

Central and Eastern Europe

Federal Republic of Germany

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1994 THROUGH the first half of 1995 was marked by a number of significant events. Germany's ruling conservative coalition survived a turbulent election in 1994, but lost ground to center-left parties. Far-right parties became politically insignificant, due to dropping voter support and internal strife. The pullout of most foreign troops from German soil gave new political weight to unified Germany, prompting the government to start redefining the country's international role. The country's worst postwar recession ended, but recovery was uneven, and unemployment remained at close to 10 percent. Finally, a multitude of 50th-anniversary commemoration ceremonies marked the last stages of World War II and Germany's defeat and surrender.

In the summer of 1994, all Russian troops withdrew from Germany, and the Western allied troops pulled out of Berlin. In July, U.S. president Bill Clinton visited Germany to assure the Germans of the strength of the U.S.-German partnership. In Berlin, Clinton visited the reconstructed New Synagogue in the eastern part of the city (see "Religion," below).

50TH-ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

The growing interest in recent years in Germany's Nazi past was reflected in the thousands of commemorative events marking the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, including events related to the destruction of the Jews. Lectures, exhibitions, concerts, panel discussions, and official ceremonies were organized by government authorities as well as by private groups. There was also extensive media coverage of events, including hundreds of radio and television programs focusing on the Holocaust and Jewish topics. This led some observers to express concern that the volume of programs could lead to oversaturation, alienating instead of informing the audience.

The commemorations began in December 1993, with a seminar to mark the 30th

anniversary of the Auschwitz trials held in Frankfurt between 1963 and 1965. The seminar, organized by the Fritz Bauer Institute, was held in the same civic center in the Frankfurt city district of Gallus where the trials were held. Numerous Auschwitz survivors shared their experience as witnesses at the mass trial of former Auschwitz personnel, describing a climate in Germany at the time of the trial of indifference and silence. During the conference, a monument by Michael Sander was unveiled in front of the civic center—a steel stele symbolizing the fences and smokestacks of Auschwitz.

On August 1, 1994, on the 50th anniversary of the uprising against the Nazis by the people of Warsaw, German president Roman Herzog apologized to the Polish people for German atrocities committed during the war. At a ceremony in Warsaw, Herzog said it filled Germans with shame that their nation and people would forever be linked to the pain and suffering inflicted a millionfold upon the Poles.

On January 26, 1995, the German Parliament marked the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Chancellor Helmut Kohl termed the Nazi era “the darkest and most horrible chapter in German history.” German president Roman Herzog attended the commemoration in Poland, at Auschwitz, on January 27. There were Jewish-Polish tensions over the official Polish ceremony, which did not emphasize Jewish suffering, and Herzog instead attended the parallel Jewish memorial service at Birkenau.

The German Catholic bishops issued a statement in connection with the anniversary, acknowledging that Catholics share guilt for the extermination of the Jews. They asserted that the historical anti-Jewish stance among many in the Church “contributed to the fact that Christians during the Third Reich did not put up adequate resistance to the racist ideology of anti-Semitism.” The bishops called for a reexamination of relations between Catholics and Jews, stressing Pope John Paul II’s message that anti-Semitism is a sin against God and humanity.

In Frankfurt, the Fritz Bauer Institute organized an intensive two-week program of Holocaust remembrance on the occasion of the Auschwitz anniversary. Almost all events, including concerts, discussions with survivors, films, and lectures, were sold out. At the central ceremony in the Frankfurt Schauspielhaus on January 29, German parliamentary president Rita Süßmuth told the audience, “There must not be and can not be an end to remembrance.” Those who deny the Holocaust, she said, “extinguish the suffering of the victims and rob them even after their death of their dignity.”

An interdisciplinary colloquium, “Echo of the Holocaust,” was organized by the University of Hamburg’s education department on January 24–26, 1995, drawing more than a thousand participants. Scholars and museum educators from the United States, Israel, and Western Europe presented current research on the Holocaust.

The commemoration of the liberation of concentration camps on German soil began April 8, 1995, at Buchenwald, with hundreds of former prisoners and U.S. army veterans attending the ceremony. The first large-scale monument in Germany

to the half million Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) murdered by the Nazis during World War II was unveiled at the site. A new, more comprehensive exhibition on the history of Buchenwald was also opened, dealing with camp life, resistance efforts, and collaboration with camp authorities. The exhibition includes a 1943 telephone book from the nearby city of Weimar with the entry "Konzentrationslager Buchenwald" ("Concentration Camp Buchenwald").

The weekend of April 22, more than 20,000 people—including more than 3,000 former prisoners—commemorated the liberation of the Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, and Flossenbürg camps. Speakers at the different ceremonies called for tolerance, civil courage, and active remembrance of the crimes of the Nazis.

The central German government event in honor of concentration-camp victims was a ceremony in Bergen-Belsen on April 27, coinciding with Yom Hashoah, the Jewish Holocaust Memorial Day. More than 6,000 visitors attended. Ignatz Bubis, head of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, thanked individuals who had helped Nazi victims to survive, as well as the Allies who liberated Germany at the cost of many of their own as well as many German lives. President Roman Herzog and former Israeli president Chaim Herzog—who was an officer in the British army unit that liberated Bergen-Belsen—were also among the speakers.

About 5,000 people attended the commemoration at Dachau on May 1, and on May 4 about 800 former prisoners gathered at the former camp at Neuengamme, near Hamburg. In addition to official government events on Holocaust commemoration, there were numerous private initiatives. In Passau, for instance, local historian Anna Rosmus organized a return on May 1–3 of former Passau Jewish residents, as well as inmates and U.S. liberators of the forced-labor camp in Pocking-Passau.

VE-DAY OBSERVANCE

The spring of 1995 saw a bitter political debate about whether May 8—the date of German surrender—symbolized defeat for the Germans or liberation from fascism. A group of leading conservative politicians and intellectuals, including members of the right-wing Republican Party, published a manifesto arguing that May 8 was a day of liberation only for those persecuted by the Nazis. They claimed that for most Germans, May 8 meant the division of the country, the onset of Communist rule, and the expulsion of 12 million ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe. However, a poll conducted in April by the Mannheim Forschungsgruppe Wahlen found that 80 percent of Germans (and 87 percent of those under 30) regarded May 8 as a symbol of liberation rather than of defeat.

May 8, 1995, the 50th anniversary of VE Day, of Nazi Germany's defeat by the Allies, was marked by a state ceremony at the Berlin Schauspielhaus, attended by U.S. vice-president Al Gore, British prime minister John Major, French president François Mitterrand, Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, German president Roman Herzog, and German chancellor Helmut Kohl. (Bonn had rebuffed an invitation request from Polish president Lech Walesa, who pointed out—with some

justification—that Polish forces under Allied command had played a significant role in helping to defeat Germany. The diplomatic rift was settled when Polish foreign minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, a survivor of Auschwitz, was invited to address the German Bundestag in late April.)

At the ceremony on May 8, President Herzog said that Germans were fully aware of their responsibility for the Holocaust. The Germans did not become democrats overnight, he said, but they had matured to become reliable and peaceful partners in Europe and in the world. In a newspaper interview several weeks later, Herzog announced that the “fight against forgetting,” referring to the Holocaust, would remain one of the central tasks of his remaining four years in office.

Also on May 8, at the Berlin city hall, federal and state officials announced that a “House of Memory” would be built on the Prinz-Albrecht-Gelaende, site of the former SS headquarters in Berlin. The building, by Swiss architect Peter Zumthor, would house exhibitions and archives relating to Nazi victims. Since 1987, there had been a temporary exhibition on the site called “The Topography of Terror.”

In Berlin, the 50th-anniversary events to commemorate the end of World War II began on May 7, with a peace march. Several thousand demonstrators marched through the Scheunenviertel, Berlin’s traditional Jewish quarter. The same day, the 19th-century New Synagogue in Berlin was reopened after seven years of reconstruction work (see “Religion,” below). The more than 3,000 guests at the opening ceremonies included former Jewish residents of Berlin, as well as dignitaries such as Chancellor Kohl and President Herzog. Josef Burg, the former Israeli interior minister, who was born in Berlin, talked about the long history of Jews in Germany. Berlin mayor Eberhard Diepgen said the contribution of Jews to Berlin was an inextricable part of the city’s history.

Chancellor Kohl attended VE-Day ceremonies in London, Paris, and Moscow. The invitations came after the German government had signaled its displeasure at being shut out of D-Day ceremonies in June 1994 in France. Shortly before his arrival in London, Kohl caused a stir among Jewish organizations and veterans groups with a written statement that made little distinction between the suffering of Jewish concentration camp prisoners, German soldiers, and expellees from Eastern Europe.

In Moscow, on May 9, Chancellor Kohl made a clearer statement about German responsibility for the war than in the statement issued prior to his arrival in London. He said, “The historical responsibility remains: The National Socialist regime in Germany launched the Second World War. It planned and executed a campaign of annihilation, first directed against Poland, then in the genocide of European Jewry.”

Israel and the Middle East

Although the 30-year diplomatic relationship between Germany and Israel was marked with great ceremony in 1995, and included visits to Israel by the German president, parliamentary president, and chancellor, the relationship was still far

from normal. The Israeli government did not send a representative to attend May 8 commemoration ceremonies in Germany—despite an invitation from Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Israeli president Ezer Weizman—undoubtedly because anti-German sentiments remain strong in Israel, home to about 300,000 Holocaust survivors. However, there was widespread coverage in Israel of ceremonies in Germany to mark the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps, and in May 1995, the Hebrew University held a well-attended four-day symposium on National Socialism, with presentations by German and Israeli historians.

Although the shadow of the past was an inevitable presence, Israeli diplomats sought to improve relations with Germany, whom they viewed as Israel's most important economic and political partner in Europe.

In October 1994, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel traveled to Israel. In December, the newly elected German president, Roman Herzog, made a brief visit, demonstratively choosing Israel as the site of his first trip outside Europe. Herzog emphasized Germany's special responsibility to Israel, trying to counteract the continuing mistrust in Israel of unified Germany. The trip was praised by most Israeli media.

In May 1995, members of the environmental Green Party visited Israel and the West Bank. Previous trips of the left-wing party had ended disastrously, because of the open sympathy of some delegation members for the Palestinians. But this trip, headed by the party's pragmatic parliamentary leader, Joschka Fischer, was more successful. During a visit to Yad Vashem, Fischer emphasized that Germany must keep the books open on Holocaust remembrance, and comments by delegation members on the peace process were considered more balanced than in previous years. Representatives of Holocaust survivor groups thanked the Green Party for its help in trying to settle unresolved compensation claims.

In June 1995, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem dedicated the Helmut Kohl Institute for European Studies, a sign of the growing importance of Europe—and Germany—for Israel's future. Kohl was also awarded an honorary doctorate by Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheba. Kohl was accompanied on the trip by leading German businessmen, who until this time had made almost no investments in Israel. There was a breakthrough on the trip when representatives of Volkswagen signed an agreement to set up a magnesium production factory with the Dead Sea Works and a magnesium research institute in Beer Sheba at Ben-Gurion University.

During his visit, Kohl promised to try and reduce European trade barriers for Israel. A point of disagreement during the visit was German-Iranian relations, with Kohl denying that Germany delivered weapons to Teheran and defending ties to Iran as the best means of reaching peaceful solutions with the Islamic state. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Kohl agreed to have more frequent telephone contact, as a step toward improving intergovernmental ties. Israeli officials also pressed Germany to take a more active role in the Mideast peace process, which so far had been limited largely to the opening of a diplomatic office in Jericho in August 1994. Kohl visited Yasir Arafat during the trip, which began with stops in Egypt and Jordan.

The Israeli government was upset with Bonn when the German press reported in February 1995 that Germany was trying to free long-missing Israeli aviator Ron Arad from prison in Iran. The Israelis felt the negotiations should be kept secret. Shortly after the story broke, Israeli prime minister Rabin flew to Bonn for an unannounced meeting with Chancellor Kohl.

In July 1994 an Israeli army chief of staff visited Germany for the first time, on an invitation from German chief of staff Klaus Naumann. Gen. Ehud Barak included Sachsenhausen on his tour, where he called on German politicians to "stop with an iron hand" all forms of anti-Semitism, neo-Nazism, and nationalism.

Anti-Semitism and Extremism

For the second consecutive year, there was a decline in right-wing violence, according to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. In 1994, 1,489 violent attacks were attributed to right-wing extremists, down from 2,232 in 1993. The large majority of the attacks were against foreigners and minorities, but 41 were against Jewish targets.

The most alarming incidents for the Jewish community were two firebombing attacks on the synagogue in Lübeck. The first, the night of March 24, 1994, caused considerable damage to the two front rooms of the synagogue. The next day, thousands of local residents gathered spontaneously to protest the attack, the first synagogue burning in Germany since the Nazi era.

In late April 1994, four young male suspects, all from broken homes in a poorer district of Lübeck, were arrested. During the trial, they eventually confessed and were convicted of arson, receiving sentences of between two-and-a-half and four-and-a-half years. The court ruled that there was insufficient proof to convict them of attempted murder. The nearby Hamburg Jewish community, among others, criticized the ruling as insufficient.

On May 7, 1995, there was a renewed arson attack on the same synagogue, and an adjoining shed burned down. No immediate arrests were made in the case. Jewish leaders said the attack may have been planned to coincide with the opening the same day of the reconstructed New Synagogue in Berlin.

In one of the few cases of anti-Semitic-motivated violence, in February 1994 three people were convicted of murder and sentenced by the Wuppertal court to 8 to 14 years in prison. The three were accused of murdering a man in a bar in 1992 who said he was Jewish, although he was not.

Nonviolent anti-Semitic incidents increased dramatically. Federal authorities reported 1,366 anti-Semitic propaganda offenses in 1994, more than double the number of the previous year. Most of the incidents involved the distribution of anti-Semitic literature and hate letters against Jews. Law-enforcement authorities attributed the rise in part to increased awareness of anti-Semitic propaganda and a greater readiness to report its existence. For instance, numerous complaints were filed after an 85-page anti-Semitic brochure entitled *German Manifest* was mailed

to hundreds of public figures. Prosecutors believed the pamphlet was written by a 69-year-old Essen man who claimed to be a former SS officer.

Helping to put these events somewhat in perspective, the Allensbach Institute of Opinion Research reported in September 1994 that anti-Semitism in Germany had steadily declined since the end of World War II. In 1949, every third German still held strong anti-Semitic beliefs. In 1994, 15 percent of the population was anti-Semitic, according to the most recent poll, which had not yet been published. The institute said older people are more anti-Semitic than younger Germans.

Attacks on former concentration camps continued. In July 1994, at Buchenwald, a group of 23 drunken right-wing extremists destroyed display cases and threatened an employee. There was public outrage at the lack of intervention by police, and disciplinary measures were later taken against several policemen. All 23 hooligans were indicted on charges of property damage, illegal display of Nazi symbols, and breaching the peace. As of mid-1995, three trials resulted in 16 convictions. One young man was sentenced to one year and eight months in jail, the others received suspended sentences or juvenile detention.

The three major right-wing political parties—the Republicans, the German People's Union, and the National Democratic Party of Germany—had jointly lost nearly 10,000 members since 1993 (according to the 1994 Report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution). Their combined total membership was 44,500. In their 1995 annual report on constitutional threats, federal intelligence authorities for the first time designated the Republican Party as extreme right-wing, with anticonstitutional views.

The ebb in right-wing voter support could be explained by several factors. One was the lower number of refugees coming to Germany—"foreigners" were a major source of irritation to the right—as a result of the 1993 constitutional amendment restricting political asylum. Another was the greater effort by German authorities to crack down on right-wing extremism. Since November 1992, 11 right-wing parties and organizations had been banned by state and federal authorities. The value of such banning was disputed, however. Supporters saw it as an important signal that extreme right-wing ideology was unacceptable to a democratic society. Critics, including many law-enforcement officials, charged that banning forced groups underground, where they were harder to monitor. The 1994 Report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution noted a slight drop in the number of militant right-wing extremists (5,600 to 5,400), but an increase in the number of active neo-Nazis (an estimated 3,000, up from 1,700).

In place of registered organizations, a loosely affiliated cell structure had emerged among neo-Nazis, raising concern about a potential right-wing terrorist network, in which groups and individuals communicate through electronic mail boxes, mobile telephones, and telephone information networks. An increasingly popular meeting place was skinhead rock concerts, registered as private parties in order to circumvent authorities. Federal authorities estimated that there were at least 40 right-wing bands.

Right-wing music publications and other neo-Nazi propaganda literature was flourishing, much of it printed in countries like Denmark, Spain, and the United States, where laws do not forbid publishing hate literature. In March 1995, Danish authorities arrested a major publisher of right-wing material, U.S. neo-Nazi Gary Lauck, and were considering an extradition request from Germany, where Lauck was wanted for the dissemination of hate literature. In general, German authorities were pushing for more international cooperation in the fight against neo-Nazi propaganda.

A disturbing development was the publication of "hit lists." The neo-Nazi magazine *Einblick* published names and addresses of more than 200 opponents of right-wing ideology, encouraging the use of violence against political opponents. Two men were sentenced to prison for publishing the list, one for two years, the other for one year.

Public discussion about the causes of right-wing extremism started to focus on the concept of nationhood being expressed by some conservative and neoconservative intellectuals. Among these were German novelist Martin Walser, who called right-wing extremism "the answer to our neglect of nationalism," playwright Botho Strauss, who criticized the antiauthoritarianism of the left, and Rainer Zitelmann, a former Maoist who now wrote for the conservative daily newspaper *Die Welt*. Numerous law-enforcement officials expressed concern that the new right provided a socially acceptable sanction for extreme right-wing activities.

Holocaust-Related Matters

A 1994 poll commissioned by the American Jewish Committee (conducted by the Emnid Institute) showed that factual knowledge in Germany about the Holocaust is extremely high: 92 percent of Germans know that Auschwitz, Dachau, and Treblinka were concentration camps, and 91 percent can identify the yellow star as the symbol Jews were forced to wear on their clothing during the Nazi regime. However, more than 1 in 3 think the Holocaust is no longer relevant because it happened more than 50 years ago. Western Germans have far more negative attitudes toward Jews than eastern Germans: 44 percent of Jews in the west believe that Jews are exploiting the Holocaust for their own purposes, in contrast to 19 percent of Germans in the east; and 24 percent of Germans in the west think that Jews have too much influence in German society, compared to only 8 percent of eastern Germans.

One of the survey's more disturbing findings is the high degree of animosity expressed toward many minority groups: 22 percent of Germans would prefer not having Jewish neighbors, but 68 percent reject having Gypsies (Sinti and Roma) as neighbors, 47 percent Arabs, 39 percent Poles, 37 percent Africans, 36 percent Turks, and 32 percent Vietnamese.

The Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Ludwigsburg reported that 1,163 cases were opened in 1994, based largely on newly available archive

material from the former East German secret service. However, most of these cases would take years to investigate, because of serious understaffing problems in Ludwigsburg. Thirty-five cases were currently under active investigation; 64 other investigations were completed in 1994 and turned over to law-enforcement officials.

A four-year-old war-crimes trial against a former member of the SS was stopped by a court in Münster in February 1994 because of the defendant's poor health. The 90-year-old Latvian, Boleslav Maikovskis, chief of a Latvian police unit during Nazi occupation, was accused of participating in the shooting of 170 people in the village of Audrini and the execution of a Jewish person.

Spanish authorities arrested former Nazi general Otto Ernst Remer in June 1994, but had not yet ruled on Germany's extradition request. Remer, who denies the Holocaust, had fled to Spain in March, after a German court sentenced him to 22 months in prison on charges of incitement to racial hatred.

On July 1, 1994, U.S. authorities handed over administration of the former Berlin Document Center to German officials. The documents remain open to view by the general public, including U.S. citizens. However, German law requires a 30-year waiting period after death before personal documents are released. A project to microfilm all documents for the National Archives in Washington had not been completed.

Although German schoolchildren learn the basic facts about the Third Reich, there is no systematic approach to Holocaust studies in most German high schools. Individual teachers, however, sometimes pursue local history projects with their students. In Lübeck, a group of 15-year-old students researched the history of Jewish children in their city who were murdered by the Nazis. In the spring of 1995 the students convinced the school administration to change the school name to the "Sibling-Prenski-School," in honor of three children from Lübeck murdered during the Holocaust.

In April 1995 a federal court in Berlin reaffirmed the principle of the unrestricted return of property in eastern Germany to former Jewish owners. The court awarded a centrally located piece of property, part of the former Checkpoint Charlie, to the heirs of a Jewish businessman.

The American Jewish Committee handed over to the German government in May 1995 a list of 4,500 Holocaust survivors in the Baltic countries, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Romania who had not gotten compensation. The AJC urged the German government to give these survivors access to a special fund set up in 1992 by the German government for hardship cases among survivors.

The Bonn government's reply was evasive. German officials were reportedly worried about possible claims from millions of uncompensated Nazi victims in Eastern Europe if individual payments were made to Jews there. In Latvia, for example, the government was demanding compensation not just for 120 Jewish Holocaust survivors but for 11,000 Latvian "legionnaires" who fought for the German Wehrmacht and the Waffen SS. The Green Party proposed setting up a national foundation that would pay monthly pensions of at least 500 marks to all Nazi victims who were never compensated.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

A longtime employee of the German National Tourist Office in New York, Elke Berg, was fired in May 1995 for her extreme right-wing views. The newspaper *Tageszeitung* uncovered her translation work for an article denying the Holocaust in the right-wing *Journal of Historic Review*. Her husband, Friedrich Paul Berg, is a leading Holocaust revisionist. The tourist office also came under fire for a 1984 study of the U.S. market that recommended that Jews, blacks, Latinos, and Asians be excluded as target groups for German tourism.

The German Tourist Office denied using the study, citing in its defense a pamphlet published in 1987, "Germany for the Jewish Traveler." But the brochure also came under fire. *Aufbau*, the German-Jewish newspaper in New York, criticized a section describing the cultural life of the German Jewish community between 1933 and 1938 as "flourishing." The brochure concluded that "in the midst of unprecedented persecution, German Jews produced a vibrant community." The tourist office said it would remove the passage when it reprinted the brochure.

A series of mild court rulings in the well-publicized case of Holocaust revisionist Günther Deckert triggered widespread outrage. The ensuing public pressure prompted the government to pass a law in September 1994 making Holocaust denial a criminal offense, punishable with up to a five-year jail sentence. Previously, courts had to convict defendants on charges of racial hatred, or incitement to public disorder, which are more difficult to prove.

The case involved the leader of the right-wing National Democratic Party (NPD), Günther Deckert, who arranged for U.S. Holocaust revisionist Fred Leuchter to deliver a speech in Weinheim in 1991—translated into German by Deckert—presenting his pseudo-scientific theory that gas was used only for delousing—not killing—at Auschwitz. The Mannheim prosecutor's office filed charges against Leuchter and Deckert for disseminating lies about the Holocaust. A lower court convicted Deckert in 1992 of incitement to public disorder, giving him a suspended one-year sentence. Leuchter was briefly arrested in 1993 by German authorities when he returned to Germany to appear on a television talk show, but was released by a judge on a technicality.

On March 15, 1994, the First Senate of the Bundesgerichtshof (the federal court) overturned the Deckert ruling, a judgment that caused considerable public consternation. The judges ruled that the lower court had not proven that Deckert shared Leuchter's views on Holocaust denial and ordered a retrial. At the retrial, the Mannheim judges again convicted Deckert on charges of incitement of racial hatred and defamation and denigration of the dead and reimposed a one-year suspended sentence. The mild sentence, as well as the open sympathy of the judges for Deckert's right-wing opinions, stirred nationwide outrage. In the verdict, the judges sympathized with Deckert's "desire to strengthen opposition forces in the German nation against Jewish claims stemming from the Holocaust." The judges said they could not ignore the fact that crimes of other nations remained unpunished, while

Germany continued to face political, moral, and financial obligations stemming from the persecution of the Jews.

The ruling was condemned by top government officials, including the justice minister, and there were widespread calls for the dismissal of the three judges who wrote the opinion. However, the Mannheim court refused, on the grounds that decisions made under public pressure could threaten the independence of the courts. Two judges were put on an extended leave of absence, ostensibly for health reasons. Presiding judge Rainer Orlet eventually took early retirement.

Deckert lost his second appeal. The federal court in Karlsruhe ruled that the Mannheim court conviction on charges of incitement of racial hatred was valid, ordering a different court to set the sentence. In April 1995, the Karlsruhe court imposed a two-year prison sentence. Deckert again appealed, but the federal court was unlikely to overturn the decision. The Mannheim prosecutor filed a new indictment against Deckert, for organizing a lecture by British historian David Irving, a leading denier of the Holocaust.

Another court sentence on Holocaust denial provoked widespread criticism. The state prosecutor indicted two men for a message on a right-wing telephone network that criticized the film *Schindler's List* for "keeping alive the Auschwitz Myth." A Hamburg court ruled that "Auschwitz Myth" is a neutral term that does not automatically imply a denial of Holocaust atrocities. The Hamburg prosecutor's office filed an appeal against the judgment.

HOLOCAUST MEMORIALS

The plan of a private foundation to build a national Holocaust memorial in Berlin engendered nationwide controversy. The foundation's prize-winning design, created by a Berlin artists group headed by Christine Jakob-Marks, consisted of a gargantuan slab of dark gray concrete covering an area roughly the size of two football fields, to be inscribed with the names of millions of Holocaust victims. The original plan to raise funds by selling the names was scrapped after protest by the Jewish community.

Among other objections to the design, some Jewish leaders feared that the absence of a complete listing (many Holocaust victims have not been identified and may never be) could encourage right-wing extremists to continue questioning the reality of the Holocaust, or that the sight of millions of names would generate a sense of anonymity, instead of individual identity, as the artists intended. Many art experts questioned whether a monument of this scale could convey a sense of reflection and remembrance.

Even in the face of all this criticism, the private foundation backing the memorial refused to reopen the competition. However, the monument was also being funded by the federal government and the city of Berlin, and top officials on both levels rejected the Jakob-Marks design. No decision was expected until late 1995.

In May 1994, a monument to German-Jewish writer Walter Benjamin was un-

veiled in Port Bou, the city on the French-Spanish border where Benjamin committed suicide on his flight from the Nazis. The monument, designed by Israeli artist Dani Karavan, is dedicated to all refugees who fled the Nazi regime. The project was nearly stopped after the Federal Press Office canceled its funding, but Germany's state governments agreed to pay for the monument, together with the Catalanian government.

The German federal and state governments pledged to spend DM 30 million on the conservation and maintenance of the memorial site at Auschwitz in Poland. An initiative launched by the public television station NDR, called "Against Forgetting," also collected funds for the preservation of Auschwitz. The Polish government appealed for funds to stop deterioration and help maintain buildings and grounds on the enormous site.

The maintenance of former concentration camps in eastern Germany was also endangered. The budget for the memorial sites at Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück had been significantly reduced, forcing job dismissals and the postponement of all renovation work. The only current project was the reconstruction of the Jewish barracks in Sachsenhausen, which burned down in a 1992 arson attack by right-wing extremists. The directors of the memorial sites said they no longer had enough staff to fulfill all requests for guided tours.

Several Holocaust memorials were dedicated in this period after extensive controversies were settled regarding their location, size, and artistic merit. In Hannover, a memorial near the opera house was erected in memory of the city's 1,882 Jewish citizens murdered by the Nazis. And in Berlin, a Holocaust monument in the district of Steglitz was dedicated, with the names of the 1,723 Jewish residents deported by the Nazis inscribed on a 30-foot-long reflective steel wall. The municipal city council tried to stop the project, which was designed by Joachim von Rosenberg and Wolfgang Goeschel, but was overruled by Berlin city officials.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish community grew substantially in this period, due largely to the continued immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In December 1994, the community had 47,133 registered members (up from 40,917 in 1993). The estimated number of unaffiliated Jews was up to 20,000.

Most regional and local communities reported a growth in membership compared to 1993: Baden 2,411 (up 338); Bavaria 6,500 (up 750); Berlin 9,840 (up 357); Brandenburg 162 (no change); Bremen 396 (up 88); Frankfurt 5,715 (down 62); Hamburg 2,359 (up 564); Hesse 2,575 (up 275); Cologne 2,167 (up 171); Mecklenberg-Western Pomerania 166 (down 5); Lower Saxony 2,828 (up 1,793); North Rhine 5,819 (up 1,095); Rhineland Palatinate 534 (up 27); Saarland 525 (up 101);

Saxony 232 (up 19); Saxony-Anhalt 244 (up 84); Thuringia 180 (down 39); Westphalia 3,052 (up 630); Württemberg 1,428 (up 30).

Soviet Jews

The German government continued its policy of controlled immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union (FSU), under which about 5,000 had entered each year since 1990. However, an estimated 20,000 more emigrants, whose applications had been approved by German consulates in the FSU since 1990, did not come to Germany, probably because applicants moved to other countries. In March 1994, the German government instituted a rule that emigration approval was only valid for one year. The approval process usually took from one to three years.

The German government instituted an organized system of distributing the refugees proportionally among the German states, according to the size of the state. While this policy served to revive Jewish communities throughout the country, it also kept many ex-Soviet Jews far from the centers of Jewish life in Germany, thus limiting their exposure to Jewish religious and cultural experience.

The newcomers received an unlimited residence permit, which gave them access to most social benefits, including health insurance, six months of language training, job training, and subsidized public housing. But as there were long waiting lists in Germany for such housing, many of the immigrants still lived in cramped refugee shelters.

Integration into German life and into the established Jewish community remained difficult for many of the recent arrivals. Eighty percent were professionals, but most had not found jobs, because training and job experience rarely corresponded to German standards. This was a particular problem for doctors. Since 1993, many younger family members had been joined by parents and grandparents, whose poor health further complicated integration.

The small Jewish community structures in Germany were nearly overwhelmed by the task of integrating the immigrants into the community. Many of the Jews from the FSU spoke neither German nor Yiddish, creating language difficulties. Teaching the immigrants the fundamentals of Judaism was complicated by the low number of rabbis and religious teachers in Germany, as well as the lack of teaching materials on Jewish religion in both Russian and German. The larger communities tried to send religious leaders on a regular basis to communities composed mainly of ex-Soviet Jews, to teach them how to participate in Jewish religious life. Several dozen Jewish communities in Germany now consisted primarily of Jews from the former Soviet Union. New communities included Loerrach and Emmendingen, in southwest Germany, near the Swiss border, and Dessau, in eastern Germany.

The Central Jewish Welfare Office offered integration seminars for ex-Soviet Jews at its kosher hotel in Bad Kissingen. The one-week seminar exposed the immigrants to Jewish traditions and prayer, as well as to the basics of the German social system. To date, approximately 600 people had attended. Some of the immigrants started

attending worship services regularly, and a number were elected to leadership positions within local Jewish communities.

Communal Affairs

The continuing stability of postwar German democracy and the growth in the size of the Jewish community were changing the character of the postwar Jewish community profoundly. Many of the Holocaust survivors who settled in Germany after the war assumed that the resumption of Jewish life was only a temporary phenomenon. However, younger Jews in particular were starting to seek a modern, more permanent approach to Jewish communal life. The hostility of Jewish communities elsewhere to the renewal of Jewish life in Germany was also declining.

The Central Council of Jews in Germany announced that it was shutting down the only national Jewish newspaper in Germany, the *Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, because of the paper's continual deficit. However, the decision was rescinded after considerable public protest, including an appeal by prominent Jewish journalists. Supporters said the journalistic quality of the paper had improved considerably in recent years and argued that a growing Jewish community required a national publication. To save money, the newspaper was cut back from a weekly to a biweekly format, and the newly opened Berlin office was shut down.

An Orthodox Jewish group in Berlin, Adass Yisroel, won its court case against the state of Berlin for recognition as the lawful reconstitution of the prewar Adass Yisroel community. Berlin appealed the October 1994 ruling to a district court. If the ruling were to be confirmed, the community could reclaim the considerable property holdings of the prewar Orthodox community.

The case had important implications, because it challenged the exclusive ownership rights of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany to prewar Jewish-owned property in Germany. In 1952 the Bonn government designated the Claims Conference as the legal successor to Germany's prewar Jewish communities, with rights to all property. The postwar communities were considered newly constituted communities without property claims. After unification, the Jewish Claims Conference filed numerous claims on former pieces of Jewish property in eastern Germany. The outcome of the Adass Yisroel suit could affect some of these claims.

Religion

The rapid growth of the Jewish community had forced into the open the long-repressed issue of religious pluralism. The decades-long insistence of Jewish officials on maintaining exclusively Orthodox institutions was increasingly being called into question, especially as the vast majority of Jews in Germany were not practicing Orthodox Jews. Groups of younger Jews, as well as communities with large numbers of Russian immigrants, were trying to launch more religiously liberal frameworks.

(The Reform Jewish movement began in Germany in the 19th century, but most of the Jews who remained in Germany after the war were displaced Eastern European Jews, unfamiliar with the German Reform movement.) Possibilities for attending regular Reform services in Berlin and Frankfurt ended with the withdrawal of U.S. forces there.

At the same time, older Jews as well as many younger Jews and Soviet immigrants preferred to maintain the traditional structures, arguing that the spread of Reform Judaism would lead to a deterioration of knowledge about the religion, eventually endangering the community's viability. There were also concerns that the formation of separate liberal congregations would splinter the existing communities, diminishing their capacity to administer a broad range of social and educational institutions. However, some Jewish officials signaled a willingness to consider offering Reform worship services, in addition to Orthodox ones, to prevent division of the unified communities.

Some of the newly founded communities, such as Oldenburg and Göttingen, constituted themselves as Conservative or Reform congregations. This was not possible in cities with existing communities, which were all Orthodox. In Heidelberg, for instance, the community briefly tolerated simultaneous Reform and Orthodox services within the synagogue, but the Reform services were stopped by the regional rabbi, and the group began to meet outside the synagogue. In Frankfurt, the liberal Kehila Chadasha group began holding biweekly Reform services and Torah discussion groups.

Other groups, such as the Jewish Forum in Cologne, focused more on culture than religion. This rapidly growing organization offered concerts, lectures, discussion groups, and Sabbath get-togethers. A monthly Sabbath service was also instituted.

On June 18, 1995, a national body, the Working Group of Reform Jewish and Conservative Communities and Organizations, was founded by 11 constituents: the Jewish communities of Göttingen, Bamberg, Braunschweig, and Oldenburg; and the following organizations: Derech Chadascha, Heidelberg; Kehila Chadasha, Frankfurt; Jüdische Gemeinschaft Kadima, Hannover; Klub Progressives Judentum, Berlin; Rosh Chodesh, Berlin; Jüdische Forum, Cologne; and a group in formation in Kassel. A membership meeting in October was expected to ratify the decision to found the council.

SYNAGOGUE BOOM

The desire for more permanence and the influx of ex-Soviet Jews combined to produce a boom in synagogue construction. An unusual circular-shaped synagogue in Heidelberg, designed by architect Alfred Jacoby, was dedicated in January 1994. The British-born Jacoby also designed the synagogue that opened its doors in May 1995 in Aachen, with an auditorium, a mikveh, a library, and schoolrooms. The architect's next project was to be a new synagogue in Offenbach. Jacoby was praised by critics as the first postwar architect in Germany to develop a distinctive Jewish

vernacular for synagogue buildings. Altogether, about 30 new or reconstructed synagogue projects were currently under way, financed by German state and local governments.

The Frankfurt West End Synagogue's original turn-of-the-century interior, with elaborate oriental motifs, was restored after six years of renovation. The synagogue, built in 1910, was damaged during the Nazi era and hastily repaired during the 1950s in the then current modern style.

The northern German city of Oldenburg gave the town's newly constituted Jewish community a former church to use as a synagogue and cultural center. The renovated building was opened in 1995. The community appointed Bea Wyler, a Swiss graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, as rabbi. She became the first woman rabbi to work in Germany since World War II.

After eight years of reconstruction, Berlin's New Synagogue on Oranienburger Strasse in east Berlin, with its hallmark golden dome, was reopened on May 7, 1995. The original Reform synagogue was completed in 1866, damaged during *Kristallnacht* in 1938, and partially destroyed in an Allied bombing raid during World War II. The main sanctuary, which once seated 3,000 people, was not rebuilt, but a small room was open for services. The building now housed the Stiftung Neue Synagogue Berlin-Centrum Judaicum (Berlin New Synagogue Foundation-Center for Jewish Studies), a museum and research center focusing on the contributions of Jews to German history. The first exhibition reviewed the 749-year history of Jews in Berlin. Other Jewish institutions were also starting to open offices or branches in the area, which had been the center of Berlin's Eastern European Jewish community in the 19th century.

U.S. VISITORS

Trips to Germany by delegates of American Jewish organizations continued. In April 1994, members of the World Jewish Congress met with Chancellor Helmut Kohl to express concerns about racially motivated violence in Germany and Europe and other matters.

American Jewish Committee delegations visited Germany on several occasions. In March 1994, a delegation traveled to Bonn to present the results of a survey commissioned by the AJC on German attitudes toward Jews and other minorities (see "Holocaust-Related Matters"). In February 1995, AJC members met with high-ranking German officials, including Chancellor Kohl and President Herzog, to discuss the Middle East peace process, Islamic fundamentalism and international terrorism, the export of arms and dual-use materials and technology, extremist and neo-Nazi violence, and German-Jewish relations. On a second visit in May to Bonn and Berlin, sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (the political foundation run by the Social Democratic Party), discussion partners talked about German-Israeli relations, right-wing extremism, unification, and compensation for Holocaust survivors.

In August 1994, seven members of the New York Board of Rabbis toured Germany for the first time. In a statement, the rabbis said they were impressed by what they saw of the country's energy, efficiency, productivity, and creativity. Their concerns about Germany's renewed dominance in Europe were allayed by observations that Germany was haunted by its past and determined to steer its future in a radically different direction.

Jewish-Christian Relations

More than 70 local and regional Christian-Jewish societies in Germany participated in the annual Brotherhood Week, held every March, scheduling hundreds of lectures, seminars, exhibitions, and concerts. Despite continuing controversy over the value of Brotherhood Week for interfaith relations, many of the events in 1994 and 1995 were well attended.

Two topics dominated the May 1995 annual meeting of the national Christian-Jewish Society: the fight against attempts by free churches to proselytize among former Soviet Jews and the issue of whether Christian-Jewish groups can exist without Jewish members. The proselytizing attempts date back 20 years to the first wave of Soviet Jewish immigrants to Germany, but had been stepped up with the large number of new arrivals.

In smaller towns, especially, Christian-Jewish societies helped to integrate ex-Soviet Jews. In the Wuppertal suburb of Elberfeld, the local Christian-Jewish society, together with church groups and youth groups, launched a Jewish social center in 1994 that became an important meeting point for Jews and Christians. Activities included lectures, exhibitions, study groups on local Jewish history, and biblical Hebrew classes. Because 80 percent of the Jewish community was from the former Soviet Union, brochures were printed in German and Russian.

In Cologne, the Christian-Jewish Society's dialogue with Muslims proved popular. For two years running, at least 300 people attended a seminar on "Jews, Christians, Muslims in One World." In addition to theological discussions, attention was devoted to anti-Semitic tendencies among some Muslim groups and the dangers of cooperation between German neo-Nazis and Islamic fundamentalists.

Education

The boom in postsecondary Jewish studies continued. The Moses Mendelssohn Center for European-Jewish Studies at the University of Potsdam launched a Jewish studies department in November 1994. Also in 1994, the University of Duisburg set up a new program focusing on the history and culture of Judaism. The University of Oldenburg began offering a secondary major in Jewish studies.

There was discussion about moving the Academy for Jewish Studies from Heidelberg to Berlin, to attract more Jewish students. However, no concrete decision was made due to concerns over the possible loss of state funding. The academy received permission in 1994 to start awarding doctorates.

Culture

Interest among Germans in Jewish culture remained strong. In February 1994, the city of Frankfurt sponsored a five-day symposium, "Jewish Culture in Frankfurt from the Beginning to the Present." There were numerous lectures on Frankfurt Jewish history, including a talk by "Dr. Ruth" Westheimer about her experiences growing up as a Jewish child in Frankfurt. There was also a highly praised production of an 18th-century Frankfurt Purim play, staged by director Aryeh Eldar with amateur actors.

In March 1994, the eastern German state of Saxony-Anhalt sponsored an Israeli Culture Festival, with more than 70 events, including Israeli dance groups and an exhibition in Magdeburg on the history of the Jews in Saxony-Anhalt. In September Frankfurt held a two-week Jewish cultural festival, with events ranging from concerts by the Israel Philharmonic to a show by American comedian Jackie Mason. In November Berlin held its eighth annual Jewish Cultural Days, focusing on Jewish life in Paris. Numerous French-Jewish performers came to Berlin for the monthlong festival, which included exhibitions and a film series.

In late 1994, the city of Saarbrücken held its third Jewish cultural festival, with more than 20 events, including a three-part play on the fate of children in ghettos and concentration camps. Saarbrücken's German-Israeli Society sponsored "Israeli Days," in June 1995. Bremen held a two-month Israel Festival in the spring of 1995, including a concert of works by composers murdered in the Holocaust. In April 1995, Leipzig held its first "Week of Jewish Culture."

Several prominent theater productions in this period were based on Jewish themes. In January 1994, the so called "Jewsical," *Meschugge Vor Hoffnung* (Crazy with Hope), opened in Hamburg at the Kammerspiele. The depiction of Eastern European shtetl culture was based on Joseph Green's 1938 film *A Brivele der Mamen* and on Isaac Bashevis Singer's story "The Man from Cracow." Critics called the production unimaginative and poorly staged.

A more successful production, in Hamburg, a month later, was *Unheilbar Deutsch* (Terminally German). The play was adapted from a book of interviews with German right-wingers by the Austrian Jewish journalist Peter Sichrovsky. Israeli director Joshua Sobol, whose work is popular in Germany, staged the premiere in June 1994 in Düsseldorf of *Lovely Toni*, a play based on a book by Peter Finkelgruen that describes his attempt to bring to trial the SS men who murdered his grandfather.

One of the most important recent cultural events in Germany was the opening of the film *Schindler's List*. Director Steven Spielberg came to the gala opening in Frankfurt on March 1, 1994, which was attended by the German president and numerous German and Jewish dignitaries. The movie got overwhelmingly positive reviews. Within a year, an estimated six million Germans saw the film, including large numbers of schoolchildren.

Four films of Jewish interest were presented at the Berlin Film Festival in February 1994. The French production *Im Tal der Wupper* (In the Valley of the Wupper),

by director Amos Gitai, based on an actual incident (see "Anti-Semitism and Extremism," above), explores the murder by skinheads in a bar in Wuppertal of a man they wrongly suspect is Jewish. American musician Yale Strom presented his film *The Last Klezmer*, a moving profile of Leopold Kozlowski, one of the last klezmer musicians in Poland. In *Choice and Fate*, Israeli director Tsipi Reibenbach chronicles her parents' response to her endless questions about the Holocaust. *Balagan* (Chaos), by German director Andres Veiel, presents young Israeli and Arab actors who perform a play attacking what they consider to be a cult of the Holocaust in Israel.

There was a special showing of Israeli films at the 1995 Berlin Film Festival, and because of the strength of the entries, the showings were sold out. The films included *Sh'Chur*, Shmuel Hasafri's look at the role of North African culture in Israel; *Aharey Hahagim*, by Amnon Rubinstein, a critical story about Israel's pioneer generation of the 1920s; Leonid Gorovets's *Coffee with Lemon*, about a Russian actor in Israel; Michal Bat Adam's reflections on her childhood, *Autobiographia Dimyonit*; the comedy, *The Song of the Sirens*, by Eytan Fox; and Assi Dayan's *Smicha Hashmalit*, the second part of his trilogy about an aging prostitute.

The most important exhibition about Jewish life was that of the Frankfurt Jewish Museum on the history of the Rothschild family, which opened in October 1994 and continued for six months. In February 1994, more than 70 members of the Rothschild family—most from the British and French branches—came to Frankfurt in honor of the 250th anniversary of the birth of family patriarch Meyer Amschel. Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other dignitaries attended a reception for the family at the Jewish Museum.

A second exhibition at the Frankfurt museum chronicled the rescue of several hundred German Jewish children during World War II by the Rothschild family, who arranged their escape to England and Palestine. In January 1995, a private group brought back several dozen of the former children to Frankfurt, to visit their home town and view the two Rothschild exhibitions.

There were dedication ceremonies in Berlin in May 1995 for that city's new Jewish museum. The building, in the shape of a lightening flash, was designed by well-known Jewish architect Daniel Libeskind. Building completion was scheduled for 1996. Director Amnon Barzel planned exhibitions on current Jewish themes, integrating multimedia resources. In the still unfinished building, the museum opened its first exhibition in May 1995 on Jews in Sarajevo, with photographs by American photo-journalist Ed Serotta.

German-Jewish composer Berthold Goldschmidt, who fled from the Nazis in 1935 to England, celebrated a musical comeback in Germany. The 1994 annual Berlin Festival opened with a performance of Goldschmidt's 1949 opera, *Beatrice Cenci*. And the Komische Oper in Berlin staged a premiere of Goldschmidt's first opera, *Der Gewaltige Hahnrei* (The Powerful Cuckold). The Nazis canceled the original premiere, scheduled at the Berlin City Opera the winter of 1933–34.

Publications

In conjunction with the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, numerous works related to the Holocaust were published. One of the most important was a new translation by musician Wolf Biermann of Jitzhak Katzenelson's *Grosser Gesang vom Ausgerotteten Jüdischen Volk* (*The Great Hymn of the Exterminated Jewish People*). The poem about Jewish suffering and resistance was the last testament of Polish poet Katzenelson. In remembrance of the 50th anniversary of the end of the Holocaust, Biermann was invited to present his translation of the poem in the Bundestag.

Holocaust survivor Arno Lustiger published the first comprehensive book in German documenting Jewish resistance to the Nazis: *Zum Kampf auf Leben und Tod! Das Buch vom Widerstand der Juden 1933–1945* (*The Fight for Life and Death! The Book of Jewish Resistance 1933–1945*). Lustiger was also the curator of an exhibition in June 1995 at the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt on Jewish resistance.

Arno Lustiger and Yitzhak Arad were coeditors of the first German edition of *Das Schwarzbuch—Der Genozid an den Sowjetischen Juden* (*The Black Book—The Genocide of the Soviet Jews*), a compilation of eyewitness accounts collected in the 1940s by Ilja Ehrenburg and Wassili Grossman that was heavily censored by Soviet authorities. The German edition is based on the original uncensored manuscript, which Lustiger found in Moscow in the archives of the former Soviet secret service.

Holocaust researcher Raul Hilberg published his autobiography in German, *Unerbetene Erinnerung—Der Weg eines Holocaust-Forschers* (*The Politics of Memory—The Path of a Holocaust Researcher*). The classic two-volume work by Hermann Langbein, *Der Auschwitz-Prozess; eine Dokumentation* (*The Auschwitz Trial: A Documentation*), was reissued. Martina Kliner-Fruck collected stories of Holocaust survivors in “*Es Ging Ja Um's Überleben*”: *Jüdische Frauen zwischen Nazi-Deutschland, Emigration nach Palästina und ihrer Rückkehr* (“*It Was a Matter of Survival*”: *Jewish Women Caught Between Nazi Germany, Emigration to Palestine, and the Return Home*). Ilka Quindeau, of the University of Frankfurt's Institute for Psychoanalysis, published *Trauma und Geschichte—Interpretationen Autobiographischer Erzählungen von Überlebenden des Holocaust* (*Trauma and History—Interpretations of Autobiographical Accounts of Holocaust Survivors*).

Frido Mann, a grandson of Thomas Mann, authored *Terezin: Der Führer schenkt den Juden ein Stadt—Eine Parabel* (*Theresienstadt: The Führer Gives the Jews a City—A Parable*), a novel based on Czech composer Victor Ullman's opera *The Kaiser from Atlantis*, written and performed in the Theresienstadt ghetto. Mann's great aunt was interned in Theresienstadt, and his uncle was with the American unit that liberated the ghetto.

Micha Brumlik's *Schrift, Wort und Ikone—Wege aus dem Bilderverbot* (*Script, Word, and Icon—Ways out of the Ban on Pictures*) analyzes the roots of Judaism. The letters of philosopher Hannah Arendt and her close friend Kurt Blumenfeld

are contained in *Keinem Besitz Verwurzelt* (. . . Not Attached to Property).

Since 1960, more than 2,000 monographs had been published in Germany profiling former German Jewish communities and personalities. In 1994 and early 1995, books were published on former Jewish life in the states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and in the cities of Hamburg, Leipzig, Nürnberg, Soest, and Emmerich. In Suhl, in eastern Germany, a local historian spent decades collecting information on the town's former Jewish community, but could only publish the information after the collapse of the Communist regime.

A group of German and Israeli writers who had been meeting regularly since 1989 published a collection of stories, *Der Vogel Fährt empor als kleiner Rauch—Ein Deutsch-Israelisches Lesebuch* (The Bird Flies Heavenward as a Puff of Smoke—A German-Israeli Reader).

Richard Chaim Schneider's *Between Worlds: A Jewish Childhood in Contemporary Germany* presents a highly mixed picture of postwar Jewish life in Germany. Schneider concludes: "Nowhere in the world do Jews live with such fractures in their souls as in Germany. Jews in Germany live with an oppressive past and face an uncertain future." The soul-searching of Schneider's book is a recurrent theme of the essays in *Jewish Voices, German Words*, edited by Elena Lappin, the first English-language anthology of works by the emerging group of postwar German-Jewish writers. Two other English-language anthologies of essays about Jewish life in Germany are Susan Stern's *Speaking Out: Jewish Voices from United Germany*, and Uri Kaufmann's *Jewish Life in Germany Today*.

The short stories by the young Jewish author Maxim Biller in *Land der Väter und Verräter* (Land of the Fathers and Traitors) portray European and German Jewish life in the 20th century. The latest book by the eastern German-Jewish writer Chaim Noll, who lived in Rome, was the essay *Leben ohne Deutschland* (Life Without Germany). A group of Jews from the former East Germany write about their Communist convictions and their recent discovery of Judaism in *Zwischen Thora und Trabant* (Between Torah and Trabi). East German writer Stefan Heym's latest novel, *Radek*, is based on the life of Polish Jew Karl Radek, a fascinating figure in the Bolshevik revolution. Heym was now a member of Parliament for the reform Communist Party.

Personalia

The Bundesverdienstkreuz (Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany) was given to Edita Koch, founder and publisher of the magazine *Exil*, for her commitment to disseminating German émigré literature. Koch's parents are Czech Jews who moved to Germany in 1968. Other recipients included Alfred Rosenthal, the former director of the Jewish National Fund office in Germany. Historian Arno Lustiger, one of the founders of the Frankfurt Jewish community, was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. Dr. Simon Snopkowski, president of the Bavarian Jewish community,

received the Knight Commander's Cross (Badge & Star) of the Order of Merit for his outstanding service to the Jewish community.

The city of Oldenburg awarded the Carl-von-Ossietzky Prize to Israel Gutman, the former director of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, for his publication of *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust: The Persecution and Murder of European Jews*. Frankfurt am Main awarded an honorary medal to German-Jewish theologian and philosopher Pinchas Lapide, for his renewal of the interfaith dialogue launched in the early part of the century by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig.

The Medal for Art and Science of the Hamburg Senate was awarded to the German-born Israeli historian Naftali Bar-Giora Bamberger for his research on Jewish history in Germany. The city also gave the Senator Biermann Ratjen Medal to singer Esther Bejarano, a concentration camp survivor, for her special contribution to the city's cultural life. Her music group "Coincidence" specializes in songs of Jewish resistance and peace.

The Heinz Galinski Foundation gave its annual award to former German president Richard von Weizsäcker for his courageous personal and public confrontation with German history. Von Weizsäcker donated the DM 50,000 prize money to the Berlin Jewish community, for use in the absorption of Jews from the former Soviet Union. German-Jewish writers Inge Deutschkron and Heinz Knobloch received the 1994 Berlin Moses Mendelssohn Prize for their promotion of tolerance and civil courage.

American lawyer and novelist Louis Begley was awarded the city of Bremerhaven's 1995 Jeanette Schocken Prize for Literature, for his account of his survival during World War II as a Jewish child in Poland, *Wartime Lies*. The 1995 literature prize of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation went to German-Jewish writer Hilde Domin, who began writing during her years of exile from Nazi Germany.

Among prominent Jews who died in 1994 and early 1995 were several founding members of the postwar community: Max Willner, head of the Hessen Association of Jewish communities and a former director of the Central Jewish Welfare Office, who, after surviving four concentration camps, helped refound the Offenbach Jewish community after the war, in January, 1994; Josef Fraenkel, who refounded Darmstadt's Jewish community in 1946, also in January 1994; and Rafael Scharf-Katz, the head of the Jewish community of Thuringia, who helped rebuild Erfurt's Jewish community after German unification, in early 1995.

DEIDRE BERGER

Austria

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1993 THROUGH the middle of 1995 brought a number of important developments: Austria's entry into full membership in the European Union (EU); a decline in the popularity of the ruling coalition and a rise in that of the right; an increase in right-wing violence; and a long-awaited decision by the government to compensate Austrian Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

The referendum in June on Austria's admission into the European Union and the national election in October dominated the Austrian political scene in 1994. The two governing parties, the Socialist Party and its junior coalition partner, the People's Party, favored admission into the EU, while the right-wing Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ) was opposed. Supporters of membership argued that a vote in favor would keep Austria in Europe's political and economic mainstream and give it a voice in determining its policies. Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who was largely responsible for negotiating the terms of Austria's admission, warned that a negative vote would isolate Austria and prompt foreign investors to bypass it in favor of other EU countries. Freedom Party leader Jörg Haider, in opposing entry, warned that membership in the 12-nation organization would result in a loss of national identity and a threat to Austria's long-standing policy of neutrality. Two-thirds of the electorate voted in favor of EU membership—it entered into force on December 30, 1994—which provided a strong boost for the government and was widely seen as a severe defeat for the FPÖ.

As it turned out, neither of the two ruling coalition partners proved able to capitalize on the EU outcome in the general elections that took place on October 9, 1994. Both suffered heavy losses—largely to the Freedom Party and to two smaller parties—with their joint share of the vote plummeting by 12 percent, their worst showing in 50 years. The outcome, political observers agreed, represented the most radical change in Austrian national politics since the establishment of the Second Republic in 1945.

Overall, the Social Democrats won 65 seats in Parliament, a loss of 15 seats; the conservative People's Party managed to win 52 seats, a loss of 8. Jörg Haider, the populist FPÖ leader who dominated the campaign with tirades against foreigners, corruption, and the entrenched party rule, attracted enough votes to become the main opposition leader. His party won 42 seats in the 183-seat legislature, 9 more than in 1990. The environmentalist Greens, who succeeded in becoming a cohesive political force under the leadership of Madaleine Petrovic, increased their representation from 10 to 13 seats, while the Liberal Forum, a breakaway faction of the FPÖ, won 10 seats.

After seven weeks of postelection bargaining over ministerial seats, the Socialist Party and the Peoples' Party agreed to reestablish a coalition government. There were few cabinet changes in the new government that was sworn in on November 29, 1994. Chancellor Vranitzky continued to head the government, and Alois Mock again took up the foreign ministry portfolio. The coalition government, Chancellor Vranitzky pledged, would strive for "continuity and stability."

Although many people undoubtedly voted for the Freedom Party as a protest against the perceived complacency and corruption of the ruling parties, others were attracted to it because of its strident populist stance. Haider had promised that should he become chancellor, illegal immigrants would be expelled and jobless foreigners would be sent home. These views were emblematic of Haider's party, which had become a nesting ground for right-wing extremists and old Nazis.

Haider lost the governorship of his home province of Carinthia in 1991 after effectively praising the "orderly labor policies during the Third Reich" and gave his critics more fuel when he insisted that Romas (Gypsies) had been taken to "work camps," not concentration camps, during World War II. Also troubling was Haider's political philosophy, which favored subordinating Parliament to a strong executive and weakening or even abolishing political parties in favor of a plebiscitary form of popular rule.

IMMIGRATION

Anti-immigrant sentiment sharpened as large numbers of foreigners entered the country following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the continued fighting in Bosnia. In response, the government tightened legislation, making it difficult for asylum seekers to gain entry and setting quotas for new immigrants. As a result, the number of asylum seekers allowed into the country fell drastically. In 1993, only 1,193 persons were admitted, out of a total 15,885 seeking asylum, an approval rate of 7.5 percent. Official figures counted 600,000 foreigners in Austria in 1994, fewer than 8 percent of the 7.6 million population. More than 10 percent of them were unemployed, compared with 5.5 percent of the overall work force.

Seeking to capitalize on growing public resentment toward foreigners, Freedom Party leader Haider proposed a ten-point popular initiative (*Volksbegehren*) that would severely curtail immigration and place certain restrictions on foreigners living in the country. The initiative's supporters garnered 416,000 signatures in January 1993, far short of the million that Haider had initially predicted but a not insignificant number favoring restrictive immigration policies.

Israel and the Middle East

Relations between Israel and Austria improved significantly after Thomas Klestil succeeded Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria in 1992. The following year, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky made an official visit to Israel, the first ever by an Austrian head of government. The chancellor spoke of "a new beginning" in rela-

tions by addressing still unresolved issues of the Nazi past. He publicly acknowledged that Austria had to own up to its responsibility for the crimes of Nazi Germany but rejected the idea that his country bore collective guilt for this past.

Vice-Chancellor Erhard Busek, who also served as minister of science and technology, made a follow-up visit in February 1994 and signed a wide-ranging agreement with the Israeli government on scientific cooperation. The agreement involved the Weizmann Institute, Hebrew University, Bar-Ilan University, and the Technion. There were, as a result of these and other agreements, 30 ongoing projects in the fields of medicine, physics, other natural sciences, and the humanities. In the humanities, two projects were approved, one, dealing with the history of the Jews in Austria and the other with Austrian-Israeli relations after the Holocaust. In addition, a chair in Austrian studies was established at the Hebrew University.

Reflecting this good relationship was a continuing traffic of high-ranking officials between the two countries. The president of the Austrian Parliament, Heinz Fischer, paid an official visit to Israel in March 1994. In return, a number of leading Israeli government officials, including Minister of Trade and Industry Micha Harish, came to Vienna in November, at the invitation of the Austrian government. Of particular significance was the unofficial visit in June 1994 of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who met with Chancellor Vranitzky and with his Austrian counterpart, Alois Mock.

This exchange in political visits culminated in the official visit to Israel on November 13, 1994, of Federal President Thomas Klestil, the first ever by an Austrian head of state. Included in his entourage were Foreign Minister Mock, Minister of Education Rudolf Scholten, and Minister of the Environment Maria Rauch-Kallat. Leading members of Austria's Jewish community also made up the official party, notably the president of the Jewish community, Paul Grosz, Chief Rabbi Chaim Eisenberg, and Simon Wiesenthal.

In an address before the Knesset, President Klestil, while failing to offer an official apology to the Jewish people for Nazi atrocities, acknowledged the complicity of many Austrians in these acts. "We know full well," the Austrian president stated, "that all too often we have only spoken of Austria as the first state to have lost its freedom and independence to National Socialism, and far too seldom of the fact that many of the worst henchmen in the Nazi dictatorship were Austrians. . . . And no word of apology can ever expunge the agony of the Holocaust. On behalf of the Republic of Austria, I bow my head with deep respect and profound emotion in front of the victims." Rejecting the idea of collective guilt, Klestil said that it was wrong to hold all Austrians responsible for the Nazi regime and its deeds. And while raising the subject of compensation for Austrian Jewish Holocaust victims, he did not say whether the government was prepared to do anything about it.

President Klestil's state visit pointed up the solid political ties between the two countries. Vienna, which strongly supported the Madrid peace process, welcomed the agreement between Israel and the PLO for the creation of a Palestinian authority in Gaza and Jericho. The government pledged 200 million schillings (\$10 million) over a five-year period for the strengthening of schools and health and sanitation

facilities in the territories under the Palestinian Authority. It also took an active role in the five multilateral regional meetings linked to the peace process, dealing with energy, refugees, water resources, the environment, and disarmament.

Chancellor Vranitzky and Finance Minister Ferdinand Lacina, along with members of the Austrian business community, attended the three-day Middle East and North Africa economic summit that was held in Casablanca at the end of October 1994. Austrian companies evinced a strong interest in participating in investment programs in national and regional projects once peace in the region was firmly established.

In the United Nations, Austria followed a policy that was generally favorable to Israel. A similar attitude was in evidence in regard to Israel's interests in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), where it held associate member status. As a member of the European Union, Austria was expected to be favorably disposed toward Israeli interests in this more important community of Western European states.

Trade between the two countries increased over previous years, with the total annual amount estimated to be \$200 million. Austria's exports were made up largely of manufactured goods, metals, and machinery, while imports from Israel included textiles, agricultural goods, and medical equipment.

Tourism between Israel and Austria continued to show gains, with an estimated 28,000 Austrians visiting Israel in 1994 and 55,000 Israelis traveling to Austria. The national carriers, Austrian Airlines (AUA) and El Al, maintained regular service between the two countries. The Jewish Welcome Service, a branch of the Austrian Tourist Office, assisted tourists from abroad to become acquainted with Jewish life in Vienna and arranged individual tours from Austria and Israel. Its director, Dr. Leon Zelman, a prominent personality in the Jewish community and a survivor of the Mauthausen concentration camp, frequently addressed students on the Holocaust and Austria's treatment of Jews during the Nazi period.

Holocaust-Related Matters

In ceremonies observing the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, President Klestil, in a speech delivered in April 1995, adopted a more forthright position on Austria's wartime role by depicting it as an ally of Nazi Germany. He urged Austrians to acknowledge "Austria's participation in the war on the side of Hitler's Germany."

In June 1995 the Austrian Parliament voted to pay compensation to an estimated 30,000 victims persecuted during the period of Nazi rule. The government-sponsored bill, which was supported by lawmakers across the political spectrum, established a \$50-million fund to compensate those who were sent to concentration camps because they were Jews, Communists, or homosexuals, and those who fled into exile. The government reported that it had the names and addresses of 12,000 people who were eligible to receive compensation.

Although the bill gained wide support in Parliament, it was strongly attacked by the Greens, who called the 50-year delay in setting up the fund a disgrace and criticized the amount offered as falling far short of what should be paid out. Instead, they demanded the government make \$150 million available over five years. Also critical of the measure was Jewish community president Paul Grosz, who expressed concern because the bill did not specify the amount of money each person would receive and whether former victims could claim additional compensation in special circumstances.

Anti-Semitism

Despite a rising tide of xenophobia, there were no major incidents of anti-Semitism in the country. While anti-Semitic prejudice in the population at large appeared to have declined, it remained alarmingly high among those who expressed support for the Freedom Party. A poll conducted by the Gallup Institute of Austria for the American Jewish Committee, between January 17 and March 1, 1995, showed that FPO supporters—who accounted for 21 percent of all respondents in the survey—were much more likely than other Austrians to harbor negative feelings toward Jews. Thus, 41 percent of FPO supporters, as against 27 percent of other Austrians, believe that “now, as in the past, Jews exert too much influence on world events.” In addition, 36 percent of FPO supporters, as compared with 24 percent of other Austrians, “prefer not” to have Jewish neighbors, and 28 percent—versus 17 percent of other Austrians—think that Jews have “too much influence” on Austrian society.

A similar pattern holds for Holocaust-related issues, with 43 percent of Freedom Party supporters, as against 31 percent of other Austrians, believing that 50 years after World War II, “. . . it is time to put the memory of the Holocaust behind us.” In addition, 41 percent of FPO supporters, as against 25 percent of other Austrians, believe that “Jews were exploiting the Nazi Holocaust for their own purposes.” Finally, 17 percent of FPO supporters, versus 5 percent of other Austrians, maintain that it “seems possible that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened.”

Overall, attitudes toward Jews had improved since the last comparable poll in 1991. In the new survey, 19 percent of all Austrians, as compared with 28 percent in 1991, see Jews as having “too much influence” in Austrian society; 29 percent of all Austrians in 1995, versus 37 percent four years earlier, maintain that “now, as in the past, Jews exert too much influence on world events”; and the percentage of Austrians who “prefer not” to have Jews as neighbors declined to 26 percent from 31 percent. In addition, 28 percent of Austrians in 1995, compared to 32 percent in 1991, believe that “Jews are exploiting the Nazi Holocaust for their own purposes.”

The findings concerning supporters of the Freedom Party were particularly disturbing, given its growing political importance at the national, regional, and local

levels. One encouraging sign was the decision of the FPÖ to vote with the government in supporting compensation for Jews, Communists, homosexuals, and others who were persecuted during the Nazi period. On the negative side were the party's continued strident attacks against foreigners and Haider's utterances about the Nazi past.

Right-wing Extremism and Neo-Nazism

A relatively new and threatening development was the mailing of letter bombs to public figures known for their liberal and pro-foreigner sentiment. The most prominent target was Vienna's Mayor Helmut Zilk, who suffered severe injuries from a bomb explosion in December 1993. Letter bombs were also sent to a Slovenian publisher in the southern city of Klagenfurt and a Tyrolean paper factory that employed many foreigners. Although these two bombs failed to go off, another that was mailed to a school for Slovenian children in Klagenfurt in August 1994 exploded, causing a police bomb expert to lose both hands. The level of violence escalated in February 1995 when, in the worst incident of racial terrorism in 50 years, four Romas (Gypsies) were killed by a pipe bomb in the town of Oberwart. A shadowy neo-Nazi group calling itself the Bavarian Liberation Army claimed responsibility for most of the attacks.

An Austrian court sentenced neo-Nazi Gottfried Kuessel to 10 years in prison (later increased to 11 years) following his conviction in September 1993 for founding an extreme right-wing organization called the People's Loyal Extraparliamentary Opposition (Volkstreuer Ausserparlamentarisch Opposition, VAPO), which publicly espoused neo-Nazi sentiments. After he was first arrested in January 1992, Kuessel's deputy and other members of VAPO were imprisoned for neo-Nazi activities. Kuessel had once described Hitler as one of the greatest Germans of all time; his group was thought to have links to the neo-Nazi underground active in Germany and across Europe. The long prison sentence imposed on Kuessel reflected a trend in the Austrian judiciary to adopt a tougher stance toward those convicted of right-wing extremist and neo-Nazi activities.

After the jailing of their leader, Gottfried Kuessel, many right-wing and neo-Nazi groups began to operate in small underground cells that the police were unable to penetrate. It was widely believed that the right-wing political climate fostered the growth of neo-Nazi and extreme right-wing militancy, and that the militants maintained strong, clandestine ties with neo-Nazi groups in Germany, aided at times by shared computer networks.

A book titled *Handbuch des Oesterreichischen Rechtsextremismus* appeared in 1993, detailing the names and activities of far-right organizations. The book attracted a good deal of public attention when Freedom Party leader Jörg Haider sought an injunction to stop its publication because it showed his picture on the cover. A court ruled that the publisher would no longer be allowed to circulate copies of the book that featured Haider's picture.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of Austria was undergoing changes in size, age, and composition. It was getting larger and younger and becoming more varied, but its growth was almost certain to slow down, if not stop, due to newly enacted restrictive immigration and asylum laws. There were 8,000 Jews registered with the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, the official Jewish communal body, but knowledgeable observers claimed that the actual number in the country was at least twice that figure. Many Jews chose not to be counted as members of the community and hence did not figure in the official count.

Reflecting past demographic residential patterns, the overwhelming majority of Jews were concentrated in Vienna, with only about 300 to 400 making their homes in the large provincial cities of Salzburg, Innsbruck, Graz, and Linz.

Whereas in the past, the main source of population growth had been immigration from the former Soviet republics, this had virtually come to a halt; the small but steady growth was now due to increased fertility rates, mainly among the Sephardic and Orthodox Jews. (Most of the Sephardic Jews came from the former Soviet republics of Georgia and Uzbekistan (Bukhara), and a smaller number from Tajikistan.) It was generally agreed that the faster-growing Sephardic community, which accounted for roughly a quarter of the registered community membership, would outstrip the Ashkenazic community in size in the not too distant future. The mainly Russian-speaking Sephardic Jews were already making their voices heard in communal councils by requesting more funds to promote their integration into Austrian society.

Communal Affairs

The Austrian Jewish community conducted its affairs through an elected Board of Deputies of the Kultusgemeinde, made up of 24 members representing its main religious and social groupings. Its chief duties were to allocate the community's 112-million schilling (\$11 million) budget and select a president. In May 1993, the board selected *Hofrat* (Counselor) Paul Grosz for a second four-year term as community president. In this capacity, he was the Jewish community's acknowledged spokesperson and was responsible for implementing the board's decisions.

Elections in 1993 revealed a deep split within the board over the allocation of funds. Two groups, the Alternative List and the Young Generation, which had merged in 1992, continued to hold half the seats; the other 12 were divided among five different groups: the Bund, Sepharadim, Mahazikai Hadat, Mizrachi, and Tik-kun. These groups banded together to present a united front, mainly in support of increased funding for religious activities. For a while, this faction, which called itself the Jewish Platform, boycotted board meetings when their demands went unheeded.

The rift was healed when the board agreed to allocate more funds for religious purposes.

The Sephardic Center, which opened its doors for religious services and social activities in 1993 amid great ceremony, continued to show signs of vitality. By the end of 1994, its membership had grown to 3,000. Located in the second district—the center of Vienna's prewar Jewish population—the Sephardic Center was home to two synagogues, one for Bukharan Jews and the other for Georgian Jews. Both synagogues had daily services. An indication of the growing influence of the Sephardim in community affairs was the size of their representation on the Board of Deputies, where they held three seats.

Or Hadash Synagogue, founded in 1990, conducted Sabbath and holiday services and maintained a small religious school (talmud torah) for its approximately 150 members. The congregation, which is affiliated with the World Union for Progressive Judaism, was serviced by visiting rabbis following the departure of its resident rabbi at the end of 1992. The worship services and religious practices are comparable to those of left-wing American Conservative Judaism. Or Hadash's development had been slowed because of the refusal of the Kultusgemeinde to grant it recognition. Orthodox groups had reportedly threatened to withdraw from that communal body if it recognized the fledgling congregation.

A new house of worship, the Rambam Synagogue, was opened in 1994. The synagogue is located in the Maimonides Center, the geriatric institute of the Kultusgemeinde, home to 150 elderly residents.

Education

Despite its small numbers, the Jewish community supported a growing network of all-day and part-time schools and a yeshivah. The leading day school, the Zvi Peretz Chayes School, with an enrollment of 317 boys and girls, offered classes from kindergarten to the 12th grade. The Chabad-Lubavitch School, with a kindergarten and grades five through eight, had an enrollment of approximately 220 pupils. A major aim of both schools was to integrate the children, a great many of whom came from the former Soviet Union, into the life of the Jewish community. A third day school, known as the Orthodox School, with classes ranging from kindergarten to eighth grade, had an enrollment of about 200 pupils. Or Hadash, the Progressive synagogue, ran its own afternoon Hebrew school, in which some 12 children were enrolled.

An Adult Education School offered a wide range of evening courses on Jewish topics to the general public. The school, which was largely supported by the city of Vienna, attracted a growing number of non-Jewish as well as Jewish students. Its main purpose was to make accessible to non-Jews opportunities to learn about Judaism and Jewish history.

Culture

Austria experienced a strong revival of interest in Jewish history and culture. Numerous exhibitions, lectures, film festivals, literary events, and television programs were devoted to Jewish topics. A regular feature of the Vienna cultural scene were the Jewish Culture Weeks held in May and November. These events included concerts, literary gatherings, poetry readings, and films about Jewish life. A Jewish film week was held in October 1994 in Vienna on the theme of Jewish humor in film. The annual cantorial concerts were held in 1993 and 1994 in Vienna's Stadttempel and continued to attract leading cantors from many different countries.

An Institute for the History of the Jews in Austria was established in St. Polten, on the premises of the former synagogue of that city. An international symposium involving scholars from Israel, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria was held at the institute in May 1994 to discuss the history of the Jews in Austria.

A major cultural event was the opening in November 1993 of the Jewish Museum of Vienna, located in Palais Eskeles in Vienna's first district, at Dorotheergasse 11. The museum's opening exhibition, "Teitelbaum Once Lived Here," presented a history of Jewish Vienna; there were also two photographic exhibitions on Sigmund Freud. The museum subsequently offered a display of early works of Marc Chagall and a show of works by the Austrian Jewish painter Max Oppenheim, as well as other exhibitions. The Chagall exhibition, presented in the spring of 1994, showed little-known works of the renowned artist that were created in his native Russia. The 40 paintings were on loan to the Jewish Museum from various museums and galleries in Russia. The museum held an exhibition marking the centenary of the birth of Joseph Roth (1894–1939), one of Austria's foremost writers. Another exhibition, "Workers and Revolutionaries," opened in November 1994, on loan from Tel Aviv's Beth Hatefutsoth (Diaspora Museum). It portrayed through pictures, film, and artifacts the history of the Jewish labor movement from the 19th to the mid-20th centuries, in Austria, England, Palestine, Russia, Poland, and the United States. In addition, the museum presented an exhibition on the history of the Jewish community of Sarajevo. The museum's library, which holds 30,000 volumes and manuscripts on Jewish topics in German, Hebrew, Yiddish, and English, was opened to the public on November 24, 1994. Following its opening, the museum quickly became a major cultural center of Vienna; in the first year, it attracted 120,000 visitors.

Personalia

Simon Wiesenthal, whose efforts at tracking down Nazi war criminals had brought him international renown, was the recipient of numerous honors. In 1993 he was awarded the Cross of Honor for Science and Art, First Class, by the Austrian government. He received the University of Gratz's Human Rights Prize and was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by the University of Innsbruck.

Thomas Moskowitz, the president of Bank Winter, was responsible for the sale of a record \$124 million of Israeli development bonds to a number of Austrian banks. A ceremony marking the event was held in the Palais Schwarzenberg in June 1994 and was attended by numerous personalities from Austria's financial community, as well as by Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres. Moskowitz organized the ceremony in memory of his father, Simon Moskowitz, founder of Bank Winter and a prominent philanthropist, who died early that year.

MURRAY GORDON

East-Central Europe

THROUGHOUT 1994 AND EARLY 1995, the revival of Jewish communities in East-Central Europe continued apace. A number of communities registered growth in numbers, and hundreds of young people who did not have a Jewish upbringing, or who may not have known about their Jewish heritage, or who had only one Jewish parent (not necessarily the mother) flocked by the hundreds to increasingly well-organized classes, schools, and other formal and informal programs about Judaism and Jewish life.

Efforts to promote cross-border cooperation among the various Jewish organizations and communities in the region and beyond took more concrete shape. The European Council of Jewish Communities (ECJC) took particular lead in coordinating a number of conferences, seminars, get-togethers, and exchanges. Relations between East-Central European countries and Israel also continued to develop in a positive way.

Among the issues of concern were the rise of nationalism and right-wing extremism—including violent skinhead groups, extremist political parties, and continuing attempts to rehabilitate local wartime fascist or pro-Nazi figures—and the question of restitution of Jewish property taken over during or after World War II by the state or private individuals.

Bulgaria

In December 1994 elections, the former Communists, now called the Bulgarian Socialist Party, won 43.5 percent of the vote and an absolute majority of 125 seats in the 240-seat National Assembly. Although industrial output grew and financial indicators were up sharply, economic conditions continued to be rough for Bulgarians, with December 1994 inflation topping 120 percent and 1994 unemployment topping 17 percent.

Bulgaria was honored on the world stage in 1994 for the role it played in rescuing its 50,000 Jews during World War II. In April President Zhelyu Zhelev attended a ceremony in Paris, organized by the permanent delegations of Bulgaria and Israel to UNESCO, along with the European Jewish Congress, commemorating the rescue of Bulgarian Jews during World War II. Zhelev said he hoped for a Europe where anti-Semitism and xenophobia would not be tolerated. Several months earlier, Zhelev received an honorary doctorate from Tel Aviv University, awarded in recognition of Bulgaria's actions in World War II. At a ceremony in New York in May, King Boris III of Bulgaria was posthumously presented the Moral Statesman Award by the Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers of the Anti-Defamation League.

Although there were no serious episodes of anti-Semitism in the period covered, in February 1995 leaders of the Bulgarian Jewish community told President Zhelev they were concerned over “increasingly frequent anti-Semitic and xenophobic publications.” During the year there were also several incidents of vandalism against Jewish targets.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

There were some 4,500–5,000 Jews in Bulgaria, most of them living in Sofia and Plovdiv. The community’s large proportion of professionals—more than 60 professors, more than 80 lawyers, and about 75 medical doctors, as well as artists, researchers, and the like—gave it high visibility.

Shalom, the main organization of Bulgarian Jews, operated in 17 towns and cities. Bulgarian community leaders took a more active role in international Jewish community affairs than previously. The vice-president of the Shalom organization, Nansen Behar, was appointed to the European Council of Jewish Communities’ 1995 executive committee.

A major event in 1994 was the arrival and installation of a rabbi—Behar Kahalone—in Sofia. The holidays were celebrated communally, including Purim parties and community seders. A Jewish kindergarten and elementary school in Sofia met in classrooms allocated in government schools. There were various other Jewish and Israeli-oriented organizations, including a Bulgaria-Israel friendship society, many of whose members were not Jewish.

Restoration work was completed on the exterior of the magnificent Great Synagogue in Sofia, but the interior scaffolding stayed in place. Money remained a problem, and in September 1994 the Bulgarian Jewish community launched a \$4-million international appeal for funds to complete major restoration. Several exhibitions and other cultural events commemorated the 50th anniversary of the salvation of Bulgarian Jews, and the Jewish community’s “Simcha” orchestra, founded in 1993 and led by Giu Levy, gave performances in various cities.

The Jewish publishing house Shalom, founded in 1993, continued operation. The first book to be translated was Theodore Herzl’s *The Jewish State*. Other books published were Bulgarian translations of Amos Oz’s *My Michael* and a collection of short stories by Ephraim Kishon. A Sephardic cookbook was planned, as well as a book on anti-Semitism in the Balkans. The publishing house was funded in part by CBF-World Jewish Relief.

Czech Republic

The Czech Republic consolidated its position as the post-Communist country with the strongest economy and most stable democratic system. Inflation in 1994 at 11 percent was the lowest in the former Communist world, and unemployment was only 3.5 percent. The gross domestic product grew by 2.5 to 3 percent.

There was rising concern at the activities of extreme right-wing groups directed mainly against Romas (Gypsies) and Jews. In February 1994, Vladislav Plechaty, the head of a special police squad aimed at countering the rise of right-wing extremists, estimated that there were 400 skinheads active in Prague alone and at least ten different skinhead factions in operation in the Czech Republic. In July 1994 a commemoration at Terezin concentration camp was disrupted by right-wing extremists who scuffled with and threw eggs at ceremony participants. The incident provoked a furor because police failed to take immediate action, but in January 1995, five men were charged with disorderly conduct in the affair.

In April 1995, the World Jewish Congress (WJC) criticized plans to erect a plaque memorializing Emil Hacha, the Czechoslovak president who signed protocols allowing Germany to occupy the country in 1938. Hacha was imprisoned after the war for his alliance with Hitler and died in jail on June 1, 1945.

A number of events marked the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and the Holocaust. The most important Holocaust commemoration was a three-day series of ceremonies and concerts at Terezin, May 21–23, 1995.

In February 1994, the town of Svitavy decided to honor native son Oskar Schindler with a plaque, in the wake of the success of the movie *Schindler's List*. Schindler was born in Svitavy in 1907. In October 1994 a memorial to the victims of the first transport of 900 Czech Jews to Poland was unveiled at the site of the former Jewish cemetery in Ostrava. President Vaclav Havel, Czech chief rabbi Karol Sidon, and the ambassadors of Israel and Poland attended the ceremony, at which Havel warned of the dangers of racism and anti-Semitism. An exhibition and conference on the Holocaust were part of the commemoration.

In the autumn of 1994, the Czech Parliament passed legislation awarding financial compensation to current Czech citizens who had been prisoners in Nazi camps during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia. The money would be derived from the sale of former Communist-owned property.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

About 5,000 to 7,000 Czechs identifying with the Jewish community lived in the Czech Republic, about 1,300 of them in Prague. In addition, the large foreign community that had settled in Prague since the Velvet Revolution in 1989–90 included an estimated 1,000 Jews or more, mainly from the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. Some estimated that the number of foreign Jews exceeded the number of local Jews in Prague.

Since some 60 percent of (local) Prague Jews were over the age of 65, community efforts necessarily focused on relief and social aid for needy elderly Jews. Social welfare in Prague provided 40 to 60 meals-on-wheels a day, and the community operated the Charles Jordan nursing home.

For younger Jews wanting to learn about Jewish life and become full members of the community, there was a range of educational programs. In the spring of 1994, two British rabbis organized a three-day seminar for would-be teachers of Judaism.

In September 1994, the Ronald S. Lauder Kindergarten, the first Czech Jewish day school to operate since 1939, opened in Prague. It was funded by the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) helping to train staff. Initially serving 12 children in a facility on the premises of a state-run kindergarten, it taught Jewish culture, tradition, and Hebrew language and provided the children with kosher meals.

Under the Czech chief (and only) rabbi, Karol Sidon, the religious orientation of the Czech Jewish community was Orthodox. This caused some friction, particularly among children of mixed marriages who identified as Jews but were not Jewish according to Halakhah (Jewish law), and among members of the foreign Jewish community, most of whom were Reform or Conservative. Prague-born Sylvie Wittmann, who ran a Jewish travel agency, led an alternative, Havurah-type group, called Bet Simcha, at her home. In addition, American Lisa Frankenberg, publisher of the English-language *Prague Post*, helped found a group called Bejt Praha, aimed both at the foreign Jewish community and the public at large. Bejt Praha sponsored a big public event in celebration of Purim, as well as other well-publicized events.

At the initiative of Bet Simcha and Bejt Praha, the High Holidays 1994 saw the first non-Orthodox services held in Prague since World War II. The services, held in the High Synagogue and led by Reform rabbi Douglas Charing of Leeds, England, were conducted in English and Hebrew with a Czech translation, accompanied by a tape-recording of choral singing. At the time of Bejt Praha's inception, there was some tension with the official Prague Jewish community, but by the spring of 1995 it was accepted as an associate member of the community.

Numerous cultural events with a Jewish flavor took place, including concerts, exhibitions, lectures, and dramatic performances, many attended by non-Jews. Efforts were under way, sometimes carried out by volunteer groups, to restore several historic synagogues and to clean up various abandoned Jewish cemeteries around the Czech Republic. The New York-based Jewish Heritage Council of the World Monuments Fund, in a report to the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, published a detailed survey of Jewish monuments in the Czech Republic in January 1995.

In July 1994, participants in a camp held by the Czechoslovak Union of Jewish Youth carried out some repairs on the 16th-century synagogue in Holesov, also used as a Jewish museum, and conducted the first prayer service there since the 1920s. In March 1995, Jews from Prague and abroad danced in the streets of Prague's old Jewish quarter as a Torah scroll that had just been repaired by two Israeli scribes was ceremonially returned to Prague's historic Old-New Synagogue. President Havel, Culture Minister Pavel Tigrid, and various ambassadors also took part in the ceremony, during which the two scribes completed their repair work by inscribing the last words of the Torah in the open scroll. The rolled-up Torah, adorned with a golden crown that had been donated to the Prague community in the 18th century, was escorted from the Jewish Town Hall to the Old-New Synagogue in a joyous procession including musicians and dancers.

On April 29, 1994, the Czech Parliament passed a property restitution law that

would enable individual Jews who are Czech citizens to claim return of their former private property seized by the Nazis. Other legislation provided for the return of 202 properties, mostly synagogues and cemeteries, owned by the Jewish community before World War II. By the spring of 1995, only about half of the communal properties had been returned, and Jewish representatives and others sharply criticized the government for stalling on the matter.

In the most notable example of property restitution, the Czech government officially returned the Prague Jewish Museum, one of the world's largest collections of Judaica, to the Prague Jewish community at a ceremony on October 13, 1994. The ceremony was attended by President Havel and other government officials, Israeli ambassador Moshe Yegar, and Czech Jewish leaders. Leo Pavlat was named new director of the museum, which includes the historic Old Jewish Cemetery, several old synagogues used as exhibition halls, and other buildings. Two of the synagogues, the Old-New Synagogue and the High Synagogue, were separated from the museum and placed under the administration of the Jewish community as houses of worship.

Hungary

In the second free elections since the peaceful ouster of the Communist regime in 1989, Hungarian voters in May 1994 dealt a decisive defeat to the conservative, nationalist-tinged right that had ruled the country for four years and elected a left-wing government.

The Hungarian Socialist Party, the legal heirs to the old Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) Party, won an absolute majority in Parliament, but it entered into coalition with the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats, which had become the second largest party and which had several prominent Jews among its leaders. Gyula Horn, foreign minister in the old Communist government, became prime minister. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, which had headed the ruling coalition since it became the largest parliamentary party in the 1990 elections, was crushed, winning less than 10 percent of parliamentary seats. The voters also decisively rejected far-right nationalist parties. High-profile right-wing, anti-Semitic extremists, such as writer Istvan Csurka, who had been expelled from the Democratic Forum because of his extremism, and Izabella Kiraly, a vocal mentor of skinhead groups, failed to be reelected to Parliament. Csurka, in an article in the far-right weekly *Magyar Forum*, said, "Israel directed the results of the Hungarian elections by remote control."

The resounding defeat of the right was largely based on voter dissatisfaction with inflation, unemployment, and other economic hardship under the conservatives, but it also apparently demonstrated that Hungarians had turned their backs on the nationalist nostalgia for the past—including the interwar and wartime regime of Admiral Miklos Horthy—that characterized Democratic Forum thinking. Hungarian Jews expressed satisfaction with the electoral results.

The new government made a radical break with the past, publicly apologizing to

Jews for Hungary's role in the Holocaust and for Hungarian persecution of Jews before World War II. In July Prime Minister Horn issued such an apology in a message marking the 50th anniversary of the deportation of Hungary's Jews to Auschwitz. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, speaking in Horn's name, repeated the apology in a statement read to a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in New York in October. "It is a self-deception if anyone shifts responsibility for the genocide in Hungary solely and exclusively to Nazi Germany," he said. He added, "The shutting out of society and even persecution of Jews of Hungarian citizenship did not begin on May 19, 1944, when the Germans occupied the country. We should not forget about the murders committed by the White Terror Squads in 1919, [the quotas] in the 1920s and the shameful anti-Jewish laws. . . . Consequently it has to be stated unambiguously that history obliges us to apologize."

Although anti-Semitism and neo-Nazi skinhead activity were cause for concern—there were estimated to be about 5,000 skinheads in Hungary—most of the violence was directed against Romas (Gypsies), with rare attacks against Jewish targets. In January 1995, for example, two skinheads were arrested in the eastern city of Debrecen on charges of setting fire to Torah scrolls at the synagogue there. According to an attitude study, *Anti-Semitism Among Hungarian College and University Students*, published in July 1994 by the American Jewish Committee, 25 percent of students were anti-Semitic to a greater or lesser degree, 32 percent shared some common negative stereotypes about Jews, and 43 percent were free of all forms of anti-Semitism.

There were numerous commemorations of the Holocaust in Hungary throughout 1994—the year that marked the 50th anniversary of the mass deportation of Hungarian Jews—and the spring of 1995. In January 1994, and again in 1995, large crowds including Jews and high-ranking Hungarian officials gathered to observe the 49th and 50th anniversaries of the liberation of the Budapest ghetto. There were also ceremonies in tribute to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who rescued tens of thousands of Jews and who later disappeared in the Soviet Union.

On March 18, 1994, the 50th anniversary of the Nazi occupation, Hungary paid tribute to victims of the Holocaust. A government statement vowed to fight any resurgence of extremism and said the "coolly premeditated, organized, massive and indiscriminate extermination of Hungarian Jews can never be forgotten. . . . The government believes the eternal remembrance of the Holocaust and stable democracy can jointly strengthen Hungary to resist any threat to human dignity and peace."

Numerous ceremonies throughout Hungary marked the 50th anniversary of the deportations of Jews from specific towns and cities, which began in the spring of 1944. At the beginning of July 1994, Hungarian officials, Jewish leaders, and international dignitaries attended a commemorative ceremony in Budapest. "We are here to recall dark days and dark deeds," President Arpad Goncz told the gathering. New prime minister Gyula Horn sent a message saying, "Hungarian Jewry is owed an historic apology."

At the end of 1994, Christian churches in Hungary issued a joint statement,

calling the Holocaust "the most shameful event of the 20th century" and asking forgiveness for Christians "who failed to act against the deportation, persecution and killing of 600,000 Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust." In January 1995, President Arpad Goncz represented Hungary at a ceremony in Poland commemorating the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, where most of Hungary's prewar Jewish population was exterminated.

In late 1994 Israel appointed a new ambassador to Hungary, Hungarian-born Yoel Alon. (Alon, a victim of the infamous experiments on twins carried out by Josef Mengele at Auschwitz, left Hungary for Israel in 1949 with his family, who had survived the Holocaust.) Talks were under way on a free-trade agreement between Israel and Hungary, expected to be implemented in 1996. Malev Hungarian Airlines sponsored a Budapest Culture Week in Jerusalem in April 1995, the first such event in that city. Budapest and Tel Aviv are "sister cities," and previous Budapest Culture Weeks had taken place in Tel Aviv.

At the end of 1994, ten Hungarian Christians were honored by Israel as Righteous Gentiles, for saving Jews during the Holocaust. In December the Jewish Agency for Israel honored Hungary for its role in aiding the transit of more than 200,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union to Israel between 1989 and 1992.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Estimates of the number of Jews in Hungary ranged from 54,000 to 130,000. The reason for the wide estimate is that only a minority of Hungarian Jews were registered with the Jewish community or had formal contacts with other Jewish bodies. Some 90 percent of Hungarian Jews were in Budapest, the rest scattered in about 30 other towns and cities.

The Federation of Jewish Communities in Hungary was mainly concerned with communities outside Budapest, while the Association of Jewish Communities in Budapest encompassed most Hungarian Jews. Both organizations operated under a single joint executive director and were supported by the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in carrying out religious, social-welfare, and education activities. About 200 Hungarian Jews settled in Israel in 1994, a 25-percent increase over 1993. Almost half of them were young Hungarian Jews who had gone to study in Israel and decided to remain.

The majority of Hungarian Jews were nonobservant. Most practicing Jews were Neolog (Conservative/Reform), as were the chief rabbi and Rabbinical Seminary. There was, however, a small Orthodox community with its own administrative organs. Sim Shalom, a small progressive Jewish group independent of the official Jewish institutions, began operation in early 1994. Its members met for study and worship and brought in Liberal rabbis from England to conduct holiday services and give lectures.

A large percentage of Hungarian Jews were elderly, many of them needy. The JDC supported cash grants and food programs including meals-on-wheels. Some

550 elderly Jews attended five day-care centers in Budapest and Szeged. Two of the centers opened in 1994.

A new Jewish community center, the Balint Center, sponsored by the JDC and financed in part by a \$300,000 grant from World Jewish Relief as well as grants from the World ORT Union and the Doron Foundation, opened October 16, 1994. Welfare Minister Pal Kovacs spoke at the inaugural ceremony, which was attended by the U.S. and Israeli ambassadors to Hungary. The new center, the biggest of its kind in East-Central Europe, is housed in a downtown building that was owned by the Jewish community before World War II and was recently returned to the Jewish community by the Hungarian government. The center offers a wide range of activities—educational programs, art shows, a club for Holocaust survivors (of which there were about 30,000 in Hungary), a social club, library, and computerized education system with access to the Internet. In December 1994, the center was the scene of a Hanukkah celebration and carnival that drew more than 500 people.

Jewish educational programs flourished. In September 1994, Ronald S. Lauder, head of the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, took part in a ground-breaking ceremony in Budapest for a new campus for the Lauder-Yavneh school, due to open in 1996–97. Founded in 1990, the Lauder-Yavneh school had more than 550 students from 5 to 18 years of age, who attended classes in three separate locations. The Lauder Foundation provided more than \$4 million toward the construction costs of a new school building that would permit the school's kindergarten, elementary school, and high school to operate on the same premises. The five-acre site was provided rent-free on a 99-year lease by the Budapest municipality. The Anna Frank Jewish Community High School had an enrollment of 250 in 1994–95, up from 190 the previous year. In 1994, its fifth anniversary year, the Lauder-JDC International Camp at Szarvas drew more than 1,800 Jewish children and family members from former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and several different republics of the former Soviet Union. Although new construction increased camp capacity by 15 percent, children still had to be turned away for lack of space.

The European Council of Jewish Communities held its annual General Assembly in Budapest, November 19–20, 1994, which included a seminar on "Hopes and Fears: Jewish Identity in the New Europe" and a professional workshop on "The Jewish Family Before the Year 2000." Representatives of Jewish communities in more than a score of European countries took part in the gathering.

There were numerous Jewish and Jewish-interest cultural events. An enlarged Budapest Jewish Museum, part of a complex of buildings attached to the Dohany Street Synagogue, was inaugurated at the end of February 1995 with an art exhibition on "Victims and Killers," including drawings both of Hungarian Jewish victims in the Budapest ghetto and the war-crimes trials of Hungarian Nazis after World War II. President Arpad Goncz attended the inaugural ceremony. Also on exhibit were more than 180 gold and silver ritual objects and other treasures worth more than \$250 million that had been stolen from the Jewish Museum in December 1993.

Most of the objects were recovered in Romania in August 1994 after a joint investigation by Hungarian, Israeli, and Romanian police. The three suspects in the theft included two Romanian citizens and one Romanian-born Israeli. The last 30 missing items were found in Romania in February 1995.

The Maccabi Publishing House, Hungary's first publishing house specializing in Jewish books, issued the first line-by-line bilingual edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed in Hebrew and Hungarian on facing pages. Among many Jewish-oriented concerts and performances, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra performed in Budapest as part of a tour of Europe. A concert of klezmer and Hungarian folk music was presented in Budapest at the beginning of December. The Yavneh-Lauder Youth Theater drew audiences of 200 to 300 people for performances in Budapest and the provinces, including at a Jewish Culture Week in the western Hungarian town of Tata. All their plays had Jewish themes, and the group had begun work on a play about wartime heroine Hannah Szenes, using original archival material.

Poland

Poland's economic indicators, fueled by a flourishing private sector, were up in 1994, with a 4.7-percent growth in Gross Domestic Product. The private sector accounted for 56 percent of the GDP. The unemployment rate began dropping but was still about 16 percent at the end of the year. The inflation rate was 29 percent in December, down from 37 percent a year earlier.

Auschwitz survivor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, 73, was named foreign minister in a cabinet reorganization in March 1995 that brought in a new left-wing government coalition led by Prime Minister Josef Oleksy. Bartoszewski, a Roman Catholic writer and historian, was an honorary citizen of Israel and one of the first people honored as a Righteous Gentile for helping organize the Zegota organization, a resistance group that braved harsh reprisals in order to help save Jews in Poland during the Holocaust. He was described by Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal as the "most sincere friend Polish Jews ever had in this century."

Throughout 1994 and early 1995 there were numerous events commemorating the last years of World War II, and monuments to Holocaust victims were set up in a number of different towns and cities around the country.

In April 1994, more than 6,000 Jewish teenagers from over 35 countries traveled to Holocaust sites in Poland as part of the fourth biennial "March of the Living," sponsored by the World Zionist Organization. On Yom Hashoah, Holocaust Memorial Day, the young people marched in silence from Auschwitz to Birkenau. After their stay in Poland, they flew on to Israel. A smaller "mini" march took place in April 1995. Despite its worthy intention, to teach young Jews about the Holocaust and instill a stronger sense of Jewish identity, the march raised some criticism among Polish Jews and non-Jews. Critics contended that it fostered a negative basis for Jewish identity and that it perpetuated negative stereotypes of Poles, ignoring recent developments in Polish-Jewish relations. In April 1994 and 1995, ceremonies

were held in Warsaw to mark the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of April 1943.

A central commemorative event for all Poles was the 50th anniversary of the anti-Nazi Warsaw uprising of August-September 1944. That battle—which took place more than a year after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising—was the high point of Polish resistance to the Nazis and a major factor in Polish hatred of the Soviets. In more than 63 days of fighting against the Nazi occupiers, 200,000 Poles died—most of them civilians—and Warsaw was devastated. Throughout the fighting, the Soviet Red Army stood on the other side of the Vistula River from downtown Warsaw, refusing to lend assistance. About 1,000 Jews (out of the 7,000 to 30,000 Jews estimated still living then in Warsaw) fought in the uprising.

Fighters in the uprising are regarded in Poland as untarnished heroes, but there was also a “dark side” to the historic episode. This was brought to light in January 1994 when the leading newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* published an article describing anti-Semitic acts carried out by some resistance fighters. These included the murder of 25 to 100 Jews by Polish criminals, members of a rabidly anti-Semitic organization whose units took part in the fighting against the Nazis. The article also detailed instances when Jews were helped by resistance fighters, including the liberation of 348 Jewish prisoners from a fortified prison. The article opened the door to a wide-ranging debate over Polish-Jewish relations during World War II.

In August 1994, several hundred Jews from around the world gathered in Lodz to mark the 50th anniversary of the liquidation of the Lodz Ghetto. There was also a ceremony at Chelmno, the site of the death camp where many of the 200,000 Lodz Jews who died in the Holocaust were killed.

The 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau was commemorated on January 26–27, 1995, but the event was marked by conflict between Jews and Poles over how Auschwitz should be remembered and its symbolic meaning for each of them. Some Jewish groups charged the Polish organizers with attempting to “Polonize” or “Christianize” Auschwitz by minimizing or ignoring the magnitude of the Jewish losses (some 90 percent of the estimated 1.1 to 1.5 million people killed in the camp complex were Jews). Bitterness over this led to Jews staging a separate memorial ceremony at Birkenau on January 26, the day before the official commemorations at Auschwitz and Birkenau. The latter were attended by heads of state and representatives of more than two dozen countries and were televised internationally. Pressure by Jews, including Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel, convinced the Polish organizers to change the program and begin the main official ceremony with the Kaddish and other Jewish prayers. And only pressure by Wiesel and others induced Polish president Lech Walesa to include reference to the Jewish dimension of Auschwitz in his speech at the main event. In two earlier speeches during the commemorations, Walesa failed to make specific reference to the Jews.

A public-opinion survey released on the eve of the anniversary commemorations underscored the different perceptions of Poles and Jews that clouded the ceremo-

nies. The survey, conducted for the American Jewish Committee, showed that Poles are highly knowledgeable about some aspects of the Holocaust, and that the vast majority of Poles—more than 85 percent—strongly favor keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive. At the same time, Poles feel their own suffering in World War II was equal to that of the Jews, and also take a generally positive view of Polish behavior toward Jews during the Holocaust.

Anti-Semitism in Poland remained a concern, although there were no violent manifestations of anti-Semitism reported in 1994 and early 1995. Several ultranationalist parties operated in Poland, as well as skinhead gangs, but they were considered a fringe phenomenon and isolated politically. Boleslaw Tejkowski, the leader of one of these tiny groups, the Polish Nationalist Party, was sentenced in October 1994 to a one-year suspended sentence for inciting ethnic strife and slandering Polish authorities, bishops, and Jews. In Wroclaw in March 1994 there were scuffles between skinheads and antiracists, and in April 1995 about 80 ultranationalists, most of them skinheads, demonstrated in central Warsaw, chanting anti-Jewish and antiliberal slogans. Police did not intervene, asserting that there was no violence and that the demonstration was legal. Some episodes of vandalism were reported, including the scrawling of anti-Semitic graffiti at Warsaw's Jewish cemetery in January 1994 and on the Warsaw Ghetto memorial in February 1995. At the end of 1994 a seemingly anti-Semitic advertisement, showing a caricature of a money-grubbing Jew, appeared in the in-flight magazine of Poland's Lot airlines. Lot's North American manager apologized for it. Several extremist publications with anti-Semitic content were published in Poland.

There were a number of educational, cultural, and other initiatives aimed at combatting anti-Semitism and promoting information about Jews, Jewish history, and Judaism. Hebrew and Jewish studies classes were introduced in some Krakow and Warsaw high schools. Fifty Polish guides at the Auschwitz Museum went to Israel for a three-week course at Yad Vashem in order to study Judaism, Jewish history, the Holocaust, and facts about Israel, to provide them with a better background for their job.

In July 1994, the International Council of Christians and Jews held a conference in Warsaw, attended by participants from 23 countries. At the conclusion of the conference, the Polish Council of Christians and Jews presented its Man of Reconciliation Award to Father John T. Pawlikowski, professor of Social Ethics at the Catholic Theological Union at the University of Chicago. Pawlikowski had been long involved in promoting Catholic-Jewish dialogue and had visited Poland on eight lecture tours, during which he spoke to students and professors in Warsaw, Lublin, and Krakow. In October President Lech Walesa awarded Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, and Wiesenthal also received an honorary doctorate from Krakow's Jagiellonian University.

In June 1994, Krakow was the scene of its fourth Festival of Jewish Culture, a weeklong extravaganza of concerts, exhibits, films, and theatrical performances

rooted in Jewish heritage. Most of the performers were Jews from Israel, the United States, and Western Europe, but the overwhelming majority of the audience was made up of non-Jewish Poles. Interest was so high that a second Jewish Culture Festival, organized by the Austrian Consulate in Krakow, ran in that city during the same time period. At the end of September, Jewish groups from Ukraine as well as Poland took part in the second Festival of Poland's National Minorities held in Gdansk, which included a conference on minority cultures in Central and Eastern Europe.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

It was difficult to quantify the number of Jews in Poland. Estimates ranged from the 7,000–8,000 officially registered with the community or receiving aid from the JDC, to 10,000–15,000 people of Jewish ancestry who showed interest in rediscovering their heritage, to as many as 30,000 to 40,000 people of Jewish ancestry. Events over the year demonstrated growing interest among younger Jews seeking to recover or claim a Jewish identity. Education and youth programs run by the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation and the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) increased in scope, attracting hundreds of participants.

The JDC made a policy decision to devote more of its budget to education and less to its traditional welfare services. By 1994–95, two-thirds of the JDC Poland budget was devoted to welfare, down from 90 percent just two years earlier. The JDC maintained support of the Jewish religious organization, the Union of Polish Jewish Religious Communities, and had eight social workers covering the country, providing social services and financial aid for more than 2,000 needy elderly Jews. But about 300 people were dropped from the JDC social-welfare case load and integrated into the state system.

One-third of the JDC budget went to educational programs, most of them technically run by local Polish Jewish organizations, primarily the Union of Polish Jewish Religious Communities and the Jewish Socio-Cultural Association (TSKZ). Major education initiatives included the arrival in Warsaw in May 1994 of Yossi Erez as resident JDC Consultant on Community Organization, Jewish Education and Culture. Erez concentrated much of his work on training staff and teachers to work in communities, such as 17 Polish youth instructors ages 19–30. The Jewish Educational Resource Center opened in Warsaw by the JDC provided materials for teaching and learning.

The Ronald S. Lauder Foundation expanded its educational and youth activities, which included youth clubs and educational centers in Warsaw, Lodz, Wroclaw, and Krakow, plus programming in Katowice, Walbrzych, and Gdansk. The clubs in Lodz and Wroclaw were opened in 1994; the club in Krakow opened in January 1995. The opening ceremony for the club in Krakow was held during commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and was attended by Ronald S. Lauder, Elie Wiesel, and Speaker of the Knesset Shevach Weiss, among

others. The youth club and educational center in Warsaw housed and supported a youth club, Jewish library, the Polish Union of Jewish Students, a student monthly, *Jidele*, and the Makabi sports club. In addition to daily educational activities, there were social events and Shabbat and holiday dinners. Summer and winter retreats attended by more than 500 people were held at the Lauder camp in Rychwald, where Jewish families learned the fundamentals of Jewish religion and tradition.

In September 1994 the Lauder-Morasha School opened in Warsaw, the first primary school under Jewish auspices in Poland in more than 25 years. The school opened with 18 first-graders, and there were plans to expand to grades 2–3 in 1995.

Besides educational and youth activities, there were other indications of Jewish revival. The Jewish community of Gdansk reestablished itself just before Passover 1994 and drew 80 Jews to its first event, a seder. The community obtained permission to hold some of its events in the former synagogue. In April 1994, a Jewish wedding took place in the courtyard of the historic Remuh Synagogue in Krakow. It was believed to be the first Jewish religious wedding in Krakow in at least 40 years. The bride was English and the groom Austrian. A Jewish wedding between an Israeli man and a Polish woman took place in Warsaw's Noszyk Synagogue. Over the year more than a dozen Jewish men and boys were circumcised.

Efforts to restore Jewish cemeteries and synagogues were undertaken by private individuals and foundations, as well as the state-sponsored Remembrance Foundation, founded in 1993. Several Holocaust memorials also were dedicated in Jewish cemeteries, some of them constructed out of fragments of tombstones. The Foundation took the initiative in a program of affixing granite memorial plaques on extant synagogue buildings no longer used as synagogues. By March 1995, plaques had been affixed to 11 synagogues in various parts of Poland. In January 1994, the New York-based Jewish Heritage Council of the World Monuments Fund published the first comprehensive survey of existing Jewish relics in Poland, a work encompassing more than 1,000 sites, mainly synagogues and Jewish cemeteries.

Toward the end of 1994, ambitious plans were announced by the Jewish Historical Institute to erect a Museum of the History of the Jews in Poland, in Warsaw, with a planned opening in 1997. Former Israeli president Chaim Herzog, German president Roman Herzog, and the Hon. Ronald S. Lauder were named chairmen of the international honorary committee for the project.

An important historical discovery was made in Warsaw in early 1994, when a cache of documents and everyday objects detailing life in the Warsaw Ghetto came to light during renovation work on the building housing the Lauder Foundation and other Jewish organizations. The finds included personal papers and memorabilia of the four-member Melchior family, all believed killed during the Holocaust. Publicity over the finds led an Israeli woman who had escaped from Poland in 1939 to contact the Lauder Foundation. She proved to be the sister of the father of the Melchior family, and the discovery of the documents was the first news she had had of her family in over 50 years.

Romania

Romania's economic situation stabilized somewhat in 1994. For the first time in five years real wages increased, although they remained well below what they were five years before, and gross domestic product grew by 3 percent. The exchange rate of the leu against the dollar was also stable, and annual inflation fell to 62 percent, compared to 300 percent for 1993.

The political front was marred by the formal entry of an extreme nationalist party, the Party of Romanian National Unity (PRNU), into the government, and also by continuing efforts to rehabilitate both Romania's wartime fascist dictator, Ion Antonescu, who was executed as a war criminal in 1946, and the Nazi-like Iron Guard movement. The Party of Romanian National Unity formally joined the cabinet on August 18, 1994. Before that, the government of the ruling Party of Social Democracy in Romania was kept in power by the informal support of the PRNU and two other extreme nationalist parties.

In January 1994, President Ion Iliescu sent letters to the Anti-Defamation League and Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D., N.Y.) giving his personal assurance that he would "use all my constitutional powers to prevent and, if the case, to put an end of any action [designed to] revive anti-Semitism in Romania. . . . The Romanian people and the government of Romania have nothing in common with extremist attitudes." The letters were written in reaction to concern in the United States over the efforts to rehabilitate Antonescu, including recent dedications of statues and streets in his honor. In November 1994, a new bust of Antonescu was unveiled in the northern town of Piatra Neamt at a ceremony attended by local officials and war veterans. Rabbi Andrew Baker, head of European Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, registered a complaint about the new bust with Romanian ambassador to Washington Mihai Horia Bodez.

In the spring of 1994, a Council of Europe Mission to Bucharest expressed disappointment with Romania's record on human rights. Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, in a statement to the Council of Europe, said, "There are growing insults and threats against us. . . . We need a law which clearly punishes such xenophobia and anti-Semitism." In the fall, President Iliescu met in London with British Jewish leaders who told him of their concern about the rehabilitation of Antonescu and reports of rising anti-Semitism in Romania. Iliescu, whose accompanying delegation included Nicolae Cajal, the president of the Federation of Romanian Jewish Communities, reiterated his criticism of the efforts to rehabilitate Antonescu.

In the spring of 1994, senior Romanian government representatives and church leaders joined with Jewish leaders and members of the Jewish community at a ceremony in the city of Oradea to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the deportation of Jews from Transylvania. Victor Opalski, personal representative of President Iliescu, read a message from Iliescu that referred to the 1,300 towns and villages devastated in the region. "Out of the 166,601 Jews [deported] only 25,000 returned," Opalski said. This marked the first time that a Romanian official publicly cited

figures of how many Jews were killed and from how many towns.

In September 1994, Alfred H. Moses, a 65-year-old lawyer, president of the American Jewish Committee, and a longtime advocate of Romanian Jewry, was appointed U.S. ambassador to Romania. Since the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu, Moses had spoken out several times against rising anti-Semitism and the attempted rehabilitation of Antonescu. His appointment was covered widely in the Romanian media, and many newspapers profiled him as a well-known representative of American Jewry. But his appointment also infuriated the Romanian extreme right. Seven right-wing extremist Romanian parliamentarians—ignoring the fact that many right-wing and other Romanian political leaders had been close supporters or aides of Ceausescu—sent a letter to U.S. senator Jesse Helms protesting the Moses appointment on “moral grounds,” charging that Moses “was, for a long time, associated with the Ceausescus; this disqualifies him in the race for the position of ambassador in Romania.”

In February 1995, Romanian police recovered the last 30 items of the Judaica objects stolen from the Budapest Jewish Museum. Most of the stolen treasure had been found and returned to the Budapest Jewish community in the summer of 1994 (see “Hungary”).

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Fewer than 15,000 Jews in Romania were officially affiliated with the Jewish community. More than half of them were over 60 years of age, and fewer than 8 percent of them were under 20. About 500 elderly Romanian Jews died in 1994, and roughly the same number, mainly young people, emigrated to Israel. At the same time, about 400 to 1,000 Israelis of Romanian origin were reported to have returned to Romania, many of them maintaining dual homes and dual citizenship.

The JDC continued to be a main support of the Romanian Jewish community, directly assisting 2,500 families. The JDC's assistance program provided 1,200 daily meals-on-wheels and about 2,800 food parcels distributed several times a year. It also provided funds to support four nursing homes and other medical and social-assistance programs.

The Jewish community suffered a severe blow when Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen died on May 6, 1994, at the age of 81, nearly four weeks after suffering a series of strokes. Rosen had served as chief rabbi since 1948 and as president of the Federation of Romanian Jewish Communities (FEDROM), Romanian Jewry's secular organization, since 1964. Throughout the Communist period he conducted a difficult and potentially dangerous political balancing act, trading off public support of the Communist regime—some called it servility—for religious and communal rights for Romanian Jews. These included the right to emigrate, at a price secretly agreed upon by Romania and Israel, reportedly \$1,000 to \$5,000 per person. He thus oversaw the exodus of almost all the nearly 400,000 Romanian Jews who survived the Holocaust. In addition, he won concessions that allowed scores of synagogues

and Jewish communal services to function and Jewish aid organizations, primarily the JDC, to operate.

After the revolution that overthrew and executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu at the end of 1989, Rosen became the lightning rod for increasingly open and virulent anti-Semitic attacks by extremist political parties and politicians. He also led the drive to have Romania and Romanians recognize Romania's complicity in the Holocaust and initiated protests against the growing efforts to rehabilitate Antonescu.

President Iliescu, Jewish religious leaders, senior diplomats, including the Israeli ambassador to Romania, and hundreds of Jews attended a memorial service for Rosen at Bucharest's main synagogue, before his body was flown to Israel for burial in Jerusalem. "As head of state, I express appreciation for Rabbi Rosen, the man who led the Romanian Jewish community for so many years, a loyal Jew and a loyal Romanian citizen," Iliescu said. Rabbi Arthur Schneier of New York called Rosen "a great patriot, a man who built bridges between Romania and Israel in the most difficult times." Rosen's widow, Amalia, who had worked closely with her husband over the decades, died seven months later, in December 1994.

In mid-June, five weeks after Rabbi Rosen's death, 75-year-old microbiologist Nicolae Cajal was elected head of the Romanian Federation of Jewish Communities. Cajal, president of the medical science branch of the Romanian Academy, a vice-president of the Academy of Medical Science, and president of Romania's Consultative College for Applied Research and Development, was elected to serve as an independent senator in the country's first postrevolutionary Parliament in 1989. He had served for many years as one of Rosen's chief advisers, and his election to head the FEDROM was welcomed by the Jewish community. It also was reported on Romanian television and radio.

After assuming his new position, Cajal became a familiar public figure through television appearances. Departing from Rosen's overt denunciations, he took a less confrontational stance on issues such as anti-Semitism, presenting it as a more isolated, fringe phenomenon in Romanian society and stressing the importance of combatting it through education. He also moved to decentralize the operation of the FEDROM and to democratize Jewish community leadership. A key element in this was his own election as Jewish lay leader, separate from the office of chief rabbi. (Rosen had held both offices.) Cajal also announced in July 1994 that the Jewish community planned to run a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in elections in 1996.

On May 28, 1995—Rosen's Yahrzeit, as it happened—Romanian-born Israeli rabbi Yeheskel Mark, 67, was elected the new chief rabbi.

Slovakia

The political situation in 1994 was tumultuous. Three different governments held power: Prime Minister Vladimer Meciar's government lost a vote of confidence in

March and was replaced by a new government led by Jozef Moravcik. After inconclusive parliamentary elections September 30 and October 1, Meciar eventually became prime minister again in December. His government coalition included the far-right Slovak National Party, which raised concern. Thousands of people took part in two big demonstrations in Bratislava protesting the political situation.

Efforts continued to rehabilitate Father Jozef Tiso, the leader of the wartime Independent Slovak State that was set up by the Nazis, and Andrej Hlinka, a prewar separatist leader. About 2,000 people rallied on March 14, 1994, in Bratislava, in the largest of demonstrations in several cities marking the 54th anniversary of the founding of the Independent Slovak State. In October there were several demonstrations marking Tiso's birthday. In September 1994, the decision by the Bratislava City Council to rename the city's central square after Andrej Hlinka was denounced by Jewish leaders and several politicians from both left and right.

Occasional episodes of anti-Semitism were reported, including anti-Semitic articles in the media. In April 1994, vandals overturned about 60 tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Vrbove, northeast of Bratislava. Local authorities apologized, and the youths convicted of the vandalism were sentenced to community service.

Senior government officials as well as Jewish organizations condemned anti-Semitism. In September 1994, President Michal Kovac warned against the "forces of extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism pushing themselves forward." In December Prime Minister Meciar said his government denounced "all manifestations of intolerance, above all chauvinism, aggressive nationalism, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia." The American Jewish Committee helped organize, in association with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, a conference on tolerance in Eastern and Central Europe, held in Bratislava in July. In August 1994, an Israeli delegation took part in ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising; for the first time, Jewish participation in the uprising was officially recognized and also written about in detail in many publications. In February 1995, Slovakia's Jewish leaders protested when Parliament named Maros Puchovsky, editor of the anti-Semitic weekly *Zmena*, to the council that operates the state radio network.

In August 1994, Slovakia and Israel signed an agreement to open links between airports and transport authorities in the two countries. It was signed by Israeli transport minister Yisrael Kessar and Slovak foreign minister Eduard Kukan. On November 24, 1994, Moshe Yegar, Israeli ambassador to the Czech Republic, bestowed a posthumous Righteous Gentile award on a Slovak couple. At a ceremony at the Israeli embassy in Prague, the award was presented to the daughter of the late Vojtech and Anna Mjartus, who hid three Jews in their home in a small Slovak village during World War II. Yegar noted that in the same village, 18 other Jews were hunted down and executed by the Nazis.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

There were an estimated 3,000 Jews in Slovakia, mainly in Bratislava and Kosice. American-born rabbi Baruch Myers, a Chabad Lubavitch Hassid who arrived in Bratislava in 1993, became a focal point for renewed Jewish religious life in Bratislava. Among other activities, he organized Sabbath dinners and ran a kindergarten and Sunday school. In July 1994 he initiated a two-week summer day camp for about two dozen children, financed by Chabad and JDC. He distributed colorful Chabad pamphlets giving simple explanations of Jewish holidays, their history and observance, as well as recipes for traditional holiday foods, all translated into Slovak. This project was financed by private sources in Chabad and by the JDC. Plans were under way to open a full-time Jewish day school, and a new mikveh was opened in Bratislava in June 1995.

Myers was not sent by Chabad to Bratislava, but was hired by the Bratislava Jewish community. He came under criticism from some members of the mostly secular Jewish community, however, who found his Orthodoxy too strict and too oriented toward Chabad. A nonreligious focus of Jewish life was the Jewish Forum, which programmed regular lectures and other programs that were well attended.

In the spring of 1994 the Union of Slovak Jewish Communities fired Lazar Kleinman from his position as rabbi in Kosice. He was accused of professional and personal activities and behavior that harmed the community, including involvement in politics. Kleinman charged that his dismissal was not carried out according to Slovak law and brought suit against the Slovak Jewish Union. As of one year later, he was still fighting his dismissal and still remained in Kosice.

In July 1994 the Czechoslovak Union of Jewish Youth had a camp at Liptovský Mikuláš, hosted by the Christian Youth of Slovakia. In a shared program called "bridges," the 50 or so Jews and 35 Christians helped restore both a synagogue and a small church. They concluded with a special concert in which Jewish musicians played in the synagogue while Christian musicians performed in the church. The two locations were linked by a broadcast network so that the audience in both places, totaling about 1,000 people, could hear both concerts.

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Bosnia-Herzegovina

As war continued to ravage Bosnia-Herzegovina for the third year, the Sarajevo Jewish community's social aid organization, La Benevolencija, gained in stature—and international recognition—as one of the most respected conduits of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo residents, regardless of their religion or ethnicity. Working in conjunction with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and Britain's World Jewish Relief, La Benevolencija distributed more than 350 tons of

food and ran a soup kitchen that handed out 360 meals a day. Its medical team, clinic, and three pharmacies (a fourth opened at Passover 1995) fulfilled a crucial service for the entire city. It also ran a post office and cultural programs. In 1994 "Friends of La Benevolencija" societies formed in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands to raise funds and collect goods for La Benevolencija distribution. At the beginning of 1995, the JDC convened the first donors' conference of European aid societies supporting La Benevolencija in order to coordinate their donations and activities.

In February 1994, a six-bus convoy organized by the JDC and La Benevolencija, in cooperation with other organizations, brought nearly 300 Jews, Croats, Serbs, and Muslims out of Sarajevo to the JDC-run refugee center at Makarska on Croatia's Adriatic coast. About 100 of the evacuees were Jewish. Among the evacuees was an elderly Muslim woman, Zajniba Hartaga-Susic, who was designated a "Righteous Gentile" and invited to live in Israel.

In recognition of the service carried out by La Benevolencija and the Sarajevo Jewish community throughout the war, Sarajevo Jewish community leader Ivica Ceresnjcs was awarded the French Legion of Honor medal in October 1994.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

In the spring of 1995 there were an estimated 900 Jews in Bosnia—an astonishing number considering that 1,800 Jews had left the country since the outbreak of war, and that before the war broke out there were believed to have been only 1,200 Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The "surplus" consisted of people who before the war had not affiliated with the community or identified themselves as Jews suddenly coming forward and joining the community. Most Bosnian Jews were in Sarajevo, but there were small, isolated communities in six other locations, both in Bosnian government-controlled and Serbian-controlled areas. One of these communities, Banja Luka, in Serbian-controlled territory, saw its Jewish community grow from seven before the war to 70 by the spring of 1995. Auschwitz survivor Edita Kasikovic, a Banja Luka Jewish community leader who was a source of strength for other community members, died in April 1995.

In Sarajevo, there were about 75 Jews under the age of 25, and a Jewish Sunday school opened with a student body of 20 Jewish children and 20 non-Jewish children.

At Passover in April 1995, the priceless Sarajevo Haggadah was taken from its secret storage place and displayed at the community seder in Sarajevo. Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic brought it to the seder at the request of the Sarajevo Jewish community, to dispel rumors that it had been sold to purchase weapons. Bosnia's National Museum director, Munever Imamovic, in a letter to the newspaper *Oslobodjenje*, said he had resigned in protest over the display, which he viewed as too great a risk for the priceless book. The Haggadah was handwritten and illustrated in northern Spain in the late 14th century and brought to Sarajevo in the

15th century by Sephardic Jews fleeing the expulsion from Spain and Portugal.

At the seder, which was held at noon Saturday for security reasons, Izetbegovic joined Jews as well as the heads of the city's Muslim, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic faiths, including Cardinal Vinko Puljic. Izetbegovic urged Jews to stay in Sarajevo. "I appeal to you to stay in the country because it is your country too," he said. "Our aim is that this be a country of tolerant nations and religions."

Many tombs and monuments in the Sarajevo Jewish cemetery, on the front lines of the fighting, were reported to have been ravaged and destroyed by shell fire, and the terrain of the cemetery was riddled with trenches.

Croatia

President Franjo Tudjman and the Croatian government came under criticism by Jews, Serbs, and Western human-rights groups for several actions that critics said minimized the crimes of the fascist Ustashe regime that ruled the Independent Croatian State during World War II. Among these was the substitution of the kuna for the dinar as the unit of Croatian currency. The kuna was the currency used by the wartime Croatian state. Croatian authorities fended off criticism, saying that the kuna's origin as a unit of value dated back to medieval times. Kuna means "marten" — an animal whose valuable furs were used as units of exchange.

Tudjman attended the Zagreb premiere of *Schindler's List* on March 25, 1994, and also publicly apologized to Jews for their treatment during World War II. In February 1994 he also apologized for sections of his book, *Wastelands of Historical Reality*, that were widely viewed as anti-Semitic. In a letter to international B'nai B'rith president Kent Schiner, he said that negative reaction to his book since its 1989 publication "has affected me deeply and has caused me to re-examine my statements and to re-evaluate those parts of the book in which I cited documents and personal views of some writer or participant." He wrote: "It is in terms of my evolving relationship with and increased understanding of the Jewish people that I now realize the hurtfulness of certain of the portions of this book and the misunderstanding they have caused. For this I offer an apology, both as the president of a newly independent state which wishes to forge a firm and enduring friendship with the Jewish people, and as a human being who desires to make amends in furtherance of such a friendship." He pledged that he would "work toward an ever better understanding between the Jewish communities and the Republic of Croatia." He made similar remarks in April at a ceremony honoring Branko Lustig, a Croatian-born Jew who was a producer of *Schindler's List*. Lustig was awarded the Croatian Order of Duke Trpimir.

The prime minister, speaker of Parliament, and archbishop of Zagreb attended Holocaust Remembrance Day ceremonies on April 8, 1994, organized by the Zagreb Jewish community in the Jewish cemetery. At the end of April 1995, Croatians marked the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Jasenovac death camp, where Croatia's wartime regime killed thousands of Jews, Serbs, Gypsies, and Croatian

antifascists. About 300 Jews gathered for a commemorative ceremony at the Zagreb Jewish community center.

In June 1994, a Croatia-Israel Society was established in Zagreb. In March 1995, Israel honored nine Croats as Righteous Gentiles for their role in saving Jews during World War II. The ceremony at the Zagreb Jewish community center was the first of its kind to take place since Croatia declared its independence in 1991. More than 50 people in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina had been honored as Righteous Gentiles.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Fewer than 2,000 Jews lived in Croatia, about 1,500 of them in the capital, Zagreb. Others were mainly in and near Split, on the Adriatic coast. Supported by the Joint Distribution Committee and other organizations like British-based World Jewish Relief, about a dozen elderly Jewish refugees lived in an old-age home in Split, and about two dozen were being cared for in a hotel in nearby Makarska.

There was no rabbi in Croatia, but the JDC sent a full-time Jewish educator to Zagreb in January 1995. A Jewish education and computer laboratory was also opened in Zagreb. There was a wide range of organizations and activities, including the Menorah Club—an association of refugees from Sarajevo housed in Makarska, Split, and Zagreb—who made money by knitting *kippot* (skull caps) and selling them internationally. In 1995 the club also began producing Jewish New Year's cards.

Serbia and Montenegro (Yugoslavia)

The Jews of the Yugoslav Republic (Serbia and Montenegro) tried to maintain a normal life against the backdrop of the Bosnian war, but due to sanctions and global opposition to Yugoslavia's role in the four-year-old conflict, they felt cut off from the Jewish world at large. The Jewish community tried to maintain a clear distance from political involvement, but some community leaders expressed fears that critical statements by foreign Jews about Serbia's role in Bosnia could be used to harm local Jews.

Economic sanctions and other difficult conditions connected with the war in Bosnia affected Jews as well as other citizens. Support from the JDC, Britain's World Jewish Relief, and other organizations was essential, both for normal community operation and humanitarian and social aid, including aid for refugees and food, financial, and medical aid for Jews living in Bosnian communities under Serbian control, such as Banja Luka and the Grbavica neighborhood near Sarajevo. The Jewish community pharmacy in Belgrade at its peak issued 1,600–1,700 prescriptions a month to Jews all over Yugoslavia.

Various ceremonies took place commemorating the Holocaust, particularly in Vojvodina province, which had been annexed by Hungary during World War II. The biggest of these ceremonies was the two-day commemoration July 10–11, 1994,

of the 50th anniversary of the deportation to Auschwitz of 4,000 Jews from the town of Subotica, on the Hungarian border. The ceremony included an ecumenical prayer service in the town's former synagogue, a special session of the town government, and the unveiling of a monument, as well as the opening of an exhibition on local Jewish history.

Jews were concerned over isolated manifestations of anti-Semitism. These included the appearance of reprints of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and other anti-Semitic works issued by the Velvet editorial house, anti-Semitic material on computer networks, and anti-Semitic articles in some publications. The Belgrade Jewish community pressed charges against the publisher and editor of the *Protocols* reprint, and copies of a small-circulation newspaper that ran excerpts from it were confiscated by police. Serbian Orthodox church leaders condemned anti-Semitic articles, including one that appeared in an Orthodox student newspaper.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

There were about 3,000 Jews in Yugoslavia, with more than 2,000 in the capital, Belgrade, among them at least 200 Jewish refugees from Bosnia who chose to remain in Yugoslavia. Some outlying communities saw their membership grow as people who had not previously identified as Jews reclaimed their Jewish identity, and several new Jewish communities were formed. This was particularly dramatic in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo province, where a community of 37 people was reported. Before the war broke out, no Jews were reported to live in Kosovo. Nearly half of Belgrade's Jews were over 50, but about 20 percent were children.

Despite the difficult conditions, the Jewish community in Serbia and Montenegro, the largest and liveliest of the Jewish communities in ex-Yugoslavia, enjoyed a wide range of religious, educational, and cultural activities involving all age groups.

The top floor of Belgrade's synagogue was transformed into a youth and education center, where some 150 children a week attended five separate youth and student clubs. In April 1994, the community's "Braca Baruh" choir marked its 115th anniversary with a performance of Leonard Bernstein's *Chichester Psalms* accompanied by the Belgrade Philharmonic. Holidays such as Passover and Purim were celebrated with community festivities in various locations. As many as 300 people attended the 1994 Purim celebration in the city of Novi Sad. For Passover 1995, a Serbo-Croatian translation of the Haggadah, sponsored by the JDC, was available for use.

A major event in the life of the community was the arrival in February 1995 of a rabbi, Itzhak Asiel, a local man who trained for more than six years in Israel, supported by the JDC. He replaced the former rabbi, Cadik Danon, who retired in frail health. Danon's daughter was being trained by the JDC to be an assistant to Asiel. Asiel was based in Belgrade but traveled regularly to scattered smaller communities in Subotica, Novi Sad, and elsewhere. He also reintroduced kosher slaughter into Yugoslavia.

The Belgrade-based Federation published a lively monthly bulletin, and several

other Jewish communities published newsletters. In various towns efforts at restoring or documenting Jewish monuments, including cemeteries, took place, and there was repair work on the Jewish Museum in Belgrade. On March 25, 1995, Friday-night services were held in the synagogue in Novi Sad for the first time in decades. On March 30, the synagogue was the scene of an ecumenical "Prayer Service for Peace."

The community suffered the loss of two prominent members. Ladislav Kadelburg, the longtime president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, died, as did internationally noted Jewish scholar Eugen Werber.

RUTH ELLEN GRUBER

Russia/Formal Soviet Union

National Affairs

THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE collapse of the Soviet system were difficult for the USSR successor states and their inhabitants, and the 1994–95 period was not exceptional. Aside from ecological and natural disasters—an oil pipeline rupture in the Arctic and a major earthquake that killed 1,200 people in Sakhalin—economic and social problems continued to plague the former Soviet Union (FSU).

In Russia, life expectancy for men dropped from 64 years in 1990 to 59 in 1993 (lower in rural areas) and from 74 to 72 for women. The birthrate declined to 1.3 children per woman, while the rates for abortions, infant mortality, and suicide increased dramatically. Little wonder that there was a population decline in two-thirds of Russia's regions and that the overall population declined by 124,000.

Some of these developments could be attributed directly to the economic situation. In 1990 in Russia, people spent about 38 percent of their income for food; in 1993, they spent 70 percent. At the end of 1994, the average monthly wage in Russia was \$100, considerably higher than in Ukraine and many other successor states. A quarter of the population was said to be living below the poverty line. Economic reformers Yegor Gaidar and Boris Fyodorov resigned from the government, and economic power seemed to lie in the hands of directors of large state-owned enterprises, collective farms, and their political patrons. There was widespread discontent with Western aid, much of which did not seem to filter down to the population. This fed a growing resentment of the West, based partly on the perception that Russia was no longer a major actor in the international arena and that Western mass culture was capturing much of the younger population.

Still, there were some hopeful signs: increasing privatization, a slowing of inflation, and the emergence of some wealthy strata in the population. Some of these gains were vitiated by large-scale criminality; one estimate was that organized crime controlled 50,000 enterprises (*Izvestia*, October 22, 1994).

Ukraine began to move in new directions. It agreed to destroy its entire nuclear arsenal, thereby gaining about a billion dollars from the sale of reprocessed nuclear fuel. This was desperately needed, since inflation in 1993–94 ran between 70 and 100 percent a month. Ukraine, which once had supplied a quarter of the Soviet Union's grain, now imported grain; its gross domestic product declined by 25 percent in 1993, and the average wage was \$18 a month. In parliamentary elections in June 1994, Communists got the largest bloc of votes. In July, Leonid Kuchma, a former Communist Party organizer and director of a missile factory, beat out Leonid Kravchuk for the presidency of the republic. Kuchma was perceived as a

conservative pro-Russian, but he moved to improve relations with the West and promised serious economic reform and privatization.

In Belarus, the most conservative European republic, Alexander Lukashenka was elected president in July 1994. He had pledged to "halt predatory privatization" and to integrate Belarus's currency with Russia's. Other signs of some reintegration of former states were military agreements signed between Russia and Georgia and between Kazakhstan and Russia, the latter gaining control of four military bases in Kazakhstan.

The Armenian-Azerbaijani war continued. Armenian forces occupied 20 percent of Azerbaijan, which had 1.1 million refugees from the fighting and was expending about 70 percent of its budget on the struggle. On the other hand, Armenia had no working industry, constant fuel shortages, and high inflation.

By the fall of 1994, the last Russian troops had left Estonia and Latvia, having previously evacuated Lithuania. On August 31, 1994, the last Russian troops left Germany. Since 1991, about 700,000 soldiers and half a million dependents had returned from Eastern Europe and Germany. Employing and housing them was a major challenge, primarily for Russia.

The most dramatic event of the period was the war in Chechnya, a region in the North Caucasus, part of the Russian Federation, inhabited largely by the Muslim Chechens, which declared independence in 1991. While Moscow dealt successfully with similar claims by Tatarstan and other regions, it failed to reach agreement with the rebel government in Chechnya and instead backed the pro-Russian faction. Fighting between the two Chechen groups broke out in September 1994; on December 11, Russian forces launched a massive attack on the Chechen capital, Grozny, in order "to preserve the Federation." The attack, which involved heavy air bombardment of Grozny, failed to subdue the Chechen resistance. At the same time, it aroused massive domestic and foreign opposition and criticism. Only on January 19, 1995, did the presidential palace, a symbol of resistance as well as its military center, fall to Russian troops, who by then had destroyed much of the city. Chechen fighters retreated to mountainous regions and continued to fight the Russians.

President Boris Yeltsin's traditional supporters, reformers and democrats, criticized him severely for the war, while his erstwhile political enemies, Communists and nationalists, supported the attack on Chechnya to preserve the integrity of the Russian Federation. Some fighting continued into the spring and summer of 1995, though Chechen and Russian negotiators were trying to work out a settlement.

Israel and the Middle East

Political, commercial, and tourist relations between Israel and many of the former Soviet republics continued to expand. In 1994, there were about 60,000 tourists from the FSU who visited Israel, 7,000 of whom changed their status to immigrants. A growing number of Israeli immigrants from the FSU were doing business with their native countries. In 1993 Israel exported \$115 million worth of goods to Russia and

imported \$57 million worth. Israel formally agreed to reduce its requirements for licenses, tariffs, quotas, and duties on imports from Russia.

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin became the first Israeli head of government to visit Russia when he went to Moscow in April 1994. He met with Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and with Jewish leaders. Also in 1994, Prime Minister Sergei Tereschenko of Kazakhstan visited Israel, which had exported over \$35 million worth of goods to Kazakhstan and had also provided agricultural and other expertise, as well as constructing "turnkey" enterprises there. The president of another Central Asian republic, Turkmenistan, Saparmurad Niyazov, visited Israel in May 1995. The same month, Israeli president Ezer Weizmann went to Moscow for the celebration marking the 50th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany, during which he met with Russian president Boris Yeltsin.

When Lithuanian prime minister Adolfas Slezičius visited Israel in October 1994 and signed several agreements, he stated that Lithuania would restore property rights, not to individuals, but to religious communities. He apologized for the collaboration with the Nazis by some Lithuanians. In a statement shown on Lithuanian television, Slezičius said, "We should recognize that hundreds [there were actually thousands—AUTHOR] of Lithuanians took direct part in this genocide. This obligates us to repent and ask the Jewish people for forgiveness for the unique suffering inflicted on our fellow citizens." This aroused considerable discussion in Lithuania, where some argued that Jews should apologize to Lithuanians for supposedly having "collaborated" with the Soviets in the imposition of Communism on Lithuania. Nevertheless, when Lithuanian president Algirdas Brazauskas visited Israel in March 1995, he pledged that war criminals would be prosecuted.

Anti-Semitism

Jews in the former Soviet republics seemed to be accepting anti-Semitic expressions and activities with greater equanimity than in years past, perhaps because none of the governments of the successor states pursued anti-Semitic policies. Anti-Semitic manifestations were most visible among radical, marginal, nationalistic groups, many of whom disseminated their ideas to far wider circles. Among the more bizarre anti-Semitic tracts in circulation was one charging that the October 1993 confrontation between President Yeltsin and Parliament was a Jewish plot to destroy Moscow by making every Russian "rush to defend his capital and become involved in a fratricidal war, which would cause the death of Russia." Another leaflet claimed that behind the confrontation was an "anti-Russian, Zionist and American plot" involving Israeli armed forces and local units of Betar, the Zionist organization.

An unexploded bomb was found at the entrance to Moscow's Choral Synagogue in January 1994, and a fire of unknown origin had destroyed the Marina Roshcha Synagogue in the same city a month earlier. On May 10, 1995, a bomb was thrown at the only synagogue in Riga. A bomb threat forced postponement of the opening

of a lecture hall for the Samara National Jewish Center. Jewish tombstones were damaged in Krasnoyarsk and Omsk (Siberia), Chisinau (Moldova), Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan), Kazan (Tatarstan), Kaunas (Lithuania), and Tambov (Russia).

Russian president Yeltsin fired Boris Mironov as chairman of the Russian Federation's Committee on the Press after Mironov demanded the resignation of his deputy, Sergei Gryzunov, who had officially warned four publications to desist from inciting pogroms. The newspaper *Al-Quds*, which promoted a neo-Stalinist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Israel line, was closed in December 1994 on the grounds that its owner was a Jordanian citizen and Russian press law forbids ownership of newspapers by foreigners. Viktor Korchagin, director of a publishing house that published fiercely anti-Semitic materials, was fined but given amnesty soon after. In March 1995, politician Alexei Vedenkin, a leader of the neofascist Russian National Unity Party, was arrested for "arousing ethnic enmity and discord." He had threatened on television to shoot two parliamentary deputies.

Author Zoya Krakhmalnikova, a convert to Russian Orthodoxy, gave a long interview in *Literaturnaya gazeta* (September 28, 1994) in which she charged that the Russian Orthodox Church was infested with anti-Semitism. Local and foreign Jewish organizations and individuals criticized a CBS "60 Minutes" segment, "The Ugly Face of Freedom," shown on October 23, 1994, which reported on anti-Semitism in Ukraine, particularly Western Ukraine. Yosef Zissels and Ilya Levitats, heads of two Ukrainian Jewish national organizations, and Yaakov Bleich, chief rabbi of Ukraine, said the program gave an unbalanced and highly exaggerated account of anti-Semitism in that country.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The constant flow of emigrants, on one hand, and some re-identification as Jews by people who had not been so identified previously, on the other, made it difficult to ascertain the size of the Jewish populations in the successor states. The Jewish Agency for Israel released a demographic analysis that estimated the Jewish population in the former Soviet Union at 1,434,800. Of these, 656,000 were said to be in the Russian Federation; 474,000 in Ukraine; and 98,000 in Belarus. The criteria used were not those of Jewish law (Halakhah), but self-identification and/or estimates by Agency emissaries in the FSU who were using the criteria of the Israeli Law of Return, which allows non-Jewish relatives of Jews to immigrate to Israel and acquire citizenship almost immediately. (For quite different estimates and a discussion of the difficulties involved in estimating Jewish population in the FSU, see "World Jewish Population, 1994," elsewhere in this volume.)

Emigration

For the first time, in October 1994 the U.S. National Conference on Soviet Jewry recommended that President Bill Clinton issue a determination that Russia was in compliance with the requirements of the 1974 Jackson-Vanik Amendment—linking U.S. trade benefits to free Soviet emigration—and that there was no need for a presidential review of Russia's emigration practices. In Ukraine, there were some problems with emigration. In April 1994, Ukraine's minister of justice charged that the Jewish Agency had exceeded its mandate by "stimulating mass departures to Israel." The tension was soon dissipated, and there was a substantial increase in emigration from Ukraine in 1994 compared with the previous year.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry protested Canada's practice of granting refugee status to FSU immigrants who had gone to Israel but later sought refuge in Canada on the grounds that they were being discriminated against in Israel as non-Jews.

In 1994, 98,849 Jews emigrated from the FSU. Of those, two-thirds (66,067) went to Israel and 32,664 to the United States. Only 28 percent of the immigrants to Israel were academics and scientific professionals, down from 40 percent in 1990. Ora Namir, minister of labor and welfare, created a stir when she suggested that Israel should be more "selective" in accepting immigrants from the FSU, claiming that among recent arrivals, one-third were elderly, one-third were single parents, and another third were handicapped. The minister for immigrant absorption scoffed at her description, claiming that only 15 percent of the immigrants were over 65, and that a quarter were 18 or younger. He said further that only 10 percent were single parents and that the proportion of handicapped was far lower than claimed by Namir.

Israel took in 103 Jewish refugees from Chechnya, and the Jewish Agency was processing 200 more candidates for *aliyah* in 1995.

The Israeli Ministry for Immigrant Absorption reported in April 1995 that 17 percent of those who had immigrated from the USSR since 1989 were not Jewish.

Communal Affairs

Foreign organizations and individuals continued to play major roles in the organization of Jewish communal life in the FSU. This was due to the lack of experience and resources of local Jews, attempts by world Jewry to reintegrate ex-Soviet Jews into the global Jewish community, the desire of some foreign Jewish organizations to enhance their prestige and fund-raising efforts, and the difficulties local Jews were having in organizing themselves.

In October 1994, five of twelve members of the presidium of the Russian Va'ad, the umbrella organization of Russian Jewry, resigned, questioning the disappearance of funds intended for distribution to local communities. Nevertheless, in May 1995, the second congress of the Russian Va'ad was held, with about 180 delegates coming from many cities. Dr. Mikhail Chlenov, who ran unopposed, was reelected

president for a two-year term. Delegates agreed that the Va'ad needed to be reorganized and that accountability should be strengthened.

In 1995 the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) assisted 139 welfare societies in 127 cities. Over a thousand welfare workers from 42 cities were trained in the new Institute of Communal and Welfare Workers in St. Petersburg, sponsored by the JDC. The local welfare organizations, which had been formed just in the past few years, played a growing role in Jewish communal life as emigration and the economic troubles of the republics increased the proportions of elderly and poor.

St. Petersburg was one of the better organized communities in Russia. That city had a Jewish "umbrella" organization, the Jewish Association of St. Petersburg, with which were affiliated the local Jewish university, the Institute for Research on the Jewish Diaspora, Holocaust Research Group, Association of War Veterans and Ghetto and Blockade Survivors, *Ami*—a Russian-language Jewish newspaper, two Jewish day schools, the "Hesed Avraham" welfare center, and the Harold Light Aliyah and Emigration Information Center. There was also a Federation of Jewish Organizations, staffed mostly by elderly volunteers. The Association received financial assistance from the JDC, while the Federation was funded mostly by the Jewish Agency.

The European Council of Jewish Communities admitted Ukraine to membership in November 1994. The council set up a Jewish Crisis Fund to assist communities in need—most of them in the former Soviet Union.

After fighting broke out in Chechnya in the fall of 1994, about 100 Jews fled Grozny for Nalchik, capital of the Kabardino-Balkar republic in the Russian Federation. Many others had fled the community, which numbered about a thousand, in 1992–93, in the wake of the 1991 kidnapping and murder of Viktor Kan-Kalik, a Jew who was rector of the local university. Following the Russian invasion in October 1994, the remaining 50 families departed with assistance from the Jewish Agency.

The Agency spent \$15 million in the FSU in 1994, double what it had expended in 1993. The JDC spent \$12.3 million, up from \$10.3 million in the previous year.

Jewish organizations around the world began to hold meetings in the FSU, something unthinkable until recently. Three hundred Jewish women from the West and FSU met in Kiev in May 1994 to discuss women and the Jewish tradition, women and Torah, anti-Semitism, and other topics. At the same time, the first scholarly conference on Jewish culture in Belarus was held in the capital, Minsk.

In June 1994, the board of trustees of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture met in Riga, Latvia. In August the Seventh World Conference for Yiddish met in Kiev, with 150 people in attendance. The following month, the International Federation of Secular Humanist Jews held an international meeting in Moscow. The organizers claimed that 80 participants from 26 groups in the FSU were in attendance. The following month saw a meeting of the Conference of European Rabbis in Moscow.

Religion

Ground was broken in August 1994 for a new synagogue building in the Marina Roshcha section of Moscow, to replace the previous synagogue, which burned down at the end of 1993.

Vladimir Fedorovsky, president of the Moscow Jewish Religious Community, based in the Choral Synagogue, emigrated to Germany after being removed from office by the synagogue board on charges of embezzlement.

Communal Passover seders were widely celebrated throughout the FSU in 1994 and 1995. In Moscow there were four Orthodox seders and two Reform. The JDC and Jewish Agency sponsored many others in dozens of cities.

Education and Culture

As of mid-1995, an estimated 22,000 children in all of the former Soviet Union were enrolled in 226 Jewish schools, a dramatic increase from 1990, when 109 children were enrolled, and, of course, from the years previous to that when there were no Jewish schools of any kind in the USSR. It was estimated that about 12,000 children, about 3 percent of the Jewish school-age population in Russia and Ukraine, were enrolled in 86 Jewish schools, most of them Sunday schools. Moscow had seven day schools, nine Sunday schools, and three kindergartens. The National Jewish Day School in Moscow was funded by the Ministry of Education and included ten hours a week of Judaica instruction in its curriculum. Small cities usually had only a Sunday school. In Uzbekistan and Kharkov (Ukraine), local officials prevented the opening of Jewish schools, but day schools opened in L'viv (Ukraine) and in Gomel (a state school) and Minsk, both in Belarus. The latter republic had 13 Sunday schools. School funding came from a variety of sources, including the government, JDC, Chabad, the Conservative movement, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, other foreign organizations, the Israel Ministry of Education, the Jewish Agency, local organizations, and tuition fees.

The Jewish Agency claimed an enrollment of 20,000 in its Hebrew-language *ulpanim* in 1994. It also enrolled 20,000 children in 92 summer camps, spread over 44 cities. In the summer of 1995, enrollment was estimated at 15,000. Despite the fact that the Agency had Israeli representatives in 30 cities and local *aliyah* coordinators in about 200, its officials estimated that all the activities of the various Israeli organizations in the FSU reached no more than 10–15 percent of the Jewish population.

Higher education in Judaica was expanding. A new institution, named for Maimonides, opened in Moscow in 1995, and the "International Solomon University," which has a Judaica curriculum alongside general curricula, opened in Kiev, Ukraine, in 1994. Fifty students were enrolled in the Judaica program at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow. The 19 fourth-year students in the

program spent the 1994–95 academic year either in New York, at the Jewish Theological Seminary and YIVO Institute, or in Jerusalem, where they took courses at several institutions and worked in archives and libraries. The Jewish universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg continued their operations. The first Hillel Foundation in the FSU opened in Moscow.

In Moscow, the archival branch of the JTS/YIVO Project Judaica had entered 1,400 collections into the archival survey's data base.

An exhibit, "History of the Jews in the USSR," opened in July 1994 at the Central Building of Artists in Moscow. It was organized by the Hebrew University's Center for Research and Documentation on East European Jewry and featured rare materials, few of which had ever been seen in public in the FSU, documenting all aspects of Soviet Jewish life.

The movie *Schindler's List* opened in Moscow on September 12, 1994, and was scheduled to be shown in 20 Russian cities.

ZVI GITELMAN