



**JEVREJSKA OMLADINSKA DRUŠTVA
NA TLU JUGOSLAVIJE, 1919. - 1941.**

**JEWISH YOUTH SOCIETES IN
YUGOSLAVIA, 1919 - 1941**

JEVREJSKI ISTORIJSKI MUZEJ, BEOGRAD
JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM, BELGRADE

KATALOG IZLOŽBE

**JEVREJSKA OMLADINSKA DRUŠTVA
NA TLU JUGOSLAVIJE, 1919. - 1941.
POVODOM PEDESETOGODIŠNJICE POBEDE
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YUGOSLAVIA, 1919 - 1941
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MILICA MIHAILOVIĆ

Ovom izložbom Jevrejski istorijski muzej obeležava pedeset godina od završetka Drugog svetskog rata. Postavlja se pitanje da li je tema o jevrejskim omladinskim društvima prigodna za obeležavanje jednog ovakvog jubileja. Verujemo da će sadržaj izložbe pokazati da jeste.

- Većina ljudi koji su prikazani na ovoj izložbi, stradala je u strahotama holokausta. Ali oni kojima se pružila prilika da se bore, učinili su to sa znanjem i hrabrošću koju su stekli radeći i vaspitavajući se upravo u omladinskim društvima. Oni koji su preživeli holokaust postali su izuzetne ličnosti koje su zračile snagom svoje volje, znanjem, preduzimljivošću, komunikativnošću, vrednošću...

Ideja da se priredi ovakva izložba pojavila se prilikom snimanja sećanja jevrejskih omladinaca. U nekoliko navrata u Jevrejskom istorijskom muzeju su bili organizovani razgovori bivših članova omladinske organizacije "Hašomer hacair" a tokom 1993. i 1994. godine u Jevrejskim opštinama u Novom Sadu i Beogradu, bili su organizovani susreti bivših članova ove organizacije. Evocirana sećanja na ovim susretima prosto su nametnula potrebu da se rad omladinskih društava istraži i sačuva od zaborava.

Iako nam je želja bila da studioznije obradimo sva omladinska društva, pokazalo se da je to u ovom trenutku prevelik zadatak za naš muzej. Ipak, trudili smo se da istaknemo glavne idejne tokove koji su pokretali jevrejsku omladinu u Jugoslaviji između dva rata, kao i da ukažemo na veliki broj i raznovrsnost omladinskih udruženja. Mnoga društva su zapravo bili ogranci velikih pokreta koji su delovali na teritoriji čitave Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Za studentsko prikupljanje građe o ovim društvima nije bilo vremena, a ni mogućnosti jer je građa sada rasuta u, nekoliko država.

Činilo nam se da je povodom pedesetogodišnjice pobede nad fašizmom bilo potrebno da izložbu posvetimo generaciji koja je u toj borbi učestvovala i time doprinela pobedi.

Nije sva jevrejska omladina u Jugoslaviji između dva rata, bila učlanjena u jevrejska omladinska društva. Ali većina ipak jeste.

U Evropi dvadesetih godina Jevreji su prihvatili cionističku ideju i pokušali da izmene "tradicionalnu sliku Jevrejina". Postojala

je želja da se samoizgrađivanjem, obrazovanjem i kultivisanjem izgradi novi lik jevrejskog čoveka koji više neće ličiti na čoveka iz geta. Želelo se da se Jevreji i fizički promene, da počnu uspravno i ponosno da koračaju, da se ne skrivaju pred antisemitima, da ne zaziru od okoline. Želelo se da se novi Jevreji posvete novim zanimanjima, da se okrenu prirodi i da počnu da žive novim zdravim životom. Ovakva programska orijentacija celog jednog naroda raširenog po Evropi, najlakše se mogla sprovoditi počevši s preobražajem i prevaspitavanjem dece i omladine. Jevrejska omladinska društva primila su na sebe ovaj izuzetan zadatak i uspešno su radila na njegovom ispunjenju.

Ova društva razvijala su se pod snažnim uticajem cionističkih ideja. Glavni cilj bio je pripremanje omladinaca za odlazak u Palestinu odnosno formiranje mladih ljudi koji će biti sposobni da u Palestini rade i izgrađuju novu zemlju. Cionizam je, pre svega, bio duboko humanistički pokret koji je Jevrejima pružao nadu, učio ih da cene sebe, kako bi ih i drugi cenili i upućivao ih ka nadilaženju omalovažavanja, prezrenja i podsmešljivosti koju su drugi narodi prema njima izražavali. Cionizam je bio nacionalni i nacionalistički pokret usmeren ka buđenju samosvesti kod Jevreja ali i ka konkretnim akcijama za preživljavanje.

Kako je programska orijentacija ovih društava bila različita, želeli smo da ukažemo na razvoj društava kao i na najradikalnije ideje koje su se pojavile kod levo orjentisanog društva Hašomer hacair i desno orjentisanog "Revizionističkog pokreta" ("Betar"). Na kraju kataloga je prilog o stradanju Jevreja Jugoslavije u toku II svetskog rata, kao i o učešću jugoslovenskih Jevreja u NOB. Pregled je dat za celokupno jevrejsko stanovništvo Kraljevine Jugoslavije jer je 80% jugoslovenskih Jevreja stradalo u holokaus-tu. Karakteristična je bila i pojava da su članovi organizacije "Hašomer hacair" želeli da kolektivno stupe u NOB. To se dešavalo u Novom Sadu, Beogradu, Sarajevu i drugim mestima.

Iako je jevrejska omladina između dva rata bila snažno poneta cionističkom idejom, pred početak II svetskog rata mnogi omladinci su prešli u Komunističku partiju Jugoslavije. Čak i članovi krajnje desne organizacije Betar prešli su na stranu komunista jer im je to omogućavalo da se uključe u borbu protiv fašizma.

Posle II svetskog rata oni koji su i dalje bili privrženici cionističke ideje iselili su se u Izrael. Drugi, koji su nekim dubljim emotivnim vezama bili vezani za tle Jugoslavije ostali su ovde i uključili se u obnovu zemlje.

JEVREJSKA OMLADINSKA DRUŠTVA U JUGOSLAVIJI 1919-1926

S radom na ujedinjenju jevrejskih omladinskih društava u Kraljevini SHS započelo se još 1918. godine, kada je Jevrejsko akademsko društvo *Judeja* iz Zagreba dobilo zaduženje da sazove veliki omladinski zbor i okupi sva tada postojeća jevrejska omladinska društva. No, *Judeja* u tome nije uspjela, već je umesto toga sazvala konferenciju omladinskih udruženja u Brodu na Savi, 1919. godine. Na toj konferenciji je osnovan *Savez Židovskih omladinskih udruženja* (SŽOU), a za sedište Saveza određen je Beograd, koji je bilo sedište i drugih jevrejskih saveznih organizacija. Odmah je pokrenuto i glasilo Saveza - omladinski časopis *Gideo*; prvi broj izašao je 1. novembra 1919. godine. U tom broju štampan je programski tekst "O ustrojstvu i radu omladinskih društava". Sažeto, reč je o sledećim zadacima: *Židovska omladina Jugoslavije teži za nutarnjim učvršćenjem svoje narodne svijesti (A), radi na svom kulturnom preporodu u znaku židovske kulturne renesanse (B) i suzbija svoje dosadanje bivstvovanje moralno (C) i fizički (D) kao posledicu nezdravog socijalnog položaja.*

U vreme stvaranja Saveza u Evropi je već bio formiran Halučki pokret i stranka *Hapoel hacair* ("Radnika pionira"). Smatralo se da u Palestinu treba prvo da idu radnici koji će biti obučeni za to da *"prime zemlju i da je pripreme za obrađivanje dok ne započne seljenje masa. ... Prokrčiti put sjekirom i pilom, lopatom i motikom do narodne seobe i naći svezu s grudom svojom za se i za one koji će ih slijediti"*. Radnik koji se priprema za izgradnju svoje buduće domovine u Palestini mora da razvije svoje duševne i telesne snage tako da bi mogao da odgovori zahtevima koji se budu pred njega postavljali. Pored fizičke uvežbanosti, potrebno je i navikavanje na klimu.

Moto prvih pionira (Arlossoroff) bio je: *"Mi nećemo da budemo žrtve, hoćemo tek da se žrtvuujemo onda, kada to ustreba"*. - Da ne bi odmah postali žrtve i da bi u Palestinu otišli pripremljeni, članov omladinskih udruženja su, kao jedan od prvih zadataka prihvat

stvaranje *Hehaluc* grupa, odnosno grupa omladinaca iz različitih slojeva i različitih zanimanja koji su se odlučili da idu u Palestinu. Takve grupe su prvo morale da prođu kroz obuku upoznavanja poljoprivrednih poslova.

Na osnivačkoj konferenciji SŽOU, u Brodu na Savi, jedan od prvih zaključaka bila je odluka o osnivanju jedne *Hehaluc grupe*, kojoj bi se priključili svi oni jevrejski omladinici i omladinke koji su spremni "da povuku krajnje konsekvence svoga židovskog uvjerenja".

Ova odluka veoma je brzo sprovedena u delo. Već u januaru 1920. godine formirana je prva grupa *halucim*, čiji su članovi radili na imanju Avrama Fincija u Bijeljini. Na početku je u grupi bilo šesnaest mladića i dve devojke. Sklapanju ugovora s vlasnikom imanja prisustvovali su i predstavnici SŽOU. Za jedanaest meseci trebalo je da se, pod stručnim nadzorom upute u najvažnije poljoprivredne radove i u neke specijane grane kao što su voćarstvo, vinogradarstvo, povrtarstvo, pčelarstvo i posebno mlekarstvo i stočarstvo. *Halucim* su bili pod stalnom lekarskom kontrolom, a s vremena na vreme su lekari ispitivali njihovu radnu sposobnost. Inače, bilo je dogovoreno da, ukoliko posle podmirenja svih troškova ovog školovanja, preostane neki prihod, on bude predat u fond za pokriće troškova iseljenja.

Uskoro je osnovna i druga grupa u Vilovu kraj Titela na imanju dr Grosmana, a tokom 1920. godine vršene su pripreme za formiranje novih grupa u Mostaru, Tuzli, Orahovici i u Makedoniji.

Vaspitanje i obrazovanje bili su sledeći važni programski zadaci jevrejske omladine. Većina jevrejskih društava imala je svoje biblioteke i posebno zadužene bibliotekare. U *Gideonu* je objavljeno da je sekretar SŽOU 1919. godine bio u Beču i nabavio knjige i notne sveske za većinu društava. - Tih godina već se štampaju i na srpskohrvatskom jeziku knjige i brošure koje se bave omladinskom problematikom.

Pitanje koje je tada zaokupljalo pažnju jevrejske omladine bilo je izbor zanimanja. Tom problemu poklanjala se posebna pažnja pa je u *Gideonu* iz januara 1920. godine javljeno da je u Beču otvoren *Židovski pedagoški arhiv*. Osnivač je dr Hajnrih Glanc, a posebno je interesantno da je pri tom arhivu otvorena laboratorija za eksperimentalnu psihologiju i pedagogiju koja pomaže savetima pri izboru zanimanja. Ovakvi uredi za izbor zanimanja otvarani su širom Evrope jer je uočeno da se zbog sklonosti ka intelektualnim i trgovačkim zanimanjima Jevreji koncentrišu u

gradovima što se smatra nezdravim. Zato se propagira ideja da se Jevreji preorijentišu na produktivnija zanimanja i da se okrenu tehničkim zvanjima i zanatima. Čak je i loža *Bne Berit* bila uključena u ovu akciju osnivajući kurseve za ručni rad.

Radi podrške ovoj ideji jedan broj časopisa *Gideon* bio je gotovo u celini posvećen vrtlarstvu i problemu malih vrtova u gradovima. U tekstu se podrobno razmatrala problematika rasporeda sadnica u voćnjacima i mogućnost pravljenja povrtnjaka u gradovima na manjim parcelama odnosno okućnicama. Kao simpatičan primer neke vrste utopizma, lutanja u prvim godinama preobražavanja omladinskog pokreta, navodimo podatak da su u Zagrebu 1919. godine bile osnovane dve vrtlarske kolonije; jedna je ubrzo propala a druga, u kojoj su bila uglavnom deca, radila je nešto duže.

Značaj vaspitanja je druga osnovna ideja koja je bila gotovo stalno prisutna - kako u tekstovima u časopisima tako i u diskusijama na omladinskim skupovima. Tu se razvijaju i potanko razmatraju teze o ulozi majke u vaspitnju i deteta i posebno o ulozi porodice u formiranju deteta i njegove ličnosti. Mnogi od ovih tekstova puni su patetike i zanosa.

Brigom o vaspitanju dece bavili su se svi: i pedagozi i roditelji i omladinski rukovodioci i teoretičari i sveštenici i pisci i umetnici. Pisci amateri, čije komade su u mnogim mestima izvodile omladinske dramske grupe, uvek su u svojim komadima pazili na poučnost i vaspitnu poentu. U malim mestima, u kojima su se održavale zatvorene patrijarhalne jevrejske zajednice, nosioci vaspitnog rada bili su rabini, koji su često bili i nosioci nacionalne ideje i preporoda. Jedan od najsvetlijih likova, zapamćen i kao izuzetan vaspitač i intelektualac, bio je dr Šalom Frajberger, rabin iz Zagreba.

S porastom antisemitizma i pojavom nacizma, sve se više uvidalo da su omladinske ideje ispravne. U tekstu *Versko vaspitanje i naša omladina*, iz 1933. godine vrhovni rabin Jugoslavije, dr Isak Alkalaj između ostalog kaže: "*Suprotnost između vere i omladine ogleda se još i u nazorima omladine na život uopšte. Njen je najviši ideal obnova Erecu, obnova se ne da zamisliti bez vrednih radnih ruku. Tako omladina ceni rad iznad svega. Istina je da i naša vera ističe rad kao najviše načelo, i naši najveći zakonodavci i učitelji bili su prosti radnici i zanatlije. Ali naša je omladina u tome isticanju rada otišla u krajnost. Za nju rad na Erecu nije visoko načelo koje treba primenjivati u životu, već je on fetiš, idol koji zamenjuje veru.*"

Dok je problem vaspitanja shvatan kao stvar odnosa u porodici i okolini, problem obrazovanja tražio je mnogo veće angažovanje cele jevrejske zajednice. Sva dobrotvorna, humanitarna, kulturna društva u jevrejskim centrima - Beogradu, Zagrebu, Sarajevu - trudila su se da mladim ljudima omoguće da uče, studiraju, usavršavaju se u raznim zanatima i počnu da rade. Mnogi dobrotvori su svojim sredstvima gradili domove za učenike a humanitarna društva su obezbeđivala stipendije. Skoro da nema nijednog slikara, pisca, inženjera ili drugog intelektualca koji se školovao između dva rata, a da nije bio pitomac nekog od ovih društava.

Ipak, ono što je s današnje tačke gledišta najimpresivnije u toj gladi za znanjem i u savladavanju prepreka na putu ka znanju, bilo je samoorganizovanje jevrejskih studenata. Materijalni problemi koje su oni morali da rešavaju u svojim akademskim društvima bili su ogromni jer je većina studenata bila siromašna a pomoć mala. Židovska akademska menza u Zagrebu verovatno je jedan od najlepših primera kolektivnog organizovanja za dobrobit većine studenata. Studenti su vodili Menzu, bili su ekonomski, blagajnici, nabavljali su zimnicu, određivali jelovnik, vodili računa o kvalitetu hrane, omogućavali niže cene ishrane za siromašne studente. Najvažniji posao bilo je prikupljanje priloga za izdržavanje Menze - svi studenti su imali obavezu da u toku raspusta prikupljaju priloge. Podrazumevalo se da svi korisnici Menze, po završetku studija i kad se zaposle, svojim prilozima pomognu Menzu.

Fizički preporod, odnosno sport, bio je takođe jedan od važnih zadataka koji je jevrejska omladina sebi postavila. Odgovor na pitanje zašto je sport bio u prvom planu u radu prvih i najstarijih jevrejskih omladinskih društava, daju reči dr Joška Rozenberga, iz teksta *Druga makabijada* koji je objavljen u časopisu *Jevrejski narodni kalendar*, Beograd, 1935-6:

"Jevrejski je narod kroz stoljeća bio primoran da živi u uskim, nezdravim i pretrpanim odijeljenim dijelovima gradova, u kojima nije bilo ni svjetla, ni sunca, ni zelenila prirode, a ni potrebnih higijenskih preduslova za zdravi fizički razvoj čovjeka. Ograničen na izvršavanje duševnih i posredničkih zvanja, koja su obavljana u zatvorenim prostorijama, vječno proganjan i potiskivan, on je izgubio vezu sa prirodom, tjelesno se degenerisao i stvorio je tip slabog, bolesnog i zakržljalog čovjeka.

Cionistički pokret koji je sebi stavio u zadatak ne samo obnovu zemlje, nego i obnovu jevrejskog naroda, shvatio je da bez fizički zdravog pojedinca nema normalizacije jevrejstva ni u kulturnom, ni

u ekonomskom pogledu. I zato već na V cionističkom kongresu, 1901. godine, stavlja Maks Nordau, cionistički vođa, zahtijev za fizičkom regeneracijom jevrejskog čovijeka, za stvaranjem "Muskel-judentum" (jevrejstva mišića). Ovaj njegov apel naišao je na snažan odjek među jevrejskom omladinom, i on je bio početak osnivanja Makabi-grupa po svim krajevima svijeta".

Na teritoriji Jugoslavije jevrejska omladinska sportska društva postojala su i pre Prvog svetskog rata, ali puni zamah su dobila posle tog rata kada se sve masovnije osnivaju u okviru SŽOU.

Postavlja se pitanje u čemu je "revolucionarnost" ovog omladinskog pokreta i društava koja deluju od 1919. godine u odnosu na društva koja su dotle postojala.

Društva koja su se ujedinila 1919. godine bila su akademska (društva jevrejskih studenata), sportska društva i devojačka društva. Sve su to bila građanska staleška društva kojima u osnovi jeste bila cionistička ideja ali bez onog aktivizma koji bi bio usmeren na pripremu za odlazak u Palestinu. Zamerano im je da odražavaju stare klasne odnose i da ne omogućavaju Jevrejima različitih staleža i zanimanja da se međusobno približe.

U ovoj, nazovimo je prvoj fazi novog omladinskog pokreta u Jugoslaviji, jedan od osnovnih oblika omladinskog rada bili su sletovi. Prvi slet jevrejske omladine Jugoslavije održan je 9. i 10. avgusta 1920. godine u Osijeku; Drugi je održan 15. 16. i 17. avgusta 1921. godine u Sarajevu, a Treći slet židovske omladine - kongres, u Zagrebu od 13. do 16. avgusta 1922.

Tokom sledećih godina na brojnim sletovima jevrejske omladine - na kojima se referisalo i diskutovalo tražeći put i način za ostvarenje ovih ideja - pokušavalo se da se bar nešto od svega toga da sprovede. Svake godine održavana su velika i masovna gimnastička, atletska i druga sportska takmičenja. Na sletovima se praktično sprovodila i ideja o druženju u prirodi uz pesmu i razgovore. Negovala se potreba za sticanjem znanja, za obrazovanjem. Svaki slet bio je povod za pokazivanje visokih dometa u savladavanju dramskih umetnosti (uvek su se izvodili pozorišni komadi i amaterske "diletantske" grupe oduševljavale su publiku dobrim izvođenjem pozorišnih komada savremenih jevrejskih pisaca). Tokom zvaničnih diskusija odlični studenti pokazivali su se kao briljantni govornici, poznavaoi hebrejskog i drugih jezika svestrano obrazovani. Ideje su crpli iz radova filozofa kao što su Spinoza i Buber, a posebno je u to vreme bio popularan Herman Koen.

Ako se časopis jevrejske omladine *Gideon* uzme kao pokazatelj idejnih tokova u jevrejskom omladinskom pokretu, onda se može reći da je od 1919. do 1925. godine postojao stalni uzlazni tok u kvalitetu, bogatstvu ideja, proširivanju vidika i usvajanju savremenih ideja i strujanja u kulturnoj i filozofskoj misli tadašnje Evrope.

Od časopisa koji je bio pre svega neka vrsta biltena Saveza udruženja jevrejske omladine, i u kome su bili štampani samo izveštaji sa sastanaka i programski tekstovi, *Gideon* je tokom 1925. i 1926. godine prerastao u veoma kvalitetan kulturno-umetnički časopis. Izveštaji i diskusije sa sletova i konferencija prešli su u zadnji deo časopisa a prednost su dobile pesme, prevodi i kratke priče iz talmudske i hasidske literature. Tokom 1926. godine počelo je objavljivanje reprodukcija likovnih radova mladih jevrejskih umetnika.

Kao što je Jugoslavija bila heterogena zajednica tako su i mladi Jevreji u svom Savezu bili ujedinjeni u istom cilju ali i sa svim svojim razlikama koje su nosili u sebi kao nasleđe sredine iz koje su potekli. Jevrejska omladina je bila u cionističkom smislu najaktivnija u Osijeku, gde se i začeo cionistički pokret, a zatim u Vukovaru i u Vinkovcima. Mladi su se okupljali u školama i na Univerzitetu u Zagrebu, koji je bio u to vreme pravi cionistički idejni centar u Jugoslaviji. Studenti, okupljeni oko društava *Bar Giora*, *Literarni sastanci*, *Makabi* i drugih, donosili su iz evropskih centara ideje i osećanja koja su ovim mladim ljudima odraslim u Habsburškoj monarhiji bila poznata i lako prihvatljiva. Međutim, uslovi u kojima su odrastali omladinci u drugim delovima nove države, bili su sasvim različiti pa zato oni nisu tako lako i tako brzo prihvatili ove nove ideje i nisu bili tako spremni da ceo svoj život podrede samo cionističkoj ideji.

Sredinom dvadesetih godina ove razlike dolaze naročito do izražaja, one se uočavaju i izazivaju rasprave. Jedna takva diskusija povelala se na stranicama *Gideona* zbog optužbi na račun jevrejske omladine u Srbiji: sa obrazloženjem da ona ima "dvostruku narodnost" i da su oni zapravo "Srbi Mojsijeve vere". David Alkalaj u *Gideonu* iz februara 1921. godine, u tekstu pod naslovom *Jevrejska omladina u Srbiji* odgovara na te prigovore i između ostalog, kaže:

"Kakva je dakle naša omladina kao jevrejska? Kakvi su njeni pogledi prema jevrejstvu, cionizmu i kako ona te svoje poglede spolja manifestuje? To su pitanja, u kojima leži jezgra karakteristike naše omladine, ono, o čemu se, kao što je rečeno, nepotpuno

sudi ... Gimnazijalci se kreću u onom krugu ideja, koji je njima u velikom gradu i njegovim osobenostima, svojstven: literarno-cionistički rad s jedne i s druge, fizičko vaspitanje u jevrejskom gimnastičkom društvu. Druga grupa omladinaca ne ističe se drugim oblikom rada, s tom razlikom, što je među njima veći intimitet. Ženska omladina, upravo jedan njen deo, praktično radi; on je duša svih onih preduzeća i poslova, u kojima ima stvarno da se radi. Akademska omladina, koja broji nekoliko desetina studenata, nije u grupi aktivna u jevrejskom pogledu. Pisac, koji toj grupi pripada, misli, da je tome dvojak razlog: s polja, nije bilo ništa, što bi dalo impuls za stvarno udruženje; iznutra, nije se još pojavio onaj potreban osećaj za tim, ili, taj osećaj nije bio kolektivno dovoljno jak....Rad omladine nije osobito obiman. Ali, to ne dolazi otuda, što omladina zastupa kakva naročita gledišta i što, sledejući primeru starijih - po tuđem mišljenju - podržavaju kakv osobiti kult. Razlozi su nešto dublji i - sasvim druge prirode. ... Rat je, ma koliko to još čudno izgledalo, ostavio još neizgladive tragove na našoj omladini. Za vreme od gotovo pet godina (1914.- 1919), omladina je rasla pod osobitim uslovima, dospevalo se u više razrede gimnazije, nizale se generacije, ne primajući ništa jevrejskog, nemajući mogućnosti za onim, što je potrebno da bi se mogla jevrejski razvijati i kultivisati. Teška atmosfera za okupacije bila je daleko od korisnog uticaja. Međutim, za to vreme, druga je omladina van Srbije bila srećna, da i dalje održava onaj, i ako možda nešto slabiji, ali tako potreban kontinuitet. I od takve omladine, koja je tako rano imala da sa svojim starijim trpi toliko iskušenja, ne može se zahtevati mnogo. Ona može dati onoliko, koliko su njoj pružale prilike pod kojima je živela. Zatim, fakat, da se omladinske generacije u opšte, koje su se razvijale za vreme rata, u mnogom razlikuju od onih pre rata i onih, koje će se pojaviti kroz više godina, treba tako isto uzeti u obzir."

U istom tekstu Alkalaj daje podatke o stanju jevrejske omladine u Makedoniji i Srbiji: ... "ta omladina najvećim delom nije školovana. Tamo su omladinci uglavnom trgovci i trgovački pomoćnici. Ona nije uostalom ni brojno velika. Kod nje, osim one u Nišu i Skoplju, pojmovi o religiji i narodnosti, nisu načisto izvedeni. U Bitolju po gotovu jevrejske omladine i nema. Ono, što ima Jevreja, je sirotinja, čiji su se sinovi iselili u Ameriku. Ali i ako u nje nema školovanih omladinaca, to je mladež potpuno cionistički svesna."

O stanju u Sarajevu pisao je David A. Levi u martu 1922. godine. Na početku svog teksta, kome je dao naslov *Jevrejski život u jevrejskom "centru" Jugoslavije* on kaže: "Na papiru je centar jugoslovenskog jevrejstva Beograd, jer su tamo sjedišta goto-

vo svih naših saveza: vjeroispovjednih općina, cionista i omladinskih udruženja. Ova dva potonja imaju zapravo svoja sjedišta u Zagrebu, ali u njihovim statutima nalazimo, da su im sjedišta u Beogradu. Nije mi namjera, da pišem o jevrejskom životu u tome gradu. Hoću da pišem o Sarajevu, koje je obzirom na jakost nacionalne svijesti i razvitak jevrejskog života u njemu zapravo centar jevrejstva u Jugoslaviji." Slede zatim podaci o Jevrejima u Bosni koje je autor preneo iz tada popularne knjige poznatog sarajevskog nadrabina dr Morica Levija. Tek u drugom nastavku svog teksta, David A. Levi govori o prilikama u Sarajevu. Evo šta je u tom tekstu, između ostalog, rekao o omladini:

"Najstarije omladinsko udruženje je literarno-kulturno društvo "Jehuda Makabi". Ovo skuplja oko sebe naše srednjoškolce, sprema ih za ozbiljan rad, dajući im već za rana potrebne temelje i upute. Napredak je zadovoljavajući. Uporedo sa "J.M." radi devotjačko udruženje "Moriah" na organizovanju i osveštavanju naših djevojaka. Bilo bi poželjno, da naše morijanke nađu način, kako bi se za zajednički rad pridobile i djevojke iz "nižih" slojeva. Ovih, gotovo, u zajednici nema. One iz "nižih" ne usuđuju se pristupiti, a one iz "viših" nemaju za rad razumijevanja, a niti osjećaju potrebe. Ove nedostatke treba maknuti. Radnička je omladina organizovana u potpuno samostalnom jevrejsko-radničkom udruženju "Poale-cijon". Ovi dolaze vrlo slabo u dodir sa "građanskim" omladinskim udruženjima. Ne spada u okvir toga članka, da istražujem, kako i zašto je do toga došlo; da li obim stranama preporučiti, da porade na tome, da međusobni odnosi budnu bratskiji i tako dokažu, da žele strgnuti za sebe okove, koji su im umjetnim načinom nametnuti, a koji ih dijele od rođene braće.

Športska je omladina organizovana u jakom "Bar-Kohbi", koji nam se predstavio na obim sletovima. Malo više discipline bilo bi od koristi."

Godine 1926. u jevrejskom omladinskom pokretu u Jugoslaviji došlo je do krize. Još 1925. iz Saveza omladinskih udruženja istupio je *Ahdut hacofim*, a 1926. godine i sefardska omladina u Sarajevu želi da se izdvoji. Među sarajevskim Jevrejima su se obrazovale dve grupe intelektualaca. Jedna grupa, okupljena oko lista *Židovska svijest*, zalagala se isključivo za cionističku ideju. Drugu grupu su činili intelektualci, Sefardi, koji su se borili za priznavanje sefardskog pokreta, ali uz to i za realniju i tolerantniju politiku koja je vodila računa o pitanjima jevrejstva u Jugoslaviji. Tako se dogodilo da su od 1924. godine u Sarajevu izlazila uporedo dva lista: *Nova židovska svijest*, koja je nastavila opredeljenje *Židovske svijesti* i list sefardskog pokreta *Jevrejski život*, koji je

okupio odlične novinare i stvaraoce kao što su bili Albert Abo Koen, Isak Samokovlija, Kalmi Baruh i drugi. Ova dva lista su vodila stalnu polemiku sve do 1928. godine kada su se ujedinili u zajednički novi list pod nazivom *Jevrejski glas*, koji je izlazio sve do 1941. godine. U programskom tekstu prvog broja novog "kompromisnog" lista između ostalog stoji da će list "*pratiiti napore cionističkog i sefardskog pokreta, kulturne i društvene potrebe Jevreja, da će pokloniti pažnju omladini i ekonomskim problemima*".... Posebnu pažnju posvetiće naš list jevrejskom radništvu, da ojača njegova klasna svijest i preporođen kao snažan i zdrav faktor saraduje na zajedničkim našim nacionalnim potrebama." I u sledećim godinama, sve do Drugog svetskog rata, sarajevski jevrejski omladinski pokret ostao je specifičan po tome što je bio pre svega radnički obojen. Najznačajniju ulogu imalo je jevrejsko radničko omladinsko društvo *Matatja*, koje je bilo pod velikim uticajem cionističkog društva *Hašomer hacair* i Komunističke partije. Članovi *Matatje* bili su hapšeni i proganjani, a uticaj ovog društva na ceo kulturni, umetnički i uopšte društveni život sarajevskih Jevreja, bio je izuzetno veliki. Posebno su bile popularne pozorišne predstave i priredbe koje je ovo društvo priređivalo. Izvođeni su komadi savremenih autora, a posebno su bili popularni komadi s puno pevanja i folkloru Laure Papo Bohorete. S njenim komadom *Esterka* diletantska grupa *Matatje* gostovala je u Beogradu 1930. godine.

U beogradskom "Manježu" gostovala je 1924. godine skopska omladinska dramska sekcija sa komadom *Drajtus*, koji je izvođen na ladinu, kako o tome piše Ženi Lebl u svojoj knjizi *Plima i slom* (Dečje novine, 1990). Ipak slika jevrejskog života u Makedoniji, posebno u Bitolju, sasvim je nešto drugo od sarajevskog sefardskog života. Iako su bitoljski Jevreji videli i bolje dane tokom svog dve hiljadegodišnjeg boravka na tlu Jugoslavije, posle Prvog svetskog rata oni su bili ekonomski iscrpljeni i uništeni i vladala je tolika beda da su se u jevrejskim krugovima u drugim delovima Jugoslavije između dvadesetih i tridesetih godina počele voditi akcije za pomoć bitoljskim Jevrejima. Dolazile su delegacije iz raznih organizacija i tražena su najbolja rešenja. U jevrejskoj štampi opisivana je strašna beda koja je vladala u bitoljskim mahalama, o tome su objavljivane posebne knjige i brošure. Rešenje je viđeno u tome da se bitoljski Jevreji rasele po drugim delovima Jugoslavije gde bi imali više mogućnosti za rad ili da se omladina pripremi za odlazak u Palestinu. Jedna od najznačajnijih ličnosti u istoriji cionističkog pokreta u Makedoniji bio je Leon Kamhi. On 1919. godine organizuje dva cionistička omladinska udruženja

Bene Cion za mladiće i *Bnot Cion* za devojke. Godine 1923. stvoreno je društvo *Hatehija* (Preporod) u kome su bila ova dva društva, sportsko društvo *Makabi* i devojačko društvo *Sara Aronson*. Početkom tridesetih godina osnovana su i druga omladinska društva *Hašomer hacairi* *Tehelet Lavan*. Uloga Leona Kamhija u propagiranju i organizovanju odlaska za Palestinu bila je od egzistencijalnog značaja za makedonske Jevreje. Odlaskom u Palestinu oni su se, u prvom redu, izvlačili iz nesnosne ekonomske bede (mada im ni u Palestini nije bilo nimalo lako - nepripremljeni za težak rad u bezvodnoj pustinji, doživljavali su velike traume i razočaranja, ali su opet nalazili snage da započnu nov život i održe se) Pokazalo se međutim da su odlaskom u Palestinu sebi spasili život, jer niko od onih koji su ostali u Makedoniji nije preživio holokaust: deportovani su u Treblinku, preživelih nije bilo.

Nije samo krajnja beda bila karakteristična za makedonske Jevreje. Ono o čemu pišu iznenađeni zagrebački jevrejski omladinci jeste velika, gotovo feudalna patrijarhalost koja se ogledala u odnosima u porodici i u strukturi jevrejske zajednice. Kada su bitoljski jevrejski omladinci počeli da odlaze na logorovanja u Sloveniju i u druge krajeve Jugoslavije, bio je to za njih šok jer su se susrela dva sveta. Bilo je potrebno da prođe dosta vremena da bi se međusobno upoznali, navikli, i prihvatili jedni druge.

Problem patrijarhalosti i tradicionalizma postojao je i u jednoj sasvim drugačijoj, dobrostojećoj i asimilovanoj jevrejskoj zajednici u Subotici. Tamošnji Jevreji, kako piše Dušan Jelić, u monografskom tekstu o Jevrejima u Subotici (*Zbornik* br. 5, Jevrejski istorijski muzej u Beogradu, 1985), bili su zaokupljeni problemom navikavanja na jugoslovensku vlast, posle stvaranja nove države. Želeli su da uspostave kontakt sa slovenskim narodima na koje su sada bili upućeni. Zato je prvo jevrejsko omladinsko društvo *Hakoah* bilo osnovano tek 1923. godine, i to kao šahovska sekcija, 1924. godine osnovana je i fudbalska sekcija, a kasnije sekcije i za druge sportove. Kao što je *dudezmo* (španski) jezik kojim su govorili makedonski Jevreji, bio barijera u njihovom kontaktu s drugim Jevrejima Jugoslavije, tako je i za mađarske Jevreje u Subotici mađarski jezik, kojim su oni govorili, bio prepreka za brže uklapanje u tokove jevrejskog omladinskog pokreta u Jugoslaviji (tu je u komunikaciji dominirao zvanični srpsko-hrvatski odnosno hrvatsko-srpski jezik). Drugi faktor koji je usporavao razvoj pokreta u Subotici, bio je tradicionalizam i patrijarhalnost koja nije prihvatila cionističke ideje. (Treba pomenuti da su na teritoriji Jugoslavije ortodoksni Jevreji postojali samo među mađarskim

Jevrejima.) Da bi se oživeo rad jevrejskih omladinskih udruženja u Subotici, u pomoć su pozvani aktivisti i rukovodioci već afirmisani u radu SŽOU - Lavoslav Kadelburg iz Vinkovaca i Dragutin Engl iz Vukovara. Oni su, 1925. godine, u Subotici osnovali društvo *Ahdut Haolim*. Tokom narednih godina, u Subotici, kao i u većini mesta u Jugoslaviji, vodeću ulogu u omladinskom pokretu dobila je organizacija *Hašomer haair*.



Vežba u dvorani MAKABI u Zagrebu
Excercising in the MACCABI sport hall in Zagreb

JEVREJSKA OMLADINSKA DRUŠTVA U JUGOSLAVIJI OD 1926. DO 1941. GODINE

Cionistički pokret imao je značajnih prethodnika i gorljivih pristalica u zemljama od kojih se kasnije formirala Jugoslavija. Studentski klubovi u Beču, *Bar Giora* i *Esperanca*, imali su izrazito nacionalnu orijentaciju još pre stvaranja Jugoslavije. A njihovi članovi, po povratku u novostvorenu državu, postaju nosioci cionističke misli, unoseći duh jevrejskog preporoda i u jevrejske crkveno - školske opštine. No, tek s osnivanjem omladinskih društava mlađih - u koja su primani omladinci iz srednjih škola i njihovi vršnjaci - počinje omladinski pokret, koji je značio temeljit preokret i početak novog načina života jevrejske omladine Jugoslavije.

Već 1919. godine, neposredno po osnivanju države, stvara se Savez židovskih omladinskih udruženja (*SŽOU*), koji obuhvata srednjoškolce, studente i radnu omladinu. Sedam godina kasnije, kada je 1926. godine izašao prvi broj dvonedelnog *Lista jevrejske omladine* - *HANOAR*, Savez je već imao trideset društava u svojoj organizaciji, u svim krajevima Jugoslavije. To su društva različitih imena i fizionomija, a nalazimo ih u Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji, Vojvodini, Srbiji, Makedoniji, Bosni i Dalmaciji. Sjedinjuje ih opredeljenje za cionističku misao i organizaciju. Dva su osnovna stuba te nacionalne orijentacije koja povezuju sve čestice ovog široko razgranatog tela: teza da jevrejstvo nije samo vera, već da svi koji pripadaju toj veri, iako raseljeni po čitavom svetu, čine jedan narod, povezan višehiljadugodišnjom istorijom, tradicijom, kulturom i verom. Druga teza: da bi se promenilo krajnje nepovoljno stanje tog naroda - u političkom, privrednom, društvenom, kulturnom pogledu - stanje koje ugrožava samu njegovu egzistenciju, treba stvoriti političku organizaciju koja će se izboriti i omogućiti ponovno naseljenje pradomovine jevrejstva *Erec Jisrael* (Zemlju Izraela).

Međutim, omladinski pokret nije se zadovoljio tim osnovnim idejama cionističkog pokreta, već je tražio mnogo više: potpunu

obnovu kolektivnog i ličnog života omladinaca. Nije bilo dovoljno deliti ubeđenje, uklopiti se u svakodnevni politički i organizacioni rad odraslih, skupljati priloge za cionističke fondove, već je trebalo lično ostvariti ideal *halucijuta* (pionirstva) u *Erec Jisraelu* - iseljenjem, prekvalifikacijom za tzv. "produktivna zanimanja", osvajanjem zemljoradnje i naseljenjem u poljoprivrednim kolektivima. To je značilo potpuno napuštanje dosadašnjeg građanskog i malograđanskog života, celoviti preobražaj ličnosti, odnosno stavljanje njeno u službu kolektivnog cilja, za ostvarenje nacionalnog i društvenog ideala. Da je sve bilo veoma ozbiljno, vidi se po činjenici da je već od godine 1919. organizovano sprovedena tzv. *hahšara* (priprema na selu za rad u zemljoradnji), i da su se te *hahšarot* nastavile i trajale sve do 1941.

II

Jasno je da u tom širokom krugu omladinskih društava različitog nivoa i sastava članstva nije bilo lako skovati takvo jedinstvo koje bi omogućilo da svi podjednako dostignu najviši stepen privrženosti ideji i njenom ostvarenju. Jedna veoma čvrsto organizovana grupa *Ahdut hacofim* (Savez izletnika) daleko je nadmašila ostale po intezitetu rada, po iskrenosti i nepokolebljivoj privrženosti postavljenim ciljevima. Ti mladi omladinci-izletnici bili su kao u nekom "začaranom krugu mladenaštva", gde stalno duvaju sveži vetrovi koji prečišćavaju i oplemenjuju duhove. Vera u *Erec Jisrael*, čeličenje za *halucijut*, iskreno međusobno bratstvo - sve su to karakteristike koje je ustanovio recenzent njihovog lista (litografiranog časopisa) *Hozer* već u prvom broju *Hanoara*. *Cofim* su se sastajali dnevno u svojim *kvucot* (grupama), u kojima je vođa grupe bio pravi vodič i inspirator duša, vaspitač i nastavnik. Ove su *kvucot* bile sastavni deo *kena* (gnezda) - kako se zvao njihov skup u jednom mestu. Povezanost članova izgrađivala se na sastancima. Predmeti su bili: učenje hebrejskog jezika, jevrejske istorije, kolonizacije i geografije Palestine, a velika pažnja posvećivana je i ličnom intelektualnom usavršavanju. No vrhunac zajedništva, žarki zanos oduševljenja idejom postizao se na zajedničkom letovanju, koje se u ono doba zvalo *kemp* ili hebrejski *mahane*. Ti su se *kempovi* održavali u prirodi, pod šatorima. Ova logorovanja nisu bila ni nalik skupnim letovanjima današnje omladine. Jedno od prvih logorovanja bilo je na Plitvicama 1927. godine. Daleko od železničke stanice, usred nenaseljenog područja, omladinci su sami spremili sve: od podizanja šatora, dopreme celokupnog

materijala i hrane, do podizanja logorskih kuhinja. U pet grupa svaki dan su držani sastanci, radila se gimnastika, kupalo se u jezeru i išlo na izlete. Uveče su bile priredbe - muzičke, humorističke, pesma i igra. Logorska vatra i igra oko nje bile su vrhunac celog *mahanea*, s obiljem emocija koje se pamte: *"Noćas je vatra govorila drugim jezikom. Desetak smo dana proveli zajedno, upoznali prirodne krasote o kojima dotada nismo ni sanjali, povezali smo se s ljudima koje smo dotada poznavali najviše po imenu. U nama je buktilo životno veselje, kao da u ovoj vatri sagorijeva sav galutski jad, sve muke i svi progoni, kao da nam ta vatra nosi pozdrave s vrhova Galila, iz doline Emeka, s obronaka Judeje"*. Tako je logorsku vatru opisao jedan učesnik kampovanja na Plitvicama avgusta 1927; *"Kad nas stotinu mladih srdaca sjedini skladno brujanje pesme, blijedi odblesak mjesečevih zraka, šum slapa ... tad će stotinu srdaca zakucati istim ritmom. Stotinu srdaca, jedna volja. Tako će nas veličanstvena priroda zbližiti - sjediniti"*... to su osećanja drugog učesnika kempa, a bilo je osamdeset omladinaca iz šesnaest mesta cele Jugoslavije. Ipak, trenutnu opojnost zanosa trebalo je potkrepiti postojanošću ideje. I taj element bio je sastavni deo *mahane-a*. Logorovanje u prirodi postalo je najefikasniji i najprivlačniji deo manifestacija pokreta. Ko god je imao prilike da učestvuje u njemu, da doživi diskusije, pesme i igru - koja nije prestajala uz logorsku vatru - poneo je nezaboravne utiske za celu svoju buduću aktivnost, inspiraciju za ceo život. Takva logorovanja su se redovno održavala, svakog leta; to je bila škola iskrenog prijateljstva i bratimljenja, duhovnosti i produbljivanja znanja, prilagođavanja kolektivnom životu i još intenzivnijem srastanju s pokretom.

Upravo zbog tog visokog napona kolektivne svesti nije čudo što je došlo i do diferencijacije i deobe u organizaciji *SŽOU. Ahdut hacofim* je dostigao i držao posebno snažan intezitet rada i organizacije, što ostali nisu mogli da slede u istoj meri. Stoga je *Ahdut hacofim* i istupio iz Saveza. Tako je postupila i jedna grupa sefardskih omladinaca iz Bosne, koji su bili nezadovoljni zato što se njihovim specifičnim sefardskim problemima nije posvetila dovoljna pažnja.

Taj je rascep izazvao velike diskusije. Kasnije je on prevladan, ali samo formalno, ne suštinski. Uz ovo, u pitanju je bio problem tzv. palestino-centrizma, ali ne samo on. Naravno da Palestina jeste bila centar svih htenja i nastojanja ali, realno gledano, nije sva omladina mogla da se povinuje zahtevu za *halucijut*, nastale su, zatim, i neke ideološke razlike u meri leve orijentacije pojedinih grupa omladine.

III

List *Hanoar*, koji je u početku izlazio u skromnijoj opremi i bio posvećen više pitanjima pokreta, nastavio je kasnije kao revija, izlazeći mesečno, a još kasnije tromesečno. Taj list je bio pravo ogledalo omladine, njenog pokreta, njenih težnji, njene ideologije.

Njegove rubrike bile su raznovrsne: pre svega bili su tu članci samih omladinaca o najbitnijim pitanjima, temeljnim problemima života omladine. Tu su se oglašavale i vođe cionističkog pokreta svojim kraćim prilozima: Aleksandar Liht, Bukić Pijade, David Albala, Joel Rozenberger i drugi, kao i renomirani pisci i pesnici iz naše sredine: Hinko Gotlib i Miroslav Feldman. Posebno mesto zauzimali su hebrejski i jidiš pisci: H. N. Bjalik, A. S. Agnon, D. Frišman, Šolem Alejhem, Šalom Aš, J. L. Perc i drugi. Od ostalih jevrejskih pisaca lepe književnosti napomenuo bih Ed. Flega i Štefana Cvajga.

Ali najvažnije mesto među napisima u *Hanoaru* pripada člancima programskog i, da tako kažem, ideološkog karaktera. Oni su iznosili ciljeve koji se postavljaju pred omladinu. Dijapazon tih napisa bio je veoma širok - bilo je čak protivrečnih mišljenja, ali su, ipak, svi oni imali jednu zajedničku crtu: nije u pitanju samo politička organizacija, ostvarivanje političkih ciljeva cionizma, stvaranje "staronove domaje" u *Erec Jisraelu*, već je reč o obnovi naroda - obnovi svakog pojedinca, o temeljnom preobražaju samog njegovog bića, jer bez toga neće i ne može biti ni Izarela.

Jedan od glavnih ideologa pokreta Pavao Verthajm je u svom govoru jevrejskoj omladini u Zagrebu, decembra 1929, naveo sledeće četiri ličnosti kao vođe i predvodnike jevrejske omladine. Oni treba da joj služe kao putokaz i uzor:

Teodor Hercl, osnivač političkog cionizma, pesnik života, junak fantazije, simbol težnje za apsolutnim činom;

Ahad Haam, koji nas je naučio razumevanju vekovne istorije našeg naroda;

časni starac Gordon: *Zaorio se njegov zov: budite zdrav i prirodan narod; radite na domovinskom tlu, obrađujte ga u znoju vlastitog lica da ga zavolite;*

i Martin Buber: on od nas traži da židovstvo svoje posvetimo i čoveštvom svojim.

Možda je u to doba, krajem dvadesetih godina, omladini bio najbliži upravo A. D. Gordon. Trebalo je neprirodnu društvenu strukturu jevrejskog naroda vratiti u normalne tokove vraćanjem prirodi i tlu, što se moglo ostvariti jedino u *Erec Jisraelu*.

Kasnije nailazimo i na napise socijalističkih vođa i mislilaca: D. Ben Guriona, Meir Jaaria, Ber Borohova, koji izlažu osnovu cionističkog socijalizma. To su temelji pokreta *Poale Cijon*, koji će vremenom izrasti u laburističku partiju Izraela. Ben Gurion izlaže i tezu o potrebi hegemonije radništva u Izraelu i cionističkoj organizaciji.

Pored tih ideoloških napisa i rasprava, *Hanoar* donosi i stalne rubrike o Palestini i tamošnjim zbivanjima, cionistički pregled (o kongresima i njihovim zaključcima), omladinski, književni, likovni pregled.

U *Hanoaru* se već u prvim brojevima na vrlo karakterističan način ogleda i odnos omladinaca prema cionizmu, naročito u odgovorima na anketu "Kako je cionizam menjao pravac mog života". Navešću dva tipična odgovora: Branko Grosman odgovara da se u njemu iskristalisala osnovna dilema života - otići u Palestinu i ostvariti ideal života, ili ostati u *galutu* (raseljenju). (Već tada je doneo odluku: *alija* - useljenje; postaje predsednik *SŽOU* i potom se iseljava u Palestinu; proveo je ceo svoj život u Izraelu i danas, u dubokoj starosti, živi tamo.) Avram Lavan odgovara: Cionizam lebdi preda mnoom kao neka mogućnost etičkog uspona i pravog židovskog i čovečanskog rada.

Ostaje da se osvrnemo i na glavne saradnike *Hanoara* iz redova omladinaca. Bili su to većinom vođe i duhovni inspiratori omladine, mahom oni koji će kasnije postati vođe jugoslovenskog jevrejstva ili istaknuti radnici u Izraelu. Od prvih to su: Albert Vajs i Oto Centner, dok su Moše Švajger, Joel Rozenberger, Branko Grosman, Jakov Maestro, Šmuel Engelman i drugi delovali u Izraelu. Sarađivali su i Andrija Gams i Leon Geršković, dok su pripadali pokretu.

Najviše su se istakla dva saradnika koji su, i sadržajno i po broju svojih priloga, dali najveći doprinos listu i pokretu. To su dr Cvi Rotmiler (kasnije, u Izraelu, Cvi Rotem) i Pavao Verthajm. Cvi Rotmiler, apsolvant Visoke škole za nauku jevrejstva u Berlinu, ispunio je sva godišta *Hanoara* svojim značajkim i inteligentnim priložima, bilo da se radi o političko-socijalnim esejima, aktuelnim osvrtima, književnim prikazima, beletrističkim napisima, ponekad i lirskim sastavima; njegove tekstove odlikuju britko pero i velika erudicija. Pavao Verthajm, jedna od najumnijih glava pokreta, svestrano obrazovan, veoma emocionalan, s izuzetno širokim krugom interesovanja, piše studije o Spinozi, Martinu Buberu, ali i o Otu Vajningeru. Kao književni prevodilac prevodi Ničea, ali i Hajnea, piše lirsku prozu. Njegovi ideološki članci su racionalni ali,

ujedno, i zasićeni emocijama. C. Rotmiler i P. Verthajm jedno su vreme zajedno i uređivali *Hanoar*, da bi potom samo P. Verthajm ostao kao urednik. Kad se povukao sa dužnosti urednika, P. Verthajm imenuje za svog nastavljača i budućeg duhovnog vođu omladine Hanana Pregera, koji to zaista i postaje, i sredinom tridesetih godina preuzima i uredništvo *Hanoara* (sa M. Leventalom).

IV

Socijalni sastav jevrejskog življa u Jugoslaviji bio je veoma slojevit i nejednak: bilo je industrijalaca i veletrgovaca, ali većina stanovništva je - kako u kojoj provinciji - pripadala srednjem staležu i malograđanskom sloju (sitni trgovci i zanatlije); bilo je i dosta pripadnika slobodnih profesija, a u nekim krajevima i sasvim pauperizovanih slojeva (vidi književne radove Isaka Samokovlije), pa čak i lumpenproleterijata (ljudi bez ikakve profesije i imovine), npr. u Bitolju. Uz to je 1929. došla velika ekonomska kriza, potom katastrofalno bujanje fašizma i nacizma, što se sve odražavalo i na Jevreje Jugoslavije. Oni su, do pred kraj tridesetih godina, bili potpuno ravnopravni u građanskim pravima ali su, usled fašističko-rasističkih ideja (rasni zakoni u Nemačkoj 1938, *Kristalna noć*), počinjali da bivaju egzistencijalno ugroženi, kao i svi ostali evropski Jevreji.

Jedan od glavnih motiva, koji je pobudio omladinu na traženje novih puteva, jeste spoznaja o neuspehu asimilacije. To je naročito došlo do izražaja u delovima Jugoslavije koji su, ranije, bili pod Austrougarskom monarhijom. U tom smislu, karakteristična je brošura novinara Milana Obradovića iz Bjelovara - *Kako da riješimo židovsko pitanje?* U njoj se traži zatvaranje Jevreja u geta, zabrana da se nazivaju "Hrvatima Mojsijeve vjere", ograničenje prava na školovanje u svim školama, zabrana lekarima, advokati-ma, prosvetnim radnicima da leče, zastupaju i podučavaju hrišćane, itd. Već 1920. godine (!) vidimo tu čitav arsenal Hitlerovih antijevrejskih mera. Izostalo je jedino fizičko uništenje. (Prema podacima A. Matkovskog: *Istorija na Evreite vo Makedonija*, Skoplje 1983.) Nepotrebno je nabranje svega što se dalje zbilo: Ljotićevi spisi, bujanje antisemitskih pojava i antijevrejski zakoni, sve podstrekivano, finansirano i vođeno iz Hitlerove Nemačke.

Nije čudo, otuda, što je omladina postajala sve radikalnija i tražila trajno rešenje iz tog bezizlaza. Pri tome je socijalni motiv bio jednako važan kao i cionistički. Stara čežnja za socijalnom pravdom, čiji su duboki koreni u Bibliji, uvek je bila i ostala u jevrejskom

narodu. Interesantan je u tom kontekstu podatak da su upravo školovana deca, iz porodica srednjeg staleža, pokazivala najveći društveni radikalizam. On, dakle, nije bio posledica njihovog socijalnog položaja već, naprotiv, intelektualne spoznaje. Takav radikalizam tražio je odbacivanje formi građanskog života i temeljiti preobražaj ličnog života.

Preovladala je težnja za potpunom duhovnom i fizičkom obnovom, predanosti celog bića idealu, duboka vera u njene ciljeve i spremnost na ličnu žrtvu. Tražila se bezuslovnost. A zadaci koji su postavljeni, bili su: savladavanje modernog hebrejskog jezika - *ivrita*, *hahšara* (priprema za rad u kibucu), orijentacija ka poljoprivredi i promena zvanja i, konačno, *alija* (iselj enje u Palestinu). Veoma važna je bila i lična intelektualna izgradnja. Dakle, isključivi palestinocentrizam i beskompromisno ispunjenje postavljenih zadataka.

Kao što je napred pomenuto, pomirenje u *SŽOU* pokazalo se samo kao formalno. Do diferencijacije je moralo doći, nisu svi omladinci mogli udovoljiti datim zahtevima. Stoga je, kao naslednik *Ahdut hacofima* nastao *Hašomer hacair*, veoma jak i isključiv pokret. Ta organizacija je ostala deo Saveza, najjači stub nosač, ali se izdvojila kao posebno telo.

V

Evropski *Hašomer hacair* nastao je u Beču 1916. godine sjedinjavanjem dve grupacije: *Ceirej Cijon* i *Hašomer*. Prva je bila omladinska organizacija, a druga - organizacija "čuvara", dobro uvežbanih za samoodbranu jevrejskih naselja u Palestini. *Hašomer hacair* je organizovan po ugledu na britanski skautski pokret Badena Pauela, a usvaja i neke ideje nemačkog omladinskog pokreta *Wandervogel*. Donekle se nadovezuje i na ilegalni anticarski pokret u Rusiji i Poljskoj, dok je ideološki inspirisan idejama A. D. Gordona, J. H. Brenera i J. Trumpeldora (organizatora samoodbrane u Palestini). Ciljevi *Hašomer hacaira* bili su: sinteza negovanja jevrejske kulture, izgradnja i odbrana naselja u Palestini i borba protiv asimilacije. Naglašeno je izgrađivanje jakih ličnosti. To se postizalo razrađenim edukativnim programom, prilagođenim uzrastu članova. Bile su tri grupe: *kfirim* (od jedanaest do četrnaest godina), *cofim* (od petnaest do šesnaest godina) i *bogrim* (od sedamnaest naviše). Osnovna ćelija pokreta bila je *kvuca*, kao i *ken*. Tražila se akcija, ali se ona zasnivala na analizi činjenica i ideja, u nastojanju da se dođe do osnovnih uzroka stvari. Tako

izgrađene jake ličnosti, imale su bezuslovnu obavezu ispunjenja ciljeva pokreta. Već od 1927. *Hašomer hacair* organizovao je ukla-panje svojih članova u *kibucim* - naselja u *Erec Jisraelu*, zasno-vana na principima komunizma. Dva glavna ideala pokreta bila su, dakle: hebrejski jezik kao simbol obnove jevrejstva, (dok su jidiš i đudeo-espanjol bili simboli egzistencije raseljenja, jezici primljeni od drugih naroda) i socijalizam kao drugi veliki ideal, nerazdvojan od pokreta, onakav kakav je u *Erec Jisraelu* ostvaren u praksi. *Hašomer hacair* pripadao je radikalnijem krilu levice - *Kibuc Arci* koji je, kasnije, prišao političkoj partiji *Mapam*. Umerenije grupe pridružile su se partiji *Hapoel hacair*, koja je postala *Mapaj* - laburistička partija Ben Guriona. Godine 1935. *Hašomer hacair* brojao je, u Evropi i Africi (Tunis, Egipat i Južna Afrika), 70 000 članova. U Jugoslaviji, to je bila snažna organizacija koja je imala svoje ogranke od Hrvatske i Vojvodine do krajnjeg juga Makedonije. Taj *Hašomer hacair* sprovodio je ideale celog pokreta. To nije mogao da ispuni zahteve, morao je da otpadne.

Da jugoslovenski *Hašomer hacair* nije ostao samo na rečima, vidi se po njegovim ostvarenjima. Sredinom tridesetih, osnovan je kibuc *Saar haamakim* u Palestini, od jugoslovenskih i rumunskih omladinaca - *halucim*. Vođa i realizator toga, bio je Hilel Livni (Slavko Vajs) iz Slavenskog Broda, veoma zaslužni predvodnik omladinaca u Jugoslaviji i Palestini. Ceo vek je proveo u tom kibucu i, nedavno, tamo i umro u dubokoj starosti. Taj kibuc postoji i danas i spada među uspešne u Izarelu. Iz pokreta *Hašomer hacair* izašao je i legendarni vođa ustanka u Varšavskom getu, Mordehaj Anilovic.

Članovi *Hašomer hacaira* Jugoslavije, ukoliko nisu bili umoreni u logorima istrebljenja Jadovnu, Jasenovcu, Jabuci i dr, najvećma su se pridružili antifašističkoj borbi NOB-e i NOV-e. Ipak, koliko god je *Hašomer hacair* bio na radikalno socijalističkim pozicijama, jasno se distancirao od Komunističke partije. Komunisti su negirali cionizam kao buržoasku stvar, povezanu sa britanskim imperijalizmom. Oni su jevrejskoj populaciji odricali svojstvo nacije. To je, doduše, Sovjetski Savez porekao osnivanjem jevrejske pokrajine Biro Bidžan u centralnoj Aziji. Ali, pokazalo se da je to veliki promašaj, jer niko nije hteo da ostane tamo.

Ipak, jedan deo jevrejske omladine bio je veoma intenzivno privučen ideologijom komunizma: čemu rešavati jevrejsko pitanje posebno kada će svetska revolucija, zajedno sa svim ostalim, rešiti i ovo pitanje promenom celokupnog društvenog uređenja? Dilema cionizam ili komunizam, bila je glavna crta razdvajanja

jevrejske omladine. Svako je duboko verovao u svoj izbor i opredeljenje i u toj dilemi bilo je životno pitanje za svakog pojedinca. Dešavalo se da su i pojedine vodeće ličnosti omladinskog pokreta prešle u komuniste (Pavao Verthajm, Leon Geršković). No, to nije oslabilo pokret. Kasnije su se oformile i druge grupe i pravci: *Tehelet lavan* (Plavo-belo), bio je najviše raširen u Vojvodini i Makedoniji i, za nijansu, manje levo orijentisan od *Hašomer ha'aira*, zatim *Kadima*, organizacija građanske cionističke omladine, i *Betar*, ogranak partije revizionista, desne struje u cionističkom spektru. Betarska parola je bila: "Jevrejska država s obe strane Jordana"; bili su protivnici socijalizma, a nisu se slagali ni sa principijelnim i tolerantnim stavom socijalističkih cionista prema Arapima. Treba ipak naglasiti da su pretežnu većinu u pokretu činile organizacije sa socijalističkim usmerenjem. Bio bi veliki propust izostaviti sportsko društvo *Makabi* iz ovog pregleda. Centar *Makabija* bio je Zagreb, gde je društvo imalo lepu veliku salu. Omladina je u njoj vežbala po sokolskom sistemu, a postojale su i mnoge druge snažne sekcije (mačevanje, fudbal, laka atletika, itd.). *Makabi* je imao ogranke u celoj zemlji, a bio je i član svetskog pokreta *Makabi*, nadahnutog idejama cionizma. Fizička obnova jevrejske populacije bila je jedan od postulata pokreta, i *Makabi* je to izvršavao veoma uspešno.

Uloga omladinskog pokreta i svih njegovih sledbenika - u svim grupama i organizacijama - veoma je značajna za jevrejsku zajednicu Jugoslavije. Za vreme Drugog svetskog rata, onaj deo omladine koji je uspeo da se spase od istrebljenja, veoma je aktivno učestvovao u antifašističkoj borbi i dao veliki broj boraca i rukovodilaca u NOB-i i NOV-i. Po osnivanju države Izrael, polovina preživelih Jevreja Jugoslavije uselila se u novostvorenu domovinu, gde su postali veoma cenjeni članovi obnovljene nacionalne zajednice. Preživeli učesnici pokreta, postali su posle rata vođe jevrejske zajednice Jugoslavije (Albert Vajs, Lavoslav Kadelburg, Oto Centner i drugi).



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NEŠTO O HAŠOMER HACAIRU I NJEGOVOM "GNEZDU" U NOVOM SADU

Teško je posle pedest šezdest godina pisati o *Hašomer hacairu*, jevrejskom omladinskom pokretu, bez dokumenata, bez ikakvog pisanog materijala, sem jedne knjižice.¹ A sećanja su izbledela. Nisam više siguran da li sam sve one događaje, kojih se sećam, stvarno doživeo, u njima učestvovao, da li podatke koje tu iznosim znam iz ličnog iskustva ili mi je o njima neko, ko zna kojom prilikom i ko zna kada, ispričao. Stvarni događaji u međuvremenu sasvim su izbledeli, zamaglili se, postali nejasni. Pre dvadest godina pokušao sam da napišem o *Hašomer hacairu* onoliko koliko sam se tada još sećao, a i onda je ono što sam napisao bilo već veoma manjkavo i puno nedostataka.² Tamo je navedena i literatura kojom sam se služio o *Hašomer hacairu*, a od onda do novije literature nisam došao. Ako sam se ipak prihvatio da i sada napišem o tom pokretu nešto, učinio sam to samo na insistiranje saradnika Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u Beogradu. Ovde izloženi podaci, ukoliko nisu rezultat sećanja, uzeti su iz knjižice *Hašomer hacair*.

Hašomer hacair ("mladi stražar") je jevrejska omladinska organizacija formirana u godinama posle Prvog svetskog rata u Poljskoj, da bi postepeno obuhvatila jevrejsku omladinu u nizu zemalja. U Jugoslaviji se javlja tridesetih godina i ubrzo posle toga osniva se i u Novom Sadu. Prvo sedište bilo je u Ulici Josifa Runjanina, u maloj ulici iza današnjeg pozorišta, na samom uglu (kuća postoji još i danas); zatim se preselilo u dvorišnu zgradu u Ulici Pavla Papa broj 4 (na mestu te zgrade u međuvremenu je podignuta višespratnica); potom se nalazilo u dvorišnoj zgradi iza bivše jevrejske škole (tada je aktivnost u "gnězdu" bila i najveća), da bi se dve-tri godine kasnije, 1938-1939, preselila na gornji sprat Jevrejskog kulturnog doma, u današnjoj Ulici Petra Drapšina (sada zgrada škole).

U Jugoslaviji su postojale i druge jevrejske omladinske organizacije, većina udružena u Savez židovskih omladinskih udruženja

(SŽOU), sa sedištem u Zagrebu. Cionistički pokret je još pre Prvog svetskog rata bio najaktivniji u Hrvatskoj, tako da je i posle stvaranja Jugoslavije centar cionističkog pokreta ostao u Zagrebu. Te organizacije bile su npr. *Tehelet lavan*, *Kadima*, *Betar*. Prve dve okupljale su jevrejsku omladinu pretežno u manjim mestima i bile su po načinu rada i organizaciji manje-više bleđa "kopijska" *Hašomer hacaira*; one su, u izvesnom smislu, "pripremale" svoje pripadnike za buduće članove cionističkih organizacija građanskog, liberalnog pravca. U Novom Sadu nisu imale veći značaj. *Betar* je bila omladinska organizacija cionista-revizionista, po načinu rada u mnogočemu nalik kakvoj vojničkoj organizaciji.

Osnovni zadatak *Hašomer hacaira* bio je da vaspitava, da priprema jevrejsku omladinu za halučki, pionirski rad na izgradnji jevrejske domovine u Palestini, kao binacionalnoj domovini Jevreja i palestinskih Arapa. Taj rad, smatralo se u *Hašomer hacairu*, može da se obavi samo u kolektivima, u kibucima, jer je to najpogodniji oblik za život poljoprivrednika, ljudi koji su zemlji najpotrebniji, gde nema privatne svojine, ali gde je data mogućnost da svako ispolji svoju sklonost za onu aktivnost koja mu najviše odgovara, u skladu s mogućnostima i uslovima kibuca.

S obzirom na očekivani kasniji život u kibucu, rad u *Hašomer hacairu* bio je manje-više neprekidno vezan za *ken* ("gnazdo", u stvari dom), za prostorije koje su stožer života *Hašomer hacaira* u svakom mestu gde je pokret postojao. Sadržaj rada i života u kenu bio je izuzetno bogat. Danas, u našim uslovima, teško je i zamisliti koliko je to bogatstvo bilo veliko.

Polazilo se od toga, i to beskompromisno, da izgradnja zemlje Izraela ("Erec Jisrael"), kako se nazivala Palestina, traži celog čoveka, prožetog u potpunosti jevrejskim vrednostima. Na jednom mestu 3 kaže se: "...Cilj ove organizacije je fizičko i psihičko pripremanje jevrejske omladine za odlazak u Palestinu, uključivanje u njenu obnovu, kao i izgradnja socijalističkog društva unutar poljoprivrednih organizacija..." U pomenutom "Vodiču" o zadacima *Hašomer hacaira* stoji da je ovaj pokret "...svestan da se vezuje s jevrejskim i svetskim proletarijatom i njegovom sudbinom" (str 13) i dalje "...*Hašomer hacair* na bazi Borohovljeve aplikacije marksizma na jevrejsko pitanje, unosi u svoj rad snažnu socijalističku notu koja se ne iscrpljuje u romantičarskoj buni protiv današnjeg sveta... nego prelazi na delo: izgradnju hebrejske radne Palestine", a navodi se i "da se *Hašomer hacair* sve više usmerava rešavanju socijalnih problema buduće palestinske zajednice." 5 Kao izraziti pripadnik levog krila svetske cionističke organizacije,

podstaknut nastupajućim fašizmom u Nemačkoj, *Hašomer hacair* smatrao je da se jevrejsko pitanje može rešiti jedino miroljubivom izgradnjom socijalističke domovine na tlu tadašnje Palestine.

Jevrejska omladina u *Hašomer hacairu*, pored nedvosmislenog cionističkog vaspitanja, dobijala je, kao što se to može videti iz navedenih citata, i ozbiljno marksističko vaspitanje. Tako "Crveni vodič" navodi literaturu koja se smatra obaveznom: Marksa, Engelsa, Plehanova, Adžiju, Cesarca, Kauckog, Fojerbaha itd. A ne sme se zaboraviti da je to godina 1932, pa je stoga u kartoteci tadašnje policije *Hašomer hacair* okvalifikovan kao "komunistički sumnjiva cionistička organizacija".⁶

Ustrojstvo *Hašomer hacaira* bilo je centralističko. Osnovna organizacija u mestu je bio *ken* a u *kenu kvuca* (vod, grupa). Jednoj *kvuci* pripadalo je dvanaest do petnaest članova, retko kad više, jer veći broj nije bio pogodan za vaspitni rad. *Hašomer hacair* je obuhvatao omladinu od devet-deset do dvadest dve, dvadest četiri godine. Mlađi od devet godina nisu prihvatani, jer bi s njima rad u duhu pokreta bio teško izvodljiv. Ista godišta činila su jednu *šihvu* (vaspitni stepen).

Najmlađi pripadnici *kena* zvali su se *bne midbar* (sinovi pustinje); nešto stariji, oni od dvanaest do četrnaest godina bili su *kfirm* (lavići), između četrnaest i petnaest godina bili su *cofim cairim* (mlađi izvidnici), između šesnaest i sedamnaest godina *cofim* (izvidnici), od sedamnaest do osamnaest godina *cofim bogrim* (dozreli izvidnici), a od osamnaest godina *bogrim* (dozreli). Svaka *kvuca* imala je svoje ime, obično prema nekoj istorijskoj ličnosti (npr. Bar Kohba, vođa ustanka protiv Rimljana) ili prema nekom simbolu (npr. Solel, graditelj puta).

Kvuca je imala svog vođu *menahela* (rukovodioca), koji je obično bio dve-tri godine stariji od onih za koje je bio "zadužen". Do *cofim*, *kvuce* su redovno bile odvojene za dečake i za devojčice, a kasnije su bile zajedničke. Poslednja *šihva* nije imala rukovodioca, već je svoj rad i život organizovala sama.

U pokretu se nosila posebna odeća sa širokom maramom, oko vrata vezanom na poseban način; odeća i marama su se unekoliko razlikovale zavisno od uzrasta. Te uniforme su se nosile kada se išlo u prirodu, na izlete i logorovanja.

Sadržaj rada u *kvuci* bio je različit u zavisnosti od uzrasta. Npr. u *šihvi bne midbar* se kroz priče iz Biblije, istorije i beletristike "putovalo" kroz pustinju, kakva je u to vreme bila velika površina

Palestine. Na taj način se upoznavalo s geografijom, istorijom, prošlošću i običajima jevrejskog naroda; pripadnici *kvuce* su postepeno postajali svesni da im se život menja, da postaju deo zajednice, pokreta. Sastanci *sihot* (razgovori), održavali su se dvatri puta nedeljno, a kad god je to bilo moguće, odlazilo se na izlete i u šetnju. Što je uzrast bio veći, *sihot* su bili učestaliji, da bi kod najstarijih bili svakodnevni. Svaka *kvuca* imala je veoma bogat i sadržajan kulturni, politički, vaspitni, sportski i skautsko-izviđački rad, vaspitavajući visoko moralni (ali nikako asketski) kolektivni duh.

Rad u *kvuci* bio je posebno intenzivan tokom, skoro bi se smelo reći, obaveznih boravaka (jer se to podrazumevalo samo po sebi) na letnjim, ređe zimskim logorovanjima *Hašomer hacaira* iz cele zemlje.

S obzirom na to da je osnovni cilj pokreta bio da posluži obnovi jevrejstva, judaizam je bio polazna i završna ideja svih napora, svih područja života i aktivnosti. Toj nameri služila je celokupna atmosfera u *kenu* pa se stoga nastojalo da učenje hebrejskog jezika (ivrita) bude intenzivno i da se odvija brzo.

Postepeno, *kvuca* je postajala prava životna zajednica, čvrsto povezan krug prijatelja, koji su svesno hteli da pripremljeni odu u Erec Jisrael, da učestvuju u obnovi zemlje. Zbog toga se, radi što svestranijeg razvoja ličnosti, u starijim *šihvama* ozbiljno i intenzivno učila istorija, posebno jevrejskog naroda i naročito istorija cionizma; tradiciji, praznicima pre svega, pridavao se veliki značaj, ali to nikako nije bilo vezano s religioznim učenjem. Pravile su se zidne novine, organizovale su se pozorišne predstave, govorni horovi, zidovi su se ukrašavali raznim amblemima i izrekama, ne samo jevrejskih javnih radnika i književnika. Insistiralo se na uravnoteženom praćenju beletristike s jevrejskim temama i onim iz jugoslovenske i svetske književnosti, a o pročitanim knjigama često su se vodile žive diskusije na *sihot* namenjenim ovoj aktivnosti. Raspravljale su se i druge teme iz sociologije, dijalektičkog materijalizma, psihologije, psihoanalize. Od rane mladosti sam član u *Hašomer hacairu*. Sa šesnaest-sedamnaest godina imao sam na primer na jednoj sihi referat o imigracionoj politici Velike Britanije u Palestini, u vezi sa odnosima koje je kao mandatna vlast imala s arapskim vlastodršcima; drugi put govorio sam o razlici u shvatanjima psihoanalize Frojda i Adlera. Sa šesnaest-sedamnaest godina! I drugi su, naravno, imali slične teme za referisanje. Nastojalo se da se harmonično obrade sva područja

koja su bila predviđena i da svako bude referent, a ne da bude samo nekoliko stalnih referenata; u *kvucama* gde je bilo vaspitača, oni su nastojali da nejasna pitanja razjasne, pa je tako zajednički stav bio rezultat zajedničkog mišljenja a ne nametnutog.

Da bi odgovorio ovom svom zadatku, svaki *ken* je imao biblioteku s knjigama koje bi rado posedovale mnoge današnje biblioteke (npr. kompletna izdanja "Nolita").

Kvuca je predstavljala takav kolektiv kakav se retko gde danas može sresti. Pripadnici *kvuce* nisu imali "svog" novca; postojao je blagajnik kome se predavao sav novac, džeparac ili novac zarađen ili dobijen na neki drugi način. Blagajnik se brinuo o svim troškovima grupe van škole i kuće (za izlete, za sladoled, za ulaznice za bioskop, za pozorište; u Novom Sadu je pred rat pozorište bilo među omladinom veoma popularno, posebno oni komadi koji su imali socijalnu sadržinu). *Hašomer hacair* u Novom Sadu, kao i u većini drugih mesta u Jugoslaviji, bio je sastavljen pretežno od srednjoškolske omladine srednjeg ili imućnog materijalnog stanja, tako da je džeparca uvek bilo i nikada se nije desilo da bilo ko sa nekom motivacijom pokuša da zadrži neki dinar za sebe - tako nešto nije se moglo ni zamisliti jer bi to neminovno značilo izolaciju, bojkot i otpadanje od pokreta, od sredine.

S punih dvadeset ili dvadset dve godine, odnosno sa završenom srednjom školom, dolazila je *hahšara* (priprema), odlazak na poljoprivredna imanja ili izučavanje pogodnih zanata. Takvo jedno poljoprivredno dobro bilo je imanje Golenić, kraj Podravske Slatine, gde su se nalazili pripadnici pokreta iz cele Jugoslavije, a jedna *hahšara* za izučavanje zanata bila je u Novom Sadu. Tokom takvog izučavanja poljoprivrede ili zanata živelo se i učilo u kolektivu kibučkog tipa dve do tri godine, dok se određeni manuelni rad nije izučio i nije stvorena mogućnost da se ode u Erec Jisrael, u Palestinu, radi stvaranja novih kibuca na neplodnoj, močvarnoj ili pustinjskoj zemlji.

Treba još jednom navesti da *hahšara* nije bila samo škola za učenje poljoprivrede ili zanata u užem smislu, nego istovremeno i škola gde se učilo kolektivnom životu u komuni u najbukvalnijem smislu reči. Tamo lične svojine, kao u kibucu, nije bilo, izuzev predmeta za ličnu upotrebu ili onih koji su služili za ličnu higijenu. Sve ostalo bilo je zajedničko; plate nije bilo već se sva zarada predavala blagajniku a svako je, prema dogovoru, dobijao koliko mu treba, u granicama mogućnosti kolektiva.

Pripadnici *Hašomer hacaira, šomeri* (stražari) strogo su se držali "zakona" svog pokreta, koji ništa nije naređivao, zabranjivao, kažnjivao - jer se poštovanje tih zakona smatralo prirodnim i otuda jedino mogućim. Ti "zakoni" glase (komentari su delimični izvodi iz već pomenutog "Vodiča"):

1. *Šomer* voli istinu i verno je čuva

(U životnoj borbi odraslih ima mnogo konvencionalnosti, neiskrenosti, neistine. *Šomer* neće da laže ni sebe ni druge. *Šomerova* reč je sveta, on je istinoljubiv prema svima)

2. *Šomer* je pionir svog naroda, jezika, domovine

(*Šomer* je pionir obnove jevrejstva, utire put narodu. Svuda gde treba da se preduzme nešto za obnovu jevrejskog naroda, ivrita, Erec Jisraela)

3. *Šomer* je aktivan, radan i ume da živi od rada svojih ruku

(*Šomer* se od prvog dana sprema za rad i teži da postane veran sin jevrejskog radnog naroda)

4. *Šomer* se delom bori za život pravde, bratstva i slobode u ljudskom društvu

(*Šomeri (šomrim)* su braća jedan drugom i svakom čoveku. *Šomer* ne poznaje lažne autoritete, u njegovom krugu vlada sloboda mišljenja i rada)

5. *Šomer* rado pomaže i čini usluge

(Nema zajednice bez uzajamne pomoći, a za obnovu jevrejstva treba silnih snaga i uzajmne pomoći i spreman je da priskoči u pomoć gdegod zatreba)

6. *Šomer* je veran *šomerskoj* zajednici i poslušan njenim vođama

(Bez vernosti zajednici ona ne može da uspeva i da vrši svoje zadatke. *Šomer* hoće da bude disciplinovan ne zato što mora, već zato što hoće. Ta disciplina nije slepa, on sluša i nastoji da razume)

7. *Šomer* voli prirodu, poznaje je i ume da živi u njoj

(Jevreji su dugo bili zatvoreni u getu. Obnova jevrejstva znači i povratak prirodi, polju, njivi, bašti, šumi. *Šomer* ne prolazi slepo kroz prirodu. Što ne poznajemo ne možemo ni ljubiti, što ne ljubimo ne možemo ni poznavati)

8. *Šomer* je hrabar, vedar i svež

(Obnova jevrejstva traži hrabrost, prirodnost, dobru volju, vedrinu i svežinu. Neće se stideti da zatraži pomoć od svojih drugova. Svež u svakoj zgodi, *vedar i u najgorem času, hrabar celog života*)

9. Šomer je jake volje i usavršava se duševno i telesno (*Šomerova* vera je čvrsta. On hoće da ostvari ideal jevrejske obnove i zato bez zastoja radi na svom sveukupnóm usavršavanju)

10. Šomer je čist u mislima, rečima i delima (Jevrejski narod treba zdrav naraštaj, teški pionirski rad u Erec Jisraelu moći će pobjednički da izdrže samo oni koji se u mladosti potpuno klone alkohola, duvana, kocke, polne nečistoće /u *kenu* se pevala i pesma: "*šomer* ne pije, ne puši/ *šomer* ne ide u lokal/ *šomer* čuva svoj moral..."/)

Međutim život u *kenu* nije se sastojao samo od intelektualnog rada, šetanja, izleta. Nikako se nije sastojao samo od toga. Svako je znao niz pesama na ivritu, pa se svako popodne, večer, kada nas je najviše bilo prisutno, sve orilo od pesme, muzike, i naročito zvuka harmonike. Pripremljena je bila i tehnički jednostavno štampana pesmarica. Pogotovo je na izletima bilo živo, na logorovanjima, oko logorske varte. Mladost je i u *kenu* bila mladost. Bilo je *zugoť* (parova) koji su se završavali brakom, a bilo je i neuzvraćenih ljubavi. Kao i drugde. U poslednjim godinama pred rat, veoma se insistiralo na gimnastičkim vežbama u sportskom društvu *Makabi*, kada su za ovu svrhu bile obezbeđene prostorije, ili se insistiralo na atletici, na igralištu *Makabija* (današnji stadion "Vojvodine"). Bili su popularni i drugi sportovi, npr. stoni tenis.

Životni vek *Hašomer hacaira* u Jugoslaviji bio je kratak, jedva desetak godina. Ni u Novom Sadu nije bilo drugačije. Deportacijom Jevreja nestali su i pripadnici *Hašomer hacaira*. U nekim sredinama, kao u Hrvatskoj, rad je zamro još pre nego što je počelo masovno deportovanje Jevreja i njihovo istrebljenje.

Za ovo kratko vreme koliko je postojao *Hašomer hacair* je dao mnogo. Dao je, pored mnogo čega drugog jezgro za osnivanje dva kibuca u Izraelu. Iz njegovih redova su izrasli budući Narodni heroji Jugoslavije i budući visoki vojni i građanski rukovodioci Jugoslavije i Izraela. Iako su to sve bila, tako reći, deca, iako nisu bili pripremljeni za dane koji su nastupili, ponašali su se kao zreli ljudi. I u takvim iskušenjima kao što je bio rat, znali su svoje mesto. Činjenica je da pripadnici pokreta nikada nisu izneverili ideje, principe *Hašomer hacaira*. Nisu osramotili ni svoje ime, ni ime pokreta kome su pripadali, pa su se na svojevrstan način odužili pokretu za ono što su od njega dobili. A dobili su mnogo, veoma mnogo.

BELEŠKE

1. *Hašomer hacair*, Biblioteka *Hanoar*. Zagreb, 1932 (5692) Publikacija je - verovatno ne pukim slučajem - ukoričena u izrazito crveni kartonski omot i otuda se u običnom, svakodnevnom govoru *Hašomer hacaira* i zvala "Crveni vodič".

2. "Neka sećanja na *Hašomer hacair* prvih meseci okupacije u Novom Sadu", *Zbornik jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja*. br. 3. Beograd. 1975.

3. Romano J.. "Jevreji zdravstveni radnici Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve fašističkog terora i učesnici u narodnooslobodilačkom ratu", *Zbornik jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja*. br. 2. Beograd. 1973.

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5. Milin V.. *Pap Pal elet utja*. Forum. Novi Sad. 1969

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Andreja Preger, Mirko Davičo, Lujo Davičo

BETAR - REVIZIONISTIČKI OMLADINSKI POKRET

U okviru cionizma, kao globalnog političkog i ideološkog stremjenja jevrejskog etnosa u dijaspori, razvio se jedan poseban pokret za "Erec Jisrael" čiji će drugačiji put u borbi za istu ideju, posle mnogih i značajnih ukrštanja sa matičnim, ipak ostati sporedan. Pod opštim nazivom REVIZIONIZAM, ovaj pokret nastaje kao reakcija na "nemoćnu" politiku vođstva svetskog cionističkog pokreta u rešavanju problema u Palestini i najkonkretnije će se ostvariti političkim delovanjem svoje velike cionističke omladinske grupe - BETAR, čiji su članovi činili bazu revizionizma.

Betar je osnovan 1923. godine u Rigi, u Letoniji, kao varijanta cionističkog omladinskog pokreta prihvaćenog i raširenog među jevrejskim studentima i mladim radnicima, uglavnom, istočnoevropskih zemalja. Iako je politički cilj *Betara* bio isti kao i kod drugih cionističkih organizacija - odlazak u Palestinu i stvaranje jevrejske države - u programskom smislu je došlo do izvesnih odstupanja koja su vremenom postajala sve veća. Na samom početku svog conceptualnog izgrađivanja, *Betar* se zasnovao na psihološki privlačnoj kombinaciji Žabotinski - Trumpeldor, pri čemu se Žabotinski javlja kao harizmatičan vođa i snažna politička figura koja svojim militantnim stavovima razvija novi stil jevrejskog ponašanja, dok je Josef Trumpeldor simbol i tragedije jevrejskog naroda, ali i njegovih ratničkih sposobnosti. U pozitivnom pokušaju da se stvori ona zaista važna veza između intelektualnih i fizičkih sposobnosti, neophodna za težak "povratak kući" posle toliko vekova lutanja, *Betar* je isticao značaj učenja nacionalnog jezika i kulture, ali i metoda samoodbrane. Ti mladi ljudi, sa čijim aktivnostima je otpočeo razvoj pokreta *Betar*, smatrali su sebe delom "jevrejske legije" koja treba da se učvrsti u Palestini (budućem Izraelu) i, između ostalog, radi priprema za seobe organizovali su hahšare na kojima su sticali znanja iz poljoprivrede,...Taj entuzijazam je, inače, rezultirao useljavanjem u Palestinu, preko betarskog pokreta, u periodu od 1925. do 1929. godine. Međutim,

stalna prisutnost reči "legija" davala je preteću dimenziju betarskim planovima za stvaranje jevrejske države. Nacionalistički zanos koji, doduše, uopšte nije teško razumeti imajući u vidu istoriju jevrejskog naroda, neprijateljski arapski elemenat u Palestini i oko nje, kao i zamršenu političku situaciju, dao je primat izvesnom agresivnom nastupanju (naravno, ako bude potrebe), u čijoj se dubokoj senci našla, možda u tom momentu potrebniija veština - diplomatija.

Vladimir Zeev Žabotinski je bio ruski Jevrejin, rođen 1880. godine u Odesi gde je, u to doba, postojala brojna jevrejska zajednica. Talentovan i obrazovan, Vladimir Žabotinski je još kao vrlo mlad čovek bio zapažen u svojoj sredini kao književnik, novinar-publicista i poznavalac stranih jezika, s izvanrednim smislom za prevođenje i sluhom za stilske vrednosti ruskog jezika. Bavio se izdavaštvom, kao i uređivanjem većeg broja časopisa i novina na ruskom, engleskom, nemačkom i hebrejskom. Međutim, njegovu burnu i bogatu karijeru posebno je obeležio politički rad. Cionističkom pokretu se priključio vrlo mlad da bi, već u svojoj dvadeset petoj godini, bio jedan od najistaknutijih predstavnika ruskog jevrejstva. Klica revizionizma se javlja u periodu otpočinjanja Prvog svetskog rata, koji je Vladimira Žabotinskog zatekao u Danskoj, u Kopenhagenu, gde je osnovao i izdavao časopis, proklamujući stavove da Jevreji, kao i drugi napadnuti i ugroženi narodi, treba da se bore za svoj nacionalni i državni integritet... U tom smislu, osnovni stav V. Žabotinskog je bio da treba osnivati jevrejske legije koje će se, pod jevrejskom zastavom, boriti uz Antantu za oslobođenje Palestine, čime će se steći pravo da se na Mirovnoj konferenciji zahteva slobodna jevrejska država. Preduzimljivi Žabotinski je uspeo da 1915. godine organizuje prve jevrejske dobrovoljačke odrede u Aleksandriji, koji su se pod svojom zastavom sa simbolom Magen Davida i pod komandom kapetana Josefa Trumpeldora, borili i u strašnoj bici na Galipolju. Takođe je kod engleskih vlasti izdejstvovao dozvolu da zvanično poziva jevrejsku emigraciju u Londonu da dobrovoljno učestvuje u stvaranju Legije - GEDUD-a (hebr.). Legija (jevrejski pešadijski puk) je bila više nego uspešna vojnička formacija - pokazala je izvanrednu hrabrost u bitkama u Palestini, a 1918. godine osvojila je dolinu reke Jordan. Uz Žabotinskog, koji je poneo čin potpukovnika i javno priznanje engleskih visokih oficira, posebno mesto u svemu tome imao je kapetan Legije Josef Trumpeldor, čije će izuzetne vojničke sposobnosti (bio je jedini Jevrejin, visoki oficir, u ruskoj Carskoj vojsci !) i lična tragična sudbina, obeležiti revizionistički pokret, što se direktno vidi i u samom

nazivu *BETAR - BRIT TRUMPELDOR*. Dok je Trumpeldor simbol, novi duh Jevreja-ratnika, Žabotinski će biti gvozdeni, racionalni lik "novog cionizma".

Po završetku Prvog svetskog rata Jevrejska legija je raspuštena. Dve godine kasnije, povodom arapskih demonstracija protiv doseljavanja Jevreja u Palestinu, Žabotinski je organizovao jevrejsku oružanu samoodbranu. Nedozvoljeno posedovanje oružja ga je zamalo koštalo petnaest godina robije, prema presudi palestinskog Vojnog suda, ali je pomilovan i 1921. godine postao je član Egzekutive vrhovnog cionističkog vođstva.

Međutim, saradnja nije bila moguća. Ideološka i politička neslaganja između Svetske cionističke organizacije, na jednoj strani, i Žabotinskog i njegovih pristalica na drugoj, bila su tako velika da je Žabotinski istupio iz Vrhovnog cionističkog vođstva. Te 1923. godine, osnovan je Revizionistički pokret, odnosno *Betar*. Suprotstavljenost političke koncepcije *Betara* - kao desne frakcije Svetske cionističke organizacije, opštoj socijalističko-cionističkoj političkoj orijentaciji, vremenom prerasta u otvoren sukob širokih razmera kako u Palestini tako i u zemljama dijaspore, koji je rezultirao čak i fizičkim obračunima tridesetih godina. Cionistički socijalisti su gledali na *Betar* kao na organizaciju fašističkog karaktera, naročito zbog nošenja smeđih košulja, zahtevajući njeno udaljanje iz javnog života. Predstavnici *Betara* su objašnjavali da je pomenuta boja simbol izraelskog tla, i da nema nikakve veze sa simbolima za koje ih optužuju... Bez obzira na loš prijem među ostalim cionistima i na riskantnu politiku "mača", *Betar* je sticao pristalice i, srazmerno ljudstvu, može se reći da je bio neobično aktivan. Još ranih tridesetih je, zaslugom Jermijahu Halperna, uvedena sistematska odbrambena obuka članova *Betara* u zemljama dijaspore - kursevi samoodbrane, baratanja lakim oružjem, učešća u uličnim borbama, boks, učenje vojne taktike. U Palestini se formiraju tzv. radne brigade koje prerastaju u mrežu disciplinovanih jedinica, stacioniranih po naseljima prvo Gornje Galileje, a zatim i šire. Prva betarska škola za instruktore organizovana je u Tel Avivu 1928; njeni regruti su već sledeće godine učestvovali u odbrani grada prilikom arapskih pobuna. Osnovana je i pomorska jedinica u Tel Avivu, s tim što se centralna pomorska škola *Betara* nalazila u Italiji, u Čivitavekiji, gde je obučen veći broj kadeta. *Betar* je funkcionisao relativno tajnovito, pokazujući sve veću sklonost ka terorizmu kao načinu borbe za prava i državu jevrejskog naroda. Iako su, u stvari, bili zavetovani cionisti, verni onoj istoj pravednoj ideji zajedničkoj svim cionistima sveta, revizionisti su smatrani stalnom pretnjom i mogućom smetnjom u ostvarenju konačnog

političkog cilja - stvaranja države Izrael. Jaz je bio nepremostiv. Prva svetska konferencija *Betara* održana je 1931. godine u Dancigu. Učestvovalo je osamdeset sedam delegata iz dvadeset jedne zemlje. Formulirani su politički principi, ciljevi i pravila Pokreta; prema njima, odbrambene vežbe su primarna dužnost svakog člana, kao i dvogodišnji boravak u specijalnim radnim brigadama, za one koji su spremni za odlazak u Palestinu. Vladimir Žabotinski je postavljen za predsjednika *Betara* (*Rosh Beta*) i ovlašćen da imenuje kompletno vođstvo. Izrazita politička samosvojnost revizionističkog pokreta, odnosno *Betara*, u okviru Svetske cionističke organizacije nije mogla da bude prihvaćena kao takva. Do potpunog razmimoilaženja je došlo dve godine kasnije, na Cionističkom kongresu u Pragu, na kojem je bilo govora o konačnom cilju cionizma i o postizanju tog cilja. Žestok politički sukob je takođe bio potpomognut i odlukama donetim početkom januara te iste 1933. godine, kada je u Berlinu zasedao Sud Časti Cionističke organizacije i osudio samostalnu političku aktivnost revizionista, kao i udruživanje cionista-revizionista u posebnu grupaciju unutar Cionističke organizacije. Doneta je odluka da se revizionističko udruženje raspusti i da se njegovi članovi priključe lokalnim cionističkim organizacijama. Po tom pitanju, stav cionističke jevrejske javnosti Kraljevine Jugoslavije kao, uglavnom, socijalistički orijentisane i usklađene sa principima svet-skog cionizma, može se videti iz sledećeg citata: "...Iz takvog raspoloženja biće shvatljiva izazivalačka taktika Unije revizionista. Jer drukčije ne može niko da nazove njihovu namjeru da, pored Cionističke organizacije u danom slučaju možda i protiv nje, na svoju ruku vode vanjsko-političke akcije. Nema tog foruma i nema te institucije koja bi dopustila takvu grubu povredu svojih vanjsko-političkih prerogativa. Taj jedinstven slučaj u cionističkom pokretu osudili su sada ne samo veliki dijelovi cionističkog pokreta, nego i Časni sud Cionističke organizacije." (*Židov*, No 2, 13. januar 1933, članak "Zaoštren odnos između Cionističke organizacije i Unije revizionista"). Međutim, odgovor revizionista je bio nepokolebljiv - samostalan politički rad se nastavlja... Revizionistička partija je na Cionističkom kongresu u Pragu istupila iz Svetske cionističke organizacije. Vladimir Žabotinski je osnovao tzv. NOVU CIONISTIČKU ORGANIZACIJU, na čijem čelu će ostati sve do svoje smrti, 1940. godine.

Aktivnost i stavovi određenih krugova jugoslovenskog jevrejstva u raznim delovima Kraljevine (Srbija, Makedonija, Hrvatska) u to vreme su takođe počivali na revizionističkoj ideologiji. Burne 1933. godine, dok su se u Berlinu i Pragu "lomila koplja", u Novom

Sadu je osnovana Nova cionistička organizacija, u okviru već postojećeg Revizionističkog saveza Jugoslavije (*Hacochar*). Na čelu je bio dr Julije Dohanji. Iste godine se, među omladinskim pokretima u Novom Sadu pojavio i *Betar*, cionistički orijentisana omladinska organizacija nacionalističkog tipa, na čijem čelu su bili Viktor Štark, inače prvi *naciv Betar* Jugoslavije, zatim Amir-Franja Ofner i, na kraju, Stevan Hajnal. Novosadski *Betar* je izdavao dva lista - *Tagar* i *Ever Hajarden*. U Makedoniji, u Skoplju i Bitolju, članstvo *Betara* je bilo malobrojno, ali ništa manje aktivno. Njihovo militantno nastupanje, često marširanje ulicama u zbijenim redovima pod plavobelom zastavom i pevanje hebrejskih koračnica, nije u masi privlačilo miroljubivo i tiho jevrejsko stanovništvo, ali je bilo zapaženo. Na čelu čvrsto organizovanog vođstva skopskog *Betara*, bio je Viktor Avraham Kasuto. Jugoslovenski cionisti-revizionisti su izdavali novine *Malhut Izrael*, što je bio i zvaničan organ "Betara za Jugoslaviju".

Na drugoj svetskoj konferenciji *Betara*, 1935. godine u Krakovu, Vladimir Žabotinski je predložio HA-NEDER (*Zakletvu*), vrstu pravilnika ili, bolje rečeno, ideološkog zakonika *Betara*, u kojem se iznosi politička suština ovog pokreta: obnova jevrejske države po svaku cenu, sa jevrejskom nacionalnom većinom, teritorijalno s obe strane reke Jordan. Jedno od osnovnih načela je i prihvatanje monističke koncepcije u cionizmu, tj. odbacivanje bilo kakvog udruživanja ili povezivanja sa drugim političko-ideološkim učenjima, naročito marksizmom i socijalizmom. Najprihvatljiviji način mišljenja i ponašanja Žabotinski označava kao HADAR, što podrazumeva "lepotu, poštovanje, samopoštovanje, uljudnost i odanost".

Bilo je mnogo, zaista, obostranih pokušaja da se Svetska i Nova cionistička organizacija ipak usaglase, i da uspostave saradnju. Organizovana je i posebna grupa Cionističke organizacije - *Haolam* - koja se od marta 1935. godine bavila regulisanjem odnosa između cionista i cionističkih revizionista. Međutim, bez uspeha. Političko rivalstvo je podrazumevalo i finansijsko, tako da je osim zvaničnih narodnih fondova *Keren Kajemeta* i *Keren Hajesoda*, koje je prikupljala Svetska cionistička organizacija za stvaranje buduće države, postojao i revizionistički fond *Tel Haj*, što je izazvalo ozbiljan nespornost. Dok ga je Cionistička organizacija smatrala sporednim fondom za odbrambene sportove, revizionisti su tvrdili da je glavna svrha *Tel Haja* izbavljenje zemlje, uspostavljanje i upravljanje kolonizacijom Palestine, i sl. Sukob oko statusa ovih fondova je manifestovao revizionističku, partijsku

borbu za prevlast u cionizmu. Legalno naseljavanje Palestine jevrejskim stanovništvom i komplikovano, diplomatsko rešavanje pitanja države Izrael na čemu je radila Svetska cionistička organizacija, narušavano je revizionističkim - betarskim žestokim stilom koji je podrazumevao sve, uključujući i nelegalne akcije naseljavanja Palestine što je, u mnogo slučajeva, povlačilo određene posledice. Svetska cionistička organizacija je temeljno i konstruktivno rešavala problem konačnog formiranja države Izrael i uspela je, zauvek. Međutim, bez obzira na sve greške "novog cionizma", pa čak i zastranjivanja (kao 1936. godine kada je Žabotinski predložio poljskoj vladi da evakuiše Jevreje iz Poljske u Palestinu, što je, zaista, bio poziv antisemitizmu) i političke propuste, vrlo je teško jednostavno presuditi *Betaru* i revizionizmu. Možda treba imati u vidu vekovni umor od inferiornog statusa sopstvenog naroda, zatim osnovni plemeniti, cionistički ideal, u koji su bile uprte i oči Betara a, uostalom, i niz pozitivnih, konkretnih akcija - kao što je naseljavanje više hiljada Jevreja u Palestinu, preko *Betara*, u periodu do 1939. godine. Ako se ima u vidu ono što se dešavalo s Jevrejima posle 1939, čovek ne može a da ne pomisli: "...Pa, neka je i ilegalno ..."

Sklonost ka ekstremnim stavovima i ponašanju i niz kompromitujućih grešaka, ozbiljno su narušavali hegemoniju revizionističkog sistema koji je, u svojoj oštini i borbenosti, izostavio da pruži jasne i direktne planove za stvaranje i izgradnju željene države. Vođstvu, odnosno Žabotinskom su, sa raznih strana, upućivane negativne kritike u stilu "mnogo priče, malo rada", mada revizionizam nije ni krio da je njegova borba isključivo politička, a da praktičnim stvarima treba da se bave druga cionistička udruženja. To je bio prilično nepopularan stav, ne baš pogodan za sticanje novih pristalica i dobijanje šire podrške.

Vladimir Žabotinski je posetio Jugoslaviju avgusta meseca 1935. godine, održavši javne zborove u Novom Sadu i Zagrebu. Namera mu je bila da skrene što veću pažnju javnosti na Prvu konferenciju Nove cionističke organizacije, koja je usledila početkom septembra u Beču. Sudeći prema detaljnim novinarskim (i negativno konotiranim) izveštajima poznatog lista *Židov* iz perioda Kraljevine Jugoslavije, javnost je ostala razočarana, mada su politički mitinzi Žabotinskog bili veoma posećeni. Žabotinski je objašnjavao razloge zbog kojih je njegova partija istupila iz Svetske cionističke organizacije i izneo je njena načela i ciljeve koji se, u priličnoj meri, poklapaju s onim na čemu je Svetska cionistička organizacija već radila, polako afirmišući svoje zahteve.

Stiče se utisak da je javnost očekivala da čuje nešto novo i nešto mnogo više, ako se već radi o "novom" cionizmu.

Razne kritike revizionizma i *Betara* odavno već nisu bile novost; upečatljiv momenat je nastao kada je došlo do nesuglasica i rascepa među samim članstvom. Na jednoj Skupštini revizionista u Beču, 1937. godine, učesnici su izrazili otvoreno nezadovoljstvo vođstvom, optuživši ga da je postalo pasivno i da je, u stvari, nedovoljno sposobno da se nosi s političkim teškoćama u Palestini. Zahtevajući ponovno aktiviranje, ova revizionistička grupa se organizovala u Opozicionu frakciju unutar Nove cionističke organizacije, nazvavši se *Brit Halohmim* (Akcija). Međutim, mnogo veća kriza u redovima revizionista i *Betara* nastupila je 1940.godine, kada su međusobna neslaganja podelila Novu cionističku organizaciju na tri grupe. Prva grupa je zastupala političku orijentaciju zvaničnog vođstva. Svoje stavove je proklamovala izdajući dnevnik *Hamaškir*, insistirajući na tome da je to jedina, originalna revizionistička politika. Drugu grupu su uglavnom sačinjavali radnici revizionističke orijentacije, u okviru *Nacionalne radničke federacije*. Grupa se nazivala *Front* i okupljala je priličan broj palestinskih revizionista. *Front* je izdavao list *Doar Horer* sa revizionistički orijentisanim, ali umerenim političkim stavovima, zalažući se za formiranje jedne zajedničke radničke institucije u kojoj bi svi radnici Jevreji bili isto zastupani, bez obzira na partijsku pripadnost. U vezi s položajem radnika u Novoj cionističkoj organizaciji, *Front* je optuživao vođstvo da stvara razdor među radnicima, deleći ih na revizioniste i one druge, i da ih bagateliše gledajući samo svoje interese. *Front* se izjašnjavao za mir i saradnju s drugim političkim strujama. Za razliku od racionalnog i umerenog *Fronta*, treća grupa, koja se nazivala *Kitrug Ve-Emuna* (Optužba i vera), odlikovala se ekstremističkim političkim stavovima, opozicionim i zvaničnom vođstvu i *Frontu*. Objavljivala je razne pamflete i biltene, od kojih je najzapaženiji bio *Naša borba*, izražavajući oštru separatističku politiku u svim pravcima - protiv Svetske cionističke organizacije, protiv *Histadruta* - radničkih udruženja, protiv "letargičnog" revizionizma,...

U Evropi je većina betarskih grupacija uništena u holokaustu. Nekoliko hiljada članova se spaslo pristupajući partizanima. Sačuvavši dosledno svoj borbeni duh, *Betar* i druge revizionističke grupe u Evropi učestvovala su u krvavim, tragičnim jevrejskim ustancima u getima Varšave, Vilne, Bjalistoka, dok su članovi *Betara* u Palestini radili za jedinice britanske armije i priključivali se jevrejskim brigadama. Zbog masovnog uništenja evropskog jevrejstva, po završetku Drugog svetskog rata centar organizacije *Betar*

postaje Izrael. Od 1948. godine, kada je ustanovljena izraelska država, pa do kasnih šezdesetih, *Betar* je u saradnji s pokretom *Herut* osnovao dvanaest zajedničkih naselja, od kojih su neka postavljena u potencijalno "nemirnim" pograničnim područjima. Osim u Izraelu, *Betar* ima svoje članove u trinaest drugih zemalja, uglavnom, Severne i Južne Amerike, Južne Afrike i Australije.

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JUGOSLOVENSKI JEVREJI U DRUGOM SVETSKOM RATU

Istorija jugoslovenskih Jevreja u Drugom svetskom ratu obeležena je ne samo genocidom koji je nad njima izvršen od strane okupacionih snaga nacističke Nemačke i marionetske Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, nego i njihovim učešćem i doprinosom narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi i pobedi nad fašizmom.

U poređenju sa drugim narodima Jugoslavije, Jevreji su pretrpeli relativno najveće gubitke. Od preko 81.000 jugoslovenskih Jevreja (0,5% jugoslovenskog stanovništva 1941. godine), rat je preživelo svega oko 15.000, dok je od oko 3.000 jevrejskih izbeglica u Jugoslaviji preživela samo nekolicina. Genocid je izvršen planski i sistematski, uz sprovođenje principa kolektivne odgovornosti, što je na Jevreje delovalo posebno obeshrabrujuće. Mogućnost da neko pokuša da sprovede uništenje celog jednog naroda delovala je sama po sebi nestvarno. Najveći broj Jevreja bio je nastanjen u gradovima i bilo je relativno lako sprovesti njihovo registrovanje i kontrolu. Posle interniranja i ubijanja Jevreja muškaraca, uništavane su i njihove porodice. Nisu uništavani samo jevrejski životi, nego i njihovi hramovi, kulturni spomenici, groblja, a pokretna i nepokretna imovina je opljačkana.

Tokovi genocida nad Jevrejima u pojedinim područjima podeljene Jugoslavije vodili su ka jednom cilju, ali se ipak jasno razlikuje genocid izvršen na pojedinim okupiranim područjima (nemačkom, mađarskom i bugarskom) i na teritoriji Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Bezmalopolo polovina jugoslovenskih Jevreja živela je na teritoriji NDH, njih oko 39.500, uglavnom u Zagrebu, Sarajevu i Osijeku. Najveći deo od oko 30.500 stradalih Jevreja iz NDH (ne računajući oko 1.800 izbeglica, koje su takođe stradale) izgubili su život u ustaškim logorima smrti, u Jasenovcu i Staroj Gradiški (oko 20.000), delom u drugim logorima i stratištima, dok je NDH u saradnji sa nemačkim predstavnicima, deportovala oko 5.000 Jevreja u nemačke logore smrti u Poljskoj.

Srbija je bila jedina jugoslovenska zemlja pod direktnom nemačkom vojnom okupacionom upravom. Na ovom području bilo je oko 16.600 Jevreja i oko 1.200 jevrejskih izbeglica. U masovnim streljanjima tokom ustanka u Srbiji do početka novembra 1941. godine ubijeni su gotovo svi Jevreji muškarci, a od 8. decembra iste godine preostali Jevreji; oko 6.400 žena, dece i staraca, bili su internirani u logor na beogradskom sajmištu. Oni su do 10. maja 1942. godine, ubijeni na najsvirepiji način: u kamionu - gasnoj komori. U okupiranoj Srbiji, ubijeno je ukupno 13.600 Jevreja iz Srbije i oko 1.200 jevrejskih izbeglica.

U delovima Jugoslavije okupiranim od Mađarske, uglavnom u Bačkoj, živelo je nešto preko 16.000 Jevreja. Mađarski vojnici su tokom januara 1942. godine, u masovnom zločinu u južnoj Bačkoj ("Raciji"), ubili i bacili pod led na Dunavu i Tisi 3. 809 lica, među njima i 1.068 Jevreja.

Posle nemačke okupacije Mađarske, 18. marta 1944. godine, mađarske vlasti su internirale Jevreje sa okupiranih područja i predale ih Nemcima, koji su ih deportovali u logor smrti Aušvic, gde su gotovo svi izgubili život. Sa mađarskog okupacionog područja u Jugoslaviji, život je izgubilo ukupno oko 14.000 Jevreja.

Na bugarskom okupacionom području u Jugoslaviji (veći deo Makedonije i jugoistočna Srbija) živelo je nešto manje od 8.000 Jevreja, uglavnom u Bitolju, Skoplju i Štipu. Pod pritiskom nemačkih predstavnika, 11. i 12. marta 1943. godine bugarske vlasti su internirale Jevreje sa okupiranog područja. Do kraja istog meseca Nemci su deportovali internirane Jevreje, njih 7.332 u logor smrti Treblinka, gde su gotovo svi ubijeni.

Protivjevrejske mere Italijana na okupiranim delovima Jugoslavije ograničavale su se na razne vidove diskriminacije, a internacija u logore nije imalo za cilj fizičko uništenje Jevreja. Na ovom području spas je potražilo nekoliko hiljada jevrejskih izbeglica, uglavnom iz NDH. Uz podršku predstavnika Trećeg rajha, hrvatske vlasti tražile su njihovo izručenje, ali bezuspešno. U proleće 1943. godine, Jevreji su većim delom internirani u logor na Rabu. Posle kapitulacije Italije, 8. septembra 1943. godine, najveći deo Jevreja sa italijanskog okupacionog područja je stupio u Narodnooslobodilačku vojsku Jugoslavije ili je evakuisan na slobodnu teritoriju i u Italiju. Preostali Jevreji, najvećim delom su deportovani u nemačke i hrvatske logore smrti, u kojima su gotovo svi stradali.

I pored ovako izrazito nepovoljnih okolnosti, jugoslovenski Jevreji su u značajnom broju učestvovali u Narodnooslobodilačkom ratu i pobjedi nad fašizmom. U članstvu Komunističke partije Jugoslavije i Saveza komunističke omladine Jugoslavije, bio je i znatan broj Jevreja, a i jevrejske omladinske organizacije bile su uglavnom levičarske. Uključivanje Jevreja u Narodnooslobodilačku borbu bilo je različito u pojedinim delovima Jugoslavije i zavisilo je od niza okolnosti. Među istaknutim organizatorima i rukovodiocima ustanka i nove revolucionarne vlasti bio je i znatan broj Jevreja.

Posle oslobođenja iz logora (na Rabu, u Boru), jevrejski zatočnici su se u velikom broju priključili partizanskim jedinicama. Posebno dragocen bio je doprinos Jevreja zdravstvenih radnika sanitetskoj službi Narodnooslobodilačke vojske i pozadine. Zajedno sa drugim zatočenicima, Jevreji su učestvovali u organizovanju otpora i bekstva iz zatvora i koncentracijskih logora u zemlji i van nje, kao i u Pokretu otpora u drugim zemljama.

Od 4.572 Jevreja učesnika Narodnooslobodilačkog rata, poginulo je 1.318. U Narodnooslobodilačkoj vojsci Jugoslavije borilo se 2.993 Jevreja, od kojih je poginulo 722. Mnogi od njih bili su na istaknutim položajima u vojnim jedinicama. Najviše jugoslovensko ratno priznanje, Orden narodnog heroja, dobilo je i deset Jevreja. Među Jevrejima, koji su tokom rata sačuvali život, najveći broj preživeo je zahvaljujući jakom Narodnooslobodilačkom pokretu Jugoslavije, čijem organizovanju i uspehu su i sami dali značajan doprinos.



Omladinsko cionističko društvo u Skoplju
Zionist youth society in Skoplje

MILICA MIHAILOVIĆ

By this exhibition the Jewish Historical Museum marks fifty years from the end of the World War Two. The question whether the subject of Jewish youth societies was appropriate for such an anniversary was raised. The exhibits themselves will show that it is. — Most of the people shown in this exhibition vanished in the horrors of the Holocaust. But those that were given a chance to fight did that with the knowledge and courage that they acquired working and learning in those very Jewish youth societies. Those that survived the Holocaust became exceptional personalities, that beamed in their surroundings with their strength of will, knowledge, enterprise, communicativeness, vigor...

The idea to put on this exhibition emerged during the recording of reminiscences of Jewish youths. On several occasions, in the Jewish Historical Museum the talks were organized with former members of the youth association *Ha-Shomer ha-zair*, and during 1993 and 1994 the meetings of former members of this organization were arranged in the Jewish communities of Belgrade and Novi Sad. At those meetings memories were evoked and the need appeared to explore the work of youth societies and save it from oblivion. Although our intention was to precisely portray all the youth societies, it turned out that at the moment that task was too big a one for our Museum. However, we have tried to point out the main currents of ideas that goaded the Jewish youth in Yugoslavia between the two World Wars, as well as to point out the large number and diversity of the youth associations. Making a list of those societies, we have used the material available to our Museum, so for many of the societies we have not even obtained the date of their founding. Many societies were actually branches of large movements that were active on the territory of the whole Kingdom of Yugoslavia. For a thorough gathering of documentation on those societies there was neither time nor possibility because the material is scattered throughout what are now different countries.

We thought that the fiftieth anniversary of victory over Fascism was an occasion to dedicate the exhibition to the generation that took part in the struggle and by that helped to achieve the victory. Not all Jewish youth in Yugoslavia between the two World Wars was enrolled in the Jewish youth societies. But most of them were. In Europe in 1920s the Jews tried to change "the traditional image of a Jew." There was a wish to achieve, by self-building, education and cultivation in a certain direction, a new image of a Jewish man that will not look like a ghetto man any more. There was a wish to

change the Jews physically too, to make them walk tall and proud, not to hide from the anti-semites, not to be wary of their surroundings. There was a wish that new Jews should turn to new professions, to become familiar with nature and start living a new, healthier kind of life. Such a programme orientation in a population spread all over Europe was easiest to achieve by starting with the transformation and reeducation of children and youths. The Jewish youth societies undertook that exceptional endeavor and successfully worked to achieve it.

The Jewish Youth Societies were developed under a strong influence of Zionist ideas. The main goal was to prepare the youths for moving to Palestine, that is, to form young men that will be able to work in Palestine and build a new country. Zionism was, above all, a deeply humanist movement that gave the Jews hope, taught them to appreciate themselves, so others would appreciate them too, and pushed them towards overcoming the scorn, contempt and mockery that other nations expressed towards them. Zionism was a national and nationalistic movement, geared towards the awakening of Jewish consciousness, but also towards the real exploits for survival.

As the programmatic orientation of those societies was diverse, we wished to point out the development of the societies as well as the most radical ideas that appeared in leftist *Ha-Shomer ha-zair* society and the right-wing Revisionist Movement (*Betar*). At the end of the catalogue is an appendix on sufferings of Yugoslav Jews during the World War Two, and on participation of Yugoslav Jews in the People's Liberation Struggle. The summary was given for the complete Jewish population of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia because 80 % of Yugoslav Jews were killed in the Holocaust. The characteristic phenomenon was that the *Ha-Shomer ha-zair* members wanted to join the People's Liberation Struggle en masse. That happened in Novi Sad, Belgrade, Sarajevo and other cities. Although the Jewish youth between the World Wars was carried away by the Zionist idea, on the eve of World War Two many young Jews joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Even the members of the extreme right-wing *Betar* went over to the communist side, because that enabled them to join the fight against Fascism.

After World War Two those that were still devoted to the Zionist idea have emigrated to Israel. The others, that were by some deeper emotional ties linked to Yugoslav soil, remained here and took part in the rebuilding of the country.

JEWISH YOUTH SOCIETIES IN YUGOSLAVIA 1919-1926

The work on uniting the Jewish youth societies in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was started as early as 1918, when the Jewish Academic Association *Judeja* from Zagreb got the responsibility to organize a great youth convention and gather all the existing Jewish youth societies. *Judeja* failed in its efforts, but mustered a conference of youth associations in Brod na Savi, in 1919. During that conference the *Union of Jewish Youth Associations* (SŽOU - Savez Židovskih Omladinskih Udruženja) was formed, and Belgrade was named the headquarters, since there were headquarters of other Jewish federal organizations too. At the same time a newsletter of the Union — youth magazine *Gideon* — was established; first issue appeared on November 1st 1919. In that issue the programmatic text "On organization and work of youth societies" was published. Briefly, the following assignments were discussed: "*The Jewish youth of Yugoslavia strives to establish internally its ethnic consciousness (A), works on its cultural revival under the sign of Jewish cultural renaissance (B) and restrains from their previous existence ethnically (C) and physically (D) as being a consequence of an unhealthy social position.*"

At the time of establishing the Association, the Haluca Movement was already formed in Europe, as well as the *Hapoel Hacaïr* (workers & pioneers) party. It was considered that the first to go to Palestine should be the workers trained to *accept the land and prepare it for cultivation until the migration of the masses starts. To trail the way by axe and saw, by shovel and hoe for the migration of the nation and to find the connection with the soil for themselves and those who will follow afterwards.* A worker who prepares himself for the building of his future homeland in Palestine must exercise his spiritual and bodily strength as to be able to respond to the challenges that he might encounter. Besides the physical training, an acclimatization is also necessary.

The maxim of the first pioneers (Arlossorof) was: "*We don't want to be victims, we want to sacrifice ourselves at the time when it's needed.*" In order not to become instant victims and to go to Palestine well prepared, the members of the youth associations, undertook the inception of *Hehaluc groups*, the groups of youths from different social straits and professions that have decided to go to Palestine as one of their primary tasks. Those groups had to go through a training in agricultural work.

At the first conference of the SŽOU in Brod na Savi, one of the first conclusions was a decision on the inception of a *Hehaluc* group where all the Jewish boys and girls *ready to implement the ultimate consequences of their Jewish persuasion* could join.

This decision was soon realized. In January of 1920 the first group of *halucim* was formed, and its members worked on the farm of Avram Finci in Bijeljina. At the start there were sixteen boys and two girls in the group. Representatives of the SŽOU were present when the contract was signed with the owner of the farm. In eleven months they were to be taught the most important agricultural jobs as well as some specialized branches like fruit growing, winery, gardening, beekeeping and especially dairy jobs and cattle raising. *Halucim* were under constant medical supervision, and from time to time doctors examined their working capabilities. It was arranged that, should any income remain after paying for the course, it would be given to an emigration fund.

Soon one more group was founded, in Vilovo near Titel, on the estate of Dr Grosman, and during the year 1920 there were preparations for founding new groups in Mostar, Tuzla, Orahovica and Macedonia.

Upbringing and education were the next important tasks of Jewish youth. Most Jewish societies had their libraries and appointed librarians. In *Gideon* it was stated that the secretary of SŽOU was in Vienna in 1919 and purchased books and musical notes for most societies. — In those years the brochures and books dealing with the youth issues were already printed in the Serbo-Croat.

The question that occupied the minds of Jewish youths at the time was a choice of profession. That problem was especially attended to and in *Gideon* of January 1920 it was reported that the Jewish Pedagogic Archive has opened in Vienna. The founder was Dr Heinrich Glanz, and it is especially interesting to note that the archive had a laboratory for experimental psychology and ped-

agogy supplying the advice regarding choice of profession. Such offices for choice of profession were opened all over Europe because it was noted that inclination towards intellectual and trading professions was a reason that the Jews accumulated in the cities, which was considered unhealthy. That was why the idea that Jews should turn towards other, more productive professions and turn to technical degrees and skills was propagated. Even the *Bne Berith* league was incorporated in this action with founding of courses in needlepoint.

To support this idea one issue of *Gideon* was almost completely dedicated to gardening and the problems of small city gardens. The text specially considered the problem of arrangement of plants in an orchard and possibility of growing vegetable gardens in the cities on small lots, in house yards. As a charming example of a kind of utopism, a wandering, in the first years of reshaping the youth movement, we cite the fact that in 1919 in Zagreb two gardening colonies were founded; one soon went under while the other, where mostly children worked, lasted a bit longer.

The significance of the upbringing is the second basic idea that was almost constantly present, in texts in magazines, as well as in discussions at the youth gatherings. The theses on the role of the mother in the upbringing and forming of a child, and especially on the role of family in forming a child and the personality, were developed and deeply considered. Lots of those texts were full of pathos and zeal.

The children's upbringing was the care of everyone: pedagogues and parents, youth officials and theoreticians, priests and writers and artists. Amateur writers, whose plays in many towns were staged by youth drama groups, in their plays always took care of edification and education points. In small towns, where patriarchal Jewish communes abided, the bearers of educational duties were the rabbis, who were often also the carriers of the national ideas and renaissance. One of the most brilliant personalities, remembered as an exceptional educator and intellectual, was rabbi from Zagreb Dr Šalom Frajberger.

With the rise of anti-semitism and the appearance of Nazism, the ideas of the youth were found to be more and more rightfull and the followers of traditional ideas could just acknowledge the state of things. In his text *Religious Upbringing and Our Youth*, the high rabbi of Yugoslavia, Dr Isak Alkalaj among other things says: "*The conflict between religion and youth is reflected in the view of youth on life in general. Their highest ideal is the rebuilding of*

Erez, the rebuilding that cannot be imagined without diligent working hands. So the youth appreciates work above all things. It is true that our religion propagates work as the highest principle, and our most famous lawmakers and teachers were simple workers and artisans. But our youth in that exaltation of work went to the extremes. For them the work on Erez is not a high principle to be applied in life, but a fetish, an idol that replaces faith."

While the problem of upbringing was considered as a matter of family relationships and the surroundings, the problem of education asked for a much larger effort by the Jewish community. All the charities, humanitarian and cultural societies in the Jewish centers, Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, aspired to make it possible for the young people to learn, study, get skilled in various professions, and to start working. Many philanthropists used their funds to build student lodgings and the humanitarian societies supplied the scholarships. There is almost none among the painters, writers, engineers or other intellectuals that were schooled between the two World Wars, that was not sponsored by one or other of those societies.

However, what is from today's point of view most impressive in that hunger for knowledge and in overcoming of the obstacles in the way to the knowledge was the self-organization of Jewish students. The economic problems that they had to solve in their academic societies were enormous because most of the students were poor and the donations were small. The Jewish academic mess in Zagreb is probably one of finest examples of collective organizing for the well-being of most students. The students ran the mess, they were the economizers, the treasurers, they purchased the stocks, decided on menus, cared about the quality of food, developed food discounts for poorer students... The most important job was the collection of donations for the running of the Mess; all the students had the obligation to collect donations during the vacations. It went without saying that every Mess user, after the completion of the studies and employment, would become a donator to the Mess.

The physical and bodily renaissance was also one of the main tasks that the Jewish youth imposed upon themselves. The answer to the question why should sport be the main activity of the first and oldest Jewish youth associations is given in the words of Dr Joška Rozenberg, from the text *The Second Maccabiad* that was published in the *Jewish Calendar*, in 1936 in Belgrade:

"The Jewish people were for centuries forced to live in narrow, unhealthy and crowded separate parts of the cities, where there

was no light, sunshine, nor natural greenery, and neither the necessary hygienic prerequisites for a healthy physical development of a man. Limited to performing spiritual and intermediary jobs, performed in closed quarters, eternally hounded and driven back, they lost the link to nature, bodily degenerated and were made a type of weak, sick and stunted men.

The Zionist movement, that dedicated itself to the task of not only rebuilding the land, but rebuilding the Jewish people also, realized that without a physically healthy individual there is no normalization of Jewry in neither the cultural nor economic sense. And at the Fifth Zionist Congress, in 1901, Zionist leader Max Nordau, put forth the requirement for the physical regeneration of a Jewish man, for the creation of Muskel-Judentum (muscled Jewishness). This appeal resounded strongly among the Jewish youth, and it was the start of founding of the Maccabi-groups all over the world."

On the territory of Yugoslavia the Jewish youth sport clubs existed even before the World War One, but they came into full momentum after that war, when they were founded en masse within the SŽOU.

The question arises what was so "revolutionary" concerning this youth movement and those societies that were active from 1919 as related to the societies that had existed before.

The societies that were united in 1919 were academic (the societies of Jewish academics), sport societies and girls' societies. They were all middle class societies, which had the Zionist idea as their base, but lacking that sort of activism that would incite the preparations to move to Palestine. They were rebuked to have maintained the old class relations and to have deprived the Jews of different professions and classes to grow closer.

In this, let's call it the first phase of the new youth movement in Yugoslavia, one of the main forms of youth activity were the jamborees. The First Jamboree of Jewish youth of Yugoslavia was held on August 9-10th 1920 in Osijek; the Second was held on August 15-17th 1921 in Sarajevo, and the Third Jamboree of Jewish youth - a convention, in Zagreb on August 13-16th 1922.

During the following years in numerous jamborees of the Jewish youth, where the reports were read and discussions held on way and means of realizing those ideas, there were efforts to accomplish at least some of them. Each year large and sundry gymnastic, athletic and other sport competitions were held. On the

jamborees the idea of socializing outdoors with singing and discussions was put to practice. Each jamboree was an occasion for showing the high achievements in mastering the the spian skills (the plays were always performed and amateur "dilettante" groups would delight the audience with excellent performances of plays by contemporary Jewish writers). In the course of official discussions the excellent scholars would show themselves the brilliant rhetorics, fluent in Hebrew and other languages, and extensively educated. Their ideas were drawn from the works of philosophers like Spinoza and Buber, and especially popular was Herman Cohen.

If *Gideon* the magazine of Jewish youth is taken as an indicator of the flow of ideas in the Jewish youth movement, than it could be said that from 1919 to 1925 there was a constant upward movement in the quality and richness of the ideas and broadening of horizons as well as in acceptance of modern ideas and currents in the cultural and philosophic thought of contemporary Europe. From a magazine that was a kind of bulletin for the Union of Jewish Youth Associations and which contained just the meeting records and programmatic texts, during 1925 and 1926 *Gideon* grew into a cultural-artistic magazine of the highest quality. Records and discussions from jamborees and conferences went to the back pages of the magazine and the front was reserved for poems, translations and short stories from Talmudic and Hassidic literature. During 1926 the publishing of reproductions of works of young Jewish artists was introduced.

As Yugoslavia was a heterogeneous community so the young Jews in their Association were united in the same cause, but with all the differences that they contain in them as a heritage of the environment whence they came. Jewish youth was most active, in a Zionist sense, in Osijek, where the Zionist movement began, and in Vukovar and Vinkovci. The young gathered together in schools and at the Zagreb University, which was at the time the true center of Zionist thought in Yugoslavia. Intellectuals, gathered in societies *Bar Giora*, *Literary Meetings*, *Maccabi* and others, brought from the centers of Europe the ideas and feelings that to the young people brought up under the Habsburg rule were familiar and acceptable. However, the conditions in which the youth in other parts of the country grew up were completely different so they did not accept the new ideas so fast, and were not as ready to fashion their whole lives in compliance to that one idea.

In mid-twenties those differences especially came to the fore, they were noticed and did provoke discussions. One such discus-

sion led in the pages of *Gideon* dealt with the accusations made about the Jewish youth in Serbia: about their "double nationality" and their having been in fact the "Serbs of Moses' faith". David Alkalaj in *Gideon* of February 1921 in a text under the title of *Jewish youth in Serbia* answered those charges and, among other things, said:

"What does it mean then to our youth to be Jewish? What are their attitudes on Jewishness, Zionism and how do they outwardly manifest those attitudes? Those are the issues whence the core of our youth's characteristics lie, that which has been, as already said, uncompletely arbitrated. The high school students move inside the range of ideas that to them, in the big city with its specifics, is typical: literary-Zionist work on one side and physical education in the Jewish gymnastics club. The other group of youths does not excel in other forms of work, with a difference that there is a larger degree of intimacy among them. The female youth, a certain part of it, works practically: they are the soul of all the enterprises and jobs where there is real work to be done. The academic youth, that consists of several tens of students, is not en masse active in the Jewish sense. The writer, that belongs to that group, thinks the reason for that is two-sided: from the outside, there was nothing that would give the impulse for a real association; from the inside, there was no the real feeling for it, or that feeling was not collectively strong enough. The work of the youth is not voluminous. But that does not come from the fact that the youth represents any particular views and, following the example of the elders, support any particular cult. The reasons are somewhat deeper and of a totally different nature. The war has, however strange it may seem, left still unsmoothed traces on our youth. For almost five years (1914-1919), the youth grew under peculiar conditions, advanced to the senior courses in high schools, generation following generation, not accepting anything Jewish, having no contact with the things necessary for their Jewish development and refinement. The hard times during the occupation were far from beneficial. However, during the said time, the other youth outside Serbia were lucky to still maintain, maybe in a somewhat weaker sense, that continuity that is so necessary. From such a youth, that so young had together with its elders to suffer such calamities, one cannot ask overly much. They can give as much as they were granted under the circumstances. Also, the fact that young generations, developed during the war, generally differ from those before the war and those to come in the following years, should also be taken into account."

In the same text Alkalaj gives the data on the conditions of Jewish youth in Macedonia and Serbia: "... *that youth for the most part isn't educated. The youngsters there are mostly shopkeepers and shop assistants. Their number is small anyway. Except in Niš and Skopje, they have not come to terms with the notions of religion and nationality. In Bitola there are almost no Jewish youths. The Jews there are poor people whose sons emigrated to America. But even without the educated youth, that youth is completely Zionistically aware.*"

On the conditions in Sarajevo David Levi wrote in March of 1922. In the beginning of his text which he called *Jewish Life in the Jewish Center of Yugoslavia*, he said: "*On paper the center of Yugoslav Jewry is Belgrade, because there are the headquarters of almost all our associations: religious communities, Zionists and Youth associations. The last two are actually based in Zagreb, but in their statute books we find that their headquarters are in Belgrade. It is not my intention to write about the Jewish life in that city. I want to write about Sarajevo, which is, as far as the national consciousness and the development of Jewish life there is concerned, the true center of Jewry in Yugoslavia.*" Following that are the data on Jews in Bosnia, which the author took from the contemporary popular book by the Sarajevo archrabbi Dr Moris Levi. In the second part of the text, David A. Levi spoke on the conditions in Sarajevo. This is what he, among other things, said in that text about youth:

"The oldest youth association is the literary-cultural society Yehuda Maccabi. It gathers our high school students, prepares them for serious work, giving them in advance the necessary foundations and instructions. The advancement is satisfactory. Parallel with the YM is the work of girls' association Moriah on the organizing and enlightening our girls. It would be desirable for our Morians to find a way to include in communal work the girls from lower classes. There are almost none of those in the community. The "lowers" dare not approach, and the "highers" have neither understanding nor desire for such work. Those failings should be eliminated. The working youth is organized in a completely independent association "Poale-Zion." They are not much for contacting the "bourgeois" youth associations. It is not for the intentions of this article to explore how and why it happened; both sides should be recommended to work on making the relations more fraternal and so to prove that they wish to cast off the chains artificially forced upon them, that separate them from their brothers.

The sports youth is organized into a strong "Bar-Kohbi" that has shown itself well on both jamborees. They could use a bit more of discipline."

In the year 1926 there was a crisis in the Jewish youth movement in Yugoslavia. Already in 1925 the *Ahdut Hacofim* seceded from the Union, and in 1926 the Sephardic youth in Sarajevo also wished to separate. Among the Sarajevo Jews two groups of intellectuals were formed. One of them, gathered around the *Jewish Consciousness* paper, was exclusively in favor of the Zionist idea. The other group consisted of Sephardic intellectuals that struggled for the recognition of the Sephardic movement, and for a more realistic and tolerant policy that would take into account the issues of Jewry in Yugoslavia. So it happened that from 1924 two newspapers were published side by side in Sarajevo: *The New Jewish Consciousness*, that continued with the determinations of the *Jewish Consciousness* and the Sephardic movement paper *Jewish Life*, that gathered excellent newspapermen and writers like Albert Abo Koen, Isak Samokovlija, Kalmi Baruh and others. Those two papers led a constant debate until 1928, when they were united into *The Jewish Voice*, which was published until 1941. In the editorial of the first volume of the new compromise paper among other things it was stated that the paper will "*follow the efforts of Zionist and Sephardic movements, cultural and social needs of Jews, and pay attention to the youth and the economic problems. Special attention will be given by our paper to the Jewish workers, to strengthen their class consciousness and that they should as a strong and healthy factor work together on our national needs.*" In the following years, up to World War Two, the Sarajevo Jewish youth movement remained specific in being above all workers-oriented. The most significant role was that of the workers youth association *Matatya* that was strongly influenced by the Zionist society *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* and the Communist Party. The members of *Matatya* were arrested and harassed, and the impact of this society on the whole cultural, artistic and social life of Sarajevo Jews was exceedingly great. Especially popular were the plays and shows that this society organized. The plays were by contemporary authors, and especially popular were plays with a lot of singing and folk lore by Laura Papo Bohoreta. The dilettante group of *Matatya* performed her play *Esterka* in the Belgrade National Theater at 1930."

In Belgrade's *Manjež* theater, the Skopje Youth Drama Section performed the play *Dreifuss* in Ladino, as mentioned by Ženi Lebl in her book *The Tide and the Breakdown (Plima i slom, Dečje*

Novine 1990). But the picture of Jewish life in Macedonia, especially Bitola, is something different from the Sarajevo Sephardic life. Although the Bitola Jews have seen better days during their 2000-years-long sojourn on Yugoslav soil, after World War One they were economically exhausted and ruined, and the poverty was such that in Jewish circles in other parts of Yugoslavia in the twenties and thirties the campaigns for help to Bitola Jews were initialized. The delegations of various organizations came for visits and solutions were looked for. In the Jewish press there were descriptions of horrible poverty in the Bitola quarters; separate books and brochures were printed about that. The solution was looked for in relocation of Bitola Jews to other parts of Yugoslavia where they would have more opportunity for work, or to prepare the youths for leaving for Palestine. One of the most significant persons in the history of the Zionist movement in Macedonia was Leon Kamhi. In 1919 he organized two Zionist youth associations, *Bene Zion* for boys and *Bnot Zion* for girls. In 1923 the *Hatehiya* (Renaissance) society was created, that contained those two associations and the sports society *Maccabi* and girls' society *Sarah Aaronson*. In the beginning of the thirties other youth societies were also founded: *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* and *Tekhelet-Lavan*. The role of Leon Kahmi in propagating and organizing the moving to Palestine was crucial for the Macedonian Jews. By going to Palestine they would, first and foremost, pull out of the unbearable poverty (although in Palestine they did not have it easy — unprepared for hard work in an arid desert, they would suffer traumas and disappointments, but they did find the strength to endure and start a new life), and as it happened they saved their lives by leaving, because none of those that remained in Macedonia did not survive the Holocaust — they were deported to Treblinka, where there were no survivors.

Not just the extreme poverty was a characteristic of Macedonian Jews. What the surprised youths from Zagreb mostly wrote about was a great, almost feudal patriarchy that pervaded the family relationships and the structure of the Jewish community. When Jewish youths from Bitola went to camping in Slovenia and other parts of Yugoslavia, it was a shock because two different worlds would meet. A lot of time was needed for them to become acquainted and used to one another.

The problem of patriarchy and traditionalism existed within a quite different, well off and assimilated Jewish community in Subotica. Jews there, as Dušan Jelić wrote in a monograph on Subotica Jews (*Annals no. 5*, Jewish Historical Museum,

Belgrade), were occupied with the problem of getting used to Yugoslav authorities after the creation of the new state. They wished to establish rapport with the Slav nations that they had to depend mutually on. So the first Jewish society was founded in 1923 as a chess club. In 1924 a football section was founded, expanding later to other sports. Just like the *Gyjesmo* (Spanish) language that Macedonian Jews spoke was an obstacle in their contacts with other Jews of Yugoslavia, so for Hungarian Jews in Subotica the Hungarian that they spoke was an obstacle for quicker fitting into the channels of Jewish youth movement in Yugoslavia (there in the communication prevailed the official Serbo-Croat or Croato-Serbian language). The other factor that slowed the development of the movement in Subotica was the traditionalism and patriarchy that could not accept Zionist ideas. (It should be mentioned that on the territory of Yugoslavia the Orthodox Jews existed only among Hungarian Jews.) To enliven the activity of youth associations in Subotica, the well-known activists already affirmed in SZOU work, Lavoslav Kadelburg from Vinkovci and Dragutin Engl from Vukovar were called. In 1925 they founded in Subotica the *Ahdut Haolim* society. In later years, in Subotica, as in most places in Yugoslavia, the leading role in youth movement belonged the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* organization.



Sastanak SŽOU u sali aškenaske sinagoge u Beogradu
Meeting of the SŽOU in the hall of the Askenashi sinagogue
in Belgrade

JEWISH YOUTH ASSOCIATIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA 1926-1941

The Zionost Movement had significant forerunners and ardent adherents in the countries that later united to form Yugoslavia. The student clubs in Vienna, *Bar Giaora* and the *Esperanza* Society, were characterized by a pronounced national orientation even before the creation of Yugoslavia. After returning to the newly-established state, their memebers became the bearers of Zionist thought and also brought the spirit of Jewish revival into the Jewish religious school communities. However, it was only with the establishment of youth societies that also admitted secondary school students, that a genuine youth movement began. It signified a fundamental change and the beginning of a new wey of life for the Yugoslav Jewish youth.

Already in 1919, right after the establishment of the new state, a Union of Jewish youth Associations was formed uniting students and the working youth. Seven years later when in 1926 the first issue of the bi-weekly Jewish youth paper, the *Hanoar*, appeared, the Union already numbered thirty societies within its organization, in all parts of Yugoslavia. These were societies with various names and profiles and were located in Croatia, Slavonia, Vojvodina, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia. They were united by their ties to Zionist thought and organization. The Two basic pillars of this national orientation linking all the elements of such a broadly ramified body were, firstly, the thesis that Jewishness is not only a religion but that the whole of Jewry, although in Diaspora, constitutes one people bound together by a several thousand - year old history, tradition, culture and faith; and secondly, that in order to change the unfavourable condition of this people in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres, a condition that threatened its very existence, it was necessary to create its political organization to struggle for, and achieve, once again the settlement of the original homeland of the Jews - the *Erez Israel* (land of Israel).

Nevertheless, the youth movement was not satisfied solely with these basic ideas of the movement, but demanded much more: the full revival of the collective and individual life of the youth. It was not enough to share convictions, to join the daily political and organizational work of the adults, to collect means for the Zionist funds. It was necessary to personally achieve the ideal of "*halutz-iut*" (pioneers) in *Erez Israel*, by emigrating, by re-training for the so-called "productive callings", by settling and working in agricultural collectives. This meant completely abandoning the former middle-class life, and a total transformation of one's personality in the service of a collective goal for the attainment of a national and social ideal. That all this was profoundly serious is shown by the fact that already in 1919 the *Hakhsharot* were established (rural preparation for work in agriculture) and that they continued until 1941.

II

It is clear that in such a broad circle of youth societies of various levels and composition of membership, it was not easy to attain the highest level of dedication to an idea and to its implementation. A very firmly organized group, the *Ahdut Hatzofim* (Association of Excursionists) transcended by far all others in the intensity of its work, its sincerity and unswerving dedication to its goals. These young excursionists lived in a kind of "magical circle of youthfulness" where there are fresh winds purifying and ennobling one's spirit. The faith in *Erez Israel* steeling themselves as *halutzim*, sincere brotherhood - all these were characteristics defined by the editor of their publication the *Hozer* (a litographed review), in the very first issue of the *Hanoar*. The *Cofim* met daily in their *Kvutzot* (groups) in which the leader of the group was a real guide and inspiration, educator and teacher. These groups were a component of the *ken* (nests) as they were forged at meetings. Their subjects were learning the Hebrew language, history, the colonization and geography of Palestine, with much attention also paid to personal intellectual improvement. But the high point of togetherness, the ecstasy of warm enthusiasm for ideas was mostly achieved in summer camps *mahane*, in natural surroundings and under tents. These summer camps were totally different from present-day youth holidays. One of the first such camps was organized in 1927 at Lake Plitvice. Although far from the railway station and in an uninhabited locality, the young people did all the work themselves. They put up the tents, brought all the materials and food, erected the camp kitchen. Meetings were held each day

in five groups; they performed gymnastic exercises, there was swimming in the lakes and excursions. In the evenings there were music and comedy recitals, songs and dances. The camp fires and dances around them were the peaks of these *mahane* accompanied by a wealth of emotions which were never forgotten. Last night the fire spoke to us in a different language. We spent ten days together, became familiar with natural beauties unknown to us till then. We got to know people whom we known only by name. We were filled with the joy of living as if in that fire all our *Galut* woe, all hardships and all persecutions were burned up. It was as the fire was bringing greetings from the top of Galilee, from the valley of Emek and from the slopes of Judea." This was how one of the camp's participants at Lake Plitvice described the camp in August 1927: "*When one hundred young hearts are united in the harmonious tones of a song, the pale reflections of the moonlight and the hum of the waterfalls... then one hundred hearts beat in unison. One hundred hearts with one will. This is how marvelous Nature will bring us closer together, unite us.*" These were the feelings of another camper at a time when 80 young people from six-teens towns from all over Yugoslavia also participated. Yet, the momentary intoxication of ecstasy had to be underpinned by the stability of ideas. This element likewise was an integral part of the *mahane*. Camping in the open became the most efficacious and most attractive part of the movement's manifestations. Whoever had the opportunity to take part in them, to experience the discussions, hear the never-ending songs and watch the dances alongside the camp fires, took with him long-lasting impressions for his whole future activities as well as inspirations for his whole life. Such campings continued to be held every summer. They were schools of sincere friendship and brotherhood; they deepened one's knowledge and adaptability to collective life and strengthened even more our intensive adhesion to the movement.

But precisely because of this high intensity of collective consciousness, there ensued differences and divisions in the organization. *Ahdut hathofim* had reached an intensified level of work and organization which others could not follow to the same extent. Then the *Ahdut hatzofim* broke away from the Union. The same step was taken by group of *Sephardi* youth from Bosnia who were dissatisfied because their specific problems were not given sufficient attention.

This split led to large-scale discussions. Later on, it was bridged formally but not in essence. It also concerned the question of the so-called Palestine-centrisme but not only this. Palestine

was naturally the center of all aspiration but regarded realistically not all youths could accept the demands for *halutzit*. There were also ideological differences regarding the measure of left orientation of certain youth groups.

III

The *Hanoar* publication which at first came modestly printed and devoted more to the movement's issues, continued appearing later as a monthly review and subsequently as a quarterly. This publication was a real mirror of the youth, its movement, its aspirations and ideology.

The columns of this publication were varied. There were articles on vital issues and on the basic problems of youth life. The leaders of the Zionist movement also published their contributions to the review: Aleksandar Licht, Bukić Pijade, David Albala, Joel Rozenberger and others, as well as well-known writers and poets from our communities such as Hinko Gottlieb and Miroslav Feldman. A special role was played by Hebrew and Yiddish writers: H.N. Bialik, A.S. Agnon, D. Frieschman, Sholem Aleichem, Shalom Asch, J.L. Peretz and others. Among others Jewish authors I should mention Ed. Fleg and Srefan Zweig. But the principal place among the various contributors in the *Hanoar* was filled by the programmatic and ideological articles. These put forward the goals facing the youth and of a very broad scope. In fact, there were even opposing views. But nonetheless they all showed a common feature. This meant that it was not only a question of political organization or of the attainment of Zionist political goals or the establishment of the ancient-new homeland in *Erez Israel*, but that rather it was a question of a revitalization of the people and of each individual and their fundamental transformation, lacking, which there would not and could not be an Israel.

One of the movement's main ideologists was Pavao Wertheim who in an address to the Zagreb youth in December 1929, cited who were the four personalities to lead and guide the Jewish youth and that these should be their role models:

Theodore Herzl - founder of political Zionism, the poet of life, the hero of fantasy, the symbol of aspirations towards an absolute act;

Ahad Haam, who had taught us to understand the age-long history of our people;

The honorable old Gordon: "*His call echoed wide: be a healthy and natural people; work on your homeland soil and cultivate it in the sweat of your brow and get to love it*"; and,

Martin Buber: He asks us to sanctify our Jewishness also with our humaneness.

Perhaps at the end of the twenties the closest to the youth was A.D.Gordon. It became necessary to turn the unnatural social structure of the Jewish people back to a normal course, by reverting to nature and the soil which could only be achieved in *Erez Israel*.

Later we meet with writings by Socialist leaders and thinkers such as D. Ben Gurion, Meir Jaari, Ber Borohov, who presented the basic ideas of Zionist socialism. These were the foundations of the *Poale Zion* movement which later became the Israeli Labour Party. Ben Gurion presented the thesis of the need for hegemony of the working class in Israel and the Zionist organization.

In addition to these ideological writings and treatises, *Hanoar* published regular features about Palestine and events there, about Zionist Congresses and their decisions as well as youth, literary and art reviews.

In its earliest issues, the *Hanoar* reflected in a very characteristic manner the attitude of the youth toward Zionism as seen in its replies to a survey: *How has Zionism changed the course of my life* to which two typical answers were: Branko Grosman replied that the basic dilemma of his life became crystallized: it was to leave and realize his ideal or to remain in *galut* (Diaspora). He had already decided it was to be the *aliyah*. Grosman became the president of the Union and then emigrated to Palestine. He spent his whole life in Israel and today in advanced years he still lives there. Avram Laven's reply was: "*Zionism hovers before my eyes a possibility for ethical ascent and the real Jewish and humanistic work.*"

It now remains for me to deal with the principal collaborators of *Hanoar* from the youth ranks. They were mostly the leaders and spiritual inspirers of the youth. Most of them later became leaders of Yugoslav Jewry or prominent workers in Israel. Of the former these were Albert Weis and Otto Centner, while among the latter there were Moše Švajcer, Joel Rozenberger, Branko Grosman, Jakov Maestro, Šmuel Engelman and others who were active in Israel. Andrija Gams and Leon Geršković also collaborated while they belonged to the movement.

Most prominent were two collaborators who both in the content and in the number of articles made the greatest contribution to the publication and to the movement. They were Dr. Cvi Rotmiler (later Cvi Rotem in Israel) and Pavao Wertheim. Cvi Rotmiler studied in the Higher School of Jewish Science in Berlin, filled all the yearly numbers of *Hanoar* with his knowledgeable and intelligent articles whether about political and social science, current affairs, literary reviews, essays or often lyrical compositions. All were graced by a sharp pen and profound erudition. Pavao Wertheim one of the wisest heads in the Movement, with a broad education, highly emotional and a wide spectrum of interests, contributed studies of Spinoza, Martin Buber, O. Weininger. He translated works by Nietzsche, and Heine and wrote lyrical prose. His ideological articles were nationally intoned but also replete with emotion. Rotmiler and Wertheim were at one time co-editors of *Hanoar* and later Wertheim was the sole editor. When he retired, Wertheim designated as his successor and future spiritual leader of the youth Hanan Preger who really became that and in the thirties took over the editorship of *Hanoar*, together with M. Levental.

IV

The social composition of the Jews in Yugoslavia was very stratified and unequal. There were industrialists and big merchants. But the majority belonged to the middle-class and to the small merchant and craftsmen classes. There were quite a number belonging to the professional classes and in some areas there were some very impoverished layers. (See the works of Isak Samokovlija). There were even the "lumpenproletariat" (persons with no profession or property) as for example, in Bitolj. In 1929 the big economic crisis and catastrophic rise of Fascism and Nazism were all reflected on the Jews of Yugoslavia. Up to the very end of the thirties, the Jews were fully equal as to civil rights but with the influence of the Fascist and racist ideas (the racist laws in Germany in 1935, the Crystal Night) they became existentially jeopardized like all other European Jewry.

One of the main motivations prompting the youth to seek new paths was the awareness of the failure of assimilation. This was particularly evidenced in those parts of Yugoslavia which had earlier been a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Typical of this was a brochure by Milan Obradović of Bjelovar entitled *How Shall We Resolve the Jewish Question?* The brochure asked for the

Jews to be placed in ghettos, a ban on their calling themselves "Croats of Moses' Faith", a limitation of enrolment in all the schools and a ban on physicians, lawyers and educators to treat, represent and teach Christians, and the like. already in 1920 (!) we see a whole arsenal of Hitlerite and anti-Jewish measures. The only thing left out was the Fascist extermination of Jews. (cited by A. Matkovski in *The History of Jews in Macedonia*, Skoplje, 1983). It is unnecessary to enumerate here everything that later ensued: the Ljotić writings, the anti-Jewish decrees, the rise of anti-Semitic manifestations, encouraged, financed and led from Hitler's Germany.

It is no small wonder that the youth became more and more radical and looked for a permanent solution to this impasse. In this the socialist motive was as important as the Zionist one. The old longing for social justice with its deep roots in the Bible was always present among the Jewish people. It is interesting to note that it was precisely the well-schooled children of middle-class families who manifested the greatest social radicalism. This was not the consequence of their social status but, on the contrary, the result of intellectual consciousness. Such a radicalism demanded the rejection of the forms of a middle-class life-style and a fundamental change in one's personal life.

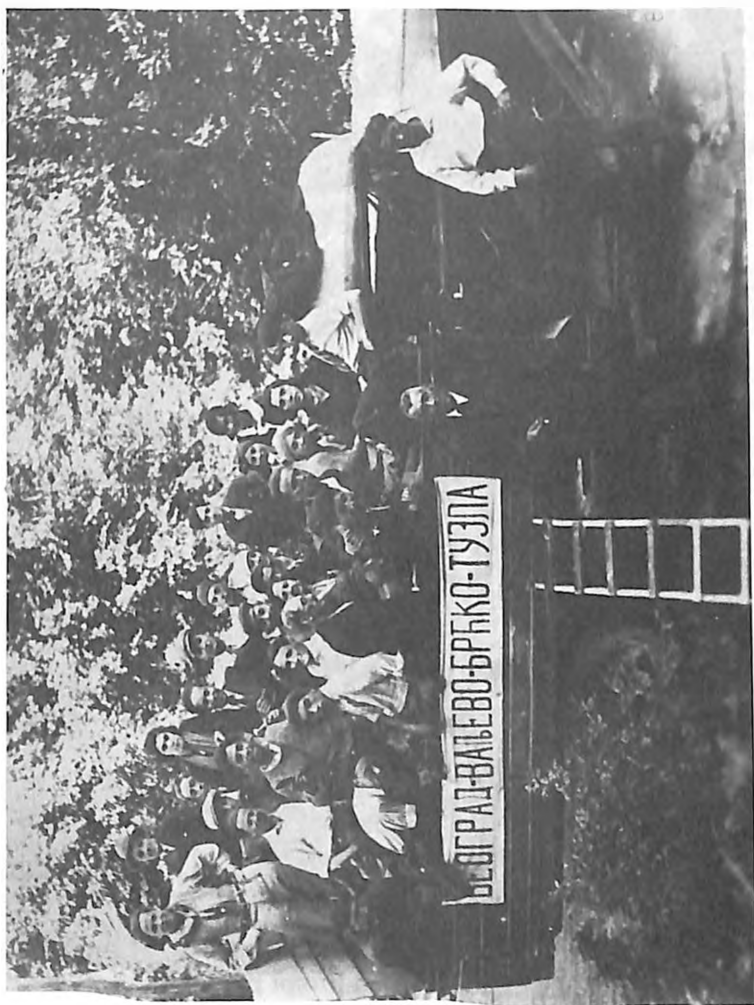
The desire for a complete spiritual and physical renewal became predominant as well as giving one's whole being to an ideal, to a profound faith in its goals and to the readiness to sacrifice oneself. This was demanded unconditionally. The tasks set were: knowledge of *ivrit*, the modern Hebrew language, *Hakhshara* (training for work in a kibbutz), the orientation towards agriculture, the change of one's calling and finally the *aliyah*, emigration to Palestine. Of great importance also was one's personal intellectual formation. Thus, it meant Palestinecentrism and the uncompromising fulfilment of the tasks set out.

As stated earlier, unification in the Union was only formal. A differentiation had to take place. Not all the young people could fulfill these requirements. Therefore, the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*, the successor of *Ahdut hatzofim*, became a strong and exclusive movement. This organization did indeed remain in the Union as its spine and strongest pillar, but it did separate as a particular body. Members of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* in Yugoslavia, if they had not been killed in the extermination camps of Jadovno, Jasenovac, Jabuka and others, joined in large numbers the National Liberation Struggle and Liberation Army. Nevertheless, no matter how much

the *Ha-shomer ha-Zair* supported the radical socialist positions, it clearly distanced itself from the Communist Party. The Communists negated Zionism as a bourgeois affair tied up with British imperialism. They denied the Jewish population the attributes of a nation. This was, however, denied by the Soviet Union when it set up a Jewish province in central Asia called Biro Bidjan. but this proved to be a big failure because no one wanted to remain there. Still, a section of the Jewish youth was intensely attracted to the ideology of Communism, for why should the Jewish question be treated separately when the world revolution would solve this issue together with all the others by changing the total social order? The dilemma between Zionism and Communism was the main dividing line of the Jewish youth. Each side deeply believed in its choice and the choice in this dilemma was the vital query for each individual. It also happened that individual leading personalities of the youth movement became Communists (Pavao Wertheim, Leon Geršković). But this did not weaken the Movement. Later, other groups and trends were formed. *Tehelet lavan* (Blue-White) was most widespread in Vojvodina and in Macedonia. Its orientation was just slightly less leftist than the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*. The *Kadima* an organization of middleclass Zionist youth and the *Betar*, a branch of the "Revisionist" party and a right-wing trend in the Zionist spectrum had as their slogan: "a Jewish state on both side of the Jordan", and were opponents of Socialism and did not agree either with the principles and tolerant attitude of socialist Zionists towards the Arabs. It should, however, be stressed that the dominant majority in the Movement were composed of the organizations with a socialist direction. It would be a big omission to leave out the sports society *Maccabi*, from this survey. The center of *Maccabi* was Zagreb where the society had a fine, large hall. The young people exercised there according to the Sokol system and there were also many very active section engaging in fencing, football, light athletics, and other sports. *Maccabi* had branches throughout the country and was also a member of the world *Maccabi* Movement which was inspired by Zionist ideas. The physical renewal of the Jewish population was one of the postulates of the Movement and *Maccabi* carried this out very successfully.

The role of the youth Movement and of all its successors in its groups and organizations, was of great significance for the Yugoslav Jewish community. During World War II, those young people who managed to escape extermination, actively participated in the anti-fascist struggle and gave a large number of fighters

and leaders to the National Liberation Struggle and the National Liberation Army. After the state of Israel was established, about half of the surviving Yugoslav Jews settled in the new homeland where they have become a highly respected section of the revived national community. The surviving persons of the former resistance movement after the Second World War became leaders of the Yugoslav Jewish community among whom were Albert Vajs, Lavoslav Kadelburg, Eugen Verber, Oto Centner and others.



Izlet beogradskih omladinaca u Brčko i Tuzlu
The Belgrade youth on an excursion in Brčko and Tuzla



Jevrejsko radničko omladinsko društvo MATATJA, Sarajevo
Jewish working youth society MATATJA, Sarajevo

SOMETHING ABOUT HA-SHOMER HA-ZA'IR AND ITS "NEST" IN NOVI SAD

After 50-60 years it is difficult to write about a *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*, the Jewish Youth Movement, with no documents, or any other written material, except for a single booklet (1). The memories have faded away. The undersigned is not sure any more whether the events he remembers were actually experienced or they were told him by somebody, who would know who, in which occasion or when. Meanwhile, the real events have completely faded, become foggy, vague. Twenty years ago he endeavored to write about the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* much as he could have remembered and even then all his writings were already very incomplete and deficient (2). He quoted there the literature on the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* he had used and he has not come to any new sources since. And if he has nevertheless accepted to write something about that movement now, he has done that only on insistence of the associates of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade. The facts given, those that were not recalled from memory, have been taken from the above mentioned booklet.

Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir (A Young Guardian) is a Jewish youth organization created after the First World War in Poland which later gradually included the Jewish youth in a number of countries. In Yugoslavia it appeared in the thirties and soon we found it in Novi Sad. Its first premises were in the Josif Runjanin street, in an alley behind today's theater, than it was moved in a yard building in the 4 Pavao Papo street (where a multistory building stands today), next to a yard building behind the former Jewish School, when the activities in the "nest" were the most vivid, and finally, after two or three years, in 1938-39, it was located in the upper floor of the Jewish House of Culture in today's Petar Drapšin street (now a school building).

There were other Jewish youth organizations in Yugoslavia, most of them joined into the Union of Jewish Youth Associations with the head office in Zagreb; before the First World War the

Zionist movement was the most active in Croatia and the center of Zionist movement remained in Zagreb even after the creation of Yugoslavia. Those organizations were, for example, *Tekhelet-Lavan*, *Kadima*, *Betar*. The first two were attracting the Jewish youth mostly in the smaller townships and by their way of action and organization they were more or less a faint "copy" of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*, in a certain sense "preparing" their members for their future participation in the Zionist organizations of civil, liberal determination. In Novi Sad they were not of greater significance. *Betar* was a Zionist-revisionist youth organization whose activities were in many ways characteristics for a military organization. As the revisionists left and broke off from the World Zionist Organization, so the *Betar* was not a member of the Union of Jewish Youth Associations as this Union, although maybe not formally, was a member of the Yugoslav Zionist Association and eventually the World Zionist Organization.

The main goal of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* was to educate, to prepare Jewish youth for the hard, pioneering work of building a Jewish state in Palestine, a bi-national homeland of the Jews and Palestinian Arabs. This work, as seen by the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*, could be carried out only in a collective, in the kibbutzim — the most convenient form of life for farmers, the people which were the most needed in the country — where there was no private property but everybody would be given a chance to engage in the activity chosen as the most suitable in respect of possibilities and requirements of the kibbutz.

In consideration with expected future life in the kibbutz, the work in the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* was more or less permanently connected to a *ken* ("nest" or home), to the premises representing a center of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* life in each place where the movement existed. The volume of work and living in the *ken* was extremely rich. Nowadays, in our conditions, it is difficult to imagine such a richness of activities.

A starting point was, and there was no compromise, that the building of state of Israel ("Erez Israel"), as Palestine was called, required a whole individual completely pervaded with the Jewish values. In one place (3) it is said: "...The aim of this organization is a physical and psychical preparation of the Jewish youth for their settling in Palestine, their participation in its reconstruction, as well as in building of a socialist society within agricultural organizations..." The *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir's* goals, as described in the "Guide" are in accordance with the fact that this movement "... is

aware it being tied to the Jewish and international proletariat and its destiny" (p 13) and further on "..... the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* taking as its base the Borocho's (4) application of Marxism on the Jewish question brings into its activity a strong socialist note that is not exhausted in a romantic rebellion against the present world... but is turned into action: the building of a Hebrew working Palestine." adding (5) that "the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* has been more and more directed toward finding a solution to the social problems of the future Palestinian community." As a distinctive member of the left wing of the World Zionist Organization, and disturbed by the advancing fascism in Germany, the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* held the views that Jewish question could be solved only by the peaceful building of a socialist homeland on the territory at that time known as Palestine.

In addition to an unmistakable Zionist education, the Jewish youth in the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* was gaining, as can be seen from the above quotations, a substantial Marxist education; "A Red Guide", for example, quotes the literature that was considered compulsory: Marx, Engels, Plehanov, Adžija, Cesarac, Kautsky, Feuerbach etc. (p 62 etc.). It should not be forgotten that this was in 1932: hence the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* was in the contemporary police files registered as a "communist-suspected Zionist organization".(5)

The organization of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* is centralist. A basic organization in one place is *ken*, and *ken* is made of *kvucas* (unit, group). One *kvuca* has rarely more than 12-15 members as a higher number is considered unsuitable for educational work. The *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir's* members are from 9-10 to 22-24 years of age. The members below nine were not admitted because working with them in the spirit of the movement would have been difficult to perform. One age group makes a *shihva* (education level). The youngest members in *ken*, aged 9-11, are called "The Sons of the Desert" (Bne Midbar). Those a bit older, aged 12-14, are "Kfirim" (The Young Lions), and those between 14 and 15 are "Cofim Cairim" (Young Scouts), between 16 and 17 "Cofim" (Scouts), from 17 to 18 "Cofim Bogrim" (Mature Scouts), and above 18 "Bogrim" (Matured). Every *kvuca* has its name, usually after some historical figure (for example Bar Kohbe, leader of uprising against Romans) or symbols (for example Solel, the road builder).

A *kvuca* has its leader, a head of class (*menaheh*), two to three years older than those who are in his "charge." Up to level of

"Cofim," there is usually a separate *kvucim* for boys and girls, but in upper ages they are mixed. The last *shihva* has no *menahel*, but organizes its work and life by itself.

The movement has its special getup, with a broad scarf around the neck tied in a special way: the getup and scarf slightly differ depending on the age.

The extent of work in the *kvuca* differs according to age. For example in the *shihva* "Bne Midbar," a "travel" through desert, that made a greater part of Palestine of that time, is done with help of stories that a *menahel* takes from the Bible, history, fiction and in that way children become familiar with the geography, history, past and customs of the Jewish people, so that pupils in a *kvuca* become gradually aware that their life changes, that they are becoming a part of the community, of *kvuca*, the movement. The meetings ("*sihot*," discussion) are held 2-3 times a week, and once or twice a week, whenever it is possible, a picnic or a walk is organized. With older ages the *sihots* are more frequent, and with adults they are daily. Every *kvuca* has a very rich and various cultural, political, educational, sports and scout activities, cherishing a high ethical (but by no means ascetic) collectivist spirit.

Work in a *kvuca* is especially intensive during, it almost could be ventured to say, the compulsory sojourn (as it goes without saying) in the summer, rarely winter, gathering-camping (*mahanot*) of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* from all over the country.

Considering that the most important, a basic aim of the movement is to serve in the restoration of the Jewishness, the Judaism is the starting and closing idea of all efforts, all the fields of life and all activities. The whole atmosphere in the *ken* serves this purpose, and hence the efforts to make the teaching of Hebrew (Ivrit) as intensive and as rapid as is possible.

Gradually, the *kvuca* becomes a genuine living community, a firmly connected circle of friends who are determined to go to Erez Israel, prepared and ready to participate in the reconstruction of the country. For such a purpose, with aim to develop the personality as fully as possible, in the older *shihva* a history, especially the history of Jewish people, particularly history of Zionism, has been studied seriously and intensively; tradition, above all in regard to holidays, is given great importance, but it is by no means connected to the religious teaching. The wall newspapers are made, the plays and choir-talking performed, the walls are decorated with various emblems and declarations by public figures and

writers, not just Jewish. The accent is to be equally informed about the literature on Jewish themes as well as the Yugoslav and world literature in general, and at the *sihots* specially intended for such activities, the vivid debates on the books are frequently held. There are discussions on other themes such as sociology, dialectic materialism, psychology, psychoanalysis. The undersigned, since his early youth in the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*, when 16 or 17 years old, read at one *sihot*, for example, his paper on the British immigration policy in Palestine regarding the relationships they had, as a mandatory power, with the Arab rulers and, in another occasion, on difference in understanding of Freud's and Adler's psychoanalyses. At age of 16 or 17 ! Others, of course, also had their reports on various themes. The intention is to treat all planned themes equally so that everybody has a chance to read his report and at the same time to discourage those readers who would like to take the floor constantly: in the *kvuca* with *menahel*, he is the one who is trying to clear up the shady issues and to ensure that a joint attitude is not imposed but a result of joint reasoning.

In order to achieve this purpose, the *ken* has a library — not only the *ken* in Novi Sad — with books which many a today's library would be only too happy to possess (for example the complete Nolit editions).

Kvuca represented a sort of collective that would be difficult to find today. Members of a *kvuca* for example have no "individual" money — *kvuca* has a cashier who is given all the money, pocket money or money earned or obtained in some other way, and the cashier would take care of all non-school or outside expenses (as the cinema or theater tickets — in Novi Sad the theater was very popular before the war, especially the plays with social themes — then for excursions, ice-cream etc.). *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* in Novi Sad, as in most other places in Yugoslavia, included mostly the middle-class or wealthy high-school students, so the pocket money was abundant and it never happened that anybody with no imaginable motive would keep a cent for himself — something like that could not even be thought of because that would mean isolation, boycott and expulsion from the movement, from the community.

At ages 20-22, with the completion of high school education, the preparation (*hakhshara*) began, which meant sojourn at some agricultural estate or learning a craft. One of such estates was the Golenić, near Podravska Slatina, where members of the movement from all over Yugoslavia got their practical training, while one

of the *hakhsharot* for craft teaching was in Novi Sad. During such a training, either agricultural or the crafts, the participants lived and learned in a collective of a *kibbutz* type for two or three years, until manual labor was well learned and possibility created to leave to Erez Israel, to Palestine, in order to establish new kibbutzim on a barren swampy or desert soil.

It should be again stressed that *hakhshara* was not just a school to teach crafts or farming but at the same time it was a school of collective life in the commune in the most literal sense of this word. Just like in the *kibbutz*, there was no personal property except for the things for personal use and hygiene. Everything was common, there were no salaries but all the earnings were given to the cashier, and everybody was given, as agreed, as much as needed within the means of the collective.

Members of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*, the *shomerim* (guardians) strictly respected the "laws" of their movement, which did not order, forbid or punish anything, because observing those "laws" was considered natural and hence the only possible. Those "laws" were the following (the comments are partially excerpts from the already cited "Guide"):

1. A *Shomer* loves the truth and cherishes it faithfully

In an adult's life struggle there is a lot of conventionality, insincerity, untruthfulness. A *Shomer* will not lie to himself nor others. A *Shomer's* word is sacred, he is sincere to everybody.

2. A *Shomer* is a pioneer of his people, his language, his homeland

A *Shomer* is a pioneer in restoration of the Jewry, clearing a path for the people. He is everywhere wherever there is a need to do something for restoration of the Jewish people, Ivrit, Erez Israel.

3. A *Shomer* is active, hardworking and is able to live by his work

A *Shomer* prepares himself for toil since his childhood and strives to become a true son of the Jewish working people.

4. A *Shomer* fights by his deeds to achieve a life of justice, brotherhood and freedom in a human society

The *Shomerim* are brothers to each other and to every man. A *Shomer* does not recognize the false authorities, in his domain reigns the freedom of thought and labor.

5. A *Shomer* willingly helps and lends a hand

There can be no community without mutual help and for restoration of the Jewry a great strength and mutual help is required, so he is ready to offer help whenever it is needed

6. A *Shomer* is loyal to the *Shomer's* community and obedient to its leaders

Without loyalty a community can not prosper and perform its tasks. A *Shomer* wants to be disciplined not because he must accept discipline but because that is what he chooses. It is not a blind discipline; he obeys and tries to understand.

7. A *Shomer* loves nature, knows it and is familiar with it, knowing how to live in it.

The Jews were for a long time living in ghettos. The restoration of the Jewry means a return to nature, to the land, field, garden, forest. A *Shomer* does not go blindly through the nature. What we do not know we can not love, what we do not love we can not know.

8. A *Shomer* is brave, full of good spirit and brisk

The restoration of Jewry requires courage, natural character, good will, cheerfulness and vividness. He is not ashamed to ask his comrades for help. Brisk in any situation, full of good spirit even in the worst moments, brave all his life through.

9. A *Shomer* is strong-willed and is improving himself spiritually and physically

A *Shomer's* will is firm. He wants to realize the ideal of the Jewish restoration and that's why he works on his complete improvement without slowdown.

10. A *Shomer* is pure in his thoughts, his words and his deeds.

Jewish people need healthy posterity, as a hard pioneering work in Erez Israel could be endured only by those who stay away from alcohol, tobacco, gambling, sexual impurity (at the *ken's* a song was sung: *shomer doesn't drink, doesn't smoke, shomer doesn't go to an inn, shomer keeps his morale...*)

However, life in the *ken* is not just the intellectual work, walking, picnics. By no means. Everybody used to know many songs in Ivrit, and in every afternoon or evening, when most members are present, the songs were sung, and music, especially accordion, played. A songbook was prepared and, using a simple technique, published. It is especially vivid during excursions, camping, around camp fire. The youth is youth in the *ken* too. There are *zugots* (pairs) that become married, and there are unrequited loves. As it is everywhere. In the last years before war the accent was given to gymnastic which was performed in the sport society "Maccabi," which ensured rooms for this purpose, or on track and field, at the "Maccabi" playground (today's "Vojvodina" stadium), but other sports were played too as, for example, table tennis.

The life span of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* in Yugoslavia was brief, barely ten years in all. The same was in Novi Sad. With deporta-

tion of the Jews the members of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* vanished too. In some surroundings, for example in Croatia, it was even before the mass deportation and extermination of the Jews had begun. But even in this short period of its existence, the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir* provided much. It provided, among many other things, a core for setting up two kibbutzim in Israel. The future People's Heroes of Yugoslavia and future high military and state leaders of Yugoslavia and Israel came from its ranks. Although their members were so to speak children, they behaved as mature persons. Although they were not prepared for the trying days to come, they behaved as mature persons. In the trying days of war, they knew their place. The fact is that members of the movement have never betrayed the ideas, the principles of the *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*. They have not dishonored neither their names nor the name of the movement they had belonged to and in that special way, they repaid the movement for all they were given by it. And that was much, very much.

(1) *Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir*, Library "Hanoar," Book Three, Zagreb, 1932 (5692). The publication — probably not unintentionally — bound in vivid red cardboard covers and that's why in the everyday speech of the *Ha-Shomer ha-Za'ir* it was called "A Red Guide."

(2) *Some reminiscences about the Ha-shomer ha-Za'ir in the first months of occupation in Novi Sad*. Collection of the Jewish Historical Museum, No 3, Belgrade, 1975, pp 213-222.

(3) Romano J.: "The Jews, Health Workers of Yugoslavia 1941-1945. Victims of the Fascist terror and participants in the National Liberation War." The Jewish Historical Museum, Collection 2, Association of the Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 1973, p 95

(4) Borochow B.: *Klasse und Nation*, Berlin, 1932

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BETAR

Within the framework of Zionism, a special movement for *Erez Israel* developed as a global, political and ideological aspiration of the Jewish ethnicity in Diaspora. Its different course of development in the struggle for the same idea and after numerous, significant acts and counteracts with the matrix, it nevertheless remained a secondary one. Under the general title of REVISIONISM, this movement evolved as a reaction to the "impotent" policy of the leadership of the world Zionist movement in solving the problems in Palestine and was to be concretely realized through the political activities of its large Zionist youth group - BETAR - the members of which were the base of Revisionism.

Betar was founded in 1923 in Riga (Latvia) as a variant of the Zionist youth movement adopted and spread widely among Jewish students and young workers, mainly in Eastern Europe. Although *Betar's* political goal was identical with that of other Zionist organizations, that is, emigration to Palestine and creation of a Jewish state, certain differences occurred in the programmatic sense which, with time, became more and more pronounced. At the very outset, *Betar* was founded on the psychologically attractive combination of Jabotinsky - Trumpeldor with Jabotinsky appearing as a charismatic leader and powerful figure who with his militant views developed a new style in Jewish behaviour. Josef Trumpeldor, on the other hand, was a symbol of its soldierly abilities as well as a symbol of the Jewish tragedy. In the positive attempt to forge a truly vital link between intellectual and physical capabilities, needed for the difficult task of "returning home" after centuries of wandering, *Betar* stressed the importance of learning the national language and culture, but coupled with self-defence methods. These young people whose activities launched the growth of *Betar*, considered themselves to be a part of the "Jewish legion" which was to consolidate itself in Palestine (future Israel) and among other actions also to gain skill in agricultural production and in the orga-

nization of hakhshara for emigration to Israel. This enthusiasm resulted in immigration into Israel via the *Betar* movement in the years 1925 to 1929. However, the constant presence of the word "legion" proved to be an excessive dimension to the *Betar* plans for the creation of a Jewish state. The nationalist enthusiasm which is not hard to understand in view of Jewish history, the hostile Arab elements in Palestine and around it with its intricate political situation, gave rise to a certain aggressive activity (if needed, of course) that overshadowed a possibly much more necessary skill at the time, namely, that of diplomacy.

Vladimir Zeev Jabotinsky was a Russian Jew born in 1880 in Odessa which had a large Jewish community at that time. Talented and well-educated, Jabotinsky as a very young man was noticed in his milieu as a writer, publicist and journalist and as a speaker of foreign languages with exceptional talent for translation and style of the Russian language. He was also engaged in publishing and editing a large number of reviews and newspapers in Russian, English, German and Hebrew. His stormy career was especially marked by his political activities. He joined the Zionist movement while still very young and already by the age of 25 he became one of the most prominent representatives of Russian Jewry. The seeds of Revisionism appeared early in the First World War which found Vladimir Jabotinsky in Copenhagen (Denmark) where he founded and published a review proclaiming the viewpoints that Jews, just as other oppressed and threatened peoples, should fight for their national and state integrity. In this sense, the basic tenet of Vladimir Jabotinsky was that Jewish legions should be formed which would fight with the Allies for the liberation of Palestine, under the Jewish flag. This would make it possible at the Peace Conference to demand a free Jewish state. The enterprising Jabotinsky succeeded in 1915 in organizing the first Jewish volunteer detachments in Alexandria who fought under the command of Captain Josef Trumpeldor and under their flag with the *Magen David* symbol. They also fought in the arduous battle at Gallipoli. He also managed to obtain from British authorities the permission to officially call upon the Jewish emigrants in London to volunteer for participation in creating a Legion - the *Gedud* (Hebrew). The Legion (a Jewish infantry regiment) was a highly successful military formation that displayed exceptional valour in the battles in Palestine and in 1918 it won the Jordan River valley. Together with Jabotinsky, who bore the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and earned the recognition of the high English officers, a special role in all these activities was played by the Legion's Captain Josef

Trumpeldor, whose exceptional military abilities (prior to this he had been the only Jewish high-ranking officer in the Russian Czarist army) and his personal tragic fate, were to stamp the Revisionist movement as seen clearly in the name of *Betar - Berit Trumpeldor*. And while Trumpeldor was the symbol of the new spirit of the Jew as warrior, Jabotinsky was the iron-fisted, rational figure of the "new Zionism".

At the end of the First World War, the Jewish Legion was disbanded. Two years later, when the Arabs demonstrated against the Jews settling in Palestine, Jabotinsky organized armed Jewish self-defence units. The illegal possession of arms nearly cost him fifteen years in gaol under a sentence passed by the Palestinian Military Tribunal. But he was pardoned and in 1921 he became a member of the Executive Board of the Supreme Zionist leadership. However, cooperation was not possible. Ideological and political differences between the World Zionist Organization, on the one side, and Jabotinsky and his associates on the other, were so great that Jabotinsky left the Supreme Zionist leadership. It was only in 1923 that the Revisionist movement was formed, that is, *Betar*. Opposition that the political conception of *Betar* as a right-wing faction of the World Zionist organization felt for the general socialist-Zionist political orientation, led to open conflicts both in Palestine and in the countries of the Diaspora which resulted even in physical clashes in the thirties. The Zionist socialists viewed *Betar* as an organization with a Fascist character particularly due to the brown shirts they wore and demanded that it should be distanced from public life. The representatives of *Betar* explained that the mentioned colour was a symbol of Israeli soil and that it had no connection at all with the symbols of which they were accused. Regardless of the poor acceptance among other Zionists and the risky policy of the "sword", *Betar* acquired adherents and, in proportion to its membership, it may be said that it was exceptionally active. As early as the thirties, thanks to Yirmiyahu Halpern systematic defence training of *Betar* members was introduced in the Diaspora countries. This included courses in self-defence, handling of light arms, participation in street fighting, boxing and learning army tactics. So-called work brigades were formed in Palestine that later grew into networks of disciplined units, stationed in the settlements in Upper Galilee and later elsewhere. The first *Betar* school for instructors was set up in Tel Aviv in 1928 and its recruits were the following year already active in defence of the city during an Arab rebellion. Also organized was a maritime unit in Tel Aviv while the central navy school of *Betar* was in Civitavecchia, in Italy,

where a considerable number of cadets were trained. *Betar* functioned relatively clandestinely manifesting growing inclination to terrorism as a way of fighting for the rights and for the state of the Jewish people. Although they were sworn Zionists, loyal to just the same idea common to all the world's Zionists, the Revisionists were considered a constant threat and possible hazard in the realization of the final political goal - the creation of the state of Israel. The rift was unbridgeable.

The first world conference of *Betar* was held in 1931 in Danzig. Eighty-seven delegates from twenty-one countries were present. They formulated the political principles, aims and rules of the Movement according to which defence exercises were the primary duties of every member as well as two years to be spent in the special work brigades for those who were ready to go to Palestine. Vladimir Jabotinsky became the head of *Betar* (*Rosh Betar*) and authorized to designate the whole leadership. The very pronounced political awareness of the Revisionist movement and *Betar*, within the frame of the World Zionist Organization, could not be accepted as such. A definite rift occurred two years later at the Zionist Congress in Prague which dealt with the final goal of Zionism and how this was to be achieved. The violent political conflict was likewise abetted by the decisions adopted early in January 1933 when the Honour Court of the Zionist organization condemned the independent political activities of the Revisionists as well as the linking of them into a separate grouping within the Zionist organization. It was decided to disband the Revisionist association and to have their members join local Zionist organizations. On this point, the attitude of the Zionist Jewish public in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a mainly socialist-oriented group and in harmony with the principles of world Zionism, can be seen from the following quotation: "... This atmosphere makes understandable the provocative tactics of the Union of Revisionists. There is no other way to explain their intention to conduct their own external policy actions, alongside the Zionist organization and even in this particular case, against it. There is no forum or institution which could allow such a gross violation of its foreign political prerogatives. This unique case in the Zionist movement was now condemned not only by large sections of the Zionist movements, but also by the Honour Court of the Zionist organization." (*Židov*, No 2, 13 January 1933, article entitled "Sharpened Relations Between the Zionist Organization and the Union of Revisionists".) However, the answer of the Revisionists was unswerving - the independent political work would be continued. At the Zionist Congress in

Prague, the Revisionist Party resigned from the World Zionist Organization. Vladimir Jabotinsky formed the so-called New Zionist Organization which he headed up to his death in 1940.

At the same time, the activities and stands of certain Yugoslav Jewish circles in various parts of the Kingdom (Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia) were also based on Revisionist ideology. During the stormy year of 1933 while "swords were crossed" in Berlin and Prague, the New Zionist Organization was established in Novi Sad, as a part of the already existing Revisionist Union of Yugoslavia (the *Hacochar*) headed by Dr. Julius Dohany. In the same year, *Betar* also appeared among the youth movements in Novi Sad as a Zionist-oriented youth organization of the nationalist type, headed by Viktor Štark who was the first "*natziv Betar of Yugoslavia*", then by Amir Franja Ofner and finally by Stevan Hajnal. The Novi Sad *Betar* published two papers - *Tagar* and *Ever Hajarden*. In Skoplje and Bitolj, in Macedonia, *Betar* had a small membership but which was nonetheless very active. Their militancy and frequent marches in the streets in close ranks under the blue and white flag and singing marching songs, did not overly attract the peaceful and quiet Jewish population, but it was noticed. At the head of the firmly organized *Betar* leadership of Skoplje was Viktor Avraham Kasuto. The Yugoslav Zionist Revisionists published the *Malhut Israel* which was the *Betar's* official organ.

At the second World Conference of *Betar* in Cracow in 1935, Vladimir Jabotinsky proposed a codified text of the *Betar* ideology called

Ha-Neder (the "Oath") which stipulated the rebirth of the state of Israel with a Jewish majority, on both sides of the Jordan river. One of its basic tenets was a monistic conception in Zionism, that is, the rejection of any fusion with other political and ideological teachings, especially Marxism and Socialism. It also urged the inculcation of a mode of thought and deed which Jabotinsky called *Hadar* and defined as "beauty, respect, self-esteem, politeness and faithfulness".

There were, it is true, many mutual attempts for the World Zionist Organization and the New Zionist Organization to overcome their dissensions and achieve cooperation. Even a separate group of the Zionist organization - the *Haolam* - was organized. From March 1935 onwards, it was engaged in regulating relations between the Zionists and the Revisionists but without success. Political rivalry also included financial rivalry so that besides the

official national funds *Keren Kayemet* and *Keren Hayesod* collected by the World Zionist Organization for the future state, there was also a Revisionist fund, the *Tel Hai* which caused serious argument. While the Zionist Organization considered it an auxiliary fund for the use of defence sports, the Revisionists contended that the main purpose of the *Tel Hai* was the establishment and management of the colonization of Palestine. The conflict over the status of these funds showed the Revisionist party's struggle for domination in Zionism. The legal settling of Palestine by Jews and the complicated diplomatic resolution of the issue of the state of Israel on which the World Zionist Organization worked, was undermined by the Revisionist - *Betar* militant style which implied everything, including even the illegal action of settling Palestine which in many cases resulted in specific consequences. The World Zionist Organization thoroughly and constructively solved the problem of the final formation of the state of Israel and succeeded in this for good. Yet, regardless of all the mistakes of the "new Zionists" and even deviations (as in 1936 when Jabotinsky proposed to the Polish government to evacuate the Jews from Poland to Palestine which was in fact a call to anti-Semitism) and political fallacies, it is very difficult to pass judgement upon the *Betar* and Revisionists. One should perhaps bear in mind the century-long fatigue of inferior status of their own people as well as the basic lofty Zionist ideals to which the eyes of *Betar* were also directed and a series of positive, concrete actions such as the settlement of several thousand Jews in Palestine via *Betar*, up to 1939. If we recall what happened with the Jews after 1939, one cannot help thinking: "Well, what if they did do that illegally ..."

An inclination to extreme attitudes and behaviour and a series of compromising errors, seriously harmed the hegemony of the Revisionist system which in its breadth and militancy failed to offer clear and direct plans for the creation of the longed-for state. The leadership and Jabotinsky received negative criticisms from various parts asserting "much talk and little work", although Revisionists did not even conceal that their struggle was exclusively political and that other Zionist associations should deal with the practical matters. This was quite an unpopular attitude not suited to attracting new adherents and winning broader support.

Vladimir Jabotinsky visited Yugoslavia in August 1935 and held public meetings in Novi Sad and Zagreb. His intention was to draw greater public attention to the First Conference of the New Zionist Organization that took place in early September in Vienna. To go by the detailed negative newspaper reports in the well-known pub-

lication the *Židov* (The Jew) dating from the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the public was disappointed, even though Jabotinsky's political meetings were well-attended. Jabotinsky explained the reasons why his party had walked out of the World Zionist Organization and presented its principles and goals which were largely identical with those being dealt with by the World Zionist Organization, which was slowly working towards the affirmation of its demands. It may be that the public expected to hear something new and something more, as it was a question of a "new" Zionism.

Various criticisms of Revisionism and *Betar* were nothing new. But there was a striking period when dissension and a rift occurred among the membership itself. At an Assembly of Revisionists in Vienna in 1937, the participants openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the leadership accusing it of passivity and incapability to cope with the political difficulties in Palestine. In urging re-activation, this Revisionist group formed an oppositional faction inside the New Zionist Organization calling itself the *Halohmim* ("Action"). However, a much greater crisis cropped up in the ranks of the Revisionists and *Betar* in 1940 when dissension split the New Zionist Organization into three groups. The first represented the official leadership's political orientation. Its views were proclaimed in the daily publication *Hamash-Kif* insisting it was the only original revisionist policy. The second group consisted mainly of workers with a revisionist orientation within the framework of the National Workers Federation. This group called itself the *Front* and rallied a considerable number of Palestinian Revisionists. The *Front* published the *Doar Horer* with revisionist-oriented but moderate political attitudes and urged the formation of a common labour institution to represent all Jewish workers regardless of party affiliation. In connection with the position of workers in the New Zionist Organization, the *Front* accused the leadership of causing dissension among the workers by dividing them into Revisionists and the rest, and by underestimating them and exhibiting concern only for their own interests. The *Front* declared itself for peace and cooperation with other political currents. The third group, the *Kitrug Ve-Emuna* ("Accusation and Faith"), in contrast to the reasonable and moderate *Front*, was characterized by extreme political attitudes towards the official leadership and to the *Front*. It put out various pamphlets and bulletins of which the most prominent was *Our Struggle* expressing a vigorous separatist policy in all directions and against the World Zionist Organization, the *Histadrut* (the labour unions), the "lethargic Revisionism.

Most of the European branches of *Betar* were destroyed in Holocaust. A few thousand members escaped by joining the Partizans. By consistently retaining its militant spirit, *Betar* and other Revisionist units in Europe, took part in the tragic ghetto uprisings in Warsaw, Vilna and Bialystok, while *Betar* members in Palestine volunteered for the British Army units and later joined the Jewish Brigade. With the mass loss of European Jewry, after the Second World War, Israel became the center of *Betar* organization. From 1948 onwards, when the state of Israel was formed, up to the late 1960's, *Betar* in cooperation with the *Herut* movement, established twelve joint settlements some of them in potentially "turbulent" border areas. In addition to Israel, *Betar* has members in about thirteen other countries, mainly in Latin America, the United States, South Africa and Australia.

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THE YUGOSLAV JEWS IN WORLD WAR TWO

The history of Yugoslav Jews in World War Two is marked by the genocide perpetrated by the occupational forces of the Nazi Germany and the puppet Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska), and also by Jewish support or direct participation in the National Liberation movement and victory over fascism.

In comparison to the other Yugoslav nations, the Jews have - by percentage - suffered the greatest losses. From over 81.000 Yugoslav Jews (0.5% of the Yugoslav population in 1941) the war had survived about 15.000, while from 3.000 Jewish refugees in Yugoslavia only a few had saved their lives. The genocide was perpetrated systematically, according to plan, while the emphasis on the conviction of the Jewish "collective guilt" was disheartening. Also, the possibility of annihilation of a nation as a whole was by itself inconceivable. The greatest number of Jews was living in towns and it was relatively easy to register and control them. After the internment and execution of the Jewish men, their families were also destroyed. It was not only the annihilation of the Jewish lives, but also of their temples, cultural monuments and cemeteries, while their assets, property and belongings were pilfered and appropriated.

The tides of genocide in the parts of the divided Yugoslavia all led to one goal, but the methods of its execution in various occupied areas (German, Hungarian, Bulgarian) and in Independent State of Croatia were different.

Almost half of the Yugoslav Jews had lived on the territory of ISC, mostly in Zagreb, Sarajevo and Osijek. The largest part of the 30.500 executed ISC Jews (not counting about 1.800 refugees who also perished) had lost their lives in the ustashi concentration and extermination camps Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska (approximately 20.000); the rest were killed in other camps and on execution grounds, while about 5.000 Independent State of Croatia Jews

were, through cooperation with the German representatives, sent to the Polish death camps.

Serbia was the only part of Yugoslavia under the direct German military occupational administration. In this area lived about 16.600 Jews and 1.200 Jewish refugees. In the mass executions during the uprising in Serbia, till the beginning of November 1941, almost all Jewish males were shot. Since December 8. 1941, the remaining Jews, about 6.400 women, children and old people, were interned in the Belgrade Sajmiste camp. Till May 1942 they were most brutally killed in the mobile gas chamber - a large van. In the occupied Serbia were killed approximately 13.600 Serbian Jews and 1.200 Jewish refugees.

In the part of Yugoslavia occupied by Hungary, mostly Backa, lived about 16.000 Jews. During January 1942 in the mass executions ("the raid") in southern Backa and Novi Sad, Hungarian soldiers and local German population (Volksdeutsche), had killed and thrown under the Danube and Tisa ice 3.809 persons, among them 1.068 Jews.

After the German occupation of Hungary on March 18, 1944, the Hungarian government had interned the Jews from occupied territory and handed them over to the Germans. They have deported them to the Auschwitz camp where almost all had perished. From the Hungarian occupied area of Yugoslavia about 14.000 Jews have lost their lives.

On the Bulgarian occupied territory of Yugoslavia (most part of Macedonia and southeastern Serbia) lived less than 8.000 Jews, mostly in Bitola, Skopje and Stip. Under the pressure of the German representatives on March 11 and 12, 1943, the Bulgarian authorities had interned the Jews from the occupied area. To the end of March the Germans had deported these 7.332 Jews to the extermination camp Treblinka, where they all perished.

Italian anti-Jewish measures in the occupied parts of Yugoslavia (Istria, Dalmatia with islands and Montenegro) were limited to various modes of discrimination, but the internment of Jews in camps had not as a primary goal their physical annihilation. A few thousand Jewish refugees, mostly from Independent State of Croatia, had sought shelter in those areas. Supported by the representatives of the Third Reich the Croatian authorities had demanded their extradition, but in vain. In the spring of 1943 a large number of Jews were interned in the camp on island Rab. After the capitulation of Italy on September 8. 1943, most of the

Jews in the Italian occupied regions have joined the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, or were evacuated to the liberated areas and Italy. The remaining Jews were mostly deported to German and Croatian death camps where most of them were killed.

In spite of such unfavourable circumstances the considerable number of Yugoslav Jews had joined the National Liberation Army (partisan armed forces). Many Jewish women and men were also members of the Yugoslav Communist Party and League of Yugoslav Communist Youth; in addition, the Jewish youth organisations were mostly leftist. Jewish participation in the liberation movement differed in various parts of Yugoslavia, depending on diverse local conditions. Among the notable organizers and leaders of the rebellion and new revolutionary government was a large number of Jews.

After their liberation from the concentration camps (on Rab, in Bor), the Jewish inmates en masse joined the partisan units. The contribution of the Jewish medical personnel was particularly valuable for the National Liberation Army and in the liberated regions. Together with the other prisoners, the Yugoslav Jews participated in the organising of resistance and escapes from the prisons and camps in Yugoslavia and other countries, as well as taking part in the resistance movements outside Yugoslavia.

Of 4.572 Jews engaged in the war for liberation, 1.318 had lost their lives. In the National Liberation Army fought 2.993 Jews, and 722 were killed. Many of them held high, trusty positions in the partisan units. Ten Jews were honoured by the highest Yugoslav war decoration, The Medal of the National Hero. Of the Jews whose lives were saved during the war, most had survived due to the strong Yugoslav liberation movement, and their contribution to its organisation, activities and final victory was considerable.



Omladinci iz društva HAŠOMER HACAIR
Youths from the HA-SHOMER HA-ZAIR

JEVREJSKA OMLADINSKA DRUŠTVA

BANJA LUKA

EZRA - Omladinsko društvo osnovano 1920. godine (40 članova). Predsednik društva: Samuel Romano.

BNE CION - Srednješkolsko društvo (22 člana; sekcije: literarna, fudbalska i hazena). Predsednik društva: Bruno Finkelstein.

BEČ

BAR GIORA - Društvo Židova visokoškolaca iz Kraljevine SHS, obnovilo rad februara 1919. godine (32 člana). Predsednik društva: Josef Herzl

ESPERANCA - Sefardsko akademsko društvo koje je okupljalo studente iz svih balkanskih zemalja

BEOGRAD

ATEHIJA - Društvo radničke omladine. ("...Na dve do tri godine pre rata pokrenuto je ovde jedno nacionalno omladinsko društvo vanškolaca "Atehija" sa nacionalno, kulturno, vaspitnim ciljem". Društvo se reorganizovalo 1918. godine, a kako nije u mogućnosti da samostalno radi, sastanke održava zajedno s društvom "Gideon").

GIDEON - Srednjoškolsko cionističko društvo obnovilo rad novembra 1918. godine posle četvorogodišnje pauze zbog rata (257 članova; društvo je imalo muzičku sekciju). Predsednik društva: Rafajlo Rubenović. U 1922. godini Društvo ima 55 članova i preraslo je iz cionističkog u literarno društvo, a predsednik je bio Moni Buli.

KARMEL - Žensko omladinsko društvo osnovano u januaru 1919. godine. Osnivač je bio dr David Albala

MAX NODRAU - Društvo se bavilo amaterskim pozorištem.

AHDUT HACOFIM

JEVREJSKO OMLADINSKO UDRUŽENJE - Društvo je osnovano oko 1923. godine.

JEVREJSKA RADNA OMLADINA - Društvo je osnovano oko 1930. godine.

HAŠOMER HACAIR - Društvo je osnovano oko 1930. godine.

TEHELET LAVAN - Društvo je osnovano oko 1935. godine.

AKIBA - Cionističko omladinsko društvo osnovano 1936. godine

OMLADINSKA "A" GRUPA - Društvo je osnovano 1936. godine. (ogranak "Hašomer hacaira").

BITOLJ

HASOMER HACAIR - Društvo je osnovano 1930. godine

TEHELET LAVAN - Društvo je osnovano 1933. godine

BJELOVAR

DEGEL JEHUDA - Udruženje židovske omladine osnovano 19. decembra 1923. godine (oko 50 članova). Predsednik društva: Haim Montilja.

BROD

MAX NORDAU - Društvo je osnovano 1922. godine (30 članova). Predsednik društva: Marga Hofmann

KADIMA - Cionističko omladinsko društvo

BJELJINA

JEVREJSKI NAPREDNI KLUB S ČITAONICOM - Društvo je osnovala jevrejska omladina još 1912. godine. (Posle rata, 1918. godine, devojke su pokušale da osnuju cionističko devojačko društvo "kojemu će svrha biti upoznavanje povjesti, književnosti i buđenje nacionalne svijesti".)

BRNO

IVRIJA - Društvo akademičara osnovano oktobra 1920. godine (u njemu je bilo oko desetak studenata iz Kraljevine SHS).

ČAKOVEC

ŽIDOVSKO OMLADINSKO DRUŠTVO

KADIMA

KARLOVAC

KARLOVAČKA ŽIDOVSKA OMLADINA - Društvo je osnovano 1922. godine (28 članova). Predsednik društva: Egon Goldner.

KADIMA

KOPRIVNICA

HERUT - Društvo je imalo 29 članova. Predsednik društva: Josip Milhofer.

LENDAVA

KADIMA

LJUBLJANA

AKIBA

MOSTAR

KADIMA - Židovsko omladinsko društvo osnovano 1920. godine, ugašeno 1922. godine

NIŠ

DAVID - Omladinsko društvo osnovano 1926. godine.

NOVI SAD

JEHUDA HALEVI - Društvo je osnovano 1919. godine, a 1923. godine menja naziv u "Ivrija" i više se bavi kulturnim radom.

JUDA MAKABI - Sportsko društvo osnovano 1920. godine.

HAŠOMER - Omladinsko skautsko cionističko udruženje, osnovano 1927. godine. Spaja se sa društvom "Ivrija" 1929. godine.

BETAR - Cionistička revizionistička omladinska organizacija osnovana 1933. godine.

HAŠOMER HACAIR - Društvo je osnovano 1930. godine (1937. godine Društvo je zabranjeno u celoj Vojvodini, osim u Novom Sadu).

TEHELET LAVAN - Omladinska organizacija bliska "Hašomer Hacairu". Posle zabrane rada "Hašomer Hacaira" u Vojvodini 1937. godine, ova organizacija zajedno sa "Kadimom" preuzima članove zabranjene organizacije.

KADIMA - Društvo je osnovano 1938. godine.

OSIJEK

BAR GIORA - Srednjoškolsko društvo osnovano 1917. godine

KAVEROT - Društvo u koje su se ujedinila sva omladinska društva 1919. godine

AKIBA - Društvo je osnovano oko 1935. godine.

OSIJEČKA ŽIDOVSKA OMLADINA - Društvo je imalo 32 člana. Predsednik društva: Gustav Steinitz.

MAKABI - Sportsko društvo.

MIRIJAM - Devojačko društvo.

FERIJALNI KLUB AKADEMIČARA I ABITURIJENATA

KADIMA

POŽEGA

HAGIBOR - Društvo je osnovano 1918. Godine 1922. društvo vode Danica Sterk i Vanda Goranić.

SARAJEVO

SAMOOBRAZOVNO DRUŠTVO JEVREJSKE MLADEŽI - Društvo je osnovano 1903. godine.

HAKOAH - Jevrejski sportski klub osnovan 1913. godine.

JEVREJSKO GIMNASTIČARSKO DRUŠTVO - Društvo je osnovano 1914. godine.

SABA BERURA - Društvo je osnovao 1918. godine Z. Segal, učitelj hebrejskog jezika.

BAR KOHBA - Jevrejsko sportsko društvo osnovano 1919. godine.

JEHUDA-MAKABI - Literarno kulturno društvo.

MORIAH - Devojačko društvo.

POALE-CION - Radničko društvo.

MATATJA - Jevrejska radnička omladinska zajednica; osnovana je 1925. godine.

BAR GIORA - Jevrejsko sportsko društvo osnovano 1927. godine.

MAKABI - Sportski klub osnovan 1932. godine.

ŽIDOVSKO OMLADINSKO KOLO - Društvo je nastalo spajanjem đlačkog društva "Juda Makabi" i devojačkog društva "Morija".

OMLADINSKI LITERARNI KLUB

SARAJEVSKA JEVREJSKA OMLADINA - Društvo je osnovano 1927. godine.

SPLIT

JARDEN - Omladinska sekcija kulturnog društva "Jarden" osnovana je 1922 ili 1923. godine.

STARI BEČEJ

IVRIJA

TRAVNIK

THEODOR HERZL - Društvo je osnovano 1929. godine.

TUZLA

SAMOOBRAZOVNO I DRUŽEVNO UDRUŽENJE JEVREJSKE MLADEŽI - Društvo je osnovano 1905. godine.

MAKABI - Sportski klub osnovan 1920. godine.

CIONISTIČKA OMLADINSKA ORGANIZACIJA - Društvo je osnovano 1920. godine. Godine 1922. ima 26 članova, a aktivnost im je sport i izleti. Predsednik društva: Joško Hermann.

VARAŽDIN

KADIMA

VINKOVCI

ADHUT HACOFIM

JEVREJSKO OMLADINSKO UDRUŽENJE - Društvo je 1922. godine imalo 40 članova; sekretar društva bila je Sida Zilzer.

HERUT - Sportsko društvo (Od 1926. godine nosi naziv "Herut - Omladinsko i sportsko udruženje".)

ZAGREB

ŽIDOVSKO AKADEMSKO POTPORNO DRUŠTVO - Društvo je osnovano oko 1905. godine.

BNOT CIJON - KOLO ŽIDOVSKIH DJEVOJAKA osnovano je 1917. godine. Predsjednica je 1918. godine bila Mirjam Weiller. Godine 1922. društvo ima 25 članova. Ovo društvo je vodilo administraciju lista "Haaviv".

ŽIDOVSKA ĐAČKA MENZA - Menza je osnovana 16. februara 1919. godine.

ADHUT HACOFIM - Društvo je osnovano oko 1920. godine. (1. juna 1918. godine, vest u 'Židovu': "Iza malne četirigodišnje obustave dobilo je izraelitsko hrvatsko literarno društvo u Zagrebu opet dopuštenje za svoje djelovanje. U deset godina svoga opstanka prije svjetskog rata kretalo se djelovanje toga društva u dosta uskom okviru...")

ESPERANCA - Društvo sefardskih studenata, osnovano 1924. godine

LITERARNI SASTANCI ŽIDOVSKE SREDNJEŠKOLSKE OMLADINE - Okupljalo se od 50 do 100 članova. Predsjednik: Samojlo Deutsch.

JUDEJA - Židovsko akademsko društvo

KADIMA

ŽEPČE

ŽIDOVSKO OMLADINSKO KOLO



Cionističko omladinsko društvo COFE
Zionist youth society COFE

KATALOG

ČASOPISI

1/1

GIDEON - glasilo jevrejske omladine Jugoslavije, omladinski cionistički, kulturno-umetnički časopis; izlazio jedanput mesečno; izdavač: dr Robert Glukštal; Zagreb, 1919-1926; izložena 4 primerka, godišta 1919, 1922, 1926; originali

1/2

HANOAR - list (kasnije revija) jevrejske omladin Jugoslavije, omladinski cionistički, kulturno-umetnički časopis; izdavač i vlasnik: SŽOU* Kraljevine SHS Zagreb, 2 primerka 1930. i 1937. originali

1/3

HERUT - vjesnik SŽOU* Kraljevine Jugoslavije, omladinski cionistički list; izlazio jedanput mesečno; izdavač: Radni odbor SŽOU Kraljevine Jugoslavije; Zagreb, 1930; kopija

1/4

HOZER - AHDUT HAOLIM, omladinski cionistički list; izlazio jedanput mesečno; izdavač: Radni odbor SŽOU* Kraljevine Jugoslavije; Zagreb, 2 primerka 1930 /No 2-3 i No 7-8/; originali

1/5

ITON HATNUA,

omladinski cionistički časopis;
izlazio jedanput mesečno;
izdavač: Histadrut - Hašomer hacair -
Saveza cionista Jugoslavije;
Zagreb, 4 primerka 1938-1941;
originali

1/6

VJESNIK SŽOU* KRALJEVINE SHS,

informativni omladinski list;
izlazio prema potrebi;
Zagreb, 1924;
original

1/7

KADIMA - list jevrejske omladine Jugoslavije,
omladinski cionistički i kulturni časopis;
izlazio jedanput mesečno;
izdavač: Udruženje jevrejske cionističke omladine
Jugoslavije "Kadima";
Osijek, 2 primerka 1938, 1941 - originali;
naslovna strana, 1936 - kopija

1/8

HAŠOMER HACAIR,

omladinski cionistički časopis;
izdavač: Hercher Frideš;
Subotica, 1931;
kopija

1/9

JUDA MAKABI - glasilo sportskog društva
"Juda Makabi",
sportski list;
izlazio jedanput nedeljno;
Novi Sad, 1926-1927;
kopija

1/10

TAGAR - list jevrejske nacionalne omladine,
omladinski cionistički, nacionalistički list;
izlazio jedanput mesečno;
Novi Sad, 1938-1939; naslovna strana lista i
dodatak HANEŠER;
kopije

KNJIGE

2/1

IZVEŠTAJ JUDEJE,

izdavač: Židovsko akademsko narodno društvo JUDEJA;
Zagreb, 1909; original

2/2

OMLADINŠKI POKRET,

izdavač: Židovsko akademsko narodno društvo JUDEJA;
Zagreb, 1919; original

2/3

Ruben Lipković i Pinhas Danieli,

GEOGRAFIJA EREC JISRAELA,

Betarska biblioteka - izdanje lista TAGAR, svezak 1,
Novi Sad, 1940;
original

2/4

OMLADINA I KEREN KAJEMET LEJISRAEL,

izdavač: Zemaljska uprava Keren kajemeta;
Zagreb, 1936;
original

/vlasništvo dr Teodora Kovača/

2/5

IDEOLOGIJA CIONIZMA,

izdavač: SZOU* Kraljevine Jugoslavije;
Zagreb, 1928;
original

/vlasništvo dr Teodora Kovača/

2/6

PESMARICA,

izdavač: Histadrut - Hašomer ha'air - Saveza cionista
Jugoslavije,
KEN Novi Sad, 1941;
original

/vlasništvo dr Teodora Kovača/

2/7

Pavao Verthajm, PREGLED GEOGRAFIJE PALESTINE,

izdavač: Naklada SZOU*

Zagreb, 1929;

original

/vlasništvo dr Teodora Kovača/

2/8
HAŠOMER HACAIR,
biblioteka HANOAR, svezak 3, Zagreb 1932;
original
/vlasništvo dr Teodora Kovača/

2/9
Pavao Verthajm, HERMAN KOEN,
izdavač: Naklada SŽOU*, Zagreb 1929;
original

2/10
Dr Cvi Rotmiler, JEVREJSKA OMLADINA JUŽNE SRBIJE,
biblioteka HANOAR, svezak 2, Zagreb 1932;
original

DOKUMENTA

3/1
GIDEON: STATUT SŽOU* Kraljevine SHS
1919;
kopija

3/2
POZIVNICA NA "PALESTINSKO VEČE",
Hašomer hacair - mesna organizacija Beograd,
29.mart 1941;
kopija

3/3
ČLANSKE KARTE, SŽOU* Kraljevine SHS,
2 primerka: Subotica 1929, Zagreb 1931;
originali

3/4
ČLANSKA KARTA, ŽAPD*,
Zagreb 1930;
original

3/5
ČESTITKA UDRUŽENJA CIONISTIČKIH VISOKOŠKOLA-
ČA IZ KRALJEVINE SHS - BAR GIORA - upućena Veri
Štangl iz Vukovara povodom njenog venčanja;
Beč 1925;
originali (pismo i koverat sa memorandumima)

3/6
POZIVNICA na zatvorenu "ZABAVU POD OBRAZINAMA",
velikokikindska omladinska organizacija;
Kikinda 1921;
original

3/7
PISMO KULTURNOG DRUŠTVA JARDEN IZ SPLITA -
omladinska sekcija,
Split 1933;
original

FOTOGRAFIJE

4/1
BAR GIORA, udruženje jevrejskih studenata Kraljevine SHS
u Beču, 1913. godine

4/2
BAR GIORA, udruženje jevrejskih srednješkolaca,
Osijek, 1917. godine

4/3
BAR GIORA, udruženje jevrejskih srednješkolaca,
Osijek, 1917. godine

4/4
ESPERANCA, udruženje sefardskih studenata u Zagrebu,
1935. godine

4/5
MENZA ŽIDOVSKOG AKADEMSKOG POTPORNOG
DRUŠTVA, brucoško veće, Zagreb

4/6
MENZA ŽIDOVSKOG AKADEMSKOG POTPORNOG
DRUŠTVA, brucoško veće, Zagreb, 1929. godine

4/7
KADIMA, srednješkolsko omladinsko društvo,
Sarajevo, 1912. godine

4/8
COFE, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Slavonska Požega, 1927. godine

- 4/9
AHDUT HAOLIM, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Sarajevo, 1924.
- 4/10
HERUT, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Vinkovci, 1927. godine
- 4/11
Jevrejska omladina u Koprivnici, 1927. godine
- 4/12
Jevrejska omladina Sarajeva, Travnika, Visokog i Zenice,
oko 1930. godine
- 4/13
Jevrejska omladina iz Starog Bečeja, 1922. godine
- 4/14
Jevrejska omladina Niša, 1933. godine
- 4/15
Izlet jevrejske omladine iz Visokog u Fojnicu, 1931. godine
- 4/16
Izlet beogradske omladine u Valjevo, Brčko i Tuzlu,
oko 1930. godine
- 4/17
Izlet BEOGRADSKE RADNE OMLADINE, Bjeljina,
oko 1930. godine
- 4/18
Izlet BEOGRADSKE RADNE OMLADINE,
Vrnjačka Banja, 1932. godine
- 4/19
Jevrejska omladina sa Dorćola, Beograd,
oko 1930. godine
- 4/20
MATATJA, udruženje sarajevske radničke omladine,
Vrelo Bosne, 1929. godine
- 4/21
MATATJA, udruženje sarajevske radničke omladine,
Sarajevo, oko 1930. godine

4/22

OMLADINSKO KOLO, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Sarajevo, 1924.

4/23

TEODOR HERCL, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Zemun, 1920. godine

4/24

SIONISTIČKO OMLADINSKO UDRUŽENJE,
Skoplje, oko 1930. godine

4/25

HASOMER HACAIR, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Bitolj, 1933. godine

4/26

Jevrejska omladina Sarajeva, oko 1935. godine

4/27

Jevrejska omladina iz Osijeka i Šida, oko 1935. godine

4/28

HASOMER HACAIR, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Subotica, 1932. godine

4/29

HASOMER HACAIR, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Novi Sad, 1941. godine

4/30

HASOMER HACAIR, jevrejsko omladinsko društvo,
Beograd, 1939. godine

4/31

MAHANE (logorovanje) jevrejske omladine iz Jugoslavije,
Banja Koviljača, 1931. godine

4/32

Sednica SŽOU, Beograd, 1928. godine

4/33

Jevrejski omladinci Beograda i Zagreba,
Beograd, 1937. godine

4/34

Članovi redakcije jevrejskog omladinskog časopisa

HANOAR

4/35

"Ritmička vežba", omladinska sekcija kulturnog društva
JARDEN, Split, 1923. godine

4/36

SIONISTIČKI OMLADINSKI KLUB, scena iz amaterske
pozorišne predstave "Afera Drajfus", Skoplje, 1926. godine

4/37

Amaterska pozorišna predstava, izvode članovi društva,
MAGEN DAVID, Beograd, 1933. godine

4/38

MAKABI, jevrejsko sportsko društvo, Skoplje, 1929. godine

4/39

MAKABI, jevrejsko sportsko društvo, Skoplje, 1928. godine

4/40

Utakmica jevrejskih ženskih hazena timova
MAKABI BROAD - VUKOVAR, 1922. godine

4/41

Jevrejski ženski hazena tim BAR KOHBA,
Sarajevo, oko 1920. godine

4/42

Jevrejski ženski hazena tim iz Kikinde, oko 1925. godine

4/43

Sportski klub JUDA MAKABI, Novi Sad, 1937. godine

4/44

Jevrejsko sportsko društvo, Beograd, 1921. godine

4/45

Jevrejsko sportsko društvo, Beograd, 1921. godine

4/46

MAKABI, jevrejsko sportsko društvo,
vežba u dvorani Makabija u Zagrebu, oko 1930. godine

4/47

Ekipe jevrejskih sportista iz Jugoslavije na putu za Palestinu
radi učešća na I Makabijadi, 1932. godine

- 4/48
Jugoslovenska ekipa na I Makabijadi, 1932. godine
- 4/49
Jugoslovenska ekipa na svečanom defileu I Makabijade, 1932. godine
- 4/50
Članovi mačevalačke sekcije sportskog društva MAKABI, Zagreb, oko 1930. godine
- 4/51
Beogradski jevrejski omladinci na izletu na Goču, 1936.
- 4/52
MAHANE (logorovanje), jevrejsko omladinsko društvo TEHELET LAVAN, oko 1937. godine
- 4/53
MAHANE (logorovanje), jevrejsko omladinsko društvo TEHELET LAVAN, OKO 1937. godine
- 4/54
Grupa omladinaca iz jevrejskog omladinskog društva TEHELET LAVAN, Beograd
- 4/55
MOŠAVA (logorovanje), jevrejskog omladinskog društva AKIBA, Šumetlica, 1938. godine
- 4/56
MOŠAVA (logorovanje), jevrejskog omladinskog društva AKIBA, Gozd Matuljek, 1936. godine
- 4/57
Logorovanje jevrejske omladine Jugoslavije, oko 1936. godine
- 4/58
Logorovanje jevrejske omladine Jugoslavije, oko 1936. godine
- 4/59*
Logorovanje jevrejske omladine, oko 1936. godine
- 4/60
HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine, oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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HAHŠARA - pripremni rad jevrejske omladine,
oko 1933. godine

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Plakat - poziv Jevrejima da se jave gradskoj policiji u
Beogradu 16. 4. 1941. godine

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Plakat - poziv Jevrejima i Srbima da predaju oružje,
Zagreb, 16. 5. 1941. godine

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Kadiš - molitva nad masovnom grobnicom žrtava holokausta

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Šuma oko spomen ploče dr Marije Šlezinger,
koja je svojim grobom štitila ranjene partizane u zemunici,
1943. godine

FOTO - ALBUMI

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HAŠARA - Golenić, 1938; original

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HAŠARA - Golenić, 1939; original

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MOŠAVE HAŠOMER HACAIRA, 1933 - 1939; original

TRODIMENZIONALNI EKSPONATI

6/1

KOPČA sa pojasa koji su nosili članovi
HAŠOMER HACAIRA,
original,
/ vlasništvo dr Teodora Kovača/

6/2

POJAS SA KOPČOM JEVREJSKOG OMLADINSKOG
DRUŠTVA,
original,
nađen prilikom iskopavanja posmrtnih ostataka žrtava
holokausta sa
prinudnog rada u borskom rudniku

6/3

ZASTAVA HAŠOMER HACAIRA
Sombor 1933;
original

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