



GLASNIK

B'nai B'rith

Gavro Schwartz, Hrvatska

Časopis za židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju i povijest.
Godina 8, broj 30 Zagreb, travanj 2023. Izlazi četiri puta godišnje.



**TEMA BROJA:
PRAVEDNICI MEĐU NARODIMA
THEME OF THE ISSUE:
THE RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS**

THE VOICE

of B'nai B'rith



Gavro Schwartz, Croatia

Magazine of Jewish Culture, Civilization and History.
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Časopis *Glasnik B'nai B'rith* pokrenut je 2016. godine kao digitalni časopis s fokusom na židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju, povijest, kao i aktivnosti židovskih zajednica i pojedinaca te udruge B'nai B'rith u Hrvatskoj. Časopis izlazi četiri puta godišnje u dvojezičnom formatu, na hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku, a svi su brojevi dostupni na <https://www.bnaibrith.hr/hr/>. Svrha časopisa je ukazati na doprinos židovstva u razvoju hrvatske te europske kulture i civilizacije, povezati židovsku i opću javnost, kao i osigurati kontinuitet komunikacije između židovskih zajednica u Hrvatskoj i inozemstvu. Današnji suradnici uključuju judaiste, izraeliste, povjesničare, teoretičare umjetnosti i stručnjake za različita područja iz Hrvatske, Austrije, Indije, Izraela, Amerike, Poljske, Brazila i drugih zemalja.

The Voice of B'nai B'rith was started in 2016 as a digital magazine focusing on Jewish culture, civilization, history, as well as the activities of Jewish communities and individuals and the B'nai B'rith association in Croatia. The magazine is published four times a year in bilingual format, in Croatian and English, and all issues are available at <https://www.bnaibrith.hr/hr/>. The main objective is to point out the contribution of Judaism in the development of Croatian and European culture and civilization, to connect the Jewish and general public, as well as to ensure the continuity of communication between Jewish communities in Croatia and abroad. Today's contributors include scholars from areas of Jewish Studies, Israel Studies, historians, art theorists and experts in various fields from Croatia, Austria, India, Israel, America, Poland, Brazil and other countries.

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Izjava o odricanju odgovornosti: Činjenice i mišljenja zastupljena u časopisu stavovi su pojedinačnih autora i ne predstavljaju nužno stavove uredništva. Tekstualni i slikovni materijali korišteni su uz dopuštenje autora ili pripadaju javnoj domeni. Sva prava na fotografije zadržavaju njihovi autori.

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Paula Rem, urednica

Uz trideseti broj **Glasnika B'nai B'rith**



Poštovani čitatelji, poštovane čitateljice,

Tko bi rekao da naš **Glasnik** ulazi već u četvrto desetljeće života?

Hvala vam što pratite **Glasnik B'nai B'rith** već osmu godinu zaredom. Ništa ne bismo uspjeli bez vašeg aktivnog sudjelovanja – u ulozi čitatelja, ali i autora tekstova. Svaka židovska općina ima doprinos potpuno specifičan za svoje podneblje, zbog čega nam je drago što imamo dobru suradnju s našim suradnicima.

Sigurni smo da, kao i Osječani, i druge zajednice organiziraju mnogobrojne programe i aktivnosti važne za očuvanje židovskog identiteta – pa ne bismo htjeli nekog zakinuti! Važno nam je uključiti tekstove odnosno izvješća o drugim općinama u Hrvatskoj i diljem bivše Jugoslaviji, pa molimo da ih nastavite slati! Uredništvo **Glasnika** uvijek je otvoreno za nove suradnike, ideje i tekstove – i bilo bi nam pogotovo drago uključiti više pojedinaca iz različitih država.

Proslavili smo Sukot, Hanuku, Purim, pred nama je Pesah, a osim toga obilježavali smo i mnoge druge obljetnice i događaje. U ovom broju časopisa fokusirali smo se samo na neke od njih. U posljednjih nekoliko mjeseci imali smo priliku sudjelovati na čak dvije dodjele titule *pravednika među narodima* u Hrvatskoj, štoviše, u Slavoniji. U petom mjesecu 2022. titulu je ponio Stjepan Kirhofer, a u prvom mjesecu 2023. Kamilo Firingner. Zbog toga, temat ovog broja vezan je uz koncept pravednika – ali i pojedinačne pravednike, o čemu pišu judaistica Catherine Szkop i prof. dr. sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže. Izraelska studentica medicine u Zagrebu Tal Elkobi donosi zanimljiv tekst o pop-glazbeniku Is-hayu Ribu, a u broj su uključeni i drugi tekstovi.

Paula Rem, editor

Editorial to the 30th Issue of ***The Voice of B'nai B'rith***



Dear readers,

Who would have thought that **The Voice** is already entering its fourth decade of life?

Thank you for following **The Voice of B'nai B'rith** for the eighth year in a row. We wouldn't be able to do anything without your active participation - in the role of readers, but also as authors of texts. Each Jewish community has a contribution completely specific to its climate, which is why we are glad to have good cooperation with our collaborators.

We are sure that, like the people of Osijek, other communities also organize numerous programs and activities important for the preservation of Jewish identity - so we wouldn't want to miss out on anyone! It is important for us to include texts or reports about other municipalities in Croatia and throughout the former Yugoslavia, so please keep sending them! **The Voice** editorial office is always open to new collaborators, ideas and texts - and we would be especially glad to include more individuals from different countries.

We celebrated Sukkot, Hanukkah, Purim, Pesach is upon us, and in addition we celebrated many other anniversaries and events. In this issue of the magazine, we focused only on some of them. In the last few months, we had the opportunity to participate in even two awards of the title of Righteous Among the Nations in Croatia, moreover, in Slavonia. In the fifth month of 2022, the title was taken by Stjepan Kirhofer, and in the first month of 2023 by Kamilo Firinger. For this reason, the theme of this issue is related to the concept of the righteous - but also individual righteous people, as written by Judaist Catherine Szkop and prof. Ph.D. Zlata Živaković-Kerže. Tal Elkobi, an Israeli medical student in Zagreb, brings an interesting text about the pop musician Ishay Ribo, and other texts are also included.

Zlata Živaković-Kerže

Pravednici među narodima grada Osijeka i Đakova

Prof. dr. sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže (*1953, Osijek) je u Zagrebu diplomirala povijest i arheologiju, te na istom zagrebačkom Sveučilištu magistrirala i doktorirala. Radila je za mnoge osječke kulturne i prosvjetne ustanove, uključujući današnji Državni arhiv u Osijeku i Muzej Slavonije u Osijeku. Više od dva desetljeća je radila u Podružnici za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Hrvatskog instituta za povijest, u sklopu čega je vodila mnogobrojne projekte. Predavala je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Osijeku kao vanjska suradnica. Bavi se istraživanjem društveno-političkih prilika i gospodarskom hrvatskom povijesti u 19. i u 20. stoljeću, povijesti Židova grada Osijeka i crkvenom povijesti. Napisala je nekoliko knjiga te velik broj znanstvenih radova. Sudjeluje na mnogim znanstvenim i stručnim skupovima. Članica je uredništva mnogih domaćih i inozemnih časopisa za povijest.

Osijek i Đakovo, dva su grada u istočnom dijelu Slavonije, koji su u svojoj sredini imali Pravednike među narodima, a to su: Majka **Amadeja Pavlović**, **Franjo Krtić** i **Kamilo Firingier**. Tko su oni, čime su se bavili i što ih je uvrstilo u „Pravednike među narodima“ prati tekst koji slijedi kronološki prema godini njihovoga proglašenja.

Majka **M. Amadeja Pavlović**, provincijalna poglavarica Milosrdnih sestara sv. Križa u Đakovu, rođena je 1895. u Petrovaradinu (gradu u Srijemu koji je tada u Kraljevini Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Dalmaciji; danas je grad u Republici Srbiji) krštenoga imena Karolina. U Samostan Milosrdnih sestara sv. Križa u Đakovu dolazi 1922. godine i u potonjih deset godina redovničkoga života se potpuno formira kroz kandidaturu, postulat, novicijat i prvi/doživotni zavjet. Od 1932. se kao učiteljica aktivno bavila odgojno-obrazovnim radom s

kandidaticama, a deset godina potom kao provincijalna poglavarica. Preminula je u Đakovu 1971. godine.

Nastankom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske (NDH) i primjenom antižidovskih zakonskih odredbi osječka židovska obitelj Bienenstock je istjerana iz vlastite kuće, Maksu je oduzeta trgovačka radnja, a kćerke Vera i Zdenka su izbačene iz škole. Stoga su u takvim (ne)prilikama Maks i Vilma sredinom lipnja 1941. mlađu kćer Zdenku prekrstili na katoličku vjeru, i to samo nekoliko dana uoči nadopune zakonske odredbe od 30. lipnja te godine, koja se odnosila na zabranu prijelaza Židova na katoličku ili islamsku vjeru. Čin pokrštenja proveo je osječki svećenik dr. Alfred Hölander, izbjeglica iz Njemačke.

U želji da se spasi barem jedan mlađi, dječji život, u lipnju 1941. svećenik Hölander je odveo u Đakovo jedanae-



Zdenka i Vera Bienenstock, 1941. godine

Izvor: Darko Fischer

stogodišnjju Zdenku u samostan Družbe Milosrdnih sestara Sv. Križa te je predao na skrb i brigu Majci Amadeji, tada zamjenici provincijalne poglavarice. (Poglavarica je od 2. veljače 1943. godine.) Kao štćenica je Zdenka boravila u samostanu do sredine studenoga 1944. godine, tj. do nastanjanja njemačkih vojnika u samostan koji su ga pretvorili u sjedište njemačkih vojnika. Tada je Majka Amadeja jedno kraće vrijeme skrivala Zdenku na ekonomiji samostana na sestarskom imanju Josipovac, nadomak od Đakova. Budući da ni tu nije bila posve sigurna poslala ju je u bolnicu Vukovar, koja je tada bila u vlasništvu Družbe Milosrdnih sestara sv. Križa i tu je ostala do svibnja 1945. kada je vraćena u rodni Osijek. Sa članovima osječke obitelji Vlade Grünbauma u

srpnju 1949. brodom *Radnik* krenula je u novoutemeljenu Državu Izrael. Tu je završila srednjoškolsko i visokoškolsko obrazovanje i 1954. se udala za Branka Grünbauma. U potonjem desetljeću obitelj odlazi u SAD, i tu je živjela do svoje smrti.



Zdenka i Branko Grünbaum 2013. godine

Izvor: Darko Fischer



**Posthumna dodjela priznanja Pravednice među narodima 23. 3. 2009.
u samostanu Sv. Križa u Đakovu**

Izvor: Darko Fischer

Prema Zdenkinom svjedočenju, u od-
maku od 67 godina, časna Majka Ama-
deja joj je bila kao rođena majka. Čuva-
la je njenu tajnu unatoč tomu što je u to
ratno vrijeme zbrinjavanje, pomaganje
i spašavanje Židova kažnjavano smrću.
(U međuvremenu, što Zdenka tada nije
znala, sva njena obitelj i najuža rodbina
deportirani su iz Osijeka u ljeto 1942. u
koncentracijske logore u Jasenovac i
Auschwitz i tamo usmrćeni.)

Zahvalna za dobročinstvo koje je za
nju učinila Majka Amadeja spasivši
je od smrtne pogibije te tako nakon
završetka Drugoga svjetskoga rata do-
bila priliku za novi život uputila je u
travnju 2008. zamolbu Yad Vashemu
da se Majci Amadeji dodijeli priznanje
Pravednice među narodima. Pet mjeseci
potom njezina je zamolba uvažena

i navedeno priznanje dodijeljeno je
posthumno, te svečano uručeno Hr-
vatskoj provinciji Družbe Milosrdnih
sestara Sv. Križa u Đakovu.

Dramski glumac Hrvatskoga narod-
noga kazališta u Osijeku **Frane Krtić**
je na prijedlog dr. sc. Darka Fischera,
tadašnjega predsjednika Židovske op-
ćine u Osijeku, pristao da se njegovo,
nadasve humano i za život vrlo opa-
sno, djelo objelodani, te je od 1. si-
ječnja 2005. bio tada jedini Osječanin
koji je to visoko priznanje primio.

Medalja „Pravednik među narodima“
Krtiću je bilo još veće priznanje kada se
zna da je, otkako je ustanovljena ta do-
djela (1963.), u svijetu to priznanje primi-
lo 20.757 nežidova, a do 1. siječnja 2005.
samo 103 osobe iz Republike Hrvatske.

Naime, ne ističući to, Krtić je u razdoblju od 1941. do 1943. godine, u vrijeme najžešćih progona Židova na području NDH, izloživši i svoj život pogibelji, spasio od sigurne smrti, po njegovoj dokumentaciji s imenima i prezimenima, 18 osoba (a spasio ih je mnogo više). Među spašenima je bila i Dubrovčanka **Judita, Dita Papai**, potonja Krtićeva supruga s kojom je sretno proveo život do njene iznenadne smrti na prvi dan ljeta 1994. godine.

Umirovljen je kao dramski prvak osječkog Hrvatskog narodnog kazališta, pisac je dvije zbirke pjesama, knjige igrokaza i autobiografskoga romana *Dita*. Preminuo je u Osijeku 15. siječnja 2000.)

Kamilo Firinger je klasičnu gimnaziju polazio u Osijeku, a 1912. jednogodišnju topničku školu za pričuvne časnike u Zagrebu; tu je tek 1921. završio pravne znanosti jer je u vrijeme Prvoga svjetskoga rata mobiliziran. Od 1921. je odvjetnički pripravnik u Zagrebu i Osijeku. Samostalni je osječki odvjetnik od 1924. do 1946. kada se potpuno predaje povijesti i arhivistici. Kraće je vrijeme radio u Gradskom muzeju (današnjem Muzeju Slavonije), a 1947. nakon osnivanja ispostave zagrebačkog Državnog arhiva u Osijeku dugogodišnji je njezin upravitelj. Njegovom je zaslugom 1956. osnovan Historijski arhiv, kojemu je bio direktor do umirovljenja 1977. godine. Kao viši arhivist aktivno je spašavao i sakupljao arhivsko gradivo Osijeka, Slavonije i Baranje, oso-



Kamilo Firinger

Izvor: Zlata Živaković-Kerže

bito obrađujući tada već obimne arhivske fondove. Na temelju arhivskog gradiva napisao je više od 400 povijesnih članaka i rasprava istražujući bogatu povijest grada Osijeka i Slavonije. Bio je dugogodišnji počasni član Muzejskoga društva, suosnivač Planinarskoga društva *Jankovac*, borac za očuvanje šuma u tom dijelu Slavonije, član Arheološkoga kluba Mursa i prijeratni aktivni političar i nositelj liste Hrvatske pučke stranke. Zaslužan je i za izgradnju planinarskog doma na Jankovcu i za osnivanje Smučarskog (Skijaškog) saveza Kotara Osijek. Za predani rad na području povijesti, arhivistike i kulturne djelatnosti primio je 1971. nagradu grada Osijeka za životno djelo. (Rođen je u Daruvaru 20. veljače 1893., a preminuo u Osijeku 21. ožujka 1984.) Kamilo Firinger proglašen je pravednikom za spašavanje članova obitelji Fischer 1943. godine.

Zlata Živaković-Kerže

Righteous among the nations from Osijek and Đakovo

Prof. dr. sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže (*1953, Osijek) graduated in history and archeology in Zagreb, and received her master's and doctoral degrees from the same University of Zagreb. She worked for many Osijek cultural and educational institutions, including today's State Archives in Osijek and the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek. For more than two decades she worked in the Branch for the History of Slavonia, Srijem and Baranja of the Croatian Institute of History, within which she led numerous projects. She lectured at the Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek as an external associate. She researches socio-political circumstances and Croatian economic history in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the history of the Jews of the city of Osijek and church history. She has written several books and a large number of scientific papers. She participates in many scientific and professional conferences. She is a member of the editorial board of many history journals.

Osijek and Đakovo are two cities in the eastern part of Slavonia, which had Righteous Among the Nations in their midst, namely: Mother Amadeja Pavlović, Frano Krtić and Kamilo Firinger. Who they are, what they did and what made them "Righteous Among the Nations" follows the text that follows chronologically according to the year of their proclamation.

Mother M. Amadeja Pavlović, provincial superior of the Sisters of Mercy of St. Cross Monastery in Đakovo was born in 1895 in Petrovaradin (a town in Srijem that was then in the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia; today it is a town in the Republic of Serbia) and was baptized Karolina. In the Monastery of the Sisters of Mercy of St. The cross came to Đakovo in 1922 and in the last ten years of religious life it was completely formed through candidacy, postulate,

novitiate and first/lifetime vow. From 1932, as a teacher, she was actively engaged in educational work with female candidates, and ten years later as a provincial head. She died in Đakovo in 1971.

With the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) and the application of anti-Jewish legal provisions, the Bienenstock Jewish family from Osijek was forced out of their home, Maks' shop was confiscated, and his daughters Vera and Zdenka were expelled from school. Therefore, in such (un)opportunities, in the middle of June 1941, Maks and Vilma baptized their younger daughter Zdenka into the Catholic faith, just a few days before the amendment of the legal provision of June 30 of that year, which referred to the prohibition of conversion of Jews to Catholicism or Islam faith. The act of bap-

tism was performed by Osijek priest Dr. Alfred Hölender, a refugee from Germany.

Hoping to save at least one young child's life, in June 1941, priest Hölender took eleven-year-old Zdenka to the monastery of the Sisters of Mercy in Đakovo. He handed over the cross to Mother Amadeja, then the deputy provincial superior. (She has been superior since February 2, 1943.) As a resident, Zdenka stayed in the monastery until the middle of November 1944, i.e. until German soldiers settled in the monastery and turned it into the headquarters of German soldiers. Then, for a short time, Mother Amadeja hid Zdenka on the farm of the monastery on the sister estate Josipovac, not far from Đakovo. Since she wasn't completely safe even there, she sent her to the Vukovar hospital, which was then owned by the Society of the Sisters of Mercy of St. The cross remained there until May 1945, when it was returned to its native Osijek. In July 1949, with the members of Vlade Grünbaum's family from Osijek, she left for the newly founded State of Israel on the ship Radnik. She completed her secondary and higher education there and in 1954 married Branko Grünbaum. In the latter decade, the family moved to the USA, where they lived until death.

According to Zdenka's testimony, after a gap of 67 years, Venerable Mother Amadeja was like her own mother. She kept her secret despite the fact

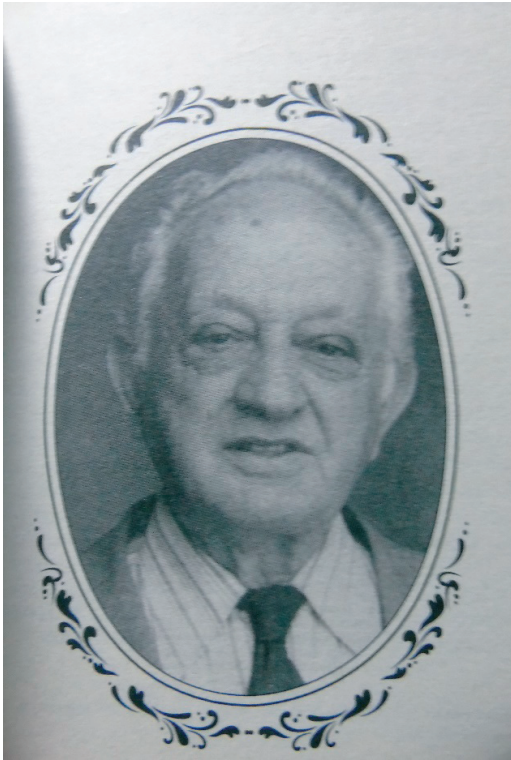


**Zdenka and Branko Grünbaum
with child, 1956.**

Source: Darko Fischer

that in that time of war, caring for, helping and rescuing Jews was punishable by death. (Meanwhile, what Zdenka did not know at the time, all her family and closest relatives were deported from Osijek in Summer 1942 to concentration camps in Jasenovac and Auschwitz and killed there.)

Grateful for the charity that Mother Amadeja did for her, saving her from death and thus after the end of the Second World War, she was given a chance for a new life, in April 2008 she sent a request to Yad Vashem to grant Mother Amadeja the title of Righteous Among the Nations. Five



Frano Krtić

Source: Zlata Živaković-Kerže

months later, her request was granted and the aforementioned recognition was awarded posthumously and solemnly presented to the Croatian Province of the Sisters of Mercy of St. Cross in Đakovo.

Drama actor of the Croatian National Theater in Osijek, Frane Krtić, at the suggestion of Dr. sc. Darko Fischer, the then president of the Jewish Municipality in Osijek, agreed that his, especially humane and life-threatening deed, should be disclosed, and on January 1, 2005, he was the only Osijek resident to receive this high recognition.

The “Righteous Among the Nations” medal was an even greater recogni-

tion for Krtić when it is known that, since the award was established (1963), 20,757 non-Jews received this recognition worldwide, and until January 1, 2005, only 103 people from the Republic of Croatia.

Namely, without emphasizing this, in the period from 1941 to 1943, at the time of the fiercest persecution of Jews in the territory of the NDH, risking his own life, Krtić saved from certain death, according to his documentation with names and surnames, 18 people (a he saved many more). Among those rescued was Judita from Dubrovnik, Dita Papai, the latter Krtić’s wife, with whom he happily spent his life until her sudden death on the first day of summer in 1994.

He retired as a drama champion of the Croatian National Theater in Osijek, he is the author of two collections of poems, a book of plays and the autobiographical novel *Dita*. He died in Osijek on January 15, 2000.)

Kamilo Firinger attended the classical gymnasium in Osijek, and in 1912 the one-year artillery school for reserve officers in Zagreb; he only completed his legal studies there in 1921 because he was mobilized during the First World War. Since 1921, he has been a trainee lawyer in Zagreb and Osijek. He was an independent lawyer in Osijek from 1924 to 1946, when he completely devoted himself to history and archivists. He worked for a short time in the City Museum (today’s Mu-



Kamilo Firingler

Source: Zlata Živaković-Kerže

seum of Slavonia), and in 1947, after the establishment of the branch of the Zagreb State Archives in Osijek, he was its manager for many years. Thanks to him, the Historical Archive was founded in 1956, of which he was the director until his retirement in 1977. As a senior archivist, he actively saved and collected archival material from Osijek, Slavonia and Baranje,

especially processing already extensive archival holdings. Based on archival material, he wrote more than 400 historical articles and discussions exploring the rich history of the city of Osijek and Slavonia. He was a long-time honorary member of the Museum Society, co-founder of the Jankovac Mountaineering Society, a fighter for the preservation of forests in that part of Slavonia, a member of the Archaeological Club of Mursa and a pre-war active politician and holder of the list of the Croatian People's Party. He is responsible for the construction of the mountain lodge on Jankovac and for the establishment of the Cross-Country (Skiing) Association of the Osijek Region. In 1971, he received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the city of Osijek for his dedicated work in the field of history, archives and cultural activities. (He was born in Daruvar on February 20, 1893, and died in Osijek on March 21, 1984.) Kamilo Firingler was declared righteous for saving members of the family Fischer in 1943.

Catherine Szkop

Pravednici nisu uvijek blagoslovljeni u našem društvu

Učiniti nešto nemoralno je gore nego učiniti nešto nezakonito. Slažete li se s tom tvrdnjom?

Catherine Szkop (*1997, Michigan / SAD) pripada prvoj generaciji poljskih Židova u SAD-u. Diplomirala je na Sveučilištu Michigan (*Go Blue!*) i Hebrejskom sveučilištu u Jeruzalemu, gdje stječe master diplomu iz judaistike. Njezin je istraživački fokus na proučavanju srednjovjekovne i moderne poljske židovske povijesti i kulture. Trenutno radi za Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM), pokret aktivan diljem svijeta i na internetu s ciljem suzbijanja antisemitizma, u Odjelu za partnerstvo te Odjelu za diplomaciju.

Moje obrazovanje znatno je utjecalo na razvoj mojih uvjerenja o pitanjima morala. Sebe također smatram “proizvodom” američkog katoličkog školskog sustava, čiji je srednjoškolski kurikulum uključivao predmete *etika* i *razvoj karaktera*. Naime, s obzirom da postoje tri razine prirodnog, građanskog i vjerskog prava, jasno je da *nezakonitost*, kako je danas shvaćamo, ne mora nužno obuhvaćati moralnu osnovu za ljudsko ponašanje. Zakoni pružaju svojevrsan orijentir, a *nezakonitost* obuhvaća definicije osnovnih prijestupa prema čovječanstvu i prirodi. Iako bi većina ljudi rekla da bi šutiranje prosjakove limenke s kovanicama bilo *nemoralan* čin, on nije nezakonit. Nijedan građanski zakon ne štiti prosjaka od neopravdanog, ničim izazvanog čina kao što je nasilno pražnjenje sadržaja njegove ili njezine posude s kovanicama.

Prirodni zakon, a ne građanski ili vjerski zakon, nastoji štititi sve ljude – one

sretnije i one manje sretnije – od nepravednog sramoćenja. Pa ipak, nije riječ o “očiglednom” prijestupu koji bi mogao biti kazneno sankcioniran, kao što je zabrana ubojstva, najgnusnijeg zločina protiv čovječnosti. Međutim, čak se ni ubojstvo ne mora nužno smatrati kaznenim djelom u nekim društvenim normama i kulturnim kontekstima.

Danas je jasno da je zakonodavstvo tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata i pod nacističkom upravom bilo nemoralno. Fokus nacističkog zakonodavstva bio je na eugenici, a židovski narod uopće nije bio ubrojen među “rase svijeta”, kao da nije riječ o ljudima. Ubiti Židova ili neku osobu s karakteristikama koje su se smatrale nepoželjnima smatralo se ne samo legalnim, već i poželjnim, kao način održavanja i očuvanja “arijevske rasne čistoće” i dostojanstva nacističkog Reicha.

S odmakom, vrlo je lako vidjeti da je riječ o nemoralnom zakonodavstvu.

Kao “proizvodi” našeg današnjeg obrazovnog sustava, gledamo nacistički period kroz leću vrijednosti koje su nam usađene. Imamo tu sreću da nismo bili psihološki indoktrinirani kroz dugogodišnje obrazovanje u nacističkim školama. “Proizvodi” nacističkog obrazovnog sustava imali bi drukčije stajalište: oni bi naše današnje “rasno nečisto” društvo smatrali ne samo ignorantskim, već i opasnim po zdravlje ljudske vrste. Mnogi “proizvodi” nacističkih škola, koji su učili o eugenici i čistoći rase, kasnije su priznali da su doista vjerovali u ono što im je rečeno, naime da je istrebljenje “nižih rasa” nužna nuspojava poboljšanja i održavanja “idealne ljudske rase”.

Imajući to na umu, valja se zapitati: što to znači (ili što bi trebalo značiti) biti “pravedan”?

Yad Vashem: Svjetski centar za sjećanje na Holokaust daje definiciju u četiri točke za program *Pravednici među narodima*, koji odaje počast nežidovima koji su spašavali Židove tijekom masovnog progona i genocida nad židovskim zajednicama tijekom nacističke okupacije europskih teritorija. Da bi netko mogao biti proglašen *pravednikom među narodima*, bilo je nužno da je ugroženoj osobi u opasnosti život ili sredstva za život do točke smrti. Važna klauzula govori da je spasilac morao pomoći Židovi da izbjegne deportaciju ili pogubljenje isključivo na temelju dobre volje, bez prihvaćanja plaćanja ili bilo koje osobne koristi na račun židovske osobe.

Usvajanje židovskog djeteta koje je oduzeto roditeljima ili su mu roditelji poginuli, koje je raslo kao ravnopravan član kućanstva i nastavilo živjeti s udomiteljskom obitelji nakon rata (umjesto da otputuje u kamp za raseljene osobe ili u britansku Mandatnu Palestinu), nije moglo obitelji koja ga je usvojila donijeti titulu *pravednika*.

Na primjer, bivši poljski katolički svećenik po imenu dr. Ronald-Jakob Weksler-Waszkinel kasnije je u životu saznao da je usvojen i da su mu roditelji bili Židovi. S nadom da će ga spasiti od pokolja, biološki roditelji su ga dali na usvajanje lokalnom poljskom katoličkom paru koji ga je odgojio kao sina jedinca. Predstavnici odjela *pravednika* među narodima odbili su njegove posvojiteljske roditelje smatrati *pravednicima*, budući da je odrastao kao njihov sin i nakon rata nastavio živjeti s njima. Čuvši za tu odluku Yad Vashema, razumno je izjavio: “Žao mi je, ja nisam prtljaga koja se može dati i odnijeti.”

U Evanđelju po Mateju Isus završava svoju propovijed na Brdu blaženstava s pogledom na Galilejsko more govoreći o *pravednicima*. “Blago onima koji su progonjeni zbog pravednosti, jer njihovo je kraljevstvo nebesko.” (Matej 5:10) Nažalost, mnogi drugi *pravednici* izgubili su svoje živote zbog denunciranja onih koji su otkrili njihovu izdajničku tajnu, neki iz straha da i sami ne budu optuženi da su pomogli *pravednicima* u skrivanju Židova, a drugi iz inata prema bližnjemu.

Međutim, bez obzira na to jesu li otkriveni ili ne, *pravednici* su se suočili s društvenom osudom zbog svoje odluke djelovati u skladu s moralnim načelima, a ne “primjereno” tadašnjem zakonodavstvu.

Unatoč toj neshvatljivoj hrabrosti, većina *pravednika među narodima* za života nije dobila nikakva priznanja za svoja djela, ako ih je uopće dobila, a većina njihovih hrabrih priča do danas je svijetu nepoznata. Sigurno je da većina ovih *pravednika*, muškaraca i žena, nikada nije željela niti razmatrala potrebu za javnim priznanjem. Nažalost, često u povijesti, pa tako i u slučaju *pravednika*, činovi plemenite moralne intervencije nakon Drugog svjetskog rata nisu društveno priznati, istaknuti ili pohvaljeni: s druge strane, mnogi su *pravednici* pretrpjeli društvenu sramotu – ili čak smrtnu kaznu u doba nacizma.

Kao primjer, navest ću malo poznatu priču o *pravedniku* u malom talijanskom gradu Asiz, poznatom kao rodno mjesto svetog Franje. Tijekom nacističkog perioda, asiški biskup monsinjor Giuseppe Placido Nicolini doveo je Židove u taj grad po prvi put u povijesti, gdje prije nije postojala nikakva židovska zajednica.

Iako tisuće vjernih katolika hodočaste u Asiz svake godine kako bi odali počast problematičnom sinu udobnog trgovca koji je sam abdicirao kako bi postao skromni svetac, hodočasnici rijetko znaju za pravednog biskupa

koji je vodio napore za spašavanje stotina Židova. Kroz “Asišku mrežu”, biskup je dovodio židovske izbjeglice iz okolnog područja na mjesta utočišta u institucijama Katoličke crkve u Gradu svetog Franje, a pritom nije imao osobne ili crkvene koristi.

Pravednici, poput monsinjora Nicolinija i drugih koji su istinski djelovali u dobroj volji, ali nisu ili ne mogu dobiti priznanje za svoja herojska djela, bili su doista iznimni.

Svakako, iz udobnosti koju uživamo u današnjim netotalitarnim društvima mogli bismo izjaviti da je više pojedinaca trebalo djelovati poput *pravednika* tijekom Holokausta. Ipak, ovaj proglas ne samo da zvuči performativno, nego odjekuje jednako bahato. Tko može reći da bismo ti ili ja djelovali tako nesebično, neki bi cinično upitali? Bi li doista bilo tako jednostavno poduzeti akciju u spašavanju onih koji su označeni kao podljudi, otrovni za ljudsku vrstu i osuđeni na istrebljenje pod genocidnim autoritarnim strojem, posvećenim eliminaciji svakoga tko je pokušao spriječiti njihovo provođenje rasne čistoće? Barem u Sjedinjenim Državama, većina ne želi niti prepustiti mjesto u tramvaju starijem putniku, a kamoli riskirati život za one koji se smatraju manje vrijednima u našem bogato udobnom zapadnom društvu.

Kako se usuđujemo biti toliko oholi da pretpostavimo da bismo bili poput *pravednika*, zbog ugodnosti našeg

ležernog života? Neka se nikada ne suočimo s takvim zločinima protiv čovječnosti da bismo bili stavljeni na kušnju, da izaberemo moral nad zakonitošću i otkrijemo koliko smo doista apatični. Neka sjećanje na *pravednike* traje cijelu vječnost, kao i epitomski model ljudske nesebičnosti i upozorenje na zla koja ljudska bića nanose drugim ljudima; jer *pravednici* nemaju nužno taj status i mnogi nisu blagoslovljeni u našem društvu.

Pokret za borbu protiv antisemitizma (CAM) svake godine odaje počast imenovanom vođi *pravednika*, u nastojanju da proširi znanje o *pravednicima* među narodima i nadahne sadašnju

generaciju da hrabro podrži one koji su danas ugroženi. Monsinjur Giuseppe Placido Nicolini, koji je bio odabran za ovogodišnji program, privukao je izjave katoličkih i civilnih vođa iz cijelog svijeta uključujući: kardinala Blasea J. Cupicha (nadbiskupa Chica-ga), Nj.E. Apostolski nuncij nadbiskup Adolfo Tito Yllana (apostolski nuncij u Izraelu i Cipru, apostolski delegat u Jeruzalemu i Palestini) i Stefania Proietti (gradonačelnica Asiza). Ovdje saznajte više o monsinjoru Nicoliniju i njegovim herojskim djelima:

<https://bishopofassisi.combatantisemitism.org/>

Catherine Szkop

The Righteous Are Not Blessed in Our Society

**To do something immoral is worse than to do something illegal.
Do you agree or disagree with that statement?**

Catherine Szkop (*1997, Michigan / USA) is a first generation Polish American with Jewish roots from the US. She is a proud graduate of the University of Michigan (*Go Blue!*) and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where she earned her MA in Jewish Studies and focused on medieval to modern Polish Jewish history and culture. She currently works for the *Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM)* in the Partnerships and Diplomacy departments, fighting antisemitism around the world and online.

As a product of the American Catholic school system, whose high school curriculum incorporated both an Ethics course and Character Development course, my educational foundation instilled in me a number of beliefs related to morality. Namely, that the three tiers of natural, civil, and religious law demonstrate how illegality, as we understand it today, cannot morally govern humans as it only frames the gravest manifestations of basic violations against humankind and nature. Even though the majority of the human population would say that kicking over a beggar's tin can of coins would be an immoral act, no civil law protects the beggar from an unjustified, unprovoked act such as forcefully emptying the contents of his or her collection canister. Natural law, rather than civil or religious law, serves as a general protection for both the fortunate and the less fortunate against disgraceful acts, beyond

the "obvious" prohibitions of heinous crimes against humanity, such as murder. Nonetheless, even murder does not necessarily serve as a criminal act in some societal norms and cultural contexts.

During World War II and under Nazi rule, we now recognize the clear moral conflicts present in the letters of Nazi law, particularly in relation to eugenics and the "races of the world," of which the Jewish people did not even comprise. To kill a Jew, or any person bearing undesirable traits to the Aryan race, proved not only legal, but oftentimes encouraged as a means of maintaining and preserving "Aryan racial purity" as well as the dignity of the Nazi empire. On the other hand, we perceive this break from morality tenets "clearly" through an advantageous lens, free from the psychological prepping and longstanding educational installation of Nazi ideology. Undoubtedly, products of the Nazi

regime would view our present-day “racially impure” society as not only ignorant, but dangerous to the health of the human species. Many of those who ascribed to eugenics and Nazi race purity laws admit that they believed the extermination of people from “lower races” or who had undesirable genes was an unfortunate reality and side effect of enhancing and maintaining the “ideal human race.”

With these thoughts in mind, what does (or should) it mean to be “righteous?” Yad Vashem: The World Holocaust Remembrance Center provides a four-point definition for their “Righteous Among the Nations” program, which designates and honors non-Jews who saved Jews during the mass persecution and genocide of Jewish communities across the Nazi-occupied territories of the European continent. Aside from the criteria that includes having their life or livelihood endangered to the point of death, an important distinction for a person to be considered Righteous, according to the definition proposed by Yad Vashem, features a clause that the rescuer must help a Jew escape from deportation or execution **solely on good will**, without accepting payment or other personal benefit at the expense of the Jewish person.

Keeping a forfeited Jewish child and incorporating the child into the family, rather than releasing the child to a displaced person’s camp or a Zionist voyage to British Mandatory Palestine

at the conclusion of the war, would disqualify an individual or family from Righteous designation. To reference a tangible and surprising case where this occurred, a former Polish Catholic priest by the name of Dr. Ronald-Jakob Weksler-Waszkinel realized later in his life that his parents were Jewish and with the hope of saving him from the slaughter, relinquished him to a local Polish Catholic couple who raised him as their only son. When Righteous Among the Nations department representatives refused to consider his adopted parents as Righteous, since he continued to live with them and be raised by them as their son following the war, he reasonably stated, “I’m sorry, I’m not a luggage that can be given and taken away.”

In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus draws his sermon on the Mount of Beatitudes overlooking the Sea of Galilee to a close by speaking of the righteous. “Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” (Matthew 5:10) Unfortunately, many other Righteous individuals lost their lives due to the denunciation by those who uncovered their treacherous secret, some out of fear of being accused themselves of assisting the Righteous in hiding Jews and others out of spite for their neighbor. Whether they were discovered or not, however, the Righteous faced grave persecution for their decision to choose the fiercely moral action over the “appropriate” legal

action during that time period of history. Despite this incomprehensible bravery, the majority of the Righteous Among the Nations did not receive any recognition for their acts within their lifetime, if at all, and most of their courageous stories remain unknown to the world to this day. Surely, arguably the majority of these Righteous men and women never desired nor considered the need for public recognition. Oftentimes in history, especially in the case of the Righteous during World War II, these acts of noble moral intervention did not deserve praise or glory, but rather capital punishment and disgrace. As an example of a little known Righteous Among the Nations story, in a small Italian city famous for St. Francis, the late Bishop of Assisi Monsignor Giuseppe Placido Nicolini brought Jews to safety in the town for the first time in history, where no permanent Jewish community existed before, as Nazis hunted Jews in the region during the Holocaust. Even though thousands of faithful Catholics pilgrimage to Assisi every year, to pay homage to the troublesome son of a comfortable merchant who abdicated himself to become a humble Saint, rarely do these pilgrims know of the Righteous bishop who led the effort to save hundreds of Jews through the "Assisi Network," which brought Jewish refugees from the surrounding area to places of refuge in Catholic Church institutions in the City of St. Francis for no personal nor Church gain.

The Righteous, like Monsignor Nicolini, and others who genuinely acted in good will but have not or cannot be recognized for their heroic actions, were extraordinarily exceptional. Certainly, we can proclaim today from the comfort of our non-totalitarian societies that more individuals should have acted as the Righteous did during the Holocaust. Nonetheless, not only does this proclamation sound performative, but it resonates as equally arrogant. Who is to say that you or I would act so selflessly, some would even argue stupidly? Would it truly be that simple as to take action in saving those labeled as subhuman, toxic to the human species, and condemned to extermination under a genocidal authoritarian machine, committed to eliminate anyone who attempted to prevent their enforcement of racial purity? In the United States at least, most of us often choose not to stand for an elderly passenger on public transport, let alone risk our lives for those deemed less worthy in our opulently comfortable Western society.

How dare we be so haughty as to assume that we would be like the Righteous, from the amenity of our leisurely lives? May we never face such crimes against humanity that we be put to the test, to choose morality over legality, and discover how apathetic we truly are. May the memory of the Righteous persist for all of eternity, as both an epitomical model of

human selflessness and a warning of the evils that human beings inflict on other humans; for the Righteous are not blessed in our society.

Each year, in an effort to amplify the stories of the Righteous Among the Nations and to inspire the current generation to courageously stand with the persecuted of our time, the Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM) honors a designated Righteous leader. Monsignor Giuseppe Placido Nicolini was selected for this year's

program, drawing statements from Catholic and civil leaders from around the world including: **Cardinal Blase J. Cupich** (Archbishop of Chicago), **H.E. Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop Adolfo Tito Yllana** (Apostolic Nuncio to Israel and Cyprus, Apostolic Delegate to Jerusalem and Palestine), and **Stefania Proietti** (Mayor of Assisi). Learn more about Monsignor Nicolini and his heroic actions here:

<https://bishopofassisi.combatantisemitism.org/>

Paula Rem

Crno-bijeli svijet *pravednika među narodima*

Muzej i memorijalni centar *Yad Vashem*, lociran u Izraelu, uzeo je obvezu identificirati pojedince koji su svojim doprinosom spasili jednu ili više osoba židovskog podrijetla od nacističkih genocidnih aktivnosti. Zasad je u svijetu identificirano 27 000 takvih osoba, koje su ponijele titulu pravednika među narodima, od kojih su 130 iz Hrvatske. Tijekom dugog vremenskog perioda, ova je mogućnost bila malo poznata u Hrvatskoj, stoga je proces identifikacije

hrabrih pojedinaca koji su se oduprli nacističkom režimu počeo relativno kasno. Iz godine u godinu, sve više spašenih Židova u Hrvatskoj ili pak onih izbjeglih u inozemstvo se javljaju, želeći odati počast svojim spasiteljima, makar i posthumno. Nakon dojave spašenih pojedinaca, sudac izraelskog Vrhovnog suda predsjedava odborom koji se bavi verifikacijom činjenica vezanih uz spašavanje konkretne osobe ili osoba, nakon čega se titula dodjeljuje.



Lokacija dodjele medalje pravednika među narodima nasljednicima
Stjepana Kirhofera u Slavonskom Brodu

Izvor: osobni arhiv

Pripadnici nežidovskih naroda koji će imati udjela u mesijanskom dobu nazivaju se *pravednici među narodima*.

Prema židovskoj tradiciji, smatra se da će u mesijansko doba – vrijeme općeg prosperiteta, mira u svijetu i vječnog života – Židovima ponovno pripasti njihova zemlja i istaknuto mjesto među narodima svijeta, a Treći hram bit će izgrađen na ruševinama starom, što će omogućiti obnovu židovskog duhovnog života u svom punom smislu.

Pri pristizanju mesijanskog doba, nagrađeni će biti Židovi, ali i pripadnici svih ostalih naroda koji su poštovali sedam zapovijedi koje je Bog dao Noi nakon potopa, a koje obuhvaćaju čitavo čovječanstvo: 1. ne štovati idole; 2. ne spominjati Božje ime uzalud; 3. ne ubiti; 4. održati moralno ponašanje u privatnoj sferi; 5. ne krasti; 6. ne jesti meso otkinuto s žive životinje ili ono u kojem je krv; 7. uspostaviti sustav pravne države i poštovati sudove pravde.

Izraz *pravednik među narodima* (*ger toshav* odnosno *hasid umot haolam*) potječe iz rabinske Halahe i u svom izvornom kontekstu odnosi se na moralno ispravne nežidove. U antičkom kontekstu, valja imati na umu da su Židovi često bili ugnjetavani od strane okolnih naroda, a još od asirske invazije u 8. st. pr. n. e., zatim babilonske u 6. st. pr. n. e., perzijske, grčke, rimske, okupatori su često nastojali uništiti židovstvo asimilacijom ili čak otvorenim pokušajima genocida:

stoga je za Židove tog razdoblja bilo rijetko susresti prijateljski nastrojene nežidove. Zbog toga, izraz *pravednik među narodima* sugerira osobe koje se ističu svojim istančanim osjećajem za moral i ponašanje u skladu s temeljnim vrijednostima. Moderni *pravednici među narodima*, pojedinci zaslužni za spašavanje Židova kojima je prijetila smrt, pa i pod cijenu vlastite nesigurnosti, svakako se uklapaju u ovu definiciju.

Pojedinaca koji su pomagali svojim sugrađanima ima mnogo: za neke od njih znamo, za neke nikad nećemo saznati, no odlično je što se diže svijest o tome. Doba nacizma pamtimo po nevjerojatnom zlu koje je zavladao, po mnogobrojnim sudionicima u tom zločinačkom režimu, kao i milijunima ljudi koji su šutke tolerirali ili čak opravdavali te zločine: no to nije cjelovita slika. Čak ni u doba nacističkog totalitarizma, nije postojao opći društveni konsenzus: mnoštvo ljudi svojim je djelovanjem jasno pružilo otpor, bilo kroz sudjelovanje u organiziranom antifašističkom pokretu ili kroz spašavanje onih kojima je to najpotrebnije. Takve osobe treba imenovati, pamtiti, pohvaliti, istaknuti kao pozitivne primjere: primjere da je uvijek moguće djelovati. Štoviše, dužni smo djelovati u skladu s temeljnim ljudskim vrijednostima, učiniti ono što je ispravno zato što je ispravno, čak i ako je opasno. Među formalno proglašenim *pravednicima* Yad Vas-hema, zasigurno ih ima još tisuće,

možda i milijuna, za koje nikad neće-mo saznati, a njihov doprinos jednako je vrijedan. Doprinos imenovanih *pravednika među narodima* reprezentativan je za doprinos svih onih koje nismo uspjeli locirati, identificirati, pronaći, a koji su omogućili opstanak židovstva i općeljudskih vrijednosti.

Teoretski, *pravednici među narodima* nisu činili dobra djela radi stjecanja koristi, već zato što je to bilo ispravno. Međutim, u praksi titula *pravednika* nerijetko nosi određene kontroverzice: na primjer, treba li dodijeliti titulu osobi koja je ciljala steći vlastiti profit, a spašavanje ljudi bila je svojevrsna nuspojava? Treba li dodijeliti titulu nekome tko je inače bio član nacističke organizacije ili pristaša zločinačkog pokreta – ali povrh toga spasio nekoliko pojedinaca, ili čak nekoliko stotina osoba? Je li netko pravedan zato što je spasio svog nećaka ili dijete svog prijatelja?

Filozof Kant piše o kategoričkom imperativu, o tome da treba činiti dobro *radi dobra*, a ne radi bilo kakvog interesa. Ako imamo financijsku korist od spašavanja osoba koje će biti jefti-

na radna snaga za našu tvornicu, je li to dobročinstvo? Također, spašavanje člana obitelji ili prijatelja ne bi se po Kantovoj definiciji smatralo dobrim djelom. Ako je netko povijesno kontroverzna ličnost – kako je rečeno u govorima na našem Tjednu sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta u Osijeku – ako je netko bacaio kamenje na Židove, a istovremeno spasio nekoliko njih, treba li takvu osobu isticati kao pozitivan primjer? Ili treba vrjednovati prije svega one koji nisu igrali crno-bijele oportunističke igrice i aktivno se borili protiv zla kad je to bilo opasno?

Mnoga etička pitanja vezana uz crno-bijele ličnosti ostaju otvorena. Međutim, na neka je relativno lako odgovoriti. Razlika između dobra i zla u tom povijesnom periodu posve je jasna, kao što je jasno i da je bilo pojedinaca koji su se nedvosmisleno svrstali na stranu dobra. Stoga je važno isticati takve primjere. Uvijek postoji mogućnost izbora; uvijek postoji mogućnost pružanja otpora zlu, jer zlo dugoročno ne može pobijediti: ono što je destruktivno, na koncu destruiralo samo sebe, a dobro ostaje.

Paula Rem

Black-and-White World of the Righteous among the Nations

The Yad Vashem Museum and Memorial Center, located in Israel, has undertaken to identify individuals whose contribution saved one or more persons of Jewish origin from Nazi genocidal activities. So far, 27,000 such persons have been identified in the world, who bore the title of Righteous Among the Nations, of which 130 are from Croatia. For a long period of time, this possibility was little known in Croatia, therefore the process of identifying brave individuals who resisted the Nazi regime started relatively late. Year after year, more and more rescued Jews in Croatia or those who fled abroad come forward, wanting to pay tribute to their saviors, even posthumously. After the information of the rescued individuals, the judge of the Israeli Supreme Court presides over the committee that deals with the verification of the facts related to the rescue of a specific person or persons, after which the title is awarded.

Members of the Gentile nations who will have a share in the Messianic age are called the *righteous among the nations*.

According to Jewish tradition, it is believed that in the **Messianic era** -

a time of general prosperity, peace in the world and eternal life, when the Jews will regain their land and a prominent place among the nations of the world, and the Third Temple will be built on the ruins of the old one, which will allow renewal of Jewish spiritual life in its full sense. At the arrival of the Messianic age, the Jews will be rewarded, but also members of all other nations who respected the seven commandments that God gave to Noah after the flood, which include all of humanity: 1. do not worship idols; 2. not to mention God's name in vain; 3. not to kill; 4. maintain moral behavior in the private sphere; 5. do not steal; 6. not to eat meat torn from a live animal or meat with blood in it; 7. establish a system of rule of law and respect the courts of justice.

The term *righteous among the nations* (ger toshav or hasid umot haolam) originates from rabbinical Halacha and in its original context refers to morally upright non-Jews. In the ancient context, it should be remembered that the Jews were often oppressed by the surrounding nations, and since the Assyrian invasion in the 8th century BC. n. e., then Babylonian in the 6th century BC. n. e., Persian, Greek, Roman, the occupiers often



Presentation of the Righteous Among the Nations medal to the heirs of Stjepan Kirhofer

Source: personal archive

sought to destroy Jewry by assimilation or even open attempts at genocide: therefore it was rare for Jews of that period to meet friendly non-Jews. For this reason, the term righteous among nations suggests persons who stand out for their refined sense of morality and conduct in accordance with fundamental values. Modern Righteous Among the Nations, individuals credited with saving Jews who were threatened with death, even at the cost of their own insecurity, certainly fit this definition.

There are many individuals who helped their fellow citizens: some of them we know about, some we will

never know about, but it is great that awareness is being raised about it. We remember the era of Nazism for the incredible evil that prevailed, for the numerous participants in that criminal regime, as well as for the millions of people who silently tolerated or even justified these crimes: but that is not the complete picture. Even in the era of Nazi totalitarianism, there was no general social consensus: many people clearly resisted by their actions, either by participating in an organized anti-fascist movement or by rescuing those who needed it the most. Such persons should be named, remembered, praised, highlighted as positive examples: examples that it is

always possible to act. Moreover, we are obliged to act according to basic human values, to do what is right because it is right, even if it is dangerous. Among the formally declared righteous of Yad Vashem, there are surely thousands more, perhaps millions, that we will never know about, and their contributions are just as valuable. The contribution of the named righteous among the peoples is representative of the contribution of all those whom we have not been able to locate, identify, find, and who have enabled the survival of Judaism and universal human values.

Theoretically, the *righteous among the nations* did not do good deeds for gain, but because it was right. However, in practice, the title of the righteous often carries certain controversies: for example, should the title be awarded to a person who aimed to gain his own profit, and saving people was a kind of side effect? Should the title be awarded to someone who was otherwise a member of a Nazi organization or a supporter of an evil political regime – even if this person in fact saved a few individuals, or even a few hundred people? Is someone righteous because he saved his nephew or his friend's child?

The philosopher Kant writes about the *categorical imperative*, about doing

good for the sake of good, and not for the sake of any interest. If we benefit financially from saving people who will be cheap labor for our factory, is that charity? Also, saving a family member or friend would not be considered a good deed by Kant's definition. If someone is a historically controversial figure - as was said in the speeches at our Holocaust Remembrance Week in Osijek - if someone threw stones at Jews and at the same time saved several of them, should such a person be held up as a positive example? Or should we value first of all those who did not play black and white opportunistic games and actively fought against evil when it was dangerous?

Many ethical questions related to black and white personalities remain open. However, some are relatively easy to answer. The difference between good and evil in that historical period is quite clear, just as it is also clear that there were individuals who unequivocally sided with good. Therefore, it is important to point out such examples. There is always a choice; there is always the possibility of resisting evil, because evil cannot win in the long run: what is destructive ultimately destroys itself, while good remains.

Tal Elkobi

Po čemu je Ishay Ribo tako poseban?

Tal Elkobi (Lehavim, 1995.), podrijetlom iz Izraela, živi u Zagrebu i studira medicinu na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu. Završila je srednju poljoprivrednu školu u južnom Izraelu, a zatim je dvije godine služila u vojsci kao instruktorka u topničkom korpusu. Bila je volonterka u centru Židovske zajednice u Atlanti, Georgia, u sklopu Židovske agencije. Od tada je uključena u aktivnosti u vezi sa židovskim životom i kulturom.

Iako njegovi koncerti privlače publiku iz čitavog spektra izraelskog društva, a naklade njegovih albuma već su postale zlatne, on zapravo samo želi pjevati *Borei Olam*.

Izraelsko društvo sastoji se od tri različite skupine - Haredim (ortodoksni Židovi), Hilonim (sekularni Židovi) i nacionalno-religiozni pojedinci između ove dvije skupine – svaka skupina funkcionira zasebno i tvrdoglavo se drži svojih uvjerenja. Ako granice između tih skupina stvarno postoje, onda je superzvijezda izraelski pjevač Ishay Ribo, novi glas vjere i nade, smislio kako ih nadići. Ali možda je umjesto toga dokazao da granice zapravo uopće ne postoje.

Ujedinjenje Izraela u teškim vremenima

Ovu tvrdnju potvrđuje srceparajući posjet Riba *shivahu* (sedmodnevno razdoblje žalosti) 21-godišnjeg vojnika, javnosti veoma dragog Amita Ben Yigala. Amit je ubijen kada mu je arapski terorist bacio kamen u lice u selu izvan Jenina u svibnju 2020. Is-

hay Ribo pokazao je što doista znači biti Izraelac: to je posvećenost jednih prema drugima. Pokazao je važnost okupljanja svih Židova, religioznih i sekularnih.

Amit je bio obožavatelj glazbe Ishaya Riboa. Nakon njegove smrti, njegova je obitelj bila zapanjena kada je vidjela koliko je glazbeniku stalo do preminulog obožavatelja. Na ceremoniji žalosti, Ribo je sjedio u krugu s njima i pjevao “Halev Sheli,” svoju megapopularnu pjesmu o tome kako samo Hashem (Bog) može izliječiti slomljeno srce, dovodeći do suza Amitove roditelje. Religiozni i nereligiozni posjetitelji pridružili su se, pjevajući riječi nade i iscjeljenja. Baruch Ben Yigal rekao je Ishayu da je Amit, koji je bio njegovo jedino dijete, odabrao “Halev Sheli” kao melodiju zvona na svom telefonu.

Ova je prigoda zapravo pokazala da svi Židovi žele pomagati jedni drugima bez obzira na osobna uvjerenja, a pjesma je savršen medij koji ih može povezati.

Običan tip

Ishay Ribo je tip čovjeka kojeg lako možete zaobići na ulici bez da ga primijetite. Vrlo je skroman i neupadljiv u svojoj crnoj jarmulki, trenirci, tra-pericama i tenisicama. Unatoč velikoj popularnosti njegove glazbe, Ishay Ribo kaže da može slobodno šetati ulicama bez neželjene pažnje. Iako su njegove pjesme na vrhu lista u Izraelu, on i dalje cijeni anonimnost i mir u privatnom životu.

“Mislim da su moje pjesme popularnije od mog lica”, kaže o svojoj sposobnosti da se kreće ulicama Jeruzalema bez privlačenja pozornosti. Živi sa suprugom Yael i četvero djece u stanu na trećem katu pored drvoreda u jeruzalemskoj četvrti Kiryat Moshe, šalje svoje sinove na Talmud Toru Har Nof i provodi jutro proučavajući Talmud opširno u Kollelu (naprednom proučavanju Talmuda) Midreshet Ziva.

Ishay ima 33 godine i rođen je u Marseilleu u Francuskoj. Njegova je obitelj polako postajala opreznija prije nego što je učinio *aliyah* kada je imao osam godina. Potom je u djetinjstvu nastavio pohađati vjersku cionističku i *haredi* (ortodokсно židovsku) školu, nakon čega je uslijedila *ješiva* (škola) namijenjena ljudima iz Francuske koji žele odseliti u Izrael. Nakon što se preselio u Izrael, dvije je godine služio u izraelskoj vojsci kao dio Korpusa za tehnologiju i održavanje, a također je bio član zbora IDF-a.

Ishay Ribo uzdigao se do vrhova i židovske i izraelske glazbe, nakon objavljivanja svog prvog albuma *Tocho Retzef Ahava* 2014. Međutim, da bismo u potpunosti shvatili značaj koncerta 26. svibnja, moramo prvo shvatiti tko je Ribo i zašto je uopće postao toliko popularan.

Drugim riječima, po čemu je Ishay Ribo poseban?

Novi elementi u izraelskoj glazbi

Prije nego što je Ribo transformirao žanr, židovska je glazba uglavnom slijedila jednostavnu formulu stavljanja biblijskih stihova i izreka iz rabinske literature u pjesme. Ribo, međutim, piše snažne i poetične tekstove prožete biblijskim i midraškim referencama koje su usprkos tome zapanjujuće originalne. Ponovno je stvorio tradicionalni *piyut* (liturgijsku poeziju), dajući drevnim tekstovima i učenjima svježiji oblik koji snažno govori Izraelcima i Židovima 21. stoljeća bez obzira na religiju.

Ishay uspijeva srušiti granice među židovskim skupinama na svoj način, miješajući jedinstvenu kombinaciju duhovnih utjecaja, zaraznih i inspirativnih zapadnjačkih melodija i svog jedinstvenog, mekog glasa. Na taj način penje se do vrha ljestvica. To je Ribo učinilo jednim od najistaknutijih i najomiljenijih mladih umjetnika na izraelskoj glazbenoj sceni, s milijunima pregleda na YouTubeu.

Ortodoksni Židovi i moderni utjecaji

Ribo vješto spaja stare biblijske i rabinske reference sa svojim kreativnim tekstovima, stvarajući istovremeno religiozni i veseli ton svojih pjesama. Stihovi pjesme sastoje se od prekrasnih slika i rima koje govore o *posebnom danu*. On pjeva o “danu kada su nebesa otvorena” i “zvuku koji ovdje povezuje duše”. (Bolje zvuči na hebrejskom, vjerujte mi.) Pjesme poput *Tocho Retzuf Ahava* i *Kol Dodi Ribo* sadrže stihove iz *Shir HaShirima* koji se nikada nisu koristili u modernoj glazbi. Uz odjek romantike iz stihova poput onih u *Shir HaShirim* (Pjesma nad pjesmama), Ribove pjesme često zvuče kao ljubavne pjesme koje bi muškarac pjevao voljenoj ženi; međutim, u klasičnom stilu *Shir HaShirima*, one su istovremeno predivne ljubavne pjesme o Bogu i Tori.

Bliska veza s obožavateljima

Ishay Ribo dokazao je u brojnim prilikama da ima toplu i ljubavnu vezu sa svojim obožavateljima. Baš kao i u situaciji s Amitom Ben Yigalom, mladim poginulim vojnikom, Ishay se pokazao vjeran svojim živućim obožavateljima. Moji prijatelji koji su bili na njegovom koncertu svjedočili su o njegovoj druželjivosti i bliskosti koju ima s obožavateljima.

Moji prijatelji opisali su Riba kao iskrenu i prijateljski nastrojenu osobu, sa zabavnom i privlačnom poja-

vom na pozornici. Cijeni sve svoje obožavatelje, bez obzira na njihovo podrijetlo. Rečeno mi je da su na tom koncertu u Cezareji bile protestantske Amerikanke koje su skandirale njegovo ime, a on je u šali odgovorio: “Ah, Americayim!”

Neki od mojih prijatelja pokušali su se ušuljati iza pozornice kako bi ga dočekali, bojeći se da će biti izbačeni. Uspjeli su proći osiguranje i ući u backstage, misleći da će se dogoditi ono najgore. Misleći da će im biti zabranjen ulazak u backstage, ipak su nastavili – međutim, umjesto da ih izbacili, on ih je radosno pozdravio. Razgovarao je s njima i pitao ih odakle dolaze. Nakon što se slikao s njima, zaželio im je *chag sameach*. Također redovito poziva poznate gostujuće pjevače da s njim dijele pozornicu, a na svakom nastupu potiče publiku da izmjenjuje stihove s njim.

Ishay Ribo dokazao je da ostaje uz svoje obožavatelje i u dobrim i u lošim trenucima.

Premda izraelsku javnost dijele političke i religijske preferencije, Ishay ih je u stanju sve ujediniti. Njegova se glazba doista može smatrati darom Hashema.

Ovdje možete pogledati glazbu Ishaya Riboa:

<https://www.youtube.com/@IshayRiboOfficial/featured>

Tal Elkobi

What Makes Ishay Ribo So Unique?

Tal Elkobi (Lehavim, 1995), originally from Israel, lives in Zagreb and studies Medicine at Zagreb University. She graduated from the Agricultural High School in South of Israel, then served at the army as Instructor in the Artillery Corps for two years. She was a volunteer at the Jewish Community Center at Atlanta, Georgia, as part of the Jewish agency. Since then, she is involved in activities regarding Jewish life and culture.

While his concerts attract capacity crowds from the entire spectrum of Israeli society and his albums have gone gold, he still only wants to sing about the *Borei Olam*.

Israeli society consists of three disparate groups — Haredim (Orthodox Jews), Hilonim (Secular Jews), and the national-religious somewhere in between — each with separate agendas, each fiercely holding down their line. If those lines really exist, then superstar Israeli singer **Ishay Ribo**, the new beloved voice of believing and hope, has figured out how to cross them. But maybe instead, he's proven that the battle lines aren't really there at all.

Uniting Israel in Difficult Times

Perhaps nothing reflects this more than a clip of a heartbreaking visit by Ribo to the *shivah* (seven-day mourning period) after death of a 21-year-old soldier, very beloved Amit Ben Yigal. Amit was murdered when an Arab terrorist threw a stone at his face in a village outside Jenin in May 2020. Ishay Ribo showed what being Israeli

truly means: it is a commitment towards one another. He demonstrated importance of bringing together all Jews, religious and secular.

Amit was a fan of Ishay Ribo's music. After his death, his family was amazed to see how much the musician cares. At the mourning ceremony, Ribo sat in a circle with them and sang "Halev Sheli," his mega-popular song about how only Hashem can heal a broken heart, bringing Amit's parents to tears as they and other non-religious visitors joined him in singing the words of hope and healing that they all knew. Baruch Ben Yigal told Ishay that Amit, who was his only child, had selected "Halev Sheli" as the ringtone on his phone.

This occasion in fact proved that all Jews want to help each other and be connected through song regardless of their personal convictions.

Just a Regular Guy

Ishay Ribo is the kind of guy you could easily pass on the street and not even

notice, understated and inconspicuous in his black yarmulke, sweatshirt, jeans, and sneakers. In spite of great popularity of his music, Ishay Ribo says he can walk around streets freely without getting unwanted attention. Even though his songs are at top of the lists in Israel, he still appreciates anonymity and peace in private life.

“I think my songs are more popular than my face”, he says of his ability to navigate the streets of Jerusalem without garnering unwanted attention. He lives with his wife Yael and four children (three boys and a baby daughter) in a third-floor apartment off a tree-lined sidewalk in Jerusalem’s Kiryat Moshe neighborhood, sends his sons to Talmud Torah Har Nof, and spends his mornings studying Talmud extensively in the Kollel (advanced study of Talmud) of Midreshet Ziv.

Ishay is 33 years old and was born in Marseille, France. His family slowly became more observant before he made aliyah when he was eight years old. He then proceeded to attend both Religious Zionist and Haredi (Orthodox Jewish) schools in his childhood, followed by a yeshiva (school) designed for people from France who want to make *aliya*. After having moved to Israel, he served in the Israeli army for two years as part of the Technology and Maintenance Corps and also was a member of the IDF choir.

Ishay Ribo has risen to the pinnacles of both Jewish and Israeli music, following the release of his first album

Tocho Retzuf Ahava in 2014. However, to fully appreciate the concert on May 26, it is crucial to first understand who Ribo is, why he is deserving of such a big event and why he became so popular in the first place.

In other words, why is Ishay Ribo different from everyone else?

New elements in Israeli Music

Before he transformed the genre, Jewish music generally followed the simple formula of putting Biblical verses and sayings from Rabbinic literature to song. Ribo, however, writes powerful and poetic lyrics infused with Biblical and Midrashic references that are nevertheless astonishingly original. He has recreated the traditional *piyut* (liturgic poetry), giving ancient texts and teachings a fresh form that speaks powerfully to 21st century Israelis and Jews of every religious background.

Ishay manages to break down sectarian walls on his way to the top, in his own way, by mixing a unique combination of spiritual influences, catchy and inspirational Western melodies, and his one-of-a-kind, soft voice. This has made Ribo one of the most prominent and beloved young artists in the Israeli music scene, with millions of YouTube views.

Orthodox Jewish and Modern Influences

Ribo dexterously fuses old Biblical and Rabbinic references with his

own creative lyrics, crafting a dual religious and cheerful tone to his songs. However, the verses of the song consist of beautiful imagery and rhyme schemes that capture the essence of the special day. He sings of “the day when the heavens are open” and the “sound that connects souls here.” (It sounds better in Hebrew, trust me.) Songs like *Tocho Retzof Ahava* and *Kol Dodi Ribo* feature verses from *Shir HaShirim* which have never been used in modern music. With the resonance of romance from verses like those in *Shir HaShirim* (Song of Songs), Ribo’s songs often sound like love songs that a husband would sing to his wife; however, in classic *Shir HaShirim* fashion, they are actually love songs about God and Torah, carrying with them this same beauty.

Close bond with fans

Ishay Ribo proved on numerous occasions that he has a warm and loving connection with his fans. Just like in the situation with Amit Ben Yigal, young deceased soldier, Ishay proved to be loyal to his living fans. My friends, who went to his concert, testified about his friendliness and close bond he has with fans.

My friends described Ribo as a genuine and friendly person, with a fun and engaging stage presence. He appreciates all of his fans, regardless of their origin. I was told that at that

concert in Caesarea there were Protestant American women chanting his name, and he responded jokingly: “Ah, Americayim!”

Some of my friends attempted to sneak backstage to meet him, fearing that they would be thrown out. They managed to get past the security and enter backstage, thinking the worst would happen. Thinking they would be forbidden to enter the backstage, they proceeded nevertheless – however, instead of kicking them out, he greeted them happily. He talked to them and asked where they came from. After he took pictures with them, he wished them *a chag sameach*. He also regularly invites famous guest singers to share the stage with him, and he encourages the crowd to alternate lines with him every performance.

Ishay Ribo proved he can share both the good and the bad with his fans.

While Israeli political sects and religious denominations often generate tension and hard divides amongst each other, Ishay is able to unite them all. His music can truly be considered the gift of Hashem.

You can check out Ishay Ribo’s music here:

<https://www.youtube.com/@IshayRiboOfficial/featured>

Paula Rem

Nije sve tako crno: izložba i okrugli stol povodom početka hrvatskog predsjedanja IHRA-om

U ožujku 2023. godine, Hrvatska je preuzela predsjedanje IHRA-om (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance), Međunarodnim savezom sjećanja na Holokaust. Riječ je o globalnoj organizaciji čiji je cilj održati ispravo sjećanje vezano uz nacističke genocidne aktivnosti i prevenirati antisemitizam u budućnosti. Njihova “radna definicija antisemitizma” najsvieobuhvatnija je od svih, a mnoge države, među kojima i Hrvatska, obvezale su se usvojiti je. Sveučilišta diljem svijeta u istraživanjima antise-

mitizma također koriste ovu definiciju, različitu od ostalih po tome što u antisemitizam ubraja i anticionizam.

U svrhu obilježavanja početka hrvatskog predsjedanja IHRA-om, Ravnateljstvo policije Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova i Policijska uprava osječko-baranjska kontaktirale su Židovsku općinu Osijek, s kojom inače ostvaruju odličnu suradnju. Održano je nekoliko sastanaka i radnih dogovora vezano uz prisutnost i sankcioniranje antisemitizma u Osijeku,



Sudionici okruglog stola

Izvor: privatni arhiv

a također je dogovoreno da će biti održana izložba i okrugli stol pod nazivom „Unaprjeđivanje obrazovanja, istraživanja i informiranja o Holokaustu te sustavno poticanje sjećanja na Holokaust“ u sklopu projekta „Zajedno protiv govora mržnje“. Program je održan 23.3.2023. na Pravnom fakultetu u Osijeku, u zgradi Židovske općine Osijek. U program su se uključila dva fakulteta, predstavnici lokalne i područne samouprave, osječki predstavnici ureda pučke pravobraniteljice, mnoge građanske udruge i predstavnici medija.

Predstavnici policije pozdravili su prisutne, a dekan Pravnog fakulteta u Osijeku prof. Tunjica Petrašević naglasio je važnost kulture dijaloga u očuvanju ispravnih činjenica vezanih uz Holokaust. Prof. Barbara Herceg Pakšić održala je izlaganje o pravnih

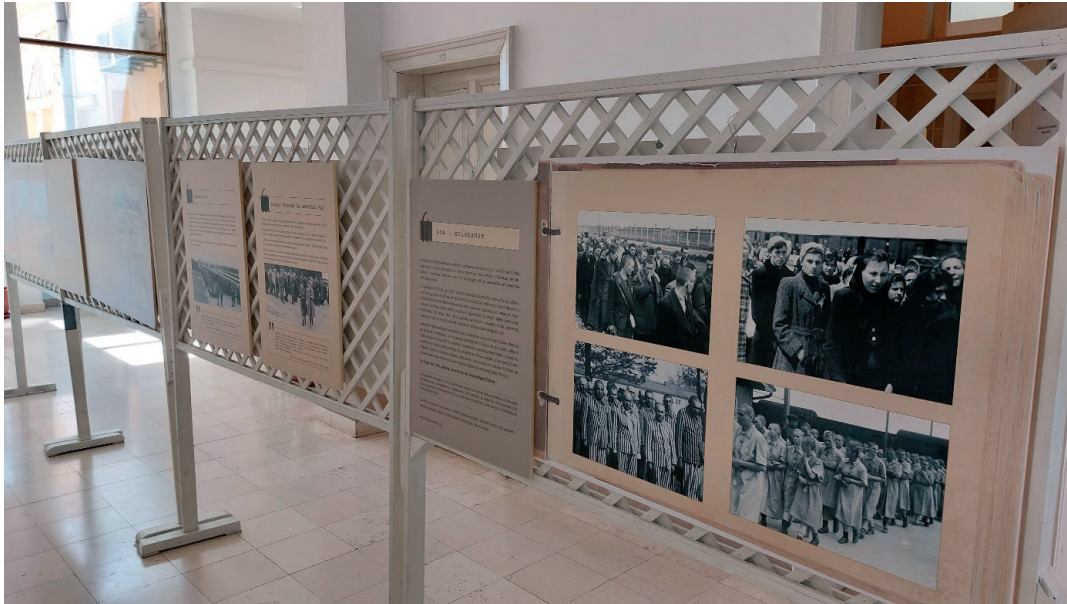
procedurama vezanim uz kazneno djelo poticanja na nasilje i mržnju, ali i negiranje Holokausta. Naglasila je da se prema članku 325. Kaznenog zakona kažnjava ne samo osobno provođenje zločina, već i odobravanje, poricanje i umanjivanje kaznenog djela genocida, agresija ili zločina protiv čovječnosti usmjerenog prema skupini zbog njihove rasne, vjerske, nacionalne ili etničke pripadnosti. Prof. Pakšić također je istaknula da se simboli, geste, slike i glazba nasilnog poticajnog karaktera sankcioniraju.

Prof. Hrvoje Volner s Filozofskog fakulteta u Osijeku istaknuo je da je s osječkog područja nestalo 87% Židova tijekom Holokausta. Dok je 1931. na popisu stanovništva izbrojano 2500 osječkih Židova (čak 6% stanovništva), preživjelo ih je tek oko 455. Prof. Volner također je parafrazirao Hegela



Publika na programu

Izvor: privatni arhiv



Izložba na Pravnom fakultetu

Izvor: privatni arhiv

ukazujući na važnost očuvanja povijesne istine i preuzimanja odgovornosti: „Ako je narod sazrio i postao povijestan, onda je odgovoran i za postupke svojih vladara koji vladaju u njegovo ime“.

Predsjednik ŽOO Damir Lajoš naglasio je značaj židovske zajednice za osječku javnost. Židovi su imali važan utjecaj na razvoj modernog Osijeka – od Oskara Nemona do Lava Mirskog – a premda je danas broj članova malen, doprinos ŽOO ostaje velik. Tu je Mjesec židovske kulture, ali i redovne cjelogodišnje aktivnosti i sudjelovanje u izgradnji kulture grada. Predsjednik ŽOO istaknuo je kako naša Općina izvrsno surađuje s policijom i izrazio zadovoljstvo prihvaćenošću od strane osječke javnosti. Antisemitistički izgređi ograničeni su na folklor, grafite, natpise ili poklike

koji imaju simboličku vrijednost, ali nasreću ne nose fizičke posljedice, što dokazuje da naše aktivnosti imaju utjecaj na javnost. Dok mnoge europske zemlje imaju problem s lijevim antisemitizmom uslijed pritoka migranata s Bliskog istoka, Hrvatska zasad srećom nema taj problem. I tu se vraćamo nazad IHRA-inoj definiciji – da, anticionizam je također forma antisemitizma.

Dugogodišnji tajnik ŽOO Dragutin Kohn ispričao je svoje svjedočanstvo kao dijete preživjelih Holokausta. Njegov otac preživio je 2. svjetski rat kao partizan, ali nevolje su se nastavile kad je postratno bio zatvoren na Golum otoku. Priča je publiku potresla, ali mjestimično i nasmijala – g. Kohn ispričao je anegdotu o tome kako ga je kao malo dijete tijekom rata neki nacist pitao za prezime, a nakon što je

on rekao "K-O-H-N", nacist mu je dao čokoladu, jer mu je zvučalo njemački. Humoristični detalji potvrđuju da Židovima uvijek ostaje optimizam i vedri duh – čak i nakon progona i trauma.

Okrugli stol podsjetio je još jednom na važnost očuvanja sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta, ali također i podsjetio da je trenutno pozicija Židova u Hrvatskoj korektna. Budući da volimo prigovarati, ponekad izgubimo iz vidokruga onu "veliku sliku" i fokusiramo se na detalje. Mi smo sastavni dio osječke javnosti – kako kroz povijest, tako i sad doprinosimo svom gradu i svojoj državi, a društvo nas prihvaća bolje nego što mi to sebi priznajemo. Antisemitizam dakako postoji – ali nasreću riječ je o riječima, ne o djelima. Želimo li hraniti zlo time što mu

pridajemo dodatnu pozornost? Uzmimo na primjer fenomen terorizma: on postoji isključivo radi medijske pompe. Sve čemu pridajemo značaj raste – ako želimo bolje i tolerantnije društvo, moramo znati cijeniti i isticati pozitivne aspekte. Treba djelovati performativno – našim govorom, našim tekstom i riječima kreirati stvarnost kakvu želimo. U životu postoji mnogo izazovnih situacija – ponekad moramo riječima i djelima kreirati promjenu za kojom žudimo. Pretpostaviti, za promjenu, da je sve u redu. Da sve ide u pozitivnom smjeru – onamo kamo smo uvijek trebali biti – i da imamo priliku promijeniti uvjete koji su se dosad činili zadanima. Pozitivnom i hrabrom akcijom u sadašnjosti možemo ispisati budućnost ljepšu nego što je bila prošlost.

Paula Rem

Not everything is so black: exhibition and round table on the occasion of the start of the Croatian presidency of the IHRA

In March 2023, Croatia assumed the presidency of IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance). It is a global organization whose goal is to preserve real facts about Nazi genocidal activities and prevent anti-Semitism in the future. Their “working definition of anti-Semitism” is the most comprehensive of all, and many countries, including Croatia, have committed to adopting it. Universities around the world in anti-Semitism research also use this definition, which differs from the others in that

anti-Semitism is also included in anti-Zionism.

In order to mark the beginning of the Croatian presidency of the IHRA, the Police Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Osijek-Baranja Police Department contacted the Jewish Community Osijek, with whom they normally have excellent cooperation. Several meetings and working arrangements related to the presence and sanctioning of anti-Semitism in Osijek were held, and it was also agreed that an exhibition and a round

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Participants of the round table

Source: private archive



Audience at the program

Source: private archive

table entitled “Improving education, research and information about the Holocaust and systematically encouraging memory of the Holocaust” will be held as part of the project “Together against hate speech”. The program was held on March 23, 2023. at the Faculty of Law in Osijek, in the building of the Jewish Community Osijek. The program was attended by two faculties, representatives of local and regional governments, Osijek representatives of the Ombudsman’s office, many civil associations and representatives of the media.

Representatives of the police greeted those present, and the dean of the Faculty of Law in Osijek, prof. Tunjica Petrašević emphasized the importance of the culture of dialogue in preserving correct facts related to the Holocaust. Prof. Barbara Herceg

Pakšić gave a presentation on legal procedures related to the criminal offense of incitement to violence and hatred, as well as denial of the Holocaust. She emphasized that according to Article 325 of the Criminal Code, not only the personal commission of a crime is punished, but also the approval, denial and downplaying of the criminal act of genocide, aggression or crime against humanity directed at a group because of their racial, religious, national or ethnic affiliation. Prof. Pakšić also pointed out that symbols, gestures, images and music of a violently stimulating character are sanctioned.

Prof. Hrvoje Volner from the Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek pointed out that 87% of Jews disappeared from the Osijek area during the Holocaust. While 2,500 Osijek Jews were count-



Exhibition at the Faculty of Law

Source: private archive

ed in the 1931 census (as much as 6% of the population), only about 455 of them survived. Prof. Volner also paraphrased Hegel, indicating the importance of preserving historical truth and taking responsibility: “If a nation has matured and become historical, then it is also responsible for the actions of its rulers who rule on its behalf.”

President of the Jewish Community Damir Lajoš emphasized the importance of the Jewish community for the public of Osijek. Jews had an important influence on the development of modern Osijek - from Oskar Nemon to Lav Mirski - and although today the number of members is small, our contribution remains great. There is the Month of Jewish Culture, but also regular year-round activities and participation in building the city’s cul-

ture. The President pointed out that our Municipality cooperates excellently with the police and expressed his satisfaction with the acceptance by the public of Osijek. Anti-Semitic outrages are limited to folklore, graffiti, inscriptions or slogans that have a symbolic value, but fortunately do not have physical consequences, which proves that our activities have an impact on the public. While many European countries have a problem with left-wing anti-Semitism due to the influx of migrants from the Middle East, Croatia fortunately does not have that problem at the moment. And here we go back to the IHRA definition - yes, anti-Zionism is also a form of anti-Semitism.

Dragutin Kohn, the long-time secretary of the Jewish Community Osijek, told his testimony as a child of Holo-

caust survivors. His father survived World War II as a partisan, but the troubles continued when he was imprisoned on Goli otok after the war. The story shook the audience, but also made the audience laugh - Mr. Kohn told an anecdote about how as a small child during the war, a Nazi asked him his last name, and after he said "K-O-H-N", the Nazi gave him chocolate, because sounded German. Humorous details confirm that Jews always remain optimistic and cheerful - even after persecution and trauma.

The round table reminded once again of the importance of preserving the memory of the victims of the Holocaust, but also reminded that the current position of the Jews in Croatia is correct. Because we like to complain, we sometimes lose sight of the "big picture" and focus on the details. We are an integral part of the Osijek public - both throughout history and now we contribute to our city and our country, and society accepts us better

than we admit to ourselves. Anti-Semitism certainly exists - but fortunately it is about words, not actions. Do we want to feed evil by giving it extra attention? Take for example the phenomenon of terrorism: it exists solely for the sake of media hype. Everything we attach importance to grows - if we want a better and more tolerant society, we must know how to appreciate and emphasize the positive aspects. We need to act performatively - using our speech, our text and words to create the reality we want. There are many challenging situations in life - sometimes we have to create the change we long for with our words and actions. To assume, for a change, that everything is fine. That everything is going in a positive direction - to where we were always supposed to be - and that we have the opportunity to change the conditions that seemed to be given until now. With positive and courageous action in the present, we can create a future that is more beautiful than the past.

Paula Rem

Dodjela titule *pravednika* Kamilu Firingeru: Tjedan sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta

u Osijeku (24.1.-27.1.2023.)

Nakon dugih i toplih zimskih praznika, uslijedio je jedan hladan tjedan. Premda se snijeg nije zadržavao, ipak je padao, podsjećajući na metafizičku prisutnost onih koji više nisu s nama. Osijek se ponovno pokazao pionirima u razvoju programa vezanih uz židovsku kulturu, pa je tako 24.1.-27.1.2023. *de facto* održan Tjedan sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta. Tijekom ovog tjedna, razdvajali smo se svega na nekoliko sati, a koliko su događaji poput ovih važni za održavanje zajednica, svjedoče i rezultati naših aktivnosti koje su dotakle na stotine sudionika i dose-

gnule na tisuće građana diljem Hrvatske i inozemstva. U sklopu Državnog stručnog skupa „Poučavanje i učenje o holokaustu i sprečavanju zločina protiv čovječnosti“, nastavnici povijesti, zemljopisa, hrvatskog jezika i drugih predmeta iz cijele Hrvatske tijekom četiri dana imali su priliku slušati mnogobrojna predavanja, a posjetili su i židovsko groblje u Đakovu. Osim glavnog organizatora AZOO, u organizaciji skupa sudjelovali su i Ministarstvo obrazovanja, Židovska općina Osijek, Yad Vashem iz Izraela i Memorial de la Shoah iz Francuske.



Sudionici konferencije na židovskom groblju u Đakovu

Izvor: osobni arhiv

Ponedjeljak je prošao tako brzo u pripremama za sutrašnji program, da ga gotovo nismo ni primijetili: već je bio utorak 24.1., a mnoštvo nas nakratko je izišlo s posla kako bismo svjedočili svečanoj ceremoniji dodjele titule *pravednika među narodima* Osječaninu Kamilu Firingeru (1983.-1984.). Premda smo svjesni poslovnih i društvenih okolnosti kojima smo okruženi, nevidljiva magnetska sila uvijek nas vraća nazad židovstvu, a ispunjenost osjećamo samo kad smo zajedno. Bilo nam je izuzetno drago vidjeti našeg rabina Luciana Mošu Prelevića, koji je održao molitvu u sjećanje na žrtve Holokausa te nadu u iščekivanje mesijanskog doba, kao i predsjednika Koordinacije Židovskih općina Hrvatske Ognjena Krausa. Srdačno smo se ispozdravljali, podružili na zakuski, a nije izostao osjećaj zajedništva. Nismo morali mnogo razgovarati jer barem mi znamo da su riječi jeftine, s obzirom na minimalističku suhoparnost hebrejskog jezika: utopljeni u protokolarnim obvezama i okruženi stanovnicima našeg grada u prepunom lobiju Kulturnog centra Osijek, vidjeli smo jedni druge tek krajičkom oka, ali energija zajedništva je isijavala u moru posjetitelja. Čak i u udaljenosti, osjetili smo jedni druge, a kako čovjek *ne može ne komunicirati*, naša energetska povezanost snažno je pulsirala, gradeći mrežu koju nitko osim nas nije mogao percipirati.

Nakon godinu dana najavljivanja, ceremonija uručivanja medalje Firingerovoj kćerki Veri Pilepić konačno je održana.

Kako je čitateljima *Glasnika* već poznato, ovaj čuveni osječki arhivist spasio je nekoliko članova obitelji Fischer od sigurne smrti, pomažući im da prijeđu mađarsku granicu u vrijeme nacističke okupacije. Kako svjedoči Darko Fischer, Firinger je predstavio Fischerove kao članove svoje vlastite obitelji kako bi im pomogao u bijegu. Rat su preživjeli djeca Darko i Lelja te njihova majka Margita i baka. Inicijativa o dodjeli titule pravednika, ove počasne nagrade Države Izrael, potekla je od osječkog arhivista Siniše Bjedova, koji je istraživao Firingerov doprinos osječkoj kulturi, a provedena je zahvaljujući svjedočanstvu prof. Darka Fischera.

Na uručanju medalje izraelskog memorijalnog centra Yad Vashema govorili su gradonačelnik Osijeka Ivan Radić, osječko-baranjski župan Ivan Anušić, a bio je ovo i prvi posjet Osijeku novog veleposlanika Izraela Garyja Korena. Otvorenje je uveličao naš rabin Luciano Moše Prelević, a govorio je i predsjednik Koordinacije ŽOO Ognjen Kraus. Ivan Bulić, dječak uvelike poznat osječkoj javnosti, uz pratnju nastavnice klavira Ivančice Hinek uljepšao je otvorenje pjevanjem pjesama na hebrejskom jeziku. U pretrpanom lobiju Kulturnog centra stisnulo se čak dvjestotinjak osoba koje su prepoznale značaj ove ceremonije. Osim mnoštva članova ŽO Osijek, i danas najaktivnije židovske općine u Hrvatskoj, ceremoniji su nazočili mnogi važni pojedinci iz javnog života Osijeka i predstavnici lokalnih, regionalnih i nacionalnih

medija. Politički predstavnici naglasili su koliko su ponosni pripadati gradu koji se odlikovao mnogim hrabrim građanima koji su se suprotstavili zlu i činili dobro, time čak riskirajući vlastiti život. Program je izvrsno medijski odjeknuo pa je tijekom sljedećih nekoliko sati cijela Hrvatska doznala da je 130. hrvatski *pravednik među narodima* upravo Osječanin. Svi govornici istaknuli su važnost očuvanja tolerancije i ispravnog sjećanja na žrtve Holokausa. Naš dugogodišnji predsjednik Darko Fischer rekao je kako Kamilo Firinger predstavlja primjer čovjeka koji je učio ono što je ispravno, čak i u povijesno zahtjevnim vremenima. Kamilo Firinger znao je razlikovati dobro od zla, a upravo to je ono čemu treba učiti i našu djecu. Na etičku temu o dobru i zlu, koju je započeo počasni predsjednik ŽOO Darko Fischer, nastavio se sadašnji predsjednik ŽOO Damir Lajoš. Premda su nažalost mnogi građani Osi-

jeka tijekom 2. svjetskog rata stali na stranu agresora, bacajući kamenje na naše pretke, uvijek je bilo onih koji su se zlu odupirali i činili ono što je ispravno. Upravo zbog takvih pojedinaca mi smo danas ovdje, sjedimo jedni uz druge u ovoj dvorani, natopljeni osjećajem zajedništva i ponosa biti dijelom ovoga grada. Unatoč svim povijesnim teškoćama, opstali smo, preživjeli, jači smo nego ikad, možda ne brojem članstva, ali svakako razmjerom doprinosa osječkoj kulturnoj sceni i javnom životu grada. Finalnom igrom riječi, naglašeno je kako mi u ŽO želimo vjerovati da je današnji Osijek grad *Kamila Firingera*, a ne grad *kamena*.

Tog istog dana, članice Ženske sekcije ŽO Osijek na inicijativu dopredsjednice Biljane Majnik ex Papo imale su produktivan sastanak s predstavnicama Ženske sekcije ŽO Zagreb. Razgovaralo se o mnogim temama relevantnim za naše općine, dijelili smo jedni drugi-



Na otvorenju Državnog stručnog skupa „Poučavanje i učenje o holokausu i sprečavanju zločina protiv čovječnosti“

Izvor: osobni arhiv

ma savjete i ideje kako podići razinu aktivnosti u općinama, a naša Ženska sekcija pohvalila se dosad postignutim aktivnostima. Osim uobičajenog doprinosa vezanog uz osiguravanja slasnih delicija, ne samo pri praznicima, već i svakom susretu, naša Sekcija bavi se i knjižničarskim poslom, popisujući nekoliko stotina knjiga u vlasništvu Općine.

Program Tjedna sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta nastavio se punom parom u 15 sati tog istog dana, ne dajući nam vremena za predah, ali mi tako volimo, volimo biti aktivni i doprinositi gradu, kao što volimo govoriti o našoj kulturi i tradiciji. U svečanoj dvorani Rektorata Osječkog sveučilišta Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Tvrđi, održano je otvorenje jubilarnog dvadesetog Državnog stručnog skupa „Poučavanje i učenje o holokaustu i sprečavanju zločina protiv čovječnosti“, na kojem su sudjelovali mnogobrojni nastavnici povijesti, zemljopisa, hrvatskog jezika i drugih predmeta iz cijele Hrvatske.

Otvorenju su prisustvovali predstavnici Grada, Županije, Vlade RH, Ministarstva obrazovanja, Agencije za odgoj i obrazovanje (AZOO) te židovskih općina. Ceremoniju je vodila savjetnica za povijest u AZOO Loranda Miletić iz Zadra, a skup je otvorila direktorica Agencije Dubravka Brezak-Stamać. Nakon što je dječji zbor izveo himnu RH “Lijepa naša domovina”, a dječak Ivan Bulić svojim anđeoskim glasom uveličao je otvorenje skupa. Veleposlanik Izraela Gary Koren pohvalio je inicija-

tivu Hrvatske za suzbijanje antisemitizma i naglasio da je preko 400 nastavnika već sudjelovalo u akademiji Yad Vashema učeći o Holokaustu u Izraelu. Predsjednik Koordinacije židovskih općina Ognjen Kraus kritički se osvrnuo na manjak aktivnosti Vlade RH za zabranom ustaških simbola i obilježja. Predsjednik Židovske općine Osijek Damir Lajoš naglasio je da je naše članstvo ostalo desetkovano nakon 2. svjetskog rata, ali svejedno smo danas ovdje, živi i aktivni – i tako će biti sve do mesijanskog doba kada ćemo svjedočiti o pravdnosti drugih naroda – to je ono što nas Židove inherentno povezuje, proces transformacije međuljudskih odnosa kojemu se moramo prepustiti. Frano Matušić, državni tajnik u Ministarstvu europskih i vanjskih poslova rekao je kako će Hrvatska u ožujku početi predsjedavati Internacionalnom alijansom za pamćenje Holokausta (IHRA), što svjedoči da postoji volja u državnom vrhu za suzbijanje antisemitizma. Radna definicija antisemitizma IHRA-e pravno je usvojena, što je veoma velik korak u suzbijanju mržnje. Vesna Šerepac, izaslanica ministra Radovana Fuchsa i ravnateljica Uprave za odgoj i obrazovanje Ministarstva znanosti i obrazovanja izvela je opće zaključke o važnosti promicanja tolerancije i uvažavanja među djecom i mladima, a u ime premijera Vlade RH Andreja Plenkovića govorila je pravnica Sara Lustig, kćerka čuvenog producenta Branka Lustiga, inače savjetnica Vlade za pitanja Holokausta, suzbijanja antisemitizma i odnose sa židovskim zajednicama.



Govornici na otvorenju Državnog stručnog skupa „Poučavanje i učenje o holokaustu i sprečavanju zločina protiv čovječnosti“

Izvor: osobni arhiv

Na programima se odvila čak i etičko-filozofijska polemika na temu dobra i zla. Izjava Sare Lustig zamutila je prethodno retorički definiranu granicu između dobra i zla, naime, rekla je kako je njezinom ocu u Holokaustu pomogao upravo jedan od onih koji su bacali kamenje te da pomoć takvih osoba također treba vrednovati. Pa ipak, povijesne činjenice vrlo su jasne: u 2. svjetskom ratu postojale su točno dvije strane: dobro i zlo, stoga ovakvo retoričko brisanje granica između crnog i bijelog, svojevrsni nastavak globalne *no-limits kulture*, u najboljem slučaju relativizira doprinos onih koji su se zalagali na strani dobra, a u najgorem umanjuje zločine onih koji su bili na strani zla. Ne valja zaboraviti da odgovornost snose i oni koji šutke toleriraju zlo.

Prvi dan zaključen je zanimljivim predavanjem Darka Fischera. Prof. Fisc-

her je izuzetno nadaren govornik, koji se lako prilagođava svakoj publici, a jednu te istu priču o spašavanju uvijek govori na drugi način, pri čemu se svaki put stječe još cjelovitija slika s više pojedinosti. Na kraju predavanja, mnoštvo nastavnica povijesti razmijenilo je kontakte s prof. Fischerom u namjeri da ga pozovu kao gostujućeg predavača među učenike, jer je kontakt s preživjelima Holokausta uvijek vrijedno iskustvo. Uslijedilo je još jedno predavanje o razvoju nacizma u Hrvatskoj, a još dugo nakon programa nastavili smo se družiti s prof. Fischerom. Nakon cjelodnevnog programa, također je održan sastanak predsjednika ŽO s novim izraelskim veleposlanikom u nadi ostvarivanja konstruktivne suradnje.

Cijela srijeda bila je predviđena za predavanja i radionice u kojima će nastavnici naučiti, odnosno ponoviti i proš-

riti znanje o povijesnim činjenicama vezanim uz Holokaust, a kako bi mogli bolje i točnije podučavati svoje učenike. U ime Židovske općine Osijek, predavanja i radionice držao je naš član prof. Hrvoje Volner, sveučilišni profesor na Odsjeku za povijest, u sklopu kojih su nastavnici imali priliku proučavati izvorne tekstove i svjedočanstva vezana uz čuveno židovsko groblje u Đakovu te grobara Stjepana Kolba, koji je očuvao imena ubijenih Židovki i djece koja su stradala u đakovačkom logoru tijekom Holokausta. Predavanje je također održala prof. Zlata Živaković-Kerže, među ostalima, a nastavnici povijesti davali su kolegama inspirirajuće primjere dobre prakse.

U četvrtak ujutro, sudionici skupa krenuli su s predstavnicima ŽO Osijek u posjet đakovačkom židovskom groblju, spomeniku kulture jedinstvenom u Europi, gdje su popisana imena svih

logoraša zahvaljujući grobaru Stjepanu Kolbu, a gdje se nalazi i grob moje pra-prabake Elze Mautner, koja je u dobi od 50 godina umrla u đakovačkom logoru, vjerojatno kao posljedica tifusa. Profesor povijesti Hrvoje Volner i predsjednik ŽOO Damir Lajoš tumačili su prisutnima povijest groblja. Na ulazu u groblje nalazi se kip izraelske umjetnice Dine Merhav u kojem Davidova zvijezda od čelika simbolizira novo izrastanje židovstva nakon pokolja u Holokaustu, ali i podsjeća na kabalističko Drvo života, u čijim se sferama nalazi 10 božanskih emanacija. U unutarnjem prostoru kapelice, nalazi se spomenik palim borcima NOB-a, a naši su predstavnici tumačili apsurdnost da je riječ o urni budući da kremiranje nije dio židovske tradicije, s obzirom da mi vjerujemo u reizgradnju i uskrsnuće tijela na temelju pokopanih kostiju. Pa ipak, žrtve Holoka-



Predstavnici Židovske općine Osijek s nastavnicima povijesti na židovskom groblju u Đakovu u sklopu Državnog stručnog skupa „Poučavanje i učenje o holokaustu i sprečavanju zločina protiv čovječnosti“

Izvor: osobni arhiv

usta prisilno su kremirane, tako da im čak ni nakon smrti nije očuvan minimum dostojanstva. Objasnjeno je da su židovska groblja okrenuta u smjeru Jeruzalemu, tako da će u mesijansko doba uskrsnuti imati priliku ustati u smjeru Svete zemlje, kao i činjenica da su sinagoge okrenute prema toj lokaciji. Pomogla sam u čitanju i prevođenju hebrejskih natpisa, nakon čega smo se uputili kroz stari dio groblja prema dijelu gdje je ŽO Osijek postavila pločice s imenima žrtava. Objasnili smo nastavnicima da se prevrnuli spomenici zbog pravnih zavrzlama nažalost ne mogu podići, jer bi bilo potrebno dopuštenje direktnih potomaka preminule osobe, kao i činjenicu da je ŽO Osijek formalno odgovorna za mnogo grobalja u općinama i gradovima koje nemaju židovske zajednice, ali da su za održavanje nadležni gradovi, odnosno općine. Neki od nas podijelili su svoje privatne obiteljske priče sa sudionicima seminara – neki od naših predaka preživjeli su riskantnim bijegom iz logora, a neki užasnim izborom nalik na onaj u filmu *Sofijin izbor*. Da naši preci nisu bili majstori preživljavanja, ne bi bilo ni nas danas – višeput ovih dana podsjetili smo se citata iz Talmuda da onaj tko spasi jedan život, spašava cijeli svijet. I doista je tako, jer mi smo svijet – mi koji danas stojimo ovdje u Đakovu, prisjećajući se svojih predaka, fascinirani time što smo živi – baš mi, baš ovdje i sada, što možemo biti zajedno, što imamo priliku dati udio u *tikkun olam*, popravljanju svijeta. Svaki od naših predaka bio je na samom

rubu smrt, a da se, poganskim rječnikom, kotač sudbine okrenuo nekoliko stupnjeva na drugu stranu, ne bismo bili danas ovdje – ali ipak, kako kaže Einstein, Bog se ne kocka, za nas Židove sve se događa s razlogom, a ponekad treba učiniti i rizičan potez, neočekivan iskorak iz onoga što se činilo kao da je zadano, oduprijeti se statusu quo, prepustiti se nečem novom i neočekivanom, kako bismo ispunili ono što nam je namijenjeno.

Tijekom pauze za ručak, predstavnici ŽOO nastavili su objašnjavati zainteresiranim nastavnicima prošle i sadašnje aktivnosti naše Općine, tako da je i pauza provedena radno. Predsjednica AZOO Dubravka Brezak-Stamać izrazila je veliki interes za rad naše Općine, što nam je iznimno drago. Sljedeća na redu bila je tura Tomislava Vukovića o židovskom Osijeku – svaki član ŽO Osijek zacijelo je pohađao ovu turu više nego jednom, jer je riječ o veoma kvalitetno razrađenoj i originalno osmišljenoj šetnji kroz grad, a posebno nam je drago provoditi strance i goste iz drugih gradova ulicama našeg Osijeka, ukazujući na bogatu židovsku prošlost našeg grada – ali i kontinuitet vidljiv u radu naše ŽOO. Gosti su također imali priliku posjetiti prostorije naše ŽOO, gdje smo im pričali o židovskim običajima, čitali Deset zapovijedi i objašnjavali kako u židovskoj tradiciji nije moliti se da se nešto dobije – nego je puno češće molitvom se žaliti na status quo, odbacujući sumnju i pouzda-

jući se u Božje vodstvo da ćemo, kad bude pravi trenutak, znati donijeti odluku, jer je sve dio Božjeg plana.

Ostatak četvrtka i cijeli petak uslijedile su daljnje radionice i predavanja. Petak prijepodne, u Parku Oskara Nema održana je tradicionalna povodom Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta 27.1. Osim predstavnika medija, zamjenika župana Josipa Miletića, branitelja iz Udruge Sv. Rok koji redovito dolaze odati počast i mnoštva članova naše ŽOO obitelji, programu je nazočilo i opće građanstvo. Tjedan sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta zaključen je posjetom skupine dječjih izviđača prostorima Općine, pri čemu ih je voditeljica nedjeljne škole Nives Beissmann podučila osnovnim židovskim običajima, pjesmama i plesovima. Bilo nam je jako drago iskoristiti Tjedan sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta da otvorimo vrata svoje Općine za go-

ste, nakratko ih pustiti u naš svijet, u naš maleni svemir, čijem su očuvanju pomogli pravednici poput Firingera, ali i današnji pravednici, osobe koje promiču dobro, kao nastavnici koji su na skupu sudjelovali. Na taj način, koristimo priliku da pozitivno utječemo na sadašnjost, informiramo društvo i svijet o našoj kulturi, o našem malom svijetu. Nadamo se da su nastavnici nakon ovog četverodnevnog AZOO stručnog skupa, u čijoj smo organizaciji i mi sudjelovali, sada spremniji obraditi s učenicima zahtjevne teme – ne samo Holokaust, već i bogatstvo židovske kulture i religije, koja je tako duboko integrirana u civilizirani svijet i naše društvo. Sigurni smo da će se entuzijazam nastavnika povodom sudjelovanja na skupu zrcaliti u njihovom radu s učenicima, te ćemo kao rezultat dobiti tolerantnije i obrazovnije društvo.



**Članovi Udruge sv. Rok na obilježavanju
Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta**

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

Paula Rem

Awarding the title of *the Righteous* to Kamilo Firinger: Holocaust Remembrance Week in Osijek

(January 24-January 27, 2023)

After the long and warm winter holidays, a cold week followed. Although the snow did not linger, it still fell, reminding us of the metaphysical presence of those who are no longer with us. Osijek has once again proved to be a pioneer in the development of programs related to Jewish culture, so January 24-27, 2023, the de facto Holocaust Remembrance Week was held. During this week, we only separated for a few hours, and the results of our activities, which touched hundreds of participants and reached thousands of citizens throughout Croatia

and abroad, testify to how important events like these are for maintaining communities. As part of the National Conference “Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust and Preventing Crimes Against Humanity”, teachers of history, geography, Croatian language and other subjects from all over Croatia had the opportunity to listen to numerous lectures over the course of four days, and they also visited the Jewish cemetery in Đakovo. In addition to the main organizer Agency for Education (AZOO), the Ministry of Education, the Jewish Community



Ceremony at International Holocaust Remembrance Day

Source: Boris Lichtenthal

Osijek, Yad Vashem from Israel and Memorial de la Shoah from France participated in the organization of the conference.

Monday passed so quickly in preparation for tomorrow's program, that we hardly even noticed it: it was already Tuesday 24.1., and many of us briefly left work to witness the solemn ceremony of awarding the title of Righteous Among the Nations to Osijek's Kamilo Firinger (1983- 1984). Although we are aware of the business and social circumstances that surround us, an invisible magnetic force always draws us back to Judaism, and we feel fulfilled only when we are together. We were extremely glad to see our Rabbi Luciano Moše Prelević, who held a prayer in memory of the victims of the Holocaust and hope for the Messianic era, as well as the president of the Coordination of Jewish Communities of Croatia, Ognjen Kraus. We greeted each other warmly, shared a snack, and there was a sense of community. We didn't have to talk much because at least we know that words are cheap, considering the minimalist dryness of the Hebrew language: drowned in protocol obligations and surrounded by the residents of our city in the crowded lobby of the Osijek Cultural Center, we only saw each other out of the corner of our eyes, but the energy of togetherness shone in a sea of visitors. Even in the distance, we sensed each other, and as humans cannot help but

communicate, our energy connection pulsated strongly, building a web that no one but us could perceive.

After a year of announcements, the medal ceremony for Firinger's daughter Vera Pilepić was finally held. As Glasnik readers already know, this famous archivist from Osijek saved several members of the Fischer family from certain death by helping them cross the Hungarian border during the Nazi occupation. As Darko Fischer testified, Firinger presented the Fischers as members of his own family in order to help them escape. Children Darko and Lelja and their mother Margita and grandmother survived the war. The initiative to award the title of the righteous, this honorary award of the State of Israel, came from Osijek archivist Siniša Bjeđov, who researched Firinger's contribution to Osijek culture, and was carried out thanks to the testimony of prof. Darko Fischer.

The mayor of Osijek, Ivan Radić, the prefect of Osijek-Baranja, Ivan Anušić, spoke at the medal presentation of the Israeli memorial center Yad Vashem, and this was also the first visit to Osijek by the new ambassador of Israel, Gary Koren. The opening was graced by our rabbi Luciano Moše Prelevic, and the president of the Coordination Ognjen Kraus also spoke. Ivan Bulić, a boy widely known to the Osijek public, accompanied by piano teacher Ivančica Hinek, brightened up the opening by singing songs



Representatives of the Jewish Community Osijek and participants of the conference at the Jewish Graveyard in Đakovo

Source: personal archive

in Hebrew. In the overcrowded lobby of the Cultural Center, as many as two hundred people squeezed in who recognized the significance of this ceremony. In addition to many members of the Jewish Community Osijek, still today the most active Jewish community in Croatia, the ceremony was attended by many important individuals from the public life of Osijek and representatives of local, regional and national media. Political representatives emphasized how proud they are to belong to a city that was distinguished by many brave citizens who stood up to evil and did good, even risking their own lives. The program received excellent media coverage, so during the next few hours the whole of Croatia found out that the 130th Croatian Righteous Among the Nations was actually from Osijek. All

speakers emphasized the importance of preserving tolerance and correct memory of the victims of the Holocaust. Our long-time president Darko Fischer said that Kamilo Firingier is an example of a man who taught what was right, even in historically demanding times. Kamilo Firingier knew how to distinguish good from evil, and this is exactly what our children should be taught. On the ethical topic of good and evil, which was started by the honorary president of the Jewish Community Osijek Darko Fischer, the current president of the Jewish Community Osijek Damir Lajoš continued. Although unfortunately many citizens of Osijek during World War II sided with the aggressors, throwing stones at our ancestors, there were always those who resisted evil and did what was right. It is precisely be-

cause of such individuals that we are here today, sitting next to each other in this hall, soaked in a sense of community and pride in being a part of this city. Despite all the historical difficulties, we survived, we survived, we are stronger than ever, maybe not by the number of members, but certainly by the scale of our contribution to Osijek's cultural scene and the public life of the city. With the final play on words, it was emphasized that we at the Jewish Community want to believe that today's Osijek is the city of *Kamilo* Firinger, and not the city of stone (*kamen*).

On the same day, the members of the Women's Section of the Jewish Community Osijek on the initiative of the vice-president Biljana Majnik ex Papo, had a productive meeting with the representatives of the Women's Section of the Jewish Commu-

nity Zagreb. Many topics relevant to our communities were discussed, we shared advice and ideas on how to raise the level of activities in the communities, and our Women's Section boasted about the activities achieved so far. In addition to the usual contribution related to the provision of delicious delicacies, not only during holidays, but also at every meeting, our Section also deals with librarianship, cataloging several hundred books owned by the Community.

The Holocaust Remembrance Week program continued at full steam at 3:00 p.m. that same day, giving us no time to rest, but that's how we like it, we like to be active and contribute to the city, as we like to talk about our culture and traditions. In the ceremonial hall of the Rectorate of the Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek in Tvrđa, the opening of the jubilee



Opening of the conference on 24th January 2023

Source: personal archive

20th National Conference “Teaching and learning about the Holocaust and the prevention of crimes against humanity” was held, which was attended by numerous teachers of history, geography, Croatian language and other subjects.

The opening was attended by representatives of the City, the County, the Government of the Republic of Croatia, the Ministry of Education, the Education Agency (AZOO) and Jewish communities. The ceremony was led by the history advisor at AZOO Loranda Miletić from Zadar, and the meeting was opened by the director of the Agency Dubravka Brezak-Stamać. After the children’s choir performed the Croatian national anthem “Ljepa naša domovina”, and the boy Ivan Bulić graced the opening of the meeting with his angelic voice. Ambassador of Israel Gary Koren praised Croatia’s initiative to combat anti-Semitism and emphasized that over 400 teachers have already participated in the Yad Vashem Academy learning about the Holocaust in Israel. The President of the Coordination of Jewish Communities, Ognjen Kraus, commented critically on the lack of activity of the Government of the Republic of Croatia to ban Ustaša symbols and insignia. President of the Jewish Community of Osijek Damir Lajoš emphasized that our membership was decimated after the Second World War, but we are still here today, alive and active - and

it will be like this until the messianic age when we will bear witness to the righteousness of other peoples - that is what what inherently binds us Jews is the process of transformation of interpersonal relationships to which we must surrender. Frano Matušić, State Secretary in the Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs, said that in March, Croatia will start presiding over the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), which proves that there is a will in the state leadership to combat anti-Semitism. The IHRA’s working definition of anti-Semitism has been legally adopted, which is a very big step in the fight against hatred. Vesna Šerepac, delegate of Minister Radovan Fuchs and director of the Directorate for Education of the Ministry of Science and Education, made general conclusions about the importance of promoting tolerance and respect among children and young people, and lawyer Sara Lustig, daughter of the famous producer Branko Lustig, spoke on behalf of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia, Andrej Plenković. Sara Lustig is otherwise an adviser to the Government on issues of the Holocaust, suppression of anti-Semitism and relations with Jewish communities.

There was even an ethical-philosophical polemic on the topic of good and evil on the programs. Sara Lustig’s statement blurred the previously rhetorically defined border between

good and evil, namely, she said that her father was helped in the Holocaust by one of those who threw stones and that the help of such persons should also be valued. And yet, the historical facts are very clear: in World War II there were exactly two sides: good and evil, therefore this rhetorical erasure of the boundaries between black and white, a kind of continuation of the global no-limits culture, at best relativizes the contribution of those who stood on the side of good, and at worst minimizes the crimes of those who were on the side of evil. We should not forget that those who silently tolerate evil are also responsible.

The first day was concluded with an interesting lecture by Darko Fischer. Prof. Fischer is an extremely gifted speaker, who easily adapts to any audience, and always tells the same rescue story in a different way, each

time gaining a more complete picture with more details. At the end of the lecture, many history teachers exchanged contacts with prof. Fischer with the intention of inviting him as a guest lecturer among the students, because contact with Holocaust survivors is always a valuable experience. Another lecture on the development of Nazism in Croatia followed, and long after the program we continued to hang out with Prof. Fischer. After the day-long program, a meeting of the president of the Jewish Community Osijek with the new Israeli ambassador was also held in the hope of achieving constructive cooperation.

The entire Wednesday was scheduled for lectures and workshops in which teachers will learn, that is, repeat and expand their knowledge of historical facts related to the Holocaust, so that they can teach their students better and more accurately. On behalf of



Lecture of Darko Fischer on 24th January 2023

Source: personal archive

the Jewish Community of Osijek, lectures and workshops were held by our member prof. Hrvoje Volner, university professor at the Department of History, as part of which teachers had the opportunity to study original texts and testimonies related to the famous Jewish cemetery in Đakovo and gravedigger Stjepan Kolb, who preserved the names of murdered Jewish women and children who perished in the Đakovo camp during the Holocaust. The lecture was also held by prof. Zlata Živaković-Kerže, among others, and history teachers gave their colleagues inspiring examples of good practice.

On Thursday morning, the participants of the meeting went with the representatives of the Jewish Community Osijek to visit the Jewish cemetery in Đakovo, a cultural monument unique in Europe, where the names of all camp inmates are listed thanks to gravedigger Stjepan Kolb, and where the grave of my great-great-grandmother Elsa Mautner, who died at the age of 50 in the Đakovo camp, probably as a result of typhus. History Professor Hrvoje Volner and president of the Jewish Community Osijek Damir Lajoš explained the history of the cemetery to those present. At the entrance to the cemetery, there is a statue by the Israeli artist Dina Merhav, in which the Star of David sculpture symbolizes the new growth of Judaism after the massacre in the Holocaust, but also reminds of the caba-

listic Tree of Life, in whose spheres there are 10 divine emanations. In the interior of the chapel, there is a monument to the fallen fighters of the NOB, and our representatives interpreted the absurdity that it is an urn, given that cremation is not part of the Jewish tradition, given that we believe in the reconstruction and resurrection of the body based on buried bones. And yet, the victims of the Holocaust were forcibly cremated, so that even after death they were not preserved a minimum of dignity. It is explained that the Jewish cemeteries face in the direction of Jerusalem, so that in the Messianic age the resurrected will have the opportunity to rise in the direction of the Holy Land, as well as the fact that the synagogues face that location. I helped in reading and translating the Hebrew inscriptions, after which we headed through the old part of the cemetery towards the part where the Jewish Community Osijek placed plaques with the names of the victims. We explained to the teachers that the overturned monuments unfortunately cannot be erected due to legal entanglements, as the permission of the direct descendants of the deceased person would be required, as well as the fact that the Jewish Community Osijek is formally responsible for many cemeteries in communities and cities that do not have Jewish communities, but are for maintenance by competent cities or communities. Some of us shared our private family stories with the semi-

nar participants - some of our ancestors survived by a risky escape, and some by a terrible choice similar to the one in the movie *Sofia's Choice*. If our ancestors were not masters of survival, we wouldn't be here today either - many times these days we were reminded of the quote from the Talmud that whoever saves one life, saves the whole world. And indeed it is so, because we are the world - we who stand here in Đakovo today, remembering our ancestors, fascinated by being alive - exactly us, right here and now, that we can be together, that we have the opportunity to contribute to *tikkun olam*, fixing the world. Each of our ancestors was on the verge of death, and if, in pagan terms, the wheel of fate had turned a few degrees to the other side, we would not be here today - but still, as Einstein says, *God does not gamble*, for us Jews

everything happens for a reason, and sometimes you have to make a risky move, an unexpected leap from what seemed like a given, to resist the status quo, to indulge in something new and unexpected, in order to fulfill what is meant to be.

During the lunch break, representatives of Jewish Community Osijek continued to explain the past and present our activities to the interested teachers, so that the break was also spent working. The president of AZOO Dubravka Brezak-Stamać expressed great interest in the work of our Community, which we are extremely pleased about. Next in line was Tomislav Vuković's tour of Jewish Osijek - every member of our Community must have attended this tour more than once, because it is a very well-designed and originally designed walk through the city, and we



Conference participants at the Jewish Graveyard in Đakovo

Source: personal archive

are especially happy to take guests from other countries cities in the streets of our Osijek, pointing to the rich Jewish past of our city - but also the continuity visible in the work of our Community. The guests also had the opportunity to visit the premises of our Jewish Community, where we told them about Jewish customs, read the Ten Commandments and explained that in the Jewish tradition it is not about praying to get something - it is much more common to complain about the status quo with prayer, rejecting doubt and trusting in God's guidance that, when the moment is right, we will know how to make a decision, because everything is part of God's plan.

The rest of Thursday and all of Friday were followed by further workshops and lectures. On Friday morning, a traditional event was held in Oskar Nemon Park on the occasion of the International Day of Remembrance for the Victims of the Holocaust on January 27. In addition to media representatives, deputy prefect Josip Miletić, veterans from the Association of St. Rok who pay their tribute regularly and many members of our Jewish family, the program was also attended by the general public. The Holocaust

Remembrance Week was concluded with a visit of a group of child scouts to the premises of the Community, during which Sunday school leader Nives Beissmann taught them basic Jewish customs, songs and dances. We were very happy to use the Holocaust Remembrance Week to open the doors of our Community to guests, to briefly let them into our world, into our little universe, which righteous people like Firingier helped preserve, but also today's righteous people, people who promote good, like teachers who participated in the meeting. In this way, we use the opportunity to positively influence the present, inform society and the world about our culture, about our small world. We hope that after this four-day AZOO conference, in the organization of which we also participated, the teachers are now more ready to deal with demanding topics with students - not only the Holocaust, but also the richness of Jewish culture and religion, which is so deeply integrated into the civilized world and our society. We are sure that the teachers' enthusiasm for participating in the meeting will be reflected in their work with the students, and as a result we will have a more tolerant and educated society.

Paula Rem

Pravednik iz Slavenskog Broda, Stjepan Kirhofer

U utorak, 17.5.2022. delegacija Židovske općine Osijek prisustvovala je proglašavanju Brođanina Stjepana Kirhofera *pravednikom među narodima* u njegovom rodnom gradu. Dodjela se odvila u popunjenoj svečanoj dvorani Glazbene škole, popunjenoj predstavnicima židovskih općina, građanima i učenicima škole.

Program je vodio novinar HRT-a Ognjen Golubić. Poslije intoniranja himne, prozvan je Lavoslav Špicer, dugogodišnji predsjednik Židovske općine Slavonki Brod zapaliti svijeću, nakon čega je uslijedila minuta šutnje u znak sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta.

Nakon uvodne riječi gradonačelnika, govorio je tadašnji veleposlanik Države Izrael u Hrvatskoj Ilan Mor. Podcrtao je važnost izreke iz Talmuda: "Tko spasi jednu dušu, kao da je spasio čitav svijet". veleposlanik je objasnio kako je Stjepan (Štefko) Kirhofer riskirao život svoje obitelji pristajući skrbiti o sinu brata svoje supruge, sedmogodišnjem Ljubi Pechiju, dječaku židovskog podrijetla. Ljubini roditelji konvertirali su dječaka na katoličanstvo i izbjegli su u Italiju, no dječak je svejedno uhićen s nalogom za deportaciju u koncentracijski logor u Njemačkoj, nakon čega je Stjepan uspio povući svoje veze u policijskoj



Predstavnici Židovske općine Osijek s Ljubomirom Pechijem

Izvor: osobni arhiv

upravi i nagovoriti ih da oslobode Ljubu. Stjepan je nastavio brinuti o Ljubi i na koncu mu omogućio putovanje u Italiju k roditeljima.

Veleposlanik je također citirao “sjećaj se onoga što ti je učinio Amalek”, stvarajući poveznicu između neprijatelja antičkih Hebreja Amaleka i nacista, zaključujući kako je riječ o zapovijedi očuvanja povijesne istine i borbe protiv revizionizma. Također, publiku se podsjetilo kako je donedavno ovaj grad imao ulicu nazvanu po ustaškom ministru Mili Budaku, koja je desetak dana prije ovog događaja preimenovana, a i dandanas postoje gradovi u kojima su ulice nazvane po pripadnicima i simpatizerima zločinačkog nacističkog režima. Umjesto toga, veleposlanik je poželio da se ulice zovu

prema herojima, antifašistima i mikroborcima za pravdu poput Stjepana Kirhofera.

“Ono čega bismo se trebali sjećati, ne samo u Hrvatskoj, nisu ti krvnici, ubojice i njihovi suradnici već životi koji su zbog tih ljudi i ideologija izgubljeni. Ono čega bismo se trebali sjećati su ljudi poput g. Kirhofera koji su promijenili stvari tako što su u izboru između pravog i krivog odabrali učiniti pravu stvar”, zaključio je tadašnji veleposlanik Mor.

Mirta Kirhofer, unuka Stjepana, veoma je emotivno reagirala na ove riječi. Pri primanju nagrade, njezine su se oči ispunile suzama, a svoj je govor jedva održala. Objasnila je kako djeda nikad nije imala priliku upoznati, ali je veoma ponosna na njega, te izra-



**Predsjednik Židovske općine Slavonki Brod Lavoslav Špicar
pali svijeću za žrtve Holokausta**

Izvor: osobni arhiv

zila želju nastaviti njegovu tradiciju. Između pojedinih dijelova programa, publiku su počastili učenici Glazbene škole tehnički preciznim instrumentalnim izvedbama uvježbanih skladbi.

Spašeni dječak Ljubomir Pechi, sada 88-godišnjak koji danas s obitelji živi u San Diegu, također je bio prisutan na programu, a ubrzo nakon ceremonije, veleposlanik i njegova pratnja, visoki delegati, predstavnici židovskih općina i ostali gosti obasuli su ga pitanjima, komentarima, lijepim željama i molbama za zajedničku fotografiju. Događaj je bio medijski popraćen od strane svih relevantnih medijskih kuća, a uslijedilo je ugodno druženje.

Vraćajući se na rabinski termin *pravednik među narodima*, postaje jasno

da je riječ o osobama spremnima učiniti ono što je ispravno, čak i pod rizik vlastitog stradanja. *Pravednici među narodima* podsjećaju nas da uvijek imamo izbor: nismo dužni prihvatiti medijsku konstrukciju stvarnosti koja nam se nudi; nismo dužni šutjeti i trpjeti zlo, štoviše, uvijek postoji nešto što možemo učiniti iz svoje mikroperspektive kako bismo sudjelovati u *tikkun olam*, *popravljanju* svijeta. U tom trenutku, pomoći osobi židovskog podrijetla možda se činilo kontraintuitivno, opasno, rizično, možda čak i besmisleno, pa ipak, ovakvi primjeri dokazuju da uvijek valja učiniti ono što je ispravno.



Predstavnici Židovske općine Osijek i Zagreb na dodjeli medalje pravednika Stjepanu Kirhoferu

Izvor: osobni arhiv

Paula Rem

The Righteous from Slavonski Brod, Stjepan Kirhofer

On Tuesday, May 17, 2022, the delegation of the Jewish Community of Osijek attended the proclamation of Stjepan Kirhofer from Brod as *Righteous Among the Nations* in his hometown. The awarding ceremony took place in the full hall of the Music School, filled with representatives of Jewish communities, citizens and students of the school.

The program was hosted by HRT journalist Ognjen Golubić. After the singing of the national anthem, Lavoslav Špicer, the longtime president of the Jewish Community of Slavonski Brod, was called to light a candle, which was followed by a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the Holocaust.



Representatives of the Jewish Community Osijek with then-Ambassador of Israel Ilan Mor at the presentation of the Righteous Among the Nations medal to the heirs of Stjepan Kirhofer

Source: personal archive

After the mayor's opening speech, the then ambassador of the State of Israel to Croatia, Ilan Mor, spoke. He underlined the importance of the saying from the Talmud: "Whoever saves one soul, it is as if he saved the whole world". the ambassador explained how Stjepan (Štefko) Kirhofer risked the life of his family by agreeing to take care of his wife's brother's son, seven-year-old Ljubo Pechi, a boy of Jewish origin. Ljubo's parents converted the boy to Catholicism and fled to Italy, but the boy was nevertheless arrested with a deportation order to a concentration camp in Germany, after which Stjepan managed to pull his connections in the police department and persuade them to release Ljubo.

Stjepan continued to take care of Ljuba and finally enabled him to travel to Italy to visit his parents.

The ambassador also quoted "remember what Amalek did to you", making a link between the enemies of the ancient Hebrews Amalek and the Nazis, concluding that it is a command to preserve historical truth and fight the call of revisionism. Also, the audience was reminded that until recently this city had a street named after Ustasha minister Mili Budak, which was renamed ten days before this event, and even today there are cities where streets are named after members and sympathizers of the criminal Nazi regime. Instead, the



**Presentation of the Righteous Among the Nations medal
to the heirs of Stjepan Kirhofer**

Source: personal archive



Representatives of the Jewish Community Osijek and Jewish Community Slavonski Brod with Ljubomir Pechi

Source: personal archive

ambassador wanted the streets to be named after heroes, anti-fascists and micro-fighters for justice like Stjepan Kirhofer.

“What we should remember, not only in Croatia, are not those executioners, murderers and their collaborators, but the lives that were lost because of these people and ideologies. What we should remember are people like Mr. Kirhofer who changed things by chose to do the right thing in the choice between right and wrong,” concluded the then ambassador Mor.

Mirta Kirhofer, granddaughter of Stjepan, reacted very emotionally

to these words. When receiving the award, her eyes filled with tears, and she could barely hold her speech. She explained that she never had the chance to meet her grandfather, but she was very proud of him, and expressed her desire to continue his tradition. Between individual parts of the program, the students of the Music School treated the audience to technically precise instrumental performances of rehearsed compositions.

The saved boy Ljubomir Pechi, now 88 years old and today living with his family in San Diego, was also present

at the program. Soon after the ceremony, the ambassador and his entourage, high delegates, representatives of Jewish communities and other guests showered him with questions and comments, with good wishes and requests for a joint photo. The event was covered in the media by all relevant media houses, and a pleasant gathering followed.

Returning to the rabbinic term *righteous among the nations*, it becomes clear that we are talking about people willing to do what is right, even at the risk of their own suffering. *The Right-*

eous Among the Nations remind us that we always have a choice: we are not obliged to accept the media construction of reality that is offered to us; we are not obliged to remain silent and suffer evil, moreover, there is always something we can do from our micro perspective to participate in *tikkun olam*, *the mending of the world*. At the time, helping a person of Jewish descent may have seemed counter-intuitive, dangerous, risky, perhaps even pointless, and yet, examples like these prove that you should always do the right thing.