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## Hello, goodbye<sup>1</sup> – Farewell Ceremonies as Part of Organized Jewish Emigration from Yugoslavia to Israel (1948–1952)

**Abstract:** *The successful completion of every wave of organized Jewish emigration leaving Yugoslavia for Israel between 1948 and 1952 was accompanied by a farewell ceremony. This was after the leading men of the Federation of Jewish religious communities of Yugoslavia had insisted on the migrants' departure being celebrated in an appropriate manner. The ceremonies themselves turned into the ideal opportunity for once again insisting on specific ideas, which had defined the organized migration movement up to that point. In addition, as the migration was a kind of rite of passage, the ceremonies can be considered a festive end to the separation phase. Different expectations of the organized emigration on its part of local Jews and the Yugoslav government lead, however, to different perceptions of it as a being rite of passage. This set of circumstances lead to the farewell ceremonies being a phenomenon far more complex than originally intended. This paper sets out on defining the way in which the all encompassing context of the migration reflected on the farewell ceremonies, with special attention paid to ideological parallelism and the way in which the process was defined as a rite of passage. The paper is, for the most part, based on documents held at the Archives of the Jewish Historical Museum.*

**Key Words:** farewell ceremonies, emigration, Yugoslavia, Israel, Jews

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<sup>1</sup> A song and single of the same name released by The Beatles in 1967.

## Introduction

After decades of failed attempts by the Zionist movement the dream of reestablishing an independent Jewish state finally came to fruition in May of 1948. During the first couple of years, the young state of Israel continued dealing with problems which had defined the turbulent times leading up to its reconstitution. On the other hand, the same period brought with it spawns of new issues to be dealt with in the future.

Within the first twenty four hours of proclaiming independence, surrounding Arab countries proclaimed war on Israel.<sup>2</sup> With the occasional armistice, military operations continued from May 15<sup>th</sup> 1948 all through March 1949. Peace was finally achieved after an agreement between the two sides was signed on July 20<sup>th</sup> 1949. The foundations of the newly established Israeli state were however laid with a sense of wartime urgency. Further destabilization ensued with one of the largest in scale migrations of the twentieth century.

An independent state of Israel meant all existing measures of limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine, passed by British mandate authorities during the interwar period were void. Between 1948 and 1951 approximately 700.000 Jews from all over the world moved to the newly independent Middle-Eastern state.<sup>3</sup> Organized Jewish emigration from Yugoslavia was a relatively small part of this umbrella process. A cooperation between the Federation of Jewish religious communities and state authorities lead to five waves of organized migration leaving the country between December of 1948 and October of 1952.<sup>4</sup> In this time a total of 7.739 Yugoslav Jews left for Israel.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For details about the so called first Arab-Israeli war, see: Herzog, Chaim (updated by Gazit, Schlomo), *Arab-Israeli Wars. War and Peace in the Middle East from the 1948 War of Independence to the Present*, New York 2005, p. 15-108

<sup>3</sup> Alfassi, Itzhak, *Immigration and Settlement*, Jerusalem 1973, p. 56. и Neumann, Shoshanna, *Aliyah to Israel: Immigration under Conditions of Adversity*, Bonn 1999, p. 1-5. For details on the number of immigrants from individual countries and on an annual level, see: *Immigration to Israel: Total Immigration, by Country per Year (1948-Present)*, [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Immigration/immigration\\_by\\_country2.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Immigration/immigration_by_country2.html), December 26th 2016; *Immigration to Israel: Total Immigration, by Country of Origin (1948-2012)*, [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Immigration/immigration\\_by\\_country.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Immigration/immigration_by_country.html), December 26th 2016; *Immigration to Israel: Total Immigration, by Year (1948-2016)*, [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Immigration/Immigration\\_to\\_Israel.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Immigration/Immigration_to_Israel.html), December 26th 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Ships transporting Yugoslav Jews within the first wave of organized migration left for Israel during December of 1948 and January of 1949. The second wave ensued in June and July of 1949. The Ships of the third migration wave left Yugoslavia in March of 1950, while the fourth followed in May of 1951. Finally, the last Jews to leave Yugoslavia for Israel as part of the organized emigration process did so in October of 1952. See in detail: Радовановић, Милан, „Поједини статистички аспекти организованог иселјавања Јевреја из Југославије у Израел (1948-1952)”, *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 2 (2015), p. 54-56. (Cited onward as: Радовановић, „Поједини статистички аспекти...”)

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 63–73.

Aside of it being an integral part of Jewish emigration from European countries, the organized departure of Jews from Yugoslavia has to be considered part of a smaller migration context encompassing the Jewish populations of countries making up the Eastern Block.<sup>6</sup> Consequent to the Yugoslav-Soviet conflict of 1948, the position of Yugoslavia was however an unprecedented one. Therefore, the organized migration of Yugoslav Jews to Israel was, in fact a unique phenomenon.<sup>7</sup>

The Cominform Resolution of 1948 followed little more than a month after the independence of Israel was proclaimed, and preceded the organized emigration of Jews from Yugoslavia by only six months, therefore heavily imprinting itself on the process as a whole. Although they were considered to be the most faithful supporters of Soviet policy in the first post-war years, Yugoslav percevered insisted on having conducted an authentic revolution of their own during wartime. Therefore they were insistent on having the right to interpret socialism in their own way, which led to an open conflict with Moscow officials.<sup>8</sup> Between 1948 and 1953 Yugoslav communists were forced to focus on further developing the basic idea of emancipation from Soviet

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<sup>6</sup> Officially and in accordance to Soviet policy, all Eastern European regimes guaranteed an individuals freedom of movement and, accordingly, emigration. Everyday politics however, strayed from this official policy. Especially applicable to the case of mass Jewish emigration to Israel, changes in Soviet foreign policy and the highhandedness of local party officials lead to opportunities for leaving the country being very limited. This contradiction between theory and practice was the cornerstone of all ambivalent migration policies practiced by Eastern European regimes in the years to come. More on that: Mertens, Lothar, *Alija – Die Emmigration der Juden aus der UdSSR/GUS*, Bochum 1993; Meyer, Peter (Ed.), *The Jews in Soviet Satellites*, Syracuse 1953; Schaffer, Harry, *The Soviet Treatment of Jews*, New York 1974 (cited onward as: Schaffer, *The Soviet Treatment of Jews*); Haskell, Guy, *From Sofia to Jaffa*, Detroit 1994 (cited onward as: Haskell, *From Sofia to Jaffa*...); Ionescu, Magdalena, „The Jewish emigration from Romania in the context of Israel’s creation”, *Valahian Journal of Historical Studies* 15 (2011), p. 119–136; Oltean, Anca, „Aspects from the Life of Romanian and Hungarian Jews during the Years 1945–1953” *Eurolimes* (2011), Supplement 2, p. 171–187; Oltean, Anca, „The Jews of Romania and their Immigration to Israel 1948–1952”, *Eurolimes* 11 (2011), p. 41–55; Szaynok, Bozena, „Jews in Polish Communist Policy (1949–1953)”, in: Grözinger, Elvira; Ruta, Magdalena (Ed.), *Under the red Banner – Yiddish culture in the communist countries in the postwar era*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 2008, p. 27–36.

<sup>7</sup> More on the subject: Radovanović, Milan, *Die organisierte Auswanderung jugoslawischer Juden nach Israel im Kontext des jugoslawisch-sowjetischen Konflikts (1948–1952)*, [https://www.academia.edu/11750030/Die\\_organisierte\\_Auswanderung\\_jugoslawischer\\_Juden\\_nach\\_Israel\\_im\\_Kontext\\_des\\_jugoslawisch-sowjetischen\\_Konflikts\\_1948-1952\\_](https://www.academia.edu/11750030/Die_organisierte_Auswanderung_jugoslawischer_Juden_nach_Israel_im_Kontext_des_jugoslawisch-sowjetischen_Konflikts_1948-1952_), January 31st 2017. See also: Радовановић, Милан, „Ционизам и прагматизам – Зашто су се југословенски Јевреји иселили у Израел (1948–1952)”, *Београдски историјски гласник* 6 (2015), p. 222–228. (Cited onward as: Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”...)

<sup>8</sup> General information on the Yugoslav–Soviet conflict of 1948 can be found in: Petranović, Branko, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918–1978*, Beograd 1980, p. 467–483.

influence.<sup>9</sup> The process of organized emigration from Yugoslavia to Israel was for the most part defined by this effort.<sup>10</sup>

Yugoslav state authorities, especially post 1948, viewed emigration as being a particularly convenient method of spreading ideas of a prosperous; politically, socially and economically well developed and in every other way sovereign Yugoslav state.<sup>11</sup> Expectations from the organized emigration to Israel were particularly high, considering the dramatic development of the newly formed Jewish states position in the post-war world.<sup>12</sup> However, cooperation between the two states never actually reached the level proclaimed in the documents pertaining to the organized migration. This was due to objective circumstances preventing such a development.

Immediately after the Cominform Resolution, as part of the Yugoslav Communist Party attempting to advance the countries diplomatic position in the Middle East,<sup>13</sup> bilateral relations with Israel were at an all time high.<sup>14</sup> However, any kind of Yugoslav ambition to cooperate with all countries of the region on equal terms was doomed from the start, on the grounds of the ongoing conflict between Israel and Arab states.<sup>15</sup> After the Suez crisis (1956), Yugoslavia completely focused on cooperation with Arab countries, while diplomatic contacts with Israel were finally severed in light of the Six-Day War (1967). Consequently, the Jewish state never did develop into the kind of partner Yugoslavia was hoping for in the Middle East.

<sup>9</sup> More on the development of Yugoslav Communist party policy in the post-war period: Bogetić, Dragan, *Koreni jugoslovenskog opredeljenja za nesvrstanost*, Beograd 1990, p. 49–123.

<sup>10</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., 222–228. and Radovanović, Milan, *Die organisierte Auswanderung jugoslawischer Juden nach Israel im Kontext des jugoslawisch-sowjetischen Konflikts (1948–1952)*, [https://www.academia.edu/11750030/Die\\_organisierte\\_Auswanderung\\_jugoslawischer\\_Juden\\_nach\\_Israel\\_im\\_Kontext\\_des\\_jugoslawisch-sowjetischen\\_Konflikts\\_1948-1952](https://www.academia.edu/11750030/Die_organisierte_Auswanderung_jugoslawischer_Juden_nach_Israel_im_Kontext_des_jugoslawisch-sowjetischen_Konflikts_1948-1952), January 31st 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Đikanović, Vesna, *Jugoslovenska država i iseljenici – Propagandni rad među iseljenicima u SAD od 1945. do 1948*, Tokovi istorije 1-2 (2005), p. 147.

<sup>12</sup> Shay, Shaul, „Israel and Yugoslavia between East and West”, *Zbornik radova Spoljna politika Jugoslavije 1950–1961*, Beograd 2008, p. 473–474. (cited onward as: Shay, „Israel and Yugoslavia between East and West”...) Hoping to move along the realization of specific foreign-political goals, the USA as well as the Soviet Union recognized Israeli independence in a matter of days. More on the subject: Vestad, Od Arne, *Globalni Hladni rat*, Beograd 2008, p. 171. See in detail: Ovendale, Richie, *Britain, the United States and the end of the Palestine mandate (1942–1948)*, Woodbridge-Wolfboro 1989, p. 301–302; Гедис, Џон Луис, *Хладни рат*, Београд 2003, p. 228–229. и Schaffer, *The Soviet Treatment of Jews...*, p. 13–18.

<sup>13</sup> Petrović, Vladimir, *Jugoslavija stupa na Bliski istok. Stvaranje jugoslovenske bliskoistočne politike 1946–1956*, Beograd 2007, p. 51. (cited onward as: Petrović, *Jugoslavija stupa na Bliski istok...*)

<sup>14</sup> Životić, Aleksandar, „Jugoslavija i Bliski istok (1945–1956)”, *Zbornik radova Spoljna politika Jugoslavije 1950–1961*, Beograd 2008, p. 485–486. See also: Терзић, Милан, „Од признања до прекида (Југославија и Израел 1948–1967)”, *Војноисторијски гласник* 1 (2010), p. 43–47.

<sup>15</sup> Petrović, *Jugoslavija stupa na Bliski istok...*, p. 51–54.

Using the organized emigration to Israel for propaganda purposes meant further developing existing cooperation between Yugoslav state authorities and the Federation of Jewish religious communities.<sup>16</sup> Re-establishing this organization after the war, with it retaining the same right of representing the Jewish community it enjoyed during the interwar period,<sup>17</sup> meant the Federation had formally accepted being part of the socio-political reality of communist Yugoslavia. This kind of outcome was announced even as the war was still going on. Taking part in the National Liberation War (*Narodnooslobodilačka borba*) in large numbers,<sup>18</sup> Yugoslav Jews secured a somewhat privileged position in the state built upon the foundations of communist resistance.<sup>19</sup> Cooperation with state authorities was solidified with members or sympathizers of the Communist party being elected to high ranking positions within the Federation.<sup>20</sup>

The way in which the central organization of Yugoslav Jewry was reestablished after the war was indicative of the way in which the community as a whole was to be reformed. The Communist Party was set on achieving two major goals – secularizing the Jewish community<sup>21</sup> and repressing Zionist ideology.<sup>22</sup> This was to lead to

<sup>16</sup> Towards the process of Jewish integration into Yugoslav post-war state and society see: Kerenji, Emil, *Jewish Citizens of Socialist Yugoslavia: Politics of Jewish Identity in a Socialist State, 1944–1974*, A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History) in The University of Michigan 2008, p. 96–179, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/jewish/jews-yugoslavia.pdf>, January 22nd 2017. and Kerkkänen, Ari, *Yugoslav Jewry: Aspects of post-World War II and post-Yugoslav developments*, Helsinki 2001, p. 39–107.

<sup>17</sup> Ivanković, Mladenka, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952), Kraj ili novi početak*, Beograd 2009, p. 112–113. (cited onward as: Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)...*)

<sup>18</sup> Approximately 4.500 Yugoslav Jews joined in the National Liberation War. Of this number, 3.000 were fighting in the partisan formations, while a further 1.500 participated in different kinds of illegal activities. See Romano, Jaša, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945. Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR*, Beograd 1980, p. 154–155.

<sup>19</sup> Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)...*, 112–113. One should take into account that because of it being relatively small, the Jewish community wasn't perceived as a major threat to the ideological foundations of Yugoslav state and society. See: Boeckh, Kathrin, *Vjerski progoni u Jugoslaviji 1944–1953*, Časopis za suvremenu povijest 2 (2006), p. 426.

<sup>20</sup> As Mladenka Ivanković puts it, participating in the war or being a prisoner of war was seen as somewhat of a unique qualification for attaining high ranking political positions within the Jewish community in post-war Yugoslavia. See: Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)...*, p. 112–113.

<sup>21</sup> More on that: Jončić, Koča, *Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1962, p. 6–30. и Stojković, Ljubiša; Martić, Miloš, *Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1953, p. 211–212.

<sup>22</sup> Antizionism was incorporated into Yugoslav communist ideology following the Soviet example. Lenin was the first to call Zionism a „reactionary concept” far removed from the goal of reestablishing the national homestead of the Jewish people. In viewing Zionism as a political movement dedicated to unifying Jews on an international level, Soviets considered Zionists as being foreigners in their own country. More on that: Schaffer, *The Soviet Treatment of Jews...*, 75. and Kerkkänen, *Yugoslav Jewry...*, p. 44.

fully integrating Jews into post-war Yugoslav society.<sup>23</sup> The results of such a reform, however, turned out to be mostly of a formal nature.<sup>24</sup>

Although they had been officially denounced, the religious aspects of Jewish identity and Zionist ideas kept on shaping much of the community's everyday life. The only real consequence of the reform was an appropriate ideological background being created for public life of the Jewish community. This was especially true of the Federations officials approaching state authorities. The way in which organized emigration to Israel, a prominent manifestation of Zionist ideology, was interpreted so as to be acceptable from the standpoint of Yugoslav communist thought is a shining example.

Asking Yugoslav authorities to grant free emigration rights to local Jews, Federation representatives insisted on this being a simple matter of Yugoslav Jews joining in the fight for preserving Israel's independence.<sup>25</sup> In this way aliyah,<sup>26</sup> probably the most prominent manifestation of Zionist ideology came to be incorporated into an ideological framework of Yugoslav communism, itself built on the foundations of a liberation war.<sup>27</sup>

An appropriate way of interpreting it allowed for Federation officials to use the organized migration process in a way much different to the one in which state authorities intended to do.<sup>28</sup> While state officials focused on diplomacy and internal politics, the Federation was set on securing the position of the Jewish community in communist Yugoslavia. This is why so many of the most prominent ideas of Yugoslav domestic and foreign policy found their way into Federation documents pertaining to the migration process.

<sup>23</sup> Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)*..., p. 128. Organized emigration itself played a very important role in the integration process. More on that: Радовановић, Милан, „Записник са 51. седнице Извршног одбора Савеза јеврејских вероисповедних општина Југославије, одржане 22. јула 1949. године”, *Годишњак за друштвену историју Југославије* (to be published)

<sup>24</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 229.

<sup>25</sup> Kerckänen, *Yugoslav Jewry*..., p. 71. The authentic revolution conducted by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was consequent to a liberation war. The newly formed Jewish state had to defend its independence during a war with surrounding Arab countries. This analogy was used by Federations officials throughout the migration process, as émigrés were consistently defined as „fighters for Israeli independence”. See: Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 229–230.

<sup>26</sup> Aliyah (heb. אֲלִיָּהּ – literally, ascent) is a universal term marking the return of Jews to Palestine or, after 1948, the state of Israel. Indicative of its importance to the Jewish community and in matters of Jewish identity is the existence of the opposite and to a certain degree negative term yerida (heb. יְרִידָה – descent), which refers to migration leaving Palestine or Israel. More on the two terms: Ben-Moshe, Danny; Zohar, Segev, *Israel, the Diaspora and Jewish Identity*, Brighton 2007, p. 324.

<sup>27</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 229.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 225–228.

Although numerous and very complex, all the political ideas appearing in the migration can be boiled down to a few basic ones. Free emigration to Israel<sup>29</sup> was interpreted as a binding gesture for the émigrés, as well as those Jews staying in Yugoslavia.<sup>30</sup> Expectations were that Jews in Yugoslavia would dedicate their lives to state and societal progress. Émigrés, on the other hand, were to be promoters (even ambassadors) of the authentic revolution conducted by Yugoslav communists and the political model which had started developing consequent to Yugoslavia effectively leaving the Eastern Block after 1948.<sup>31</sup>

Farewell ceremonies as part of every single wave of organized emigration were an ideal platform for promoting the complex set of ideas incorporated into of the migration process leading Yugoslav Jews to Israel. At their heart, however, was ideological dualism and a glaring contradiction between Zionism and Yugoslav communism.

### Programs of the farewell ceremonies

Approximately fifteen days before the first wave of migrants headed out for Israel, Federation executives sent a circular letter indicating that the excitement of local communities over the émigrés leaving should be expressed in the form of appropriate farewell ceremonies.<sup>32</sup> This kind of initiative was periodically repeated throughout the migration process.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Continuously insisting on the fact that Jews left Yugoslavia in their own free will, not suffering any kind of pressure at the hands of the regime has to be understood as a kind of indirect criticism directed towards Eastern-Block states, *Ibid*, 227. In terms of migration policy, Bulgaria is the only country that can, although only in part, be compared to Yugoslavia. This migration was, however, interpreted as being an "ideological cleansing" of Bulgarian society, allowing for unwanted elements to leave the country. This made the context being somewhat negative. See: Haskell, *From Sofia to Jaffa...*, p. 120–124.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example: AJHM (Archives of the Jewish historical Museum in Belgrade), AI. (Aliyah) 1950, p.b. (provisional box) 755, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, 26. avgust 1948, Pov. br. 1216/48; AJHM, AI. 1948, p.b. 827, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije*, Predmet: Drugo iseljenje u državu Izrael, 19. februar 1949, Pov. br. 342/49; AJHM, AI. 1949, p.b. 1288, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. I)*, Predmet: Treće iseljenje u državu Izrael, 23. oktobar 1949, Pov. br. 3481/49; AJHM, AI. 1948, p.b. 827, *Dopis svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. I)*, Predmet: Četvrto grupno iseljenje u državu Izrael; AJHM, AI. 1948, p.b. 855, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. I)*, Predmet: Peto grupno iseljenje u državu Izrael, 12. april 1952, Pov. br. 604/52.

<sup>31</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 232–233.

<sup>32</sup> AJHM, AI. 1948, p.b. 856, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije*, Predmet: Odlazak u Izrael – Општај od iseljenika u pojedinim opštinama, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2132/48.

<sup>33</sup> AJHM, AI. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. XXVIII)*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2127/49; AJHM, AI. 1948, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima treće alije*, 4. mart 1950, 953/50.

Although the Federation decided against a mandatory program for the farewell ceremonies,<sup>34</sup> out of respect for the unenviable financial situation local communities found themselves in after the war, some ground rules still had to be established. The ceremonies were to be imprinted by a “warm and friendly” feeling<sup>35</sup> and the same basic ideas that permeated the organized emigration process in general.<sup>36</sup> Instructions directed local communities finally consisted of only two points – émigrés as well as members of the community staying in Yugoslavia had to take part in the ceremony and a public reading of the Federations epistle had to be incorporated into the program.<sup>37</sup>

Only a few complete programs of farewell ceremonies held during the first wave of organized emigration were preserved. These show that, based on scope and content of the farewell ceremonies, local Jewish communities can be divided into three groups. Communities with only a limited budget decided on having the farewell ceremonies in the homes of their members. The program of these ceremonies usually consisted of just a public reading of the Federation epistle and a short meeting during which the émigrés were to say goodbye to community members staying in Yugoslavia.

A modest farewell ceremony was held in the apartment of Ferdinand Senda, president of Jewish religious community (JRC) in Apatin.<sup>38</sup> A public reading of the Federation epistle was followed by the émigrés saying goodbye to members staying in Yugoslavia. The ceremony organized by the Jewish religious community in Karlovac was very similar.<sup>39</sup> In addition, local community executives decided that members staying in Yugoslavia would see off the émigrés when they finally left the Karlovac train station on their way to Israel.<sup>40</sup>

Communities in somewhat better financial standing organized farewell ceremonies that, apart from a public reading of the Federation epistle, consisted of several émigrés and members staying in Yugoslavia giving a speech. Avram Osason, former

<sup>34</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 856, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije*, Predmet: Odlazak u Izrael – Oproštaj od iseljenika u pojedinim opštinama, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2132/48; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. XXVIII)*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2127/49; AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima treće aliје*, 4. mart 1950, 953/50.

<sup>35</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 856, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije*, Predmet: Odlazak u Izrael – Oproštaj od iseljenika u pojedinim opštinama, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2132/48.

<sup>36</sup> See Footnote Nr. 27.

<sup>37</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 856, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije*, Predmet: Odlazak u Izrael – Oproštaj od iseljenika u pojedinim opštinama, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2132/48.

<sup>38</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 880, *Dopis JVO Apatin, SJVOJ-u*, 22. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2422/48.

<sup>39</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 880, *Dopis JVO Karlovac, SJVOJ-u*, 10. decembar 1948.

<sup>40</sup> Towards the way in which émigrés were transported to Israel, see in detail: Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)*..., p. 322–323.

president of the District Court and an administrative clerk with the Justice Ministry of the Republic of Serbia, as well as community president Aleksandar Frank addressed members of the JRC Zemun.<sup>41</sup> In conclusion, a dispatch was sent to the Federation of Jewish religious communities, as well as two telegrams expressing gratitude to Josip Broz Tito and the Government Presidency of the Federal people's republic of Yugoslavia.

Participating in the ceremony organized in Čakovec, apart from local Jews, were also non-Jews that in some way helped out the community during the war.<sup>42</sup> The Federation epistle was read by the community's secretary, while other officials gave an appropriate speech. The morning after, Kaddish was held in front of the monument dedicated to the victims of fascism, in the local cemetery.<sup>43</sup>

The wealthiest among Jewish religious communities in Yugoslavia had the opportunity to furthest develop the basic idea of the Federation on having farewell ceremonies. Reading the Federation epistle and speeches by prominent members of the local community was accompanied by a program of music and reciting poetry. Wealth was, however, not enough to guarantee that a local community would be able to organize an appropriately impressive farewell ceremony. The JRC Mostar is a paradigmatic example of this.

Although far more intricate than other events held in a similar venue, Mostar community officials decided on having the farewell ceremony in the home of one of their members, Jozef Koen.<sup>44</sup> The ceremony had to be appropriately modest, as there were no youths in the community to take part in it.<sup>45</sup> After the Federations epistle was

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<sup>41</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800 (Arhiv Perera 37), *Dopis JVO Zemun, SJVOJ-u*, 30. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2601/48.

<sup>42</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 880, *Dopis JVO Čakovec, SJVOJ-u*, 26. novembar 1948.

<sup>43</sup> Kaddish (קַדִּישׁ Aram. for Holy) is an almost two thousand year old hymn praising God. It is read in Aramaic, while the last stanza is in Hebrew. In its original form, it is read in Jewish communities around the world, three times a day during the year of mourning or the anniversary of a loved person's demise. This hymn was originally intended exclusively for mourning your parents. Over time, however, it grew to be universal. Saying the Kaddish means proclaiming ones devotion to God and readiness to accept his judgment and ones own faith. The Kaddish is comforting for the individual, in that it accents the inevitability of everything that is going to happen to him. Apart from the Kaddish, the Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities also have each their own hymns for the deceased. See: Радовановић, Војислава, „Бет Кеварот – кућа мртвих – јеврејски жалобни обичаји”, *Култура* 138 (2013), p. 432–433.

<sup>44</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1952, p.b. 744, *Program oproštajne svečanosti u subotu, dana 27. novembra 1948, u 07:30 satu uveče, u domu kruga Koen Jozefa, u Mostaru*. The original program of the ceremony was actually quite modest. It is because of this that the home of Jozef Koen was selected as a venue. Although the program was later expanded on, the venue did not change. See: AJHM, Al. 1948–1952, p.b. 744, *Dopis JVO Mostar, SJVOJ-u*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, Oproštaj od iseljenika, 2. decembar 1948. One can assume that a uniquely large discrepancy between the program and the venue of the ceremony was consequence this unique set of circumstances.

<sup>45</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1952, p.b. 744, *Dopis JVO Mostar, SJVOJ-u*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, Oproštaj od iseljenika, 2. decembar 1948.

publicly read, secretary of the Mostar community, Lavoslav Brodman addressed the gathering.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the Hatikvah<sup>47</sup> was intonated, followed by the national anthem of Yugoslavia.<sup>48</sup>

The ceremony organized in Subotica in December of 1948 began with arch-Rabin Josip Geršon addressing the community members.<sup>49</sup> After having the local choir „Hakinor”<sup>50</sup> singing „Halleluiah” the Yugoslav national anthem was intonated. Zoltan Lorant, president of the JRC Subotica, gave a speech and read the Federation epistle. Speeches held by several community members<sup>51</sup> were followed by „Hakinor” singing the „Hatikvah”. During a short buffet lunch, émigrés were given the opportunity to say their goodbyes.<sup>52</sup>

The most elaborate ceremony towards the end of the first wave of migration from Yugoslavia to Israel was organized by the Jewish religious community of Za-

<sup>46</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1952, p.b. 744, *Moja posveta braći koja odlaze u Izrael, Mostar 27. novembar 1948. godine, tužne obljetnice našeg odlaska u internaciju na otok Hvar 1941. godine*– Lavoslav Brodman, sekretar JVO Mostar

<sup>47</sup> Hatikvah (heb. הַתִּקְוָה – hope) is the official national anthem of the state of Israel. The text of the song was written in 1878 by Naftali Herz Imber, a Jewish poet from Złoczów (today Zolochiv, in the Ukraine). Its basis is Imbers poem called Tikvatenu, meaning ”Our Hope”. The Hovevei Zion was the first to adopt the Hatikvah as its official symbol. The first Zionist congress (1897) proclaimed it to be the official anthem of the movement. In May of 1948 the newly formed state of Israel adopted the Hatikvah as one of its unofficial state symbol. With a Kneset amendment passed in November of 2004 it officially became the state anthem of Israel. More on the subject: *Israel National Symbol: National Anthem (HaTikvah)*, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/israeli-national-anthem-hatikvah>, 5. april 2017

<sup>48</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1952, p.b. 744, *Dopis JVO Mostar, SJVOJ-u, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, Oproštaj od iseljenika*, 2. decembar 1948.

<sup>49</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800 (Arhiv Perera 37), *Dopis JVO Subotica, SJVOJ-u*, 1. decembar 1948.

<sup>50</sup> The mixed gender choir „Hakinor” from Subotica, consisting of 26 male and 40 female singers, was regularly in concert after the war. „An evening of Jewish Song” (Veče jevrejskih pesama), a concert in Zagreb on August 26th 1948 was to be their last in Yugoslavia. All „Hakinor” members emigrated with the first wave of Jews leaving Yugoslavia. The choir was however revived after mass migration to Israel had come to a halt, but under a different name, which remains unknown. See: Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)*..., p. 243–244.

<sup>51</sup> Bora Tener, who was to stay in Yugoslavia, recited a poem in Hungarian, after which one of the émigrés, Reze Erdeš, gave a short speech. Insisting on how important the migration process was Erdeš once again mentioned the role to be played by Yugoslav Jews in establishing a stabile, strong and well developing state of Israel. Klara Sekelj, another community member staying in Yugoslavia, recited a short poem after that. More on the ceremony program: . AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800 (Arhiv Perera 37), *Dopis JVO Subotica, SJVOJ-u*, 1. decembar 1948.

<sup>52</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 880, *Dopis JVO Subotica, SJVOJ-u, Predmet: Oproštaj od iseljenika*, 22. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2405/48. The „Hakinor” choir organized a separate ceremony, two weeks after the one organized by the local community, AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800 (Arhiv Perera 37), *Dopis JVO Subotica, SJVOJ-u*, 1. decembar 1948. Seven days after the original farewell ceremony, another one took place, specifically dedicated to Jewish youths leaving the local community.

greb.<sup>53</sup> There were approximately one thousand people present at the gala held in the „Sloboda” movie theater.<sup>54</sup> Members of the local community were addressed by JRC Zagreb president, Arpad Han, while the Federation epistle was publicly read by Bencion Levi. A short musical program<sup>55</sup> was accompanied by speeches from David Levi, on behalf of the community members staying in Yugoslavia, and Slavko Radej, on behalf of the émigrés.<sup>56</sup>

Shortly before the second wave of migrants left Yugoslavia for Israel, the Federation of Jewish religious communities made some adjustments to its original instructions concerning farewell ceremonies.<sup>57</sup> Events, especially the ones organized by larger communities, were to be attended by Federation officials, as well as local government representatives.<sup>58</sup> Although telegrams expressing gratitude towards the Yugoslav government and Josip Broz Tito were sent the previous year too, now the émigrés were directly encouraged to do so. The program of the ceremonies still revolved around a public reading of the Federation epistle. This was, however, also modified to reflect on changes in political reality.

On the eve of the second organized emigration to Israel officials of the JRC Zagreb organized another gala.<sup>59</sup> After the Yugoslav and Israeli national anthems were intoned, Rafael Montiljo, a member of the community Presidium and president of the local Emigration committee gave a speech. During the interludes of the musical program, David Levi, the community secretary, read the Federation epistle. Stevo Fišer said a few words on behalf of local Jews staying in Yugoslavia.

The farewell ceremony organized by the Jewish community of Zemun in 1949 was significantly smaller in scale than the one in Zagreb.<sup>60</sup> Community president Lav Brandajs addressed the gathering, after which he presented the émigrés with fifty two photographs of a monument in the local cemetery dedicated to victims of fascism. These were to be handed to the emigres that left Zemun the previous year. After the epistle was publicly read, a telegram of gratitude was sent to Josip Broz Tito.

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<sup>53</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800, *Dopis JVO Zagreb, SJVOJ-u*, 24. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2423/48.

<sup>54</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800, *Dopis JVO Zagreb, SJVOJ-u*, 7. decembar 1948.

<sup>55</sup> Antonija Gajger-Ajnhorn played two short pieces by Chopin and Bjelinski, while Nada Piliš sang two aria from one of Handels oratoria and Rossinis „Barber of Seville” in addition to the Aleksander Alyabev piece „The Nightingale”. Tomica Rozner recited the poem „Our message”, Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> The full text of the speeches can be found in AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800.

<sup>57</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. XXVIII)*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2127/49.

<sup>58</sup> Federation officials were only supposed to attend, not actively take part in the ceremonies. On the other hand, local government representatives were given the opportunity to address the gathering if they desired to do so, Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> AJHM, Al. 1949, p.b. 752, *Pozivnica za oproštajnu akademiju JVO Zagreb*, 12. jun 1949.

<sup>60</sup> AJHM, Al. 1949, p.b. 753, *Dopis JVO Zemun, SJVOJ-u*, 5. septembar 1949, Pov. br. 3093/49.

Although much more modest than the ones held in 1948 and 1949, farewell ceremonies were an integral part of the organized emigration process up to its very end. The Federation epistle read in March of 1950 is very similar in character to the ones that were previously publicly read, but documents at hand give no further information on ceremonies held as part of the third and subsequent two waves of migrants that left Yugoslavia for Israel.

### **Zionism and socialism – the ones leaving and the ones staying**

For the purpose of writing this paper, the process of organized emigration from Yugoslavia to Israel with all its different aspects was deconstructed and analyzed as consisting of three separate, but mutually intertwined levels.<sup>61</sup> The first level was that of states and Jewish organizations participating in the migration movement. Making up the second level were collectives and groups, while themes pertaining to individuals participating in the emigration were considered within the third and final level.

Farewell ceremonies were an integral part of the first level of deconstruction and one of the prime examples of cooperation between Jewish organizations and the Yugoslav state. Therefore, the ceremonies were defined by a specific dualism of ideas and motives which marked the post-war activities of the Federation of Jewish religious communities of Yugoslavia in general.<sup>62</sup>

The basic assumption in organizing farewell ceremonies, but also for much of the migration process as a whole, was further developing the idea of a transnational community of Yugoslav Jews.<sup>63</sup> The organized emigration movement was supposed to even out the existing imbalance in the number of Yugoslav Jews inhabiting their native land and the newly formed state of Israel.<sup>64</sup> In this way both parts of the community would be equally sharing in the social and political responsibility for the future of Yugoslav Jews.<sup>65</sup> Because of this specific way in which the Jew-

<sup>61</sup> More on that: Radovanović, Milan. „The State, the Organization and the Individual – A three-level Approach to Migration”. *Where is Civil Society in Central Europe heading to?*, Košice 2015, p. 169–187.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, p. 171–175.

<sup>63</sup> This idea is to be found in a large number of documents pertaining to the organized emigration of Jews from Yugoslavia to Israel. See for instance: AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2131/48; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2126/49; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. XXVIII)*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, , 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2127/49; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima treće alije*, 4. mart 1950, Pov. br. 953/50.

<sup>64</sup> On the decrease of the number of Jews living in Yugoslavia and the inversing rise in the number of Yugoslav Jews living in Israel, consequent to the organized migration movement, see: Радовановић, „Поједини статистички аспекти...”, p. 66.

<sup>65</sup> See footnote Nr. 64.

ish community of Yugoslavia was defined, the organized emigration to Israel was treated as a rite of passage.<sup>66</sup> The farewell ceremonies must therefore be viewed as the end of the separation phase within the rite of passage at hand.<sup>67</sup> The basic assumption was that Jews were not leaving the Yugoslav community, but rather by emigrating taking up a new role within the existing social framework. This was true of officials of the Federation of Jewish religious communities, as well as of highest ranking state officials. Their interpretations of the process at hand were, however, differed significantly.

Federation officials called upon local communities to organize farewell ceremonies, once again with the intent of achieving two goals that for the most part defined the engagement of the central organization of Yugoslav Jews within the migration to Israel – enabling Jews to freely leave the country and securing the position of the community staying in Yugoslavia.<sup>68</sup> In this sense, epistles read to émigrés as part of the farewell ceremonies were a kind of political manifesto.<sup>69</sup> This document centers on the specific difference in roles expected to be played by émigrés and the Jews staying in Yugoslavia.

Federation officials viewed the organized emigration process as simply being the basic Zionist idea of Jews returning to their homeland coming to fruition.<sup>70</sup> The transnational character of the Yugoslav Jewish community was in this sense understood to be based on personal or family ties between individuals leaving the country and those staying in Yugoslavia. The rite of passage entailed trading in a lifetime spent in exile for finally living in the national state of the Jewish people.

Although primarily defined by its ideological alternative,<sup>71</sup> farewell ceremonies were a unique opportunity for accenting Zionist ideas in their unaltered form within the organized emigration of Jews from Yugoslavia to Israel. Perhaps best represent-

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<sup>66</sup> The term „rite of passage” refers to a ritual or ceremony marking a key moment of change in the life of an individual. More on the meaning of the term: Лома, Александар, *Предговор*, XVIII–XX In: ван Генеп, Арнолд, *Обреди прелаза – Систематско изучавање ритуала*, Београд 1995. (cited onward as: ван Генеп, *Обреди прелаза...*) On migration as a form of rite of passage, see: Kaplan, Bernice, „Migration as a Rite of Passage”, *Estudios de Antropología Biológica* 1 (1982), p. 495–502.

<sup>67</sup> Arnold van Gennep recognizes three phases or rituals within every single rite of passage – separation (detaching from the individuals original social status), liminality (the period marked by the change is social status ensuing) and aggregation (accepting the individuals new social status). See: ван Генеп, *Обреди прелаза...*, p. 15. Farewell ceremonies are a perfect example of what van Gennep has defined as a separation ritual, *Ibid*, p. 25.

<sup>68</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 230–234.

<sup>69</sup> АЈНМ, А1. 1948, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2131/48; АЈНМ, А1. 1948. p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2126/49; АЈНМ, А1. 1948, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima treće aliје*, 4. mart 1950, 953/50.

<sup>70</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 228–231.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*.

ing this fact is the "Hatikvah" being an integral part of most farewell ceremonies.<sup>72</sup> Although it was performed as the official state anthem of Israel, the role played by the "Hatikvah" in the Zionist movement can hardly be overlooked.<sup>73</sup> This was in much the same way as the organized emigration process in general could not be separated from the general context of Zionism, even if it was officially interpreted in a very different way.<sup>74</sup>

The speech given by Andrija Alpar in December of 1948 as part of the farewell ceremony organized in Belgrade can also be considered a specific effort made to promote Zionist ideas.<sup>75</sup> Although he did reflect on the political reality of post war Yugoslavia, Alpar was primarily focused on the future development of Israel. His assumptions on the role to be played by Yugoslav immigrants in the newly independent Jewish state, however, significantly differed from the official position of the Federation. By omitting all off the previously voiced ambitions of being ambassadors of Yugoslav foreign and domestic policy, Alpar understood the migration in an almost exclusively Zionist way. His speech also shows the Yugoslav Jews internal understanding of the migration being far removed from the kind of goals proclaimed in Federation documents.

Apart from focusing on what was expected of the Jews moving from Yugoslavia to Israel, farewell ceremonies were also utilized to clearly state what the duties of members of the community staying in the country were. The Federation used the opportunity to once again state its enduring allegiance to the socialist regime and complete commitment to further developing the ideas post-war Yugoslavia was built on. One of the best examples of this commitment was indirectly insisting on émigrés sending a telegram of gratitude to Josip Broz Tito<sup>76</sup> and the Yugoslav government.

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<sup>72</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1952, p.b. 744, *Program oproštajne svečanosti u subotu, dana 27. novembra 1948, u 07:30 satu uveče, u domu kruga Koen Jozefa, u Mostaru.*; AJHM, Al. 1949, p.b. 752, *Pozivnica za oproštajnu akademiju JVO Zagreb*, 12. jun 1949.

<sup>73</sup> See Footnote Nr. 45.

<sup>74</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 240.

<sup>75</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 856, *Govor Andrije Alpara prilikom oproštajne priredbe jugoslovenske alije*, 5. decembar 1948.

<sup>76</sup> In the Federation epistle, the leader of the Communist party of Yugoslavia was defined as a symbol of true internationalism and one of the key factors in finding an appropriate solution for the national question in post-war Yugoslavia in general, thereby helping the Jewish national question being resolved. Free migration which was in itself considered a manifestation of internationalism, the Federation's epistle from 1949 directly related to Josip Broz Tito. Relating Tito to the Yugoslav government was simply one more aspect of the Federation proclaiming its loyalty to the state. See: AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim jevrejskim veroispovednim opštinama Jugoslavije (Cirkular br. XXVIII)*, Predmet: Odlazak u državu Izrael, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2127/49.

<sup>77</sup> In a circular letter to emigres leaving the country at the end of 1948 Federation executives pointed out that an initiative to send a telegram to Josip Broz is expected to spontaneously come from

How much ideas specific to Yugoslav foreign and domestic policy, although obviously present, deviated from the way in which the Jewish community perceived the organized emigration process is best shown by ceremonies held for Federation officials leaving the country. In March of 1950, before David Alkalaj<sup>78</sup> and Martin Komloš made their way to Israel with the third wave of organized emigration, a joint session of the Executive and Autonomous board of the Federation was held.<sup>79</sup> It was pointed out that executives of the central Jewish organization of Yugoslavia staying in the country could only hope that the departure of their two colleagues would not significantly impact the way in which the Federation functioned. The role played by Alkalaj and Komloš in revitalizing the Jewish community in post-war Yugoslavia and in preparing the organized emigration to Israel was also pointed out.<sup>80</sup>

While Federation executives clearly differentiated between the roles to be played émigrés and members of the Jewish community staying in Yugoslavia, state authorities saw no need for making such a distinction. Jews not leaving the country were simply defined as being an integral part of the socio-political reality of post-war Yugoslavia. The émigrés, on the other hand, were expected to that very same socio-political reality in the newly founded state of Israel. The transnational character of the Yugoslav Jewish community was defined as a basic redistribution of duties.<sup>81</sup> State authorities understood the change occurring with organized emigration to be, for all intents and purposes, simply a formal one. Up until that moment, Jews were "working on the post-war restoration of the Yugoslav state", while after the rite of

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arise, *Ibid.* See: AJHM, Al. 1948, p.b. 800 (Arhiv Perera 37), *Dopis JVO Zemun, SJVOJ-u*, 30. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2601/48.

<sup>78</sup> David Alkalaj (Belgrade, October 19<sup>th</sup> 1897) was a lawyer by trade. During the interwar period, he served as secretary to the local Zionist organization and deputy president of the JRC Belgrade. December of 1939 he was appointed as acting president of the Belgrade community, remaining in office until April of 1941, when he was led off into captivity by German occupying forces. Post war, he was elected as president of the JRC Belgrade. This office he held until leaving the country for Israel, in March of 1950. Arriving in Israel, he joined the Hitachdut Olei Yugoslavia. He initiated planting the Garden of the Righteous and served as chief of the Department of the Righteous with the Jad Vashem and a member of the committee deciding on applications. Post 1957 he was editor in chief of the magazine "Israel", published by the Israeli embassy in Belgrade. He also spent some time as a Serbo-Croatian language radio announcer for the foreign domain radio station "Voice of Israel". See: Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)...*, p. 108.

<sup>79</sup> AJHM, p.b. 781 (Arhiv Perera 2-3), *Zapisnik svečane sednice JO SJVOJ i AO*, 7. mart 1950.

<sup>80</sup> For his merits in reestablishing the Jewish community in Yugoslavia after the Second World War had come to its end and his work within the JRC of Belgrade, David Alkalaj was proclaimed life long honorary president of the local community, while Martin Komloš was to serve as honorary vice-president. See: Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952)...*, p. 72.

<sup>81</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2131/48; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2126/49; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima treće alije*, 4. mart 1950, Pov. br. 953/50.

passage they were to take upon themselves to deliver the message of Yugoslav socialism in the state of Israel.

Federation executives defined the farewell ceremonies so as to deliver the idea of two parts of one and the same Yugoslav Jewish communities existing – one in Yugoslavia and the other in Israel. This idea was ultimately only to serve the purpose of promoting ideas typical to Yugoslav foreign policy, post 1948.<sup>82</sup> Émigrés becoming members of the Hitachdut Olei and later playing an active role in this organization was to serve the same purpose.<sup>83</sup> The propaganda value of organized migration to Israel was, taking into account the objective circumstances, limited at best.<sup>84</sup> Certain steps were, however, taken towards realising this idea. Mid 1950, the Hitachdut Olei was assigned with the duty of distributing propaganda leaflets and similar materials among the Yugoslav community in Israel.<sup>85</sup>

The importance of having the émigrés take part in promoting the basic ideas of Yugoslav domestic and foreign policy is perhaps best shown by the epistle of the Federation being continuously re-written, so as the appropriately represent the most dominant aspects of it.<sup>86</sup> Ceremonies held as part of the first organized emigration wave were permeated by the idea of Yugoslav émigrés taking part in the war for preserving the newly proclaimed independence of Israel.<sup>87</sup> Any kind of future engagement towards spreading specific political ideas and actively participating in the future development of the Jewish state were to wait until its sovereignty was proven to be lasting.

As of mid 1949 Israeli authorities were focused on stabilizing the newly formed state through dealing with practical problems. This meant dealing with general questions arising from establishing a completely new political entity, as well as those specifically pertaining to the Jewish state.<sup>88</sup> The Federation epistle was, appropriately

<sup>82</sup> Even when the farewell ceremony did not allow for state anthems to be played, the same basic idea was represented by émigrés and Jews staying in Yugoslavia alternately addressing the crowd.

<sup>83</sup> Archives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia (1950), b. 46, f. 11, d. 47628 (p. 4)

<sup>84</sup> See Footnote Nr. 15.

<sup>85</sup> AJHM, AI. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2131/48.

<sup>86</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., 232.

<sup>87</sup> AJHM, AI. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 14. novembar 1948, Pov. br. 2131/48.

<sup>88</sup> Much has been written on this subject. Different problems making up this general issue have been addressed, although primarily pertaining to the example of Soviet Jews settling in Israel, in articles from the following publication: Bade, Klaus; Troen, Ilan, *Zuwanderung und Eingliederung von Deutschen und Juden aus der früheren Sowjetunion in Deutschland und Israel*, Bonn 1993. Towards that, see also: Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah, *The Absorption of Immigrants – A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel*, London 1954. and Horowitz, Tamar, „Von Zugewanderten zu Mitgliedern der Gemeinschaft: Juden aus der ehemaligen Sowjetunion

modified to suit these circumstances.<sup>89</sup> While at first defined as being fighters (in part so as to rectify the need for an organized emigration movement as such),<sup>90</sup> as of the second organized emigration wave Yugoslav Jews were also depicted as builders.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusion

Executives of the Federation of Jewish religious communities had envisioned farewell ceremonies as a symbolic gesture marking the departure of émigrés leaving Yugoslavia for Israel between 1948 and 1952. This very basic idea was, however, concealing a number of far more complex one. The ceremonies turned out to be a unique platform for displaying the specific dualism of Zionist and ideas at the heart of Yugoslav socialism which permeated the organized emigration process in general.

Federation instructions pertaining to farewell ceremonies were strictly of a general nature. Because of gaping differences in financial situation and number of members after the war, local communities were left to organize the farewell ceremonies in the way most suiting them. The most modest of farewell ceremonies were the ones held in the homes of local executives or community members, while the gala organized by the JRC Zagreb was by far the most lavish.

The Federation of Jewish religious communities was intent on using the farewell ceremonies to once again show how completely devoted it was to achieving two basic goals – free emigration to Israel and securing the future of Jews staying in Yugoslavia. It was Federation executives attempting to make the Jewish community an integral part of the ideologically homogenous society of post-war Yugoslavia that actually led to specific goals of state foreign and domestic policy taking their place in the migration process.

The basic assumption of Yugoslav state as well as Federation executives was preserving the unity of the Jewish community. Accordingly, the organized emigration was seen as a simple re-distribution of population between two parts of one and the same community, one resident in Israel and the other one in Yugoslavia. It was in this

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in Israel”, *Migrations- und integrationspolitik gegenüber „gleichstämmigen” Zuwanderern*, Beiträge der Akademie für Migration und Integration, Heft 3, Osnabrück 1999, p. 51–73.

<sup>89</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2126/49; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima treće alije*, 4. mart 1950, Pov. br. 953/50.

<sup>90</sup> Радовановић, „Ционизам и прагматизам”..., p. 229–230.

<sup>91</sup> AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima koji odlaze u državu Izrael*, 19. jun 1949, Pov. br. 2126/49; AJHM, Al. 1948–1951, p.b. 768, *Dopis SJVOJ, svim iseljenicima treće alije*, 4. mart 1950, Pov. br. 953/50. Permission given to population of working age to migrate to Israel at a time when Yugoslavia was itself struggling to rebuild what was ravaged by war was defined as a manifestation of the Yugoslav government being totally committed to furthering relations with the newly established Jewish state.

sense that interpretations of the organized emigration as a rite of passage, the farewell ceremonies being a symbolical conclusion to the separation phase, differed too.

The Federation of Jewish religious communities viewed the organized emigration as being, simply a part of a much broader migration process representing the basic Zionist idea of returning home. Within this process two basic goals were to be achieved – free migration to Israel and securing the position of Jews remaining in post-war Yugoslavia. Migration as a rite of passage was in this context to be understood as the simple task of returning from a life in Diaspora, which was at the very heart of aliyah. On the other hand, as the migration process was defined by the specific context, migrating also meant giving up the socio-political circumstances of post-war Yugoslavia and embracing the state of Israel, built upon a foundation of Zionist thought. Farewell ceremonies were one of only few occasions which allowed for representing Zionist ideas in their basic form.

The Yugoslav government defined the rite of passage as a simple functional change. Yugoslav Jews were never to leave an ideological system of domestic and foreign policy, but simply to trade in one role they played within in for another. While in Yugoslavia they were workers set on rebuilding the state, in Israel they were to be ambassadors of specific ideas.

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## Резиме

др Милан Радовановић

### **Hello, goodbye<sup>92</sup> – Опроштајне свечаности у оквирима организованог исељавања Јевреја из Југославије у Израел (1948-1952)**

Успешан завршетак сваког појединачног таласа организованог исељавања из Југославије у Израел, на изричито инсистирање челника Савеза јеврејских вероисповедних општина, обележаван је пригодном опроштајном свечаношћу Церемоније су, при томе, представљале идеалну прилику за циљано пласирање специфичних идеја које су дефинисале масовну емиграцију у целини. Са друге стране, читав процес представљао је својеврсни обред прелаза, а опроштајне свечаности церемонијални завршетак фазе сепарације. Различита очекивања југословенског државног врха и јеврејске заједница од исељавања довела су, међутим, и до јасне разлике у начину на које је емиграција, као обред прелаза, перципирана. Савез јеврејских вероисповедних општина Југославије организовано исељавање посматрао је као процес одвајања Јевреја који остају у земљи да би постали саставни део друштва утемељеног на социјалистичким начелима, од оних који су у Израел одлазили у склопу процеса утемељеног на идејама ционизма. Државни врх није видео потребу за прављењем овакве разлике. И Јевреји у Југославији, као и они који су одлучили да се упуте у Израел сматрани су делом истог контекста – исељеници као својеврсни амбасадори свих специфичности југословенске политике у новоствореној држави на Блиском истоку, а остали као радници на послератној обнови земље на темељима социјалистичке идеје. Овако специфичан сплет учинио је опроштајне свечаности далеко комплекснијим феноменом него што је првобитно очекивано. Овај рад настоји да разјасни начин на који су сложене околности организованог исељавања Јевреја из Југославије у Израел уклопљене у оквире опроштајних свечаности. Посебно је анализиран специфичан идеолошки паралелизам који су одражавале, као и њихов карактер својеврсног обреда прелаза. Рад је највећим делом написан на основу докумената који се чувају у Архиву Јеврејског историјског музеја у Београду.

**Кључне речи:** опроштај, свечаности, емиграција, Југославија, Јевреји

<sup>92</sup> Наслов сингла и истоимене песме групе Битлс (The Beatles) из 1967. године.