed, close to 62 percent were eventually recognized as political refugees. Many of those whose applications had been finally rejected were still allowed to remain in Holland for the time being, as “tolerated” refugees, because conditions in their countries of origin were too unstable. Throughout their stay in Holland, applicants for political asylum were housed at government expense in absorption centers. There were, in addition, 50,000 to 100,000 illegal residents in Holland.

The fight against environmental pollution was a matter of major concern. On June 14, the government announced a National Milieu Plan, with over $5 billion to be made available for clean-up in 1990, rising to $8 billion in 1994.

**Gulf War**

Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2 and the subsequent UN decision to place an embargo on Iraqi oil shipments, on August 13 the Dutch government agreed to send two navy frigates to the Persian Gulf, with a crew of 360, including 21 women, to help in enforcing the embargo. They left in September and were later joined by a navy supply ship. The entire Parliament had approved sending the vessels, with the exception of the Green Left—a merger of three extreme left-wing parties, including the Communists.

Between August and December, attention was focused on the fate of the 232 Dutch nationals stranded in Iraq and Kuwait—150 in Iraq and 82 in Kuwait—who were held as hostages there. Those in Iraq included 104 employees of two Dutch dredging companies who were engaged, under contract to Iraq, in dredging the Shatt-al-Arab near Umm al-Qasr. They were not actually considered hostages and for various reasons received little attention from the news media. After a few weeks, all the women, except one, and the children were allowed to leave for Holland. At the insistence of the Dutch government, the Dutch nationals in Kuwait were moved to Baghdad. These Dutch “hostages” included, in addition to a few stranded tourists, employees of Dutch firms and also private businessmen, many of whom had lived in Kuwait or Iraq for many years. A few managed to escape on their own.

Those remaining in Baghdad, as well as their relatives in Holland, who had formed a Committee of Relatives, became increasingly restive when some other countries, such as Belgium and West Germany, sent semi-official missions to Iraq to try and win the release of their own nationals, regardless of the material or political costs involved. Dutch foreign minister Hans van den Broek, however, refused to do the same, for reasons of principle, and his decision received Parliament’s approval. Various attempts to send a delegation of the Committee of Relatives or an internationally known Dutch former politician as an emissary to Iraq came to nought. The hostages in Iraq sent a group open letter to the Dutch govern-
ment demanding that it do everything possible to obtain their release, political principles notwithstanding. In the end, in December, Saddam Hussein suddenly allowed all of them to go. The 104 employees of the two dredging companies, who had actually completed their work in October, were allowed to leave Iraq a little later, along with their very valuable equipment, after protracted inspection by the Iraqi authorities of their work and after—so it was reported—the two firms had made important financial concessions.

Relations with Israel

The Dutch government continued to withhold diplomatic status from Afif Safieh, the PLO representative in The Hague and to consider him only as the director of the PLO Information Office. At his request, an informal meeting took place on April 24 between Foreign Minister van den Broek, himself, and Nabil Sha'ath, of PLO headquarters in Tunisia. The Arabs asked the foreign minister to use his good contacts with Israel and the United States to promote the peace process in the Middle East. Van den Broek in turn insisted that the PLO maintain its unconditional recognition of the State of Israel's right of existence and its renunciation of all terrorism and that it be unequivocal in its statements.

The Dutch Labor party, the PvdA, sent a delegation headed by its party chairwoman, Marianne Sint, to PLO headquarters in the spring, where it met with Yasir Arafat. The PLO leader urged the European Community to play a larger role in promoting an international peace conference on the Middle East.

In January the delegation of the Netherlands Council of Churches that had visited Israel and the occupied areas in September 1989, at the request of the Middle East Council of Churches (see AJYB 1991, p. 281), published its report, which was severely critical of Israel. Relations between the OJEC (the Consultative Council of Jews and Christians) and the Netherlands Council of Churches remained suspended throughout the year. The break occurred after the chairman of the Council of Churches, Prof. Dirk C. Mulder, spoke at a solidarity meeting with Palestinians in The Hague on November 23, 1989.

A delegation of the Middle East Council of Churches paid a visit to the Netherlands in the spring and addressed several meetings. On the advice of their hosts, the Netherlands Council of Churches, the group avoided contact with the OJEC and also with the Dutch branch of the International Council for Peace in the Middle East.

The Women in Black, a small, largely Jewish group, continued to hold their one-hour demonstrations in Amsterdam the second Friday afternoon of each month as a protest against Israel's rule over the occupied areas.

Zeev Suffoth, who had been Israel's ambassador to The Hague for five years, returned to Israel in September. He was succeeded by Michael N. Bavly. Afif Safieh was promoted to PLO representative in London in September. He was succeeded in The Hague by Leila Shahid, a granddaughter of Jamal al-Husseini.
Holocaust-Related Matters

The 50th anniversary of the German invasion of the Netherlands on May 10, 1940, and the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation on May 15, 1945, were observed on a grand scale with official ceremonies, national and local, and with a host of newspaper articles and features, radio and TV programs, and new books. In addition, a number of local monuments were unveiled, dedicated to those who fell during those years as members of the resistance and to Dutch Jews who perished.

On May 3, Dutch television presented the last, the 21st, segment of the documentary series "The Occupation," by Dr. Louis de Jong, former director of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation (and, incidentally, a Jew). The first of the weekly installments had been shown in December 1989. The series was a revision, based on new material, of a program first presented between 1960 and 1965. The series was also made available in book form.

A TV program of special Jewish interest was a documentary on the Westerbork transit camp for Jews, made by the Dutch-Jewish documentary filmmaker Willy Lindwer. In Westerbork, Camp of Hope and Despair, 17 survivors, some of them now living in Israel, were interviewed. The text of the documentary also appeared in book form and was slated to be published in English translation.

A number of older commercial films based on episodes during the German occupation of the Netherlands were shown again in this period. Films of Jewish interest included The Ice Cream Parlor, about the attack on the ice cream parlor owned by two German Jews in Amsterdam in February 1941 that led to the deportation of the first group of over 400 young Jews from that city.

A symposium on the impact of World War II on literature and art was held at the Protestant Free University in Amsterdam. The papers also appeared in book form, with the title Overal Sporen ("Traces Everywhere"), edited by D. H. Schram and C. Geljon.

The Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation (RIO), together with the Netherlands Historical Society and the Institute for Dutch History, organized a symposium in May: "Fifty Years After the Invasion," which dealt with World War II and the German occupation of the Netherlands. The younger generation of Dutch historians who took part tended to be critical of historians like Louis de Jong who, in their view, judged events too much in terms of "good" and "bad" and were too subjective, overly influenced by their personal experiences or those of their relatives. They also regarded the term "accommodation" as more suitable than "collaboration."

Among the exhibitions that opened for the anniversaries were "In Hiding" at the Resistance Museum in Amsterdam; "Posters 1940–45" at the Royal Library in The Hague; and "Liberation" at the Jewish Museum in Amsterdam. The Anne Frank Foundation produced nine video portraits in which nine eyewitnesses, including some Jews, told of their experiences during the war. Some of these videotapes—which were available to secondary schools and other institutions—were shown on television.
A historic phonograph record was reissued this year. Titled "Two Kids and a Guitar," it contained the songs of two leading Jewish cabaret artists of the 1930s—"Johnny and Jones" (Arnold van Wesel and Max Kannewasser). The men were imprisoned in Westerbork, where they performed, and from where they were eventually deported.

Compared with ten museums in Holland in 1980 which dealt with World War II and the German occupation of the Netherlands, either as their sole theme or as part of their exhibitions, there were now 20 such museums. Of these, six were devoted exclusively to this theme, two to the fate of the Jews—the one at Westerbork and the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam. The six museums together published a brochure about their programs, which sought not only to show what had happened in the past but also to make connections with the present and future and to warn against racism and discrimination.

The Anne Frank House drew 647,500 visitors in 1990, against some 600,000 in 1989. This placed it third in museum attendance in Amsterdam, after the Rijksmuseum, noted for its Rembrandts, and the Van Gogh Museum.

A group of private individuals proposed to establish a new monument at Westerbork, in addition to the 1971 railway-track monument designed by Ralph Prins. The new work would consist of 102,000 stones—for the 102,000 persons deported from the camp to their deaths—costing 25 Dutch florins ($1.25) each.

A new book about World War II, by Gerard Aalders and Cees Wiebes, published both in Dutch and in Swedish, described the economic collaboration with Nazi Germany of the Swedish Wallenberg Bank, headed by two uncles of Raoul Wallenberg. The authors suggest that this connection may have played a role in the diplomat's arrest by the Soviets in Budapest in January 1945.

The Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (Joods Maatschappelijk Werk, JMW), whose work until recently largely involved processing applications for government payments under the law for payments to war victims (WUV), now devoted much of its attention to the problems of the "second generation," the children of survivors. To that end, in June it organized a weekend for second-generation Jews or "persons with a Jewish background," which attracted 160 participants and was subsidized by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Culture. For many of the participants, this was their first contact with a large group of other Jews. In addition to these 160, some 300 others showed an interest in the counseling offered by the JMW. Among its other activities, the organization decided to arrange regional meetings and discussion groups in which problems of Jewish identity could be dealt with. It also commissioned a playwright to write about the relationships of second-generation Jews with their parents. The resulting play was performed in 20 locations all over the country by a small company consisting entirely of non-Jewish actors.

On the occasion of its tenth anniversary, the Information and Coordination Organization for Service to War Victims, or ICODO, organized the Second European Conference on Post-Traumatic Stress, held September 23–27. The ICODO, which deals with all kinds of traumatic experiences resulting from World War II,
and which cooperates closely with the JMW but does not work exclusively with Jews, now gave attention as well to the problems of children of Dutch Nazi parents. A special foundation, KOMBI, financed by the ICODO, which in turn was subsidized by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Culture, organized encounter groups of children of war victims, Jewish and otherwise, with children of Nazi parents.

**Anti-Semitism**

As in 1989, few cases of overt anti-Semitism were reported in 1990, according to STIBA, the Foundation for Combating Anti-Semitism in the Netherlands. On February 11, STIBA celebrated its tenth anniversary with a symposium, "The Holocaust and the Present," in Amsterdam. Among the participants were Raul Hilberg of the United States and the West German ambassador to The Hague, Otto von der Gablentz (who was appointed ambassador to Israel in October).

One episode this year aroused controversy and charges of anti-Semitism. It concerned a retired professor of sociology and publicist, Johan A. A. van Doorn. Commenting in his regular weekly column of October 18 in the daily *NRC Handelsblad* on the clash on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem in which a number of Palestinians were killed by local police, van Doorn—who on several previous occasions had given indication that he did not like Jews—wrote that not only did Israel apply censorship to journalists there but that "Jewish journalists" elsewhere were expected to practice self-censorship with regard to Israel. This ignited a storm of protests. When asked by the newspaper to apologize, he did so only half-heartedly, at the same time offering "evidence" for his allegation about Jewish journalists. The paper then wrote that van Doorn had "exceeded the limits of propriety," which in turn caused a new storm of protests that the *NRC Handelsblad* had restricted a journalist's freedom of expression. Van Doorn himself then resigned, but immediately found employment as a columnist for the weekly *Haagse Post*.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

**Demography**

The total number of Jews in the Netherlands was estimated to be about 25,000, the large majority of whom were unaffiliated with the Jewish community.

The Netherlands Ashkenazi community (Nederlands Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap, NIK) this year introduced a different method of counting its members, including as such only those who gave positive evidence of wanting to be considered members. It arrived at a membership of some 6,000, of whom over half were in Amsterdam and the adjoining suburb of Amstelveen. The Hague area and the Rotterdam area each had some 400 members. The remainder were divided among 30 communities, 10 of them medium-sized, with from 220 to 85 members, and 20 smaller.
Communal Affairs

In May the NIK celebrated the 175th anniversary of its founding with a gala concert by eight famous cantors from Israel, the United States, and Canada, held in the large Sephardi synagogue and attended by some 1,300 persons. Interest in the event was so great that many who wanted tickets had to be refused for lack of space. (A cassette of the concert was later made available.)

In connection with the anniversary, the NIK prepared a documentary on its history, which was shown on television, and published a booklet about the organization and its activities. In addition, the NIK contributed the sum of 100,000 Dutch florins ($50,000) for a social-cultural center for the absorption of Jews from the Soviet Union in Kiryat Gat in Israel and funds for two projects in the USSR: a monthlong Jewish education seminar in Moscow in August, which was attended by some 60 future teachers from all over the Soviet Union, and two Jewish day nurseries, in Kharkov in the Ukraine and in Tashkent. The projects were undertaken together with the Mahanayim Jewish Heritage Center in Jerusalem and Moscow.

In Amsterdam the three communal rabbis reached agreement on new procedures for kashrut supervision and ritual slaughtering. According to one of the three, Frank Lewis, a newcomer from Great Britain, the system had not been strict enough. The Jewish Communal Center of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community, located in Van der Boechorst Street, underwent extensive renovations this year. A new, modern, kosher vegetarian restaurant opened in Amsterdam, called Hatikvah.

The first section of the new Beth Shalom Old Age Home, consisting of 66 semidetached apartments, was officially opened in November in the southern suburb of Buitenveldert, now the center of Jewish life in Amsterdam. It replaced the ten-year-old Beth Shalom in the western suburb of Osdorp, which was situated too far from most of Amsterdam's Jews.

The Ashkenazi community of Maastricht, which now included the whole of the province of Limburg, in the extreme south of the country, celebrated the 150th anniversary of its synagogue with a special religious service, an exhibition, and the publication of a book on the history of the community.

A delegation of The Hague Ashkenazi community, led by Rabbi Pinchas Meijers, paid a fortnight's visit to Suriname, former Dutch Guiana, in November, to see what religious and cultural help it could offer to the 120 or so Jews left there, about half of whom were under 18 years of age. The majority of the former Suriname Jews had emigrated to the United States, the Netherlands, or Israel. Those remaining were still divided between two congregations, the Sephardi Tsedek VeShalom and the Ashkenazi Neve Shalom, with Sabbath services alternating between the two synagogues. Among the problems discussed were obtaining kosher meat, supervision of the mikveh, and treatment of persons wanting to belong to the Jewish community who were not Jewish according to Halakhah. The Jews of Paramaribo—the capital, where most of the Jews of Suriname lived—had not had a full-time rabbi for some 20 years.
The Sephardi or Portuguese community in the Netherlands had some 600 members. A major problem facing it was the need to make repairs costing nearly $4 million to its famous Esnoga, a synagogue over 300 years old in Amsterdam. Half of this sum would be covered by government and municipal subsidies, but the remainder had to be raised elsewhere. For this purpose, a committee of Jews and non-Jews was formed, and a fund-raising campaign was started both in the Netherlands and in the United States. Some members of the Amsterdam Sephardi community took the view that since nearly all members now lived beyond walking distance from this famous building, priority should be given to constructing a modest new synagogue in the south of Amsterdam. A related problem was the deterioration of the books and manuscripts in the famous Etz Hayim Library in the annex to the Esnoga, due to the effects of climate.

The Liberal Jewish community had six congregations, of which only those in Amsterdam and The Hague held regular Sabbath services and had rabbis of their own. Together they had some two thousand members. The Leo Baeck Liberal Elementary Day School, which had opened three years earlier, closed its doors in November. Enrollment had fallen to 20 pupils, and the new, non-Jewish, principal, who had started his duties at the beginning of the school year, resigned after only one month.

Following the example of the United States, a modest beginning in interdenominational Jewish dialogue was made in January, with a public meeting attended by members of the Orthodox and Liberal communities. The event was organized by the ad hoc CLAL group. Owing to criticism, the meetings were not continued. However, the three communities—Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Liberal—cooperated on a number of Jewish issues of common concern, in particular preparations for support to Israel in the event of a Gulf War.

Shalhomo, the Society of Jewish Homosexuals and Lesbians in Holland, organized the Second European Conference of Jewish Homosexuals and Lesbians in Amsterdam in April, with the participation of some 120 persons from 11 European countries. The conference was subsidized jointly by the JMW, the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation in Holland, and the COC, the Netherlands Society of Homosexuals.

**Zionism and Israel**

As early as the first half of August, when the possibility of a war was envisaged, the executive of the Netherlands Zionist Organization (NZB) took the initiative in establishing an Israel Coordination Bureau. It included representatives of the three nationwide religious communities, the United Israel Appeal (CIA), and the Center for Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI). In November three non-Jewish pro-Israel organizations joined the bureau: the Israel Committee Netherlands, the Christians for Israel Society, and the Society Netherlands-Israel. The bureau's headquarters were in the offices of the NZB.
Apart from this project, activity within the NZB, in particular in its local branches, was almost nonexistent. At its annual conference in February, at the suggestion of Liberal rabbi David Lilienthal of Amsterdam, the delegates decided, by a small majority, to study the possibility of transforming the NZB into a federation of Zionist parties, in the hope of increasing active participation. A commission was appointed to work out suitable plans.

The United Israel Appeal (called CIA in the Netherlands) this year received a record $5,550,000, of which $4,300,000 was in gifts and $1,250,000 in legacies and wills. While the legacies and wills portion remained more or less stable, cash contributions rose by two million dollars, a response to the campaign for absorption of Soviet Jews in Israel.

Culture

Dr. Rena Mansfeld Fuks delivered her inaugural address as Professor Extraordinary in Jewish History at the University of Amsterdam on February 14. The three-year position was part of a rotating chair established by the Jewish Studies Foundation and was financed by the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW) with funds received from the government.

The Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, the Hebraica and Judaica department of the Amsterdam University Library, organized an exhibition of Hebrew incunabula in Dutch libraries, accompanied by a catalogue written by one of the two librarians of the Rosenthaliana, Adrian K. Offenberg.

From April to September, the Jewish Historical Museum exhibited "The Image of the Word: Jewish Tradition in Manuscripts and Books." Most of the works exhibited came from the Rosenthaliana and from other Dutch public and private collections. An important loan came from the Carl Alexander Floersheim Trust for Judaica in Bermuda, established by Michael Floersheim, now of New York but formerly of Amsterdam, in memory of his father. A fine illustrated catalogue in English was published with the financial support of the Yona and Michael Floersheim Charity Foundation in the United States.

There was a surprising growth of interest in Yiddish culture among a group of young people in Amsterdam—some with Jewish backgrounds, others without—who were also extremely critical of Israel. Many of them were members of the group known as "Blanes" (the name of a prewar Jewish street hawker famous for his cry "You must look inside"—not just outside). A Yiddish cabaret group, Galle, began performing this year, and the tiny St. Anthony Theater, with a non-Jewish director, became a venue for Yiddish music. Several of the performers in both were non-Jews.

Publications

The most important new publication this year was *Amsterdam Chazzanuth*, in Dutch and in English, by Hans Bloemendal, the chief cantor of the main Amster-
The two-volume 500-page work, with musical annotation, contained 111 Amsterdam synagogue melodies, 12 of them composed by Bloemendal himself, along with essays by him on Amsterdam synagogue music, and a list of the 25 Ashkenazi hazzanim who had officiated in Amsterdam since 1635.

Also of interest was *The Amsterdam Diamond Exchange*, in Dutch and in English, by Simone Lipschitz. The book was published on the occasion of the transfer of the Amsterdam Diamond Exchange from its 80-year-old building in Weesper Square, in the Jewish quarter, to more modern premises in the southern part of Amsterdam.

Of the many new works published only in Dutch mention may be made of *Anne en Jopie* by Jacqueline van Maarsen. The author claims that she and not Eva Schloss was Anne Frank's closest girlfriend, and that Eva Schloss hardly knew her.

**Personalia**

Among Jews honored in the Queen's birthday list this year were Dr. Emanuel Wikler, chairman of the Netherlands Ashkenazi community (NIK).

The list of prominent Jews who died this year included Salomon Boas, aged 77, from 1945 on a leader in the Ashkenazi community, the Netherlands Zionist Organization, and many other Jewish organizations, in addition to his work as a lawyer and as a justice on the Amsterdam Higher Court of Justice; Salomon Elzas, aged 68, a former chairman of the Ashkenazi community of The Hague; Leo (Leib) Fuks, aged 81, librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana from 1949 till 1973 and an expert on Yiddish; Prof. Juda J. Groen, aged 86, one of the pioneer researchers in psychosomatic illness; Dr. David Hausdorf, aged 85, for many years after the war chairman of the Ashkenazi community of Rotterdam and author of a standard work on its history; Icek Rafałowicz, aged 91, born in Poland, a founder and longtime chairman of the Anski Yiddish Cultural Society, in Amsterdam; Bernard van Tijn, aged 90, for many years a leader of Poale Zion in Holland.

Henriette Boas
Italy

National Affairs

There was no significant change in the Italian political framework in 1990. Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, a Christian Democrat, retained leadership of a delicately balanced coalition government that included Socialists Claudio Martelli as deputy prime minister and Gianni De Michelis as foreign minister.

The Mafia's increasing power and flaunting of authority were high on the list of domestic concerns. Trials continued against the Mafia in Sicily and the Camorra organization in the Naples area, but the war on the criminal faction was severely hampered by public fear and the presumed connections between the Mafia and important political personalities.

Middle East

Two events of international significance also figured prominently on the Italian political scene: PLO leader Yasir Arafat's visit to Europe and the Persian Gulf crisis.

Yasir Arafat, after meeting with French president François Mitterrand, visited Italy April 5–7, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm by leaders of the principal political organizations and trade unions. Arafat was also received by President of the Republic Francesco Cossiga, Prime Minister Andreotti, and President of the Senate Giovanni Spadolini. He asked the Italian government to help stop the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel and to press for the Palestinians to have their own delegation at the proposed international peace conference.

The reaction of the Italian government to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, which marked the beginning of the Persian Gulf crisis, was ambiguous. Before the actual invasion, the government attempted to draw subtle moral and political distinctions in an effort to downplay any responsibility toward its American ally. After the invasion, Italy sent two frigates, not to the center of the crisis area but to the eastern Mediterranean. During debate on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies, some Catholic and Communist groups tried to link the Gulf crisis to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Prime Minister Andreotti, in keeping with his pro-Arab sympathies, strongly reiterated his condemnation of the Israeli raid on the Iraqi atomic reactor in 1981. Subsequently, faced with a perplexed and nervous American reaction to its ambivalence, and unhappy with Arafat's unconditional support of Saddam Hussein, the Italian government modified its policy. In September the frigates were moved to the Persian Gulf, and eight Tornado warplanes were sent, with a small contingent of men, to Saudi Arabia.
Relations with Israel

Despite differences of opinion between Israel and Italy on many questions, the two countries worked together to strengthen their political, economic, and cultural ties, looking forward to Israel's prospective integration into the European Community (EC) in 1992.

On March 27, an Italian delegation visited Israel's eighth "Agritech," the most important exhibition of technical innovations in Israeli agriculture. The Italian group, which included members of the Italian Parliament and agriculture officials, met with Israeli politicians and visited farms and kibbutzim.

Italian and Israeli researchers and experts in agricultural genetics attended a three-day conference in Israel, in late March, organized by the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot. A similar meeting was held in Rome in 1978, sponsored by the Accademia dei Lincei. Prof. Francesco D'Amato of Pisa University led the Italian delegation; Prof. Esra Galun, dean of the Biology Faculty at Weizmann, headed the Israeli representation.

The mayor of Naples, Pietro Lezzi, attended an international meeting of mayors in Jerusalem, where he delivered an address on "The Mayor as Ambassador, as First Citizen, and as Administrator," in which he proposed a negotiated solution to the Palestinian problem. Lezzi had last been in Israel in 1974 with a delegation of the Socialist International visiting the Middle East.

Representing the EC Council of Ministers, Italy's minister of foreign affairs, Gianni De Michelis, together with fellow foreign ministers Gerald Collins of Ireland and Jacques Poos of Luxembourg, arrived in Israel July 23. In discussions with Israeli foreign minister David Levy, the "troika" raised a number of issues, including the role of the EC in the Middle East peace process and the tremendous economic potential of relations between the Jewish state and the European Community.

In October, when the Israeli government (in part under pressure from the EC) dropped its protectionist ban on imported pasta products, there began what the Israeli press described as the "pasta war," between Osem, the major domestic producer of pasta, and three other Israeli companies—Elite, Vita, and A.R. Willinger. Those firms imported from Italy the products of, respectively, Barilla, La Molisana, and Federici. The Osem Company lost its battle against free importation of pasta but did persuade the Ministry of Industry and Trade to impose an import duty on the European product.

The general secretary of Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bruno Bottai, visited Israel in November, meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Foreign Minister David Levy, opposition leader Shimon Peres, and the Latin patriarch Michel Sabah. Discussions focused on the Gulf crisis and the Palestinian question. Bottai emphasized the fact that the Jewish state is the only parliamentary democracy in the Middle East.

Political sources in Jerusalem confirmed that, thanks to Italian mediation, the first of 500 Albanian Jewish families arrived in Israel on December 31. According to the
Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv*, the Israeli ambassador to Italy, Mordechai Drory, was able to bring about the exodus through contacts with the Albanian embassy in Rome, secretly fostered by the Italian government.

**Anti-Semitism**

A public-opinion poll on prejudice, sponsored by the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea, CDEC) of Milan, found that 10 percent of the adult Italian population displayed anti-Semitic feelings. The phenomenon of anti-Semitism, according to Adriana Goldstaub, head of the anti-Semitism section of CDEC, appeared to increase proportionally with the rise in intolerance shown toward blacks.

Some anti-Semitic fallout occurred in connection with the trials this year of Abel and Furlan, two young neo-Nazis from Verona who were convicted of killing several prostitutes, homosexuals, and a priest, in the years 1985–1988. According to Goldstaub, 400 anonymous threatening letters were sent in February and March to families with Jewish surnames in Veneto and Trentino, two regions in the northeast of Italy. The letters were signed by the Gruppo Armato Nazifascista (Armed Nazi Fascist Group). In the same period, in Florence, handbills were distributed praising the “Goebbels Brigades,” signed by the Fronte per la liberazione da negri, ebrei e zingari (Front for Liberation from Blacks, Jews, and Gypsies). Later, leaflets were found, signed by the mysterious Ordine Ariano (Aryan Order) and containing a picture of a crematorium and death threats to the non-European “Untermenschen,” which included Africans and Jews.

On July 12, the Italian branch of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists presented a round-table conference on anti-Semitism in Italy and Europe. Tullia Zevi, president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane, UCEI), and the president of the Jewish community of Rome, Sergio Frassineti, opened the conference. Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff of Rome; the rector of the Lateran University, Monsignor Rossano; President of the Republic Cossiga; and President of the Senate Spadolini attended the meeting, which took place in the Parliament building, in the presence of numerous political representatives.

The newly formed Italian committee “Christians Against Anti-Semitism” had its first meeting in Rome on October 10. The group, which is chaired by Annie Cagiati, a leader in Catholic-Jewish dialogue, intends to serve as a forum for those who want to resist anti-Jewish prejudice in Italian society.

On January 17, an article by Dacia Valent, Communist Euro-deputy, appeared in the Italian magazine *Avvenimenti*. She described Israel as the most racist country in the world because, she said, just like their “Nazi jailers,” the Jews call themselves the chosen people. She added that, like the Nazis, the Israeli government used criminal propaganda to justify genocide as the only solution to the Palestinian problem. On January 31, following publication of the article, the chairman of the
Italian Communist party (PCI), Achille Occhetto, sent a letter to the Israeli ambassador in Rome, Mordechai Drory, in which he stated that Valent's article did not reflect PCI opinion. He referred to a reply written by Chiara Ingrao, member of the PCI Central Committee and head of the Italian delegation to the international peace demonstration in Jerusalem on December 30, 1989, which appeared in *Avvenimenti*. On February 2, Piero Fassino, of the PCI national secretariat, sent a letter to the president of the Rome Jewish community, Sergio Frassineti, in which he affirmed that the offensive and defamatory article reflected Valent's personal opinion. Dacia Valent was not an official member of the PCI, but had been elected as an independent within the Communist party in the last European election.

On May 14, the Rome Jewish community sponsored a public gathering to express its sorrow and rage over the desecration of Jewish graves in Carpentras, France, five days earlier. The rally was attended by President of the Republic Cossiga, Deputy Prime Minister Martelli, President of the Chamber of Deputies Nilde Jotti, and numerous other political figures. Cossiga's speech was followed by a prayer service, addresses by the president of the community, Frassineti (who said that Italian Jews had full confidence in their country's rule of law, as represented by the president of the Republic), Israeli ambassador Drory, and a doleful rendition of *Ani Maamin* by a chorus. On the same day, the Jewish youth group Federazione Giovanile Ebraica (FGEI) organized a sit-in in front of the French embassy, attended by the youth organizations of the Republican and left-wing parties.

**Nazi War Criminals**

The Simon Wiesenthal Center of Vienna continued its project, begun in 1989, of collecting information on World War II crimes perpetrated in Italy's northern regions. One objective was to bring to justice Erich Priebke, the Gestapo officer responsible in the area between Bolzano and Brescia, who was accused of committing atrocities against the civilian population.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

**Demography**

An estimated 32,000 Jews were affiliated with local Jewish communities.

**Communal Affairs**

The Rome Jewish community, heretofore relatively uninvolved with the situation of Soviet Jewry, this year answered the appeal of the State of Israel for financial aid to help absorb Soviet Jews. On February 19, a big rally supporting Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union took place in Rome at Beth El Synagogue. It was
sponsored by the Keren Hayesod and organized by Rafi Luzon.

On February 26, the new academic year of the Italian Rabbinical College-Institute of Advanced Jewish Studies opened in Rome. This inauguration was particularly important because for the first time, according to the 1987 "Intesa" (agreement) between the Jewish community and the Italian state, which gives Judaism equal legal standing with other religions, the degree conferred by the college now enjoyed full recognition. Chief Rabbi Toaff presided over the ceremony, while Ariel Toaff, professor of Italian Jewish history at Bar Ilan University, Israel, gave the inaugural lecture.

The 12th conference of the Italian Zionist Federation (FSI) took place in Leghorn on April 29. The president of the local Jewish community, Paola Jarach Bedarida, opened the meetings, attended also by the city's mayor, the Israeli consul in Milan, and the president of the Jewish Lawyers' Association. The FSI continued to play an important role within Italian Jewry, in carrying out public-relations activity directed at political party leaders and the mass media in Israel's behalf.

Tullia Zevi represented Italian Jews at the historic meeting, on May 6, of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), in Berlin, the first such meeting to take place in Germany in 60 years. In the presence of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, WJC president Edgar Bronfman delivered the opening speech, in which he underscored the necessity for both Jews and Germans "not to forget." Referring to the imminent political union of the two Germanys, he maintained that Jews never asked for a recognition of collective blame but an admission of common responsibility. In her remarks, Zevi stressed the importance of retaining historical memory so that younger generations would know what had happened to European Jewry before and during World War II.

On May 26, the second conference of Jewish progressive movements took place in Leghorn. The meeting was organized by the Martin Buber Group of Rome, the Nahum Goldman and Left for Israel organizations of Milan, and by Jewish Studies of Turin. The final resolution passed by the conference expressed deep concern for what was happening in Israel and in the West Bank, "revealing a moral degradation provoked by the prolonged occupation and the refusal to start serious peace negotiations based on mutual recognition between Israelis and Palestinians."

In February, UCEI president Tullia Zevi met with representatives of the Associazione Nazionale ex-Deportati (ANED), a group of Jews and non-Jews who survived the Nazi concentration camps, to discuss the sorry condition of the Italian pavilion at Auschwitz. It was decided to ask the Italian government to intervene in seeking a swift solution of the problem. In June, representatives of the European Jewish communities met in Paris to discuss various concerns relating to the preservation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. The Italian delegation, representing the UCEI, offered Italian Jewry's unconditional support for the restoration project as well as the planned international dialogue center and the removal of the Carmelite nuns from the camp to a new site.

The most important event of the Jewish year was the first congress of the renamed
Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane (UCEI),¹ which took place in Rome on December 9. It was the first meeting of that body since the signing of the agreement (Intesa) with the Italian state, which replaced the 1930 Fascist law, and after the passage of new laws regulating the community’s internal life. (See AJYB 1991, p. 294, and AJYB 1989, pp. 328–30.) Twenty-one communities were represented by a total of 92 delegates, half appointed by the communities’ councils and the other half selected by the communities’ members. Rome had the largest delegation with 36 delegates; Parma and Casale Monferrato were the smallest, with one delegate each. Under the new system, Jewish Italy was divided into three districts: north, center, and south. The rabbinate was represented by five rabbis from Rome and Milan. Tullia Zevi was confirmed by acclamation as president of the UCEI.

Among the problems facing the congress was that of determining the amount of each community’s financial contribution to the central body, the Council of the UCEI. Another issue was the Lubavitch presence and activities in Italy. Relations between the Italian rabbinate and the Lubavitch movement appeared to be most tense in Bologna, where a conflict between the local community and the Chabad movement even went to court. The congress approved a resolution urging closer collaboration between the Lubavitch movement and the Rabbinical Assembly. At the same time, it emphasized the need for adherence to community rules and acceptance of the institutions and rabbinical authority developed by Italian Jewry in the course of centuries, in full respect for both Mosaic law and Jewish tradition. The congress urged that greater attention be paid to disseminating Jewish culture and education, to which end a special committee was established. The final resolution reaffirmed the indissoluble bond between Italian Jewry and the State of Israel.

Community Relations

On January 31, a joint statement was issued by the UCEI and UCE (the Union of the Evangelical Churches—all the non-Catholic Christian religious confessions) in response to an order from the Ministry of Education requiring students who did not wish to attend the optional Catholic religion class or an alternative class to remain in school. The two groups charged that this requirement violated the constitutional principle of equality as well as obligations undertaken by the Italian government toward the non-Catholic religions. The Regional Council Administrative Court (TAR) accepted the appeal of the UCEI and UCE in February; however, subsequent action by the minister of education left the matter unresolved.

Two leaders of the Italian Jewish community, Tullia Zevi and Rabbi Elio Toaff, met with Italian political figures on various occasions, on community matters. On February 14, Zevi, together with Seymour Reich, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations in the United States, met with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti to discuss Jewish emigration from the USSR to Israel and

¹Formerly UCII. One word was changed in 1987 from “Israelitiche” to “Ebraiche.”
the political situation in the Middle East. On April 4, Zevi met with President Francesco Cossiga to voice the general opposition of Italian Jews to Yasir Arafat’s visit to Italy. Two days after this meeting, on April 6, Rabbi Toaff was received by President of the Senate Spadolini, who emphasized that the problem of Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel should be treated as a human-rights issue, not a political one.

Jewish-Christian Relations

The 1965 declaration of the Second Vatican Council, Nostra Aetate, concerning relations between Jews and Catholics, was read in all Italian churches on January 17, following a decision by the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI). The bishops also declared a “Day of Judaism” to be observed in January. In Rome, the “day” was highlighted by a meeting between Monsignor Clemente Riva, Tullia Zevi, Chief Rabbi Toaff, and Maria Vingiani, president of the Ecumenical Activities Conference. Also in January, in Parma, a round-table discussion was organized by the CEI and the local Jewish community. The meeting was chaired by the Methodist minister Aquilante, professor of biblical science at Bologna Religious Seminary, Rabbi Kapciowski, and Fausto Levi, president of the local Jewish community.

Culture

In Ferrara, on March 18, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Nilde Jotti, together with Tullia Zevi, opened the exhibition “I Tal Ya” (Isle of the Divine Dew), the Italian version of the American show “Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy,” organized by the Jewish Museum of New York in 1989. The exhibition was divided into four time periods: the Roman Empire (to the 13th century), featuring sarcophagi, bas-reliefs, and precious archaeological finds; the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (13th to 16th centuries), with illuminated manuscripts, the first examples of Jewish book printing, silver, fabrics, and ritual objects; the Age of the Ghettos (16th to 19th centuries), with synagogue furnishings, ritual objects, and artifacts of daily life. Some new objects, not part of the American exhibition, were the Baroque bimah of the Carmagnola Synagogue and the precious aron (ark) of Livorno. The final section covered the modern period, including a display of works by Jewish artists, among them Ulvi Liegi, Vittorio Corcos, Amadeo Modigliani, Antonietta Rafael Mafai, and Carlo Levi. The exhibition was sponsored by the Ferrara Municipality, the Institute for Artistic and Cultural Properties of the Emilia Romagna Region, the Jewish Museum of New York, and the UCEI.

Official approval was granted in April for the restoration of the Pesaro Synagogue, a fine example of 17th-century Jewish architecture. After restoration, it will be used by the Pesaro municipality, according to the agreement between the UCEI and the municipality, for cultural events, festivals, and exhibitions.

On May 3, the National Jewish Bibliographic Center (Centro Bibliografico dell’Ebraismo Italiano) in Rome was officially dedicated by Tullia Zevi and Rabbi Toaff.
ITALY / 357

Created at the initiative of the UCEI, with the financial participation of the Lazio Region, the Rome Province, and the Doron Foundation, the center aims to become the first national library of Italian Jewry, consolidating the archives and books belonging to all the separate Italian Jewish communities. Some 25,000 volumes were already cataloged and stored temporarily in local Jewish schools, awaiting final disposition. The center will eventually have a large audiovisual section on the history, culture, and traditions of the Diaspora's oldest Jewish community, as well as a music section. Rabbi Toaff affixed the ritual mezuzah, an object that inspired the ceramic sculpture by Ariela Bohm in the center's hall. Emanuele Luzzati painted the vault of the main room with themes evoking the wooden synagogues of Central Europe. Akira Kimura made the map of the Jewish settlement that hangs on the wall.

An urban renewal plan for the area of Rome's Jewish ghetto was officially unveiled on April 19, during a meeting organized by the Jewish Cultural Center and the “Centro di studi partecipazione.” Local officials approved the project. The ghetto not only is a place of great historic and cultural significance, but is located in one of the most beautiful parts of Rome, surrounded by the Campidoglio, the Roman Forum, the Tiberina Island, and squares with fountains. The restoration of the ghetto was entrusted to a group of leading architects, including Benedetti, Fiorentino, Liistro, Malusardi, Mercurio, and Vittorini. It will be financed by the public works department of the Lazio Region, with contributions from the national government, the EC, and other European Jewish communities.

On February 19, a conference on “The Application of the Anti-Jewish Racial Laws in Turin, 1938–1943” was held in Turin, presided over by Tullia Zevi and sponsored by the Piemonte Region.

The second Israeli film festival took place June 2–7 in Milan. The event was organized by Left for Israel (Sinistra per Israele) in collaboration with the Israel Consulate General; it was financed by the Milan Municipality and the Lombardy Region. The festival opened with Green Fields, directed by Itzhaq Yeshurum, a film on the intifada that was awarded first prize in the international film festivals of Jerusalem and Rio de Janeiro. The annual conference of the Italian Association for Jewish Studies was held on November 5 in S. Miniato, at the “I Cappuccini” Studies Center. The conference dealt with the subject “Palestinian Judaism from the 1st Century B.C. to the 1st Century A.C.,” from archaeological, religious, and historical perspectives.

Also in November, an exhibition of Holocaust-related paintings by Eva Fischer opened at Yad Vashem, in Jerusalem. The exhibition and the catalog were sponsored by the Italian Cultural Institute of Tel Aviv, because it was in Italy that Eva Fischer started her career as a painter.

On November 25, the Jewish Studies Center of Venice held its 15th annual Day of Lectures, in memory of Dante Lattes. The subject was “The First Decade of 20th-Century Italian Jewry—Between Assimilation and Emancipation.” The conference was attended by Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff, Prof. Bruno DiPorto, Dr. Mario
Toscano, and Prof. Amos Luzzato, who described his grandfather, Dante Lattes, as a man and as a scholar.

Publications

There is no daily or weekly Jewish press in Italy. A monthly magazine, Shalom, is published by the Rome Jewish community, and a Bollettino is issued monthly by the Milan Jewish community. The publications of the Italian Zionist Federation and UCEI and the scholarly journal La Rassegna Mensile di Israel issued in Rome are quarterlies. The publishers Carucci in Rome and Vogelman in Florence specialize in Jewish works.

Among new studies on the history of Italian Jews was Memoria della persecuzione degli Ebrei, issued on the anniversary of the deportation of Tuscany Jews and their spiritual leader, Rabbi Nathan Cassuto of Florence. The pamphlet vividly describes the situation of Tuscany Jewry during the Nazi occupation.

Joseph Baruch Sermoneta, professor of Jewish thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, edited Ratto della Signora Anna del Monte trattenuta a’Catecumeni tredici giorni dalli 6 fino alli 19 maggio anno 1749 ("The abduction of Anna del Monte, kept in the House of Converts 13 days, from May 6 to 19, 1749") for the Carucci Press. The volume focuses on a tragic episode of forced conversion to Christianity in the period of the ghettos. It includes, in addition to the preface by Sermoneta, the extraordinary diary of Anna del Monte, who was arrested by pontifical soldiers and brought against her will to the House of Converts, and a ballad about her by Sabbato Mois Mieli, a rabbi-poet of the period.

Publication continued of The Apostolic See and the Jews, the monumental work of Prof. Shlomo Simonsohn, director of the Diaspora Research Institute at Tel Aviv University. Four volumes of documents were issued this year, covering the years 1464-1521, 1522-1538, 1539-1545, and 1546-1555. The work started in 1988 with the publication of documents covering the period 492-1404, and continued in 1989 with the years 1394-1463. The project was expected to be completed in 1991.

Personalia

The prestigious Yakir Bezalel Prize of Jerusalem’s Bezalel Academy of Arts was awarded in April to Bruno Zevi, architect, former professor of architectural history at the universities of Venice and Rome, and author of the influential Architecture as Space (1957) and other works. On June 20, an honorary doctorate was conferred on Zevi by the Haifa Technion.

The Italian Jewish pianist Claudio Crismani was appointed artistic director of the first international "Homage to Vladimir Horowitz" festival. Crismani, born in Trieste, studied with Constantinides in Italy and Kazuro in Warsaw, starting his international career in 1979 at the Salle Pleyel in Paris. In 1987, he was chosen to represent Europe at the International Evening of Music of the UNESCO Congress.
in Paris. That same year, he made his debut in Israel.

On January 11, Rabbi Dr. Aldo Luzzatto died, after a heart attack, in Rishon LeZion, in Israel. Prior to his settling in Israel, he held rabbinical posts in Padua, Genoa, and Milan. For the last 20 years, he worked as a research fellow at the Diaspora Research Institute of Tel Aviv University. He wrote several articles on Italian Jews and compiled a catalog of the Hebrew manuscripts in Milan's Ambrosiana Library, with Luisa Mortara Ottolenghi, published by the Polifilo Press in 1972. Luzzatto edited two important bibliographical volumes on the history of Italian Jewry, the first, *Biblioteca Italo-Ebraica (1964–1973)*, with Moshe Moldavi and Daniel Carpi, and the second, *Biblioteca Italo-Ebraica (1974–1985)*, alone.

Massimo Teglio died at the age of 89 in January. Teglio, better known as the “Red Primrose” of Genoa, played a central role in helping foreign Jewish refugees and Italian Jews during the Nazi occupation. After September 8, 1943, he became the person in charge of Delasem (the Jewish organization that helped Jewish refugees in Italy, 1933–1947) for northern Italy and afterward for the whole country. Teglio remained in Genoa until the end of the war, evading arrest and deportation several times.

Alberto Mortara, the economist, died at age 81 on February 17, in Milan. Born in Venice, he moved to Milan, becoming an active member of the anti-Fascist organization Justice and Liberty. Because of the racial laws, he escaped to Switzerland, joining the Partito d'Azione. In 1956 he founded in Milan the “Ciriec,” the Center of Research and Information on the Economy and Public Enterprises.