

Western Europe

Great Britain

National Affairs

IN 1991, THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT of John Major sought both to strengthen the country's economic position and to regain the popularity forfeited by imposition of the community charge (poll tax) in 1990. As early as January the government announced an alleviation of the community charge; in March came a surprise announcement that much of the burden of the community charge would be transferred from the individual to the central government, which would recoup most of the cost through an increase in value-added tax.

The British economic picture remained decidedly mixed. Interest and mortgage rates declined; inflation dropped from 9 percent in February to 6.4 percent in April; and unemployment showed a rising trend, reaching 7.6 percent in May.

The electorate expressed its frustration in a sensational Liberal Democrat victory in the Ribble Valley by-election in March as well as in parliamentary by-elections in April and May and local elections in May (in England and Wales), when both Labor and the Liberal Democrats scored a number of sensational gains against the Tories. The main themes in all these contests were the community charge, the economic situation, and the National Health Service, Labor alleging that the government's health reforms were in fact subordinating clinical to commercial considerations. Urban riots in August and September in Birmingham, Newcastle, and Oxford underscored the government's failure to deal with persistent social problems, and its popularity remained low.

Relations with Israel

THE GULF WAR

Following the outbreak of the Gulf War in January, Israel's policy of restraint won warm support in Britain. Prime Minister John Major described Iraqi missile attacks on Israeli cities as "utterly deplorable" and "wholly unforgivable." "The

remarkable restraint which Israel has shown so far is a sign of strength not weakness and will be widely recognized as such," he said in the House of Commons in January. After Iraq's third missile attack on Israel, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd told the House that the government had "nothing but admiration and respect" for Israel and urged the Israeli government to continue its policy of nonretaliation. (Sympathy notwithstanding, at the end of January the Foreign Office revealed that the government had decided to continue its nine-year-old embargo on arms sales to Israel.) In February, Defense Secretary Tom King wrote to Chief Rabbi Lord Immanuel Jakobovits expressing sympathy with the feelings of British Jews at the "barbaric attacks against Israel with Scuds." "The use of such indiscriminate weapons of terror against innocent civilians," he said, "shows clearly the nature of Saddam Hussein's regime." The Labor party, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), and 17 individual trade unions sent messages of support and solidarity to their Israeli counterparts.

The government's attitude to the PLO hardened in view of its support for the Iraqis. It had behaved in a "discreditable and foolish manner in the Gulf conflict," Foreign Office minister Douglas Hogg told Parliament. Although it was impossible to discount the PLO's importance as a representative of the Palestinians, he said, its assurances that it accepted Israel and rejected terrorism would have to be "treated with a great deal of caution." Foreign Secretary Hurd played down the option of Palestinian statehood prior to visiting Cairo in February. His view, which Prime Minister Major supported, envisaged flexible political arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza, which took account of Israel's concern for security.

Although Natan Meron, outgoing minister at London's Israeli embassy, said in September that he was "very happy with our relations with Britain now," old criticisms of Israeli policy in fact resurfaced in the months following the war. On a visit to Israel and the occupied territories in May, Foreign Secretary Hurd expressed disapproval of the West Bank settlements; in November, the Foreign Office's Hogg described Israel's policy in the occupied territories as "wrong and destructive." He told a meeting organized by the Institute of Jewish Affairs that Israel's future security depended on it reaching a peace agreement with the Arabs. Without compromising Israel's security within borders recognized by all other states in the area, he said, the Palestinians had "the right to self-government and political rights, and the British government believes, too, must have land to make a reality of these rights." In December Hogg rejected calls for government action against Israel for alleged denial of human rights, but expressed the government's deep concern about the condition of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and Gaza strip. "For the moment at least," he told Parliament, "I should prefer to rely on the process of negotiation."

Israel also came under pressure for its "hostage" policy. During talks with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel in London's Downing Street in April, Prime Minister Major appealed to Israel to encourage the freeing of Western hostages held in Lebanon by releasing Muslim cleric Sheikh Abdul Karim Obeid, who had been

abducted from Lebanon by the Israelis two years previously. In June Britain played a mediating role in London discussions and negotiations with Israeli officials aimed at securing a deal with Lebanon to free Israeli and Western hostages in exchange for Obeid and other Israeli-held prisoners. In response to Major's request that Israel free some of its Shi'ite prisoners, Israel stated its determination to do nothing until it received solid information about missing Israeli soldiers.

Foreign Minister Farouk-al-Sharaa of Syria held talks in London in February with Foreign Secretary Hurd, the first such high-level contact since diplomatic relations between Britain and Syria were reestablished in November 1990. The Board of Deputies of British Jews protested to the Foreign Office in July when minister Hogg, after talks with European Community ministers in Luxemburg, stated that Britain would be "willing to see" the arms embargo against Syria lifted. Britain itself "did not anticipate selling arms to Syria," he explained.

Fears that the PLO might be regaining international recognition were aroused in November by Hogg's statement that the time would undoubtedly come when Britain would want to resume contact with the PLO at a ministerial level. But Prime Minister Major reassured the Board of Deputies that no immediate upgrading of Britain's relations with the PLO was contemplated. The PLO, he said, had been sidelined in the Middle East equation, and the government intended to keep it that way. However, meetings between senior PLO members and Foreign Office officials continued to take place.

Both the Conservative Friends of Israel (CFI) and Labor Friends of Israel (LFI) sponsored visits to Israel by groups of MPs. CFI appointed a campaign director to promote understanding of Israel among local councils and constituencies and announced plans to campaign in the next parliamentary elections on behalf of Tory MPs in marginal seats who supported Israel.

In May a group of MPs led by Labor's Jimmy Wray criticized a proposed loan package, comprising a subsidized loan of £111.5 million to Israel and a grant of £41.8 million to the occupied territories, because of Israel's "unlawful appropriation of Palestinian lands" and "overt defiance of UN resolutions." In September shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman praised American president George Bush for withholding a \$10-billion loan guarantee to Israel until after a Middle East peace conference. Kaufman, who was elected for the first time to Labor's national executive, was addressing the pro-Palestinian Labor Middle East Council during the Labor party's Brighton conference. A Labor government, said Kaufman, would dedicate itself to a peace settlement in the Middle East that gave Palestinians the right to self-determination and also ended Israel's chronic insecurity. The conference supported a Poale Zion resolution urging support for a negotiated peace between Israel and the Palestinians under the terms of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, but with an amendment calling on the party to support the right to Palestinian self-determination, not excluding a Palestinian state.

Nazi War Criminals

The War Crimes Bill allowing the prosecution of alleged Nazi war criminals currently living in Britain became law in June. It passed the House of Commons in March by a majority of 166 on a free vote, after the House had voted 177 to 17 to block the possibility of amendment. In the House of Lords, two amendments were presented, one postponing implementation of the bill for six months, the other extending it to cover war crimes committed in territory held by Japan in World War II and by Iraq between July 1, 1990, and March 12, 1991. The bill passed directly to the Queen for royal assent after the Lords had rejected it, in a form incorporating the first amendment, in April, and the government overruled the Lords by invoking the Parliament Act—only the second time it had done so since 1945.

A seven-member special war-crimes unit at Scotland Yard, set up under the authorization of the home secretary and led by Detective Chief Superintendent Edward Bathgate, immediately began investigations. In November Bathgate was in the former Soviet Union making contact with war-crimes investigators there. Also in Russia at the time were legal experts from the special casework section of the Crown Prosecution Service. Following Bathgate's visit, government officials in the former Soviet republics pledged to help the British detectives in their search for evidence. Other members of the unit were in Israel working with officials of Israel's war-crimes unit.

In November Prime Minister Major told a Board of Deputies delegation that the government's commitment to bringing alleged war criminals to justice remained, but that finding sufficient evidence to prosecute remained a problem. In December Attorney-General Sir Patrick Mayhew informed the Commons that no decision could yet be made on when to begin prosecutions.

Anti-Semitism and Racism

Both in early January, following Britain's expulsion of 75 Iraqis suspected of involvement in planning terror attacks on British targets, and during the Gulf War, the Community Security Organization (CSO), the Board of Deputies' security arm, warned the Jewish community and Zionist and communal organizations of possible attacks by pro-Iraqi terrorists and also by extreme right-wing groups using the war to exploit racial tensions. Heightened activity by extreme right-wing groups was in fact reflected in Board of Deputies' statistics issued in June, which showed 50 percent more anti-Semitic incidents in the first five months of 1991 than in the same period in 1990.

In January the Holocaust Memorial in London's Hyde Park was daubed; tombstones were desecrated at Fawcett Road cemetery, Portsmouth (January), and at Exeter and Grimsby (September); arson attacks and vandalism were reported against Hasmonean Boys' School, Hendon, and synagogues in Birmingham and Staines (January), Greenford (April), Wanstead and Woodford, northeast London

(June). A pig's head was nailed to the door of the small Sunderland synagogue on Yom Kippur. Kosher food suppliers also experienced arson attacks: in Tottenham, North London, in January, and Israeli-owned Bis-Bas in November. The appearance in February of a series of anti-Semitic leaflets and posters in many areas, alleging that a Jewish conspiracy controlled the war, suggested that the far-right British National party (BNP) and neo-Nazi Colin Jordan's "Gothic Ripples" group had joined the campaign. In May the Tyne and Wear Anti-Fascists Association reported increased activity against minorities by extreme right-wing groups in northeast England, one of the targets being Gateshead's ultra-Orthodox community.

Active attempts were made throughout the year to combat the threats of racism and neo-Nazism. Among such activities was a mass demonstration in London's East End in March, organized by Anti-Fascist Action, to demand an end to weekly gatherings of the National Front (NF) and British National party (BNP) newspaper-sellers; in May, antiracist groups called on the government to outlaw the BNP and also demanded that Home Secretary Kenneth Baker ban a BNP march through Thamesmead Estate, south-east London. Although the police also requested the ban, Baker refused on the grounds that the event did not meet the specific requirements of the Public Order Act. In June the Manchester city council canceled an NF meeting and march following a protest campaign, in which Manchester Jewish students were prominent. In York, in November, a 600-strong picket, many from the Union of Jewish Students, formed a human wall across the entrance to Clifford's Tower, scene of a medieval Jewish massacre, to prevent a BNP meeting.

Growing awareness of the need for public education in this area was also evident. The National Union of Teachers' national conference in April adopted a policy calling for teachers to challenge anti-Semitic remarks by pupils and staff, give equal treatment to Jewish culture and festivals in multicultural education, include the Holocaust in the curriculum, and support general protests against anti-Semitism. In June the Trades Union Congress's national education center agreed to include anti-Semitism in its "Tackling Racism at Work" course. In July a British branch of the Inter-Parliamentary Council Against Anti-Semitism was formed, its aim to monitor and inform parliamentarians and the public of signs of anti-Semitism and react to anti-Semitic attacks. The council, which was linked to groups in more than 30 international parliaments, also wanted to promote education about the Holocaust.

In August the Commonwealth Jewish Council meeting in Jerusalem established a London-based "rapid response unit" to help remote Jewish communities around the world combat anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism.

Racist literature continued to cause concern. In January some 20 Jewish organizations received copies of the *Holohoax* by "Simon Weaselstool"; in March *Zionism and Internal Security*, a book containing extracts from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, was for sale at the Moslem Information Center in Islington, North London. There were indications that the authorities were taking the problem more seriously than in the past. In September the Crown Prosecution Service asked the police to

make inquiries about a booklet, *The Longest Hatred: An Examination of Anti-Gentilism*, with a foreword by Lady Birdwood, that had been sent to MPs in July. In September *Lord Horror* by David Brent, published by Savoy Books and based on the life of British World War II traitor William Joyce ("Lord Haw-Haw"), was banned under the Obscene Publications Act, though no reason was given.

The first prosecutions for the distribution of anti-Semitic material ordered by the attorney general under section 3 of the Public Order Act (1986) resulted in a guilty verdict against Francis Patrician Walsh, aged 66, in September, for possessing anti-Semitic and racially inflammatory material likely to stir up racial hatred. Walsh, who was arrested for displaying two racist placards in Bethnal Green, North London, was fined £10 for obstructing the highway and was legally bound to keep the peace for a year, on pain of receiving a stiffer £100-penalty. In October, 78-year-old Dowager Lady Birdwood was found guilty of ten charges of distributing and possessing thousands of anti-Semitic leaflets. She was sentenced to two years' conditional discharge plus £500 costs and warned that she would be sent to prison if she continued to break the law. Lady Birdwood, who lived in West London, in 1973 founded the anti-immigration "Choice" organization whose newspaper carried the slogan "Racialism Is Patriotism." In November she entered an appeal of her sentence.

In October the BNP was fined £300 for defacing tourist information signs with anti-Muslim slogans. In December Andrew Benjamin, the Jewish former owner of Cut Down, a West End record and video store, was jailed for two months for behavior likely to stir up racial hatred by selling "offensive and abusive" material.

On the legal front, a call to change public-order legislation came in June from Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Peter Imbert following the government's refusal to ban the BNP Thamesmead march. "The time may have come," he said, "to reexamine the difficult question of balancing the right to march with the right of the community to live without malign provocation." MP Greville Janner began a movement in Parliament for tougher measures against anti-Semites. He also sent a parliamentary question to the home secretary asking that the government's record on banning demonstrations by racists be made public.

Efforts were made to prevent the entry into Britain of extreme right-wing activists, particularly in light of reports that London might become a center for their activities. In July, when it was reported that 15 Euro MPs from extremist parties in Germany, France, and Belgium, including Jean-Marie Le Pen, head of France's National Front, were to meet in Britain, Home Secretary Baker rejected the Board of Deputies' request that Le Pen be refused entry. Members of the European Parliament, he said, were free to meet in any member state. Nevertheless, Greville Janner entered a motion in Parliament condemning the visit, and Le Pen faced a demonstration by the Union of Jewish Students, the Association of Jewish Ex-servicemen and Women (AJEX), the Board of Deputies, and antifascist groups, when he spoke at Queen Elizabeth Conference Center, Westminster, central London.

In September, following a National Union of Students' (NUS) campaign and appeals by the Board of Deputies and AJEX, Home Secretary Baker banned the entry to Britain of American Fred Leuchter on the ground that his "deeply repugnant" views were an offense to British Jews and "his presence here would not be conducive to the public good." Leuchter, author of a report claiming that no death chambers existed, had been invited by right-wing revisionist historian David Irving to address meetings in Britain. But Baker said he could not grant AJEX's request to use his powers under the Public Order Act to deny entry to French revisionist historian Robert Faurisson, as Faurisson held dual French and British citizenship. However, if Faurisson came, he would be "subject to the law on matters such as incitement to racial hatred."

In November, when it was confirmed that Le Pen would again visit Britain, a "Stop Le Pen" drive was organized by the Campaign Against Fascism in France, supported by 60 MPs who signed an early-day motion calling for the visit to be canceled and pledging to "chase, hound and disrupt" it. Hundreds of angry demonstrators greeted Le Pen's arrival and waved banners and chanted slogans when he met with far-right members of the European Parliament at a Knightsbridge, West London, hotel. In December the Board of Deputies pledged to oppose a planned visit to Britain by the American Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, based on his record of anti-Semitic rhetoric.

Although Jewish and nonwhite communities cooperated in attempts to combat racist hostility, Jewish youth workers in May voiced concern that racism toward blacks among Jewish youngsters had reached "disturbing" proportions. In June the Jewish Council for Community Relations announced plans for an antiracism resource center for teachers and youth leaders and a training program for educators. By July, Orthodox and Reform educators were working with the council to introduce antiracist projects in Jewish schools, youth clubs, and Hebrew classes.

On the other side, in January, Leeds police were asked to investigate an outbreak of anti-Semitic abuse against Jewish students by local Asian youths, and in May, black youths were accused of conducting a terror campaign against Edgware and Golders Green youngsters. In June it was reported that elements in the large Luton, Bedfordshire, Muslim community were harassing and abusing Jews en route to synagogue. In December the National Union of Students launched an inquiry into campus anti-Semitism after Jewish students complained of verbal abuse and physical intimidation by members of the radical Black Students' Caucus at NUS's Blackpool conference. "We have no problem with black students generally," said Union of Jewish Students (UJS) organizer Simon Pollock. "In fact most of the positive work against racism and fascism we do on campus is in conjunction with black students."

In December UJS announced plans to join the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain and the Board of Deputies to lobby against the government's Asylum Bill, designed to limit the number of political refugees allowed into Britain.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

Britain's Jewish community had shrunk to 300,000 in 1988—from 330,000 in 1985—the lowest figure since the beginning of the century and comparing with a peak of 430,000 in the 1950s. This according to an estimate published in the *Jewish Chronicle* in September and based on figures prepared for a Board of Deputies report to be issued in 1992. The drop was attributed to the imbalance between births and deaths as well as to "social erosion," including emigration and a sharp decline in synagogue marriages.

A slight increase in synagogue marriages was recorded in 1990—a total of 1,098 compared with 1,057 in 1989—according to the Board of Deputies' Community Research Unit. Marriages under both centrist Orthodox and Liberal auspices increased (centrist Orthodox to 722 in 1990 from 679 in 1989; Liberal to 58 from 43); while there were fewer right-wing Orthodox weddings: 103 against 118. Other groups were virtually unchanged.

Some 261 religious divorce decrees were issued by both Orthodox and Reform *batei din* (rabbinical courts) in 1990, compared with 228 in 1989 and an annual 1987–1990 average of 254. Total births estimated on the basis of circumcision registration were 3,341 in 1989, compared with an annual 1985–88 average of 3,608. Burials and cremations under Jewish religious auspices rose to 4,615 in 1990 from 4,535 in 1989.

Communal Affairs

During the Gulf War, Jewish organizations and the community rallied round Israel with expressions of support and large-scale fund-raising efforts. More than 300 British Jews expressed solidarity by joining the Joint Israel Appeal's (JIA) "Exodus 1991" mission to Israel at the end of January. That month the Board of Deputies and JIA agreed on a division of responsibility: the board to watch over Jewish defense; JIA, which stepped up its £40-million campaign, to spearhead all fund-raising for Israel.

In June, 70-year-old Judge Israel Finestein was elected president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews for three years, beating fellow board vice-president Eric Moonman by 196 votes to 116. Finestein, a former president of Norwood Child Care and founder of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation in the United Kingdom, succeeded Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz, who retired after serving the maximum of six consecutive years. His first duty, said Finestein, would be to enlist the energies and talents of deputies, particularly younger members and those from the provinces. His tasks would include promoting the training of young lay leaders, strengthening ties between Jews and other ethnic groups, and addressing the problems of provincial communities. In July Rosalind Preston became the board's first woman vice-president. Aubrey Rose was the other vice-president.

Jewish Care—Britain's major Jewish welfare organization, formed by the merger of the Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) and Jewish Blind Society (JBS)—entered its second year in a climate dominated by the recession. Government funding was being cut back, and donors were also feeling the pinch. With layoffs affecting many Jewish families, a record 3,500 requests for help were dealt with in 1990, 25 percent more than in 1989. At the same time, the number of elderly clients was increasing, as hard-pressed local authorities referred unprecedented numbers of cases. New referrals to the association in the first quarter of 1991 were 12.25 percent higher than in the same 1990 period, while re-referrals rose 22 percent. In March, Care executive director Melvyn Carlowe reported signs of poverty in the community at large. "We are seeing the emergence of a growing underclass of people who are the antithesis of the image the Jewish community usually enjoys," he said. Over 25 percent of Care's work was with mentally frail elderly people, the majority suffering from Alzheimer's disease.

Soviet Jewry

The movement to help Soviet Jews operated on two fronts this year, helping new immigrants settle in Israel and assisting Jews remaining in the Soviet Union/Commonwealth of Independent States.

Financial help for new immigrants was provided through the Joint Israel Appeal (JIA)'s Campaign Exodus '91, launched in March; an art show of works by eight leading Russian Jewish artists, sponsored in April by British ORT; and the "One to One" program launched in February by the 35s, the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry, in conjunction with Refusenik, a group that twinned British families with newly arrived Russian families in Israel to offer financial and moral support. In January a group of Tory MPs, led by Conservative Friends of Israel chairman Michael Latham, carried clothing parcels to new Russian immigrants in Israel.

To aid in the revival of Eastern European Jewish life, the Institute of Jewish Education at Jews' College, Hendon, hosted seminars in June for Russian Jewish teachers brought to London by British groups working for Soviet Jews. In September the Student and Academic Campaign for Soviet Jewry (SACJSJ) opened an office in Leningrad to help that Jewish community reestablish its religious life. The Bournemouth Committee for Soviet Jewry recruited international legal help in a program to combat Russian anti-Semitism, advise in Soviet law cases, and help ensure safe passage to all Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate. In December the London-based Central British Fund launched a "Food for Life" campaign to send supplies to Jews in Russia and the Ukraine.

The second eminent persons group visited Moscow in February, under the auspices of SACJSJ, to monitor the progress of human rights in the Soviet Union. Returning in March, participants told Prime Minister Major they were not satisfied that the conditions for Britain to attend the upcoming human rights conference in Moscow had been met, especially in view of lack of progress on emigration legisla-

tion. The group welcomed the progress made in respect of human rights but was struck by the extent of abuse that still persisted.

Religion

No chief rabbi had had "so profound an effect on the life of the nation," ex-prime minister Margaret Thatcher told a dinner honoring retiring chief rabbi Lord Immanuel Jakobovits, given in February by the Jewish Educational Development Trust (JEDT) and the Chief Rabbinate Council. His leadership had shown "an unyielding commitment to principle, a refusal to seek easy popularity at the expense of integrity, and a fearless statement of values." He had left his successor "a Jewish community whose standing and confidence had never been higher," she averred.

In March Lord Jakobovits was awarded the £410,000 Templeton Prize for progress in religion. The money would be used to establish a Jakobovits Foundation for advancing the ideal of *Torah im Derech Eretz* (Torah and modern culture), particularly through projects that would promote authentic Jewish religious teaching as applied to modern conditions.

The last months of Lord Jakobovits's chief rabbinate were marred by discord. In an interview in Toronto in May, he criticized Israeli policy, which the London *Evening Standard* reported under the headline "Chief Rabbi Shames Israel." In the interview, the chief rabbi allegedly described the plight of the Palestinian refugees as "a stain on humanity," although he said that the Jews were not to blame for creating the problem. "We can not for ever dominate a million and a half Arabs," he was quoted as saying. "This blinkered attitude is self-destructive."

The interview, which Lord Jakobovits had stipulated should appear only after his retirement, aroused protest, the cancellation of fund-raising dinners under the chief rabbi's patronage, and the resignation of Michael Levy, a JIA vice-president, from the Jakobovits Foundation board. Board of Deputies president Lionel Kopelowitz described the comments as "unhelpful" at a time when total solidarity with Israel was needed. "On these matters the Chief Rabbi speaks for himself," he said, "not as a representative of Anglo-Jewry. But inevitably the world will regard his statement as authoritative and representative." Matters reached a climax when businessman and JIA vice-president Cyril Stein wrote in an open letter to the chief rabbi: "The foolishness of your latest outburst is beyond comprehension. Your statements have been seized upon by Israel's enemies. . . ." In June, following threats by the Israeli Kach party to mount public protests, Lord Jakobovits canceled a planned trip to Israel to attend a fund-raising dinner for the Horeb schools, saying that he did not want the schools to become embroiled as innocent victims in an irrelevant squabble.

Incoming chief rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks told the *Jewish Chronicle* that he supported any rabbi's right to speak on a matter of principle. "I admire his moral courage," he said. "My views are not significantly different from his own." Sacks seemed to emphasize this point when in June he named Jonathan Kestenbaum as

executive director of his office. Kestenbaum's controversial diary of a period of reserve duty in the Israeli army, which was published in the *Jerusalem Post* in 1988, was critical of his colleagues' treatment of the Palestinians. Sacks said the diary had no relevance to Kestenbaum's qualifications for his new position and stressed his resolve "to fight against the politicization of Jewish life." "His work and mine," he explained, "will be primarily in the field of Jewish education, Jewish spirituality and Jewish leadership." At his induction as chief rabbi at St. John's Wood Synagogue, north-west London, in September, Sacks called for "a decade of Jewish renewal."

A total of 356 congregations with a membership of 101,239 household units existed in the United Kingdom in 1990, according to a report by the Board of Deputies' Community Research Unit. Of the total households, 67.9 percent belonged to the centrist Orthodox group (comprising the US, the Federation of Synagogues, and independent Orthodox congregations); 16.9 percent to Reform congregations; 6.3 percent to Liberal; 5.7 percent to right-wing Orthodox; and 3.2 percent to Sephardi congregations.

Although centrist Orthodoxy remained the major synagogue movement, the report noted shifting balances within the Orthodox grouping as a whole: centrist Orthodoxy's share of total Orthodox male membership fell nationally from 92 percent in 1977 to 87 percent in 1990; and in London from 91 percent in 1970 to 82 percent in 1990. Conversely, the right wing's share of total Orthodox male membership rose from 4.4 percent nationally in 1977 to 9.2 percent in 1990; and in London from 3.2 percent in 1970 to 12.4 percent in 1990.

At the beginning of the year, new *mikvaot* (ritual baths) opened in Edgware and Wimbledon. By September, three north-west London US synagogues—at Edgware, Hendon, and West Hampstead—were running "alternative" minyans designed to attract single people and young married couples.

The United Synagogue's financial problems continued. In April, Edgware, its third-largest constituent synagogue, refused to pay the required contribution toward US's central services. Members unanimously voted a payment of £74,000, instead of the £110,000 requested, on the grounds that membership income was declining and almost a quarter of its 1,174 male and 603 female members were in arrears.

The Liberal Jewish Synagogue in St. John's Wood, north-west London, reopened in January after a £5-million renovation. At the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (ULPS) conference in May, plans were unveiled for a new prayer book to replace the 1967 *Sacred Heart*. The aim, according to editor Rabbi John Rayner, was "to produce a better balanced, more mature and more progressive Jewish liturgy than any currently available." Acceptance of the East Anglia and Peterborough congregations as affiliates of ULPS in September brought the total number of its congregations to 30. As of June, the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain (RSGB), which was preparing to celebrate its 150th anniversary in 1992, had 41 congregations.

Attention was drawn to a shortage of rabbis within the Reform and Progressive networks by RSGB's executive director Raymond Goldman. In a July statement he

said that nine small Reform communities, comprising about 950 of RSGB's 18,000 family units, had no rabbi, though five had some part-time rabbinic support. Rabbi Sidney Brichto, ULPS executive vice-president, reported that three ULPS synagogues were without ministers.

Talks collapsed in April in the *shehitah* (ritual slaughter) dispute, with no solution to the rift caused in 1989 when the US split from the other two constituents of the London Board for Shechita—the Federation of Synagogues and the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation—to set up its own organization. In May the US preempted the London board and set up a joint authority with the Manchester Shechita Board under the supervision of London and Manchester *batei din*. By using one instead of two abattoirs in London and reducing the number of *shohetim* (slaughterers), the arrangement would save the US £250,000, said US *kashrut* head Michael Gross, and bring down the cost of kosher meat as well. In September Manchester and the US formed a new company, Shechitah UK, with a view to creating a national organization. Meanwhile, the London board, prevented since the rift from carrying out *shehitah* because the majority of its staff defected to the US, resumed meat production in Manchester in June, using local slaughterers working free-lance against the wishes of the Manchester board. The London board brought the meat from Manchester to its new north London manufacturing and retailing outfit, Mehadrin Meats.

Education

In April Chief Rabbi Jakobovits's Jewish Educational Development Trust (JEDT) set up a think tank to examine the financing and development of Jewish education in Britain over the next 20 years.

Government approval was obtained in June for the first state-aided Jewish secondary school in Redbridge, north-east London, on a site next to Ilford Jewish primary school. The US-sponsored school, scheduled to open in September 1993, will eventually have 900 pupils. With nearby Barkingside Jewish youth center, the two schools will form London's first Jewish educational campus, comparable to Harold House and the King David School campus in Liverpool. In July the government approved state aid for a 480-pupil Jewish primary school to open in Southgate, north London, in September 1992, serving an area containing some 5,000 Jewish families.

Hendon, one of the US's largest congregations, in July closed its part-time religious school, which had been reduced to 40 pupils both by the increasing age of the community and the growing popularity of Jewish day schools. The move was part of US's general reorganization of its part-time system through closing or merging small religious schools.

A record 38 graduates received degrees and diplomas from Jews' College in March, at which time an honorary doctorate was awarded businessman and philanthropist Stanley Kalms for his contribution to the "recent transformation of the

Anglo-Jewish educational scene." It was announced in April that Jews' College B.A. degrees would be awarded by London University instead of the Council for National Academic Awards, which validates polytechnic degrees. Also in April, the college announced that it had admitted the first women students to its B.A. program, following the introduction of a broader range of courses.

In May, Leo Baeck College, the Progressive rabbinical training institute, announced that it would offer M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Jewish studies. As a result of a major recruitment drive, seven students registered for its five-year rabbinical training course in September; this compared with an average intake of two in the preceding few years.

Prof. Robert Wistrich of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was appointed in May to the Jewish Chronicle Chair of Jewish Studies at University College, London. The chair, established to commemorate the *Jewish Chronicle's* 150th anniversary, was the first full-time, permanent chair in Jewish studies created in Britain in over 160 years.

A fellowship in Talmud and rabbinics was established in February at the Oxford Center for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies by the New London Synagogue, in the name of its minister, Rabbi Dr. Louis Jacobs.

Publications

H.H. Wingate/Jewish Quarterly literary prizes for nonfiction went to Bertha Leverton, editor with Shmuel Lowensohn of *I Came Alone* (a series of recollections by *kindertransport* refugees) and Anthony Rudolf for *At an Uncertain Hour* (a work on Primo Levi); for poetry to Liz Cashdan for *The Tyre-Cairo Letters*; and for fiction to Bernice Rubens for *Kingdom Come*, her novel about the false messiah Shabbetai Zevi.

Works of fiction published this year included a new novel by Bernice Rubens, *A Solitary Grief*; *The Hidden I: A Myth Revised* by Frederic Raphael; *Hidden in the Heart* by Dan Jacobson; *New Beginnings* by Maisie Mosco (bringing her *Almonds and Raisins* saga up to the present); *Labyrinth* by Thomas Wiseman; *The Man Before Yesterday* by Lionel Goldstein; *Steps: Selected Fiction and Drama* by Gabriel Jospovicic; *Jump and Other Stories* by Nadine Gordimer; *The Lights of Manchester* by Tony Warren; *A Night with Casanova* by Wolf Mankowitz; and *A Closed Eye* by Anita Brookner. Fictional works with Holocaust themes were *Post-scripts* by Claire Rayner; and *Anton the Dove Fancier and Other Tales of the Holocaust* by Bernard Gotfryd. Three books by Israeli novelists—*The Court Jesters* by Avigdor Dagan, *The Smile of the Lamb* by David Grossman, and *To Know a Woman* by Amos Oz—were also published this year.

Among biographies and autobiographies of Jewish interest were *Herzl* by Steven Beller; *Billionaire: The Life and Times of Sir James Goldsmith* by Ivor Fallon; *The Junk Bond Revolution* by Fenton Bailey, mainly based on the activities of Michael Milken; *Spring Remembered* by Evelyn Cowan; *Edward VII and His Jewish Court*

by Anthony Allfrey; and two books about Jewish artists: *Zvi Ribak: A Jewish Artist*, paintings with a foreword and text by Jay Weinstein, and *Bernard Meninsky* by John Russell Taylor.

New works on religious themes included *Tradition and Unity*, a collection of sermons in honor of the retiring archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Robert Runcie, edited by Rabbi Dan Cohn Sherbok; *Issues in Contemporary Judaism* by Dan Cohn Sherbok; *The Festivals: A History of Jewish Celebration* by Chaim Raphael; *Orthodoxy Confronts Modernity*, a collection of essays edited by Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks; *Structure and Form in the Babylonian Talmud* by Louis Jacobs; *A Rabbi's Bible* by Jonathan Magonet; and *A Dictionary of Jewish Lore and Legend* by Alan Unterman.

New studies of Jewish history were *The Sephardi Story* by Chaim Raphael; *1492: The Year and the Era* by Barnet Litvinoff; *An Atlas of Modern Jewish History* by Evyatar Friesel; *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, edited by Werner E. Mosse with Julius Carlebach, Gerhard Hirschfeld, Aubrey Newman, Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer; and *Jews and Messianism in the Modern Era*, edited by Jonathan Frankel.

New publications related to the Holocaust included *The Genocidal Mentality: Nazi Holocaust and Nuclear Threat* by Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Markusen; *Kristallnacht: Unleashing the Holocaust* by Anthony Read and David Fisher; *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933–1945* by Robert Gelately; *The Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* by Danuta Czech; *Children of the Flames: Dr. Josef Mengele and the Untold Story of the Twins of Auschwitz* by Lucette Matalon Lagnado and Sheila Cohn Dekel; *Escape from the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel* by Dalia Ofer; *There Was Life Even There* by Mina Tomkiewicz; and *Final Letters*, selected by Reuven Dafni and Yehudit Kleiman. Two books devoted to war-crimes trials were *Ivan the Terrible: The Trial of John Demjanjuk* by Tom Telcholz; and *Uncertain Hour: The French, the Germans, the Jews, the Klaus Barbie Trial, and the City of Lyons, 1940–45* by Ted Morgan.

Among new books about Israel were *Israel's Secret Wars: The Untold History of Israeli Intelligence* by Ian Black and Benny Morris; *Among Arabs and Jews: A Personal Experience, 1936–1990* by P.J. Vatikiotis; *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record, 1967–1990*, edited by Yehuda Lukacs; *The Last Option: After Nasser, Arafat and Saddam Hussein* by David Kimche; *Ploughshares into Swords? Israelis and Jews in the Shadow of the Intifada* by Colin Shindler; *Alarms and Excursions* by Naomi Shepherd; and *Trial and Error* by Tom Gilling, concerning the trial of Mordechai Vanunu.

Among new collections of poetry were *Bridge Passages* by George Szirtes; *City Music* by Elaine Feinstein; *For Anne Frank* by Nick Naydler, with paintings by Greg Tricker; *Words on a Faded T-Shirt* by Norman Silver; *Clouds of Glory over Soho Rooftops* by Chaim Lewis; *The Self as Fighter* by Shlomo Kalo; and *Berlin Proposal* by Thomas Land.

Works of general Jewish interest were the annual publication *A Survey of Jewish*

Affairs, 1990, edited by William Frankel; *A Sense of Belonging: Dilemmas of British Jewish Identity*, written by Howard Cooper and Paul Morrison to accompany a television series assessing the Anglo-Jewish family in the 1990s; and *The Really Jewish Food Guide*, published by the United Synagogue.

Personalia

Knighthoods went to Harry Solomon, chairman and founder of Hillsdown Holdings, one of the world's largest food manufacturing companies, and to Ivor Harold Cohen, chairman of Remploy, which provides work under sheltered conditions for people with mental and physical handicaps.

Among British Jews who died in 1991 were Sir Rudolph Lyons, eminent lawyer and Leeds communal personality, in January, aged 79; Ruth Rabbinowitz, educator, in January, aged 90; Sir Monty Finnieston, eminent scientist, industrialist, chairman of the British Steel Corporation (1973–76), Zionist, and Jewish communal figure, in February, aged 78; Cecil Kahn, chairman, Nightingale House (1953–77), in February, aged 89; Irene Sala, founder president of Hadassah Medical Relief Association, UK, in February, aged 61, in a plane crash in Chile; Nat Levy, a Jewish civil servant who worked for the Board of Deputies for 50 years, in March, aged 83; Julian du Parc Braham, professional soldier, in March, aged 69; Sam Golding, educator, in March, aged 98; Jack “Kid” Berg, boxer, in April, aged 81; Samuel Dimson, pediatrician, in April, aged 83; Henry Lipson, emeritus professor of physics, Manchester University, in April, aged 81, in Israel; Bernie Winters, comedian, in May, aged 58; Sadie Levine, longtime *Jewish Chronicle* women's page editor, in May, aged 82; Alexander Margulies, communal figure, philanthropist, and patron of the arts, in May, aged 88; Sir Isaac Wolfson, internationally prominent businessman and philanthropist, in June, aged 93, in Israel; Rafael Hirsch, for over 46 years secretary of the Orthodox Hebrew Congregations (Adath Yisroel) and the Joint Kashrus Commission, in June, aged 71; Erwin Rosenthal, emeritus reader in Oriental Studies, Cambridge University, in June, aged 86; Peter Sontar, theater production manager, in June, aged 68; Hyman Diamond, national communal personality, in July, aged 77, at a Board of Deputies election meeting; David Shiffer, Leeds communal personality, in July, aged 91; Max Jaffa, violinist, in July, aged 78; Sir Bernard Waley-Cohen, major communal and civic figure, in July, aged 77; Regina Kapeller-Adler, geneticist, in August, aged 91, in Edinburgh; Harry Brooks, boxer, in August, aged 85; Hyman A. Simons, notable Anglo-Jewish personality and historian, in August, aged 80; Ruth Cohen, principal, Newnham College, Cambridge, 1954–72, first Jewish head of an Oxbridge college, in August, aged 84; E. Alec Colman, real-estate developer and philanthropist, in August, aged 88; Sir Leo Schultz, Hull Labor city councillor for 57 years, in September, aged 91; Theo Cowan, theater and film publicist, in September, aged 75; Alex Alfred, for 20 years chairman of the Haven Foundation, in October, aged 79; Bernard Homa, authority on circumcision and president of Machzikei Hadath for 37 years, whose autobiogra-

phy, *Footprints on the Sands of Time*, appeared this year, in October, aged 91; Robert Maxwell, media magnate, in November, aged 68, at sea; Etta Topel, Yiddish actress, in November, aged 80; Anne, Lady Chain, biochemist, in November, aged 70; Mort Shuman, songwriter, in November, aged 52; Cyril Barnet, Lord Salmon, judge, in November, aged 87; Francis Mann, international lawyer, in November, aged 84; Isaak Goldberg, Yiddish scholar and writer, in December, aged 92; Maurice Abbey, supporter and organizer of Jewish sports, in December, aged 78; Sam Rabin, artist, in December, aged 88.

MIRIAM & LIONEL KOCHAN

France

National Affairs

AT THE START OF 1991, France's attention was focused on the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Although, as a major supplier of arms to Iraq, France was in a difficult position, President François Mitterrand had no alternative but to support the United States and the multinational force seeking to oust Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. On February 2, the Socialist party's steering committee reaffirmed its support for President Mitterrand's policy in the Middle East, though members of the party's left wing either abstained or did not take part in the ballot.

Relations with Israel

In the period leading up to the Gulf War, France tried to avert hostilities and to maintain its ties with the PLO, which it had been cultivating as a "moderate" force in the Middle East. PLO support for Saddam, however, forced French leaders to reevaluate their position. After Jean Kahn, president of CRIF (the Representative Council of French Jews), met with Mitterrand on February 26, he indicated that he felt a lessening of conflict between France and Israel was possible. The CRIF president, who carried a message from Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel to Mitterrand, suggested that there were renewed bases for relations between the two countries, despite conflicting views over a European role in the peace process. Kahn mentioned that the PLO had lost favor at the Elysée, due to its support for Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War, and added that Mitterrand was genuinely concerned with Israeli security.

In April, Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas, a longtime supporter of the PLO, was the first Western official to meet PLO leader Yasir Arafat after the end of the Gulf War. At their meeting in Tripoli, Dumas asserted that although Arafat supported Saddam Hussein, he "remains the only person who truly represents the Palestinians." On April 25, the PLO leader was a special guest on "La Marche du siècle" on public TV, channel FR3, and PLO's representative in Paris, Ibrahim Souss, appeared on "L'Heure de vérité" (the French "Meet the Press") on Antenne 2, the other state-owned TV station.

A cabinet reshuffle in early May was expected to bring about a warming in France-Israel relations. Although the new prime minister, Edith Cresson, apparently had no strong views on the Arab-Israeli conflict, pro-Israel partisans were optimistic. Their hopes were dampened, however, when, contrary to expectations, Dumas remained as foreign minister. Dominique Strauss-Kahn, a French Jew, was

appointed minister of industry and external trade, and hope was expressed that he would help fight the Arab boycott, especially in the L'Oréal affair (see below). On the negative side, the Jewish community lost an important ally when Lionel Stoléru, former minister of planning, left the government.

In mid-June, an official of the Ministry of External Affairs met with two representatives of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), Fahed Suleiman and Souheil Natour, who were in Paris seeking increased European and French support in the form of economic aid for the population of the occupied territories. Suleiman and Natour also met with the national secretary of the Socialist party, Gérard Fuchs, Communist Maxime Gremetz, and representatives of the Green party.

Pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian supporters clashed in the press at the end of June. A letter published in the daily *Le Figaro* from Michel Habib-Deloncle, president of the French-Arab Chamber of Commerce, used the terms "racist" and "expansionist" to describe the State of Israel. André Monteil, minister under General de Gaulle and now vice-president of the France-Israel Friendship Association, responded to Habib-Deloncle, advising him to look to Baghdad for expansionism and to Damascus for racism.

Faisal Husseini, a Palestinian leader from the occupied territories, paid a short and discreet visit to Paris the same month, meeting with two former prime ministers, Michel Rocard and Pierre Mauroy. It was the first such contact between Husseini and Socialist party officials. Husseini's visit was followed in September by that of Radwan Abu Ayash, another Palestinian leader from the occupied territories, who held talks with the Foreign Ministry's secretary-general, François Scheer. Abu Ayash claimed that France would support Palestinians and the PLO in opposing the Americans' "inadequate" peace plan.

Even as France's relations with Palestinians intensified, the French authorities, for the first time in decades, and following repeated contacts between French and Israeli cabinet ministers, decided to offer a guarantee of \$500 million to French public-works contractors willing to do business with Israel, for the building of a housing project for Soviet Jews in the Beersheba area. The guarantee, as usual, was valid only for one year, ending in October, and Israel wondered whether the agreement would be kept. According to officials of the French Public Works Office, any delay could be explained by technical and legal difficulties. Some observers noted that the Israeli officials in charge of the housing project were not eager to work with French companies.

Yasir Arafat's visit to Paris on October 21—the fourth in three years—did little to comfort the Jewish community. Arafat came to the French capital to meet with Foreign Minister Boris Pankin of the Soviet Union, who, only a week before, had reestablished diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. President Mitterrand did not receive the PLO leader at the Elysée Palace, to avoid "creating suspicion" before the peace conference on Middle East. He indicated, however, that he wished to meet Arafat at a later date, "since it is normal that France hold

discussions with participants in the peace process." Arafat did, however, meet with Foreign Minister Dumas, who declared on October 27 that the EC embargo against Libya should be lifted.

Extremism, Racism, Anti-Semitism

Municipal and parliamentary by-elections on January 27 and February 3 confirmed the rising popularity of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front (FN). In Paris's 15th precinct, candidate Serge Martinez, editor of the extreme right-wing *Minute* magazine, received 9 percent of the vote, a slight increase over the 1988 parliamentary elections. In the Rhone constituency, Bruno Gollnisch, member of the FN scientific council and former member of Parliament, won 25.5 percent in the second round, a gain of 2.3 percent. FN candidates made gains in all urban constituencies, even against diversionary candidacies, such as that of the CNI (Far Right) in Lyons. All this despite Le Pen's isolationism in the Gulf War, which alienated some of his more militant supporters.

On February 5, enormous posters (three by four meters) appeared on public billboards bearing the following slogan: "Le Pen, *Maher*," a translation into Hebrew of the FN's usual slogan, "Le Pen, now," with *Maher* written in Hebrew letters. The poster was part of a campaign, with text in Arabic and Chinese to follow the one in Hebrew, aimed at making Le Pen's image more acceptable and statesmanlike.

The Versailles Court of Appeals handed down a judgment against Jean-Marie Le Pen on March 18, increasing the penalties imposed in an earlier trial. He had been sued for declaring in 1987 that the existence of Nazi gas chambers was a subject of debate among historians and "a detail in the history of World War II." The FN described the fine of 1.2 million francs, which Le Pen was ordered to pay to nine organizations representing deportees, as an attempt to "financially asphyxiate" the far-Right movement. Another court fined Le Pen 10,000 francs for insulting a government minister in 1988, with a pun—"Durafour-crématoire"—linking the minister's name with the Nazi gas chambers.

The controversial issue of immigration came to the fore on June 19, when the leader of the right-wing opposition, Jacques Chirac, declared at a public dinner that the "overdose of foreigners" in France was mostly perceptible in the municipal housing projects, where "noise and odor" signaled their presence. President Mitterrand denounced the statement but that did not prevent another leader of the Right, a former president of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, from expressing his views on the immigration "invasion" in the *Figaro-Magazine*, proposing to replace the basis for acquiring citizenship from residency to blood, i.e., having French parents. Statements by France's new prime minister, Edith Cresson, were a welcome contrast to the intolerant statements of other politicians. On December 21, Cresson appealed to the French people to oppose the far Right, especially the demagoguery of the FN.

A poll published on October 25 in *Le Monde* dramatized the extent of anti-immigration sentiment in France. It indicated that whereas 65 percent of the French

population considered the National Front a threat to democracy, 32 percent agreed with Le Pen's ideas, an increase of 14 percent compared to the preceding year. Perhaps encouraged by the results, the FN struck again on November 16, proposing 50 new measures to "solve the immigration problem," among them limiting immigration to EC citizens, imposing immigrant quotas in schools, and prohibiting the construction of more mosques. The latter proposal was in accord with at least some public sentiment, as evidenced by the case of the city of Libercourt's inhabitants, in the Pas de Calais region, where 83 percent of the voters rejected a referendum on expansion of their city's mosque. Only 55 percent of these eligible took part in the vote, but their message of intolerance was surprising, considering that religious liberty is assured in the French constitution.

The second annual report of the Human Rights Advisory Commission, submitted to the prime minister on March 21, contained both quantitative data on racism and anti-Semitism and a qualitative, detailed analysis of political movements espousing exclusionary ideologies. Polls including items on the image of Jews showed a decline in anti-Semitism: 94 percent of those interviewed saying that "Jews are as French as others," as against 37 percent in 1946. However, in 1990, 24 percent thought Jews in France were too numerous, as against 17 percent in 1977. The results also showed 9 percent saying that Jews had too much power, and 20 percent that references to the Holocaust were excessive. According to the authors of the report, those who are more prejudiced against Jews tend to be of lower socioeconomic status, elderly, or sympathetic to either the far Right or the Communist party.

A number of right-wing groups engaged in activity that, if not overtly anti-Semitic, was clearly offensive to many Jews. The National Union for Christian Europe (UNEC) went to Auschwitz in the spring to pray and demonstrate against the new "genocide," abortion. The ecumenical union was composed of fundamentalist Catholics close to Msgr. Marcel Lefebvre (the dissident archbishop who broke with the Church over Vatican II, who died in Switzerland in March at the age of 85) as well as some Protestants and an Orthodox priest as a member of its honorary committee. Other participants included Martine Lehideux, an FN Euro MP, the pro-Lefebvre French bishop Tisser de Mallerai, and the Belgian FN leader Dr. Daniel Ferret. The UNEC is part of the Confederation for French Renewal (Confédération du Renouveau français), which includes groups situated to the right of the FN, and is open only to "French citizens, white and Christian."

In the same vein, FN militants and former World War II collaborators gathered on April 20 in Paris to pay tribute to Saint-Loup, a far-Right writer and former editor-in-chief of the World War II collaborationist newspaper *La Gerbe*. Members of a self-styled "Jewish Action Group" (Groupe d'Action juive) invaded the meeting place and did not hesitate to use force. Nazi flags, tapes and records of Nazi music produced by Le Pen's company for war memorabilia, and pictures showing one of the participants in Nazi uniform were reportedly found. One elderly woman was badly wounded in the fracas. Two suspects, reportedly members of the Herut-France youth organization Tagar, were later arrested and released on bail. When

the wounded woman finally regained consciousness, the two were brought to court on minor charges and released.

The Barroux Benedictine monks in the Vaucluse region (southeastern France) published a new missal, calling on the faithful to pray for “perfidious Jews” so that they “recognize Jesus Christ,” thus ignoring the fact that this language had been explicitly suppressed by Vatican II.

In June, the Green party held its general assembly and took up the case of Jean Brière, who, as spokesman for the Green party during the Gulf War, charged that “Israel and the Zionist lobby” were responsible for the war. Brière also referred to Israel as “a racist, militaristic, theocratic and expansionist state with a policy based on permanent war.” Brière was suspended in April as party spokesman, but it was left to the Lyons branch, which he represented, to decide his fate. Despite protests from within the party, Brière refused to resign, insisting that he “said the truth.” “If the truth is anti-Semitic, then I am anti-Semitic,” he concluded. Brière later asserted that if he was condemned for racism, the other 56 million French citizens were equally deserving of prison. In December the Green party announced Brière’s definite suspension from any office in that movement.

Holocaust-Related Matters

France was still attempting to deal with ghosts from the past, but the ghosts were not easily laid to rest. The 17th Court of Summary Jurisdiction in Paris ordered three staff members of the left-oriented weekly news magazine *Nouvel Observateur*, Claude Perdriel, Serge Raffy, and Marie-France Ethegoin, to pay Maurice Papon 10,000 francs for having defamed him in an article by emphasizing his role in the wartime Vichy regime. Papon was one of the three French who had been indicted for crimes against humanity, especially the deportation of tens of thousands of Jews during the war. As a wartime official of the Vichy government in Bordeaux, Papon was accused of having ordered the arrest and deportation of 1,690 Jews, among them 230 children, in 1943 and 1944. Almost all of them were exterminated by the Nazis.

Families of deported French Jews had lodged 17 complaints against Papon and his superior, René Bousquet, wartime commander of Vichy’s police, in May 1990. In April 1991, Bousquet was officially indicted on the basis of new documents brought by Serge Klarsfeld, especially a 1942 ordinance issued by Bousquet that made it easier to arrest certain Jewish children living in the so-called Free Zone. But proceedings against Bousquet, like those against Papon, appeared to have come to a dead-end, thanks to widespread reluctance in France—including leading politicians and judges—to pursue these cases.

An exception was Albert Cardinal Decourtray, archbishop of Lyons, who instituted a commission to study the links between the Catholic Church and Paul Touvier, head of the Lyons collaborationist militia during the war. His initiative was not universally appreciated, however. One of the cardinal’s consultants on Jewish affairs and a member of the commission, Dr. Charles Favre, was kidnapped on June

21. He was freed a few hours later, but his abductors succeeded in stealing some of the commission's working documents.

On July 11, the Paris Court of Appeals released Paul Touvier, who had been arrested in 1989, because of health problems, although the charge of crimes against humanity against the former collaborator still stood. (Touvier had been sentenced to death in 1945, for his activities as head of the militia in Lyons in 1943–44, but managed to escape and to remain in hiding, with the help of conservative clerics and a pardon by President Georges Pompidou in 1971, in an effort aimed at “national reconciliation.” (See AJYB 1991, pp. 264–65.)

With all these proceedings, the only Nazi to have been judged, condemned, and imprisoned in France to this date was Klaus Barbie. But less than five years after being given a life sentence, the “butcher of Lyons” died of leukemia in prison on September 25, at the age of 77. He had been extradited from Bolivia in 1983 through the efforts of the Klarsfeld couple. Before his death, Barbie tried to take last-minute revenge against Resistance heroes Raymond and Lucie Aubrac, who embarrassed him in 1943 by organizing a prisoners' escape in Lyons. The former Gestapo officer accused Raymond of being responsible for the arrest of resistance fighters in Caluire in June 1943, one of the most controversial episodes in the history of the resistance, during which Jean Moulin, de Gaulle's envoy in occupied France, was caught and tortured.

On November 12, Nazi hunter Serge Klarsfeld announced that after a search of many years, researchers had found the files containing names of 140,000 Jews who had registered with the local police stations, as required by the racial laws instituted by the Vichy regime in 1940. The files were used in 1941 and 1942 by the French police to round up and deport the Jews. The files, which were said to have been destroyed or lost, were found in the archives of the Ministry of Veterans Affairs, and there were grounds to believe that some authorities in fact knew of their existence and whereabouts. The discovery was not expected to reveal the identities of those responsible for the deportations but would provide useful information about the victims. Klarsfeld asked that the Jewish files be transferred to the Jewish Contemporary Documentation Center (CDJC), which had been collecting material relating to the Holocaust since 1943.

The Court of Summary Jurisdiction found Vincent Reynouard and Rémi Pontier guilty of disseminating Holocaust revisionist literature in front of Caen University and fined them 10,000 francs (approximately \$2,000), to be paid to four refugee and human-rights organizations.

On October 13, a ceremony took place at the Nice central station, in remembrance of the Jews who were deported from that city to the camps at Drancy. Simone Veil, former minister of health, participated in the commemoration, and described the circumstances of her own arrest in 1944.

On October 23, as part of its educational program, the CRIF conducted a day trip to Auschwitz for Toulouse high-school students, an activity that CRIF director Jacqueline Keller considered the most effective way to inform young people—Jews

and non-Jews—about the Holocaust. This year's program, the fourth, was financed by the Education Ministry, whose head, Lionel Jospin, had been actively involved in helping to establish the activity in the curriculum. Some 200 students participated in 1991, accompanied by history teachers and four former camp inmates.

L'Oréal Affair

In May, Jean Frydman, a shareholder and officer of Paravision, a subsidiary of L'Oréal, charged the world's leading cosmetics firm with trying to force him to resign in order to comply with the Arab League boycott of Israel. Frydman refused, instead taking the offensive himself. His first act was to publicize the name of Jacques Corrèze, president of Cosmair, which markets L'Oréal products in the United States, as the individual directly responsible for Frydman's removal. Corrèze had been associated with the Nazis during the occupation and with the group that blew up Paris synagogues in 1941 and requisitioned Jewish shops. His boss in the prewar right-wing Revolutionary Social Movement (*Mouvement social révolutionnaire*), Eugène Schueller, made his fortune during the war and floated L'Oréal. L'Oréal general manager François Dalle replied to Frydman's revelations by accusing him of financial blackmail. "He takes advantage of the Holocaust to make money," said Dalle, who justified the attempt to fire Frydman by claiming that the latter had been involved in dangerous transactions.

David Frydman, Jean's brother, instituted legal proceedings at two levels, civil and penal, against L'Oréal. In penal court, Frydman and Frydman accused the company of "counterfeiting documents and of racial discrimination." The civil suit aimed at collecting damages and getting the right to sell the Paravision company so that Jean Frydman could claim what he regarded as his share of the enterprise. But the penal suit received more attention; it would be the first attempt to punish a boycott action since the French Parliament passed an antiboycott law in 1977. The law, in fact, had essentially been ignored. According to Arieh Gabay of the Israel embassy in Paris, none of the 200 biggest French companies had any direct dealings with Israel.

On June 26, Jacques Corrèze died of cancer. Before his death, he expressed "his sincere regrets for the acts committed 40 years ago and their consequences, even indirect." Corrèze had consistently maintained, since the affair was made public, that he had no connection with the Paravision subsidiary nor with the internal conflict involving Frydman, "whom he did not know."

In November, Dalle was charged with racial discrimination by Judge Jean-Pierre Getti. When David Frydman heard the news, he described it as a "second Dreyfus affair." To the surprise of many, the year ended with an out-of-court agreement between Dalle and Frydman, after Judge Getti insisted on a compromise for the "common good of the nation." The agreement called for the appointment of an expert who would determine whether there had been a boycott action or not. Although Frydman withdrew his penal charge, he did obtain the three conditions

he was asking for: Jacques Corrèze's resignation, François Dalle's apology, and an investigation of the boycott allegation by an independent expert on the boycott, Jean-Louis Bismuth. His report was due in March 1992, but the delay would not permit any subsequent penal procedure. The civil suit continued, however.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The estimated Jewish population of France remained around 550,000, with some claiming the figure to be slightly lower or higher.

Communal Affairs

As the UN ultimatum to Saddam Hussein expired on January 15, the French Jewish community gathered for prayer and speeches at Paris's main synagogue on Rue de la Victoire. Israeli ambassador Ovadia Soffer and community leaders joined in reaffirming the unity of the Jewish people. Some community events were canceled or postponed for the duration—such as a private showing of a new exhibition from Israel's Museum of the Diaspora—and shops closed as fear spread over rumored terrorist acts in the Jewish neighborhood of Le Marais.

Contrary to expectations, the Jewish community received neither comfort nor support from *SOS Racisme*, the movement created several years earlier by Arab and Jewish youths to fight racism. Harlem Desir's organization opted for a pacifist position in the Gulf War, thus joining the far-Right and far-Left camps. As a consequence, *Globe* editor Georges-Marc Benamou, Bernard-Henri Lévy, Guy Konopnicki, and Elie Wiesel dissociated themselves from the antiracist group. According to Marc Rochmann, president of the French Jewish Students' Union, by adopting a pacifist stance, *SOS Racisme* opened the door to young North African Arabs wishing to fight beside Saddam Hussein.

SOS Racisme vice-president Eric Ghebali, a Socialist activist, also rejected the organization's antiwar stand. Returning from a short visit to Israel, Ghebali insisted that the organization take a stand opposing Iraqi bombings of Israel. When Harlem Desir, who in the meantime created "Paix maintenant" (Peace Now, no link with the Israeli movement), maintained that war could not solve the problem and called instead for an embargo, Ghebali sought to make public the difference of opinion within the movement and called on Benamou and Lévy for help.

Some 2,000 people took part in a demonstration of support for Israel later in January in front of the Israel embassy. Members of the Jewish community did not all approve the action, claiming that it could be harmful to the Jewish state, which had been keeping a low profile since the beginning of the conflict. Some charged the organizers—French Herut, the Zionist Federation, Tagar, Betar—with merely

wanting to gain partisan political advantage, though most demonstration participants undoubtedly only wanted to show their support for Israel.

As the war neared an end, French Jews turned to internal concerns, such as intermarriage and education.

Many within the Jewish community put the blame for the high rate of intermarriage (according to various assessments, about half the weddings) on the Paris Consistoire's attitude toward conversion. According to the rules of the Paris Beth Din, a conversion associated with marriage was not "sincere" and could not be accepted. The Consistoire's requirements for a "bona fide" conversion were regarded as so out of reach that most Jews wishing to marry a non-Jew either turned to one of the two Reform synagogues in France, or abandoned any hope of conversion and left the community altogether. Benny Cohen, president of the Paris Consistoire, argued in the May 16 edition of *Actualité juive* that "if a man or woman wishes to convert to Judaism, there is no problem. The door is open without animosity to everybody. But the Torah remains law. If someone respects it, this person is part of the Jewish people. It is impossible to modify the law in a particular case."

A counterargument was presented by Robert Binisti, a retired lawyer and author of a book on intermarriage and rabbinic fundamentalism. The law never says that it is forbidden to marry a non-Jew, he asserted, or that children of a mixed union are non-Jews, even if they have had a Jewish upbringing. He saw in Cohen's words not an "open door," but merely gratuitous hostility.

The debate over intermarriage reflected deepening tensions between religious and secular elements in the Jewish community. In May, a conference took place of ten nonreligious organizations seeking to challenge the dominance of Orthodox Jewry, not only in religion (conversion was controlled by the Consistoire, and, as noted, there were only two Reform congregations in France) but in political and cultural life as well. Although these groups had memberships numbering only in the hundreds, they claimed that most French Jews were either secular or only nominally Orthodox and that the community offered no alternative avenues for participation in Jewish life. The conference proposed creating community centers and informal educational and cultural programs to try and attract young Jews who want nothing to do with the Consistoire.

In May, Jean Kahn, president of CRIF, succeeded Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz of Great Britain as president of the European Jewish Congress. Kahn said he would focus his activity on solidarity with Israel and on the struggle against racism and anti-Semitism in France.

Education and Culture

The results of a study of all-day Jewish schools in France were released this year. The study's author, sociologist Erik Cohen, reported that parents of children attending the schools were generally satisfied with their children's experience, though 10 percent of them were disappointed with an academic standard they judged insuffi-

cient and with the sectarianism of the schools. Some 68 percent of surveyed Jewish parents said they would send their children to such schools if they met three conditions: proximity, limited financial burden (the average cost of Jewish schools was 1,700 francs a month, except for those having association contracts with the state), and quality. Thirty-one percent believe that children cannot receive an adequate Jewish education if they do not go to all-day Jewish schools.

Popular education, along with entertainment, was offered by the four Jewish radio stations in France: Radio Shalom, Radio Communauté, Radio J, and Judaiques FM, which all celebrated their tenth anniversary this year. The first all-Jewish radio station to broadcast in France, Radio J, was created by Michael Zlotowski, with the help of *Renouveau Juif*, Henri Hajdenberg's organization that functions as a secular Jewish lobby. Zlotowski also founded Judaiques FM. After years of bitter feuding, the four stations finally came to an agreement to share the same frequency, 94.8 FM, in Paris, on which they broadcast 24 hours a day, six days a week. The Gulf War crisis increased their audience, since the stations served as a focal point of identification and a link between different elements in the community. Stimulated by their success, the Paris Consistoire proposed opening a wholly denominational station, an idea that was not well received by the existing Jewish stations, who were reluctant to give up airtime and feared that pluralism within the community would suffer. For the same reason, they were skeptical regarding a merger of Jewish stations, preferring to operate cooperatively, which they also saw as a way of increasing professionalism.

Publications

A number of new works on the Holocaust period were published this year. They included *Le camp des Milles* ("The Tile Factory Camp") by André Fontaine, a leading writer for the daily *Le Monde*, which reveals previously unpublished details about this notorious detention center for foreigners in France. *Une mauvaise histoire juive*, by Bernard Fride, offers new evidence of discrimination during the occupation, even among Jews. Fride investigated the history of a commemorative tablet in Nancy which mentions only two names, those of local representatives of UGIF (Union Générale des Israélites Français, the umbrella organization of the Jews in France, whose role during the Nazi occupation is still the subject of controversy) who had been interned in Auschwitz. The plaque ignores the hundreds of immigrant Jews who were also deported. Gustave Nordon, one of the two named men, appears to have been implicated in the arrest and internment of Jewish children.

De Drancy à ces camps dont on ne parle pas by Etienne Rosenfeld is a highly personal Holocaust memoir. It offers a vivid picture of life in the concentration camps, from today's perspective and also through letters he wrote to his wife at the time, as well as drawings he made which are included in the book. *Pivert: Histoire d'un résistant ordinaire* by Daniel Goldenberg is the biography of Raymond Kojitsky, one of the "ordinary" heroes of World War II. The subject speaks—through

the author's pen—of his wanderings as a 16-year-old Jewish resistance fighter, of the fear and anguish he felt once his parents had been rounded up by Vichy police, “when he had no other choice than to fight in order to survive.”

Other Holocaust-related works were *La propagande sous Vichy, 1940–1944*, on Vichy propaganda; *Le statut des Juifs sous Vichy*, published by FFDJF and CDJC, articles gathered under Serge Klarsfeld's direction on the subject of the Jews' status under the Vichy regime; *Histoire de la jeunesse sous Vichy* by Pierre Giolitto, a 700-page book covering Marshal Philippe Pétain's genocide policy; and *Le Syndrome de Vichy de 1944 à nos jours* by Henry Rouso, which explores the controversy over the Vichy government, in the past and the present.

Other new works this year included *Un visionnaire nommé Herzl, la résurrection d'Israël* by André Chouraqui, which traces the Zionist theoretician's evolution through his works as journalist, playwright, and writer. *De Génération en Génération . . . être Juif* by Jacques Ouaknine contains questions and answers on subjects of current concern to Jews, among them intermarriage, conversion, artificial insemination, and euthanasia. The European Union of Jewish Students (UEEJ) published a work by Melitina Fabre and Bernard Suchecky, “The Christianization of Auschwitz.” The 130-page report traces the origins of the Carmelite nuns' settling in the Auschwitz camp in 1985, which the authors claim is part of the church's strategy to appropriate Holocaust martyrdom to itself and through it gain recognition of the supremacy of Jesus. In *Mitterrand, Israël et les Juifs*, Yves Azéroual and Yves Derai examine Mitterrand's relations, contacts, and experiences with Israel and its people. *Mémoires d'un hérétique* by Léon Chertok relates the author's years as a French resistance fighter and an agent of Stalin as well as later experiences with psychoanalysis and hypnosis.

Personalia

Edmond Jabès, poet and writer, died on January 2 at the age of 78. An Egyptian national of Jewish origin, Jabès was forced by Nasser's nationalist policy to leave his country in 1957. He emigrated to France and dedicated himself to writing, where he was often quoted as saying that the “book is to the refugee what the universe is to God.” His works, which are hard to classify, employ poetry, mystical philosophy, and fiction. His major work, the seven-volume *Livre des Questions, Le Livre des ressemblances, Le Livre du dialogue, Le parcours, et Le Livre du portage* deals with the themes of violence, death, love, and Judaism. A book on Jabès's life, by Didier Cahen, was published in July.

Popular songwriter and singer Serge Gainsbourg (né Lucien Guinzburg) died at the beginning of March, at the age of 63. The Paris-born entertainer produced only one work related to his Jewishness, the album *Rock Around the Bunker*, in which he recalled memories of anti-Semitism in France during the occupation.

Georges Wellers, renowned historian of the Holocaust, died on May 2, at age 86. A physiologist before being deported, he turned to the study of gas chambers and genocide victims after his return from Drancy and Auschwitz. After 1946, he wrote a number of important books and published the *Monde Juif* magazine.

MICHAEL M. ZLOTOWSKI

ANNICK GOULET

The Netherlands

National Affairs

THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (CDA) and Labor (PvdA), headed by Rudolf Lubbers (CDA) as premier and Willem Kok (PvdA) as vice-premier and minister of finance, held together throughout 1991, despite differences in ideology, in particular on economic issues. To deal with the sizable deficit in the government budget, most of the Labor cabinet ministers, first and foremost Kok, as well as the Labor president of the Netherlands State Bank, Willem Duyzenberg, favored stringent cuts in all government departments, increases in certain taxes and excise duties, limitations on wage increases, and abolition of a considerable number of subsidies. This program was announced as part of the interim government budget on February 19 and reiterated in greater detail in the annual address from the throne on the third Tuesday of September. Though most Labor ministers had, after lengthy deliberations, agreed to the plan, the rank-and-file Labor electorate showed little understanding of it. In elections for the provincial councils on March 6, Labor lost spectacularly, dropping by over a third.

The announcement by the government that it wanted to restrict the number of persons receiving permanent disability payments led to major unrest throughout the summer and fall. Some 900,000 persons, out of a total Dutch population of barely 15 million, had been declared medically unfit for work and were receiving up to 70 percent of the last wages earned, until age 65, when they became eligible for old-age pensions. To reduce the numbers of disability recipients—a far larger proportion of the population than in the surrounding countries—the government proposed that all those under 50 years of age should be reexamined medically and offered work they were capable of doing. The status of those 50 years and over would not be affected. Despite enormous protests, inspired primarily by the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions (FNV), and a mass demonstration in The Hague in the middle of October, with a turnout of some 200,000 persons, the government stuck to its decision.

Although the government appealed for moderation in wages, there were numerous strikes this year, usually for higher wages. One of the longest, of a month's duration, was in the harbor of Rotterdam and caused considerable economic damage. Unemployment stood at some 330,000, largely affecting unskilled persons and so-called *allochthones*, members of ethnic, primarily Third World, minorities. At the same time, since minimum wages were only a little higher than unemployment payments, unskilled labor was hard to find.

The number of those demanding political asylum in the Netherlands in 1991 was

some 23,000, all of whom were entitled to Dutch government support in special absorption centers while their cases were before the courts. The constant arrival of new persons seeking political asylum—from countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Zaire, and Sri Lanka—and the lengthy stay in absorption centers of most of them, necessitated the opening of ever more such facilities.

The integration of ethnic minorities from Third World countries—mostly from Morocco, Turkey, Suriname (former Dutch Guiana), and the Netherlands Antilles—continued to arouse public concern. Now numbering about 700,000, minorities constituted nearly 5 percent of the entire population of the country; in the large cities—Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague—they constituted some 25 percent overall and, among children up to age 18, almost 50 percent. Public debate over the *allochthones*, many of whom were unskilled, knew little Dutch, and were unemployed or held low-level jobs, focused on whether there was active discrimination and racism or just “normal” tensions between the original residents and the ever larger percentage of *allochthones* in certain districts in the large cities. Affirmative action was advocated and sometimes practiced, particularly in the case of women, and in some instances job quotas were imposed.

THE GULF WAR

In September 1990 the Netherlands had sent two navy frigates to the Gulf of Oman to help enforce the UN embargo against Iraq; in December they were relieved by two other frigates and a supply vessel. In January 1991 the Netherlands supplied Turkey—as a NATO member—with eight Patriot systems of the older type to help protect its frontier with Iraq as well as with a number of Hawk aircraft. It also supplied an emergency hospital, with staff, for the British forces in Saudi Arabia, and established a large camp in Syria for potential refugees from Iraq, who, however, never arrived. The Dutch suffered no casualties in the conflict.

Demonstrations against Dutch participation in the Gulf War, mostly organized by the KAGO or Committee Against the Gulf War, with the participation of the Green Left party, usually drew no more than several hundred demonstrators, among whom were many Iraqis and Kurds. The demonstrations were directed both against the United States and against Israel.

Premier Lubbers placed Patriot systems of the older type at the disposal of Israel, with instructors, but they arrived in Israel too late to be of use. The entire Second Chamber of Parliament approved the decision to send Patriots, with the exception of four of the six members of the Green Left party who argued against the use of all weapons, including defensive ones. At the same time, it was announced that, in addition to the 3 million Dutch florins (some \$1.75 million) which the Netherlands had given in December 1990 for food to the Palestinians in the occupied areas, it would give another F. 2 million (some \$1.25 million) for this purpose, as well as 10,000 gas masks for Palestinians.

In a public-opinion poll conducted by a Dutch daily at the end of February, 87

percent of all those interviewed approved the sending of Patriots to Israel, and 11 percent opposed. Two percent had no opinion.

The minister for development aid, Jan Pronk, put F. 2 million (\$1.25 million) at the disposal of Israel for the repair of damage caused by the Scuds, and F. 1 million for humanitarian support for Ethiopian Jews in Israel. He also made F. 3 million available for humanitarian help to the Kurds. Within the framework of allied humanitarian help to the Kurds, Holland maintained 120 Dutch commandos in northern Iraq.

The Dutch firm Delft Instruments, with 2,500 employees, of whom 1,800 were in the Netherlands, was placed on the boycott list by the United States because it had supplied so-called night-watch viewers to Iraq. The boycott meant that Delft could not receive spare parts for its medical instruments, which formed 85 percent of its production.

Relations with Israel

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek visited Israel in March as a member of the EC "troika" (the outgoing, the present, and the future chairpersons of the EC Foreign Ministers Council) and again in May as Dutch foreign minister, to explore the prospects for a peace conference. While in Jerusalem, he received a medal from the World Jewish Congress for the role played by the Dutch embassy in Moscow for 23 years in providing exit visas for Soviet Jews. Van den Broek held a meeting with a Palestinian delegation and later visited President Hafez al-Assad of Syria. A delegation of the Dutch parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee paid a weeklong visit in May to various Middle East countries, including Israel, to discuss the proposed peace conference. Such a conference had originally been scheduled to take place in The Hague, as the Netherlands was at the time president of the European Community. But owing to the objections of Syria—because the Netherlands had not lifted its arms embargo against it and because it had no full embassy in The Hague—the meeting was transferred to Madrid, much to the relief of the Dutch authorities.

Anti-Semitism

There were few cases of overt anti-Semitism this year. Two women who were sentenced by a Dutch court had been sentenced earlier for similar offenses. The Gospel preacher Jenny Goeree, who had been sentenced previously to two months' probation for alleging in her small paper, *Evan*, that the Jews had called the Holocaust upon themselves for rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, continued to make the same allegation. She was sentenced by the Zwolle district court to two months' imprisonment plus the earlier two months' probation. Flora Rost van Toningen, the widow of a leading Dutch Nazi, Meinout Rost van Toningen, and a neo-Nazi in her own right, continued to publish Holocaust-denial material and was sentenced to a

fine of 5,000 florins (some \$3,000). Because she was well over 70, no prison term was imposed.

In his book *De Uitbuiting van de Holocaust* ("The Exploitation of the Holocaust"), Flemish author Giel van den Berghe analyzed a number of neo-Nazi, so-called revisionist, groups, largely Belgian, some of whose publications found their way to Holland.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

Of the estimated 25,000 Jews in the Netherlands, in a total population of just over 15 million, less than one-third were members of any official Jewish community. The Ashkenazi community (Nederland Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, NIK) had nearly 6,000 members, the Sephardi community (Portugees-Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap, PIK) some 500 members, and the Liberal Jewish community some 2,250. By far the largest Ashkenazi community was that of the Amsterdam area, with over 3,000 members. Rotterdam had 375 and The Hague 400 members. The other members were scattered over 30 congregations, which together were under the aegis of the Inter-Provincial Chief Rabbinate, or IPOR, with its seat in Amersfoort. The Sephardi community had one significant congregation only, in Amsterdam. The Liberal Jewish community had two congregations with full-time rabbis and four others with part-time rabbis.

The number of Jews coming directly from the Soviet Union to Holland and asking for political asylum rose to over 400 this year. Like others seeking political asylum, they were placed in absorption centers until their applications were acted on, which could take up to two years. The Dutch government took care of their physical needs, and the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW), with volunteer assistance, attended to social and other needs. The religious needs of Russian Jews in absorption centers were looked after by the IPOR. A different policy was followed with regard to Russian Jews who came to Holland from Israel, claiming that they had been discriminated against there. Their applications for political asylum stood no chance of being accepted, and JMW did not take care of them.

Communal Affairs

The introduction to the 1991 annual report of the Ashkenazi community, NIK, analyzed why only a minority of all Jews in the Netherlands were members of any organized Jewish community and suggested the following reasons: widespread secularization, with only about half of the non-Jews in the Netherlands belonging to any church; assistance to the poor no longer the responsibility of religious institutions but of the government, along with other social services; high synagogue membership

fees, even though they are often progressive; the growing number of mixed marriages; the existence of Jewish social activities outside synagogues; and the fact that synagogue membership is no longer required for involvement in B'nai B'rith or agencies such as the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation. Twenty years earlier, many Jews remained members of a Jewish community in order to be buried in a Jewish burial ground, but with the increase in cremation, this reason too lost its force. Last but not least, the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam had taken on an increasingly Orthodox character—under the influence of its present rabbis, who had come from abroad or were at least trained abroad—which may have acted as a deterrent to some.

The strict interpretation of Jewish law by the Amsterdam rabbis led to what became known as the “Carla van Klaveren case” (not her real name). A young non-Jewish woman who had been close to Jewish affairs and Israel for many years was converted to Judaism by the Israeli rabbinate. When she wanted to marry a young Jewish man in Amsterdam, the rabbis refused to approve the marriage, saying they did not recognize Israeli conversion. They also refused to accept her conversion in Holland because she indicated that she would not keep all the 613 commandments. The couple subsequently married on a visit to Israel.

Both the Sephardi community of Amsterdam and the Liberal Jewish communities of Amsterdam and The Hague confronted the need for costly repairs to their synagogues, which they could not afford. The Friends of the Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam Foundation, with a board consisting partly of non-Jews, was engaged in raising funds both in the Netherlands and abroad for the restoration—which started in February—of the famous 300-year-old Sephardi synagogue of Amsterdam. One of the donors was the Prince Bernhard Fund. Princess Margriet, a sister of Queen Beatrix, and her husband and two of their sons attended a fund-raising function in New York, on November 7, organized by the American Friends of the Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam. A souvenir shop selling items relating to the “Esnoga” and the Sephardi community of Amsterdam opened in a small house adjacent to the synagogue.

Societies of friends were formed to raise funds for the restoration of the Liberal synagogue in Amsterdam, which was constructed only in 1966, and that in The Hague, which occupied the former Sephardi synagogue that had been completely renovated and reopened in 1976.

The strictly Orthodox “Cheider” school—comprising a kindergarten, an elementary, and a secondary school—which had been founded in 1973 and had started with only a few pupils saw its enrollment rise to about 300, for which its existing premises were now too small. By contrast, the Leo Baeck School of the Liberal Jewish community, which opened in 1989, had to close down in the autumn of 1991, as only 20 pupils and a few teachers were left.

The Hatikva kosher restaurant, formerly at the Amstelveenseweg, moved to the ground floor of the new Beth Shalom Old Age Home in Buitenveldert; the Mouwes kosher delicatessen, formerly in the center of Amsterdam, moved to the vicinity of the Beth Shalom.

The Inter-Provincial Chief Rabbinate (IPOR) subsidized a Torah seminar in Moscow and school projects in Kharkov and Tashkent. At a summer seminar in Moscow for some 200 Jewish teachers, organized by the Vaad of Russian Jews, an educator sent by the Dutch community gave a series of lectures on modern methods of teaching Jewish subjects. Liberal rabbi Abraham Soetendorp and his wife spent some months in Moscow during the summer, teaching about Judaism.

Israel-Related Activity

As early as the beginning of August 1990, various Dutch-Jewish organizations, with the Netherlands Zionist Organization (NZB) as the coordinator, had drawn up an emergency plan of action in the event of war in the Persian Gulf and possible Israeli involvement. When war did break out in January, the plan had only to be put into action. During the second half of January the Zionist office was open 24 hours a day to answer questions and accept offers of assistance.

On January 21, a mass demonstration of solidarity with Israel was held in Amsterdam, attended primarily by Jews. The speakers included Minister of the Interior Ina Dales, the chairpersons of the four main parliamentary political parties, representatives of the Protestant communities, and Dr. Emanuel Wikler, chairman of the NIK, on behalf of the Jewish community. A motion of solidarity with Israel was adopted.

On January 24, a large Jewish delegation, including representatives of Jewish welfare organizations such as JMW, met with the minister of the interior and other officials to request increased police protection for Jewish community buildings in the Netherlands against possible terrorist attacks. Dales expressed the Dutch government's readiness to give humanitarian help to Israel.

At the initiative of Abraham Soetendorp, the rabbi of the Liberal Jewish community of The Hague, and of Ronny Naftaniel, the director of the CIDI, the Center for Information and Documentation on Israel, a meeting of Jewish representatives and members of the board of the three main Muslim organizations in the Netherlands—of Moroccans, Turks, and Surinamese—took place on January 29. On the Jewish side were representatives of the three Jewish communities, of the CIDI, and of the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW). The object of the meeting, which received considerable media attention, was to examine how tolerance between Jews and Muslims could be maintained in Holland, and how the followers of both religions, minorities in Holland, could learn from each other's experiences—while avoiding all mention of religion or politics. The first meeting hardly got past the introductory stage; at the second meeting, some of the Muslims were absent; and no third meeting followed. In Muslim circles, doubts were expressed about the ability of lay members of the boards of three Muslim organizations to adequately represent the Muslim masses.

February 24 was the date picked for "A Chain of Hope," an expression of solidarity between Christians, Jews, and Muslims. That date is the anniversary eve of the so-called February strike, the abortive strike on February 25–26, 1941, of

Amsterdam workers protesting the deportation of the first 400 young Jews. The event was initiated by Rabbi Abraham Soetendorp and the priest of the so-called Moses and Aaron Church, a Roman Catholic church in what was once the Jewish quarter, which stands almost opposite the Esnoga and the Jewish Museum and is now mainly a center for the underprivileged, such as illegal immigrants and immigrants from Third World countries. Very few Jews attended and only one Muslim, a Dutch convert to Islam. Preceding the demonstration, a lecture on Islam was given in the Jewish Museum, which stressed the relatively peaceful relations of Jews and Muslims in the Middle East before the 20th century.

At an extraordinary conference held on June 27, the Netherlands Zionist Organization voted to reorganize itself into a federation of Zionist political parties and to allow other pro-Israel Jewish organizations, such as WIZO, to join the federation. A commission was appointed to work out the details—legal, financial, and otherwise—of this transformation. The United Israel Appeal (Collective Israel Actie) this year raised a record F. 11 million, or F. 2 million more than the previous year.

Holocaust-Related Matters

The persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands during the German occupation of 1940–45 was commemorated by non-Jews as well as Jews in various settings and forms, for its own sake and also as an object lesson.

The commemoration in Amsterdam on February 25 of the 50th anniversary of the February strike, which was attended by Queen Beatrix and Prince-Consort Claus and Minister of Welfare and Culture Hedy D'Ancona, was used as a warning about discrimination against Muslims and Arabs on account of the Gulf War. Similar warnings were voiced at the Yom Hashoah observance on April 10 at the Hollandse Schouwburg, the former Amsterdam theater that served as a collecting center for Jews who had been rounded up for transfer to Westerbork, between July 1942 and 1944.

On May 4, Dutch Memorial Day, and May 5, Liberation Day, the wartime persecution of the Jews was featured in articles and special radio and TV programs. A documentary by Dutch-Jewish filmmaker Willy Lindwer, *A Jewish Wedding in 1942*, was shown by the TROS Broadcasting Company. The film is based on a recently discovered short film of a wedding made by an amateur photographer. Of the many persons who attended the wedding, only the bride and a then eight-year-old nephew survived. The VPRO Broadcasting Organization showed three of a total of fifteen interviews made in cooperation with the Anne Frank Foundation in a series called "Child of the War."

The Conference of Hidden Children, held in New York in June, was attended by some 40 to 50 Jews who had been saved in Holland during the German occupation. The event received considerable attention in the Dutch media.

An exhibition was shown in Westerbork transit camp of paintings and drawings made in the camp by the young Dutch-Jewish artist Leo Kok (1923–1945). A book

containing the works, with text in both Dutch and English, was published on this occasion by Jaap Nijstad. (For other books published this year on the persecution of the Jews in Holland, see below.)

The Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW) organized a conference on November 28 on the problems of the Jewish postwar generation. In October it organized a weekend to bring together members of this generation who had lost all contact with Judaism and Jews. It also subsidized so-called Jewish cafes, monthly, in various towns, for young Jews.

Monuments to deported Jews were unveiled in Enschede, in the east of the Netherlands, and at Schoorl, north of Amsterdam.

Controversy arose over ownership of a menorah in Alphen-on-the-Rhine, a village east of Leyden. The menorah had been hidden under the floor of the synagogue by a local Jewish couple during the German occupation, prior to their deportation. Nearly all the Jewish inhabitants of the village perished, and after the war the synagogue was sold to a Protestant congregation. In 1980, during repair work, the menorah was discovered and given a prominent place in the now church. Rabbi Lody van de Kamp, Ashkenazi rabbi of Amsterdam—and head of the Jewish Heritage Foundation established to reclaim such property—demanded return of the menorah on behalf of the town's only surviving former Jewish inhabitant, who now lived in Israel. At the same time, the only surviving relative of the couple, who himself had not been a resident of Alphen, declared that the Protestant church—which refused to give up the menorah—could keep it. The dispute, which was given considerable publicity, was eventually resolved by the Israeli ambassador in The Hague, Michael N. Bawly. He proposed that the Protestant congregation donate the menorah to Israel, in return for which it would receive an Israeli menorah.

Culture

Within the framework of several general exhibitions on relations between the cities of Amsterdam and Venice, in particular in the 17th century, an exhibition on the ghetto of Venice was held in the Jewish Historical Museum, largely organized by guest curator Julie-Marthe Cohen, with a fine accompanying catalogue. The same museum also presented an exhibition on the Sephardi Esnoga in Amsterdam, accompanied by a book on the subject, edited by Raphael Shibolet and Marianne Stroo. Simultaneously, an exhibition of photographs of a small group of Marranos still living in Belmonte in northeast Portugal was shown, along with videotaped interviews with group members.

An exhibition about the life and career of Dutch-Jewish trade-union leader Henri Polak (1868–1943), founder of the Diamond Workers Trade Union (ANDB), was held in the former building of the ANDB, which housed the offices of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions after 1945 and had recently been turned into a trade-union museum. The building is situated in what until 1945 was called the Plantage Franselaan but was then renamed the Henri Polak-laan. The new museum

and the Henri Polak exhibition were opened officially by Queen Beatrix on, appropriately, May 1.

Apart from the above-mentioned documentaries in connection with the Holocaust, another documentary of Jewish interest was a two-hour TV film, made by Emile Fallaux, on the Dutch-Jewish poet and journalist Jacob Israel de Haan (1881–1924). A most complicated character, de Haan, who was born of Orthodox parents, originally espoused socialism but later became a Zionist and settled in Jerusalem, where he became ultra-Orthodox and an anti-Zionist, which views he expressed as the Jerusalem correspondent of the *London Daily Express*. He was also a well-known homosexual. He was murdered in Jerusalem in June 1924 by Zionists. The documentary contains interviews with, among others, Abraham Tehomi, who murdered de Haan on behalf of the Haganah and who, at the time of the interview, was living in California, and with Rabbi Menachem Porush of the Agudath Israel party in Jerusalem, who had been among de Haan's admirers.

There was continuing interest in Yiddish, especially among non-Jews. An International Yiddish Festival was held in Amsterdam, November 24–30, with the participation of theatrical companies and Klezmer groups, in particular from the United States, and with the showing of several Yiddish films, from before 1940 and more recently. The festival was organized by Mira Rafalowicz, the daughter of Polish-Jewish parents who had been great advocates of Yiddish in Amsterdam, and who herself had studied Yiddish at the YIVO Institute in New York. The festival was widely publicized, and most performances were sold out well in advance. It was opened by Minister of Welfare and Culture D'Ancona. Several mainly non-Jewish musical groups also performed Yiddish songs and Klezmer music in Holland during the year.

The Amsterdam Summer University offered two courses of Jewish interest, one about East European Jewry and one about Dutch Jewry. Both were attended by persons from Holland and abroad.

The Netherlands Society for Jewish Genealogy had over 400 members, of whom over 50 were in the United States and Israel. Its members included many non-Jews or persons with a remote Jewish ancestor. Its thoroughly professional quarterly, *Misjpoqe*, had a special issue on Jewish burial grounds in the Netherlands. The society also published *Trouwen in Mokum* ("Marrying in Amsterdam"), a listing of 15,300 Jewish marriages registered in Amsterdam between 1598 and 1811, compiled by Dave Vordoener, an officer of the society, and Harmen Snel, of the Amsterdam Municipal Archives.

Publications

In addition to new works on Jewish themes already mentioned above, the following should be noted. In connection with the Holocaust: *Vervolging, vernietiging, literatuur* ("Persecution, Annihilation, Literature"), a series of essays by Sem Dresden; *Voorbij de Verboden Drempeel. De Shoah in ons Geschiedbeeld* ("Past the

Forbidden Threshold: The Shoah in Our View of History”) by H.W. von der Dunk; *Om het Joodse Kind* (“About the Jewish Child”) by Elma Verhey, on the struggle over Jewish war orphans in the Netherlands in the first years after liberation; *Grenzen aan de solidariteit* (“Limits to Solidarity”) by Paul Vigeveno and Ton van der Meer, a series of lessons for schools; *Joodse vluchtelingen in Nederland, 1938–1949* (“Jewish Refugees in the Netherlands, 1938–1949,” documents on their admission and refusal) by Corrie K. Berghuis; *De Zoektocht* (“The Search”) by Gerhard L. Durlacher, the story of a 16-year-old boy who survived Auschwitz and went to search for fellow survivors in Israel; *Zwijgende Stenen* (“Silent Stones”) by Shmuel Hacoen, a translation from Hebrew of the author’s experiences in Amsterdam during the German occupation of the Netherlands and afterward in Israel; *Tralievader* by Carl Friedman, a work about the problems of the second generation. The well-known short novel about Westerbork by the late Jacques Presser, *De Nacht der Girondijnen*, originally published in 1957, was issued in a new edition with an introduction written by the late Primo Levi. Translations of this edition were published in Italian, English, French, and German.

Several histories of Jewish communities appeared this year, among them of Aalten, by Peter Lurvink; of Assen, by F.J. Mulder; of de Pekela’s, by E. Schut; and of Oldenzaal, by G.J.J.W. Wensink. Robert Cohen’s *Jews in Another Environment: Surinam in the Second Half of the 18th Century* also appeared this year, as did a collection of some 30 essays in honor of David Goudsmit, a former librarian of the Etz Hayim Library of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam, on his 80th birthday.

Personalia

Mrs. R. Musaph (née Andriess) received a Silver Carnation from Prince Bernhard for her work on behalf of Jewish culture in the Netherlands, including chairing the Foundation of Friends of the Jewish Historical Museum. The queen’s birthday list, on April 29, included Judith Belinfante, director of the Jewish Historical Museum; Bloeme Evers (née Emden), chairwoman of the Jewish women’s group “Deborah”; Robert Goudsmit, chairman of the Foundation of the Jewish Invalid and of the Foundation for Jewish Daytime Education; and Frieda Menco-Bromet, a past chairwoman of the Liberal Jewish community.

Raphael Evers was officially installed as rector of the Netherlands Ashkenazi Rabbinical and Teachers Seminary, of which he had been director for several years. Leo Palache retired on June 1 as director of the United Israel Appeal, which office he had held for exactly 40 years.

Among prominent Dutch Jews who died this year were Siegfried ten Brink, vice-chairman of the Netherlands Zionist Organization, editor of its periodical, and for many years a member of the executive of the Liberal Jewish community of Amsterdam, aged 65; Hans Evers, a leader in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community and the Netherlands Zionist Organization and OJEC, aged 67; Robert Gouds-

mit, chairman of the Foundation of the Jewish Invalid, the Foundation for the Jewish Elderly Beth Shalom, and the Foundation for Jewish Daytime Education, aged 69; Liesbeth van Weezel, editor of the Dutch-Jewish weekly *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad* in the 1960s, aged 83.

HENRIETTE BOAS

Italy

National Affairs

ITALY'S POLITICAL SITUATION remained relatively stable in 1991, although a mini-crisis occurred when Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti (Christian Democrats, DC) resigned on March 30, following the withdrawal of the Socialist party (PSI), led by Bettino Craxi, from the coalition government. But the crisis was quickly resolved, and Andreotti formed a new government—his seventh—that was approved on April 19. The new coalition, like the former one, included the Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats, and Liberals; the Republicans, who had been part of the previous government, resigned in a dispute over the assignment of cabinet posts.

An increasingly outspoken President Francesco Cossiga expressed disappointment that the “reshuffling” had produced no significant policy change, and observers generally bemoaned the continuing sclerosis of Italy's political system. A referendum on political reform in June produced a large turnout and an overwhelming vote in favor of reducing the number of candidates voters must choose among in the elections for the lower chamber. While the change is a small one, it was hailed as a step toward a thoroughgoing reform of the system. It also made politicians and the public aware that the workings of Italian democracy are not cast in stone.

In February the Communist party of Italy, once the largest Communist party in the West, changed its name to the Democratic Party of the Left (Partito Democratico della Sinistra, PDS). Under Secretary Achille Occhetto, the party had abandoned much of its traditional line and become more social-democratic in outlook. The decision was rejected by the most extreme wing of the party, which broke away and formed the Communist Refoundation party (Rifondazione Comunista, PRC). Another political development of note was the growth of the Lombard League and associated Northern League, parties in the north of the country that advocate greater regional autonomy and have rightist leanings.

Although Italy participated in the Gulf War (see below), criticism of its forces by an American general was a blow to public pride and served to spotlight the military's serious deficiencies, including use of outdated hardware and an unprofessional, largely conscript army, plagued by the same patronage system that characterizes the rest of Italy's public sector.

Italy faced growing problems related to the recent influx of Albanian refugees and other migrant groups. The UN appealed to Italy not to expel the Albanians, most of whom were living in makeshift camps and being helped by volunteer organizations. African and Arab workers protested in Rome in mid-May over work and

housing conditions. Milan experienced a number of anti-immigrant strikes over the presence of migrant encampments in the city. There were protests over the announcement that non-EC immigrant nurses would be allowed to work in Italian hospitals, to fill a serious shortage.

Although political terrorism had virtually ceased, organized crime—a long-standing problem in southern Italy—was viewed as a serious national problem, with Mafia activity spreading to other parts of the country. Political leaders, investigating officials, and police involved in trying to curb the Mafia were murdered, and there was a substantial increase in the overall number of murders attributable to organized crime. The government had relatively little success in fighting it, in part due to the inefficiency of the legal system.

The economy was somewhat sluggish after almost a decade of buoyant growth. A chronic unemployment rate of over 11 percent and the public-sector deficit were the major underlying problems. The inflation rate had remained at above 6 percent since 1989, some 1 to 3 percentage points higher than in France, Germany, the United States, and United Kingdom, which hurt Italy's competitiveness. Another long-term problem was Italy's dependence on oil imports for almost 80 percent of its energy needs, higher than any other EC country.

THE GULF WAR

During the entire seven months of the Gulf crisis and the "Desert Storm" military operation, the Italian government was actively involved in finding ways to "save the peace." At the same time, it acceded to the request of the United States to join the coalition against Saddam Hussein and sent five ships and eleven combat planes to the Gulf, without placing any limitations on their use. Both Prime Minister Andreotti and Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis engaged in active diplomacy up to the last minute, in an attempt to avoid war. Andreotti was about to leave for Baghdad when hostilities began on January 16. De Michelis, who was in close contact with Nemer Hammad, PLO representative in Rome, urged that Palestinians appeal to Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait, in exchange for the Italian government's commitment to work for an international peace conference on the Middle East to deal with the Palestinian problem.

In the Italian Parliament, pacifists on both Left and Right, ready to appease Saddam Hussein, clashed with supporters of UN intervention. Achille Occhetto, leader of the Communist party, called the war "an adventure without return," urged both dialogue with Iraq in order to preserve the peace and an international meeting on the Middle East. Raniero La Valle of the Sinistra Indipendente, a group of independent leftists, quoting a Catholic source, stated that the war against Saddam Hussein was a crime and accused the West of failure to understand Islam. Giovanni Russo Spena, secretary of Proletarian Democracy (DP), supported the Iraqi version of the Kuwait crisis, and the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI; the most right-wing party in Parliament) accused the Italian government of "not having given

enough support to European-Arab dialogue" and defined as a political priority the defense of Palestinian rights.

By contrast, Renato Altissimo, leader of the Liberal party (PLI), denounced the PLO for its political attitude toward the war, and Bettino Craxi of the Socialist party (PSI) reminded political leaders and the Italian public that "Saddam Hussein attacked an Arab country and wiped it off the map, an act that had no connection at all to the Israeli-Palestinian question."

The Radical party (PR) was in a quandary: generally opposed to military intervention, in this situation it supported the political objectives of the war. Deputy Emma Bonino stated that "as a nonviolent person," she was not prepared to accept "any violation of human rights"; her party colleague Roberto Ciccimessere, quoting Ghandi, affirmed that "everyone is free to choose between cowardice and violence, but in this particular case violence is better." Giovanni Spadolini, of the moderate left Republican party (PRI) and president of the Senate, was among the first to express sympathy with Israel.

The outspoken opposition of Pope John Paul II to allied intervention in the Gulf helped to swell an already substantial peace movement in the country (close to 74 percent opposed the war, in a late-January opinion poll). During an Angelus in St. Peter's Square on January 24, the pope berated the "terrible logic of war" and called for a peace conference to resolve all problems in the Middle East, particularly the Palestinian question.

The pope's stance caused a serious rift with the Christian Democratic party (traditionally regarded as the Vatican's political wing), brought the Vatican into unaccustomed alliance with the Communists, and caused a split in the Christian Democratic party itself. Support for intervention came from the party's higher echelons, particularly the prime minister, while more Catholic and liberal elements followed the pope's lead and agitated against their own leadership. Even conservative cardinals were displeased with the pope. Camillo Cardinal Ruini, one of the pope's pro-vicars, said he would "absolve the Italian government and all those who voted for the war."

The pope's position enraged Italy's Jewish community. Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff of Rome called the Vatican line "politically unsustainable and morally unjustified . . . and an invitation to anti-Semitism" and challenged the pope to "look Israel in the face and say these things."

On January 27, while Israel was under attack by Iraqi missiles, the director-general of the Italian Foreign Ministry, Bruno Bottai, paid a one-day visit to the country to express his government's solidarity. He brought with him a letter of support from President Cossiga.

Relations with Israel

At the end of February, Foreign Minister De Michelis called for broad international support for the establishment of a Helsinki-type conference on security and

cooperation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, to deal with the aftermath of the war in the Gulf, in particular to create a framework within which to deal with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He even claimed to have the support of some Israelis for the idea.

Various Italian political leaders visited Israel throughout the year. On April 28, Achille Occhetto, secretary of the Democratic Party of the Left, made his first trip to Israel, as part of a Middle East study tour. This visit reflected a virtual turnabout in the policy of the PDS toward the State of Israel, a result, largely, of Israel's self-restraint during the war. Occhetto was generally regarded as sympathetic to Israeli interests but opposed to the Likud government's policy on the territories. The Italian delegation met with Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir as well as with Palestinian leaders. The PDS officials also took part in a memorial ceremony on Jerusalem's Mount Herzl for Italian Jewish Communist leader Umberto Terracini, who died a few years earlier.

A delegation from the Italian Senate, headed by Socialist Michele Achilli, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, visited Israel in June, meeting with Foreign Minister David Levy, Speaker of the Knesset Dov Shilansky, and Yitzhak Rabin, former defense minister, among others.

Foreign Minister De Michelis paid an official visit to Israel on September 4, during which he met with Israeli political leaders and a West Bank Palestinian delegation. The purpose of the visit was to discuss the proposed Middle East peace conference that Washington was trying to organize as well as Israel's economic relations with Europe after the unification of the European Community in 1992. (De Michelis was responsible for initiating the idea of including Israel in European economic plans after unification.) De Michelis aroused some ire over an interview with the daily *Ha'aretz*, in which he said that "Eretz Yisrael no longer exists," referring to Israel's conflict with the Palestinians over "Greater Israel." He went on to say: "It would be hard for Israel to remain isolated in its attitude that self-determination was fine for all nations—for the Ukrainians and Moldavians—but not for the Palestinians."

Leaders of the new PDS, Piero Fassino and Carlo Leoni, together with Janiki Cingoli, director of the Italian Center for Peace in the Middle East, visited Israel and the West Bank in November. The same month, an Italian Socialist delegation came to Tel Aviv to observe the Israel Labor party congress.

Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni arrived in Israel on December 26 for an official visit, as the guest of his counterpart, Moshe Arens. The Italian met with Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Levy as well. Rognoni stressed the importance of the Israeli-Arab peace process and predicted a strengthening of Israeli economic ties with Italy and with the European Community as a whole.

Cultural and trade relations between Italy and Israel remained strong. According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, exports from Italy for 1990–1991 totaled \$935 million, with imports from Israel of some \$503 million. The Italian exports were mainly industrial machinery, motor vehicles, metal products, and electrical

and electronic items. The imports from Israel were largely chemical and agricultural products, fertilizers, and electrical wares.

On March 3, right after the Gulf War, a delegation of some 200 residents of Milan, led by Mayor Paolo Pilitteri, arrived in Israel for a visit. The delegation, which included Cobi Benatoff, the president of the Milan Jewish community, was received by Tel Aviv mayor Shlomo Lahat, Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Benjamin Netanyahu. The delegation expressed the support of the Italian people for Israel and donated funds for a school building to replace one that had been seriously damaged during the Iraqi missile attacks on Israel.

A Friendship for Israel Parliamentary Association was founded in March by the deputies Oscar Luigi Scalfaro and Gerolamo Pellicano, president and secretary of the new organization, and by Parliament members Alfredo Biondi of the Liberal party, Emma Bonino of the Radical party, Laura Finacato of the Socialist party, and Filippo Caria of the Social-Democratic party. Some 200 deputies and senators participated in the first meeting. In the same period, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane, UCEI) and the Italy-Israel Friendship Association—a group open to the general public—held a joint meeting at the Villa Pamphili Hotel, where they were addressed by Israeli ambassador Mordechai Drory, MPs Scalfaro and Andrea Cifarelli (Republican party MP and former president of the association), president of the Rome Jewish community Sergio Frassinetti, and UCEI president Tullia Zevi. At another meeting organized by the association, on June 19, held at the Chamber of Deputies, Mrs. Zevi asserted that Italy, by virtue of its history and geographic position, could play a key role as mediator in the conflicts troubling the Mediterranean basin.

An Italian scientific delegation visited the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot on April 30, to review recent work in cancer research and other fields. The scientists also discussed plans for the “Mediterranean School for Polymer Science and Technology,” which was being promoted by the Italian National Research Council. Participants included Arab as well as Italian and Jewish scientists.

A group of 30 Italian intellectuals—artists, scholars, and journalists—visited Israel in May, seeking to deepen their understanding of the country and its problems. They met with Israeli political leaders, scholars, and writers, and participated in debates and seminars at various political and cultural institutions. The trip was arranged by the Rome Jewish community.

On June 7, the Italian ambassador in Israel, Pierluigi Rachele, attended the annual convention of the Italian-Israeli Chamber of Commerce. He told a large group of Israeli and Italian tour operators that, during 1990–91, economic and commercial relations between Italy and Israel showed an upturn, and that the prospects for further growth were encouraging. In his speech, Rachele noted that Italy was Israel’s fourth largest trading partner in the world and the third largest within the European Community. He stressed the fact that trade had increased in the first quarter of 1991, despite the negative effects of the Gulf War.

Avi Pazner, the spokesman for Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, was appointed Israeli ambassador to Italy in July, replacing Mordechai Drory.

Anti-Semitism

During 1991, the Milan-based Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Centro di Documentazione ebraica contemporanea, CDEC) continued to survey the media for evidence of prejudice against minorities in general and against the Jews in particular. CDEC and the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (UCEI) organized an educational program about anti-Semitism in Italian high schools. CDEC scholars and researchers participated in a number of meetings and conferences on anti-Semitism. A seminar took place for WIZO-Italy's youth organization, AVIV, in Milan on May 8, organized by Adriana Goldstaub, on "Anti-Semitism in Italy After the Second World War." In Turin, on November 23, Liliana Picciotto Fargion spoke on "Coming Back from the Lager." Michele Sarfatti and Liliana Picciotto Fargion spoke at an AVIV meeting in Milan, in January, on "Persecution Against the Jews in Italy 1938-1945."

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

Some 31,000 Jews were affiliated with their local Jewish communities. The total number of Jews in Italy, taking into account those not affiliated, was believed to be around 35,000.

Communal Affairs

The Gulf War and events in the Middle East were of great concern to the Italian Jewish community.

On January 14, a rally for peace began at Rome's Great Synagogue, where the chief rabbi of Rome, Elio Toaff, led "a prayer for peace." The rally continued that evening with an enormous demonstration organized by the Jewish Students Cultural Movement (Movimento culturale studenti ebrei, MCSE), with the participation of Rabbi Toaff, Israeli ambassador Mordechai Drory, and the president of the Rome Jewish community, Sergio Frassinetti.

On January 16, the Jewish Youth Council (Comitato Giovanile Ebraico, CGE) invited a prominent Italian Jewish journalist, Fiamma Nirenzstein, correspondent of the popular Italian weekly *Epoca*, to discuss developments in the Persian Gulf. On January 20, in reaction to the first missile attacks on Israel and Saudi Arabia, Angelo Pezzana, president of the Italy-Israel Association, called a solidarity sit-in outside the Israeli embassy in Rome. Participants included representatives of the

Radical party (with its deputies Emma Bonino and Bruno Zevi), the Republican party and its youth organization, the Liberal party, the Social-Democratic party, the Evangelical Churches Association, and the Association of Christians Against Anti-Semitism. The Israeli ambassador thanked the participants for their support.

On January 24, at Palazzo Chigi in Rome, Tullia Zevi and Dario Tedeschi, representing the UCEI, met with Prime Minister Andreotti to discuss the tense situation in Israel caused by the Gulf War. The two UCEI representatives asked Andreotti to intervene with the European Community to renew a program of scientific collaboration between the EC and Israel, to use his influence with the Vatican in regard to Vatican diplomatic recognition of the State of Israel.

At the first session of the new council of the UCEI, in January, Tullia Zevi was confirmed president by acclamation. The vice-president was Giuseppe Viterbo of Florence; the other members of the council committee were Amos Luzzatto (Venice), Alda Segre (Turin), Dario Tedeschi (Rome), and Elio Toaff as representative of the Rabbinical Council. The council devoted particular attention to questions concerning Jewish education and culture, relations among the Jewish communities, the preservation of the Italian Jewish artistic heritage, and relations between the Jewish community and the Italian state.

Tullia Zevi represented the Italian Jewish community at a number of Jewish communal meetings in Europe and Israel: at the executive committee of the European Jewish Congress (EJC), on January 13, in Paris, which heard a careful analysis of the Gulf crisis and considered concrete ways to support Israel in the crisis; at the meeting of the executive of the World Jewish Congress in Jerusalem, February 11 and 12, during which she met with Yitzhak Navon, former president of Israel, and several professors of the Hebrew University to discuss plans for the 1992 observance of the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Zevi also took part in EJC meetings in Jerusalem, May 4-5, and the plenary assembly of the WJC, immediately following. Zevi was joined by Giorgio Sacerdoti, Dario Tedeschi, and Federico Steinhaus, members of the UCEI Council. In July, Zevi participated in an executive meeting of the EJC in Paris, at which the main topics for consideration were anti-Semitism, the situation of Judaism in Eastern Europe, Jewish-Christian relations, the European organizations, and the State of Israel.

On October 16, in Rome, Tullia Zevi, Sergio Frassinetti, and the mayor of Rome took part in ceremonies commemorating the deportation of Rome's Jews in World War II. The ceremonies were held at the Great Synagogue, at the Mausoleum of the Fosse Ardeatine, at the city cemetery, in the Rome Ghetto, and at the Vittorio Polacco primary school.

The 90th anniversary of the Italian Zionist Federation (FSI) was observed in Milan in November, with a special exhibition and celebrations.

Community Relations

The final decision regarding the teaching of Catholic religion in public high schools was handed down by the Italian Constitutional Court on January 14. The court ruled that secondary students who do not elect religious instruction are allowed to leave the school; however, it did not reach a decision concerning the teaching of Catholic religion in kindergarten and the primary grades.

A ceremony took place on June 20, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the anniversary of the death of the Jewish antifascist and scholar Eugenio Colomi. The gathering was arranged by the World War II partisans' association ANPI, the Eugenio Colomi Club, and the UCEI.

Jewish-Christian Relations

As noted above, the Gulf War strongly affected relations between the Jewish community and the Vatican, and Jewish officials were critical of Pope John Paul II's antiwar stance. On February 3, the Rome Jewish community organized a peaceful demonstration in St. Peter's Square, asking, in a dignified way, for full recognition of the State of Israel by the Vatican.

Rabbis Toaff and Piattelli and Tullia Zevi participated in a celebration of the 23rd anniversary of the founding of the community of St. Egidio, a highly influential Catholic organization involved in peace work, on March 2, in Rome. The mayor of Rome, members of the government, and Edward Cardinal Cassidy, president of the Political Council for Promoting Christian Unity, were present at the ceremony.

On July 4, Tullia Zevi met with Cardinal Cassidy to discuss, among a number of issues, the Carmelite convent in Auschwitz and a meeting to be held between a delegation of the EJC and Carlo Maria Cardinal Martini, bishop of Milan, before the Special Assembly of the European Synod of Bishops.

Speaking at the opening of the Assembly of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in October, Tullia Zevi invited the federation to work more closely with the UCEI for the improvement of relations between the two communities.

On November 19, Jean Kahn, president of the EJC, together with Gerhart Riegner and Tullia Zevi, president and vice-president of the EJC's commission for interreligious relations, delivered a letter of protest to Cardinal Martini, in his capacity as president of the Council of European Episcopal Conferences. The letter criticized statements made by the pope in the document prepared for the upcoming Synod of European Bishops, in which he described his program for the "evangelization of Europe, a continent that can find its unity only in Christian values." In their memorandum, the EJC representatives reaffirmed the importance of Jewish culture in European history and the suffering of European Jewry during the centuries as a warning for the future.

In fact, the persecution of the Jews was recalled several times during the meeting of European bishops, which took place in the Vatican the first week of December.

Camillo Cardinal Ruini, in his introduction, stated the value and the importance of the dialogue between Jews and Christians. He also affirmed that the Jewish faith and culture represented “a constitutive moment in the development” of Western civilization and said that the tragedy of the Shoah showed “how far the perversion of the European conscience can reach.” A few days later, during mass at St. Peter’s, there was a symbolic “confession of sins,” in which the German bishops acknowledged their passivity in the face of the persecution and extermination of the Jews. The final document of the synod stated that the effort to achieve understanding between Jews and Christians could have enormous significance for the future of Europe.

Culture

In a solemn ceremony on March 21, in Rome, representatives of the CDEC and leading Italian Jews presented to Francesco Cossiga, the president of the Republic, the first copy of Liliana Picciotto Fargion’s volume *Il libro della memoria. Gli ebrei deportati dall’Italia (1943–1945)*, a listing of the Jews deported from Italy and from the Aegean Islands during World War II. In her remarks, Luisella Mortara Ottolenghi, president of the CDEC, underscored the moral and pedagogic value of the work. Tullia Zevi stressed the importance of such works in countering revisionist attempts to deny the facts of the Holocaust. A similar presentation was made on June 12 in Rome, at Palazzo Giustiniani, to the president of the Senate, Giovanni Spadolini. After Spadolini’s speech, Simon Wiesenthal, Serge Klarsfeld, Prof. Renzo De Felice, and Luisella Mortara Ottolenghi spoke on various aspects of the Italian Jewish experience during the Nazi period. The German ambassador and Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, former president of the Vatican Commission for Relations with the Jews, participated in the ceremony.

The first meeting of the Primo Levi Cultural Center took place in Genoa, on April 11, at the municipality building. The new organization planned to promote and support a variety of programs for the study and dissemination of Judaism and Jewish culture.

In April, in honor of Israel Independence Day, all-day study sessions were arranged by the UCEI’s cultural department in Ancona and in Trieste, on the subject “Yom Ha’atzmaut: From Exile to Redemption.” The two events were sponsored by the ADEI-WIZO and the Federation of Italian Jewish Youth (FGEI).

On June 5, in Soncino, a small town in northern Italy, near Cremona, a special gathering marked the publication of *La Menorah nella Rocca* (“Rocca’s Menorah”) by Ermete Rossi, a scholarly work about the Jews of Soncino in the 15th and 16th centuries. On the same occasion, plans were discussed for the creation of a Jewish music section in the National Jewish Bibliographical Center in Rome, with the involvement of the School of Music Paleography in Cremona, the District of Cremona, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the UCEI, and the Lauder Foundation. (Cremona was the site of a school for lutenists in the first half of the 16th century,

which had its headquarters in the shop of a Jewish lute seller, as well as the home of many of the world's most famous makers of stringed instruments.) On September 22, the Soncino municipality organized a gathering of the descendants of the Soncino family of Jewish printers, who produced the Soncino Talmud and other important Jewish books in the Middle Ages.

A planning meeting for the archaeological exhibition *Antichità ebraiche a Roma* (Jewish Antiquities in Rome) took place on July 16. The participants were Dr. Gherpelli, deputy mayor of Emilia Romagna Council; the cultural attachés of the U.S. and Canadian embassies; Tullia Zevi; and various specialists. The exhibition was scheduled to open in the winter of 1993 in Jerusalem and later to travel to New York, Toronto, and Rome.

An exhibition opened in July in Riva del Garda, a small town near Trent in northern Italy, about the Hebrew printing press that was active there, 1557–1563, and the physician-printer, Jacob Marcaria, who ran it.

Publications

Several new studies on the history of Italian Jewry were published this year.

In *Libri e scrittori nella Roma ebraica del Medio Evo* ("Authors and Books in the Jewish Rome of the Middle Ages"), Giulio Busi describes the intense cultural life of the Jewish community of Rome during the 13th and 14th centuries, as seen in the numerous manuscripts produced in the city in those years. *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento (1475–1478)* ("Trials of the Jews of Trent 1475–1478"), by Anna Esposito and Diego Quaglioni, analyzes the tumultuous and terrifying events that led to the martyrdom and beatification of the young Simon of Trent, allegedly murdered by Jews, in a famous case of blood libel.

Cesare Colafermina, a scholar who has devoted his career to the study of the Jewish presence in southern Italy, edited a new volume of essays on the history of the Jews in the area of Apulia, *Documenti per la storia degli ebrei in Puglia nell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* ("Documents on the History of Apulian Jewry in Naples State Archives"). It was issued by the Regional Council of Apulia and by the St. Nicola Ecumenical Institute.

Liliana Picciotto Fargion's *Il libro della memoria. Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* ("The Book of Memory: The Jews Deported from Italy, 1943–1945") is the culmination of several decades of research started in 1944 by Massimo Adolfo Vitale, president at that time of the CRDE (Comitato Ricerche Deportati Ebrei) and finally completed by the author. As noted above, the volume catalogues the victims of the Holocaust in Italy, including brief biographical entries, a historical review, statistical tables, and footnotes.

Michele Luzzati's *Ebrei di Livorno tra due censimenti (1841–1938). Memoria familiare e identità* ("Leghorn Jews Between Two Censuses, 1841–1938: Family Memory and Identity") presents an intimate view of the life of the Jewish community of Leghorn and of some of its leading families (Castelli, Orefice, Belforte) at

the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

The eighth volume of *Processi del S. Uffizio contro Ebrei e Giudaizzanti (1587–1698)* (“St. Uffizio Trials Against Jews and Crypto Jews, 1587–1698”), edited by Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, is part of a monumental work started by the author in 1980, which uses dramatic stories of individuals to document the accusations made against Jews and those charged with behaving like Jews in 16th- and 17th-century Venice.

Roberto Bonfil’s latest work, *Gli ebrei in Italia nell’epoca del Rinascimento* (“The Jews of Italy in the Renaissance”), presents a fascinating picture of the Jewish community, with its cultural, economic, and social ties to the Gentile world.

Personalia

Italian composer Luciano Berio was a co-winner this year of the prestigious Israeli Wolf Prize for the arts, which he shared with Sir Yehudi Menuhin. Berio is a well-known musical scholar, writer, and conductor. The prize was personally presented in May by Chaim Herzog, president of the State of Israel.

Bar-Ilan University in Israel conferred an honorary degree on Elio Toaff, the chief rabbi of the Italian Jewish community, citing his historical achievements in the area of Jewish-Christian relations and his dynamic spiritual leadership of Italian Jewry. The ceremony was attended by the Italian ambassador in Israel, Pierluigi Rachele, and Israeli minister of education Zevulun Hammer.

World-renowned physicist Salvador Luria died in Lexington, Massachusetts, in February, at the age of 79. Luria, a pioneer in modern genetics and winner of the Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology in 1969, was born in Turin in 1912. After the passage of the 1938 Italian racial laws, he left for Paris and then for the United States, where he joined the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Emma Cantoni, aged 88, died in Israel in September. Born in Florence in 1903 to an educated, upper-class Jewish family, she emigrated to Palestine in 1936, where she worked as a nurse and became deeply involved in the work of Youth Aliyah. In 1951 she married Raffaele Cantoni, one of the most important and charismatic leaders of Italian Jewry, and joined her husband in Rome. They were actively involved in the Keren Hayesod, the Italian Zionist Federation, and the Jewish Medical Organization (OSE). She returned to Jerusalem to live after her husband’s death.

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