Central and Eastern Europe

Federal Republic of Germany

National Affairs

Germany in 1993 experienced economic decline, political scandal, and labor and ethnic unrest. By December four million Germans were unemployed: the jobless rate was 8.8 percent in western Germany and 17 percent in the east. In January Minister of Economics Jürgen Möllemann resigned over charges of nepotism. The interior minister of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Christian Democrat Lothar Kupfer, was dismissed in February for failing to marshal police to protect 100 Vietnamese against rioting crowds in Rostock in August 1992 (see AJYB 1994, p. 310).

Germany played an increasingly active role in international affairs this year. One of the most important new developments was Germany's expanded military role, which took German soldiers beyond their national borders for the first time since the founding of the Federal Republic. In April the cabinet decided to dispatch units of the German air force to participate in supervising the NATO flight ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the U.S. humanitarian airdrop over Bosnia. The use of German troops — albeit as support personnel rather than as combatants — for purposes other than national defense provoked considerable debate throughout Germany. The Free Democrats (FDP) appealed to the Federal Court to block the mission, but lost. In May, 1,640 German troops were sent to Somalia; although it was a purely humanitarian mission, it was protested by the Social Democrats (SPD). Responding to critics, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said that the fall of the iron curtain had brought to an end the German concept of a military whose only purpose was defense.

Over the year, Germany signed cooperation treaties with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. In an agreement signed in May, Poland undertook to accept up to 10,000 asylum seekers who had entered Germany through Poland and were rejected by Germany. Germany promised to provide DM 120 million in aid to build infrastructure for their absorption. In March Chancellor Helmut Kohl met with Russian president Boris Yeltsin. He promised that Germany would advocate more assistance
to Russia from the International Monetary Fund and would provide DM 121 million for ethnic Germans in Russia. In December Russian ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky visited Munich to meet with German right-winger Gerhard Frey. When Zhirinovsky attempted to reenter Germany a few days later, he was denied a visa.

In February, in a meeting with U.S. president Bill Clinton, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and members of Congress, Foreign Minister Kinkel emphasized Germany's interest in a continued strong U.S. military presence in Europe in the framework of NATO. In March President Clinton and Chancellor Kohl held their first meeting, agreeing on a wide range of assistance for Russian president Yeltsin, to be put together by the countries comprising the Group of Seven (G-7). In May German president Richard von Weizsäcker made a four-day visit to Washington. He met with President Clinton, visited the Holocaust Museum in Washington, and told the audience at the B’nai B’rith Draginsky Lecture at Georgetown University: “We are not living in the thirties. . . . Today our society stands up against violence and racism.” In October Foreign Minister Kinkel addressed the UN in New York, saying that Germany wanted to participate in all UN operations without restriction and to become a member of the Security Council.

Israel and the Middle East

After a year of turbulence and tension, German-Israeli relations stabilized and "normalized." There were numerous exchanges of politicians and cultural programs and joint research projects; however, they took place in a framework of bilateral cooperation and regional development in which the concept of Germany’s "special" relationship to Israel, based on the Holocaust, now played only a minor role. In an interview in April, former Israeli ambassador to Bonn Yitzhak Ben-Ari said that Israel’s role in German politics had deteriorated since unification; he urged Jerusalem to strengthen its presence in Germany and not give up its claims to reparations for former East German residents, even though the Germans had thus far refused to pay.

In early January Ignatz Bubis, president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, visited Israel, where he met with representatives of the Jewish Agency, the World Jewish Congress, and the Israeli media. Bubis complained that the German authorities had done too little to combat right-wing violence, but he also said that Israelis had an overly negative view of German society and criticized Shulamit Aloni’s call for an economic boycott of Germany over right-wing radicalism. Bubis told Foreign Minister Shimon Peres that he regretted the cessation of peace talks in Washington. He also deplored Israel’s treatment of its Palestinians, especially its deportation policy.

Several representatives of Israel’s Likud party visited Germany in early February as guests of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, to meet with Christian Democratic
politicians. Bubis was in Israel again in February with a delegation from the Central Council, on a “solidarity” visit. He told Israeli politicians and representatives of Jewish organizations that Germany’s Jews were no longer “sitting on packed suitcases,” and that it was unfair to criticize Jews for living in Germany. Foreign Minister Peres and Deputy Secretary of State in the Foreign Ministry Uriel Savir responded that the role of Jews in Germany was to strengthen the economic ties between Israel and the European states. In the same month a first round of talks on military matters took place between members of the Israeli and German general staffs.

In early March Foreign Ministers Kinkel and Peres signed a declaration on German-Israeli relations. The agreement, signed in Bonn, provides for the establishment of a German-Israeli economic commission, investment stimulation, the founding of a cooperative council for environmental technology, and Bonn’s support for closer cooperation between Israel and the European Community. Kinkel also promised that Bonn would make a constructive contribution to the Middle East peace talks. The German government doubled the capital fund of the Foundation for Scientific Research and Development, sponsored by both governments, to DM 300 million (the Israelis had hoped for more).

Later in March Federal Minister of the Environment Klaus Töpfer visited Israel to sign an agreement on environmental protection and the exchange of information and researchers. The projects to be developed would be organized in such a way that they could be extended beyond Israel’s borders as political conditions became appropriate. The agreement was signed in Jerusalem, despite Bonn’s fears of provoking the Arab states. Prime Minister of Lower Saxony Gerhard Schröder (SPD) visited Israel the same month. He gave a talk at the Hebrew University, stopped at Yad Vashem, and spoke with several Israeli politicians.

In May German defense minister Volker Rühe was in Jerusalem for an exchange of views with Israeli politicians. He announced that German defense cutbacks left little money for contracts with Israeli arms producers, but added that the German planes delivering aid to Bosnia carried Israeli antirocket warning systems. Finally, he said, Bonn was considering Israel’s wish to be crossed off Germany’s H-list (i.e., the list of states in areas of tension that should not receive German weapons).

Berlin mayor Eberhard Diepgen visited Israel in May. In June Knesset Member Emmanuel Zisman (Labor), president of Israel’s parliamentary committee for immigration, demanded that Bonn make it more difficult for Jews from the former Soviet Union to settle in Germany. Israel maintained that Jews could not be considered refugees because Israel offered them a home.

In September Chancellor Kohl welcomed the Israel-PLO accord. He called for safeguarding peace in the region through economic progress based on the post-World War II Marshall Plan and said the Federal Republic would participate in such a program. The same month, Johannes Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, who had worked for Israeli-Arab reconciliation and cooperation for many years, visited Israel. Foreign Minister Peres met with Chancellor Kohl in
Bonn in October. He urged the German government to put an end to racial attacks and to encourage German investment in Israel. In November Gebhard Ziller of Germany’s Federal Ministry for Research and Technology visited Israel to discuss the development of joint projects; this cooperation was currently funded with DM 53 million per year.

Germany’s ambassador in Jerusalem, Otto von Gablentz, was replaced in November by Dr. Franz Bertele, a lawyer who had previously worked in East European and East-West German relations. Israel’s ambassador to Bonn, Benjamin Navon, was replaced by Avi Primor. Primor was the first Israeli ambassador to Germany who had not grown up in a German-speaking environment. PLO chairman Yasir Arafat made his first state visit to Germany in December, meeting with Chancellor Kohl, Foreign Minister Kinkel, SPD chairman Rudolf Scharping, and Minister of Economic Cooperation Carl-Dieter Spranger. Kinkel promised that Germany would open an office in Jericho to coordinate German reconstruction aid to the new Palestinian entity. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin came to Bonn in early December, but his visit was eclipsed by Arafat’s arrival. The German government emphasized its desire to support both parties to the peace process.

Of particular concern to Israel was Israeli-German trade and investment. After the United States, Germany was Israel’s most important trading partner, though Israel imported from Germany twice as much as it sold. From 1992 to 1994, Israeli firms invested DM 67 million in Germany, but German firms invested only DM 16 million in Israel. Germany purchased arms from Israel, but not the other way around.

In June Israeli parliamentarians debated Daimler-Benz’s announced interest in investing several hundred million dollars in Israel’s transportation system. MK (Member of the Knesset) Michal Guttmann (Moledet) called for a boycott of Daimler-Benz because of its use of forced labor during the Nazi years. Deputy Minister of Trade Masha Lubelski countered that the family of Daimler-Benz president Edzard Reuter had to leave Germany in the 1930s.

As in the past, there were numerous scientific and cultural exchanges. Federal Minister of Research Matthias Wissman (Christian Democrats) visited Israel in early April and addressed a symposium on “The Role of Ethics in the Life Sciences” at Bar-Ilan University. Israeli klezmer clarinetist Giora Feidman toured 22 German cities in April. A workshop on “German and Israeli Images in the Media,” sponsored by the Van Leer Institute, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the Goethe Institute, was held in Tel Aviv.

Anti-Semitism and Extremism

Manifestations of right-wing extremism and xenophobia were again directed primarily against Germany’s 6.49 million resident foreigners (largely Turks) in the western states and against asylum seekers in the east. Jews were a secondary target. In 1993, 322,842 asylum seekers were admitted (down from 438,191 in 1992). The
largest groups among the asylum seekers were from Romania and rump Yugoslavia.

The Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution reported a total of 8,109 right-wing crimes in 1993 (up from 7,121 in 1992). Right-wing extremists committed 1,814 violent crimes (down from 2,584 in 1992). Of these, 1,322 were attacks on foreigners, 122 attacks on political opponents, 46 attacks on Jews (down from 63 in 1992), and 324 “other” incidents. Germany had 81 extreme right-wing organizations, with a total of 42,100 members.

The year’s most serious incident of violence occurred at the end of May, when five Turkish residents died in an arson attack in Solingen. This event evoked angry reactions from many foreigners in Germany and from the Turkish government and press. Solingen became the scene of several days of rioting. President von Weizsäcker spoke at a memorial service for the victims. Particularly troubling, this attack set off a chain of similar incidents across Germany. At the end of June the German Parliament passed a law increasing compensation for foreign victims of violence in Germany.

Also in May, the president of the Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution, Dr. Eckart Wertebach, announced that, since September 1992, right-wing activity in Germany had diminished. This claim was contested by Israeli journalist Yaron Svoray, who had spent six months studying the right-wing scene in Germany, disguised as an Australian neo-Nazi. Neo-Nazis reported to Svoray that they received warnings from the police before raids and that when no witnesses were present, the police were friendly to them. More important, neo-Nazis had become better organized, and their groups were intensively linked, all of which heightened the danger they posed.

At the same time, large sectors of the population continued to express support for foreigners, Jews, tolerance, and multiculturalism in Germany. Ignatz Bubis told the Israeli media in January that he received between three and five anti-Semitic letters daily and 100 letters of sympathy. At the end of January, the 60th anniversary of Hitler’s coming to power was commemorated in many areas of Germany with demonstrations for tolerance. Over a million turned out in Baden-Württemberg, hundreds of thousands in Berlin, and President von Weizsäcker led a demonstration of 25,000 in Rostock (the site of a serious pogrom in 1992).

Over the course of the year Jewish cemeteries were desecrated in Suhl, Hochheim, Flörsheim, Karlsruhe, Mährisch-Buchholz, Frankfurt, Wangen, Hechingen, Wriezen, and Gross Leuten. Extensive damage was caused at the cemeteries in Dresden and Worms, the latter attacked twice. Other minor incidents involved desecration of Jewish monuments and memorials, especially in Berlin.

In March Prof. Michael Wolfssohn threatened to resign his position at the Military Academy in Munich after its dean of social sciences, Georg Geismann, held a reading from Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, and its president, Jürgen von Kreudener, refused to criticize the event. Under pressure, von Kreudener resigned his post.

There were other troubling incidents of official insensitivity to racist actions or outright disregard of racist manifestations. In January Federal Minister of Justice
Sabine Leutheuser-Schnarrenberger unveiled a bumper sticker meant to promote tolerance. The slogan was "Xenophobia, Without Me," and the emblem was an "A" (for Ausländer, or foreigner) superimposed on a star of David. The sticker was withdrawn after Robert Guttmann, vice-president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, protested that the emblem assumed that Jews were foreigners.

Franz Dieter Schlagkamp, Christian Democratic mayor of Sensheim bei Cochem, was forced to step down after having sent a letter to Ignatz Bubis saying he was glad there were no Jews in his village to disturb the peace. A more serious incident involved Dominican Father Heinrich Basilius Streithofen, an adviser to Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Streithofen spoke of Jews and Poles as "the biggest exploiters of German taxpayers" and said that the "great grandchildren and grandchildren can't pay the Jews and Poles forever." Kohl distanced himself from these remarks. Legal proceedings against Streithofen were initiated by the State Association of Jewish Communities of Lower Saxony. In July Streithofen was found not guilty of "racial incitement," because this term applies only to actions directed at the "internal" German population, not "foreigners." After protests from the Central Council of Jews, new proceedings were initiated, but this time Streithofen was charged only with "insult."

At the end of November, the release of the documentary film Beruf Neo-Nazi (Career Neo-Nazi), produced by Winfried Bonengel, evoked protest from the Central Council of Jews in Germany. Financed with funds from the states of Brandenburg, Hamburg, Hesse, and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, it documents the activities and speeches of neo-Nazis without commenting on their claims. The film was withdrawn in December.

Several trials of right-wing extremists concluded or began this year. In February Thomas Dienel, president of the German National party (DNP), lost his appeal and was sentenced to two years, eight months in prison. In 1992 he and three comrades threw pigs' heads over the gate of the Jewish community building in Erfurt. A note attached to the pigs' heads read: "The swine Galinski is finally dead." In May Michael Peters, 25, and Lars Christiansen, 19, went on trial for arson and for the murder of three Turkish residents of Mölln in November 1992. The trial ended in December. Peters was convicted of murder, attempted murder, and arson; he was sentenced to life in prison. Christiansen was found guilty of the same charges, but as a juvenile was sentenced to ten years, the maximum for a young offender.

Ingo Kehn, 19, and Thomas Haberland, 22, both from Prenzlau, went on trial in July, charged with fire-bombing the Jewish barracks at the former concentration camp at Sachsenhausen in September 1992. The accused were acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence; the Potsdam prosecutor said he would appeal. The trial caused considerable outrage. Brandenburg's Free Democrats and Christian Democrats criticized the sloppy preparation of the prosecution, and the Central Council of Jews in Germany complained about the undignified nature of the proceedings.

Officials took action against a number of right-wing groups. In March, the state prosecutor in Koblenz and the state criminal authority in Mainz began an investigation of 29 members of German Alternative (DA), a right-wing group that had been
banned in December 1992. Kurt and Ursula Müller were accused of keeping the DA intact and reorganizing under the name Work Group of National Comrades (ANK). (In April, on Hitler's birthday, police broke up a potentially violent confrontation between 3,000 neo-Nazis and 1,000 counterdemonstrators in Mainz. The neo-Nazis had come from all over Germany for a party organized by the Müllers.) In June the state of Bavaria banned the right-wing National Block (NB) group on the grounds that it was “oriented against the constitutional order.” The group was established by Michael Kühnen in Munich in 1991.

In September the state of North Rhine-Westphalia banned the Friendship Circle Freedom for Germany. This group denies the annihilation of Jews in concentration camps and agitates against restitution payments and against Jews and asylum seekers. In early November, right-winger Fred Leuchter, a self-proclaimed gas-chamber specialist from Boston, was charged in Mannheim with racial incitement and insulting the memory of the deceased. This stemmed from an incident in November 1991, when he told a meeting of the National Democratic party (NDP) in Weinheim that the mass murder of Jews in concentration camps was technically impossible. He was arrested when he came to Germany to appear on the TV show “Schreinemakers Live.”

Holocaust-Related Matters

The end of the cold war division of Europe and the reunification of Germany reopened issues of restitution of property and compensation to victims of World War II, particularly in Eastern Europe. These negotiations figured prominently in the relations of Jewish organizations with German government agencies and non-government corporate groups. They also became a point of conflict among Jewish institutions (see “Communal Affairs,” below).

A legal confrontation in Berlin regarding formerly Jewish property at the site of what had been Checkpoint Charlie was resolved in March. Hilde Frank, now living in the United States, would receive the equivalent value of her family’s property; the family would also have use of part of the business center to be erected, and a plaque would explain that the property had been confiscated by the Nazis. In June the Berlin Office for Property Questions rejected the Jewish community’s claim to all of the property of the city’s prewar Jewish institutions, claiming that Berlin’s current Jewish community was not the legal successor.

In April Bonn set aside DM 1 billion to compensate victims of Nazism in the former Soviet Union (this was promised in August 1990). The funds would be administered by foundations to be set up in Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. In May the German Counseling Center for Holocaust Victims issued a pamphlet outlining restitution programs and regulations.1 In July the annual meeting of I.G. Farben in Frankfurt was disrupted by protests by former forced laborers, supported by

1Information can be obtained from Bundesverband Information und Beratung für NS-Verfolgte, Kämmergasse 1, 50676 Cologne.
younger members of Germany's major labor confederation, the DGB. The protesters demanded more compensation, including compensation to survivors in Eastern Europe and support for the memorials at Auschwitz.

There were also two private restitution initiatives. In Berlin nine women organized a group called Zurückgeben (Give Back), to solicit the donation of aryanized Jewish property, to help support female Jewish artists and scientists. And in December a Bremen library returned a collection of rare books to the descendants of its former Jewish owners, Heni and Martha Hinrichsen.

In February the Central Office for the Prosecution of Nazi Criminals, in Ludwigsburg, had its budget cut. The loss of 8 positions from a staff of 30 occurred just as the office was preparing new cases based on the mile-high stacks of Stasi (GDR state security) files on Nazis that had only recently become accessible. In July Kurt Herbert Franz, former commander of the Treblinka concentration camp, who was convicted in 1965 of murdering 300,000 Jews, was released from prison after almost 30 years.

In January revisionist historian David Irving was convicted of "insulting and reviling the remembrance of the deceased" and fined DM 30,000. In April 1990 he had stated in a speech in Munich: "We know that there were never gas chambers at Auschwitz." In November Irving was expelled from Germany on the grounds that his appearances posed a threat to internal security and were damaging Germany's international image.

In October the Central Council of Jews in Germany protested the awarding of the Jean-Paul Prize to Austrian writer Gertrud Fussenegger. Fussenegger joined the German Nazi party in 1933 and wrote for several Nazi newspapers. She never distanced herself from those publications or from the anti-Semitic texts she wrote in those years. Despite the Central Council's effort, Fussenegger received the DM 25,000 prize. She turned it over to the Manes-Sperber Society, which preserves and promotes the work of that Jewish author (1905–1984).

Also in October, officials of the German Foreign Ministry and the Berlin office of the U.S. embassy signed an agreement that the Berlin Document Center would be handed over by the Americans to the German federal archive in Koblenz. The document center contains the most extensive collection of Nazi files for the years 1933–45: altogether 30 million documents, including files on 10.7 million members of the Nazi party. All the files were to be microfilmed by the Americans before the transfer.

In March the German section of the Valley of Destroyed Communities was dedicated at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. Prime Minister of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Bernd Seite (CDU) spoke at the ceremony. Mayor of Bremen Klaus Wedemeier (SPD), State Minister in the Foreign Office Ursula Seiler-Albring (FDP), and Herbert Schnoor (SPD), interior minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, also attended. President of the German Parliament Rita Süssmuth was scheduled to take part, but she canceled her trip shortly before the event.

Over the summer, four Germans — Irene Bloch, Rosa Steinberg, Frieda Adam,
and Edith Hirschfeld-Berlow — were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. In September a delegation of Israeli parliamentarians, all members of the postwar generation, visited Dachau and laid a wreath. In May a delegation of nine children of Nazi war criminals, led by Martin Bormann (son of Hitler's secretary), visited Israel, toured Yad Vashem, and spent four days with children of Holocaust survivors.

Finally, in October the German Administrative Court ruled that Jews who emigrated to Palestine in the 1930s had not lost their German citizenship. This decision was based on the fact that, at the time, Palestine was not a state but a mandated territory of the League of Nations under British administration. This ruling favored a man living in the United States (the son of an emigrant), who petitioned to have his German citizenship recognized.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

*Demography*

The total number of Jews in Germany, including those not affiliated with the organized Jewish communities, was estimated to be well over 40,000.

At the end of 1993, the total membership of Germany's organized Jewish communities was 40,823. This represented an increase of 4,019 over the figure for 1992.² The total included 5,317 immigrants from abroad, most of whom had come from the former Soviet Union over the past few years and who affiliated with the Jewish community in 1993. The distribution of this membership, including the immigrants, was as follows: Baden 2,073 (up 398 since 1992), including 433 immigrants; Bavaria 5,750 (up 205), 236 immigrants; Berlin 9,483 (up 382), 603 immigrants; Bremen 308 (up 90), 94 immigrants; Frankfurt 5,777 (up 144), 212 immigrants; Hamburg 1,795 (up 104), 248 immigrants; Hesse 2,300 (up 233), 321 immigrants; Cologne 1,996 (up 370), 376 immigrants; Lower Saxony 1,035 (down 34), 225 immigrants; North Rhine 4,724 (up 617), 726 immigrants; Rhineland Palatinate 507 (up 86), 125 immigrants; Saar 424 (up 133), 135 immigrants; Saxony-Thuringia (Dresden, Erfurt, Chemnitz, Leipzig) 432 (up 145), 160 immigrants; Saxony-Anhalt, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Halle, Magdeburg, Potsdam, Rostock) 399 (up 208), 234 immigrants; Westphalia 2,422 (up 655), 740 immigrants; Württemberg 1,398 (up 383), 449 immigrants.

²The Central Council announced that 1992 membership for the Berlin community and hence for the total Jewish community membership was overstated by 733, because members living in eastern Berlin were counted twice.
SOVIET JEWS

In June the Federal Administrative Office announced that, since 1990, 52,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union had been granted permission to immigrate to Germany. From 1990 to the end of 1993, approximately 25,000 Soviet Jews arrived in the Federal Republic, and, of those, 11,000 had joined Germany’s Jewish communities. Through 1993, 30–40 Soviet Jews entered Germany every month. About 70 percent of the immigrants were living in mixed marriages.

In the western states, the infusion of Soviet immigrants stimulated the expansion of communal institutions. In Berlin, for example, a second Jewish primary school and a high school were founded to accommodate the new arrivals. Three new Jewish communities in the eastern states — Potsdam, Schwerin, and Rostock — are composed entirely of immigrants. With members and leaders who speak poor German, know little or nothing of Judaism or of German culture, and have no ties to local institutions, these communities are particularly weak and may not survive. Many east German Jews see the Soviet immigrants as “foreigners of Jewish descent” who use the Jewish communities as a “welfare office.”

Communal Affairs

Berlin’s Jewish community signed its first contract with the Berlin Senate in November. (Since 1971 relations between the community and the Senate had been regulated by an “agreement.”) The new contract gives Berlin’s Jewish community parity with the Protestant and Catholic churches and official recognition of Jewish holidays; it provides money for religious education, pastoral counseling in schools, hospitals, and prisons; support for cultural activities; and maintenance of Jewish cemeteries and the New Synagogue-Centrum Judaicum. The annual budget was to be DM 9.8 million, and another DM 2.7 million for building projects. After Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Thuringia, Berlin was the fourth state to sign a contract with its Jewish community.

In Germany’s new federal states, the Jewish communities were still in the process of reorganization. The Dresden community had 102 members, 40 of them recently arrived Russian immigrants. The community center was being renovated, but a rabbi and religious teacher were needed. A major problem is the restitution of formerly Jewish-owned property. The fact that the Jewish Claims Conference, not the Jewish community, is the legal heir, is regarded by Dresden Jews as a “third expropriation” and a “disenfranchisement” by the West. Potsdam’s Jewish community had 150 members, all Soviet immigrants. It was operating out of extremely cramped quarters, and it enjoyed neither legal status nor a contract with the state of Brandenburg. Despite these problems, the Potsdam community had a rabbi who had studied with the Lubavitch sect, prayer services were held weekly, and a biweekly newspaper was published in Russian.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern had a Jewish community of 50 in Rostock and an-
other 50 in Schwerin, all recent immigrants. Each community had 200 non-Jewish family members who also had to be looked after. After Ignatz Bubis visited Rostock in March, the state agreed to provide DM 150,000 for these communities but did not assume responsibility for its 50 Jewish cemeteries. Both communities were set up in temporary facilities, and the Rostock community requested a building from the Claims Conference.

Over the summer, the Jewish community of Erfurt (150 members) signed a contract with the state of Thuringia. The contract included a budget of DM 300,000 per year, providing for religious instruction for Jewish children and maintenance of the 34 Jewish cemeteries. In addition to the community in Erfurt, 160 Russian immigrants were living in eight reception camps in various locations in Thuringia.

The Leipzig community enjoyed an annual budget of DM 200,000 from the state of Saxony as well as income from its rental property. The reconstruction of Leipzig's synagogue was financed by DM 500,000 from the church building program of the Ministry of the Interior. In 1993 the Jewish community boasted 85 members, of whom 50 had arrived from Russia since 1990. Finding housing and jobs for them was a major problem, and no regular programs had been organized to integrate the immigrants. Rolf Isaacson, manager of Leipzig's Jewish community, remarked: "They are totally strange to us, as we are to them." The community was also struggling to maintain its old-age home.

When the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, the board of directors of the Jewish community hoped that émigré Leipzig Jews or their descendants would return. They were disappointed when some of these immigrants did return, but only to visit and to repossess their property. The Leipzig community maintained a tense relationship with West German representatives of the Central Council, Leipzigers complaining of insufficient support. West German Jewish organizations accused the Leipzig community of being "too red."

Some of the most serious problems involved the Jewish community of Magdeburg, which grew from 20 to 150 members between 1990 and 1993. The 130 new members were Russian immigrants who lived in nine "homes" in various parts of Saxony-Anhalt, 90 percent of them subsisting on social welfare. In late 1993, an examination of the membership files of the Magdeburg community by representatives of the Central Council revealed that most of the nonimmigrant members — including the president of 20 years, Hans Levy — were not halakhically Jewish. (In the Communist years, the Jewish communities in the east had differing membership policies, some being very strict and others quite lax.) The individuals involved had their membership revoked but were offered the option of regularizing their status.

By 1993 Germany's major Jewish centers — Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich — and many of the smaller cities as well had achieved a modest degree of institutional pluralism. The established Jewish communities had evolved networks of religious and social services based on state financing. At the same time, smaller — often informal — groups and networks provided alternative programs, appealing to different religious, political, or generational subgroups. This tendency was most visible
in Berlin, which boasted, in addition to its established community, two maverick congregations — the Jewish Cultural Association, which purported to be secular but worked with Lubavitcher rabbis, and Adass Yisroel, which claimed to be the successor to Berlin's prewar Orthodox community of that name. Other Jewish groups operating in Berlin included the Association of Jewish Doctors and Psychiatrists, the Women's Rosh Chodesh group, and the "Jewish Group."

In May the Federal Association of Jewish Students in Germany celebrated its 25th anniversary; it had 700 members throughout Germany. In Frankfurt 500 young people (ages 18–35) attended the Central Council's fourth youth congress. The themes were right-wing radicalism, the Middle East, and Jewish identity. In Berlin a B'nai Brith youth group was started in February.

The Düsseldorf Jewish community opened an elementary school. In Berlin a Jewish gymnasium (university preparatory school) opened in August. The entering class had 24 students, 16 of them Jewish, and a non-Jewish principal. Berlin's three Jewish schools had a total enrollment of 140.

This year saw intensified contact and visiting between American and German Jewish organizations. In January a delegation of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) visited Bonn, Berlin, and Rostock. This trip was a followup to Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel's meeting with ADL leaders in the United States in 1992. A delegation from the Central Council of Jews in Germany traveled to the United States where they met with representatives of the American Jewish Committee, the Atlantic Bridge, the World Jewish Congress, the ADL, and the Jewish Claims Conference.

Leaders of U.S. B'nai B'rith toured Germany in February as guests of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (affiliated with the Christian Democrats). They stopped in Bonn, Erfurt, Buchenwald, and Dresden. In the same period, a B'nai Brith delegation from Canada visited Munich, and a group of American Jewish Committee leaders met with political figures in Berlin. In March several German politicians were invited by the International Council of B'nai Brith and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation to continue discussions begun at the Aspen Institute in Berlin in 1992. A group of American Jewish business leaders toured Bonn, Munich, and Dachau as guests of the German Chamber of Industry and Commerce. They met with German politicians, business and union leaders, and with representatives of Jewish organizations in Germany. In October the United Jewish Appeal organized the largest group of American Jews ever to visit Germany: 320 UJA donors came to Berlin and met with German-Jewish leaders and intellectuals and with the press. They also visited Jewish organizations and cultural institutions.

**Community Relations**

Negotiations continued over the construction of a shopping mall on the site of the former Ottensen Jewish cemetery in Hamburg. In May the developers, Büll & Liedtke, announced that they would not hold to the agreement reached in Israel in
summer 1992 to revise the plans (see AJYB 1994, pp. 318–19). They insisted that
the city pay DM 30 million as its share of the costs of the compromise and the
redrawing of plans for the shopping center. In late August, a few weeks before local
elections, the city agreed to provide DM 16.4 million to compensate Büll & Liedtke
for its additional costs, and the firm’s obligation to build 80 apartments in the
shopping complex was reduced to 41.

In October Defense Minister Volker Rühe laid a wreath in Berlin’s Weissensee
Cemetery in honor of the Jewish war dead of World War I. This was the first time
a German defense minister publicly honored Jewish soldiers.

Jewish-Christian Relations

There was a growing feeling within the societies for Christian-Jewish cooperation
that, despite the efforts of a few individuals, the groups had become irrelevant. Their
membership had become geriatric, their activities were at the level of afternoon tea
parties, and the Christian-Jewish dialogues had in effect become monologues, the
participants preaching to the converted. The Christian-Jewish groups in the eastern
states tended to be more dynamic than those in the west, because this kind of work
was relatively new there. Still, a certain level of interfaith activity continued.

A Christian-Jewish week of action against violence was organized in Erfurt in
January to commemorate the 60th anniversary of Hitler’s coming to power. In
February the youth office of the Lutheran Church established a work group in
Eisenach to search for traces of the city’s former Jewish citizens. The group pro-
duced a brochure and a traveling exhibit. A Christian-Jewish work group was also
founded in Wittenberg.

The theme of the annual Christian-Jewish Brotherhood week, in March, was
"Instead of Indifference, Courage to Take Responsibility." The Buber-Rosenzweig
Medal, awarded during Brotherhood Week for contributions to Christian-Jewish
cooperation, was awarded to Aktion Sühnezeichen-Friedensdienst (Reconciliation
Action in the Service of Peace), a group affiliated with the Lutheran Church, that
has done good work in Israel and elsewhere.

The local Christian-Jewish societies complained that the scheduled events of
Brotherhood Week attracted little interest. The exception was Nürnberg, where one
Brotherhood Week event caused a rift between the Christian and Jewish communi-
ties. The Nürnberg Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation invited the controver-
sial historian Michael Wolfsohn to speak. Wolfsohn, who describes himself as a
"German-Jewish patriot" and says he is not planning to cash coupons from the
martyrdom of his ancestors, had made negative remarks in public about Israel and
about Jewish institutions in Germany. In protest of this invitation, the president and
vice-president of Nürnberg’s Jewish community resigned from the society. Wolfsohn’s
speech attracted an audience of 500, though the town’s Jewish community
stayed away.

In March the Freiburg Catholic Academy sponsored a conference, "Anti-Semi-
tism in the Federal Republic Today.” In April the Christian-Jewish Society of Münster held a three-day seminar on “The Persecution and Destruction of Westphalian Jewry.” Cosponsors were the Westphalian Institute for Regional History and the Historical Seminar at the University of Hamburg. Finally, the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation of Lower Franconia participated in establishing a fund to clean and catalogue 1,493 gravestones from a medieval Jewish cemetery found during the demolition of a building in Würzburg. The project was organized by the Catholic theologian Karlheinz Müller of the University of Würzburg, who ascertained that this was medieval Europe’s largest Jewish cemetery.

Culture

As in previous years, there was an outpouring of Jewish cultural activity throughout Germany. Major Jewish cultural festivals were organized not only by the three largest Jewish communities — Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich — but also in much smaller centers such as Chemnitz, Karlsruhe, Würzburg, and Leverkusen.

Several interesting plays opened this year. Freispruch kann es nicht geben (There Can Be No Acquittal), about a Jewish survivor who beats up his SS commander, premiered in Baden-Baden in January. The script was based on a novel by Viennese documentary producer Paul Hengge. Joshua (Yehoshua) Sobol’s new play, Spinoza, opened in Krefeld. Warsaw Ghetto, written in 1947 by Max Zweig — a German Jewish émigré — was produced in Stuttgart in April. In May Lydia Johanna Berlin opened in Cologne. Written by Irina Liebmann, a Jew from the former German Democratic Republic, this play explodes the myth of the GDR’s “antifascist heroes.” In the same month Lessing’s Die Juden, a play against anti-Semitism and racial intolerance written in 1749, was staged in Rostock. Video clips of the racial violence in Rostock in 1992 were spliced into the 1993 production. In Berlin a new opera, Dreyfus, premiered at the Deutsche Oper in June. It was written by Swiss composer Jost Meier to mark the 100th anniversary of the Dreyfus affair. George Whyte wrote the libretto. Another opera titled Dreyfus, this one by Morris Cotel, which premiered in New York in 1985, opened in Bielefeld in September. In August the Akko (Acre) Theater Center of Israel performed Arbeit macht frei, a sarcastic work about the way people deal with the Holocaust, in Hamburg.

A staggering number of Jewish exhibits were shown in Germany this year. Favorite genres were photodокументaries of Jewish cemeteries, displays of the works of émigré Jewish artists, and retrospectives on life in prewar Eastern Europe. Two particularly interesting exhibits were mounted in Berlin: “Tel Aviv — Neues Bauen: 1930–1939” (Tel Aviv — New Construction: 1930–1939) documented the influence of German architecture on the plans for developing Tel Aviv in the 1930s; “Die Extreme berühren sich — Walther Rathenau 1867–1922” (The Extremes Touch Each Other), about the German Jewish politician Walther Rathenau, was produced in cooperation with the Leo Baeck Institute in New York and shown at the German Historical Museum.
Jewish cultural institutions continued to be created and to flourish. The Seminar for Jewish Studies was established at Martin Luther University in Halle in January, with a focus on German-Jewish cultural relations. This is the second university institute for Jewish studies in the new states (the first was the Moses Mendelssohn Center in Potsdam). In May the Steinheim Institute in Duisburg and the Mendelssohn Center were awarded DM 194,000 by the European Union for a cooperative research project on Soviet Jewish immigrants. A professorship for Yiddish was established in August at the University of Düsseldorf; it would probably be incorporated in the department of German studies.

In eastern Berlin, Nicolai Sluzki opened the first gallery of Russian Jewish art, with the Central Welfare Office of Jews in Germany contributing funds for rent and renovations. In Munich a Commission for East European Jewish Folklore was established as part of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde (German Folklore Society). It planned to open an archive and to publish a periodical. A Jewish citizens' radio show — “Freie jüdische Stimme aus Köln” (Free Jewish Voice from Cologne) — began in February on Cologne's private station. It planned to address Jewish issues within and outside Germany. The North Rhine-Westphalia Ministry for Urban Development announced that it would provide DM 100,000 a year for a team of researchers to catalogue the state's Jewish buildings, archives, and the like. In October the Cultural Foundation of Rhineland-Palatinate was awarded DM 250,000 a year to photograph, catalogue, and protect the state's Jewish cemeteries. And in Wuppertal, the Else Lasker-Schuler Society announced plans to open a documentation center.

Many conferences were organized around Jewish themes, among them a seminar on Yiddish theater at the University of Trier; a conference on Jewish medical culture at Berlin's Humboldt University; a conference on the identity problems of émigré German Jews at the Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism at Berlin's Technical University; a lecture series on Walter Benjamin in Frankfurt, organized by the Philosophical Colloquium at the Catholic University Center; in Brandenburg, the Einstein Forum's first symposium, *Complexity and Chaos*; in Potsdam, the Moses Mendelssohn Center's first major conference, a symposium on Baruch Spinoza; a conference on “Germans and Israelis — A Difficult Relationship,” at the University of Mainz; and an international colloquium on “Banned Music — Composers in the Dictatorships of Our Century,” in Dresden.

**Holocaust Commemoration**

The act of building and renovating historical monuments, viewed as an important part of nation building, continued throughout all of Germany but particularly in Berlin and the eastern states. Discussion of how the Holocaust should be represented and commemorated by Germans was central to this process.

In April the Bonn government and the assembly of 16 states each agreed to contribute DM 10 million toward renovating the memorials at Auschwitz. A private
initiative to raise additional funds was formed in Düsseldorf, with primary support to come from the Westdeutsche Landesbank and Thyssen Corporation.

The establishment of a German national monument at the Neue Wache (New Guard House) in eastern Berlin generated considerable debate. The edifice, built in the early 19th century, served from 1960 to 1989 as East Germany's national memorial to the "victims of fascism and militarism." The refurbished monument features a pietà by pacifist sculptress Käthe Kollwitz, an inscription "To the Victims of War and Tyranny," and a plaque listing groups of victims of Nazism attached to one of the walls. The dedication of this monument in November was disrupted by demonstrators who felt that the building was too closely associated with Germany's militaristic past, and that the inscription obscured the distinction between perpetrators and victims. Ignatz Bubis attended the opening ceremony, but the president of the Berlin Jewish community, Jerzy Kanal, and his board of directors stayed home.

The reorganization of Brandenburg's concentration camp memorials at Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück also generated public discussion. A major issue was the financing of the renovations. Although some funding was to come from Bonn, most of the responsibility for the upkeep and exhibits would lie with the state of Brandenburg, which was hard hit by the economic depression in eastern Germany. Debate also focused on local plans to "urbanize" the area around Sachsenhausen. In November a memorial was dedicated to the 11,000 victims of Buchenwald concentration camp in Weimar.

In November, in Nürnberg — the city where Nazi Germany's racial laws were drafted — Israeli artist Dani Karavan created a "Street of Human Rights." He installed 27 white pillars in the area immediately in front of the Germanic National Museum, each pillar inscribed with an article of the UN Bill of Human Rights.

In the Berlin borough of Steglitz, controversy erupted over the size of a Mirror Wall memorial to the Jewish victims and its inscription. In this heavily right-wing neighborhood, critics made reference to German "Schuldgefühlskoliken" (guilt-feeling colic) and "ungezügelter Gedenkstättenhysterie" (unbridled memorial hysteria). After several months of debate, it was agreed that the monument's length would be reduced from eleven to seven meters, and a committee was formed to propose an inscription.

Also in Berlin, at the end of the year, the city refused to pay its promised 50 percent for Peter Zumthor's memorial to be built over the ruins of the Gestapo headquarters and withdrew the designated piece of land. In the city's Bayerische Viertel, the installation of a memorial consisting of plaques inscribed with antisemitic decrees from the 1930s alarmed the neighborhood's inhabitants, who thought it was neo-Nazi propaganda and called the police. In Saarbücken, students at the Saar College of Art designed an "invisible memorial" consisting of 2,146 cobblestones — each representing a Jewish cemetery in Germany — to be laid at the entrance to Saarbücken Castle. The city of Leverkusen dedicated a monument to its 45 Jewish victims.
There was controversy in Hannover over a proposed pyramid monument that was to be seven and a half meters high and to cover 150 square meters of an area in the city center used for festive occasions. As part of the designer's "interactive" concept, stairs inscribed with the names of the victims would be climbed on and sat on by visitors. The cost, size, and location of the monument were widely criticized, and the Hannover Jewish community objected specifically to the structure's confusion of recreation and commemoration. In a compromise resolution, it was agreed to reduce the size of the memorial by a third and to inscribe the names of the victims on a sloping surface rather than on the stairs.

Several new institutions for preserving the memory of the Holocaust came into being this year. In Frankfurt the Fritz Bauer Institute was founded as an interdisciplinary center to promote exhibits, cultural events, and research on the Holocaust and its influence on the postwar world. The costs were to be shared by the federal government, the state of Hesse, the city of Frankfurt, and private donations. In May Yad Vashem and the German National Museum agreed to establish parallel reference libraries with works from Israel and Germany on Nazism, the persecution of Jews, and right-wing radicalism. In August the German government pledged DM 10 million to New York's Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, the money earmarked for Jewish cultural institutions in the former East Bloc countries.

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel represented Germany at the dedication of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., on April 22. Chancellor Kohl had made a preview visit several days earlier. When President von Weizsäcker was in Washington in May, a visit to the Holocaust Museum was the first event on his schedule.

President of the German Parliament Rita Süssmuth represented Germany in Poland at the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, a date that was observed by Germans in many places. Among the events held that day, historian Raul Hilberg spoke at a ceremony at Bremen city hall; Yehudi Menuhin conducted a memorial concert in Flensberg; and the Sachsenhausen memorial opened an exhibit on the Warsaw Ghetto. Also on that date, the Berlin Philharmonic presented a memorial concert in Israel.

The Berlin Jewish community observed three anniversaries this year that previously had been part of Holocaust commemoration only in former East Berlin. In February a ceremony marked the 50th anniversary of the protest on the Rosenstrasse — a unique incident in which non-Jewish wives demanded and obtained the release of their detained Jewish husbands. Several events were held to honor the 50th anniversary of the Fabrikaktion, a Nazi raid in February 1943 in which tens of thousands of Berlin Jews were picked up at their workplaces and taken to a deportation center. And in both parts of the city, memorial services were held in April for the Herbert Baum resistance group, which had previously been rejected in the West because many of its members were Communists.

Some Holocaust commemorations caused shock and outrage among Jews and many non-Jews as well. In Frankfurt, on the anniversary of Kristallnacht, an exhibit
of works by German artist Klaus Steinke, based on his childhood memories of the Nazi years, was opened in a former Gestapo building. Speeches at the gala opening, a festive champagne reception, made almost no reference to the history of the building or to what happened in Frankfurt during the Nazi years. In Paderborn, during preparations for the dedication of a monument to the Jewish victims, it was revealed that current city director Wilhelm Sasse had organized the deportation of Paderborn's Jews in the Nazi years.

**Publications**

Literally hundreds of books of Jewish content were published this year in Germany. Some titles were imported from Switzerland and Austria, and many works were translations from other languages — principally English, Hebrew, French, and Polish. The traditional genres were well represented — biographies and autobiographies of victims of the Nazis and of resistance fighters; reconstructions and photo essays on prewar Jewish communities in Germany and Eastern Europe; novels; and collections of essays. A new subject was the recent immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

Some of the most provocative books were Jewish responses to, and critiques of, recent political developments in Germany. These included *Erbarmen mit den Deutschen* (Having Pity on the Germans) by Henryk Broder; *Ich bin ein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (I am a German Citizen of the Jewish Faith), an autobiographical interview with Ignatz Bubis, by Edith Kohn; *Verwirrtes Deutschland?* (Crazy Germany?) by Michael Wolffsohn; *Wird Deutschland wieder gefährlich?* (Will Germany Be Dangerous Again?) by Ralph Giordano, containing Giordano's letter about racism to Chancellor Kohl (see AJYB 1994, p. 310) and the replies he received; *Die über Uns* (They About Us) by Israeli journalist Daniel Dagan; and *Streitfall Jüdischer Friedhof Ottensen: 1663–1993* (Conflict over the Ottensen Jewish Cemetery: 1663–1993), edited by I. Lorenz and J. Berkemann.

Two studies of the new Soviet Jewish immigrants were *Eine neue Heimat?* (A New Homeland?), edited by A. Friedmann and M. Hofstätter, and a collection of interviews, *Russisch-jüdisches Roulette* (Russian-Jewish Roulette), by L. Duwidoswitsch and Volker Dietzel. *Zwischen Erinnerung und Verdrängung* (Between Memory and Repression) by Erica Burgauer is a history of the Jewish communities of the two postwar Germanys, based on newly available material.

Among the translations from Polish were *Kalifornisches Kaddish* (California Kaddish) by Henryk Grynberg; *Tanz auf fremder Hochzeit* (Dance at a Strange Wedding), short stories by Hannah Krall; and *Im Kreis* (In a Circle), interviews with Jewish resistance fighters, by Anna Grupinska.

Among the more interesting new scholarly works was *Die Zukunft des Politischen. Ausblicke auf Hannah Arendt* (The Future of the Political: Approaches to Hannah Arendt), edited by Peter Kemper. Arendt's essay *Besuch in Deutschland* (Visit to Germany) was published as a book with a foreword by Henryk Broder.
Judischer Selbsthaß: Antisemitismus und die verborgene Sprache der Juden by Sandor Gilman was originally published in the United States under the title Jewish Self-Hatred, Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews. Two books about the image of Jews in German literature were Katastrophen (Catastrophes) by Ruth Klüger, and Die schöne Jüdin (The Beautiful Jewess) by Florian Krobb. Wolfgang Sofsky's study Die Ordnung der Terrors: Die KZ (The Organization of Terror: The Concentration Camp) won the 1993 Geschwister Scholl Prize.

Notable Jewish novels published in Germany included Die arische Judin (The Aryan Jewess) by East German author Rudolph Hirsch; and Irene Dische's Ein fremdes Gefühl oder Veränderungen über einen Deutschen (first published in the United States under the title A Violent Chord).

Personalia

A number of Jews were honored with Germany's Bundesverdienstkreuz (Federal Cross of Merit). The Great Cross went to Yissakkar Ben-Yaacov, former Israeli ambassador to West Germany, and to the writer and philosopher of religion Pinchas Lapide. Others honored were Israeli author Ephraim Kishon; Henny Seidemann, president of the Society for Christian-Jewish Relations; Arthur Brauner, head of CCC Film Studio; Ernest Landau, a journalist and founder of the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation; Max Zweig, legal adviser to the State Association of Jewish Communities in Hesse; Monik M. Mlynarski, president of the Jewish Community of Bad Nauheim; filmmaker Hava Kohav Beller, for her film The Restless Conscience; and Siegfried Schnurmann, former head of the Jewish community of Freiburg. Journalist Stephanie Zweig was honored with the Medal of Achievement of the Federal Republic.

The Heinz Galinski Prize of the Heinz Galinski Foundation went to Jewish journalist Edgar Hilsenrath for his novels about the destruction of the European Jews and to Joachim Wagner for his journalistic confrontation with Germany's Nazi past. The Jerusalem Prize for the Freedom of People in Society of the Israel Book Fair was awarded to East German Jewish writer Stefan Heym — the first German to receive this award. In Berlin the square in front of RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) was renamed for Hans Rosenthal, a popular Jewish television personality who died in 1987. New Yorker Robert Tannenbaum was appointed the new director of the Giessen Theater. He is one of four Jewish theater directors in Germany.

Hans Sahl, German Jewish writer, translator, and literary critic, died in Tübingen, aged 90. Two prominent German Jewish émigrés who died this year were Robert M.W. Kempner, anti-Nazi Berlin lawyer, who emigrated in 1935 to Italy, France, and then the United States, and was one of the chief American prosecutors in the Nuremberg trials, in Königstein (near Frankfurt), aged 93; and sociologist Leo Löwenthal, in Berkeley, California, aged 92.

ROBIN OSTOW
East-Central Europe

In 1993, four years after the collapse of Communist rule in East-Central Europe, Jewish communities in the region presented two dramatically different faces. One was of predominantly elderly Jews, many of them Holocaust survivors, often needy or in poor health or both. The other was of a young generation composed of people who did not have a Jewish upbringing, or who may not have known about their Jewish heritage, or who had only one Jewish parent (not necessarily the mother), who were seeking to learn about Judaism and Jewish life. This renewed interest in Judaism and *yiddishkeit* had made its appearance in some countries even before the Communists were ousted, but by 1993 the trend appeared to be consolidated, with increasingly well-organized classes, schools, and other programs in place. In addition, the spiritual life of several communities was strengthened by the presence of new rabbis.

Meanwhile, there were concerted efforts to promote cross-border cooperation among the various Jewish organizations and communities in the region and beyond, aimed at encouraging the renewal of Jewish life and forging links among the rebuilding communities. Among such initiatives were a meeting of the executive committee of the European Council of Jewish Communities (ECJC) and a seminar on Eastern European Jewish communities held in January; the founding meeting of a regional cooperation project involving eight cities held in Vienna in March; a training seminar for summer-camp instructors and youth leaders from Eastern Europe held in August in Szarvas, Hungary; and a conference for Jewish community leaders and educators organized in Hungary during Hanukkah by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in conjunction with the Schocken Institute of Jerusalem, with support from the European Council of Jewish Communities, CBF (Central British Fund)-World Jewish Relief, and the Rich and Doron Foundations. More than 150 participants from nine countries took part.

While relations between Eastern and Central European countries and Israel continued to develop in a positive way, other issues were of more immediate concern to Jewish communities in the region. These included the rise of nationalism and right-wing extremism — including violent skinhead groups, extremist political parties, and continuing attempts to rehabilitate local wartime fascist or pro-Nazi figures — as well as the question of the restitution of Jewish property taken over during or after World War II by the state or private individuals.
Bulgaria

Bulgaria continued to wrestle with economic problems, including an inflation rate of 70 percent.

President Zhelyu Zhelev paid a three-day official visit to Israel in December. During this visit, Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin thanked the Bulgarian people for saving the Jews, most of whom immigrated to Israel after the war. "We, the members of the Jewish people, remember and will forever remember the handful who came to our aid," he said in the Knesset at a session attended by Zhelev. The speaker of the Israeli Knesset paid an official visit to Bulgaria in February.

The 50th anniversary of the rescue of 50,000 Bulgarian Jews from Nazi death camps was marked with great fanfare in May. President Zhelev took part, as well as Jewish and other representatives from Europe, North America, and Israel. The program included a memorial tribute to the 11,000 Macedonian Jews sent to the camps, as well as ceremonies, seminars, and performances, and the dedication of a Jewish museum in the complex containing the Great Synagogue of Sofia. The Bulgarian postal ministry issued a special commemorative stamp for the occasion. A plaque honoring the 16th-century scholar Joseph Caro, author of the *Shulhan Arukh*, was affixed at the site of the former yeshivah in Nikopol where Caro lived for many years. During the commemorations, a meeting of the executive committee of the ECJC took place in Sofia.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The number of Jews in Bulgaria was estimated at between 3,200 and 7,000. About 2,000 people attended community seders around the country and were able to use the first Bulgarian-Hebrew Haggadah to be published since World War II. The Joint Distribution Committee allocated funds to help the community recruit a foreign rabbi. Community activities continued to expand, too, most of them coordinated by the Shalom organization, which had 17 branches throughout the country plus a central administrative body. The JDC and other international Jewish organizations, such as CBF-World Jewish Relief, actively supported or funded activities ranging from social welfare services for the elderly and needy to educational programs for young people.

Jewish young people in Sofia were given a unique educational opportunity this year. As a result of overtures made by Shalom, the government agreed to have all Jewish children enrolled in one public elementary school, where they would receive Hebrew instruction in addition to the normal curriculum. Similarly, 40 Jewish nursery and kindergarten children were enrolled in one single municipal preschool, where they were taught by a Jewish teacher funded by the Jewish community. Among other educational programs, there were about 120 students in the Sofia Sunday School, and 160 members in the college-aged Union of Jewish Students. One of the latter's activities was a three-day seminar on Jewish identity that had 100
participants. Some 160 children attended a Jewish summer camp in July at the seaside resort of Varna; and a Jewish resource center opened in Sofia in May.

**Czech Republic**

Czechoslovakia split peacefully into the Czech and Slovak Republics on January 1. In the wake of the political and economic changes taking place, there was concern over increasing incidents involving right-wing and skinhead groups that primarily attacked Gypsies (Romas) but also shouted anti-Semitic slogans. An Interior Ministry report in December said racially motivated attacks had nearly doubled since 1991.

The restitution of Jewish property seized by the Nazis and the Communists was the subject of intense debate throughout the year. At issue were just over 200 properties documented by the Czech Jewish Federation as having been owned by Jewish communities or Jewish organizations as of 1938. These included 38 synagogues and 31 Jewish cemeteries; plots of land (some with new construction on them); and a variety of other buildings including former Jewish schools, Jewish town halls, and offices. The Jewish community did not demand the return of synagogue buildings or other property currently owned by churches, nongovernmental organizations, or private persons, but only of that still under state or public ownership. Legislation had already been passed allowing the restitution of property seized and nationalized by the Communists, but politicians were not eager to discuss the return of property seized by the Nazis and others before the Communists came to power. For one thing, this could lead to claims by the three million ethnic Germans expelled from the Sudetenland after World War II, in addition to those by Jews. Also complicating matters were large-scale restitution claims by the Catholic Church for the extensive property it owned all over the country before 1948. The Church insisted that the claims of all religious bodies be handled together, with one set of criteria for restitution.

Israel and the newly independent Czech Republic established formal diplomatic relations this year, and a new Israeli ambassador took up his post in Prague. Among other diplomatic exchanges, the Czech minister of agriculture visited Israel in May, and the Czech foreign minister visited Israel in December. In August President Vaclav Havel took part in a meeting in Brussels with Israeli president Ezer Weizman and the presidents of Poland and Hungary. A conference on Czech-Israeli relations was held in Prague in September.

**Jewish Community**

Some 3,000 Jews were affiliated with the organized Jewish community; the number of unaffiliated Jews was unknown. About 1,000 identified Jews lived in Prague, with the remainder scattered in much smaller communities, such as Brno, Plzen, Olomouc, and Usti nad Labem. In Prague, which is also the seat of the Federation
of Czech Jewish Communities, the local community carried on a wide range of Jewish educational programs and activities, most of them aimed at reaching out to young people. Rabbi Efraim Karol Sidon, who took up his post on Rosh Hashanah 1992, was a catalyst. Prague had two functioning synagogues: the medieval Old-New Synagogue, where Sidon led daily services, and the Jubilee Synagogue, which had no rabbi and held services on Shabbat and holidays. The orientation of the community was Orthodox, and it was reported that "hundreds" of people had been refused formal membership in the community since 1991 because they were not Jewish according to Jewish law (Halakhah). The alternative Havurah Bet Simcha, led by Silvie Wittmannova, continued its activities in Prague, but was outside the mainstream of the official Jewish community. Bet Simcha made a point of appealing to people who were not halakhically Jewish but wanted to take part in Jewish activities and increase their Jewish awareness.

An important development in the life of the Prague Jewish community was the opening of the Charles Jordan Old Age Home, named after the JDC executive vice-president found dead floating in the Vltava River in 1968, presumably murdered by the Communists. Most of the financing for the facility came from the Prague Jewish community and from private donors. The Charles Jordan home was designed to serve about 40 residents, but even before it opened there was a much longer waiting list.

Numerous exhibitions, performances, and other cultural events of Jewish interest took place throughout the year, among them the Musica Judaica festival in Prague in October. In May some 300 descendants of the influential 18th-century Prague rabbi Ezekiel Landau, as well as other rabbis and followers of Landau, gathered at Landau's recently repaired and restored tomb in Prague's old Zizkov Cemetery to mark the 200th anniversary of his death.

**Hungary**

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall — whose father had helped save Jews during the Nazi era — died of cancer in December. A member of the Democratic Forum party, Antall was the longest serving head of government in postcommunist Europe. He was replaced by Interior Minister Peter Boross, who during the Communist era had been close to the regime and ran a state catering organization. Boross's appointment initially alarmed some Jews, as in September he had attended the reburial of Admiral Miklos Horthy, Hungary's controversial leader before and during World War II, and had eulogized Horthy's "manly qualities and unshakable Hungarianness." Antall too, in a series of interviews, had praised Horthy as a "Hungarian patriot."

The Jewish community was worried about the rehabilitation of Horthy, who ruled Hungary from 1920 to 1944 and whose regime was characterized by pervasive official and semi-official anti-Semitism. Despite the fact that nearly 600,000 Hungarian Jews were deported and killed by the Nazis during his rule, his supporters saw him as a leader who tried to resist the Nazi demands to deport Jews and who was
removed from power by Hitler in late 1944. Horthy, who died in exile in Portugal in 1957, had asked that his body be returned to Hungary when the country was “free from Bolshevik occupation” and was reburied in his hometown of Kenderes in central Hungary. Tens of thousands of people attended the televised ceremony, including skinheads, right-wing politicians, and high-ranking government officials.

There was rising concern about skinhead activity, which sometimes was directed against Jews and Jewish sites. The Jewish cemetery in Eger, a town in northern Hungary known for having a strong skinhead movement, was desecrated in June; fascist slogans and symbols were scrawled on 28 tombs and some were damaged. In January a 17-year-old Jewish girl was attacked and stabbed outside her Budapest home by two skinheads who shouted “damned Jew” at her. The girl, who was not injured seriously, told reporters that she had received threatening letters warning “death to the Jews” after she revealed to her schoolmates that she was Jewish.

Hungary’s most prominent right-wing extremist, Istvan Csurka, a writer known for his many anti-Semitic statements and once vice-president of the ruling Democratic Forum party, was expelled from the Democratic Forum in June, along with four of his followers, because of his extremist views. Csurka founded his own party, the Hungarian Justice and Life party.

*The Synagogue and the Church*, a new study of anti-Semitism in Hungary, was published in the fall by the Ecumenical Study Center in Budapest. It acknowledged that representatives of Catholic and Protestant Hungarian churches voted in favor of laws discriminating against Jews in 1938 and 1939. In June the Hungarian Wallenberg Society claimed that some school textbooks misrepresented the fate of Hungary’s Jews in the Holocaust.

Jews were dismayed that, despite several compensation laws passed by the Hungarian Parliament, little concrete action had been taken. In January Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky told reporters that Hungary recognized the right of Jews to be compensated as victims of Nazism, but that the state did not have the financial means to do so. After meeting with World Jewish Congress representatives in February, Jeszensky agreed to set up a committee to work on the issue of property restitution.

Foreign Minister Jeszensky paid a five-day official visit to Israel in January. The Israeli minister of police and communications and its justice minister visited Hungary in April and August, respectively. Hungary’s minister of transport and communications visited Israel in October. In August Prime Minister Antall took part in a meeting in Brussels with Israeli president Weizman and the presidents of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. In November Israeli deputy defense minister Mordechai Gur paid an official six-day visit to Hungary, during which he and his hosts discussed cooperation between the two countries on military technology. Israel offered to help modernize Hungary’s military hardware, including its Russian-made MIG fighter planes.
JEWS

With 80,000–130,000 Jews, most of them in Budapest, Hungary had the largest Jewish community in East-Central Europe. Hungarian Jews were predominantly Reform (Neolog), and Neolog and Orthodox had their own organizational structures. There were numerous ongoing educational, social, cultural, and religious programs as well as social-welfare activities. Two new clubs for the elderly were opened in Budapest, and a pensioners' club was opened in Szeged. More than 1,450 children from Hungary and other postcommunist countries attended the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation/JDC International Summer Camp at Szarvas. A training seminar for summer-camp instructors and youth leaders from Eastern Europe was held at Szarvas in August.

Chief Rabbi Gyorgy Landesman aroused controversy within the Jewish community and society at large when he was quoted in an interview in a government newspaper, in April, as saying that “without the Jewish contribution to Hungarian culture, that culture had nothing but peasants' trousers and apricot brandy.” Prime Minister Antall criticized the rabbi sharply and warned that the comments could spark anti-Semitism. Israeli ambassador David Kraus used his influence to persuade Landesman to resign; in the end, the Rabbinical Council decided to deprive Landesman of his title by abolishing the office of the head of the rabbinate.

The theater of Budapest's Lauder-Yavneh School gave special performances in provincial towns; in June, the play Jubilee, by Hungarian-born Jewish playwright Gyorgy Tabori, opened in Budapest to great success. First produced in 1983 in Germany, on the 50th anniversary of Hitler's rise to power, the play deals with anti-Semitic themes including desecration of cemeteries and the emergence of right-wing violence.

Thieves broke into Budapest's Jewish Museum situated next door to the Dohany Street Synagogue in early December and stole nearly all the precious ritual objects and art works — old books, silver candlesticks, and the like, some dating back centuries — worth as much as $80 million or more.

Poland

Poland's economic outlook improved this year, with both production and real wages rising. Inflation fell by 5 percent, but it was still high at 38 percent, which meant continuing hardship for pensioners and others on fixed wages. Other consequences of economic reform, including unemployment, decline in social benefits, and lack of job security, continued to create hardships. Reaction to these hardships and protest against the parties that implemented the dramatic economic reforms that caused them led to victory by the left — the former Communists, now called the Democratic Left Alliance, and the Peasants party — in parliamentary elections in September. These parties formed a coalition government headed by Peasants party leader Waldemar Pawlak.
Although no openly anti-Semitic parties made it into the legislature, the campaign provided a forum in which anti-Semitism could be voiced. For example, some members of the Polish Peasants party, the second largest party in Parliament, used anti-Semitic rhetoric.

April marked the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, an occasion that was commemorated with ceremonies in Warsaw as well as with meetings, exhibits, and cultural events elsewhere that were linked to the anniversary. Israel and the Polish government cooperated in planning the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin led a large Israeli delegation to take part in the ceremonies. The central commemoration in Warsaw on April 19, held under tight security, featured speeches by Polish president Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Rabin, and U.S. vice-president Al Gore. After the speeches, there was a dramatic sound-and-light show evoking the uprising and including Jewish prayers, which was televised nationwide. Monuments were unveiled to the Jewish soldier, to the child smuggler bringing food to the ghetto, and to Shmuel Zwygibelbojm, the Jewish member of the Polish National Council in London who committed suicide to protest the West's failure to act during the ghetto uprising.

During crowded prayers at Warsaw's synagogue the day before, which was Yom Ha-Shoah (Holocaust Memorial Day), Polish archbishop Henryk Muszynski, the respected president of the Polish Episcopate's Commission for Dialogue with the Jews, spoke from the bimah — the first such occurrence in Polish history. The commemorations were given extensive media coverage, and national television observed a minute of silence on the air to honor the ghetto heroes and victims. From the Vatican, Pope John Paul II sent a letter to Polish Jews calling for dialogue and cooperation between Christians and Jews in fighting anti-Semitism.

The First International Conference on Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust met for three days in July in Warsaw, sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League's Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers. Rescuers and the Jews they rescued, as well as political leaders, scholars, and clergy, attended. Israeli ambassador to Poland Miron Gordon presented medals to more than two dozen Poles in a ceremony that marked the first time Polish citizens were honored in Poland for saving Jews during the war. The rescuers were also given honorary Israeli citizenship.

Bilateral relations between Israel and Poland grew on the diplomatic, economic, and tourism fronts. In August Israeli president Ezer Weizman met in Brussels with Polish president Lech Walesa and the presidents of the Czech Republic and Hungary. The secretary-general of the Histadrut visited Poland in October.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Poland had at least 10,000 acknowledged Jews, and some observers estimated the total to be up to three times that number. Increasingly, the Jewish community was split between elderly Holocaust survivors and younger Jews who were discovering their Jewish heritage and identity and clamoring to know more about it. In many
cases, the two sectors of the community had little to do with each other, and in some cases there was conflict.

The first ritual circumcisions in Warsaw in more than 30 years took place on August 31. Eleven men aged 15 to 40 took part. Rabbi Yitzchok Fischer, executive director of the International Bris Milah Association, was flown in from Monsey, New York, to officiate.

The two largest Jewish organizations in Poland, both catering primarily to the older generation, were the Union of Jewish Religious Communities, a religious body, and the Jewish Cultural and Social Society (TSKZ), a secular organization. Both organizations were financed by the Joint Distribution Committee. The religious community, which is Orthodox, maintained four synagogues and ten prayer houses in various localities around the country. It also ran a number of kosher lunchrooms that served free kosher meals to several hundred elderly Jews. Rabbi Menachem Joskowicz, based in Warsaw, was chief rabbi of Poland. The secular TSKZ, which under the Communists was linked to the regime and fostered an antireligious, Yiddishist program, maintained its network of clubs that sponsored cultural and other events. It also ran a camp, attended by both older and younger people alike, which in the summer had 225 young participants. In 1993 the TSKZ began offering more programs and activities aimed at young people and women.

The younger generation of emerging Jews gravitated to some of the new TSKZ programs, but even more to a number of new organizations, clubs, and programs, many of them sponsored by or associated with the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation. These included a kindergarten in Warsaw with 22 students, a Maccabee Sports Club, a Union of Jewish Students chapter, an educational center in Warsaw, and a summer camp program that catered to more than 400 people. The Lauder Foundation, whose main office and its resident director, American rabbi Michael Schudrich, were based in Warsaw, sponsored small groups and youth clubs led by salaried staff in Lodz, Katowice, and Wroclaw.

The Joint Distribution Committee maintained a number of welfare programs to support elderly, needy Jews, including cash assistance to 2,800 Holocaust survivors, many of them in poor health. At the time of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising anniversary in April, the JDC formally inaugurated its office in Krakow, and JDC president Ambassador Milton A. Wolf signed a new contract with the Polish government defining the JDC's status and giving its operations greater scope. The JDC helped Poland's Central Jewish Welfare Committee to establish a social-service department with trained social workers to visit the sickest and poorest members of the Jewish community.

A wide range of Jewish cultural events took place in many localities throughout Poland, many of them tied in with the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. A traveling Israeli film festival visited several cities. In Lodz, 1993 was designated a Jewish Cultural Year, with a program including films, exhibitions, performances, and lectures. There was a two-week Jewish culture festival in Warsaw in October. In Krakow, a new Jewish Culture Center, financed
by the U.S. government and associated with the Jagiellonian University's Jewish Research Center, opened in November in a renovated former prayer house in the old Jewish Kazimierz district. The center prompted some controversy when financial problems prevented its full-scale operation.

A major culture-related event was the filming of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List*, much of which was shot on location in Krakow. Spielberg's request to film inside Auschwitz aroused debate and was finally denied. The filmmaker transformed the streets of Krakow's old Jewish quarter, Kazimierz, into the set for the Krakow ghetto; the actual ghetto had been in a different part of town, across the river.

Continuing programs to foster Jewish-Christian dialogue and education included a series of lectures, in October, by Robert L. Cohn, associate professor of religion at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, at the Catholic Seminary in Gniezno and at seminaries in Gniezno, Szczeczin, Kielce, and Olsztyn. The course he offered, titled "Jewish Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible," was a pilot program arranged by the American Jewish Committee in association with the Polish Episcopate.

The new convent at Auschwitz was completed this year. The Carmelite nuns left the former convent building, which abutted the Auschwitz I camp, and moved into the new building a few hundred yards away, thus closing a bitter chapter in international Jewish-Catholic relations. At the former Auschwitz-Birkenau camp itself, which had been turned into a monument-museum in 1947, a continuing subject of discussion and concern was how and to what extent conservation and preservation of the aging buildings and exhibits should be carried out.

**Romania**

Prices of basic foods, transportation, and energy skyrocketed after the government removed most subsidies and price controls on such goods and services in May. After years of serious shortages, most basic food items were now available in Romania, but they were out of the reach of many people, particularly pensioners and others on fixed incomes.

Anti-Semitic articles continued to appear in the nationalist press, and in November the state prosecutor turned down a request by President Ion Iliescu to ban the publication of *Mein Kampf*. Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen protested this decision. There were also continuing attempts to rehabilitate Gen. Ion Antonescu, Romania's wartime dictator and collaborator with Hitler who was executed as a war criminal in 1946. Streets and squares in at least eight towns throughout Romania had been renamed in his honor in recent years. A memorial bust of Antonescu was unveiled on October 22 in Slobozia, near Bucharest, at a ceremony attended by ultranationalist politician Mihai Ungheanu, a deputy culture minister. The statue, reportedly financed by local police, was erected in front of the local police headquarters. Fifteen American senators and representatives sent a letter of protest to President Iliescu, noting that the ceremony took place one day after Romania was granted most-favored-nation trade status by the U.S. administration.
With all this, there were gestures from the government in support of the Jewish community. President Iliescu attended Holocaust memorial services in April at Bucharest's main Choral Synagogue. He was the first Romanian president to enter a synagogue in an official capacity and the first to take part in the Jewish community's annual commemoration of the Holocaust. Accompanied by other high-ranking officials, he promised that the government would fight anti-Semitism.

On Passover, Iliescu issued a special message to the Jewish community, and he traveled to the United States to attend the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. He openly condemned anti-Semitism on several occasions, including in a speech to the Council of Europe in October. Right-wing nationalists bitterly attacked Iliescu for these gestures, and — indicative of the confusion in Romania — Jews and liberals questioned his sincerity, some going so far as to decline attendance at the Holocaust memorial at the Choral Synagogue because of Iliescu's presence.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Some 16,000 Jews were officially affiliated with the community, with estimates of the actual Jewish population ranging both higher and lower. Although the Jewish community was dwindling steadily due to death and emigration, an uncounted number of previously unaffiliated Jews made themselves known in some towns.

Romania's Jews remained highly centralized under the leadership of Chief Rabbi Rosen, who had held that position since 1948 and also headed the Federation of Romanian Jewish Communities (FEDROM). There was concern over the fact that Rosen, who turned 81 in July, had not provided for a successor and showed little inclination to do so. A rabbi, an educator, and a manager sent by the Joint Distribution Committee from Israel in 1992 at FEDROM's request, to take up senior positions in the federation, "terminated their positions by early 1993," according to the JDC annual report. Rosen's tight control prompted rumblings of discontent, particularly among younger members of the community and Jewish intellectuals. Several provincial Jewish communities had installed new, younger leaders, and tensions were reported as some communities tried to weaken their ties to the FEDROM, whose style was seen as too centralized or even dictatorial.

With the support of the JDC, FEDROM ran a network of clinics and 11 kosher canteens around the country, which served hot meals to needy, mainly elderly, Jews. Some 950 people, 650 of them in Bucharest, received regular home-delivered meals, and JDC distributed almost monthly food packages to 2,700 needy Romanian Jews. Four Jewish old-age homes still operated, but there were plans to consolidate facilities over the next few years, due to the declining population. FEDROM's new director-general, a Romanian-speaker from Israel, initiated projects aimed at maximizing FEDROM's income from community-owned properties.

In another development, there was a growing presence of Romanian-born Israeli businessmen opening small shops, construction firms, and restaurants. Their num-
ber was estimated at between 500 and 1,000, but few had regular contact with the organized Jewish community.

Slovak Republic

Slovakia became an independent state on January 1, 1993, following its “velvet divorce” from the Czech Republic, and the year was marked by problems associated with the change, chiefly in the economic sphere. Also, there was concern at a rise of intolerance, mainly directed against Romas (Gypsies). In September Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal said Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar had “adopted the thinking and diction of Nazism” after it was reported that Meciar referred to Romas as “socially unadaptable and mentally backward populations” whose reproduction had to be slowed.

Slovak political leaders and Jewish representatives attended the dedication of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, where President Michael Kovac apologized for Slovakia’s anti-Jewish actions in World War II. Kovac met with Jewish leaders in Washington and wept as he recalled the Holocaust. Prime Minister Meciar promised that educational programs would be introduced to combat anti-Semitism. In February an international conference of Christians and Jews was held in Bratislava, organized by B’nai B’rith and a Christian group, the Hanna Seidel Foundation of Germany. It was attended by government officials, including Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac and Foreign Minister Milan Knazko, scholars, and clergy. Most of the country’s Catholic bishops did not attend, however.

Occasional anti-Semitic incidents gave cause for concern. Rabbi Baruch Myers in Bratislava was attacked on September 5 by three teenagers yelling “Juden raus.” The youths were arrested soon afterward but were released with a warning because of their age. President Kovac issued a statement deploring the incident; Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik (who replaced Knazko as foreign minister in March) wrote a letter of apology to the World Jewish Congress, describing the affair as “an individual act which does not reflect the real relations between members of the Jewish community and citizens of my country.” Young vandals damaged the Jewish cemetery in the town of Sahy, and their parents were ordered to pay for the repairs.

In a survey carried out in March by the Center for Social Analysis in Bratislava, 29 percent of respondents saw a danger of excessive Jewish influence in the economy and politics; 28 percent felt that many important world events were the result of an international Jewish conspiracy; and 27 percent said they preferred not to have Jews for neighbors. Ninety-one percent, however, condemned the atrocities committed against Jews in the Holocaust.

There were further attempts to rehabilitate Father Josef Tiso, the pro-Nazi leader of the independent Slovak state set up by the Nazis during World War II, and prewar Slovak separatist leader Andrej Hlinka.

On October 27, the Slovak Parliament passed what was described as a landmark law aimed at partial resolution of property claims of churches and religious commu-
nities, which made provisions for the return of Jewish property that had been taken from November 2, 1938, and thereafter. The Jewish community had a list of more than 300 properties it was claiming, including more than three dozen synagogues, houses, and schools.

Israel and the newly independent Slovak Republic established diplomatic relations, and an Israeli ambassador took up his post in Bratislava. The Israeli minister of finance visited Slovakia in December.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The recognized Jewish population was estimated at 3,000-3,700 out of a total population of 5.3 million. An unknown number of unidentified Jews remained outside the community, though this was gradually changing. Communities were organized within the Federation of Jewish Communities, based in Bratislava. The two largest Jewish communities, comprising about 1,000 members each, were in the capital, Bratislava, and in Kosice, in eastern Slovakia.

A key development was the arrival in Bratislava of the city's first rabbi in at least a generation, an American-born Lubavitcher Hassid, Rabbi Baruch Myers, 29, who arrived in May along with his wife and three young children. For the first time, a huge Hanukkah menorah was lighted in public in Bratislava in a ceremony attended by President Kovac and the Israeli ambassador. Educational programs for children, young people, and adults were launched by Myers in Bratislava and by Rabbi Lazar Kleinman in Kosice. (Kleinman took up the post of rabbi in Kosice in August 1992.) In January eight Bratislava Jewish men decided to undergo circumcision, and a London-based rabbi who had lived in Bratislava before and during the war was invited to officiate at the ceremony.

In addition, a young Canadian couple, David and Daniella Kaufman, who had been living in Bratislava for more than a year, created an informal Jewish community center in their home, including a Jewish play group that operated three afternoons a week. A new Jewish museum, backed by government funding, was opened in Bratislava, as well as a small Jewish museum in the synagogue in the eastern Slovak town of Presov.

In Kosice, where virtually all Jewish facilities are arranged around the two courtyards that surround a dilapidated synagogue, a Jewish kindergarten that opened at the end of 1992 with just four children attending on a half-day basis had a dozen pupils on a full-time basis by the end of 1993. There were plans to open a Jewish elementary school. A new sports hall and also a new mikveh were opened, as well as a refurbished and reorganized kosher meat-processing facility, a youth club, and a classroom. The completely renovated prayer room was reopened just in time for Rosh Hashanah.
Former Yugoslavia

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina raged on as the bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II. Most of the Jewish community had been evacuated, but several hundred Jews — as many as 700 — still lived in Sarajevo, with still others in scattered communities. It was reported that a number of previously unaffiliated Jews had joined the community since the beginning of the war. The Sarajevo Jewish community refused to accept an offer of evacuation made by the Joint Distribution Committee in April.

Despite hardship conditions and continued shelling and sniper fire, the Jewish community center, which was not seriously damaged in the fighting, was a focus of lively activity for both the Jewish community and Sarajevo at large. The community even published a newsletter and (for the first time since 1941) a Jewish calendar. The local Jewish charitable organization, La Benevolencija, continued to play a key role as a highly respected link in distributing nonsectarian aid from a variety of sources (including the JDC, CBF-World Jewish Relief, European Jewish communities, European governments, U.S. and Canadian donors, and various international relief organizations). La Benevolencija ran a soup kitchen and three pharmacies considered the best-stocked in Sarajevo. They distributed — for free — some three to four thousand prescriptions a day, which met about 50 percent of the needs of Sarajevans of all ethnic groups. The organization also ran a health-care service whose three doctors and three nurses made house calls and treated patients at home. Donations of medical supplies to La Benevolencija went first to Split, on the Croatian coast, where there was a logistical center sponsored by the Joint Distribution Committee. The JDC then helped transport the medicines to Sarajevo. Mail was also carried in and out, and more than 10,000 calls were made on La Benevolencija's radio-telephone link with the Zagreb Jewish community.

More than 250 people, including Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic and local Catholic, Muslim, and Orthodox religious leaders, as well as local Jews, took part in a community seder held at the Jewish Community Center in Sarajevo. It had to be held in the afternoon of the first day of Passover because the shaky ceasefire made it dangerous to venture out at night. The JDC brought in matzah, wine, and 1,000 eggs for the seder, but no children asked the four questions, as all Jewish children had already been evacuated. In August the JDC organized the evacuation of 21 Jews from Sarajevo, adding to the more than 3,000 people — Jews and non-Jews alike — whom the organization had evacuated from the besieged capital since the beginning of the war.

In February more than 80 Muslim refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina arrived with much fanfare in Israel on a plane chartered by the European Jewish Congress and the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France. Israeli Arabs called the move a publicity stunt.
In May, Ivica Ceresnjes, the leader of the Sarajevo Jewish community, went to Israel for the first meeting of the chairpersons of the Jewish communities in former Yugoslavia.

CROATIA

On October 29, leaders of the 3,000-member Jewish community in Croatia sent a letter to President Franjo Tudjman asking him to affirm Croatia's democratic traditions and to take steps to reverse what many saw as a frightening trend toward the official rehabilitation of the fascist Ustashe regime that ruled the country during World War II. The letter enumerated a number of actions that raised concern, including the renaming of some streets in Zagreb after figures from the Ustashe period and a decision to incorporate into the country's flag the checkerboard coat of arms that appeared on the flag of the Ustashe state.

Meanwhile, the Zagreb Jewish community continued to run social, cultural, and educational programs, including a Jewish kindergarten. The Croatian Union of Jewish Students started an educational outreach program to smaller communities.

SLOVENIA

Slovenia had a tiny Jewish population of fewer than 100 scattered members (out of a total population of nearly 2 million) and no functioning synagogues. (The nearest synagogues were in Zagreb, Croatia, and Trieste, Italy.) There was concern over extreme right-wing and skinhead activity.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel visited Slovenia in July and met with Prime Minister Lojze Peterle. During the brief visit, the two countries signed a cultural cooperation treaty and agreed that Slovenia would open an embassy in Israel.

YUGOSLAVIA

(Serbia and Montenegro)

There was no shooting war in rump Yugoslavia, but United Nations sanctions bit deep. People suffered greatly from poor living conditions, uncontrolled hyperinflation, devaluation of the local currency, shortages of food and other necessities, and extreme psychological pressure.

Fallout from the war included an apparent increase in anti-Semitism. Before the outbreak of the war, and also after fighting broke out, Serbian officials tried to win Jewish support from outside Yugoslavia, through such progovernment groups as the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society. Many Jews in Belgrade at the time expressed deep concern over attempts to manipulate the Jewish community, causing division among Jews from various parts of the country. Later, although there was no direct government pressure on the Jewish community, Jewish attitudes and activities were
suddenly given much greater prominence in the mainly state-controlled media. At least two major television programs with an anti-Semitic slant were broadcast, one of which posed the question, “Were we wrong to trust the Jews as our friends?” The Serbian PEN club issued a strong warning on the airwaves against such anti-Semitism.

Perhaps 3,000 Jews lived in rump Yugoslavia, most of them in Belgrade, where were located the offices of the local community as well as the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia — which until the civil war and breakup of the federal Yugoslav state had also represented Jewish communities in other republics. About 1,000 Bosnian Jewish refugees from Sarajevo and elsewhere fled to Belgrade, swelling that city’s Jewish community to about 2,000 for a time. Most of the refugees stayed with friends or family for about six months before moving on to Israel and elsewhere, but about 200 remained.

The Jewish community struggled to carry on an active Jewish life against the background of war and the hardships brought by UN sanctions. In December Tamara Stainer-Popovic, director of cultural and educational activities for the Belgrade Jewish community organization, said that Belgrade Jews — ranging from young children to elderly Holocaust survivors — were “living two realities. We are reopening a Jewish kindergarten, we have teenagers eager to learn about Judaism, and we are planning to begin a Jewish Sunday school program.” In addition, she said, a Belgrade man, Izak Eigenbach, was being trained in Israel to be a rabbi and was expected to take up his position in about a year. Belgrade’s current rabbi, Cadik Danon, was elderly.

In response to the deteriorating living conditions, the Joint Distribution Committee, in cooperation with CBF-World Jewish Relief and other organizations, stepped up humanitarian relief operations, including distribution of food and medicine, rent subsidies, the establishment of a pharmacy, and social services. In December emergency packages of basic food items — rice, cooking oil, flour, salt, beans, noodles, sugar, canned fish, detergent, and toilet soap — were distributed to hundreds of households in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Subotica, and Pancevo.

RUTH ELLEN GRUBER
HERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE upheaval and change in the Soviet Union since the late 1980s, but 1993 was a turbulent year even by comparison with those that immediately preceded it. Though some stabilization in the Russian economy was visible by the end of the year, there were violent conflicts in several former Soviet regions, clashes among the regions, and tensions both within the constituent parts of the Russian Federation and between Russia and other parts of the former Soviet Union.

A free-market economy continued to develop throughout the former USSR. Estonia and Latvia had higher proportions of privatized enterprises than Russia, and the rest of the former Soviet republics had privatized to a lesser extent. By the end of the year it was estimated that a third of the Russian labor force was employed in private and privatized enterprises. But the number of those living in poverty increased, and the gap between rich and poor widened dramatically. The ruble dropped in value from 163 to the dollar in August 1992, to 550 in January 1993, and then to over a thousand in June, stabilizing by the end of the year at about that level.

Russian politics were dominated by the continuous struggle between President Boris Yeltsin and the Parliament, elected when the Communist party was still in power. Disagreements between the executive and legislature made it difficult to make policy, and the power struggle made it even more difficult to implement it. Leaders of the parliamentary opposition to Yeltsin were Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and Vice-President Aleksander Rutskoi. At Yeltsin’s initiative — and bitterly opposed by the legislature — a referendum was held in April, in which two-thirds of the electorate turned out, and a majority backed Yeltsin and his reform program. Yeltsin proposed a draft constitution that would replace the Parliament by a two-chamber legislature, protect individual property rights, weaken the power of the constitutional court, and strengthen the presidency.

In September Yeltsin dissolved Parliament and called for new parliamentary elections in December. In response, Parliament voted to depose Yeltsin, ordering the police and armed forces not to obey his orders, and swore in Rutskoi as the new president. When Yeltsin ordered the legislators to leave their building, the “White House,” and they refused, violent clashes ensued between security forces and thousands of anti-Yeltsin demonstrators who also attacked the radio and television complex in the Ostankino area of the capital. Khasbulatov, Rutskoi, and their supporters were eventually forced to leave the building and surrender. Yeltsin
arrested his major opponents, banned the Communist party and other oppositionist movements, including Pamyat, and ordered the closing of several opposition newspapers, including Pravda. He scheduled parliamentary elections for December 12, with a vote to be held at the same time on the proposed new constitution.

The election resulted in only a partial victory for Yeltsin. While the constitution was approved, the political party most closely associated with him — he had failed to create a party or head one — got only 14 percent of the popular vote, whereas the Liberal Democrats, a nationalist, antireform party headed by the demagogic Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovsky, got 24 percent. Although the new constitution gave the president considerable powers over the legislative and judicial branches, thereby making the legislature less important than it had been, the events of the fall left both the Russian population and the world wondering how strong Yeltsin was, whether he was truly committed to democratic procedures, and whether a Communist-nationalist coalition might not eventually determine the course of Russian politics.

OTHER REPUBLICS

Ukraine's economy fared poorly even in comparison to Russia's. In desperation, Ukraine's government declared its willingness to sell its part of the disputed former Soviet Black Sea fleet to Russia.

In Tajikistan, Central Asia, a civil war pitting Communists against Muslims and involving some Russian troops gave no sign of letup and resulted in about 100,000 Tajiks seeking refuge in Afghanistan, itself rent by similar conflicts. In neighboring Uzbekistan, the authoritarian regime of former Communist leader President Islam Karimov cracked down on Birlik, the oppositionist movement, and all forms of dissent.

Two ethnic wars went on in the Caucasus. In Georgia, the Abkhazian region seceded from Georgia, precipitating a conflict in which several thousand were killed. In order to try to stop Russia from aiding the Abkhazians militarily, former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, now president of Georgia, had to agree to bring Georgia into the Commonwealth of Independent States. Nationalist Georgians saw this as a sellout to the Russians.

In the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan, the war with Armenians escalated. It had broken out in 1988 over the Nagorno-Karabakh area in Azerbaijan, inhabited largely by Armenians. Now Armenian troops were gaining the upper hand and seizing territory in northwest Azerbaijan. In September, the Azerbaijani Parliament voted to request readmission to the Commonwealth of Independent States, thus bringing a second Caucasus republic under greater Russian influence because of its own military weakness.

Lithuania, the first republic to leave the Soviet Union, was experiencing an economic crisis, including a severe fuel shortage, as a result of the cutoff of Russian supplies. In the presidential election held in February, former Communist party first secretary Algirdas Brazauskas defeated nationalist Vytautas Landsbergis.
Israel and the Middle East

Several leaders of Soviet successor states visited Israel in the course of the year. President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk visited in January and signed agreements on cooperation in education and culture. He told Israelis they should not blame Ukrainians for the tragedy at Babi Yar in 1941. Direct air links were established between Tel Aviv and two Ukrainian cities, Kiev and Odessa, and it was expected that the two countries would soon open embassies in Kiev and Tel Aviv.

When President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan visited Israel in January, he became the first head of a Muslim state to do so since Anwar Sadat of Egypt in 1977. A spokesperson for the Israeli Foreign Ministry announced that Kyrgyzstan would open an embassy in Jerusalem, which would make it only the third country to do so. In response, the Iranian foreign minister canceled a visit to Bishkek, the Kyrgyz capital.

The prime minister of Estonia, Mart Laar, made an official visit to Israel in July. Estonia agreed to purchase $50 million worth of arms and ammunition from Israel, and Laar pledged that Estonia would restore Jewish properties nationalized by the Soviets.

Anti-Semitism

Jews in Russia reacted with some trepidation to the fact that Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic party won 12 million votes in the December parliamentary election, twice as many as he had gotten in the presidential election of 1991. Va'ad, the roof organization for local Jewish communities, tried to organize a party of nonterritorial minorities, including Ukrainians in Russia, Greeks, Kurds, Tatars, Koreans, Germans, and others. They failed to organize a party in time for the elections but agreed to work together as a lobby for common interests.

Zhirinovsky's showing came against a background of increased public manifestations of virulent anti-Semitism. In none of the successor states to the USSR was there government-sponsored anti-Semitism, but in several republics individuals and groups agitated against Jews. In Ukraine, several anti-Semitic parties and movements — the Ukrainian National Assembly, the Social Democratic party and others — included anti-Semitic statements in their manifestos. Several newspapers, especially in the West Ukrainian capital, Lviv, regularly published articles condemning Jews (and Masons) for their activities, said to be the cause of the troubles Ukraine was experiencing. An unregistered "Idealist" party demanded that Jews not be allowed to head banks, courts, newspapers, and television stations, and that Jews who were "responsible" for the 1932-33 famine be deported from Ukraine.

The trial of John Demjanjuk in Israel, on charges that he was "Ivan the Terrible" who murdered Jews in the Treblinka death camp, was widely covered in Ukrainian media and generally interpreted as reflecting an anti-Ukrainian bias of the Jewish state and Jews everywhere. The main themes of anti-Semitic expressions in Ukraine were that Jews were heavily involved in Soviet repression of Ukraine during the
purges, collectivization, and the famine; that they were agents of Russification; that they wielded excessive, worldwide financial and political power; and that Jewish businessmen and émigrés were spiriting the wealth of Ukraine out of the country. Much of the literature also denied Jewish tragedies, such as pogroms and the Holocaust, or argued that Jews were to blame for them.

In Russia, Metropolitan Ioann of St. Petersburg, the second ranking official of the Orthodox Church, published an article in the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossia (February 20) in which he asserted that the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion might or might not be genuine, but “the eighty years that have gone by since their publication provide ample material for reflection, because world history . . . has submissively pursued its capricious course in amazing, detailed correspondence with the plan set forth in their pages.” He quoted extensively from the Protocols. Rabbi Adolph Shayevich of Moscow protested on behalf of the Congress of Jewish Religious Congregations and Organizations.

Ioann went even further in an article in Sevodnya (March 2) in which he argued that there was a “danger of a revitalized Judaizing heresy that is being brought into the church by numerous priests of Jewish origin.” He spoke of “the terrible imprint that Jewish religious extremism has left on Russia’s fate.”

Ironically, in January, Pamyat leader Dmitry Vasiliev had filed a suit against Evreiskaya Gazeta, a Moscow Jewish newspaper, asking for 20 million rubles in damages because the Pamyat newspaper was included in a list of books and periodicals that Evreiskaya Gazeta labeled anti-Semitic. The Pamyat publication had published excerpts from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The trial dragged on for ten months, largely because it was difficult to find a nonpartisan expert who could testify as to the nature of the Protocols. In November the court ruled that the Protocols were a forgery and that publishing them was an anti-Semitic act. Therefore, Vasiliev had not been libeled, and he was ordered to pay the Jewish newspaper’s legal costs.

Alexei Andreyev, editor of Narodnoye Delo, organ of the National Social party of St. Petersburg, was arrested on charges both of stirring up ethnic discord and the illegal possession of weapons. Nazi literature and artifacts were found among his possessions, and evidence of ties to German neo-Nazi groups was uncovered. Izvestia commented (September 10): “This case is something new for St. Petersburg: Criminal proceedings against neo-Nazis have never been instituted here before. As we know, our justice system is very loath to apply the articles in the Criminal Code on stirring up ethnic discord.”

In Moscow, the Marina Roshcha Synagogue, one of three in the city, was largely destroyed by a fire of suspicious origin on December 30. During the same month, two other suspicious fires broke out, one in a Jewish school and the other in a warehouse used to store books and clothes for Jews. Some connected these fires to the election campaign and the appearance of anti-Semitic literature relating to it.

On May 5, Pravda, formerly the organ of the Communist party, published an article linking American Lubavitcher (Chabad) Hasidim to ritual murders and
accusing them of murdering two Orthodox priests in April. After much criticism in the local media, Pravda apologized for the article. In April, close to Easter and to Hitler's birthday, 40 graves were desecrated in the Jewish cemetery in St. Petersburg, and others were desecrated in Nizhny Novgorod.

Latvian president Anatolijs Gorbunovs participated in a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Latvian SS division. The ceremony included the laying of a wreath at the Freedom Monument in central Riga, and a moment of silence was observed in Parliament.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of Russia/Former Soviet Union at the end of 1992 was about 970,000. This was reduced by an emigration of slightly more than 100,000 in 1993. The largest Jewish populations remained those of Russia and Ukraine, with several hundred thousand each.

Emigration

There was a slight decline in emigration from the former Soviet Union in 1993: 102,134 Jews emigrated, compared to 109,360 in 1992. Of them, 66,553 went to Israel and 35,581 to the United States. This represented an increase of about 2,000 in the number going to Israel, and a decline of nearly 10,000 in those coming to the United States. Most of the rest of the émigrés seem to have gone to Germany, though no precise figures are available on the emigration of former Soviet Jews to that country. The increased Israel figure is explained largely by the emigration of people fleeing civil wars in Tajikistan, Georgia, and the North Caucasus. The Jewish Agency had 15 collection points in parts of the former Soviet Union for direct departure to Israel; refugees, who could not wait for American immigration procedures to run their course, went to Israel, which accepted them immediately. By early 1993, of the 10,000 Jews in Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan, 6,000 had applied for emigration documents. It was estimated that by the end of the year nearly 14,000 of Tajikistan's 16,000 Jews had left that country.

There was increased emigration from Ukraine as well, no doubt reflecting the economic decline there.

Religion

In Ukraine, Jews were given permission to use one of the largest synagogues in Kiev, but only on a part-time and shared basis, since the building had long been the home of a puppet theater.
An official rabbinate consisting of 16 members in 11 cities was formed at the Conference of Jewish Religious Organizations of Ukraine. The aims of the rabbinate are to coordinate educational programs, oversee kosher food production, and organize burial societies. A religious court (Bet Din) was established as well.

In Russia, legislation was introduced — reportedly at the urging of the Russian Orthodox Church — requiring all foreign religious organizations to register with the government and work under the authority of local religious bodies. Va'ad and other organizations criticized this as a limitation on the freedom of religion. The legislation, apparently aimed largely at Protestant evangelical groups that had been very active, was passed, but was later amended to eliminate new restrictions on foreign religious organizations, thus defeating its original, implicit purpose.

**Culture and Education**

Even as Jewish communities were organizing all across the former USSR, their efforts were being vitiated by ongoing emigration. Communal efforts were increasingly focused on two groups at opposite ends of the age spectrum: the elderly, whose financial situation and health were deteriorating rapidly because of the economic and environmental crises, and the young, who were the object of Jewish educational efforts. In some areas, emigration put in doubt the demographic and cultural viability of once large communities. The editor of *Yerushalayim d’Lite*, the Jewish newspaper of Vilnius, pointed out that its circulation had dropped from 5,000 to 1,500, attributing this both to emigration and to the loss of readers in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. “Jewish life in Lithuania is gradually expiring. A year ago we could still believe that we were on the threshold of a rebirth of Jewish social and cultural life. This was a dream. True, we opened a Jewish school, a Jewish kindergarten, re-established the Jewish state museum . . . opened a Judaica department in Vilnius University. . . . All of this remains, but it is dying.” (Interview in *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Warsaw, February 11, 1994).

An Association of Jewish School Principals and Jewish Schools was established. Twelve principals from five cities in Ukraine, two in Russia, and one each from the three Baltic states and Moldova were brought to the United States by the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture in order to acquaint them with American Jewish schools, curricula, and methods. The Joint Distribution Committee and other organizations, including the Israel Ministry of Education, continued to supply materials to approximately 300 supplementary Jewish schools and about 27 full-day schools.

The Jewish Agency reported that 11,000 children were enrolled in 54 summer-camp sessions in 32 areas. Other camps were sponsored by the Conservative, Orthodox, and Reform movements, staffed mostly by a mixture of local, Israeli, European, and American educators, rabbis, and students.

Israeli organizations were active in various parts of the former Soviet Union. The Jewish Agency had 71 emissaries and 29 permanent offices spread throughout the country. Four “Israel centers” were operating in Ukraine (in Kiev, Kharkov,
Odessa, and Dnepropetrovsk), and Israel was supporting 30 Sunday schools and two all-day schools in that republic. The Technion and Ben-Gurion University opened preparatory courses in Kiev and Kharkov, respectively, designed to serve potential immigrants to Israel. Radio and television programs on Israel were begun in Kharkov, Odessa, and Kiev.

Elsewhere in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Jewish Agency had offices to facilitate emigration to Israel, and the Liaison Office of the Israel Foreign Ministry promoted Israel-oriented cultural activities.

Lubavitcher rabbis were allowed in March to see some of the books held in the former Lenin Library in Moscow, which they claimed had been confiscated from the library of Rabbi Yitzhak Yosef Schneerson, the previous leader of the movement, when he was arrested in the late 1920s. The rabbis claimed they were allowed to see only 19 of 50 books they had requested; the collection consists of some 12,000 volumes. Librarians, in turn, complained that the rabbis were praying loudly and disturbing the library. The issue of whether and when the books would be handed over to the Lubavitch movement was unresolved.

The Black Book, edited by the late Soviet Jewish writers Ilya Ehrenburg and Vassily Grossman, which had never been published in the Soviet Union, was finally published in Vilnius. This is the most comprehensive documentation, based on eyewitness accounts, of the Holocaust in the Soviet Union. The Unknown Black Book, consisting of materials not published in the Black Book itself, was published in Moscow and in Jerusalem through the cooperation of the Yad Vashem Institute and an academic institution in Moscow.

A two-day conference was held in March on the preservation of Jewish sites in Ukraine. Plans were made to document cemeteries, synagogues, and Jewish communal buildings. This was in accord with a Ukrainian agreement with the U.S. government calling for protection of sites important to religious and ethnic groups.

Zvi Gitelman