INTRODUCTION

Yugoslavia was known for its diversity. Differences of political tradition, economic development, nationality, language, alphabet and religion divided the country into a mosaic of overlapping elements. Both the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires have left their imprint on the country's history and inhabitants. Jews, although always a marginal minority, were an integral part of this country and an element in the mosaic of different ethnic groups and faiths. Yugoslav Jews were known for their heterogeneity even in the Balkan context, and that heterogeneity perfectly reflected the variety of Yugoslavia as a whole. While neighbouring Jewries were predominantly either Ashkenazi or Sephardic, both were represented in Yugoslav Jewry. The division was roughly along the old border between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, with the Ashkenazim residing mainly in the Habsburg areas and the Sephardim in the Ottoman areas. Yugoslav Jewry perished in the Holocaust, leaving only the remnants alive to see the post-war reconstruction. This study is an endeavour to shed light on various aspects of the character and history of this remnant from the formative years of post-war reconstruction until the events of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the years following this disintegration.

Research Task and Method

The aim of this study is to investigate primarily *two* transitional periods of post-World War II Yugoslav Jewry. The *first period* covers the immediate post-war years 1944–53, starting with the liberation of Belgrade in October 1944 and finishing with the end of the mass emigration of Yugoslav Jews to Israel. The year 1953 has been chosen to mark the end of the first transitional period for two reasons. Firstly, by 1953 the mass emigration of Yugoslav Jews to Israel was over,[1] and the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities of Yugoslavia deleted the word *Religious* from its official title in September 1952.[2] As is shown in this study, this

---

1 The mass emigration had, in fact, already ended in 1951. The statistics show that while during the period 1948–51 there were 7,661 immigrants into Israel from Yugoslavia, during the period 1952–60 there were only 320. (*Immigration to Israel 1996*. Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics Publication No. 1085, 42.)

2 Vajs, Albert: "Jevreji u novoj Jugoslaviji". *Jevrejski Almanah 1954*. Beograd: Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije 1954, 45.

was not merely a symbolic act[3] but indicated more profoundly the new orientation of the post-war Jewish community in Yugoslavia. Secondly, the specific political context of this period provides the framework for events, in that during this period an absolute concentration of control by the Communist Party took place. During the years 1945–53, in particular, the Yugoslav authorities radically restricted religious liberty and took harsh measures against religious institutions and individuals.[4] Sabrina Ramet has called the phase from the Second World War to 1953 the years of system destruction in Yugoslavia.[5] This phase included the rift with the Soviet Union in 1948, the shift towards the West as shown by the signing of a mutual defence pact with Greece and Turkey, both of which were members of NATO, and the passing of a new constitution replacing the Stalinist constitution of 1946.[6] This period is understood in this study as the formative years of post-war Yugoslav Jewry, transforming it into the new, post-war realities.

The *second period* studied in this research covers the transition from Yugoslav to post-Yugoslav Jewry. Post-Yugoslav Jewry covers geographically all the successor states of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia i.e. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. This period starts in the latter part of the 80s and finishes at the end of 1995 with the signing of the Dayton Accord on peace in the former Yugoslavia. Later developments, especially the consequences of the Kosovo war in 1999, will also to some extent be taken into account. In addition, in introducing the post-Yugoslav Jewish communities in Chapter 5, an effort will be made to provide up-to-date information. Some preliminary observations on the transition from Yugoslav to post-Yugoslav Jewry have been published earlier by this writer.[7]

The study endeavours to cover aspects of the Jewish communities and their activities as well as the position of Jews as a minority group and their relations and interaction with the authorities. The central themes of Diaspora Jewry such as acculturation/assimilation, identification/identity, demography and emigration are investigated and treated. Consequently, this research sets itself the task of illuminating

---

3 Lavoslav Kadelburg, the President of the Federation between 1964–92, gives the traditional explanation for the change in the official title of the Federation as follows: the word *religious* was deleted because cultural, educational and social work took the place of religion as a context of Jewish identification (Kadelburg, Lavoslav: "Obnova". *Spomenica 1919–1969*. Beograd: Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije 1969, 119).

4 Mojzes, Paul: "The role of religious communities in the development of civil society in Yugoslavia, 1945–1992". In Melissa K. Bokovoy et al (eds.): *State-Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945–1992*. New York: St. Martin's Press 1997, 212, 216.

5 Ramet, Sabrina: *Nihil Obstat. Religion, Politics, and Social Change in East-Central Europe and Russia*. Durham – London: Duke University Press 1998, 12–13.

6 Ramet 1998a, 15–16.

7 Kerkkänen, Ari: "The transition from Yugoslav to post-Yugoslav Jewry". *Studia Orientalia* 85. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society 1999, 21–54.

and evaluating several aspects and events of the two above mentioned periods of Yugoslav Jewry and portraying them in their proper political, religious and regional context.

The main hypothesis of the study is that these two periods transformed Yugoslav Jewry as a community and minority, amid the transformation of the surrounding society into the reality of the communist regime of Yugoslavia and, later on, into the reality of the post-Yugoslav era and its nationalistically orientated states. *Adaptation* is a key-word that characterises both transitional periods under research. A certain policy of adaptation was deployed and exercised for the purpose of communal survival and tradition.

The factors introduced by Pedro Ramet (Sabrina Petra Ramet) in determining the religious policy of the Communist regimes will serve as guidelines in examining the adaptation of post-war Yugoslav Jewry. These factors were (1) the size of the religious organisation in question; (2) the organisation's disposition to subordinate itself to political authority and its amenability to infiltration and control by the secret police; (3) the degree of allegiance to a foreign authority; (4) the loyalty or disloyalty of the organisation during World War II; and (5) the ethnic configuration of the country.[8] In general, the religious policy of Communist regimes aimed at controlling and manipulating religion or, in more extreme cases, destroying it in order to ensure complete control over the shaping of society's future development.[9] Hence the importance of understanding the political and religious context of these periods, and the effect of this context on the Jewish community, is highlighted.

This study argues, with regard to the second transitional period, that the fragmenting of the country and consequently the centralised organisation of the Jewish community did not constitute a death blow, as was predicted.[10] The basic questions asked in the research are: how was the Yugoslav Jewish community transformed after the Holocaust in the middle of the new political order? What was the policy of the Jewish minority vis-à-vis the authorities during this period of transformation?

---

8 Ramet, Pedro: "The interplay of religious policy and nationalities policy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe". In Pedro Ramet (ed.): *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*. (Duke Press Policy Studies.) Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1984, 7.

9 Lytle, Paula Franklin: "Religion and politics in Eastern Europe" In Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), *Eastern Europe. Politics, Culture and Society since 1939*. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 1998, 305.

10 'And to be sure, any conceivable collapse of Yugoslav federalism, fragmenting the country according to its various national components, would destroy the centralised organisation of the Jewish community and seriously hamper its ability to function. Yugoslav Jewry is already in a struggle for survival; any radical change would most likely help to hasten its demise.' (Freidenreich, Harriet Pass: "The Jewish community of Yugoslavia". In D. J. Elazar et al (eds.): *The Balkan Jewish Communities. Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*. London, Maryland: University Press of America 1984, 57).

What was the impact of the disintegration of Yugoslavia on its Jewish communities and population?

In order to broaden the analysis, and to place Yugoslav Jewry in a proper Balkan, South-East European, and Communist world context, both after World War II and after the breakdown of the communist regimes, some comparison will be made between the position and development of Yugoslav Jewry and Jewries in several other former communist regimes. Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were the most heterogeneous of the Communist countries with respect to the potential threat to their regimes in the form of national minorities and of religions having a considerable influence on those minorities.

Former Communist countries of Eastern Europe have been accused of an endemic traditional antisemitism, varying in degree from region to region, but generally reinforced by the founding of the state of Israel. Pedro Ramet concludes that the traditional antisemitism in the Slavic world is only part of the explanation for the existence of prejudice against Jews, and that a fuller answer appears to be provided by the symbiosis of ethnic and religious identity conveniently embodied in the pariah state of Israel.[11] In this setting Yugoslavia emerges with a less blemished record because of the turnaround to a policy of *philosemitism* in the middle of Yugoslavia's fragmentation, as the last chapter (8.3) of this study shows.

This is a work of contemporary Jewish history based on both published and unpublished sources. Methodologically speaking the study is a thematic one, as its title suggests. Various themes or aspects are dealt with in order to construct a picture exploring post-war Yugoslav Jewry from different angles, although it must be borne in mind that the study does not attempt to be a full history of this period. The background of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Jews is briefly covered in the first chapter. The first transitional period is studied in Part One which is subdivided into three chapters (2–4) covering the aspects of post-war reconstruction, emigration and adaptation, and the transition from Yugoslav to post-Yugoslav Jewry is dealt with in Part Two, subdivided into four chapters (5–8) covering the aspects of the disintegration of the Federation of Yugoslav Jews, emigration, the nature of post-Yugoslav Jewry and the minority position of Jews, in particular the philosemitic policy of the successor states of Yugoslavia. Part Two can be described as writing history in the making, which is problematic for historical research, mainly owing to the lack of archival sources. Nevertheless, conclusions can be drawn on the basis of contemporary evidence, the recording of which is valuable in itself, but also creates a sufficient corpus to enable analysis of the direction of the development.

---

11 Ramet 1984, 11–13.

Definitions

Yugoslavia (South-Slav) is understood in this study as the country which became known as the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in 1918, was renamed as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929 and as the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavije, or F.N.R.J.) after World War II, and renamed once more as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (S.F.R.J.) in 1963. The term First or Old Yugoslavia refers to the Kingdom and the term Second or New Yugoslavia to the Republic. For reasons of clarity, the territorial names of the republics Serbia and Montenegro are preferred in reference to the rump-Yugoslavia created as the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro after the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

The Federation of Jewish Religious Communities of Yugoslavia, since 1952 the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia (*Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije*) was the umbrella organisation of Yugoslav Jewish communities. The term 'Federation' refers particularly to this organisation. The general term 'Jewish community' encompasses all the Jews and their collective activities, while local communities are distinguished by the use of a geographic name of the locality e.g. the Zagreb Jewish community. The term 'Yugoslav Jewry' refers to all aspects of Jewish life and activities on the soil of Yugoslavia from the establishment of the Kingdom to the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991. The term 'post-Yugoslav Jewry' denotes Jewish communities in the region of the former Yugoslavia after 1991.

With regard to spelling, personal names, local organisations, and publications are given as they are written in the primary sources, even if the names are originally from Hebrew.[12] English translations of the titles of Hebrew sources have been used whenever these are provided in the original, and if they are lacking, simplified transliteration has been adopted. The titles of the archive sources have been translated from the original Hebrew or Serbo-Croat into English. The common English transliteration of Hebrew words for international organisations and common names is used. For reasons of convenience, in this historical study the term Serbo-Croat will be used throughout, although in fact this term is no longer current.

---

12 The frequently mentioned name of David Alkalaj from Belgrade is also found in variations such as Alcalay and Alkalay, for example. The form Alkalaj is used in the text itself, but the other forms are used in the footnotes if they are written in that way in the original sources.

Sources

Archive material has been gathered mainly from the following archives located in Jerusalem, Israel: the Central Zionist Archives (CZA), the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archive (AJJDCA), the Israel State Archive (ISA), and the Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People – Eventov Archive for Yugoslav Jewry (CAHJP-EA) and the Oral History Division at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (OHD). The archives of Jewish Historical Museum (JHM) in Belgrade have also been used. The first part of this study is based extensively on archive research.

The Central Zionist Archives are the official historical archives of the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod and the World Jewish Congress, and therefore irreplaceable for any study on contemporary Jewish history, as their material reflects the last hundred years of Jewish history: Zionist activity and the situation of Jews in the Diaspora. This study mainly utilised the archives of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine/Israel.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives are located in New York and Jerusalem, and is basically a private archive. The archive in Jerusalem was used in this research especially for the purpose of studying the role of the Autonomous Relief Committee in Yugoslavia, which was largely financed by the Joint Distribution Committee. A part of the correspondence and reports of Frederick White, the JDC representative in Yugoslavia, are found in this archive.

The Israel State Archives were essential for this study. Diplomatic representatives of Israel in Yugoslavia also kept their eye on the situation of the local Jewish community and reported on it to the Department of Eastern Europe and Interior Ministry in Jerusalem. These diplomatic reports, some of them confidential, convey quite faithfully perceptions about the attitudes and feelings in the Jewish community, thus permitting the researcher to comprehend the real atmosphere prevailing in the Jewish community, and especially among the Jewish leadership in post-war Yugoslavia.

This dimension is understandably lacking in the documents of the Jewish Historical Museum Archive in Belgrade, which is otherwise by far the most important archive for research into Yugoslav Jewry. The feeling inevitably remains, while comparing sources in different archives, that a certain degree of self-censorship was applied by the Federation leadership in writing Minutes of Meetings, correspondence and reports. This would, of course, be understandable given the wider setting of life in a totalitarian society. During this study, the Jewish Historical Museum was officially closed due to large-scale renovation and reorganisation, and therefore its use was limited.

The Eventov Archive for Yugoslav Jewry in the Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People was originally the private archive of Yakir Eventov (Drago Steiner) which contained material on Jews in Yugoslavia. After his death, the archive was removed from his home in Haifa to the Givat Ram campus of the Hebrew University to be included in the Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People. The most important contribution of this archive for this study were a press-cutting collection and the publications of the Jewish communities in the former Yugoslavia. Otherwise the majority of the material in the Eventov Archive dates from the pre-World War II period in Yugoslavia and was therefore of less use for this study.

The Oral History Division of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was of only minor importance for the research owing to the small number of items dealing with Yugoslav Jewry.

The second part of the study is based on published sources, mainly a collection of newspaper articles and writings. The papers are primarily from two different collections, the first being the press cuttings collection of the Eventov Archive of Yugoslav Jewry and the second a private collection, including press cuttings and documents, of the architect Ivan Čerešnješ (quoted in this research as Čerešnješ Papers), the former President of the Sarajevo Jewish community. Interviews, conducted by myself or taken from the press, have also been used to some extent. The first interviews were carried out during my first research trip to the former Yugoslavia in June 1996. Later interviews were recorded in Jerusalem between April – June 1999, in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in March 2000 and finally in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in June 2000.

The secondary sources are mainly various publications of the Federation of Jewish Communities and the Jewish organisations of the successor states of Yugoslavia. Generally speaking they describe events faithfully, but especially during the period of the Second Yugoslavia, due to the circumstances, they are not objective enough for critical conclusions to be drawn. A short introduction to the primary publications used in this study follows. *Bilten* ('the Bulletin'), the publication of the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities in Yugoslavia, was published from June 1950 until December 1958. The continuation of this paper, *Jevrejski Pregled* ('the Jewish Review') appeared from January 1959 until December 1990. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia the Jewish communities of the successor states began to publish their own papers. A paper called *Bilten*, published by the Belgrade Jewish community, appeared in seven issues from April 1993 until October 1993, when it was renamed as *Bilten-Jevrejski Pregled* and came to represent all the Jewish communities in Serbia. The Zagreb Jewish community began to publish its own *Bilten* at the beginning of 1988, which was later renamed, in 1997, as *ha-Kol*, the voice of the Jewish communities in Croatia. The Jewish community of Bosnia-

Herzegovina began to publish its own *Bilten* paper in May 1993, later renamed as *Jevrejski Glas* ('the Jewish Voice').[13]

Review of the Literature on Yugoslav Jewry

Among scholars research on Yugoslav Jewry has been a marginal interest. Although a number of informative and well-documented studies exist,[14] there is still much room for study of the different aspects and periods of the Yugoslav Jewry. This study is an effort to partially fill the gap covering the period of Socialist Yugoslavia.

Two volumes published by Hitahdut Oley Yugoslavia (the Association of Yugoslav Jews in Israel) are essential for the pre-war history. The first, *A History of Yugoslav Jews* (Vol. 1) was written by Yakir Eventov and edited by Cvi Rotem.[15] This volume covers the history of Jews in the Yugoslav lands from ancient times to the end of the 19th century. The second volume followed 20 years later and was edited by Zvi Loker.[16] It consists of essays and articles about Jews in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. One of the most valuable reference works entitled *Pinkas Hakehillot – Yugoslavia* is also edited by Zvi Loker and serves as an excellent source for the Jewish communities that exist or have existed in the territory of Yugoslavia.[17]

There are two recommended works in English, of which Harriet Pass Freidenreich's *The Jews of Yugoslavia* is by far the best-known treatment of the history of Yugoslav Jewry.[18] Freidenreich divides Yugoslav Jewry primarily into the three major centres of Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade, which fails to do complete justice to two other important regions of Jewish concentration in inter-war Yugoslavia, Vojvodina and Macedonia. However, for the inter-war Jewish history of Yugoslavia, in particular, her study is indispensable.

---

13 A more detailed introduction to the different community publications is given in Chapter 5.

14 Recommended bibliographies can be found for example in Loker, Zvi (ed.): *Pinkas Hakehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities – Yugoslavia*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem 1988, 342–348 (in Hebrew) and Loker, Zvi (ed.): *A History of Yugoslav Jews*, Vol. II: *Jews in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in Modern Times / Essays and Articles*. Haifa – Tel-Aviv – Jerusalem: Hitahdut Oley Yugoslavia 1991, 301–306 (in Hebrew). There also exists a short article on the historiography of the Yugoslav Jewry by Maren Frejdenberg: "Recent publications on the history of Yugoslav Jewry". *Jews in Eastern Europe* 2(21), Fall 1993, 66–76.

15 Eventov, Yakir: *A History of Yugoslav Jews*, Vol. I: *From Ancient Times to the End of the 19th Century*. Tel Aviv: Hitahdut Oley Yugoslavia 1971 (in Hebrew).

16 Loker 1991.

17 Loker 1988.

18 Freidenreich, Harriet Pass: *The Jews of Yugoslavia: A Quest for Community*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America 1979.

The most recent contribution in English to this field is by anthropologist Paul Gordiejew, who focuses on Yugoslav Jewish identity.[19] While Freidenreich's emphasis is on the inter-war period, Gordiejew's book deals exclusively with the events of the post-war period and, as he admits, his work serves partially as a complement to Freidenreich's study.[20] Gordiejew's main tenet is that the Jewish community in Yugoslavia initiated an experiment in secular Jewishness, the intention of which was to reconstitute the Jewish community while simultaneously submerging it within the new socialist system.[21] The submergence into the new Yugoslavia was made possible largely by the basis which had already been laid during the inter-war period, and was demonstrated by active participation in the political and symbolic orders of socialist Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Jewish leadership demonstrated their identification with Yugoslavia through certain key symbols which are elaborately described and vividly narrated by Gordiejew. The Partisan War, the Holocaust Memorials and the National Liberation War similarly became the focus of Jewish collective ritual observance.[22]

Gordiejew's key terms 'experiment' and 'submergence' are, however, questionable. 'Experiment' gives the impression of a calculated, laboratory experiment[23] and submergence would actually indicate sinking out of sight. Although Yugoslav Jewry was mostly secular in character, it is difficult to say that this was the result of an experiment; instead it can be seen as a continuation of a phenomenon which had begun to emerge earlier and which was strengthened in the Second Yugoslavia. Moreover, Jewish secularism was by no means a phenomenon found only in Yugoslavia, but must be seen as a part of a general development towards secularisation within Judaism. Notwithstanding the illustrative quality of the term 'submergence', it is misleading. Although strongly acculturated, the Jewish community of Yugoslavia did not disappear into obscurity, but was preserved and recognised as a distinct unit. Submergence would imply a total assimilation which never took place in pre-war or post-war Yugoslavia. Gordiejew deserves special merit for his description of the collective symbols which linked post-war Yugoslav Jewry with the regime. This study argues that the term *adaptation* is a more objective and accurate definition of the post-war development than *submergence*. The symbols so meticulously studied by Gordiejew bear witness, above all, to adaptation, and not to submergence.

---

19 Gordiejew, Paul Benjamin: *Voices of Yugoslav Jewry*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press 1999.

20 Gordiejew 1999, 438.

21 Gordiejew 1999, 181.

22 See especially Gordiejew's Chapter 3: "The Collective Voice of Submergence", (Gordiejew 1999, 91–177).

23 This is true despite the fact that Gordiejew denies using the term in this sense (Gordiejew 1999, 180).

In spite of these observations,[24] there is no doubt that Gordiejew has succeeded in giving post-war Yugoslav Jewry a fairly authentic voice, and his study is based on a large quantity of sources and extensive fieldwork. More extensive archive research would probably have deepened the understanding of the development during the immediate post-war years. However, this is the first monograph dealing exclusively with post-war Yugoslav Jewry, and hence it will be used as a standard reference work for this period in the same way as Freidenreich's study will be used for the history of Yugoslav Jews in the inter-war period.

Five extensive articles dealing with the post-war period of Yugoslav Jewry deserve mention. The first, "Jevreji u novoj Jugoslaviji", was written by Albert Vajs, the President of the Federation of Jewish communities between 1948–64,[25] the second, "Obnova", by his successor Lavoslav Kadelburg.[26] These two articles are valuable accounts of the history of post-war Yugoslav Jewry, but understandably, given the circumstances of the period, these articles lack the critical approach. The third, "The Jewish Community of Yugoslavia" was written by Harriet Pass Freidenreich,[27] and the fourth is an article called "Yugoslavian Jewry: The Pangs of Redemption and Rehabilitation, 1944–1948" and written by Yosef Levinger.[28] Levinger explores clearly the salient connexion between the restoration of Jewish life in Yugoslavia and the fight against the Nazis. He also highlights the role of Moša Pijade as a supporter of Jews and also the interesting role of intermarriage with non-Jewish spouses, which characterises the members of post-war Yugoslav Jewry who helped in the restoration of Jewish life. Levinger's account stands out from the mainstream of articles dealing with the post-war situation by giving a fairly realistic description of the situation of Jews immediately after the war. The post-war period was not an easy one for any of the religious minorities: Levinger notes that many Jews came under suspicion as bourgeois and exploiters, and that later the situation worsened during the internal terror of 1948. The picture which Levinger gives is a dual one: Jews on the one hand contributed to the restoration of society as a whole, and were at the same time themselves assisted by the Military Authorities, but on the other hand were suspected of being 'class enemies' who belonged to a religious minority. Last but not least, Zvi Rotem's article *ha-Yahadut ha-Yugoslavyt*

---

24 See also my review of Gordiejew: Kerkkänen, Ari: "Postwar Yugoslav Jewry". *Jews in Eastern Europe* 1–2 (38–39), Spring–Fall 1999, 152–154.

25 Vajs 1954, 5–47.

26 Kadelburg 1969, 115–185.

27 Freidenreich, 1984, 12–58.

28 Levinger, Yosef: "The pangs of redemption and rehabilitation, 1944–1948". In Pinkus, Benjamin (ed.): *Eastern-European Jewry – From Holocaust to Redemption, 1944–1948.* Ben-Gurion University of the Negev 1987, 216–247, (in Hebrew).

be-1975 ('Yugoslav Jewry in 1975') also gives a balanced view of post-war Yugoslav Jewry.[29]

Two recently published volumes in the series Studia Iudaico-Croatica are worthy of mention. *Zna li se 1941–1945, Antisemitism, Holocaust, Anti-fascism* was published in Croatian in 1996, and a year later in English.[30] It is a collection of articles dealing mainly with Antisemitism and the Holocaust in Croatia. The second volume *Dva Stolježa Povijesti i Kulture Židova u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj* was published for the 200th anniversary of the Zagreb Jewish Community. The volume consists of numerous articles dealing with the history of Jews in Zagreb and Croatia.

There are in existence three major works on the Holocaust of Yugoslav Jews. The earliest of these books dealing with the Holocaust, edited by Zdenko Löwenthal, is called *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and Their Collaborators Against Jews in Yugoslavia*.[31] The first part of Jaša Romano's monograph[32] deals with the Holocaust of Yugoslav Jewry and the second part with the participation of Jews in the War of National Liberation. The most recent study by Menachem Shelah[33] deals with the Holocaust of Yugoslav Jews in Serbia, Croatia, Hungarian-occupied areas and Macedonia, and also includes a chapter about the Jews among the Partisans. The emigration of Jews through and from Yugoslavia especially before and during the war is dealt with in detail by Menachem Shelah in his book *The Yugoslav Connection*.[34] Demographic aspects of the Yugoslav Jewry are examined by Marko Perić in his article "Demographic Study of the Jewish Community in Yugoslavia, 1971–1972".[35]

The Historical Committee of Hitahdut Oley Yugoslavia in Israel has published several informative works in its Yalqut-series.[36] The latest work published by the

---

29 Rotem, Zvi: "ha-Yahadut ha-Yugoslavyt be-1975". *Gesher* 1–2 (84–85), January 1976, 147–160.

30 Goldstein, Ivo & Narcisa Lengel Krizman (eds.): *Zna li se 1941–1945. Anti-semitism, Holocaust, Anti-fasism*. Zagreb Jewish Community 1997.

31 Löwenthal, Zdenko (ed.): *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and Their Collaborators Against Jews in Yugoslavia*. Belgrade: Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia 1957 (in Serbo-Croat with English summary). The original version in Serbo-Croat was published in 1952.

32 Romano, Jaša: *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945. Žrtve genocida i učenici narodnooslobodilačkog rata*. Belgrade: Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia 1980.

33 Shelah, Menachem (ed.): *History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem 1990 (in Hebrew).

34 Shelah, Menachem: *The Yugoslav Connection. Illegal Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938–1948*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers 1994 (in Hebrew).

35 Perić, Marko: "Demographic study of the Jewish Community in Yugoslavia, 1971–1972". In U. O. Schmelz et al (eds.): *Papers in Jewish Demography*. Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1977, 267–287.

Hitahdut is *Juče, Danas* by Ženi Lebl.[37] The first part of the book gives an account of immigration into Israel from Yugoslavia before and after 1948, and the contribution that was made by the Jews of the former Yugoslavia to Israel. The second, biographical part includes a short biographical summary of many prominent Jews of ex-Yugoslavian origin who settled in Israel.

Within the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, a major contribution to study of their history appeared from 1954 until 1970 in the form of collections of articles entitled *Jevrejski Almanah*. These were later replaced by *Zbornik* (Anthology of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade), and so far six issues of Zbornik have appeared containing numerous articles on various topics in the history of Yugoslav Jewry. Several memorial volumes also contain scientific articles. The most important of these publications are *Spomenica 1919–1969*,[38] for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, and *Spomenica - 400 Godina od Dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu* commemorating the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina[39] and focusing on different aspects of Jewish life and history in Bosnia. A review of the history of Vojvodina's Jewry appears in a recent book *Jevreji u Vojvodini* by Pavle Šosberger.[40] In addition to these works, two other interesting works are currently being written. The first is the research project "Documentation of the Jewish Cultural Heritage in the Countries of the Former Yugoslavia" by Ivan Čerešnješ[41], funded by The Centre of Arts of the Hebrew University, and the second, a history of Jews in Zagreb by Ivo Goldstein.

Zora Dirnbach has recently written a highly interesting biography of the Epstain family in Osijek. This book, *Kao Mraz* ('Like Frost') can be regarded as a micro-historical view of the history of Jews in Yugoslavia.[42] The book presents the

---

36 This series includes so far the following publications: *Yalqut 1948–1978, divre mehqar we-'iyyun u-firqe zikhronot. 30 šana li-mdinat Yisrael we-la-'aliyya meurgenet mi-yugoslawya.* Jerusalem: Hitahdut Oley Jugoslavia 1978; Loker, Zvi (ed.): *History of the Jews of the Vojvodina Region of Yugoslavia.* Tel Aviv – Jerusalem: Hitahdut Oley Yugoslavia 1994 (in Hebrew with English and Serbo-Croat summaries); Loker, Zvi (ed.): *The Jewish Youth Movement in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1919–1941.* Jerusalem – Tel Aviv: Hitahdut Oley ex-Yugoslavia 1997 (in Hebrew).

37 Lebl, Ženi: *Juče, Danas. Doprinos Jevreja sa Teritorije Bivše Jugoslavije u Izraelu.* Tel-Aviv: Hitahdut Oley ex-Yugoslavia in Israel 1999 (in Serbo-Croatian and Hebrew).

38 *Spomenica 1919–1969.* Beograd: Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije 1969.

39 *Spomenica – 400 Godina od Dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu.* Sarajevo: Odbor sa proslavu 400-godišnjice dolaska jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1966.

40 Šosberger, Pavle: *Jevreji u Vojvodini. Kratak pregled istorije vojvodanskih Jevreja.* Novi Sad: Prometej 1998.

41 Čerešnješ has also recently written a short study of Jews in the former Yugoslavia: *Caught in the Winds of War. Jews in the Former Yugoslavia.* (Policy Study, No. 17.) Jerusalem: Institute of the World Jewish Congress 1999.

42 Dirnbach, Zora: *Kao Mraz.* Zagreb: Novi Liber and Židovska opština Osijek 2000.

large, prosperous and well-educated Epstain family in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The family had originated from Hungary, and after eventually moving to Slavonia at the end of the 19th century lived a traditional Jewish life there during the Kingdom, observing Jewish customs and holidays. Part of the family perished in the Holocaust and part fighting alongside the partisans. The surviving family members dispersed in different directions, some to Israel, some to South Africa, while others, such as the doctor Danko Epstain, stayed in Osijek, Croatia. During the communist period in Yugoslavia, the family's Jewish traditions and holidays gradually became less meaningful with increasing adaptation to the country where they lived, with its traditions and religion. The Jewishness of the family became frozen, as the title suggests. At the end, Danko's eldest son Javor, born in 1970, joined the Croatian army in order to defend his homeland during the disintegration war of Yugoslavia, and was eventually killed defending Vukovar in 1991.[43] This book provides a life-story with which many Jewish families of the former Yugoslavia can at least partially identify.

43 Dirnbach 2000, 322–326.