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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Planning for the Future of European Jewry

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About the Conference

Jewish leaders, policy-makers, academics, researchers and communal leaders attended this historic three-day conference on 'Planning for the Future of European Jewry'. Over 200 delegates—including orthodox and secular Jews, rabbis and lay leaders—came from more than 25 countries. Delegates from Eastern and Western Europe were joined by leading members of the American Jewish Committee and academics from the US and Israel. The conference was held from 2 to 5 July 1995 at the Hotel Forum in Prague—a fitting symbol of the end of the cold war which had made this unique conference possible. It was co-chaired by Professor Dominique Moïsi from France and Lord Weidenfeld from the UK.

The aims of the conference were:

- to share existing ideas, proposals and policy options, and to generate new ones, with the aim of providing those working for a viable Jewish future in Europe with the tools to achieve it;
- to develop a culture of strategic policy planning so that change can be managed as systematically as possible;
- to set up a dialogue between researchers and decision-makers with the aim of coordinating their work;
- to provide an opportunity to inform others about European Jewish problems.

The overall conference theme, planning for the future, was developed in the course of an opening dinner, seven plenary sessions and six workshops. Broader issues and questions were discussed in plenary sessions, with particular problems being dealt with in the workshops. The workshop rapporteurs presented practical proposals which emerged from their discussions at the final session of the conference.

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Summary of the Proceedings

With the collapse of communism, European Jewry is poised to unite and take its full place alongside Israel and the American Jewish community as one of the three pillars of the Jewish world. To achieve this aim Jews need to plan for the future of European Jewry—the main theme of the conference—by generating new ideas and co-ordinating policy initiatives.

Key areas of debate in the seven plenary sessions addressed questions of identity: namely, how to transform Jews in Europe into European Jews, and how to define Jewish identity in an increasingly secularized world. In particular, discussion focused on how to preserve Jewish identity when Israel is not under threat and the problems of antisemitism no longer pose an immediate danger.

In today's Europe, Jewish identity is a voluntary act, not something imposed from outside. Jews therefore need to adopt a 'market approach', and develop new ways of attracting individual Jews, particularly young people, back into the Jewish community. To preserve Jewish identity tolerance must be shown towards those who wish to rediscover their Jewish cultural inheritance. Thus, there is an imperative need to find an internal consensus between different sections of the community.

Much of the discussion therefore focused on the common problems which presented dangers to Jewish continuity from within the Jewish community. In particular, how to deal with intermarriage and the children of mixed marriages; the need to unify a conversion strategy; the role of women; divorce; the problems presented by an ageing Jewish population; and the difficulties of finding community leaders.

The problems identified are particularly acute amongst East European Jewry, and delegates from Eastern Europe testified to the difficulties they face in trying to rebuild their communities decimated by the Holocaust and the communist era.

Although Jewish communities are no longer under immediate danger from external forces, delegates emphasized the need to be aware that European society is no longer vaccinated against racism and to remain vigilant against the re-emergence of the far right. It is important to co-ordinate the response to antisemitism and racism, and fight for human rights through the European Union. There is a need to co-ordinate political activity on a European level, and educate and lobby about Jewish issues. Other external relations themes discussed ranged from the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora to the need to develop interfaith dialogue, particularly with Muslims.

By the end of the conference it became clear that a diverse and pluralistic European Jewish community is emerging. The nature of the research that needs to be conducted, the success in translating the findings into appropriate policy, and the collaboration between researchers and decision-makers will help determine Jewish continuity and Jewish solidarity in the Europe of the future.

The report concludes with nearly seventy proposals which emerged from six workshop discussions. Some of the most important of these are to create an up-to-date European database of demographic and socio-economic data; to set up a common pool of information for Jewish communities across Europe; and to develop inter-community networks through exchanges and twinning arrangements.

1 Highlights from Opening Dinner and Plenary Sessions 1–6

Opening Dinner, Sunday 2 July

The conference opened with a dinner addressed by *Jiri Danicek*, former president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic, who officially welcomed the delegates. A message from *President Havel* was read by *Chief Rabbi Karol Sidon* on his behalf. The president extended a warm welcome to all participants, and underlined his enthusiasm both for the theme of the conference and for choosing Prague as a venue: 'Prague has been an integral part of the history of the European Diaspora, and the Jewry of Prague has made a remarkable contribution to the cultural history of our capital city and of the whole country.' Reflecting the theme of the conference, his message ended with the hope that 'we can work together in every possible way in order to create an environment fostering belief in the European future'.

An after-dinner address by *Philip Blair*, representing the secretary-general of the Council of Europe, stated that the upheavals of 1989 had enabled the Council of Europe to become a truly Pan-European organization for the first time. He expressed his concern for the minority problems in Eastern Europe, and the growth of racism and antisemitism in Europe as a whole.

The delegates were then addressed by representatives from the host organizations. *Peter Levy*, chairman of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, highlighted the new situation in Europe post-1989 which presented both great opportunities and considerable dangers to Jewish communities, and set out the main aims of the conference.

Robert Rifkind, president of the American Jewish Committee, emphasized his view that the greatest perils the Jewish community faced were dangers from within based on such issues as what it means to be a Jew in the twenty-first century. Finally, *David Lewis*, president of the European Council of Jewish Communities, stated the need to make plans for the future based on close partnership, the production of solid data and professional research.

The European Context: The Key European Issues Affecting Jews, Sunday 2 July

After the dinner, Lord Weidenfeld opened and chaired the first plenary session.

The keynote speaker, *Professor Dominique Moïsi* of the Institut français des relations internationales, opened his address by setting the historical context of this unique conference. He reminded delegates that while Jews from Eastern and Western Europe were now able to meet in Prague in an atmosphere of incredible freedom, it was also a time of anxiety and forboding. In 1995, the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the liberation of the concentration camps were being celebrated. But people were also witnessing the escalation of the war in former Yugoslavia and 'an increase in the forces of intolerance in Europe under the influence of the wrong kind of nationalism'.

He then referred to the tendency in the western world to read the past through the eyes of the present, and to say that the sacrifices of the Second World War were in vain.

I believe, for the Jews, there is another danger which is to read the present exclusively through the eyes of the past... There is a danger of selective reading of history leading to self-fulfilling prophecy and, in a way, justifying the presupposition that there can only be two Jerusalems on earth—Israel and the United States—but that a third Jerusalem in Europe can only be an aberration of the mind and a remnant of nostalgia... I know very well that the past cannot be resuscitated, but it does not mean that we cannot create a future for us in Europe, and it will be the purpose of this conference to define this future.

In the main part of his address, Dominique Moïsi analysed the identity crisis which Europe faced today, and looked at the consequences of his analysis for Jewish communities in Europe.

The elements of Europe's identity crisis were as follows:

- The boundaries of Europe had become unclear and 'we have a geographical identity crisis'.
- A multiplication of actors, together with new flags and national anthems, had appeared on the European stage.
- The United States needed to redefine its relationship with Europe now the cold war has ended.
- Europeans themselves were questioning Europe's future and its role: 'Yesterday Europe meant for most Europeans prosperity and peace. Today it is associated with the realities of unemployment and war and the incapacity of European governments to find answers to these problems.'
- Finally, there was a conflict between the 'British vision of Europe, which is an intergovernmental vision, and the German vision of Europe, which is an integrationist vision'.

Professor Moïsi offered a global interpretation of Europe's present identity crisis. There is a contradiction between economic policies—leading to 'globalization, interdependency and regional integration', and political forces 'leading to fragmentation and to the search for national identities, if not tribal identities. The more we belong to a global village, the more we need to define ourselves vis-a-vis others.' This has led to the reemergence of the far right in such countries as France and Austria. In addition, 'we are also witnessing the return . . . of the real curse of Europe—its enormous power of indifference and resignation to the suffering of others'. This was manifested by passivity towards the war in Bosnia.

There is, however, also a positive aspect of the present situation: 'The good news is that the process of European unification . . . is still going on' and that Germany, the most stable and centrally located country, is the 'key European actor'. His personal view was that 'we should trust Germany, and the more we distrust Germany, the more we will have reason to distrust Germany'.

He then set out his personal view of the issues facing European Jews in the light of his analysis of the present state of Europe.

The less secure Europeans are about their identity as Europeans, 'the more the Jews in Europe should behave as European Jews'.

European Jewish communities should support the goal of Eastern and Western Europe being united by democracy 'with all their hearts for moral as well as self-interested reasons'. It was essential that, even if Jews in Europe are now rarely the main target of discrimination, they should remain in the frontline of the struggle against prejudice and intolerance. 'Because of their situation, because of their unique historical experience, Jewish communities should act as watchmen, and do that role very openly, not only for themselves, but more globally for the cause of human rights in Europe.'

Finally, he emphasized that both Israel and the United States 'should open themselves to the existence of Jewish communities in Europe'.

Professor Moïsi ended his presentation by reminding delegates of the complexity of European history which 'incarnates the best and worst, the spirit of the Enlightenment and, of course, the barbarism of Hitler'. From this complex history there is only one conclusion that could be drawn: 'the need to combine hopefulness with vigilance'. It would be very dangerous not to remember that the 'virus of antisemitism is embedded in the bloodstream of European society and culture, ready to be activated at the first major crisis', whether it be war, revolution, economic depression or ethnic conflict. Nevertheless, he concluded, 'Jews in Europe can only be European. I believe also that true Europeans can only wish that Jews will return to play fully their traditional role in Europe, for only a pluralistic, tolerant and open Europe can face the challenges of the twenty-first century.'

Questions and answers

Comments and questions from the floor focused primarily on Dominique Moïsi's vision of European identity, inviting further elucidation and challenging some of the assertions.

In particular, Michael May from the European Council of Jewish Communities posed the difficult question of how Jewish communities can become pro-European without getting involved in party politics within their national countries. Professor Moïsi replied that, in his view, 'Jewish communities should not take positions on crucial political matters affecting decisions on Europe, but should act as Europeans much more than they do'.

The final question of the session raised the issue of how to find a new way of defining Jewish identity. Jews had previously defined themselves in relation to the history and memory of the Holocaust; their response to the threat to Israel; and the plight of Jews under communism. Professor Moïsi was asked to comment on this problem and the future relationship between the European Jew and Israel. His reply summed up the main thrust of his address:

In terms of identity we have many ways of defining ourselves . . . the Holocaust, Israel . . . well, there is one further dimension . . . which is our history as Jews in Europe with the worst as well as the best components of it, and what I said very specifically is that the fact that we cannot resuscitate the past does not mean we cannot build a future from that past.

Between Citizenship and Multiculturalism: the Position of Minorities and the Problems of Racism and Antisemitism, Monday 3 July

Robert Rifkind chaired a plenary session focusing on European attitudes towards citizenship and multiculturism. The three panellists were Michel Friedman, Isi Foighel and Diana Pinto.

Michel Friedman, from the Central Council of Jews in Germany, opened the debate by exploring the following issues:

- Is citizenship—the identification of a population with a country—really possible after the Holocaust?
- How to deal with the racism, antisemitism and intolerance prevalent in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe?
- What are attitudes towards the far right and extremist political parties which are re-emerging in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries?

When discussing citizenship and multiculturalism it is necessary to be clear about what it means to be a Jew and the part Jews play in European society. Many of the political and legal decisions of daily life come from European laws; and neo-Nazism is a European organization and network. It is clear that European Jews have problems in common, and it is necessary to:

- co-ordinate our concerns about human rights and anti-discrimination questions on a European level;
- actively respond whenever other minorities are attacked; and
- develop a common response to the growing racism in Europe.

He concluded that, in his view, the most important issue was the need to educate young people 'to be proud and self-confident Jews' and to be vigilant against racism. Jews also need to be multiculturalists and tolerant, not least within Jewish communities which are changing due to such issues as mixed marriages: 'I'm not only talking about religious education, but knowledge about culture, knowledge about traditions, and also knowledge about human and civilized comportment. We have to be multiculturalists. We have to be tolerant, and this must be at the basis of our identity.'

Isi Foighel, judge of the European Court of Human Rights, expressed his concern that protection against racism was no longer a vital European issue. Jews have to operate between three cornerstones:

- the new rise in nationalism;
- the high unemployment rate which has resulted in the younger generation losing hope in the future, and encouraged envy of and animosity to others; and
- the fantastic success story of the Jews in Europe in the last fifty years.

It is essential that Jews speak out against intolerance and racism wherever it occurs: 'I think the most important thing is that we should demonstrate an active prescence in the world around us.' An organization called the League of Tolerance had operated in Denmark some years ago. It might be possible to set up such an organization for tolerance in the future which could monitor legislation and become a voice against racism and violations of human rights (recommendation 42).

The final speaker, French historian *Diana Pinto*, told delegates that this was a momentous point in European Jewish history. First, the Catholic Church was engaged in open dialogue with Jews. Second, there was freedom of movement within Europe so that, for the first time, Jews are in Europe by choice. But this also leads to a major crisis of identity, for Jews now need to define themselves in relation to Europe.

Jews are now Jews by choice, and can be identified in a number of different ways: religous, cultural, intellectual, ethnic or political. If Jews in Europe wish to establish a European Jewish identity, they need to forgo the notion of being a minority or an ethnic group. This does not mean assimilation, but integration. It is possible to be a loyal and equal citizen of your country, while retaining a special Jewish identity. Jews have a very complex identity and have multiple loyalties: to the country whose passport they hold; absolute attachment to Israel and its defence; loyalty to the other Jews in the world. But 'loyalty to the Diasporas of Europe is the number one priority for Jews in Europe today'.

In conclusion, Diana Pinto urged delegates that:

- Jews must rethink the national past, and look at their history before the rupture of the Holocaust;
- Jewish schools throughout the Diaspora must pay due respect to the national culture and Jewish identity; and
- Jews in Europe need to look positively to the future, and not only focus on past horror;
- European Jewry must begin to build itself on two key foundations: democracy and religion.

Questions and answers

In the discussions which followed a lively debate ensued. Most delegates focused their questions and comments on:

- issues of identity, and the importance of religion as the ultimate base for Jewish identity;
- the need to educate young people;
- the need for tolerance within Jewish communities, particularly towards mixed marriages; and
- the problems faced by Jews in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who need to rebuild their identity and communities.

The chairman, Robert Rifkind, then drew the session to a close with the comment that 'although we began with the subject of our external relations, the assembly of delegates pressed us on the question of our internal relations and our internal identity'.

Jewish Thought and Spirituality Today, Monday 3 July

Chief Rabbi Bent Melchior from Denmark, president of B'nai B'rith Europe, expressed his pleasure that the conference organizers had included the important subject of philosophy and spirituality in the programme, and introduced the keynote speaker, Professor Aviezer Ravitzky from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Aviezer Ravitzky began his talk by stating that Jewish people today confront a paradoxical situation. There are more academic chairs, departments of Jewish studies and students at religious seminars than ever before. At the same time, people are 'distancing themselves from Jewish sources, from our collective memories, and from our traditional way of life'. This presents Jews with a significant problem. For Jewish thought has only developed when there has been a creative encounter between the nonphilosophical text of the Torah, on the one hand, and the non-Jewish texts of such philosophers as Plato, Aristotle and Hegel, on the other: 'It's only when the personality of a Jew became the counterpoint of these two influences simultaneously that Jewish thought could flourish: the counterpoint between the universal and the particular.' Today there is a radical polarization between the Torah, and academic knowledge or enlightenment, and this has led to a crisis in Jewish thought.

However, this crisis also stems from deeper sources. At the beginning, God spoke directly to the Jew. Later when such direct encounters ceased, the Jewish people tried to meet God through the mediation of the Torah. From then on, God spoke through the Torah and this created a culture of Talmudic study for at least 2,000 years.

Jewish thought and Jewish spirituality have searched for divine meaning beyond the text through three different sources: exploration of the cosmos by philosophers; mystical experience; and the imprint of God within history by historians. But the modern Jew has been denied these possibilities.

Mediaeval philosophers tried to meet God outside the text in the cosmos. While it was no longer possible to encounter God directly, it was possible to encounter His creation and His wisdom within the laws of nature. An encounter with the cosmos was therefore an indirect encounter with God's divine wisdom. After Kant, and in modern philosophical thought, Jews have been expelled from this Paradise. For today although 'I participate in creating my world . . . I cannot endow the knowledge of the cosmos any more with deep religious meaning because the creative human being has moved to the centre of the universe.'

The second source for meeting God was through the mystics. The mystic 'would close his eyes and try to communicate with the divine realm from the very depth of his personality'. Paradoxically, this was done through the mediation of texts. If you wanted to penetrate your inner personality as a Jewish mystic you needed to know the text and 'believe that every word was given by the Divine'. Once again, as with the cosmos, man now participates 'in the creation of the text, and the text is not totally given by God anymore'.

The third source in medieval times, and perhaps until the twentieth century, was 'to look for the divine imprints within history'. In the last two generations, historical events have achieved 'a biblical scale, particularly the Holocaust, the establishment of the Jewish state, and the liberation of the Soviet Jews'. But 'here it is even clearer that classical Jewish concepts have been undermined' and that human activity and creativity are replacing a divine interpretation of history.

Ironically, this movement from the divine realm to human creativity took place when human beings were experiencing a universal crisis. Today we face the collapse of social and political beliefs, ecological disasters, and disillusionment with the powers of science. The Jew is doubly vulnerable. First of all 'I am vulnerable because I was a persecuted Jew and lost my family in the Holocaust.' Secondly, a Jew is vulnerable as a human being because he or she could potentially commit the same crimes.

Professor Ravitzky outlined the two Messianic options that are encountered in

Jewish thought today. The first option is held by those who endow the state of Israel with 'an ultimate, final, absolute Messianic meaning'. The dream for 2,000 years has been that 'one day the entire Jewish people will go back to the greater land of Israel, and everybody will keep the whole Torah, and ethics will be complete and perfect'. No other partial solution is acceptable. The other option, stated in its religious version, says that only God is total and absolute, therefore human beings on earth can only achieve partial solutions.

While Jews cannot rebuild the medieval concept of God, or the modern concept of man, Jews can recreate the 'human being in front of God'. First of all, the cosmos could be replaced by the contemporary concept of the covenant. Man keeps his identity, but stands in front of God and tries to 're-establish the human being as the basis of his relationship to the transcendent' through a dialogue. Secondly, instead of mysticism Jews have 'the ethical approach of the *thou*, of accepting the other with his or her otherness'. Finally, instead of divine intervention within history, we have human autonomy and human responsibility. The Jewish covenant emphasizes the need to recognize the 'otherness', and embraces the whole Jewish people, not one particular group.

Professor Ravitzky then explored different attitudes to the state of Israel. The concept of exile is central to the theological beliefs of the ultra-orthodox Jew, and Jews should embrace their 'otherness'. Similarly, those religious Jews who express the view that returning to Israel is also a religious return for secular Jews should accept 'the other with his or her otherness'. Until the last generation it was possible for Jews to be loyal to both Eretz Israel and to pure Jewish spirituality and ethics. Today we are tested and examined, for Zionism has enabled Jews to accept partial solutions and to weigh up different values.

He concluded his talk by emphasizing that today Jews face a crisis in Jewish thought and spirituality. 'We can only hope that a new religious Jewish philosophy will emerge from the crisis. Meanwhile we have to wait, study and think.' However, 'while philosophers and theologians can wait, children and their education cannot wait. I believe that leaders of the Jewish communities also cannot wait in silence.'

Questions and answers

Comments and questions sought further elucidation on the concepts raised, in particular on how the role of Zionism and Israel fitted into the picture Professor Ravitzky had sketched for the future covenant. He replied that

If you believe the state of Israel will inevitably lead to the Messianic era, the future is closed. On the other hand, if you believe that the state of Israel will be ruined because it's a rebellion against God, again the future is closed. If you accept the concept of the covenant, it is open. It depends on our spiritual and physical behaviour. The future of the state of Israel is not pre-ordained and predestined. I believe that this is the right religious concept.

Strategies for the Jewish Future, Tuesday 4 July

Rosalind Preston chaired the plenary session. The first day had set the scene, and the conference was now moving forward to examine strategies for the Jewish future, and

'maybe more importantly, co-ordination and co-operation to bring about such strategies'.

Fred Ensel, president of Jewish social services in the Netherlands, opened the discussion by focusing on the experience of Jews in his own country. The current Jewish population numbers less than 30,000. Of these only a tiny minority live according to orthodox religious principles, and less than a third have some sort of link with a religious Jewish congregation. The remaining Jews are highly assimilated, but retain some Jewish identity which is, for the most part, secular.

This lack of religious identity, together with a decline in people's political and psychological identification with Israel, means that: 'Apart from the three Ts—Torah, tradition and tolerance—the core of Jewishness will primarily be social or psychosocial in nature. A mutual bond, solidarity, physical proximity might be core features which will keep the Jewish communities in Europe together in the future.'

Thus it is necessary to stimulate those Jews who are not inspired by ideology to take on some commitment to Jewish organizations—set up on a non-religious, nonideological basis—and to encourage community leaders. In addition, a market-orientated approach needs to be adopted, for clubs or social provision have to compete with other providers outside the community, and programmes need to respond to the wishes of the Jewish community.

Konstanty Gebert, a Polish journalist, spoke about the problems encountered by the Polish Jewish community. After the Holocaust and antisemitic campaigns under communism, the Jewish population had dwindled to about 3,000 to 5,000 Jews. However, since 1989 the Polish Jewish community has been reconstituting itself.

But the young people who want to reclaim their Jewish past come from backgrounds where Jewish traditions have broken down. Most come from mixed marriages, do not speak Hebrew or Yiddish, and very few have ever entered a synagogue. They enthusiastically attend summer camps and Jewish schools, but any attempt to set up a new Jewish organization has failed. While religious identification constitutes the basis of Jewish identity, it is essential to be flexible and accommodating in order to welcome these newcomers to the Jewish community.

He ended with the passionate plea that Jews should stop basing their identity on the Holocaust: 'If we want our kids to grow up Jewish and enjoy being Jewish and want to pass it onto their kids, it has to be based on the positive glory of Jewishness and not solely on the history of our suffering.'

In his presentation, *Jean-Jacques Wahl* stressed the purely voluntary nature of today's Judaism. Throughout the world 'we are Jewish because we have decided to stay Jewish'. Jean-Paul Sartre's definition in which the Jews were defined by other people's perception of them is no longer valid. Jean-Jacques Wahl stressed three interlinked reasons for choosing to remain Jewish: materialistic—the Jewish social services offer more support than society; emotional—the community offers support and human contact; intellectual and/or religious—Judaism offers answers to people's existentialist anxieties. A voluntarist community finds itself in a situation akin to a market economy. The challenge is therefore to provide a variety of options from among the 'products' of our history, culture and religion. *Pluralism* should be the key to our strategy for the future.

Multiple expressions of Judaism, emphasizing what we have in common and accepting our differences, must be encouraged.

Addressing briefly the question of whether secular Judaism as opposed to *Emunah* (religious community) could offer a viable strategy for the future, Jean-Jacques Wahl pointed out that secular strategies are well established in several European countries. If we are to succeed, however, the most important thing is to believe in our strategies, whatever they are. We all have different reasons for staying Jewish; our duty is to find ways of transmitting that choice to others. He felt confident that this was not a utopian endeavour. The rebirth against all odds of the Jewish community of Poland described earlier has shown what the future of European Jewry can be.

The final speaker, *Alberto Senderey* of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, began by emphasizing that Eastern European Jews need to find their own forms of Judaism, and they in turn will interact and affect Jewish communities in Western Europe. He was confident that new creativity would emerge from the present confusion.

He reminded the audience that in the last 100 years, Jews had created orthodoxy, the reform movement, Zionism as a secular movement, the state of Israel, and had suffered as never before. Many Jews have already been lost through intermarriage, and it is necessary to plan for the future to prevent the loss of many more. He evoked the image of Jerusalem as 'a wall with many gates. I don't care by what gate a Jew comes into Jerusalem'. The process of planning, with the full participation of other Jews, must begin now by creating new educational programmes, exploring new ways such as the Internet, and looking at imaginative ideas whereby people can claim a space in which to be Jewish.

Questions and answers

In opening the floor to discussion Rosalind Preston asked delegates to focus on strategies and plans for the future, and this led to some valuable suggestions (recommendations 21, 22). Many of the suggestions focused on new technology, and a delegate from Latvia pointed out that Eastern European Jewry needs funding and support more than expensive computer games. A number of examples were given from the conference floor of practical programmes which are already in operation to help Eastern Europe. Several delegates put forward various ideas for twinning and linking communities (recommendations 62, 63, 65).

Setting Communal Priorities: How Communities Can Choose and Plan their Own Futures, Tuesday 4 July

Professor Dominique Moïsi, of the Institut français des relations internationales, chaired the afternoon plenary session. He introduced the keynote speaker, Professor Daniel Elazar, president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, whose talk addressed the ways in which communities can choose and plan their own futures.

Daniel Elazar first set out the historical background to the present-day situation. The modern epoch had been one of great violence ending with the great tragedy of the Second World War and the Holocaust. It also ended the struggles of the Jewish people to enter the political system. For the last 300 years much of Jewish cultural and political life had been governed by the desire to achieve an independent state, which was realized with the establishment of Israel. The price Jews have paid for being admitted to the political state system is 'giving up much of our identity'.

Today Jews face a difficult dilemma. As Jews 'we are beneficiaries of certain kinds of choice, and we also suffer the consequences of having such free choice'. When considering the problem of how to bring people back into the Jewish community, Jews are caught in a dilemma of trying to balance tribalism and choice. On the one hand, 'we speak of choice'; on the other, 'we address those who do not wish to join the Jewish community as if they are members of a tribe and we expect them to be part of that tribe'. This emphasis on tribalism and choice is contradictory: 'You cannot have choice if you're a member of a tribe'.

Professor Elazar then addressed some of the more immediate problems. First, the need to think of European Jewry within the context of world Jewry—a world Jewry which has developed 'a community which is bound to a very great extent by its shared political interests of Jewish survival'. This world-wide activity has been essentially developed by Israel and US Jewry. For European Jewry has been preoccupied with its own traumatic problems of reconstruction after the Holocaust, and had continued to face 'totalitarian rule over half its territory and more than half its Jews'. Therefore it was not until 1989 that European Jewry was able to unite and fully participate: 'Even though neither Israel not US Jewry knew it, they missed Europe's voice.'

Now European Jewry is beginning to catch up, and 'Europe must take its place along with Israel and the United States and the rest of world Jewry, in a common world Jewish effort.' But in order to do that 'Europe must be united and that must be a first item on the European Jewish agenda.' This unity will take place on a confederal basis, but must also involve real ties. Internally, different divisions in the Jewish community must also find ways of working together.

Daniel Elazar emphasized his own view that the Jewish people today can be divided into two groups. This was not between the religious and the secular, nor between Israel and the Diaspora, 'but a division between those people who affirmed their Judaism and their Jewishness, and who want to see Jewish civilization and life continue, and those people who are basically normalizers'. However, a normal life is 'not a life that lends itself to Jewish survival and Jewish continuity and civilization'.

Marketing alone is not going to bring back many Jews into the community. The important question is: 'What does it mean to have a better life by being Jewish?' Marketing must therefore be combined with ideas. 'The Jewish people require a theo-political model . . . a model that addresses itself to God, to theological questions . . . and which is also political, addressing itself . . . to the problems of living in the community.' The Bible can serve as such a model, for it addresses the questions of how to relate to God and how to relate to each other as human beings. Studying the Bible does not preclude innovation, but innovative ideas need to be drawn from Jewish experience, Jewish texts and Jewish belief.

Pluralism can also be built into such a model, but it offers both opportunities and limits. 'We will have to know what those limits are, and we will build our own commu-

nities in such a way that we can incorporate those limits into our community structures.'

Professor Elazar spoke about the benefits of cyberspace for drawing Jewish communities together (recommendation 48). He drew delegates' attention to the existence of thriving global Jewish networks, and warned against setting up overlapping and duplicating highways.

He ended his address by emphasizing that the first item on the agenda for all Jews is to strengthen the core of Jewish life. Jews can work with everyone while strengthening that core, but 'those people who have made their commitment to Jewish life are the most important for the maintainance and continuing of Jewish civilization'. He defined this core as being composed of 'those people who, however they understand Judaism, try to be better Jews every day'. In conclusion, he reiterated his belief that 'European Jewry needs to take its place in world Jewry, and to do that it needs to become more unified as a Jewish community.'

Questions and answers

Dominique Moïsi thanked Professor Elazar for his presentation and opened the debate by asking him to comment on the particular situation facing the Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe. Professor Elazar replied that Jews need 'to be more open towards the reality of their situation, of having to begin from the beginning'. But he also pointed out how quickly Jewish communities were being re-established in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

A number of delegates pointed out that European Jewry had already begun to assert itself, and Michael May from the European Council of Jewish Communities emphasized that 'Europe has been heard on the spiritual level, the intellectual level and the political level'. In response, Daniel Elazar said that it was Israel and US Jewry who had discounted the voice of Europe. He expressed his hope that a united European Jewry would become the third pillar of Judaism.

Address by President Vaclav Havel

During the plenary session the delegates warmly welcomed President Vaclav Havel. In his address, he praised the role and the contribution of the Jews in Europe. He said Jews had been an inseparable part of Europe. While living in many states, they had preserved their identity at the same time. President Havel added that this could help European states in their march towards unification.

Finally he expressed his optimism about the Jewish future in Europe. The Jewish Diaspora had survived the horrors of its history, and he believed that Jews would continue to preserve their own way of life and that new generations would survive.

Israel-Diaspora Relations and Relations between Diaspora Communities, Wednesday 5 July

On the final morning of the conference, *Professor Tullia Zevi*, president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, chaired the plenary session on Israel-Diaspora relations and relations between Diaspora communities.

Dr Steven Bayme, director of Jewish communal affairs of the American Jewish Committee, opened the session by examining the future shape of relations between European Jewish communities and Israel.

He first looked at the main changes which were taking place in Israel's relations with the Diaspora. 'For the first time in our history', he said, 'we are looking at an era where a majority of Jewish people will be residing in Israel.' Second, whereas Israel has previously looked to Europe for political and economic support, the Diaspora is now seeking Israeli support in strengthening Jewish life in the Diaspora. But it is important to understand that Israel cannot rescue the Diaspora: 'The issues of Jewish continuity are far more deep-rooted than that. The issues of assimilation and erosion do not invite any kind of quick fixes. They require sustained effort over many years.'

New ways of developing a more positive relationship between Israel and the Diaspora should be explored. First, it is necessary to develop a cultural discourse based on 'a sense of respect for the differences between us'. Second, a sense of interdependence between Israel and the Diaspora should be nurtured. Third, Judaism as a cultural inheritance should be recognized, and 'if we're serious about Jewish continuity, ways must be found to enable Jews of differing cultural perspectives to reconnect with their heritage'.

Israel can provide one of the main routes for participating in the Judaic inheritance. But there are significant differences between Israeli Jewish identity and Diaspora Jewish identity: 'Israeli Jewish identity tends to be national, public and collective in its expression . . . For Diaspora Jews, Jewish identity tends to be much more voluntary, much more personal, much more existential, and much more religious.'

Finally, he spoke about the problems of unity: 'The unity of our people has been sustained around issues of threats from without: political threats, threats to the existence of Israel, antisemitism. That political unity which we have retained for over forty years must continue. But on issues of culture and religious identity, we are clearly not united.'

He concluded his presentation by quoting Jerry Biederman's words at Tuesday's workshop: 'Let's recognize that the critical problem for Jews today is not the issue of who is a Jew, the issue is how do we get more Jews to be inspired by what it means to be a Jew?'

The second speaker, *Dr Arye Carmon*, president of the Israel Democracy Institute, confined his address to four comments on Europe, Israel, American Jewry and Israel-Diaspora relations.

First, he set out his view that 'the Jewish future is anchored in our common European past in general, and the Jewish European past in particular'. Europe is the cradle of secular democracy whereby Jews can become secular citizens in a democratic state, while retaining their Jewish identity. Jewish Europe is not only the depository of a rich cultural tradition, but the founder of Zionism.

Second, he focused on the present situation in Israel. With the peace process and the diminishing need to concentrate on survival, Israelis need to move in the direction of understanding the purpose of Jewish existence. 'From the perspective of the Israeli, our future will depend upon our ability to understand the tradition and the culture and the ethnic roots that are anchored in our Diasporic history.' We need to understand that Israelis are in the midst of a major identity crisis brought about by the peace process. The challenge is to find a balance 'between the universalistic values of liberalism and democracy, and the particularistic values of Judaism'. Europe could provide a model for this process, in strengthening both Israel's democracy and Jewish tradition.

He stressed the unique ethos of American Jewry which lay 'in combining the collectivist foundations of Jewish tradition as they were brought from Europe, with the practice of Protestant individualism'. American Jews thus understand the concept of religious pluralism. Both Israeli and American communities, however, face a major challenge as to their future identity as Jews.

Finally, Dr Carmon said a few words on the subject of Israel-Diaspora relations. In his view, these were firmly 'anchored within the variegated cultural realm. It is within this cultural realm that the key to the challenge of continuity and identity is to be found.'

Gérard Isräel, former member of the European Parliament and one of the moving forces of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, told the audience that by the end of the century, two historical events will have radically transformed the nature of Jewish existence. First, the existence of Israel will no longer be under threat. Second, the Jewish communities of the world—and the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, in particular—are no longer subject to persecution or deprived of their freedom. Jews must remain alert to the resurgence of antisemitism and the re-emergence of a racist and xenophobic far right, but Jewish existence will have entered the political culture of the West.

Jews will no longer need to follow a survival strategy, and Judaism will be defined by its own positive characteristics. This new Jewish existence will be characterized by a new demographic and cultural balance between Israel and the Diaspora. There will soon be more Jews living in Israel than in the Diaspora. But despite this demographic dominance, the Diaspora will be able to make greater advances in the cultural domain than Israel.

He warned delegates that Jewish unity could come under threat. Many Jews no longer followed the religious way of life, and most Jews in the West think of themselves as citizens of the country in which they live.

In conclusion, Gérard Isräel described the bonds which will define Jewish existence in the future. Both the changing nature of Jewish existence, and the power of Zionism as a major agent of cultural unity, separate from its political context, will have to be acknowledged. The strengthening of the bond between Israel and the Diaspora will depend on absolute equality between the two parties. The state of Israel will retain its defining function, but the traditional knowledge of Judaism will be expressed throughout the Diaspora as well as in Israel itself.

Lord Weidenfeld, chairman of the international advisory board of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, gave the final address. He first outlined three important events in the last decade of the twentieth century which had had a major impact on the future of the Jewish people: the destruction of the Soviet Empire leading to the reunification of East and West Jewry; the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians; and the political— following the theological—reconcilation between the Holy See and the state of Israel and the Jewish people.

In this changing world, the Jewish people face three major challenges which can 'be summed up by three code words: continuity, solidarity and maturity'.

First, to preserve the continuity of the Jewish people tolerance and compassion

must be shown towards those who wish to rediscover their Jewishness and have a more tenuous relationship with Judaism than orthodox Jewry.

Second, 'solidarity means the relationship betwen Israel—the central pillar of the Jewish world—and our friends and kith and kin in America, Europe and the rest of the world'. Originally, Zionism operated in a world where antisemitism and discrimination was the norm. Today the world has changed and Jewish communities are flourishing in Europe and elsewhere. The more they flourish, the better it is for Israel and the Jewish people as a whole.'At the same time Israel is not just one of the three pillars, but it is the central pillar and it's the fountainhead of our existence.' It remains 'our duty to maintain and support it'.

Finally, Jews must be mature enough to jettison old ideas, and form a relationship with new forces in the world. This includes both the relationship with Germany—the greatest power in Europe—and with the Catholic Church. While the past must not be forgotten, Jews must also look to the future.

In conclusion, Lord Weidenfeld spelt out his own key to unity:

We are all yearning for some new concept or for an umbrella that covers all those various pluralistic and heterogeneous apsirations that we have. I believe there is no better word than Zionism—Zionism Mark 2. We need to redefine Zionism . . . Zionism covers the secular and the religious, covers the political and the cultural, and what we should be doing is to redefine Zionism and have that as the over-arching idea to actuate our life and to give us a sense of direction [recommendation 53].

Questions and answers

During the discussion which followed the speakers' presentations, delegates focused on a number of important themes which had run through the conference: the relationship between European Jewry and Israel; Jewish identity and community boundaries; interfaith dialogue; and the role of Zionism.

In response to questions and comments, speakers and delegates underlined the following points:

- On the relationship between European Jewry and Israel, Arye Carmon emphasized his firm belief that Israel's 'ability to develop our democracy as a parliamentary democracy' depends on 'different sides of European democracies, and not the American democracy'. The future is to draw from the European past.
- On Jewish identity, and ways of reaching out to Jews from mixed marriages and assimilated backgrounds, Steven Bayme told the conference that: 'The answer coming out of the United States is basically that the Jewish community should be open to all those who are interested in leading a Jewish life. That is the language of outreach. Now the corollary to that is that anything that is meaningfully Jewish by definition is also going to have to articulate a language of exclusion.'
- On the need for an interfaith dialogue, Lord Weidenfeld said that 'Europe now has 12 million Muslims . . . therefore a trialogue between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the European context is urgent', as well as a separate dialogue between Jews and Muslims (recommendation 16). It was suggested that the French Jewish community was well placed to develop such a dialogue given the sizeable Muslim community in France.

- On the role of Zionism, Robert Rifkind explained that his view of Zionism was that it was a movement to create and obtain the security and prosperity of Israel. Judaism, on the other hand, was the broader ideology—secular, religious and cultural—which bound world Jewry together. He asked Lord Weidenfeld to elaborate on his broader vision of Zionism, who replied: 'If I have any original view of Zionism, I would say it is an extension of the political Zionism of the founding fathers.' He underlined the importance of continuing to ensure that Israel exists, flourishes and expands: 'It will always be the fountainhead, it will always be the reinsurance policy. It is the state that guarantees there is never going to be a wandering Jew.' Steven Bayme commented that 'the notion of Zionism as an ideology, of providing a collective Jewish meaning, should not be dependent upon any particular identification of who is empowered at any particular moment'.
- Finally, Sergio DellaPergola suggested that the conference should put forward some practical suggestions on how to develop the relationship between European Jews and Israelis. For example, European students, social workers and community leaders would benefit from attending universities in Israel, and Israeli intellectuals and leaders would equally benefit from exposure to the Jewish world in Europe and America (recommendation 67).

In reply, Arye Carmon put forward three suggestions for: an open college, an open university and a linking scheme between Jewish communities (recommendations 19, 20, 64).

Steven Bayme ended the question and answer session by reminding delegates that it was not possible to solve the entire problems of the Jewish world at a conference.

Our problems are much more deep-rooted, they're much more internal, and they don't give themselves over to quick, simple, practical solutions, despite our desire to want to focus on them. The nature of Israel-Diaspora relations is that Israel is not going to save the Diaspora. The Diaspora is not going to solve the problems of religious pluralism in Israel. All we can do is to take small steps to enhance one another.

2 From Information to Planning, from Data to Decision-Making, Closing Plenary Session, Wednesday 5 July

The closing plenary session of the conference was opened by *Peter Oppenheimer*, chairman of the research board of the Institute of Jewish Affairs. The main purpose of this final session was for delegates to hear about the main conclusions and practical directives that had emerged from the six workshops held during the course of the conference. The chairman thus invited the rapporteurs from each workshop to present their reports to the conference delegates.

Workshop on Demographic Trends, Welfare and Social Services, Monday 3 July

Professor Sergio DellaPergola, head of the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, gave the first workshop report on demographic trends, welfare and social services. 'We came here three days ago', he said,

with a set of Jewish population estimates pointing to a continental total of 2 million Jews in Europe . . . But in the course of our deliberations the total rose to 3 million, and then to 4 million, and who knows what figures it would have peaked had we stayed here long enough. The problem is that if we are serious about planning for the future of European Jewry, we should not establish the population figures just by declaration, but rather by serious and systematic monitoring of the intervening demographic processes. Namely, data is required on Jewish births and deaths; Jewish international and internal migration; and the balance of accessions to, and secessions from, Judaism [recommendatation 8].

A significant distinction has also emerged between the concept and size of a Jewish population, and that of the so-called enlarged Jewish population. The former increasingly tends to be defined according to a sense of self-identification rather than by Halachic critria. The latter definition also includes former Jews, non-Jewish people of Jewish origin, and non-Jewish family members.

An even broader Jewish population is defined according to the Israeli law of return which tends to include not only the actual and visible community, but also those who are 'hidden, the virtual and the theoretical' Jews. However, if you define the European Jew as someone who is eligible to emigrate from Europe to Israel that person ceases to be European. He therefore concluded that:

A level-headed vision of the real European Jewry should focus on actually approachable Jews—even if defined by very broad subjective critera—as the sounder basis for future social service planning, while, at the same time, a broader catchment constituency is constantly aimed at for cultural discourse [recommendation 9]. Professor DellaPergola then stressed the inadequacy of the database available to planners. In many European countries the available data to access the demographic and socio-economic composition of the Jewish people is from 20 to 30 years out of date: 'We can and should do better' (recommendation 1).

Most of the key issues reviewed by the workshop tended to be common to each Jewish community. Distinctive features essentially reflected the general conditions in each country, in particular the divide between East and West and the size of the Jewish community. The workshop reached a number of conclusions:

- There is an imperative need to find an internal consensus between different sectors within the community. In particular, a way must be found to a unified standard for conversion to Judaism (recommendation 46).
- More generally, it is necessary to monitor changes in socio-demographic processes and their implications, and provide relevant data on these to decision-makers (recommendation 7).
- Finally, more education programmes for parents and other adults may be needed (recommendation 23).

The theme that had attracted most debate at the workshop had been the problems presented by an ageing Jewish population. According to present trends, 'with as many as 40 per cent of Jews aged 65 and over in Western Europe, and possibly more than 60 per cent in Eastern Europe, most budgetary resources will be demanded by care of the elderly'. This will lead to painful choices with regard to other crucial community needs and services. Professor DellaPergola commented that little attention had been paid to ways and means of raising the very low Jewish marriage and birthrates, although this was the primary cause of an ageing population. He then listed a number of practical suggestions that had come out of the workshop to help Jews prepare for the future demands of caring for the elderly (which are set out in full as recommendations 54-58).

With regard to the provision of Jewish welfare services:

- The role of the European state as provider should be more clearly defined as against the role of the community (recommendation 59).
- 'Above all, the relationship with the European state and the Brussels Eurocracy needs to be better analysed and deepened in the context of the provision of Jewish welfare services' (recommendation 61).
- In addition, it may be necessary to strengthen private initiative in the provision of Jewish welfare services (recommendation 60).

Finally, the workshop had looked at immigration and the services it requires. With the exception of Germany, there is little Jewish migration to European countries. However, it was noted that Israelis in Europe, while only partially integrated into the Jewish community, are major users of certain services, including education.

Summing up, Professor DellaPergola said that we are witnessing a time of great social change in Europe and elsewhere. The nature of Jewish life is being powerfully affected by these changes. It is clear that a more diverse and pluralistic Jewish community is emerging, and that there will be a substantial and demanding Jewish community to be serviced in the future:

Our ability to assess the future needs of the community, the nature of the research we conduct, our success in translating the findings into appropriate policy or recommendations and, most

importantly, the collaboration between lay leaders, professionals and researchers, will determine, in the end, to what extent the unquestionable fact of a successful Jewish presence can be translated into a long-lasting and fruitful result of Jewish continuity and Jewish solidarity in the Europe of the future.

Workshop on Modes of Jewish Affiliation, Status and Gender Issues, Monday 3 July

Dr Zvi Feine, country director for Romania and Poland, American Jewish Joint Distribution Commitee, reported on modes of Jewish affilation, status and gender issues.

The workshop had heard four presentations: Professor Barry Kosmin of the Mandell L. Berman Institute; Chief Rabbi Bent Melchior from Denmark, president of B'nai B'rith Europe; Marlena Schmool from the Board of Deputies of British Jews; and Dr Eva Salnerova from the Jewish community of Bratislava.

Discussion had first focused on how to define a Jewish community. Whereas community in Britain is based on affiliation to a synagogue, in other parts of Europe there are variations. In the United States, Jews see themselves more as part of a culture than as a religion, and European Jews are moving towards a similar view.

It was emphasized that there is no longer a captive Jewish community, and that Jews can choose whether or not they wish to be affiliated:

To attract individual Jews, Jewish organizations have to work much harder... be much more open to the concerns of individual Jews, and our workshop stressed the market approach of maximizing resources, being competitive, and having a good product [recommendation 47].

Modes of affiliation to Jewish communities were not as important as in the past. The workshop participants looked at the question of how open Jewish services should be to people who are not members of the community, and how to define community boundaries. The consensus was that they should be as open as possible: 'Participants stressed that we must do what we can to attract people from the products of mixed marriages' (recommendations 49, 52).

The crucial role of the rabbi in bringing people back into the community was emphasized. This was particularly important in Eastern Europe where many young people are products of mixed marriages and have only recently learnt of their Jewish roots. It was felt that training and funding resources for rabbis were critical issues (recommendation 29).

It was also important to encourage organizational diversity, to encourage affilation by such groups as gays and lesbians (recommendation 51). However, it was stressed that unity—not uniformity—must be preserved. Each community therefore needs to maintain a balance between unity and diversity.

The issue of women was discussed quite extensively. First, a high proportion of British Jewish women are dissatisfied with synagogues. It was noted that in Britian 74 per cent of unaffilated women under the age of 35 had a university education, and it is necessary to involve these women who are being lost to the community. Women under the age of 40 are also consuming more services, while women over 40 provide more services and are more involved in Jewish communal life. The question of Jewish divorce was a major concern of the workshop. It was recommended that this issue should be addressed by the rabbis and new ways explored of finding a solution (recommendation 50).

Finally, the workshop looked at what research is needed in these areas. Participants emphasized the importance of using research to create policies and laid down a number of principles which should be followed (recommendations 4, 5, 6). Dr Feine ended his summary report by telling delegates: 'As Jews we have to have ideas, the researchers must be heard . . . and creative in the way in which they present their research findings, and find better ways of helping communities face the implications of the findings.'

Workshop on Group Relations, Antisemitism and Interfaith Activity, Monday 3 July

Antony Lerman, executive director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, reported on the workshop which had focused on group relations, antisemitism and interfaith activity.

Workshop participants were asked to focus on the subject in two parts: first, to consider the seriousness of antisemitism and to make some assessment of the threat facing Jews in Europe; second, to move on to solutions, focusing on 'interfaith work, education, legislation, politicans and the media, our response to the emergence of the far right, and culture'.

The first two speakers, Rosalind Preston, vice-chair of the Interfaith Network in the UK, and Professor Tullia Zevi, president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, spoke briefly and succinctly about the state of antisemitism in Britain and Italy. Dr Stanislaw Krajewski, co-chair of the Polish Council of Christians and Jews and American Jewish Committee correspondent in Poland, gave a presentation about the situation in Poland, with comments added by Konstanty Gebert.

A number of participants outlined the circumstances in their own countries, but most people wanted to focus from the beginning on the second part of the workshop, namely, on action, proposals and measures for dealing with the problems.

Antony Lerman told the conference that he hoped one reason for this was the annual publication of the Antisemitism World Report, produced by the Institute of Jewish Affairs and the American Jewish Committee, for people now have access to essential data on antisemitism today which can be used as a broad basis of agreement on which decision-makers can base their actions. But a clear view also emerged from the workshop that antisemitism was no longer the main priority in the Jewish world today. Both the opening presenters underlined this view. Rosalind Preston made the significant statement about the UK that 'the shadow, the fear of antisemitism is more potent than the present-day situation warrants'. And Tullia Zevi emphasized that 'we should refrain from costly and highly publicized conferences, congresses, symposia, protest rallies, etc. entirely focused on antisemitism'.

Antony Lerman told conference delegates that 'one of the messages that comes out of the workshop, and perhaps of the conference altogether, is of a re-evaluation of the place and the significance of antisemitism and dealing with it in our priorities' (recommendation 13). He then set out the proposals which had emerged from the workshop. These focused on the following areas: interfaith; education; legislation; contact with the media and politicans; how to respond to the far right in Europe; and culture.

Interfaith

The important point was made that 'Interfaith work should not simply be seen as a response to antisemitism, but as a way of deepening relationships between faith groups... building mutual trust, understanding its investment in the future which could be activated if problems do arise, and leading to a more religiously pluralistic society.' While this is a very important issue, the workshop noted that many Jews are totally uninterested in this area of activity, and it is necessary to get more people involved.

Education

Emphasis was placed 'not just on educating about prejudice or its consequences, but also educating about the Jewish experience and Judaism, and that this should be done in formal and informal ways'. Participants felt that particular attention should be paid to educational materials that would appeal to the younger generation. They recommended a pooling of educational resources across Europe (recommendation 3); and 'one or two people referred to the notion of museums of tolerance being established' (recommendation 31).

Legislation

It was felt necessary to move the agenda 'on to the wider European level, beginning with the harmonization of anti-race legislation in the European Union (recommendation 39).

The interesting point was raised that introducing more anti-race legislation would restrict freedom of speech in former communist countries in the East. After the collapse of communism, it was better to retain freedom of speech with some abuse, rather than taking a step backwards and restricting it once again.

Politicians and the media

The workshop felt this was an important area of development. It was necessary not only to contact the media over specific incidents as they arise, but 'build up on-going relationships with the media and with politicians' as an investment in the future (recommendation 44).

Response to the far right

It was pointed out that, while a proportion of members of the European political parties of the far right are committed antisemites, others join for anti-establishment reasons. The significance of the growing support for such parties was that it shows that 'societies are no longer vaccinated against racism, that this taboo is being broken and we need to be aware of that'. The consensus of the workshop was that 'there should be no compromise between Jews and these parties because of their past'. This is 'an important message that has to go to political leaders' (recommendation 39).

Culture

Participants stressed the importance of cultural activity—including publishing, cultural festivals and films—in bringing Jewish experience to a wider audience (recommendation 24).

Finally, Antony Lerman summed up the workshop's discussions as showing 'a definite shift from defensive postures about antisemitism and group relations to a more proactive kind of posture, from the singular emphasis on antisemitism to the notion that maintaining Jewish rights means maintaining human rights'. Antisemitism is still a priority and Jews need to remain vigilant, 'but if we fear that societies are no longer vaccinated against racism . . . we need more research on the implications of that particular problem' (recommendation 12).

Workshop on Communal Structures, Tuesday 4 July

Michael May, executive director of the European Council of Jewish Communities, explained that the workshop had been divided into two parts: the first dealt with forms of communal organization and planning; the second examined leadership training and professional community management. The main purpose of the workshop had been to look at the models and possibilities which exist in Europe, and then draw up a 'wish list of things which do not exist but should exist'. He added that these could be turned into policy recommendations, but emphasized that these all needed to be discussed further at a later stage.

Forms of communal organization and planning

In the first part of the workshop three models of community structure were examined. First, the so-called Swedish model had been presented to the workshop by Salomo Berlinger, president of the Jewish Community of Stockholm. The Swedish model is a harmonious model which has, until now, avoided fragmentation. Michael May told the conference that Jews in Stockholm form a 'unitary community based around the model of an orthodox synagogue trying to embrace every member of the community without creating fragmentation'. The community is built on a spirit of co-operation between liberal members and orthodox Jews, and anyone who wishes to become a community member is embraced.

The second model, the Latvian federation based in Riga, had been presented to the workshop by Dr Gregory Krupnikov, co-chairman of the Council of Jewish Communities of Latvia. This was essentially an umbrella organization, only about six or seven years old, to which all Jewish organizations are welcome to affiliate. It is primarily a secular model, but there is also a synagogue and a small religious community in Riga.

Third, a model to cope with such emergencies as the break-up of the former Yugoslavia had been presented to the workshop by Yechiel Bar-Chaim, former Yugoslavia and Czech Republic country director of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Michael May reported that the break-up of Yugoslavia had also resulted in the demise of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia. In such emergencies, the first organizational victim is likely to be the national umbrella body. To cope with such a crisis, the roles of such a body need to be taken on by others. The Jewish community also needs to adapt to open and flexible forms of organization.

In the course of the workshop discussion which followed the three presentations, reference was made to the denominational fragmentation which characterizes large Jewish communities. Michael May reported that, while discussing these matters, members of small communities 'mentioned that they have no information whatsoever on research coming out on substantial matters of community aspects'. The wish was expressed that 'there should be a pool of information available, a clearing house for this kind of structural information' on what's new in education, social welfare, and leadership training (recommendation 3).

Leadership training and professional community management

The second part of the workshop focused on leadership training. Michael May reported that the workshop had looked at various models and institutions which provide leadership training. For example, a particular programme run by the Joint trains people who have already reached positions of leadership, partly in Israel and partly back in their own communities. He emphasized the dangers of training people as community leaders when few positions of leadership were available, particularly in small communities. This also related to the whole problem of limited professional career prospects within Jewish communities, and how to achieve excellence in such a situation.

Michael May ended his report by emphasizing the need to update information and data on the Jewish population. He strongly endorsed the recommendation put forward by the workshop on demography 'to create at long last a European database'. Before this is done the framework and context in which such a database can be created should be discussed. It was suggested 'that a number of individuals who are most interested in this should, first of all, speak about the ... parameters' and that a working paper is produced so that 'we can start the planning process based on good data' (recommendation 1).

Workshop on Political Activity, Lobbying and Representing Jewish Interests, Tuesday July 4

Rabbi Andrew Baker, European affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, reported on the findings of the workshop on political activity, lobbying and representing Jewish interests.

What are Jewish interests?

The first part of the workshop focused on defining and identifying Jewish interests. Many issues were raised ranging from specific to broad topics, and from parochial to universal concerns. The participants focused on such issues as the role of education in combating antisemitism, and 'women's issues within the Jewish community and in general'. But the main theme which emerged from the workshop was that 'the kind of galvanizing, critical issues of great urgency, such as Soviet Jewry's freedom and coming to the defence of an embattled state of Israel' have passed. Instead, the consensus was that we should be 'more pro-active in not simply focusing on what might be thought of as defensive issues, but taking initiatives in defining what these issues ought to be for the community'.

In particular, it was felt that moral issues ought to be embraced as Jewish ones. Konstanty Gebert pointed out that in Poland, the Jewish community has embraced the promotion of democratic and liberal values as Jewish issues. But this had created the danger in Polish society which regards these values as 'Jewish issues', and liberals and democrats are 'tainted' by this Jewish support. Rabbi Baker pointed out that this interesting example illustrated the real divide that still exists between Eastern and Western Europe.

Political activity and lobbying

The workshop looked at the issue of political activity and lobbying to represent Jewish interests. It was agreed that such activities should generally take place in people's respective countries. But it was also emphasized that the European Union is 'increasingly a significant and growing force as a focus for such activity'. Its importance was stressed both in terms of European funds and resources which are available for programmes and activities, and for its increasingly active role in foreign affairs.

A number of practical proposals or suggestions relating to the area of lobbying were put forward by workshop participants (recommendations 32, 33, 36, 38, 40, 43, 45).

Need for co-ordination

The workshop also focused on the importance of co-ordinating political activity and lobbying among the various Jewish communities. The need for co-ordinating all meetings and encounters—whether they were between international organizations, across borders within Europe, or with local communities—was emphasized. This 'led to suggestions . . . for some kind of clearing house, some vehicle for really knowing what others are doing, and when they are acting' (recommendation 33).

Participants also expressed their disappointment that there was no broad, pan-European effort to address major issues taken up by the Jewish community, such as the crisis in Yugoslavia.

Role of American Jewry

The role of American Jewry was also the subject of debate. Its influence on the new governments in Central and Eastern Europe was noted, and it was pointed out that a significant number of ambassadors to America from former communist countries were Jewish. It was suggested that this was because Jewish ambassadors could give them a special entree to America, via the American Jewish lobby. This meant that Jewish communities in Eastern European countries had a claim on their governments, and had 'the ability to influence and pressure these governments on behalf of Jewish issues'.

Finally, Rabbi Baker pointed out that the workshop had not had time to address the issue of working with the media. However, participants felt that this important area should be a future subject for debate. Rabbi Baker concluded his report to the conference by listing the main proposals or ideas which had emerged from the workshop. Apart from the idea for a clearing house already mentioned above (recommendation 33), two further proposals were put forward. It was suggested that:

- a series of seminars should be run on the practical steps involved in lobbying governments and politicans (recommendation 34);
- each Jewish community should meet with newly elected parliaments and inform them about Jewish issues (recommendation 35).

Workshop on Jewish Continuity and Jewish Identity Initiatives, Tuesday 4 July

The final workshop report on Jewish continuity and Jewish identity initiatives was presented by *Professor Julius Schoeps* of the Moses Mendelsohn Zentrum for Europäisch-Jüdische Studien, University of Potsdam.

He told the conference that three presentations had been made to the workshop, as reported below.

Situation in Ukraine

First, Dr Yohanan Petrovsky from Kiev University talked about the situation in the Ukraine. It is estimated that there are from 70,000 to 500,000 Jews living in the Ukraine. The Jewish community faces similar problems to other European countries, namely the need to prevent assimilation through increasing people's knowledge of Judaism, and encouraging such activities as the teaching of Jewish history and Hebrew (recommendation 26). It is also necessary to organize cultural events, summer camps and lectures (recommendation 24).

Situation in Switzerland

Werner Rom, president of the Jewish Community of Zurich, gave a survey of the situation in Switzerland. Unlike other European countries, Switzerland did not suffer under the Holocaust. There is therefore an unbroken tradition of Jewish existence among Jewish families, but only about 20,000 Jews currently belong to the Jewish community. The main problems facing Swiss Jews are the decline in religion, and the prevalence of mixed marriages. It was felt that mixed marriages, in particular, posed a particular challenge which needed to be addressed.

Situation in the UK

The third speaker, Martin Shaw, executive director of the Association for Jewish Youth, spoke to workshop participants about the importance of youth work. He emphasized the importance of teaching young people about what it means to be a Jew. When working with young people, it is essential to find out what they know, feel and think (recommendation 14).

Julius Schoeps outlined a number of proposals which had emerged from the workshop:

- the need for well-educated teachers (recommendation 29);
- to support Jewish studies programmes at state universities, especially in Eastern European countries (recommendation 27);
- to build up spiritual and intellectual leadership in Europe, perhaps by establishing a European Jewish journal (recommendation 30); and
- to use modern means of communication, such as the Internet, to strengthen Jewish identity in Europe (recommendation 48).

Concluding Remarks

The chairman of the closing session, *Peter Oppenheimer*, thanked all the rapporteurs for their workshop reports. The conference was now coming to an end and the first steps had been taken towards 'building a modern, new, twenty-first century European community'.

Michael Schneider from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee took the floor to reassure delegates that the Joint 'believes that European Jewry should and will determine its own future and destiny'. At the same time, he reminded delegates of the continuing work of the Joint in rebuilding the Jewish communities in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He felt that it had been 'a highly successful conference. We have reached a crossroad... The needs in the former communist region are huge, and it is time for European Jewry among the rest of the Diaspora Jewry to assist the Joint in order to meet the needs of this region.'

Peter Levy then brought this unique and historic conference on planning for the future of European Jewry to a close:

I think this conference has been an example to show how a number of organizations can work together with a common purpose and a common objective, not in a competing fashion, but in a complementary way . . . I hope that what is started at this conference will be a foundation for enormous development and the growth of European Jewry in the future.

3 Recommendations and Proposals

The following recommendations and proposals were put forward mainly during workshop discussions. They were not formally approved by conference participants.

Information Base

If the future of European Jewry is to be planned, the existing information base falls far short of requirements and it is recommended that:

- 1 an up-to-date database of demographic and socio-economic data is set up for planners, policy-makers and decision-makers;
- 2 a working paper is produced to start the planning process and discuss the framework and context in which such a database can be created.

In addition there is a need to:

3 set up a common pool of information so that members of small Jewish communities, particularly those in Eastern Europe, have access to information on such areas as developments in education and social welfare; educational resources; and information on leadership training.

Research

The importance of research was emphasized, and general recommendations were made that:

- 4 planners and decision-makers should use research findings to create policies;
- 5 information is disseminated among communities on how others are defining the issues and solving them;
- 6 researchers should be creative in the way they present their research findings, and should work with community leaders to interpret the data and decide on courses of action;
- 7 socio-demographic processes and their implications need to be regularly monitored and relevant research provided to decision-makers.

In particular, research should be focused on the following areas:

- 8 up-to-date demographic data on Jewish births and deaths, Jewish international and internal migrations, and the balance of accessions to and secessions from Judaism;
- 9 how to define the boundaries of the Jewish population, whether by size of a selfidentified Jewish population (the preferred option), an enlarged Jewish population, or by the Israeli law of return;
- 10 data on the geographical mobility of Jews to enable planners to decide where to locate Jewish schools or community centres;

- 11 an evaluation of the effectiveness of formal and informal Jewish education including such data as what proportion of the Jewish young attend Jewish schools, for how long, the content of the curriculum, and the different patterns of Jewish behaviour and attitudes among adults who are exposed to different types of Jewish education;
- 12 the implications of the fact that European society is no longer vaccinated against racism;
- 13 a re-evaluation of the place and signifance of antisemitism in Jewish communities;
- 14 the needs of young Jewish people and how to respond to these;
- 15 common areas of interest between Jewish communities and Muslim communities in Europe.

Interfaith

It was emphasized that interfaith work should not simply be seen as a response to antisemitism, but as a way of deepening relationships between the different faiths. There is a need to:

- 16 hold bilateral discussions between Jews and Muslims, and Jews and Christians; or a trialogue between Jews, Muslims and Christians;
- 17 broaden interfaith dialogue to include other faiths, particularly Muslims, and share common experiences;
- 18 carry out research on the relationship between Jewish and Muslim communities in Europe (see recommendation 15 above).

Education, Culture and Training

The important role which education and outreach work must play in attracting Jews, particularly young people, back into the community was underlined. We could:

- 19 set up a multi-cultural, multi-campus school linked by electronic communications, with one campus in Israel, one campus in the United States and one campus in Europe;
- 20 establish an Open Jewish University, modelled on the Open University in the UK, which could utilize electronic means of communication;
- 21 ensure our message to the next generation is delivered in a way and through the medium they understand, in particular electronic communications;
- 22 devise electronic games and CD-Roms about Jewish subjects in the Hebrew language;
- 23 develop educational programmes for parents and other adults;
- 24 organize cultural events and encourage activities such as Jewish publishing and films;
- 25 devise both formal and informal education programmes which extend beyond teaching about prejudice and its consequences and address the Jewish experience;
- 26 teach contemporary Jewish history in schools and Jewish civilization in universities;

- 27 support Jewish studies programmes at state universities in Europe, especially Eastern European countries;
- 28 mount exhibitions to disseminate information on Jewish experience and Judaism;
- 29 develop training programmes for rabbis, teachers and community leaders;
- 30 build up a Jewish spiritual and intellectual leadership in Europe, perhaps through establishing a European Jewish journal;
- 31 establish museums of tolerance.

Lobbying and Political Activities

The consensus was that, in general, political activity and lobbying to represent Jewish interests should take place within each European country. On a European-wide level, the main recommendations were that:

- 32 European Jewish organizations should co-ordinate their activities when lobbying political leaders on particular issues, and endeavour to present a united front on such issues as the war in Bosnia;
- 33 a clearing house is set up to share information and co-ordinate activities, political initiatives and meetings with international organizations and between separate Jewish organizations;
- 34 a series of seminars should be run on the practical steps involved in lobbying governments and politicians;
- 35 we should meet with, inform and educate newly elected parliaments on Jewish issues, how a Jewish community functions, who are its leaders, and what they do;
- 36 a list of participants—with addresses, telephone and fax numbers—should be prepared to foster an on-going network of contacts among those who attended the conference.

In addition, there is a need to:

- 37 lobby the European Union both as a source of funds for programmes and activities of interest to the Jewish community, and to influence its role in foreign affairs;
- 38 share and disseminate information on the timing of requests for funds or support for projects;
- 39 work to harmonize anti-race hatred legislation in the European Union, and also to ensure that there is no compromise with the political parties of the far right by political leaders;
- 40 build coalitions;
- 41 co-ordinate Jewish European initiatives on human rights, racism and antidiscrimination issues, and work with other groups who support these causes;
- 42 set up a league of tolerance to monitor legislation and become a voice against racism and the violation of human rights;
- 43 educate and involve non-Jews to support and participate in lobbying on Jewish issues;
- 44 develop on-going relationships with the media and politicians as a future investment;
- 45 identify key contacts in different European countries and communities.

Jewish Affiliation

There is an imperative need to find internal consensus on issues of Jewish affiliation between different sectors of the European Jewish community, in particular across the East-West divide. It is necessary to:

- 46 devise a unified standard for conversion to Judaism;
- 47 adopt a market approach, whereby the needs of individual Jews are ascertained, and relevant, competitive services are offered by the Jewish community;
- 48 use the Internet and the information superhighway to build a modern, new European Jewish identity, and attract young people back into the community;
- 49 ensure that the services of the Jewish community are open to as many Jewish people as possible;
- 50 look at the role of Jewish women and, in particular, the problem of divorce;
- 51 encourage the diversity of organizations so that such groups as gays and lesbians can affiliate;
- 52 attract children from mixed marriages and non-Jewish partners into the community, particularly in Eastern Europe;
- 53 look at the possibility of redefining Zionism to enable Jews to have an over-arching idea which provides a sense of direction.

Welfare and Social Needs

In view of the problems associated with an ageing population, whereby a substantially smaller Jewish adult population will have to provide for a much larger pool of the elderly, the main recommendations were that:

- 54 a full inventory of Jewish care services now available in Europe is produced and circulated;
- 55 emphasis should be put on taking care of people and the quality of life, rather than on fixed, real-estate investment;
- 56 common frameworks for the care of the elderly, and for social work in general, should be established;
- 57 appropriate forms of links between institutions and resource-sharing are developed between small and larger communities, in particular between Eastern and Western Europe;
- 58 a common European Jewish pensions scheme or insurance fund should be launched to secure the financial basis of what will become an overwhelming demand on the community.

In general, there is a need to:

- 59 define the role of the state as a provider of services to Jewish communities in relation to the role of the Jewish community;
- 60 develop and encourage private initiative as a possible provider of certain types of Jewish services;
- 61 strenthen and analyse our relationship with the European Union and Brussels in the context of the provision of Jewish welfare services.

Exchanges and Twinning Arrangements

Many delegates emphasized the value of developing inter-community networks through exchanges and twinning arrangements. It is recommended that:

62 a network of five or six Jewish communities is set up who could work together strategically for a year, and bring their findings to another conference.

In addition, there is a need to:

- 63 encourage those American and British Jewish communities who possess one of the Torah scrolls, dispersed when Prague was occupied, to twin with the community in Eastern Europe from where it had originally come;
- 64 form links between a municipality in Israel, a federation in the United States and a community in Europe, with relationships focusing on the realm of culture;
- 65 establish partnerships between Western and Eastern European Jewish communities;
- 66 encourage visits between different Jewish European communities;
- 67 encourage academic exchanges of students, social workers and community leaders between universities in Israel and Europe.

4 Progress Since the Prague Conference

A steering committee consisting of the representatives of the sponsoring organizations of the Prague conference—Rabbi Andrew Baker (American Jewish Committee), Antony Lerman (Institute of Jewish Affairs), Michael May (European Council of Jewish Communities) and Alberto Senderey (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee)—is considering practical ways of implementing proposals and ideas discussed in Prague. Many of the ideas need further consideration and not all can immediately be implemented. Where the sponsoring organizations themselves are able to implement recommendations, they will endeavour to do so. But the Steering Committee believes that its role must also be to channel ideas in the direction of other bodies which are best placed to progress them. Meanwhile, an interim programme of activities is being planned. Among the projects given priority are:

- An experiment in strategic communal planning to be undertaken by several European Jewish communities, in partnership with the ECJC and the Joint, which will be evaluated by the IJA. The aim of this project is to provide models for communal planning.
- The establishment of a database of existing data, research and programmes on community development to be based at the IJA and run by a consortium of organizations.
- A conference on the 'Future of Jewish communities in the CIS' to be held in St Petersburg in June 1996.
- A seminar on the political priorities of European Jewry.

• A follow-up conference to Prague to be held in 1997 in another European city. Further developments will be communicated to the Prague conference participants and to interested representative bodies and communal organizations.

Participants

Stanford Adelstein	USA	Member, International Relations Commission, American Jewish Committee
Benjamin Albalas	Greece	President, Athens Jewish Community
Fero Alexander	Slovakia	Executive Chairman, Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities
Simonas Alperovicius	Lithuania	Chairman, Jewish Community of Lithuania
Claude Assous	France	European Centre for Jewish Leadership— Le'atid Europe
Avner Azulay	France	Executive Director, The Rich Foundation
Mrs A. Azulay	France	
Shula Bahat	USA	Associate Executive Director, American
		Jewish Committee
Rabbi Andrew Baker	USA	Director, European Affairs, American Jewish
		Committee
Yechiel Bar-Chaim	France	Former Yugoslavia and Czech Republic Country
		Director, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
Ernestine Bar Chaim	France	
Theodor Barth	Norway	Arena, Advanced Research on the Europeanization of the Nation State
Dr Steven Bayme	USA	Director, Jewish Communal Affairs, American Jewish
		Committee
Professor Nansen Behar	Bulgaria	Vice-President, Organization of Jews in Bulgaria— Shalom
Eva Benesová	Czech Republic	President, Hidden Child
Arnost Bergmann	Czech Republic	President, Jewish Community of Plzen
Salomo Berlinger	Sweden	President, Jewish Community of Stockholm
Ruth Berlinger	Sweden	Member, Committee for ex-Soviet Jewry
Jerry Biederman	USA	National Vice-President, American Jewish Committee
Dr Antonin Bielar	Czech Republic	President, Jewish Community of Ostrava
Phillip Blair	France	Representative, Council of Europe
Revekka Blumberg	Estonia	Vice-President, WIZO, Jewish Community of Estonia
Jan Bubenik	Czech Republic	Consultant, Waste Management International
Melvyn Carlowe	UK	Chief Executive, Jewish Care
Jackie Carlowe	UK	
Dr Arye Carmon	Israel	President, Israel Democracy Institute
Robert Checkoway	UK	Assistant to the Executive Director,
		European Council of Jewish Communities
Jeffrey Cohen	Denmark	Vice-President, Jewish Community of Copenhagen
Samuel Cohen	Switzerland	Social Service, Jewish Community of Geneva
Stewart Cohen JP	UK	Senior Vice-President, B'nai B'rith International
Pearl Cohen	UK	B'nai B'rith District 15
Michael Cohn	Sweden	Jewish Education in Sweden
Mrs M. Cohn	Sweden	
Theodore Comet	USA	Executive Vice-President, World Council of Jewish Communal Service; Associate Executive Vice-President, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

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