STUDIA ORIENTALIA

PUBLISHED BY THE FINNISH ORIENTAL SOCIETY

93

Yugoslav Jewry

Aspects of Post-World War II and Post-Yugoslav Developments

by Ari Kerkkänen



Ari Kerkkänen Yugoslav Jewry. Aspects of Post-World War II and Post-Yugoslav Developments Studia Orientalia, Vol. 93. 2001

Copyright © 2001 by the Finnish Oriental Society, Societas Orientalis Fennica, c/o Institute for Asian and African Studies P.O.Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38 B) 00014 University of Helsinki FINLAND

Editorial Board:

Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (Arabic and Islamic Studies)
Tapani Harviainen (Semitic Studies)
Arvi Hurskainen (African Studies)
Juha Janhunen (Altaic and East Asian Studies)
Petteri Koskikallio (Publication Secretary)
Kaj Öhrnberg (Secretary of the Society)
Heikki Palva (Arabic Linguistics)
Asko Parpola (South Asian Studies)
Simo Parpola (Assyriology)
Rein Raud (Japanese Studies)

ISSN 0039-3282 ISBN 951-9380-51-5

RT-Print Oy Pieksämäki 2001

PREFACE

Professor Tapani Harviainen of the University of Helsinki originally made the suggestion to me, before my first departure to the region on UN-service in 1993, to have a look at the situation of Jews in the former Yugoslavia. Thus the original idea behind this research was his, and I thank him for his continued interest in this subject as my academic supervisor in the Institute for Asian and African Studies, a subject which admittedly falls outside the mainstream of the research undertaken in the Institute. I genuinely believe that without his encouragement this study would not have seen the light of day. The idea eventually developed during my service in the region on my second tour of duty with the UN in 1994-95. I began to familiarise myself with Jewish history in Yugoslavia, while at same time making first my practical contacts with the local Jews in the Slavonian town of Osijek in Croatia. My thanks go to the Community's president, Darko Fischer, who welcomed me to visit their community regularly, thus enabling me to see the modest Jewish way of life in a town where Jews had once flourished. I became acquainted with the physical setting of former Yugoslavia as well as with the region's population of Serbs, Croats, Muslims and Jews. Thus this research has been born not only out of papers and documents but also out of personal knowledge of the region, its people, and above all, of many Jews who kindly agreed to be interviewed in Zagreb, Osijek, Split, Belgrade, Sarajevo and outside former Yugoslavia mainly in Jerusalem. I thank all these informants for their contribution to this study.

My sincere thanks also go to Israeli historian and retired diplomat, Zvi Loker and his wife Rachel, for their assistance, especially with the Eventov Archive in Jerusalem. Born in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, they both contributed much to my general knowledge of the history of Jews in Yugoslavia through numerous discussions both at the Archive and at their home in Jerusalem.

There are several persons who rendered their invaluable help during my research period at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1998–1999. Ivan Čerešnješ, former President of the Sarajevo Jewish community and now researcher at the Hebrew University, kindly opened his personal archive for my research and familiarised me especially with the events in the Jewish community in Bosnia before and after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. He expressed a genuine interest in this research and made considerable efforts in many ways in order to facilitate its realisation. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Professors Sergio Dellapergola and

vi Preface

Ezra Mendelsohn at the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, and professor Igor Primoratz in the Department of Philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for the many instructive talks I had an opportunity to have with them. I can only hope that some of the pitfalls threatening the researcher into contemporary Jewry were avoided because of these discussions.

In the former Yugoslavia my gratitude goes to Ongjen Kraus, President of Zagreb Jewish community, Aća Singer, President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia and Jakob Finci, President of the Jewish community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, all of whom allowed me to conduct research in their communities. Further, Milica Mihailović, Vojislava Radovanović and Branka Džidić rendered their generous assistance at the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade in spite of the fact that the Museum was officially closed owing to large-scale renovations on the Museum premises.

Professor Ivo Goldstein from the University of Zagreb and Professor Seppo Zetterberg from the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, read the manuscript of this study as examiners appointed by the Faculty of Arts of the University of Helsinki. I thank them for valuable comments they made about the manuscript. I must also express my gratitude to John C. Mills (M.A.) of Kuopio, who proof-read the whole text and made it readable for an English-speaking audience.

This research has been supported financially by the following scholarships and institutions: a scholarship from the State of Israel for a research period of eight months at Hebrew University, a Rector's Scholarship at the University of Helsinki for revising the dissertation manuscript, and the Middle East Institute Foundation Scholarship for one research trip in the former Yugoslavia. The main bulk of the writing was made possible by a period of ten months as a Graduate School Student at the Institute for Asian and African Studies at the University of Helsinki. I thank all these contributors.

My own family have had their share in this endeavour. Irina and Kreeta, my daughters, have moved from Tampere to Helsinki to Jerusalem to Kuopio in their early childhood because of their parents' studies. I can only wonder at the patience and understanding of my wife, Mervi, during this period when I have been so engaged in this research. I dedicate this book to Mervi with love. Last but not least, I thank my parents in Tohmajärvi for their financial support from time to time.

Kuopio, March 2001,

CONTENTS

Preface	v
Abbreviations	ix
Maps	Х
	2
Introduction	3
1. The Setting	17
1.1. The First Yugoslavia and the Jews within	19
1.2. Inter-war Jewish Politics – the Quest for Identification	25
1.3. World War II, the Holocaust and the Second Yugoslavia	28
1.4. Towards Disintegration	32
PART ONE: 1944–1953	
- TRANSITION TO THE POST-WAR PERIOD	37
2. From Repatriation to Rebuilding – 1944–1948	39
2.1. Organisational Reconstruction: Centralisation	43
2.2. The Autonomous Relief Committee	51
2.3. Leadership	60
3. Emigration – 1948–1952	67
3.1. Emigration Policy	72
3.2. Consequences of Emigration	75
3.3. Remaining Communities	78
4. Adapting to the New Yugoslavia	81
4.1. 'Verska Zajednica Ateista' - Phasing Religion Out	84
4.2. The Jews' Position as a National Minority	93
4.3. The Pijade Factor	99
PART TWO: THE TRANSITION FROM YUGOSLAV	
TO POST-YUGOSLAV JEWRY	103
5. THE PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION	109
5.1. Disintegration of the Jewish Federation	112
5.2. Post-Yugoslav Jewish Communities	12:

viii Contents

5.2.1. Croatia	125
5.2.2. Yugoslavia (Serbia)	135
5.2.3. Bosnia-Herzegovina	148
5.2.4. Slovenia	158
5.2.5. Macedonia	159
5.3. La Benevolencija	161
6. Emigration	169
7. THE NATURE OF POST-YUGOSLAV JEWRY	179
7.1. Notes on the Demographical Development	179
7.2. The Processes of Acculturation and/or Assimilation7.3. From Yugoslavism to Jewishness	187
 A New Quest for Identification 	190
8. JEWS AS A MINORITY – THE TREND TOWARDS PHILOSEMITISM	201
8.1. Antisemitism	202
8.2. Property Restitution	211
8.3. Political Philosemitism	213
Conclusions	227
Sources	237

ABBREVIATIONS

AJJDCA = American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archive, Jerusalem

AVNOJ = Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia

CAHJP-EA = Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People - Eventov

Archive for Yugoslav Jewry, Jerusalem

CMG = Crisis Management Group

CZA = Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem

FNRJ = Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia

HDZ = Croatian Democratic Union

ISA = Israel State Archive, Jerusalem

JHM = Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade

JNA = Yugoslav Federal Army

JDC = Joint Distribution Committee

NDH = Independent State of Croatia

NOB = National Liberation Struggle

OHD = Oral History Division, Jerusalem

SJFS = Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society

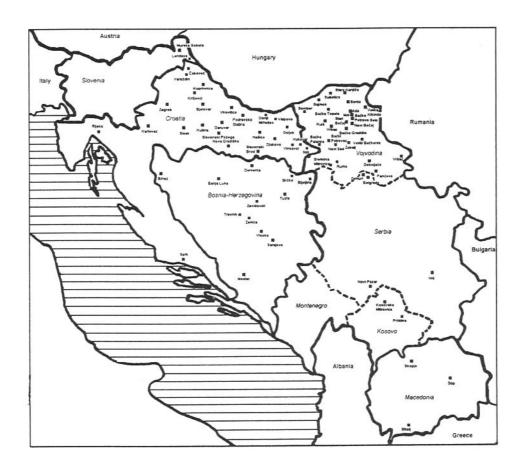
SJOJ = Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia

SFRJ = Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

UDBA = State Security Administration

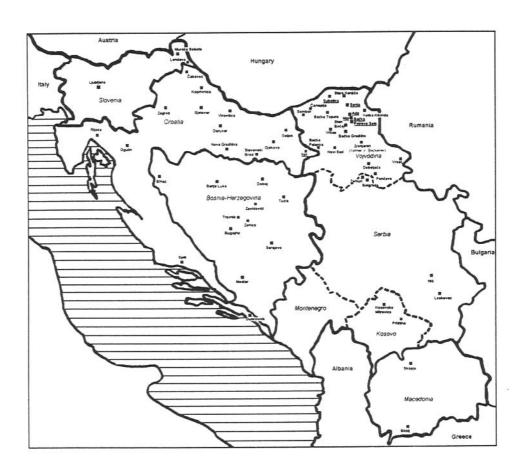
WJC = World Jewish Congress

x MAPS



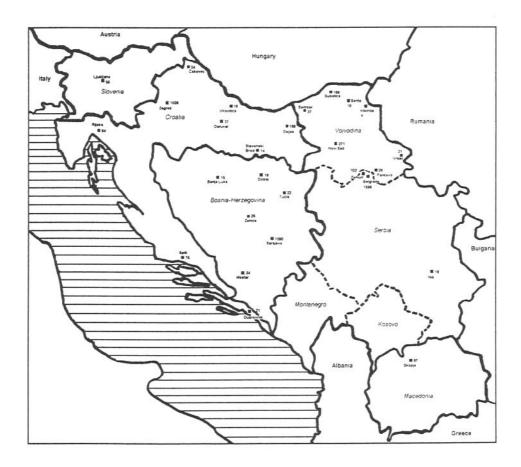
Map 1. Locations of Jewish communities of more than 100 members (Ashkenazi, Sephardic and Orthodox) in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1940.

MAPS xi



 $\it Map~2$. Localities where Jewish communities were re-established after World War II in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Re-established Orthodox Jewish communities are underlined

xii MAPS



Map 3. Jewish communities in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1989 with the number of members. Source: Jevrejski Kalendar 5749 (1988–1989). Beograd: Izdanje saveza jevrejskikh opština Jugoslavije.

MAPS xiii



Map 4. Post-Yugoslav Jewish communities and the Prizren-group in the independent Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yugoslavia and Macedonia. Figures indicate the number of members in the year 2000, except for the communities of Zemun, Banja Luka and Ljubljana where the figure reflects the situation in 1995.