

IV. WESTERN EUROPE

By MAURICE J. GOLDBLOOM¹

A. FRANCE

Of the 300,000 Jews who lived in France in 1939, some 180,000 survived the war. Nazi anti-Semitism was no less in France than in Poland, but the solidarity of their Catholic and Protestant compatriots protected many of the Jews of France from its worst rigors. Moreover, it was not till the Allied landing in North Africa that the Nazi occupation was extended to the entire country and the Vichy regime never dared, in its own name, to carry out the full Nazi policy. Nevertheless, approximately 120,000 Jews were deported from France to concentration camps in central and eastern Europe. Only about 5,000 returned. (Of these, perhaps the most prominent was former Premier Leon Blum.)

Although a majority of the Jews of France survived the Nazi occupation, many of them were rendered destitute by the action of the Nazis and their puppets. Jews were dismissed from positions in government and private employment, deprived of their property, barred from their professions. Many were imprisoned in concentration camps in France. Thousands of others were forced to go into hiding. Deportees, on returning, discovered that their homes had been occupied by others, their means of livelihood destroyed, their personal property dissipated.

Recovery and Reconstruction

The problem of reintegrating the Jews into the national life of France was therefore not a simple one, despite the good will of the government and the great majority of the French people. Even before V-E day the Provisional Government had, by decree, annulled all the anti-Semitic

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laws of the Vichy regime and all transfers of property which had taken place in accordance with them. But the implementation of these laws did not always fully keep pace with the intention behind them. And even in the laws themselves, not all cases were fully covered. Thus, Jews were not entitled to recover their apartments if these were occupied by war widows or members of certain other categories. And to regain possession of their properties from purchasers who had paid a fair price, or who had acquired the properties without knowledge of their origin, it was necessary for Jewish owners to repay the full amount of the purchase price to the possessors.

Nevertheless, the provisions for the restitution of recoverable property have, on the whole, proved fairly adequate. Moreover, all Jewish employees whom the Vichy regime had dismissed from the government service were reinstated by a decree of December 2, 1945. (Large numbers had been reinstated in fact even prior to the issuance of this decree.)

The restitution of Jewish property led to the formation of a number of organizations through which the possessors of such property endeavored to protect their spoils. These organizations engaged in a certain amount of overt anti-Semitic propaganda, and received some encouragement from a few politicians of the Right. But they had little popular support, since the Nazi ideology had never penetrated very far in France. And the government, alert to the dangers which were involved, took prompt measures to suppress them. There was, nevertheless, some sabotage of restitution by minor officials, since many of these were themselves the possessors of confiscated Jewish property. In particular, this was true among the police.

Not all of the Jews in France, however, were immediately able to become self-supporting. The economic recovery of France was slow, and there were great difficulties for those who had to reconstruct their lives almost without resources. Furthermore, some 80,000 were not French citizens, and hence ineligible for government assistance, although most of them had been residents of France before. At the same time they received no aid from UNRRA, which did not operate in France. For this group, the help of the Joint Distribution Committee has been invaluable. Altogether,

one-third of all the Jews in France have needed assistance of one sort or another.

Jewish cultural and religious life, of course, suffered severely during the occupation. Rabbis and cultural leaders were particular targets of the Nazi invaders, and many of them were killed, so that today there is a serious shortage in these categories. In Alsace, one of the principal centers of French Jewry, the situation was particularly bad. This region was annexed outright to Germany, and the Nazi anti-Semitic laws were applied in their full rigor. Almost all the Jews fled or were deported from this region, and many major Jewish cultural institutions were wiped out. This has created some difficulties in the reconstitution of Jewish communal life, especially since a large part of the Jews who returned to Alsace from other areas were destitute.

Political Status

The reintegration of Jews into French economic life, and the reconstitution of Jewish cultural and religious institutions, have thus presented certain difficulties, although in both respects substantial progress has been made. In the political field, however, there have been few obstacles to the resumption by Jews of their proper place as French citizens. In France, where democracy and Jewish emancipation have been closely associated at every stage since the Revolution of 1789, the restoration of the former carried with it almost automatically the restoration of full and equal citizenship to the Jews. Moreover, the active part played by French Jews in the resistance movement had, if anything, increased the solidarity between them and their compatriots. The absence of anti-Semitism as a political force in France today is clear from the important role played by such Jews as Leon Blum, Salomon Grumbach, René Mayer, Daniel Mayer and René Cassin in French public life.

Perhaps especially interesting is the fact that in the first elections for the Constituent Assembly the Arabs of French North Africa — in both the "citizen" and "non-citizen" categories — showed themselves free from political anti-Semitism, since they voted overwhelmingly for the Socialist Party, a number of whose prominent leaders are Jews.

One of the major problems in French political life during the past year has been the drafting of a new constitution. The constitution prepared by the Constituent Assembly contained a number of innovations in regard to the protection of the rights of man. It offered a Bill of Rights which, while in the great tradition of the French and American Revolutions, was adjusted to meet the new needs which had become evident in recent years. While the Constitution was rejected by the French voters in a referendum on May 5, 1946, this was due to disputes over other provisions. On the rights of man there was little if any dispute, most of the provisions contained in this section having been adopted by the Constituent Assembly with the support of all parties. It is therefore highly probable that these provisions will appear unchanged in the revised Constitution which will be drawn up by the new Constituent Assembly.

A number of these provisions prohibit discrimination. Thus, Article 13 states: "No one can be disturbed because of his origin, his opinions, or beliefs in religious, philosophical, or political matters. Freedom of conscience and religious sects is guaranteed by the neutrality of the state in regard to all beliefs and all sects. This is guaranteed notably by separation of the church and state as well as by the assignment to lay authorities of all powers and public education."

Equality of rights in respect to employment is guaranteed by Article 18, which provides that: "Access to public functions, without other condition than those of capacities, aptitudes, and talents, is open to all subjects of the French Union enjoying political rights endowed by the present Constitution with the quality of citizenship. Access to all professions, situations, and private employment is open under the same conditions to all subjects of the French Union and, in the absence of special regulation fixed by law, to any person living legally in the French Union. For equality of work, functions, rank, and responsibilities, everyone has the right to equality of moral and material station."

This is supplemented by Article 26, which declares: "Every man has the duty to work and the right to obtain employment. His employment must in no way be prejudiced by reason of his origins, his opinions, and his beliefs."

Reinforcing these provisions, Article 38 states: "No one

must be placed in a position of economic, social, or political inferiority contrary to his dignity or be allowed to be exploited by reason of sex, age, color, nationality, religion, opinions, or racial or other origins. Exercise of liberties and rights recognized for all nationals of the French Union implies condemnation of every practice of forced labor derogatory to the legal regime of work on metropolitan territory. All propaganda contrary to the above-mentioned disposition will be punished by law."

The Constitution also contains a number of provisions designed to guarantee economic security and justice, as well as provisions protecting such traditional rights as freedom of speech and press, freedom from arbitrary arrest and search, and so forth. Moreover, Article 6 provides, in accordance with France's traditional role as a land of refuge for the persecuted, that: "Any man persecuted in violation of the freedoms and rights guaranteed by the present declaration has the right of asylum in the territories of this republic."

Few French Jews have indicated any desire to emigrate, whether to Palestine or elsewhere. Indeed, France is one of the few European countries which offers a substantial possibility for Jewish immigration. The French government is anxious to secure immigrants in certain categories, in view of France's long-term trend toward a declining population. Unfortunately, however, the opportunities of France as a country of immigration for Jews are sharply limited by the fact that the country's greatest need is for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers in heavy industry, a category in which relatively few Jews fall. On the other hand, there are few openings in France for professional or white collar workers.

The French Jewish community has a very active organizational life. Its principal pre-war organizations — the Consistoire Central des Israelites de France, the Federations des Sociétés Juives de France, and the Alliance Israelite Universelle, as well as the various Zionist parties and other Jewish political groups — continued their activities underground during the occupation. In addition, a number of new groups were formed for specific purposes, among them the Comité General de Defense des Juifs, and the Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entr'aide. The principal

organizations were brought together for common action in the Conseil Représentatif des Israélites de France (CRIF), under the presidency of Judge Leon Meiss, who is also president of the Consistoire.

B. BELGIUM

Of the 100,000 Jews who lived in Belgium before the war, some 30,000 survived at the end of the war in Europe. Most of them came through the war because of the aid they received from Belgians of other faiths who hid and otherwise protected them. Of 37,500 who were deported, only 1,700 returned from concentration camps.

Of the Jews who survived in Belgium less than a third were Belgian citizens. Some of the non-citizens, however, were born in Belgium but had retained the nationality of their parents; most of them had lived in Belgium for many years before the outbreak of the war.

Few if any of the Jews of Belgian nationality, or those who had been domiciled in Belgium before the war, have indicated any desire to emigrate. For its part, the government has made no distinction whatsoever between Jews and non-Jews, and it has welcomed back not only its Jewish citizens but all those foreign Jews who had been domiciled in Belgium before the war. Many of the latter were engaged in the diamond industry of Antwerp, whose revival has been actively encouraged by the government.

A problem of emigration has, however, existed in regard to two categories. The first of these consists of a group of about 5,000 German and Austrian refugees, who had reached Belgium during the years between 1933 and 1939, but had not established themselves in Belgium by the outbreak of the war. While they have been well-treated by the Belgian government, and have all the rights of other resident aliens, they have faced relatively difficult economic problems. Even worse is the position of some 2,000 displaced persons who entered Belgium from Germany, for the most part clandestinely, during the past year. The members of this latter group have no legal status in the country, and would have been deported to Germany if the Joint Distribution Committee had not given a guarantee that they would not become

public charges. At the same time, their temporary status has prevented them from integrating themselves into the economic life of the country, and many of them have consequently been dependent on the J.D.C. for support. A study made of this group indicates that some fifty per cent of the displaced Jews in Belgium wish to go to Palestine; eighteen per cent to the United States, sixteen per cent to the U. S. S. R., and the remainder to other countries.

In the matter of restitution, Belgian policy has been based on equal treatment for Belgians of all faiths. Belgian law recognizes the Jewish religion as one of the four faiths which are entitled to state subsidies for their religious activities; otherwise it makes no distinction between Jews and non-Jews, considering all as Belgians. While Belgian law has made it relatively easy for those who lost their property under the Nazis to recover it, there has consequently been no provision for the passage to the Jewish community of unclaimed Jewish property, and there is not likely to be.

The principal organization of the Belgian Jewish community is the Consistoire Central Israelite de Belgique. This body, which consists of elected representatives from the various communities, administers the state subsidy, but takes no part in such problems as restitution. These are dealt with by various special committees set up for specific purposes.

Numerous war criminals and collaborators have been punished for crimes against Jews. Perhaps the most spectacular case was the trial of twenty-one guards at the Breendonck concentration camp, which resulted in a number of sentences of death or life imprisonment.

C. THE NETHERLANDS

Before the war there were between 125,000 and 150,000 Jews in the Netherlands. (Since the census included no figures on the number of Jews, this is necessarily only an estimate.) Of these, some 25,000 were not of Dutch nationality; most of the rest were descended from families which had been in the country for centuries. Today approximately 30,000 Jews remain, of whom some 4,250 are of foreign na-

tionality—mostly stateless Jews of German origin. Few of those who were deported during the occupation survived, and the Nazi civil government under Seyss-Inquart was more severe in its persecution of the Jews than were the military governments in Belgium and France. Moreover, while many Netherlands citizens of other faiths showed great solidarity with their Jewish compatriots, this did not occur on as large a scale as in France and Belgium.

Jewish religious and cultural life has been completely disrupted; of some twenty rabbis, only three have survived, and there is a similar situation in respect to religious teachers. The leaders of pre-war Jewish life have almost disappeared from the scene; most of them lost their lives, while others participated in the Jewish Council set up by the Nazis. There has been violent controversy in regard to the activities of this body, some maintaining that it did serious damage to the Jews by collaborating with the occupying authorities, while others insist that it succeeded in saving the lives of thousands of Jews. A Jewish Court of Honor has been set up to inquire into the matter. But those Jewish leaders who participated in the activities of the Jewish Council have, irrespective of the merits of their activities, become alienated from the mass of the Jewish community.

The principal Jewish organization in the Netherlands today is the Jewish Coordination Commission, the chairman of which is Dr. S. Kleerekooper. This organization has engaged in legal activities on behalf of Jewish interests, and has also performed such functions as tracing families and gathering information. It has distributed a certain amount of relief, but this function has been relatively unimportant, both since most Dutch Jews are self-supporting, and because the government has given adequate relief to those who need it.

Many Dutch Jews desire to emigrate. In part, this is a result of their experiences during the war, and of the fact that a certain amount of anti-Semitism appears to have developed among some sections of the Dutch population, especially those who profited by the spoliation of the Jews and are now being forced to restore their ill-gotten gains. (There is, however, nothing in the way of organized anti-Semitism in the Netherlands, and there is no trace of anti-

Semitism in government policy.) But more fundamentally, this desire is due to circumstances which affect non-Jews as well. For the economy of the Netherlands was seriously disrupted by the war. Both agriculture and industry within the country itself suffered considerable damage from military action. Moreover, the Netherlands were largely dependent for their prosperity on their empire, and the most important sections of this have shown a strong desire for independence. Hence many Netherlanders of all faiths feel little confidence that their country will offer as much economic opportunity in the future as in the past.

D. LUXEMBOURG

Before the war there were approximately 3,800 Jews living in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Most of these were of German or Alsatian origin; about 1,200 were refugees who had entered the Grand Duchy from Germany between 1933 and 1939. Thus the Grand Duchy received, in those six years, refugees equal to five per cent of its population.

At the outset of the Nazi occupation, some 1,800 Jews escaped from Luxembourg to France, whence some succeeded in reaching England or America, while others were able to hide themselves during the occupation, and still others were seized and deported. About a thousand Jews who left Luxembourg for France during the occupation were also deported, and 935 were sent directly from Luxembourg to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, from which only thirty returned. Of the Jews who remained in Luxembourg during the occupation, only 62 escaped deportation. Since its liberation, the Grand Duchy has readmitted some 800 Jews who had escaped, of whom about half were citizens of Luxembourg, while the others were of foreign nationality, but had had permission to reside in the Grand Duchy before the war. Between 100 and 150 are still awaiting repatriation.

A certain amount of "Jew-consciousness" remains as a result of the occupation. Some problems have also arisen as a result of the fact that many minor government functionaries continued to serve under the occupation, and still retain their offices. Some conflicts have also arisen in connection with restitution.

E. ITALY

Anti-Semitism was never popular in Italy, even in most Fascist circles, and while Mussolini eventually adopted discriminatory measures, the persecution of the Jews in Italy never approached the level it reached in Germany. Moreover, the Vatican did much to protect the Italian Jews from persecution. As a result, the bulk of the Italian Jews survived the war. Most of them, however, suffered severe economic dislocation. This is even truer of the 24,000 non-Italian Jews at present in Italy than it is of the 28,000 Italian Jews.

A substantial beginning has been made in the reintegration of the Jews into Italian economic life. All anti-Semitic laws have been revoked; Jews have been restored to positions from which they were dismissed, and substantial progress has been made in the restitution of Jewish property. Both the Italian government and the Italian people have displayed a favorable attitude in these matters.

The number of refugees and displaced persons in Italy has tended to increase, because many of these have used Italy as a stepping-stone to Palestine. Many of them have, of course, been without resources of their own. The basic responsibility for their support has been undertaken by UNRRA, and the Joint Distribution Committee has also given emergency assistance.

The use of Italy as a headquarters for "illegal immigration" to Palestine has given rise to certain problems — especially in view of the major part that British forces play in the occupation of Italy.

This situation came to a head in the *Fede* incident, when the ship *Fede*, loaded with refugees bound for Palestine but lacking immigration certificates, was seized at the port of La Spezia. After a hunger strike of the refugees, and a sympathetic hunger strike of leaders of the Palestine Jewish community, the incident was settled by Britain's agreement to grant certificates to all those on board.

One incident which aroused world-wide comment was the conversion to Catholicism of the Chief Rabbi of Rome, Dr. Israel Zolli. His action, however, seems to have found few imitators in the Italian Jewish community.

Most of the displaced Jews, but relatively few Italian Jews, desire to emigrate. The situation of the Italian Jews is, on the whole, dependent on that of the Italian economy. If this recovers rapidly, there will be little difficulty in reintegrating Italian Jews into it. But if it continues to exist on its present depressed level, Italian Jews, like other Italians, will suffer.

F. SWITZERLAND

Switzerland served, both before and during the war, as a major country of refuge for persecuted Jews. Most of these were in transit, but during the war the number living in Switzerland reached 30,000. Of these some 12,000 have already returned to the countries where they previously resided. The largest group of those who have returned consisted of French Jews who had sought refuge in Switzerland during the war. Those refugees who remain are not entitled to domicile in Switzerland, and must find homes in other countries. The Swiss government holds that the country is unable to absorb them into its economic life. Meanwhile, however, it has been providing support in special camps to those who were without means of their own.

A major problem of interest to Jews arose in connection with the disposal of German assets in Switzerland. The Swiss government and the Allies were for a long time unable to agree either on what were to be considered German assets, or on who was to get them. The Allies claimed the right to seize these assets for reparations, as the legal successors of the German government; the Swiss claimed that German assets in Switzerland were less than German obligations to Switzerland, and should be applied to the satisfaction of these obligations. Since the inter-allied reparations agreement provided for the assignment of \$25,000,000 of German assets in neutral countries to the rehabilitation of victims of Nazi persecution, it was of importance to the Jews of Europe that this money should become available as soon as possible. But in the absence of an agreement between Switzerland and the Allies, these funds were tied up.

Another respect in which this problem affected Jews saw the status of the assets held in Switzerland by Jews originally

of German nationality. Pending the negotiation of an agreement with the Allies as to German assets, the Swiss government blocked all funds belonging to this category. And in the blocked assets, the government included those belonging to German Jews. The Jewish community maintained that this involved a serious injustice, since the owners of these assets had long been deprived of the protection of German nationality, and should therefore certainly not be called on to bear the burdens attendant on it. These provisions were gradually modified by the Swiss government, which first exempted from the blocking of assets all those who had been expatriated by individual decrees of the Nazi Reich, and later provided for the release of assets of those who had been covered by the general decree revoking the citizenship of all Jews living abroad. But because of the formalities of proof provided for in these decrees — formalities which were in fact superfluous in most cases, because the records of the Swiss police were ample to enable them to distinguish between genuine refugees and others — the relaxation of the decrees left many Jews still unable to recover the use of their properties in Switzerland.

As the year ended the conclusion of an agreement between Switzerland and the Allies, providing for the seizure and division of German assets in Switzerland, made it seem probable that both these problems would be satisfactorily solved.

G. SWEDEN

Sweden offered asylum to many thousands of Jews from other countries, both before and during the war. Since the war, moreover, it has accepted for rehabilitation approximately 8,000 displaced Jews from German concentration camps. It has also agreed to permit a small additional number, who are planning to emigrate to other countries, to remain in Sweden temporarily while awaiting the opportunity to enter their countries of final destination.

The 5,500 Danish Jews who took refuge in Sweden during the German occupation of Denmark were repatriated almost immediately after V-E day. There now remain in Sweden some 3,000 Jewish refugees who came to the country before

1939 and the 8,000 displaced Jews mentioned above. Theoretically, most of these are expected to return to their own countries, or eventually emigrate elsewhere. Actually, it is the policy of the Swedish government not to repatriate any refugees against their will. Meanwhile, they are being permitted to seek employment under certain limitations, and the Swedish government is furnishing assistance to those who are not self-supporting.

Studies indicate that few of the 4,000 Polish and 1,600 Hungarian Jews in Sweden desire repatriation. Most of the 1,300 Rumanian Jews in the country, however, do. This is also true of the 1,200 Czech Jews, with the exception of those who come from the Carpatho-Ukrainian area which has been annexed to the Soviet Union.

Of the refugee and displaced Jews desiring to emigrate, approximately 50 per cent desire to go to Palestine, while most of the remainder prefer the United States or Latin America.

H. DENMARK

Through the cooperation of the Danish resistance movement, and the Swedish government, most of Denmark's Jews were enabled to escape to Sweden. As soon as Denmark was liberated, the government invited these refugees to return. They have had little difficulty in reintegrating themselves completely into the national life, due to the friendly attitude both of the government and the Danish people as a whole.

I. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

During the war, Spain and Portugal served as channels of escape for many thousands of Jews from other European countries. At the end of 1945 about 900 refugees remained in Portugal and 600 in Spain. Some 250 of those in Portugal and 300 of those in Spain received assistance from the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. The remainder were cared for by the Joint Distribution Committee. These refugees have no permanent legal status, and it is expected that they will eventually be resettled elsewhere.

V CENTRAL EUROPE

A. GERMANY

By GERALDINE ROSENFELD

Displaced Persons

Allied armies, by the time peace was declared in Europe in May 1945, uncovered an estimated 2,500,000 displaced persons in Germany. It was supposed at the time (and the supposition was later proved correct) that at least another 2,000,000 were still at large unknown to army personnel. The highest estimate for the number of Jews among the displaced persons in Germany was 100,000. Contrary to the popular conception, the largest number of displaced persons were not Jews but non-Jews of Russian, French, Polish, Italian and other European origin.

Every effort was made by the Allied Military Government to repatriate displaced persons with speed since food stocks in the American zone in Germany were not adequate for the 4,000,000 additional nationals of other countries.

Displaced persons were collected in assembly centers administered by UNRRA personnel under the supervision of the army. From such centers displaced persons were returned to reception centers in their own countries where their governments were to assume full responsibility for them. But a definite core of non-repatriable persons remained; these were mostly Jews who could not or would not return to lands steeped in memories of inhuman suffering. In September, an UNRRA director, Col. Charles I. Schottland, said there were 80,000 displaced Jews living in some 900 camps in the Allied zones of occupation.

Harrison Report

The first official report on the condition of the stateless and non-repatriable Jews was made by Earl G. Harrison, who in the summer of 1945 was sent on a mission to Europe by President Truman to inquire into the condition and needs

of the displaced persons in the liberated countries of Western Europe and in the SHAEF area of Germany. This report was released by the White House on September 29, 1945, after the President had acted on some of its recommendations.

Mr. Harrison's report criticized severely the way in which the United States was administering displaced persons' camps, charging that "As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them." Striking evidences of Nazi technique were barbed wire fences, armed guards and the prohibition against leaving camp except by special pass. With few exceptions, Mr. Harrison pointed out, no effort had been made to rehabilitate the internees. And while Jews were still living in unsanitary and crowded conditions, under guard, and without opportunity to communicate with the outside world, the Germans continued to live normal lives in their own homes. Many displaced persons, after long periods of near starvation, were still receiving a diet of principally bread and coffee. In many camps the 2,000 calories provided daily included 1,250 of wet, black bread.

There were many ways in which the American military government could alleviate matters and Mr. Harrison was not loath to point them out. He urged that there be a review of military personnel holding commanding positions with the aim of securing sympathetic officers. He suggested replacing German civilians in military government offices with qualified displaced Jews. The practice of following nationality lines in the treatment of displaced persons, as ordered by the Combined Displaced Persons Executive, was manifestly unfair to Jews, who deserved preferential treatment for their greater needs. Harrison warned that substantial unofficial and unauthorized movements of people could be expected unless prompt remedial action was taken.

Harrison recommended that evacuation from Germany be the emphasized theme; those who wished to return to their own countries should be permitted to do so without delay; those who wished to emigrate should not find all doors closed to them. According to Harrison, there was no decent solution other than Palestine for many European Jews; therefore he recommended the opening of Palestine and a modification of the White Paper. As for those Jews

wishing to come to the United States, not a large number, they could be admitted under existing immigration laws. For those Jews physically unable to leave the country, Harrison recommended immediate removal to sanitarium or rest homes. And finally, the report recommended that as quickly as possible the operation of whatever Jewish displaced camps remain be turned over to UNRRA.

The Harrison report was followed by two simultaneous actions on the part of President Truman (actions taken before the report was released). On August 31 the President directed General Eisenhower, then chief of American forces in the European theater, to remedy the allegedly shocking treatment of the displaced Jews in the American zone; at the same time President Truman appealed to Great Britain's Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, to open the doors of Palestine to 100,000 displaced Jews of Germany and Austria.

In October General Eisenhower reported to the President that since Mr. Harrison's visit in July many changes had taken place with respect to the conditions of the displaced persons. Despite the general overcrowding in the American zone, housing was on a reasonable basis; every displaced person was allotted the 30 square feet required by the American army for its soldiers. Special centers were being established for the Jewish displaced persons, in accord with the recommendations of Jewish organizations. The removal of Jews from concentration camps was being carried out as quickly as people could be moved. Eisenhower pointed out that the caloric food value for victims of racial, religious and political persecution had been raised to a 2,500 minimum. He denied that military guards behaved like storm troopers, and mentioned a directive ordering displaced persons to guard the camps instead of army personnel.

The Allied governments had during the month of September issued certain orders regarding the control of Germany which annulled previous Nazi legislation and which abolished discrimination because of color, race, religion, language or political opinions. On September 21 the Berlin Allied administration classified the Jews as "victims of fascism," under which category they were entitled to special rations and other privileges accorded to persons who actively participated in the fight against the Nazis.

Polish Infiltrates

While conditions improved somewhat after the publication of Mr. Harrison's report and General Eisenhower's directive, they deteriorated quickly thereafter. What contributed to a further complication were the continuous streams of Polish Jews who were fleeing anti-Semitic excesses in their native land and seeking refuge in the American zone, where camps were already overcrowded. Furthermore, since these "infiltrates" could not be classified as displaced persons by the authorities, who recognized only war as a cause of displacement, they could not be handled by UNRRA. The problem of feeding and housing them was turned over to the Jewish community in Berlin.

American Jewish organizations were moved to do what they could over and above supplying money and personnel for relief work. On November 1 the American Jewish Committee requested the State Department to set aside two per cent of the reparations exacted from Germany, for partial compensation of the damages suffered by stateless and non-repatriable Jews under the Nazi regime. The United Jewish Appeal, at its annual conference, December 15-17, adopted a resolution asking that Jews be granted in all countries the civil and religious status of all other citizens and that they should have equal access to all facilities provided through governmental relief agencies. On December 21 the American Jewish Committee appealed to Secretary of State Byrnes to present before the Big Three Conference of Foreign Ministers in Moscow the "urgent problem of the immediate resettlement of the 100,000 Jews now in Germany"; on December 27, acting on a report that the frontier through which the Jews had been escaping from Poland to Germany had been closed by the Russian authorities, in compliance with a decision by Allied representatives in Berlin, the Committee requested that immediate steps be taken to alleviate the distress of the Polish Jews fleeing to the American zone.

The glaring neglect of the Jewish displaced persons and what seemed to be the failure of the U. S. Army Command to take positive action for the relief of the Polish infiltrates caused Dr. Leo Srole, welfare director of UNRRA, to resign his position in protest on December 5. Dr. Srole pointed

with condemnation at conditions in the Landsberg camp, where there was overcrowding, underfeeding, lack of adequate clothing, and housing so bad it had been rejected as unfit for German prisoners of war. Some 6,200 Jews were living in quarters meant for 4,200.

Immediately following Dr. Srole's letter of resignation an American military commission, headed by Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, U. S. Chief of Staff in the European Theater, proceeded to the Landsberg camp for investigation. The commission reported that it found the camp "filthy," overcrowded and "appallingly unsanitary." Blame for these conditions was placed on UNRRA officials and camp residents alike; the former were charged with not making the necessary requisitions in writing, the latter with not doing their part in keeping the camp clean. General Smith attributed much of the overcrowding to the Polish Jews who came into the American zone, unauthorized, from the British and Russian zones. The commission also reported that some of the internees were refusing to work.

Jewish leaders of the camp reminded the commission that there was no system of reward for work done, that most of the work consisted of cleaning up rubble and that most of the internees resented the thought of working for a Germany which had massacred their families. A group of Allied correspondents who visited Landsberg with the commission supported the Srole statement and stressed the importance of carrying out General Eisenhower's directive.

Reassured by the commission that camp conditions would be improved, Dr. Srole withdrew his resignation and returned to his post. On December 17 he reported that conditions had been ameliorated; nutritional standards were being improved and central heating and sanitary facilities provided.

By the end of the year 1945 the American Military Government had taken definite steps to remove some of the obstacles facing Polish Jews who sought shelter in the American zone. The State Department, on December 10, announced that Jewish refugees from Poland, once in the American zone, would not be returned against their will and would be sheltered.

The director for Germany of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Jacob L. Trobe, reported on De-

ember 22 that, in the Third Army area where overcrowding due to infiltration was most acute, some 6,000 infiltrees had received accommodations and people were being moved to less crowded quarters. Trobe deplored the exaggeration of figures on infiltrees. He stated the actual number of Jews in Germany was 50,000, including 10,000 in Berlin. Of the total, 11,500 were Germans; the large majority of the rest were Polish nationals who did not wish to return to Poland. Trobe estimated the number of Jews who had fled to the American zone in Germany from Poland since the end of the war at 10,000. He predicted that many more would come because hostile elements in the Polish population made life intolerable for the Jews in that country.

A report from the Allied Military Government at the same time stated that there were 400,000 displaced persons in the American zone in Germany; of these 65,000 were persons who could not be classified satisfactorily according to nationality and were awaiting governmental decisions before repatriation or resettlement could be undertaken. A large number of this group were the Polish Jews who had migrated since V-E Day and therefore were considered citizens of a recognized government and not "stateless."

Morgan Statement

The problem of the Polish Jews, who could not be classified as displaced persons and who would not remain in a land where anti-Semitism was rife, perplexed the Allied governments and confounded the directors of UNRRA. Out of the official confusion one statement emerged which set off an instantaneous and passionate reaction throughout Europe and the United States.

Lieutenant General Sir Frederick E. Morgan, chief of UNRRA operations in Germany, in a press interview on January 2, 1946, charged the exodus of Jews from Poland was a vast plot, engineered by an unknown secret Jewish organization. Sir Frederick said he was not at all convinced by the talk of pogroms in Poland and that the people he had seen flocking into Berlin did not "look like persecuted people." They were, he said, "well-dressed, well fed, rosy-cheeked and have plenty of money." He predicted that by

the end of the year there would be a "hard core" of 300,000 to 500,000 Jews in Germany, "the seeds of World War III." The UNRRA chief told newsmen that he felt the problem of Palestine was closely linked with the exodus from Europe.

Criticism of Morgan's charges, which appeared in newspapers both here and in London, was violent. American Jewish organizations pointed out sharply that regardless of whether or not the migration westward was organized it was the result of human suffering and a human desire to escape misery. Judge Simon H. Rifkind, adviser on Jewish affairs to American forces in Europe, termed the charges "poppycock." The World Jewish Congress, in London, declared that the statement was not only untrue but that it was designed to prejudice the findings of the Anglo-American Committee. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, called the statement shamefully partisan and savoring of Nazism. The American Zionist Emergency Council called it a libel against the Jewish people, and the Synagogue Council of America, "a cruel blow to every Christian and every Jew." A representative of the American Jewish Committee, Lewis Neikrug, who had just returned from a tour of Jewish camps in Europe, declared that the infiltrator problem had been well known to high Army and civilian administrators many weeks before Sir Frederick's statement and that it could not have been unknown to him.

UNRRA headquarters in London and Frankfurt demanded Morgan's resignation on January 4 and disassociated the agency from his views. General Morgan protested; his friends presented testimonials in his behalf. Herbert H. Lehman, director of UNRRA, called Sir Frederick to Washington and, after discussion with him, restored the General to his post on January 29. Lehman announced that he had given serious consideration to the circumstances and was convinced that Morgan was not anti-Semitic nor did he have racial or political bias.

By the end of January the flow of refugees into the American zone reached such proportions that it was estimated more than 600,000 persons would be interned in displaced persons camps by March. As a result, the United States ordered the border closed to illegal entries from other zones and placed German police in charge of the frontiers, an order which was later modified.

Hilldring Report

The problem of housing and feeding the Jews in Germany seemed to have been settled by early spring, at least in an elementary sense. On March 7, a report was released on the situation of the displaced Jews in the American zone by Major General John H. Hilldring, Director of the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department. General Hilldring reported that there were 45,000 Jews of all national origins in the American zone who were housed in a number of large separate centers in order to secure the specialized treatment necessary. Wherever possible these people were billeted in German homes from which the occupants had been evacuated. While the Jewish displaced persons awaited the conclusions of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee, the General said "every effort was being made to continue improvement in conditions of food, clothing, housing, educational and vocational training."

Rifkind Report

Judge Simon H. Rifkind, who returned to the United States in March after serving five months in Europe as adviser on Jewish affairs, stressed the necessity for finding a solution to the homelessness of the Jewish survivors in Germany and Austria.

In a memorandum submitted on April 7 to General Joseph T. McNarney, chief of the United States Forces in the European Theater, Judge Rifkind reported that there were 50,000 Jews in the American zone and 100,000 in all the zones of Germany and Austria. Large-scale resettlement in Europe for these Jews is inconceivable in light of the widespread and continuing adherence to Nazi ideology.

Rifkind described life in the displaced persons camps as abnormal; all the basic elements of a normal life—health, family, occupations—are unknown to the victims of Nazism. He credited the United States Army with doing much, within the limits of this abnormality, to make life bearable for displaced Jews. The establishment of separate centers has enabled Jews to create a sort of community life which functions on a religious and educational plane.

While the Army and the Jews themselves have attempted

to reconstruct Jewish life in some ways, UNRRA was delinquent in regard to the handling of the displaced persons problem, Rifkind charged. He stated that that organization has "refused to contribute any supplies to the displaced persons." He further maintained that the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, whose responsibility covered the field of resettlement, had by its own directive, "rendered itself impotent to deal with the problem."

The atmosphere in which displaced Jews live is made even more tense by the failure of the Allied governments to make Germany pay back its debt to these Nazi victims. The Jews resent having to accept American food and clothing as an act of charity; they would prefer to receive German food and clothing as a portion of their claim on Germany.

Judge Rifkind recommended specific ways in which living conditions could be improved. He urged a greater variety in the diet for displaced Jews and suggested making tools and equipment from the German economy available for their rehabilitation and training, using civilian homes rather than barracks for their housing, intensifying educational efforts and religious instruction, and permitting displaced persons to police themselves. He pointed out that the use of German police in Jewish centers was not only unjust but dangerous for morale. He stressed many times the need for resettlement, warning that a prolonged stay in camps could only lead to demoralization.

Demoralization in Displaced Persons Camps

The tension and demoralization of which Judge Rifkind and others warned broke into violence in the weeks immediately following the Judge's departure from Europe. On March 27 a group of armed German police attacked a settlement of displaced Jews at Neue Freiman near Munich, seriously wounding one of the residents. The next day Jewish refugees attacked a Polish guard at the Seidlung camp and in a disturbance which followed an American soldier and a Jewish refugee were arrested. The internees said shots had been fired into their quarters by the police.

On March 29 some two hundred uniformed German police, armed with United States Army carbines and accom-

panied by police dogs, shot to death Samuel Dantziger, a Polish Jew, and wounded four others, in a black market raid at the Stuttgart camp. Despite the facts that UNRRA was nominally in charge of security within the camp, and the United States Army was supposed to have sent military police along with the Germans, the raid was described as a typical Nazi attack. The incident aroused intense indignation among the displaced persons, 35,000 of whom participated in demonstrations in seventeen different camps.

Immediately following the disorder General McNarney rescinded a directive which permitted German police to search camps and make arrests.

On April 28 several hundred displaced Jews rioted in the town of Landsberg in Southern Germany. The riot, which lasted four hours, apparently started when the rumor spread that two Jewish guards had mysteriously disappeared. American troops were called in to restore order and twenty displaced persons were arrested. Dr. Leo Srole, welfare director for UNRRA, described the outbreak as "emotional" and warned that conditions in all the camps were similar and would explode at the slightest provocation. The Military Government General Court which tried the defendants was not inclined to view the case with the insight of Dr. Srole, and on May 23 sentenced nineteen of the defendants to prison terms ranging from three months to two years.

Complicating the story of tension, mistrust and frustration, is the fact that, according to UNRRA officials and other observers, some American soldiers have begun to adopt the anti-Semitic attitude of the German people with whom they come in contact.

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry

Previously, during February, the displaced persons camps were visited by Bartley C. Crum and Sir Frederick Leggett, American and British members, respectively, of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, who listened to testimony from camp representatives. Among the testimony was the report by an UNRRA representative at Stuttgart that it was impossible to organize camp life along any lines other than Zionist, although there was no evidence that outside

elements were influencing displaced Jews to think along Zionist lines. In a poll conducted by UNRRA, the Committee members were informed, Palestine had been the first preference of an overwhelming majority of displaced Jews.

The latest official estimate of the situation in Germany appears in the report of the Committee, released on April 30. According to this report there were approximately 74,000 Jewish displaced persons in Berlin and the American, British and French zones of Germany. Of these, about 52,500 were accommodated in displaced persons centers, the remainder living outside. Of the non-German Jewish population, 85 percent were Poles; the remainder were mainly from the Baltic states, Hungary and Rumania.

A description of conditions in which displaced Jews find themselves includes points mentioned in previous reports by Harrison and Rifkind: the Nazi legacy of anti-Semitism which makes life impossible in Europe for most Jews; the abnormality of life in the displaced persons camps, aggravated by the fact that the Germans still appear to have all the comforts and privileges denied their former victims; the demoralization accompanying confined life in camps and the fact that work is associated in the minds of the displaced with their previous experiences in concentration camps and as slaves of the Nazis; and the desire on the part of most of them to leave Europe as soon as possible.

Communal Activities within the Camps

Less than three months after liberation the displaced Jews in Germany were sufficiently revived to set up organizations for their communal needs. At the end of July, 120 delegates representing 48,000 Jews confined in 32 camps in the Anglo-American zones met in the Munich Hofbrau, scene of Hitler's 1923 putsch, and established a Central Committee for Jewish Liberates in Germany. Their first act was the unanimous adoption of a resolution demanding freedom of immigration into Palestine and establishment of a Jewish state there.

Again, at a conference held in Bergen-Belsen on September 26-27, delegates to the Central Jewish Committee appealed to their liberators to open Palestine to Jewish survivors. On November 19, leaders of the Committee were

arrested by the British for participation in a hunger strike and demonstration protesting the Bevin statement on Palestine. A statement issued by the British military headquarters on December 16 confirmed the fact that Jews in several camps in the British zone had staged strikes in protest against the British policy on Palestine.

In the American zone, representatives of 60,000 displaced Jews held a conference on January 29 and named Zalman Grinberg chairman of the Central Committee of Displaced Jews. The conference urged the United Nations to set up an agency to transfer to Palestine all Jews wishing to go there. Some 400 former Jewish partisans met in Landsberg on February 4 and adopted a resolution demanding free immigration to Palestine.

The development of democratic procedure within the camps was revealed in a survey made by Major Alfred Fleishman of the United States Army on behalf of the American Jewish Conference. The report, made public on December 21, 1945, stated that every camp in the American zone had democratically elected a committee to deal with its own problems, and self-rehabilitation was the theme of programs set in each camp. Schools, factories and training centers teaching the techniques of shoemaking, tailoring, capmaking, auto-mechanics and other trades had been established. Cultural and educational facilities were gradually being developed. Several of the camps published their own newspapers in Yiddish. The Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Southern Germany, in a memorandum submitted to Army Headquarters in Frankfurt, requested support of their self-organized program of training Jews and asked for additional training farms and vocational schools.

As a result of Major Fleishman's survey, the American Jewish Conference recommended to the Military Government that Jewish committees elected by the displaced Jews be given official status by the Allied Military Government; that voluntary agencies be encouraged to bring in teachers and school supplies; that farmland be acquired for agricultural training; and that greater freedom of action be given to J. D. C. representatives in the camps.

In a speech before the American Jewish Conference on April 2, Judge Simon H. Rifkind described in some detail

life in the centers for displaced Jews. In these centers varying from 100 to 5,000 in population, internal order is maintained by a police force recruited from among the displaced persons. Many of these centers have UNRRA directors or welfare officers. Religious and educational activities are supervised by the camp residents themselves.

The immediate needs of the displaced Jews are vocational and agricultural training to counteract the deterioration resulting from idleness. But, as a long-term solution, Rifkind declared he could suggest nothing less than the evacuation of the displaced persons' camps and the emigration of the Jews to Palestine.

Native Jewish Population

The number of surviving native Jews now in Germany is estimated at about 15,000, less than five per cent of the native German Jewish population of 1933. In 1933, according to the Government Census, there were 499,682 Jews living in Germany, of whom 400,953 were of German nationality. Between 1933 and 1941 some 300,000 succeeded in emigrating; those who did not leave the continent, however, were overtaken in the Nazi sweep across Europe.

The majority of the survivors are converted to one or another of the Christian faiths, or are half-Jews adhering to the religious faith of the non-Jewish parent. The Jewishness of many a survivor thus consists only of his share in the hardships suffered under the Nazi regime.

Population figures for some cities are available. In Stuttgart, of a community of 4,500 Jews, only 178 remain. Of the 3,000 in Karlsruhe only 90 are left, and only 20 of these survivors acknowledge their Judaism. Mannheim can claim only 20 native Jews of a community of 4,000, and of this remnant half are either baptized or children of mixed marriages. Of an original Jewish population of 10,000, only 600 remain in Frankfurt; the majority are half-Jews and do not belong to the Jewish community. Only one rabbi survives in all of Germany.

Scattered in small groups throughout the country, the overwhelming majority of German Jews are apprehensive of the future. They mistrust the non-Jewish Germans, many of whom are trying to cover up their previous crimes with

a servile, cringing manner. The Jews who remain cannot rid themselves of the unbearable memories of the last decade and refuse to be misled by perfunctory gestures of German good will. Many of them want to leave the country. There is another group which feels, according to the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee report, "... that now that the synagogues and all traces of Jewish life have been destroyed, ... no attempt should be made to recreate Jewish life and so give rise to the possibility of a repetition of past events."

A number of professionals among the survivors have been reinstated by local German authorities to their former posts, and in some cases, to higher government positions. Some of these people may be willing to stay in Germany. Since in some areas German authorities are returning Jewish property to owners who return to their original domiciles, a small number of Jewish families has returned to Heidelberg and to Karlsruhe from exile in France. Whether they will stay on in Germany is still problematical. At the London Conference of Jewish Organizations held in October, Philip Auerbach, chairman of the Union of Jewish Communities of the Northern Rhine Provinces, declared that there is not a single Jew in Germany who is not uneasy about the future, and who would be willing to forfeit a chance to emigrate.

Jews and other victims of persecution have priority in respect to food, housing and clothing. But with the exception of certain Western provinces, where the local governments have restored property to returning Jews, the entire issue of property restitution and compensation is still pending. The Allied authorities have provided for the control of most categories of looted property but thus far have failed to create any legal procedure for restitution. In no case has property been returned to persons living outside Germany, and in most cases the claims of resident owners also remain unheeded. Left without means, most Jews in Germany are unable to earn a living and are dependent on relief. The lack of employment opportunities is a factor strengthening the trend towards emigration. Adequate property restitution may, to some extent, mitigate this tendency. But the ever-present deep distrust of German attitudes and the fear of conditions likely to arise on the day when the occupation of Germany ends make it certain that few of the native Jews of Germany will wish to remain in that country.

B. AUSTRIA¹

Displaced Persons

It is estimated that there were about 15,000 Jewish displaced persons, including the "transients," within the borders of Austria at the end of May 1946. The Jews enter in a steady trickle from Hungary and Rumania over the Austrian border in the east, and after crossing the Russian zone in Austria (with the tacit approval of Soviet authorities) they reach the American sector of Vienna. There they are taken care of in assembly centers. They are then shipped, again through Russian-occupied territory, westward to the American zone in Austria and later to camps in Germany. All of them, the "transients" and those who are "established" in the Austrian camps, hope to leave that country as quickly as possible; most of them hope to reach Palestine, while some want to go to the United States and other countries.

Pre-War Jewish Population

Of the more than 200,000 Jews who lived in Austria when Germany invaded it in 1938 only about 5,000 now remain. This number includes some 1,500 who have returned from concentration and extermination camps, a few hundred from abroad and about 600 from places of hiding in the country.

It is estimated that about 135,000 Austrian Jews had emigrated after the German invasion, while about 35,000 were deported to extermination camps in Poland and Russia and about 15,000 to other Nazi concentration camps.

Of the 185,000 Viennese Jews before the German occupation only slightly more than 4,000 Jews are now living in Vienna. Their condition, particularly in relation to the food situation, was described by Dr. Benson Saks, Joint Distribution Committee director for Austria, as "terrible." The tuberculosis rate among them is very high; the mortality rate has increased from 12 per 1,000 in 1938 to 36 per 1,000 in 1945, and is on the increase. The increased mortality is ascribed

¹ Prepared in the office of the American Jewish Committee.

primarily to the effects of the physical tortures and starvation which the Austrian Jews suffered in concentration camps or in hiding from the Nazis without food ration cards. The inadequacy of the present diet and crowded living quarters are also taking their toll. Although 60,000 dwellings had been seized from Jews during the German rule, the 1,600 homes required by the survivors have not been made available to them. Among Jews now living in public asylums are many whose homes are still occupied by former Nazis.

Most of the Jews of Vienna subsist on meager relief supplied to them by the Vienna Jewish Community with the aid of the Joint Distribution Committee. A small part of the Viennese Jews as well as Jews in the other parts of Austria are employed by the occupation authorities. Official Jewish sources in Vienna reported at the end of 1945 the following figures on employment of Jews by the United States, British, French and Soviet administrations:

Administration	Total Employees	Jewish Employees
U. S. (Vienna)	7,000	186
U. S. (Provinces)	6,500	73
French	2,200	245
British	8,000	105
USSR	3,000	345
	26,700	954

Anti-Semitism

The status of Austria is different from that of Germany. While according to the Allied Declaration on Austria of October 1943, Austria has "a grave responsibility for its participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany," the country has a functioning central government and a far greater degree of independence than Germany. Although the Austrian government has taken a number of legal steps against anti-Semitism, the most serious problem of the Jews in Austria is still the survival of strong anti-Semitic sentiment. The Vienna Jewish organization's official journal in March 1946 said that "Vienna now as before is the center of the ugliest and most treacherous anti-Semitism. It is not

considered wise to talk about it, but it is applied in practice. Anti-Semitism is not even asleep; it has merely become more careful and more poisonous." The leaders of the Jewish community in Vienna, David Brill, Bernhard Braver, and Rudolph Braun, in their testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, stated: "Strong anti-Semitism prevails in the Austrian population. If there have been no open outbursts of anti-Semitism so far, it was only because the people are still intimidated by their defeat and because the country is still occupied." Similarly, the organ of the Vienna Jewish organization asserted in April 1946 that, if the four occupying powers were not in Vienna, "not one of the 4,000 Jews would be able to appear in the streets." At the University of Vienna, which had only twenty Jewish students last year, out of a total enrollment exceeding 8,000, the student body of the University engaged in open anti-Semitic activities; on one occasion they staged a "welcome home party" for returning Nazi professors. Similarly, the students of Graz University staged a demonstration demanding the return of their former Nazi professors. The Vienna Jewish Community has been receiving almost daily letters from Nazis threatening that "Hitler's task will be finished when the last Jews have been liquidated." The anonymous authors claimed that an underground Nazi Party exists with seven sections devoted chiefly to "the Jewish Problem."

At the same time, a revival of anti-Semitism in the political field is also noticeable. The Austrian elections in November 1945 resulted in the return of notorious anti-Semites to Parliamentary and other offices. For example, Leopold Kunschak who, on September 14, 1945—only a few months after the defeat of the German armies—in a public speech said of himself: "I myself have always been an anti-Semite," was elected president of the Austrian National Assembly as a candidate of the "Austrian People's Party." In the same speech Kunschak charged that Austrian political and economic ills had been caused by the Jews and then went on to pronounce his apologia of the "little Nazis." The Austrian chancellor, Leopold Figl, questioned by Allied journalists on the subject of Kunschak's speech, apologetically offered the "explanation" that Kunschak was "not an anti-Semite on racial grounds but on economic grounds."

Thus, of all the new regimes in the European countries the Austrian Government is the most anti-Semitic. The Viennese police have in the course of the past year committed a number of anti-Semitic outrages, in one of which a Jew was shot and killed by a policeman in truly Nazi fashion "while attempting to flee." A number of anti-Semitic demonstrations were organized throughout Vienna; on one occasion, at a football game, on March 24, 1946, the crowds raised the cry "Throw the Jews into the gas chambers!"

Problem of Restitution

Under such circumstances it is exceedingly difficult for the remnants of Austrian Jewry to readjust themselves. The first pre-condition for their readjustment and the reconstruction of their lives would have to be a restitution of the property they have lost. However, in the course of the past year nothing has been done by Austrian authorities in the direction of restitution for the Jewish victims of persecution. The official journal of the Vienna Jewish Community reported on January 21, 1946: "We certainly had a right to hope for the return of what was stolen from us, or for some compensation for what we suffered. For the time being, this hope has proved false. We have received nothing—not our homes from which we were expelled illegally by force; not our property; nothing has been returned to us. For good measure, when we return from concentration camps many civil servants ask us: are you Jews or are you 'Aryans?' It is as if we were still under Nazi rule. A Jew returning from a concentration camp is treated like a criminal. . . ." The Austrian government on several occasions has issued statements promising remedial action on behalf of the suffering Jewish citizens. Chancellor Figl, in a statement to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, promised that Austrian Jews would receive the full rights and privileges of all other citizens. However, representatives of the Vienna Jewish Community, testifying before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, sharply disputed Chancellor Figl's statement on the situation of the Jews in Austria. They emphasized that the Jews were considered "strangers and foreigners" in Austria; that not one measure has been

promulgated by the government providing for the return of confiscated Jewish property; and that not one single Austrian Jew had succeeded in reestablishing himself in Austrian economy. In many cases, the assets of previously Jewish-owned firms, presently held by government-appointed trustees, are being dissipated; some trustees put the firms in such condition that the rightful owners will get back nothing but debts. The repeated postponement of the final date for registering the so-called "Aryanized" property has enabled the "Aryan" owner to dispose of the property so that restitution to its rightful Jewish owners will be impossible.

Austria was the last of all European countries to make legal provisions for restitution for Nazi victims. In May 1946 a law was passed in the Austrian Parliament on the invalidation of property transfers during the German occupation of Austria. *The New York Times*, reporting on the Parliamentary debate in connection with this legislation, said: "The Minister of Property Security, who is in charge of the restitution program, said the Jews could hope to receive only such properties as were here now in their present state and that they must look to Germany for further restitution. A spokesman for the Jewish community organization said this meant that a Jew who had left a store full of goods probably would get nothing but an empty and damaged storeroom, and that if one left a factory full of machinery he probably would get nothing back but the damaged building."

In the same debate, Dr. Alfred Migsch, spokesman of the Socialist Party maintained: "The truth is that it is not Austria that should make restitution, but it is Austria to which restitution should be made." Only the representative of the few and uninfluential Communists (who have only three per cent of the seats in the Austrian Parliament) pleaded for broad restitution and compensation to Jews. The Communist deputy, Ernst Fischer, said: "Stolen property must be returned to the rightful owners. . . . Restitution must be done in the widest sense, lest those who may not have lost material property, but have suffered mentally or have otherwise been victimized, be forgotten." He stressed the fact that Austrians themselves have to make restitution since "Austrians, too, had participated in 'Aryanizations.'"

On May 24, Chancellor Leopold Figl indicated to the

Jewish community that Jews whose property was confiscated by the Nazis would receive no special consideration under the Austrian government plan for property restitution.

The Vienna Jewish Community Organization, which before the war was the wealthiest Jewish institution in Europe, found it impossible to make headway toward recovering the 200 buildings and parcels of land, the income from which at one time supported its charitable activities. Leaders of the agency stressed that they needed this source of income more than ever in view of the destitution of Vienna Jewry.

Emigration

On April 7, 1946, the Jews of Vienna elected their Community Council (Kultusrat) of 36 members. 33 seats were won by the candidates running on the joint list of the Zionist organization, the International Committee of Transient Jews, the Hungarian Joint Committee and the Jewish Section of the Austrian Camp Organization.

An official census taken in February 1946 by the then provisional Vienna Jewish Community Organization under Allied auspices, showed that of 4,418 registered Jews, 3,028 want to emigrate from Austria. Of the latter, 1,065 desired to go to Palestine; 1,260 were willing to go anywhere; 375 wanted to go to the United States; 160 to Britain, and 20 elsewhere in Europe. The others expressed preference for overseas countries such as Australia and various Latin American countries. Of those wishing to stay in Vienna, 595 are more than 60 years old. On February 24, 1946, when the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry held its hearings in Vienna, hundreds of Jews marched in a demonstration carrying banners calling for emigration to Palestine. On the same day the first meeting of the Austrian Zionist Organization held since 1938 convened in Vienna, with several hundred persons in attendance.

At the same time, it was reported that about 2,000 Austrian Jews who, after the German invasion of Austria, had settled in Palestine, have applied for permission to return to Austria. The report said that many of those desiring to return were doctors, teachers and technicians who could be of great assistance in rebuilding Austria.

VI. EASTERN EUROPE

By HENRY FRANKEL¹

A. UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

In 1939 the Jewish population of the Soviet Union numbered 3,020,100. L. Zinger gives the following detailed figures in *A Rejuvenated People* (Der Emes, Moscow, 1941): Ukraine—1,532,800; Belorussia—375,100; RSFSR, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia—969,000; Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, and Armenia—84,100; Turkmenia—3,100; Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan—56,000. In 1941, with the incorporation of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia, the Baltic Republics and Bessarabia, an estimated 2,200,000 Jews were added to the population of the Soviet Union.

When Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, tens of thousands of Polish Jews fled into Eastern Poland, which the Soviets later entered. These Jews, together with the local Jewish population of the Ukraine and Belorussia were among the first to be evacuated to the East following Hitler's invasion of Soviet territory. Realizing that the Jews were the most seriously endangered part of the population, the authorities provided thousands of trains for their evacuation. In Zhitomir, for instance, 88 per cent of the Jewish population was reported to have been removed from the city before the Germans marched in. Particular care was given to the rescue of Jewish collective farmers; many in the Crimea were evacuated in sufficient time to enable them to take all their cattle and farm implements along with them. The majority of Jews evacuated from the German-occupied areas were concentrated in Uzbekistan in Central Asia. Many other families from the Ukraine and the Minsk districts of Belorussia were absorbed by the Bashkir Autonomous S.S.R. in the Urals. According to Abdul Achmetov, Bashkir Vice-Commissar for Agriculture, the evacuees worked in the collective

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farm fields side by side with the Bashkirs, doing "excellent work." A number of Jewish farmers from the Ukraine were settled in the Saratov Region in their own collective farm settlements. Other thousands, among them many elderly people from such cities as Vitebsk, Kiev, and Riga, found industrial employment in the factories and textile mills of the same region.

However, the evacuation could not keep pace with the onrush of the German armies, and the extermination processes in the occupied territories had devastating effects. The overwhelming majority of the Jews who had remained in occupied territories were killed. Ilya Ehrenburg, prominent Russian writer, addressing the American Birobidjan Committee in New York, said: "Don't try to forget what has happened; it is worse than you were told. I walked two miles in Kiev in places where the sand was soaked with Jewish blood and mixed with Jewish bones." Thus, adding the few survivors in those Western Russian regions to those who had been evacuated to, or had always lived in, inner Russia, it is estimated that out of the 5,200,000 Jews in Soviet territories about half are left.

Locating of Missing Persons

In view of the vast dispersal and dislocation of the Jewish population of Europe, the Soviet Red Cross and the Red Crescent Societies have set up a Central Information Bureau in Moscow (address: Klimentovsky Pereulok, No. 1) to assist persons trying to locate relatives and friends in Soviet territory.

Although designed primarily to assist Soviet citizens to find their family and friends deported by the Germans, the Bureau answers inquiries from nationals of the United Nations and bears the expenses of the investigations. The Bureau also has information concerning persons sent to the Dachau, Maidanek, Osiecim, and other camps. The inquiry agency works in cooperation with repatriation representatives of the Council of People's Commissars, the U.S.S.R. Extraordinary Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, and the Central Evacuation Bureau.

Anti-Semitism

Prior to Hitler's Third Reich, Tsarist Russia maintained by law and practice the world's most anti-Semitic policies. When the Soviets came into power, they took up the fight against anti-Semitism from the very first days of the Revolution. In the years preceding the second World War, the Soviet Union uncompromisingly classed anti-Semitism as a particularly crude variety of international Fascism.

The efforts of the Soviet Government have not been in vain. Before the war broke out there was reason to believe that anti-Semitism had already been eliminated from Soviet life. However, after the Germans were driven out of the areas they had invaded, it was found necessary to take firm measures against a fresh wave of anti-Jewish prejudice which they had fostered during their occupation of these territories. The German-operated schools during this period had inculcated the pupils with Nazi race theories; adults were subjected to a campaign of propaganda which appears to have been not entirely without results. Special measures to counteract Nazi-fomented prejudice were initiated in December 1944 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, including the use of films and other educational devices.

Rabbi Mordecai Nurok, a leader of the world Mizrachi Organization and of the World Jewish Congress, who arrived in March 1946 in the United States from the USSR, where he had resided since 1939 after Latvia of which he was Chief Rabbi became a part of the Soviet Union, stressed the sincere efforts of the Soviet Government to uproot anti-Semitism. Rabbi Nurok, who had been a member of the Latvian Parliament, said in a press conference in New York on March 28, 1946: "It must be emphasized that several hundred thousands of Polish and other Jews found a haven from the Nazis in the U.S.S.R." He pointed out that there is complete equality of rights for Jews in Russia.

Jews in War and Reconstruction

The persistent fight against discrimination and the liberal policy in respect to the nationality problem bore good fruits for both the Soviet State and the Jews.

Jews hold fourth place among the more than 150 nationalities of the Soviet Union in the number of Red Army heroes and war workers whose services have won special recognition from the Soviet Government. A total of 123,822 Jews have received the Order of Lenin, the Order of the Red Banner, the Medal of Patriotic War, and other Soviet medals and orders. Of these, 101 were named Hero of the Soviet Union, the highest Russian military honor. Significant of the changing relationships in Soviet life is the brilliant record made in the war by detachments of Cossacks—a people identified under the Tsars with some of the worst pogroms—led by Colonel Lev Dovator, a Jew.

Proof of Jewish heroism in the fight against the Nazis is contained in a confidential report submitted by the German Commissar-General for White Russia, Wilhelm Kube, to his superior, Reich Commissar for the Eastern Lands, Gauleiter Heinrich Lohse. The report, dated July 31, 1942, began as follows: "In all clashes with partisans in White Russia it turned out that both in the former Polish and in the former Soviet parts of the District General, Jewry together with the Polish resistance movement in the West and the Red Army men in the East, is the main carrier of the partisan movement. Therefore, the treatment of Jewry in White Russia in view of the menace to the entire economy is an eminently political matter which therefore should be solved, too, not from the economic but from the political point of view . . . "

A V-E Day message was sent "To Jews All Over The World" over the signatures of sixty-five distinguished Soviet Jews. They included four Heroes of the Soviet Union, all officers of guard detachments; commanders of a partisan detachment and of the submarine division of the Baltic Fleet; the chief physician of the Red Army; seven Stalin Prize winners—writers, scientists, a leading architect, movie producers and sculptors—and industrial managers. The message congratulated the Jews of all the world on the occasion of the defeat of Hitlerism; expressed the "hope and confidence that a new bright era is beginning for all nations of the world" and called for mutual understanding and unity among Jews in all countries.

To the miracle that was performed by Soviet industrial economy in providing the highly mechanized Red Army

with the tools of war that surpassed those of the German Wehrmacht, the new Jews contributed their fair share. Early in the war, one of the Soviet Union's well known Jewish engineers, Shulamith Silberstein, helped build a coke chemical combine in the Urals which is reported to be the largest in Europe. Simon Laviochkin, one of the best known Soviet airplane designers who constructed the powerful LA-5 and has been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, is the son of a Hebrew teacher. Among other Jewish holders of this same title are J. Zaltsman, Vice-Commissar of the Tank Industry, the son of a Jewish tailor from Vinnitsa in the Ukraine, who in addition holds three Orders of Lenin, the Gold Medal, the Hammer and Sickle, the Suvorov Order, the Kutuzov Order and several other medals; Abraham Cikhovsky, often referred to as the Soviet "cannon king" because his plant led that branch of the munitions industry; and Lev Gonor, director of the much-bombed Stalingrad munition plant which kept going around the clock only a few miles from the battlefield at Stalingrad.

One hundred and twenty Jews have been awarded the Stalin Prize for discoveries and work performed in the arts and sciences during 1943 and 1944. They represent twenty per cent of those honored. Among the Jewish scientists thus honored, engineers are in the majority. A number are noted for development of techniques of building and repairing tanks and planes, as well as other types of armaments, which contributed greatly to the Soviet victory.

The most coveted honor among Soviet scholars and scientists is membership in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Jews, barred from Russia's universities under the Tsars, occupy leading faculty posts with the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., which is conducting tireless research and is closely bound up with the national economy of the country.

A score of members of the Jewish State Theater in Moscow have been awarded decorations for their performances at the front during the war; units of the theater gave over 1,000 shows for troops during the four years of war. Among those honored is Solomon Mikhoels, director of the Jewish State Theater, who is known in the United States from his visit in 1945. The average performance given for troops consisted of a recital of Jewish folk songs and selections from plays

by well known Yiddish playwrights. Chief Cantor Michael Kusevitski of the Warsaw Great Synagogue went on a number of concert tours in the Soviet Union moving Red Army men and civilians alike by his chanting of the Kol Nidre.

As the German invaders were driven out and the early reconstruction efforts began, the Jewish evacuees started moving back from inner Russia into the liberated Western regions. To cite just a few examples: already in September 1945 it was reported that over 50,000 Jews had returned to Kiev, and that the Jewish community organization had been revived. Before the German invasion, more than 150,000 Jews had lived in Kiev. And in April 1946, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee reported that 8,000 Jews had returned to rebuild their homes and their lives in the Ukrainian city of Berdichev, once a major center of Jewish life and culture. About 40,000 Jews had been slaughtered in Berdichev during the German occupation. The same report stressed that the Jews are taking a full part in all rehabilitation activities.

The formerly flourishing Jewish collective farms of the Crimea, which were devastated by the Germans during two and one-half years of occupation, are beginning to revive again. According to a report published in December 1945, about 3,000 Jewish families had returned to the Jewish collective settlements in the Crimea and another 3,000 were expected. These 6,000 families total about 25,000 persons. Before the German invasion there were about 40,000 Jews in the 89 collective Jewish settlements. The Jewish farms in the Crimea were among the most prosperous in the Soviet Union before the war. Each farmer had his own cottage of several rooms, his own cow, calf and sheep, in addition to his share in the collective produce. Almost all of the settlements had a dairy farm with more than 200 head of cattle, flocks of sheep, poultry yards and agricultural machinery. In addition, each had its own light and power supply, club-rooms, nurseries, schools and other educational and cultural facilities. When the first farmers returned from the interior in the spring and summer 1941, they found their fields overgrown with weeds, as they had been 21 years before when the first Jewish settlers came to the Crimea. With the help of the Soviet Government which provided money, seed, cattle, agriculture machinery, building supplies and other

necessities, the returned evacuees together with the demobilized Jewish soldiers have accomplished miracles in the briefest period of time. Several of the collectives have almost reached their pre-war level of production.

However, the work of reconstruction is tremendous, and the needs are correspondingly vast. Thus, the Jews in the Soviet Union are looking for aid from the now largest Jewish community which was fortunate in escaping the horrors of war devastations—the Jews of America. In April 1946, Professor Albert Einstein addressed a letter to about 2,000 Jewish landsmannschaften in America urging them to continue to send relief supplies to the Soviet Union. "Soviet Jews, together with all the Soviet people, now are engaged in the greatest reconstruction effort in the history of mankind," the letter said. "They need our continued help."

The Jewish communities in the United States, responding to the urgent call, continued their war-time efforts on behalf of the Russian War Relief. In March 1946, for instance, it was announced that five billion Oxford units of penicillin had been shipped to Russia as the first step in a one million dollar program of medical relief to Russian areas where large numbers of Jewish persons are now living, under a program directed by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. And 2,000 delegates of Jewish organizations to the Fifth Annual Conference of the Jewish Council for Russian War Relief, which was addressed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the World Jewish Congress, and Ilya Ehrenburg, famous Soviet war correspondent and author, pledged to send at least \$3,000,000 in relief supplies to Soviet Jews.

Jewish literary activity, too, is reviving in the Soviet Union. In Moscow it is centered around the newspaper *Ainigkeit* and the publishing house Emes. *Ainigkeit* is the organ of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and consists of only four pages owing to paper restrictions; it was published three times a week, but it is planned to change it to a daily. Its yearly budget is one and one-half million rubles.

The publishing house Emes, headed by L. Strongin, has a budget of two and one-half million rubles. Its most serious worry has been about type. It had received four linotype machines from America which are quite old. It expects to get machines from Germany under the reparations plan of

the Potsdam Agreement. The mechanical problem of adapting Jewish letters can be easily overcome; the publishing house will then have its own presses handling all the processes from typesetting to bookbinding.

Emes has planned a very large program for 1946. It plans to publish some 350 books for which money has already been provided. The list of books is too long to enumerate, but among the list is to be found Smolar's *Minsk Ghetto*, Sutzkever's *Vilner Ghetto*, Belenski's *Baruch Spinoza* and Hailikman's *History of the Jews in Russia in the 19th Century*. Included in the list are also poems by Hoffenstein, Halkin, and Pinimberg, selected fables by Steinberg, *David Reubeni* by Bergelson, *Jewish Holidays* by Altshuler and a *Jewish Grammar* by Falkovitch.

Emes also has a gigantic five year plan which is a part of the general Soviet plan for cultural reconstruction. Except for Moscow and Leningrad all the libraries which had Jewish books have been destroyed. It is planned to re-publish classic Yiddish literary works, an anthology of the Bible, an anthology of Talmudic literature, an anthology of Midrash, and an anthology of Hebrew-Sephardic poetry. Dictionaries containing 50,000 words will appear in both the Russian-Jewish and the Jewish-Russian forms. Emes plans to publish, in addition, a history of Jewish literature and Jewish theatre in an academic chronological form, and Sholem Aleichem's works, of which three volumes were in print at the outbreak of the war and now only the proofs remain. Emes also plans to publish the works of living writers such as Shalom Asch, Hirshbein and others.

The 87th anniversary of the birth and the 30th anniversary of the death of Sholem Aleichem, the world famous Yiddish humorist, were widely observed in the Ukraine, his country of birth. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee reported that radio broadcasts in the Ukrainian language were arranged with leading actors reading excerpts from his works. According to a survey by the all-Union Book Chamber, 3,263,000 copies of Sholem Aleichem's works were published in the U.S.S.R. between 1935 and 1945. About half of these were in Yiddish, while the others were in Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Jewish-Tadjik, Polish, Bulgarian, Moldavian, and German.

A Department of History of the Jewish Theater has been established, with the help of a government grant, at the State Jewish Theatrical School in Moscow. The department, which was named for Solomon Mikhoels, chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the U.S.S.R., plans to publish a number of works describing the major phases of the development of the Jewish stage.

Birobidjan

One of the measures to "normalize" the position of Soviet Jewry was the creation of Birobidjan. In 1928, the sparsely settled area in the Soviet Far East bounded by the Bira and Bidjan Rivers, on the Manchurian frontier, was set aside for development as a Jewish national administrative unit. The Birobidjan settlement was established to give the Jews of the U.S.S.R. a form of equality which they did not previously have, and that is State equality as a nation with other peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Birobidjan District (Raion) became the Jewish Autonomous Region (Oblast) in 1934. It is now on the way to becoming a Jewish Autonomous Republic. The capital of Birobidjan has daily newspapers, movies and a large number of students attending pedagogical, medical, agricultural, and railway transportation colleges. While Yiddish is the official language of the Jewish Autonomous Region, at least half the population, which totalled 108,419 in 1941, are Russians, Koreans, Tatars, Mongolians, and other Soviet nationalities. The Jewish Autonomous Region elects its own local governments and sends five deputies to the Council of Nationalities, one of the two equal chambers of the Supreme Soviet. The area of Birobidjan is 15,000 square miles, twice the area of the State of New Jersey.

The absence of political or economic discrimination elsewhere in the Soviet Union has given the majority of Soviet Jews little inducement to pull up stakes and go to the Jewish Autonomous Region. However, a considerable increase in its Jewish population is deemed likely by some authorities for two reasons. One is the new Jewish consciousness which the war has brought to Soviet Jewry. The other is the pos-

sibility that many Jews, uprooted from the invaded western regions, will decide to settle there.

The strategic position of Birobidjan, situated on the Russian-Japanese demarcation line, gave it a special significance when the war broke out. The Jewish medical school in Birobidjan was especially helpful in supplying physicians and nurses. Since its foundation the school has trained several hundred medical workers, the majority of whom volunteered for the Red Army units facing the Japanese.

During the war, 3,500 Jewish refugee war orphans have been settled in Birobidjan. A total of 30,000 more Jewish war orphans who escaped from Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and neighboring countries, and who have found refuge in the Soviet Union are to be resettled there.

At a meeting of the United Nation's Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons, which took place in April and May of 1946 in London, Great Britain asked the Soviet Union to open Birobidjan for Jewish refugees. A Reuter dispatch from Moscow dated May 6, 1946, quoted Soviet official sources to the effect that applications from Jews abroad for immigration to Birobidjan are now again being accepted. The Reuter report said: "To encourage immigration, the Soviet authorities are granting concessions in the form of reduced travelling fares, lower taxes, assistance in finding housing and jobs, instruction in skilled labor."

A government grant of two million rubles for the construction of a new theatre in Birobidjan was announced in April 1946. The building, which will house the Kaganovich State Theatre, is planned as an expansion measure for the expected increase in population in the Jewish Autonomous Region.

In the United States, the American Birobidjan Committee, a national organization engaged in extending material and moral aid in the building of the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan, adopted a 1946 budget of \$2,000,000 for supplies and \$1,000,000 for machinery to be sent to Birobidjan during the year.

Religious Life

The report by the State Commission to Investigate German Crimes revealed that 532 synagogues were destroyed by the Germans in Russia. However, Jews returning from their evacuation places in inner Russia to the western regions soon started on a vast rehabilitation program in connection with their religious life. These efforts are greatly helped by the fact that entire Yeshivas had been evacuated at the beginning of the war from Belorussia and the Western Ukraine to Central Asia at Soviet expense; refugee rabbis had continued to function in the evacuation centers. Thus, upon return to the former larger centers of Jewish settlements it was possible to start rebuilding Jewish religious life relatively quickly.

The Moscow Jewish Community on September 9, 1945, issued a Rosh Hashonah proclamation addressed "To the Religious Jews All Over the World," emphasizing that Jews must now concentrate on the rebuilding of Jewish life shattered by the German extermination of the Jewish communities in Europe. "The war has ruined and devastated our people," the proclamation says. "Now all our strength should be directed towards the rehabilitation of all that has been destroyed. We must concentrate on the rapid rebuilding of a new life for the Jewish people who have lost a third of their number. We, the religious Jews of the USSR, fervently desire that our brothers and sisters who were under the oppression of the German monsters and cannibals should rebuild their lives as rapidly as we, the Jews of the Soviet Union are doing it with the assistance of our government. Our continuous prayers and fears have reached the Almighty and He has given us victory over the fiendish enemy who was already at the gates of our capital. We believe that the Almighty will now also hear our prayers of thanksgiving and bestow upon the surviving Jews a happy and joyous life."

In the beginning of 1946 it was reported that the Soviet Government, with the easing of paper shortage, has granted the Moscow Jewish Community permission to print prayer books and religious calendars. There are 14 synagogues in Moscow, four in the city proper and ten in the suburbs. The synagogues are well attended, with persons coming not

only for praying, but to study the Mishnah and Talmudic works. Attached to each synagogue, in addition to one or more rabbis, are a shochet and several sextons. Samuel Chobrutzky, President of the Moscow Community Council, announced that the Moscow Community had an income of 2,600,000 rubles in 1945, of which it donated 1,000,000 rubles for the reconstruction of communities destroyed by the Germans. The Council's income is derived from the sale of tickets to Holy Day services, donations accompanying the reading of the Holy Scroll and fees for funeral services.

The Leningrad Synagogue which had been badly damaged by German artillery during the 29-month siege was rebuilt in time to be used for Rosh Hashonah services.

Upon their return to Kiev, religious Jews found that all synagogues were in ruins and not a single Sefer Torah or prayer book could be found in the city. Everything had been destroyed by the Germans. With the assistance of the Central Government's Committee on Religion, six Torahs and a number of religious books were obtained from the Moscow Jewish Community. In 1944, there was still no synagogue available for Rosh Hashonah and services were held by about 15 *minyans* scattered in private homes throughout the city. In March 1946, however, a large two story synagogue was placed at the disposal of the community by the Soviet authorities. After extensive repairs it was ready for use in April, and services were held there daily. At the same time, the Jewish religious community was officially reconstituted and elections of officers held. Lazar Schwartzman was named chairman and Itzhak Shekhman was re-elected Rabbi of Kiev. The community council decided that another synagogue was required and work has begun on one, with material supplied by the authorities.

When the surviving Jews of Rostov returned, a small congregation began meeting at the home of the chairman of the Jewish community. After a while the group grew and with the aid of the Council on Religious Affairs of the Regional Soviet and individual Jews of the community, the congregation collected funds and rebuilt their house of worship. Two thousand prayer books and a number of Torahs were collected and contributed to the synagogue. A large part of the books were saved by workers at the local museum

who, at the risk of their lives, hid them in cellars and garrets throughout the German occupation of the city. In addition to the synagogue's restoration, the congregation of Rostov has also rehabilitated the local Jewish cemetery which the Germans had desecrated, and a new burial society has been organized. Funds are also being collected to erect a monument in memory of the martyred Jews of the city. Early in 1946, machinery for baking unleavened Passover bread, which was hidden at the approach of the Germans, was recovered and put to use again. Thus, the surviving Jews of Rostov ate matzohs for the first time in five years.

B. POLAND

The Polish Provisional Government of National Unity was formed on June 28, 1945, as a result of an understanding reached between the Warsaw Provisional Government and other Polish democratic leaders from Poland and abroad. Within a few weeks, the Government of National Unity won recognition from the Big Three and other United Nations. Poland became a member of the United Nations. The former "Government-in-Exile" in London went out of existence.

With the solution of one of the most difficult political problems of the post-war period, the way was freed for the reconstruction of that part of war-devastated Eastern Europe. The problems of reconstruction affect both Jews and non-Jews in the new Poland.

For the Jewish population of Poland, the change had special significance. For the first time in modern history, Poland was governed by a regime not only free of anti-Semites but on principle even opposed to anti-Semitism. The old Poland of the period between the two World Wars had been characterized by the most tragic development of anti-Semitism. The regime of that period, towards the end represented by the "exile" government of London, was dominated by what became to be known as "Endekism," after the ultra-nationalistic and programmatically anti-Semitic party of the "Endeks." The regime had been permeated with hate of the Jews for whom that period became the saddest in their his-

tory. The disappearance of the "exile" government of London marked the end of that period. "Endekism" was ended.

For the Jews of Poland, the profound difference between the old and the new government became obvious very soon: While after the First World War the old Polish regime had demanded the deportation of a million "superfluous Jews,"—one of the first acts of the new Polish Government of National Unity was to send out a commission into the concentration camps of Germany in order to facilitate the repatriation of Polish Jews still interned in those camps. Similarly, the new government took steps for the repatriation of the nearly 250,000 Polish Jews who represented that part of Polish Jewry which had found refuge in the Soviet Union. Clearly the new Polish regime extended a hearty invitation to the Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution.

Anti-Semitism Reappears

However, the friendly attitude of the new regime towards the Jews of the country does not mean that the "Jewish problem" has been solved in Poland. Anti-Semitism had had deep roots in the Polish population and soon after the liberation of the country from Nazi occupation, anti-Semitic activities on a wide scale reappeared. The reasons for these manifestations of anti-Semitism are various. Not only have age-old prejudices survived among the population, but the insidious effect of Nazi propaganda through six years of occupation has left its marks. The people of Poland had become used to the fact that any cruelty and any crime could be perpetrated against Jews without fear of punishment. In addition, many Poles had during the occupation acquired businesses and properties formerly owned by Jews and now were desirous of retaining them. The instinctive resentment against restitution enhanced the anti-Semitic feeling of the people.

The most important factor in the growth of violent anti-Semitism is a political one. Remnants of the old regime in the country, anti-Semitic reactionaries who are eager to regain political power, combined their efforts with the scattered remainders of the "Armja Krajowa" ("National Armed Forces") linked with London "exile" circles. In a plan de-

signed to create difficulties for the new government, these fascist and semi-fascist forces perform acts of violence against Jews with the intention of forcing the government to intervene for their protection. Simultaneously, they carry on a whispering campaign against "too many Jews in the government" with the intention of creating ill will against the Government of National Unity. Similarly, adherents of the same reactionary forces abroad are diligently trying to spread accusations against the Polish Government of failing in the protection of the Jewish victims of the pogroms; concurrently, the Government is conveniently accused of "persecuting democrats" whenever news of a major action against anti-Semitic reactionaries reaches foreign countries.

The result of this situation was that throughout the country acts of violence, including murder, flared up against the Jews, creating panic and confusion amongst the few thousands of Jews who had either survived Nazi terror in the country or returned after the liberation from Nazi concentration camps in Germany.

A new problem appeared on the horizon of that war-ravaged country, Poland. Shortly after the return of the deported people had begun, a migration in the opposite direction reappeared. Jews started out on the old trek leading from Poland westward.

Out of a pre-war total of nearly three and one half million Jews in Poland, only a few thousand survived within the country. Several tens of thousands returned from camps in Germany. Thousands have since gone back to "displaced persons" centers in the American zones of occupation in Austria and Germany. Thus, according to a statement issued towards the end of January 1946 by the Central Jewish Committee of Poland, there were only 86,000 Jews left in Poland. The bulk of them lived in the following cities and districts: Warsaw, 9,000; Krakow province, 9,800; Lodz province, 17,500; Czestochowa district, 2,500; Bialystok province, 1,600; Upper Silesia, 20,000; Lower Silesia, 16,300; Lublin, 4,600; Kielce, 1,300; Wloclawek, 800; Rzeszow province, including Przemysl, 700; and Gdansk, 1,300. As it is expected that about 150,000 Polish Jews would return from the Soviet Union, it was estimated that the total Jewish population of Poland would increase to about a quarter of a million.

Outbreaks of Violence

Dr. Adolph Berman, Vice-President of the Polish League Against Racial Discrimination, in a statement broadcast by the Warsaw radio on April 12, 1946, revealed that about 400 Jews had been murdered in Poland in 1945, while in the first three months of 1946, the toll of anti-Semitic assaults reached fifty. Dr. Berman, who charged that almost all the killings were done by the "Armja Krajowa" ("National Armed Forces"), the anti-government underground unit linked with the "exile" government circles in London, said that 7,000 members of Polish political parties have been murdered in the fifteen months preceding his statement.

While only in a few instances the attacks assumed the character and proportions of a pogrom, they spread almost over the entire country; small villages and generally the countryside are the main scene of the anti-Semitic outbreaks. But on several occasions such incidents occurred even in larger towns. Out of the scores of killings and other attacks of violence, the following three may be regarded as typical:

On August 11, 1945, anti-Jewish riots occurred in Krakow. According to Marek Bitter, Vice-President of the Jewish Central Committee of Poland, who witnessed the Krakow riots, the outbreaks started in the morning in front of a synagogue on Miodowa Street. Polish traders in second hand goods whose shops are in the vicinity, spread a rumor that the Jews had seized Polish children and were hiding them in the synagogue. As a result, a group of about sixty hooligans began an attack on the synagogue where services were being held. The worshippers resisted the rioters, but the latter succeeded in pushing into the synagogue where a hand-to-hand fight raged until police arrived and restored order. After being ousted from the synagogue, the gang began attacking Jews on the streets. Some of them invaded Jewish houses and started looting. In the ensuing struggle, one Jewish man, Anshel Zucker, 62, and one Jewish woman, Chana Berger, 55, were killed and several injured. On the same evening, the anti-Jewish disturbances were renewed when another group broke into the synagogue and set the building afire. Prayer books were dragged out of the building and burned in a bonfire in the street.

According to Mr. Bitter's statement, the authorities, aware of the fact that the anti-Jewish outbreaks were instigated by reactionary elements who opposed the present regime, became very much disturbed. On the next day the Governor of Krakow called a conference of representatives of the Polish political parties. The conference resulted in a joint declaration strongly condemning the outrages. Resolutions against the uprising were also adopted at public meetings held in factories and in workshops. The Polish National Council adopted a resolution asking the Polish Government to prepare a decree making the dissemination of racial hatred a penal offense.

However, outbreaks of violence are even more frequent in smaller communities. In the small town of Czeladz, for instance, where only two Jews had escaped Nazi extermination, a riot, organized by anti-Government elements took the lives of both. In Parczew, a village forty miles from Lublin, a large number of men wearing military uniforms arrived on the night of February 4, 1946, and took over the police station. Soon thereafter, the uniformed men started beating up the Jews of the village. Five Jews were put against a wall and shot. The soldiers were members of the "Armja Krajowa." During the night every Jewish home was robbed. During the same night all Jews slipped away from the village. On the morning of February 5, not a Jew was left in Parczew.

The spread of violent anti-Semitism caused grave concern among the Jewish communities abroad, particularly in the United States. Representative Samuel Dickstein of New York introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives directing the Secretary of State to make an immediate investigation into the reported "massacres and threatened deaths" of Jews in Poland and to report to Congress with all convenient speed.

Infiltrates

In the meantime, Polish Jews who had returned to Poland after the German surrender, had begun fleeing from their homeland in search of refuge from anti-Semitic excesses and many were slipping back clandestinely into the American

zone of occupation in Germany. Although in a few instances such groups of "infiltrates" were forcibly returned to Poland on orders of the late General George S. Patton, Jr., in the main most of them succeeded in reaching displaced persons camps in the American zone. In the Munich area, where "infiltrates" were arriving at the rate of 300 daily, there was a total of 30,000 by the end of 1945. The United States Department of State announced on December 10, 1945, that Jewish refugees from Poland, once in the American zone, would not be returned against their will and would be sheltered on an equal footing with other displaced persons.

At the Munich center the "infiltrates" were received by the UNRRA administration and were assisted by the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria. This committee was formed while the war was still going on. It was made up of the first liberated victims of concentration camps and is organized along lines similar to the UNRRA. It deals with all immigration problems, from bed and billets to future transport. The Central Committee receives its main support from the American Joint Distribution Committee and could not continue to exist without help from the United States and Britain.

The Polish Government, while welcoming the return of the Jews to Poland, at the same time showed an understanding attitude towards their desire to emigrate. However, the government warned against disorganized and illegal movements. Similarly, the Central Jewish Committee of Poland appealed to the Jews, warning them against "chaotic emigration." The committee stated that the Jewish situation "in this country does not justify panicky emigration." The Central Committee's appeal said in part: "We know that the attitude of panic among the Jews is in a large measure the result of criminal assaults on Jews in certain towns and villages. However, we must remember that the same criminal hand is directed against democratic leadership of Poland and that the Polish Government is constantly expressing its determination to punish the offenders." Though emphasizing that many Jews do not want to remain in Poland where their families were murdered and that others desire to throw in their lot with the Jews of Palestine for ideological reasons, the appeal said: "The Central Committee is convinced that

irrespective of political opinions, Jews connected with Poland will continue to build their lives in Poland. The Jews who remain are making an effort to survive this difficult period, and we are prepared to fight uncertainty and feelings of panic."

The Fight Against Anti-Semitism

In a report on the violent anti-Semitic activities of reactionary forces, the Polish delegation to the World Zionist Conference, which was held in London in August 1945, said: "These elements aided the Germans in destroying millions of Polish Jews and they are still doing their murderous work; but the Warsaw Government of National Unity, in cooperation with the Russians, is acting strongly to annihilate these forces." Premier Edward B. Osubka-Morawski repeatedly stated on behalf of his government that the fight against anti-Semitism in Poland would continue as part of the fight for democracy and for the benefit of all, regardless of race and creed. It was frequently pointed out that the reactionary groups that were organizing the assaults on Jews follow exactly the same pattern in their attacks on Polish democrats, labor leaders, Socialists, members of the Peasant Party, or Communists. In an interview with the foreign press in Warsaw, the President of Poland, Boleslaw Bierut, declared that terrorism against the Jews was a heritage from Hitlerism. The government, he said, is relentlessly fighting the terroristic organizations who also turn their activity against democratic leadership. He emphasized that in democratic Poland there are no differences between citizens of Polish or Jewish ancestry.

The Polish Government is waging a ruthless, uncompromising and determined battle against the reactionary groups. For the Government of National Unity this battle is a matter of principle and of program as well as a question of survival. On June 22, 1944, the predecessor of the Polish Government, the Polish Committee of National Liberation, had already in a Manifesto guaranteed "the restitution of all democratic liberties, the equality of all citizens, regardless of race, creed or nationality," and had further affirmed that "the Jews who had been subjected to inhuman tortures by

the former occupants are guaranteed full rehabilitation and legal as well as actual equality of rights." Towards the end of 1945, the government promulgated a decree making violence against "persons of another nationality or religion" punishable under martial law by death or life imprisonment; severe punishment is also provided for the spreading of anti-Jewish propaganda. Polish authorities have repeatedly charged that the terrorists and fascists are encouraged and assisted by groups outside Poland. They claim that had it not been for this outside help the men responsible for the slaughter could have been rounded up long ago. In particular, the anti-Semitic groups in Poland of the "Armja Krajowa" are linked with Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, Commander of the Polish troops within the British Army. Anti-Semitism in the Polish Army is a well established fact. When Gen. Sikorski issued an order of the day, condemning this attitude, Gen. Anders circulated the following commentary among his troops: "The order formulates the official point of view. . . . You may consider such a defense of the Jews as strange. . . . Do not forget that we are dependent on England. . . . Therefore, open acts against the Jews are temporarily forbidden." Prof. Oscar Lange, Polish Ambassador to the United States, on January 3, 1946, revealed that a nest of the Polish underground anti-Semites was located in the town of Coburg, Bavaria, which is in the American occupation zone in Germany; these Anders' affiliates in Coburg, who had previously been ousted from Czechoslovakia by the Americans, constituted Gen. Anders' link with Poland. This Polish fascist organization feeds present-day anti-Semitism in Poland. Money in great quantities from the United States or from old caches in London is being sent to Poland for the anti-Semitic activities.

At a reception given by New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer for a visiting delegation of the Central Jewish Committee of Poland, Dr. Emil Sommerstein, Zionist leader of the delegation, replying to the Mayor's greetings, said that "those responsible for the murders of the Jews in Poland today are the same terrorist bands which attack the present Government of Poland." Dr. Sommerstein charged that the anti-Semitic terrorists are receiving aid and guidance from General Wladyslaw Anders.

Thus, although the Polish Government is doing what it can in fighting these groups, it has so far not succeeded in stamping them out. Nevertheless, the Polish Government not only tries to protect the Jews but takes them into government service without discrimination. The attitude of the government was expressed by the Vice Foreign Minister, Sigismund Modzelewski, as follows: "We want the Jews to stay in Poland because Jews, before their extermination were engaged in trades which have since disappeared and which are now needed. Also, we feel moral obligations towards the remnants of Jewry."

Rehabilitation Among Ruins

Reports on measures taken by the Polish Government to aid and rehabilitate the surviving Jewish people have been frequently received from Warsaw. However, the Polish Government fully understands that it is not an easy thing to build up one's life on the cemetery of the past and that for psychological reasons some of these people long to join their families abroad. The government, therefore, declared that far from preventing them from leaving Poland, it would wholeheartedly permit emigration. Premier Edward B. Osobka-Morawski also declared that his government sympathizes with Jewish efforts to found a home in Palestine for like every other people, the Jews had a right to a country of their own.

The Polish Government granted permission to the Jewish Agency for Palestine to send a representative to Poland and invited a delegation of Jews living in Palestine to come to Poland to study the prospects for the emigration of Polish Jews to Palestine. The government promised to assist persons desiring to emigrate, provided they obtained immigration certificates.

The new Poland, however, does not believe the solution of the Jewish problem in Poland lies in emigration and advocates this step only for those who wish to leave. The government wants the Jews to remain in Poland where they may build their lives anew, on new principles, on new foundations. At the plenary session of the Polish Parliament on January 2,

1946, Premier Osobka-Morawski declared on behalf of his government: "The remaining Jewish people will enjoy not only legal but actual equality of rights as well as assistance in restoring vocational opportunities." Accordingly, Jews who can prove their title to property such as houses can—like all other Polish citizens—have their rights immediately restored and become once again the rightful owners.

The law of May 6, 1945, deals with "abandoned properties," that is all properties that as a result of war conditions "are not in the possession of their owner, his legal successors or their lawful representatives." Article 3 of that law invalidates all arrangements or agreements concluded by or with occupation authorities with respect to such "abandoned property." Whoever acquired or otherwise possesses such property is to be considered a *mala fide* possessor and is as such responsible not only for the property itself but for all income derived from it during the entire period of his possession. The Treasury Department has established a "Main Office for Temporary State Administration" to which "abandoned properties" were to be reported immediately; non-compliance with this order is punishable by up to five years imprisonment and 200,000 zlotys fine.

All "abandoned property" must be restored to its legitimate owner, regardless of who the present possessor is. The owner or, in his absence, his relatives can put in a claim for restitution. The court procedure is liberal; where documents are lacking, other means of evidence can be admitted; no court fees are collected; the decisions of the court are to be put into effect immediately. Information is not at present available as to the practical effect of these provisions.

The government extends every assistance in rehabilitating Jewish citizens. It aids in restoring Jewish cooperatives and workshops, in organizing Jewish vocational schools, hospitals and orphanages. Jewish model farms have been set up in the newly acquired western areas. In Silesia more than 26,000 Jews are building themselves a new life on new foundations. At a meeting of the Economic Council of the Central Jewish Committee, on April 2, 1946, Dr. Joseph Parnes, former partisan leader, outlined plans for the establishment of several hundred Jewish cooperatives in Poland. Dr. Parnes declared that the cooperative movement was the very best

means of establishing Jewish economy on a firm foundation. He revealed that 18 cooperatives, organized on the "workshop" principle have already been established and that another 12 were in the process of being set up. Jews are working in factories and workshops, in professions, in commerce and industry.

Dr. Joseph Schwartz, European Chairman of the American Joint Distribution Committee, who made a survey of conditions in Poland, stated: "It is surprising to see how much vitality is left in these few survivors of Nazi terror The theater and literary guild are about to be revived in Lodz this former center of Jewish culture. There is an eagerness to re-establish social services in which the Joint Committee is aiding. The majority want to work or learn a trade. They are very serious about becoming decent citizens."

The government assures to Jews free expression of their cultural and religious life and gives full support to newly formed cultural institutions, to Jewish schools, newspapers, theaters, radio broadcasts. The best illustration for this type of support may be the fact, published by the Jewish Central Committee in Poland, that up to the end of January the government had already given 92 million zlotys to Jewish relief institutions; this amount represents ten per cent of the budget for such purposes, whereas the Jews constitute only one-third of one per cent of the population. Nevertheless, the needs are tremendous. The Polish Minister of Welfare, Jan Stanczyk, in a letter to the Jewish Labor Committee in New York stated: ". . . Although the whole population of Poland is living in misery, the Jewish people are in exceptionally hard conditions. They have lost everything. As Minister of Social Welfare, I try to help them, but my means are extremely limited. . . . I should be grateful to you for organizing some kind of help. Clothes and food are indispensable to us. Our relations with the Soviet Union are developing quite well. The Russians do not interfere in our inner affairs. We are really independent. Our principal troubles are economic ones. . . . The consciousness of having friends in the world helps very greatly in overcoming those terrible difficulties in which we have to exist and work until we heal, if only partially, the wounds caused by war." In its answer to this appeal, the Jewish Labor

Committee, announcing that funds had already been allocated for the relief of Jews in Poland, said: "We are confident that the Polish people who were the first target of Nazi aggression will fight against the recurrence of reaction and anti-Semitism in their country."

In May and June 1946, the Central Jewish Committee of Poland sent a delegation to the United States to discuss methods of relief and rehabilitation for Polish Jewry. The delegation was headed by Dr. Emil Sommerstein, Chairman of the Central Jewish Committee and Vice-Minister in the Polish Government. Accompanying Dr. Sommerstein were eight delegates representing the several groups and organizations which compose the Polish Jewish community: Itzhak Gerson (Zionist); Henryk Wasser (Poale-Zion, left); Joseph Sack (Poale-Zion, right); Miss Chaya Grossman (Hashomer Hatzair); Shlome Herschenhorn (Bund); Marek Bitter, Vice Chairman of the Central Jewish Committee (Polish Workers' Party); M. Mirsky (Union of Jewish Writers, Journalists and Artists); Anatol Wertheim (Jewish Partisan Movement); and the secretary, Mrs. Halina Gertner. The delegation was seeking material relief to the amount of 1,700,000,000 zlotys (approximately \$13,000,000) for the rehabilitation of the communal and cultural life of the Jews in Poland.

In the meantime, the first steps towards reestablishment of Jewish enterprises have been taken. As early as June 1945, the Labor and Production Section of the Central Jewish Committee in Warsaw announced that between May 15 and June 1, 1945, it had granted loans totaling 3½ million zlotys for the establishment of various types of businesses and shops.

Similarly, Jewish political life is again resuming its activities. Early in July 1945, the Jewish Socialist "Bund" held its first convention in Lodz which was attended by 44 delegates from Warsaw, Lodz, Krakow, Lublin, Tarnow, Czestochowa, Piotrkow and Katowice, and in September 1945, a six-point declaration issued by all Zionist groups in Poland made a strong appeal for a Jewish state in Palestine on foundations of democracy and social progress; the proclamation appealed for basic unity of Jews in Poland, came out in support of the Hachsharah movement and stressed the necessity of the Histadruth as the sole Zionist labor

organization in Palestine. The Union of Orthodox Jews of Poland has worked out plans for the restitution of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries in various parts of the country where Jewish survivors have returned for permanent residence.

Despite all the devoted efforts to care for the suffering and to revive Jewish life, it is evident that there can be no cultural or economic future comparable with the past. A considerable part of the Polish Jews, therefore, want to emigrate, particularly to Palestine. Those who feel they want to go to Palestine are not necessarily Zionists. Their recent suffering gives them an emotional desire to get into a Jewish community among relatives and friends. Palestine is thought to offer fewer obstacles to immigration than other countries.

When a subcommittee of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine visited Poland, Dr. Adolph Berman, Professor Joseph Sack, Pawel Zelicki and Mr. Kosower, representing the Central Jewish Committee of Poland presented a memorandum stressing the catastrophe which the Germans brought to Polish Jews. The memorandum declared that the surviving Jews were primarily persons who had been broken physically and psychologically and for the most part were bereft of their families. Despite the fact that the government assured full equality for the Jews and urgently recommended that they remain in Poland, many desired to emigrate. The note adds: "The Polish Government and democratic parties fight anti-Semitism, so deeply rooted in the Tsarist era and reinforced during the German occupation by Nazi propaganda . . . Despite this, anti-Jewish, fascist activity continues. We emphasize most emphatically, however, that it is not anti-Semitism that causes emigration, as some people abroad wrongfully claim . . . We appeal to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine with the request to abrogate the White Paper; for free Jewish emigration to Palestine; for independent existence of the Jewish people in Palestine."

Repatriation from the Soviet Union

The largest single block of Polish Jews who survived the German invasion lived in the Soviet Union throughout the war. There were thought to be about 250,000 of them. The

Soviet Union offered to grant Soviet citizenship to all of them, as well as to the Jewish refugees from other countries.

In addition, there were in the Soviet Union those Jews who on September 17, 1939, had been Polish citizens and who acquired Soviet citizenship when Belorussia and Western Ukraine were incorporated in the Soviet Union. Under an agreement concluded on July 6, 1945, between the Polish Government of National Unity and the Soviet Government, former Polish citizens, both war refugees and incorporated Poles, can "withdraw from Soviet citizenship" and request repatriation to Poland. Thus Polish Jews, including those from Belorussia and Western Ukraine (Galicia) can ask for the restoration of their Polish citizenship and for repatriation to Poland. Those deciding to take the step can take with them two tons of personal property if they are rural residents and one ton if they are city dwellers.

About 150,000 out of the estimated 250,000 Polish Jews in the Soviet Union are expected to return to Poland. These people had, for the most part taken an active part in the economic life of the U.S.S.R. According to Berl Mark, member of the presidium of the Central Committee of Polish Jews in the Soviet Union, seventy per cent of the 250,000 Polish Jews now in Russia have found employment in industrial enterprises, many of them in metallurgical industries. A report of that committee showed that Polish Jews in Russia were engaged in helping to restore Stalingrad, were working in steel mills and mines in Central Asia, in textile mills in Georgia, in the electric power industry, in children's homes in Uzbekistan and in many other parts of Asiatic Russia. They are skilled workers who know how to earn a living in many of the most important fields of production.

The Jewish Central Committee in Poland established "repatriation posts" in Lodz, Krakow, Kattowice, Bialystok, Przemysl, Chelm and Warsaw to receive the repatriates from the Soviet Union, and the Polish Government made military barracks available for them. As the Jewish quarters in the large Polish cities have been razed to the ground by the Nazis, these people no longer can congregate in these cities. The Central Committee, therefore, worked out a plan to settle them on farms and in factories in Western

Poland. In fact, Jewish colonies already have grown up in Silesia. The opportunities for settlement in newly acquired Polish territory in Lower Silesia, which was given to Poland under the Potsdam Agreement, have been brought to the attention of the prospective repatriates by the Organizing Committee of Polish Jews, which is a section of the Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R. The first groups of repatriates began to arrive at the beginning of 1946. In February 1946, for instance, a party of 2,700 Jewish repatriates from the Eastern Ukraine arrived in Lower Silesia. Medical relief brigades were stationed at the railway stations along which the repatriates traveled enroute from the U.S.S.R.

On March 13, 1946, several hundred Polish Jewish refugees who had been working in factories near Moscow left for Poland. Prior to their leaving, Dr. M. Sfarid speaking at a mass meeting, on behalf of the Polish Jewish Committee in the U.S.S.R., thanked the Soviet Government for the asylum.

The capital of Silesia, Wroclaw (formerly Breslau), is becoming a center of Polish Jews who prefer settling in Lower Silesia to returning to their devastated home towns from which all their friends and relatives were deported to extermination camps. By the middle of May 1946, about 85,000 Polish Jews, including 15,000 children, had been repatriated from the Soviet Union, 60,000 of them to Lower Silesia where 65,000 more were expected to arrive, and about 15,000 to Szczecin (formerly Stettin). The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee announced on June 14, 1946, an emergency cash grant of \$1,000,000 for the relief of the Polish Jews repatriated from inner Russia to Poland.

A considerable number of Polish Jews, however, intend to remain in the Soviet Union. The majority of the several thousands of Polish Jews who at the beginning of the war were evacuated to Kirghizia have adapted themselves to the new conditions of life and acquired new trades which give them an opportunity to lead a normal life. About 25,000 Polish Jews are employed in factories and on construction work, as well as in offices and on collective farms in the Frunze region. Others are working in the Osk and Djalalabad regions, chiefly in timber yards and in coal pits. Local

authorities are helping the Polish Jews to adjust themselves since most of them were formerly small traders and artisans in Poland. Many of the Jews made the adjustment easily and some of them have received prizes and certificates of merit.

It is doubtful whether the majority of the Polish Jews in the Soviet Union who are returning to Poland will want to remain there. The present Polish Government, realizing the value of Jewish initiative and enterprise, as well as the newly acquired skills to the war-devastated country, and refusing to surrender to anti-Semitic reaction, is trying to induce the Jews to stay, as are responsible Jewish leaders.

However, the Anglo-American Committee's analysis of the psychological aspect of the problem should be borne in mind. The Committee said:

The visit of our subcommittee to the ghetto in Warsaw has left on their minds an impression which will forever remain. . . . Adjoining the ghetto there still stands an old barracks used as a place for killing Jews. . . . In the courtyards of the barracks were pits containing human ash and human bones. The effect of that place on Jews who came searching, so often in vain, for any trace of their dear ones can be left to the imagination.

When we remember that at Maidanek and Oswiecim and many other centers a deliberate policy of extermination, coupled with indescribable suffering, was inflicted upon the Jews, of whom it is estimated that certainly not less than 5,000,000 perished, we can well understand and sympathize with the intense desire of the surviving Jews to depart from localities so full of such poignant memories.

C. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Before the war, Czechoslovakia consisted of three provinces: Slovakia, Carpatho-Russia and the "Historic Lands" of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. When the country was

liberated from the German invasion, the Czechoslovakian Government ceded, under a Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement, the province of Carpatho-Russia to the Soviet Ukraine. Czechoslovakia became a Federated Republic consisting of the Historic Lands and Slovakia.

According to the 1930 census 347,629 Jews lived in the three provinces of Czechoslovakia. 117,551 Jews lived in the Historic Lands; 136,737 in Slovakia; and 93,341 in Carpatho-Russia. Out of nearly 350,000 Jews only about 50,000, including several thousand Carpatho-Russian Jews, now live in Czechoslovakia.

The Constitution of the Czechoslovakian Republic, founded after the first World War, recognized the principle of "protection of national minorities." Under this principle a German, a Hungarian, and a Jewish minority had official status. In the Historic Lands 36,778 Jews (31.3%) registered as of Jewish nationality; 42,669 (36.7%) as of Czech or Slovak nationality; and 36,657 (30.3%) as of German nationality. In Slovakia 72,644 (53.1%) registered as of Jewish nationality; 44,009 (32.1%) as of Czechoslovakian or Slovak; 9,945 (1.3%) as of German; and 9,728 (1.1%) as of Hungarian nationality.

In pre-war Czechoslovakia the so-called theory of National Minorities was given the most honest and sincere trial. All national minorities were given full cultural and autonomous rights. However, the Czechoslovak Government and people were bitterly disappointed in the experiment, as the activities of the German and Hungarian minorities led them into one of the greatest tragedies of their national life. As a result of their experience the Czechs have decided to abolish the system of national minorities. This, of course, does not impair the rights of Jews, or even of Zionists, to be what they are, just as the democratic systems of the United States, Great Britain, France, and other countries do not impair the rights of Jews or Zionists by not recognizing them as a distinct national group within the State. Under the new system, Jews in Czechoslovakia have all the civil and political rights on terms of complete equality with the other citizens. The government of democratic Czechoslovakia is traditionally free from anti-Semitism. The various ministers

dealing with Jewish problems and especially the Foreign Minister, Jan Masaryk (no party affiliation) and the Minister of Interior, Vaclav Nosek (Communist), are highly sympathetic with the Jewish problems. Instructions issued on April 7, 1946, by the Minister of the Interior, Nosek, to all administrative agencies and national committees eliminate all references to religious preference or racial origin on official forms of government agencies in Bohemia and Moravia. Nosek's instructions said: "Reference to racial origin or religious denomination in official communications is contrary to the democratic spirit of equality of all citizens in a free country and must be considered a survival of the ideology introduced by the fascist occupation forces." Under the instructions those who were persecuted by the Nazis for religious or racial reasons are placed on equal footing with those persecuted for political reasons.

As the minorities system was abolished, the status of the Jews who in 1930 registered as of Jewish, Hungarian or German nationality had to be regulated. The Ministry of Interior published regulations providing that "Jews of Jewish nationality" who did not commit any acts against the Czechoslovakian Republic can retain full Czechoslovak citizenship. Under a Czech-Hungarian agreement, Jews in Slovakia who had registered as of Hungarian nationality have the choice of remaining in the country or being repatriated to Hungary. A special difficulty arose only in the case of those Jews who in 1930 had claimed "German nationality."

The German Problem

The overwhelming majority of the Germans in the Sudetenland considered Germany as their fatherland. They had helped to engineer the dismemberment of the first Czechoslovakian Republic and voted in vast numbers for Hitler for whom they had abandoned Czech citizenship and had become citizens of the German Reich. As a result, the new Czechoslovak Government decided to end the German minority problem by "repatriation" to Germany of the whole German minority, i. e. all former Czech citizens who had registered as of German nationality. The repatriation is in

progress; exceptions are made for proven anti-fascist Germans and for "Jews of German nationality."

The approximately 30% of the Jews of the Historic Lands who in the 1930 census had registered as Germans had done so legally. Their political wisdom, however, was questionable. They had not only enhanced the chance of the German minority to attain 20% of the population, which gave them special minority rights, but had exposed themselves to the charge, expressed by the Czechs before the war, of having favored the German nationality trend, of having been "Germanizers" i. e. supporters of German schools, universities, theaters, and other institutions. Although since Hitler's rise to power and particularly after Munich, they had no longer espoused this cause, Czech resentment against the "Jews of German nationality" continued to be very strong even after the liberation. It was feared that these Jews might be deprived of their Czech citizenship, deported to Germany and their property confiscated.

Pending deportation, the Sudeten Germans live in conditions similar to those of the Jews under the occupation. They have to wear white arm bands, can shop only at certain hours and are under curfew restrictions. The Jews of German nationality are excepted from these regulations and, as former victims of the Nazis, can apply for recognition as Czechs.

Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, in an interview given in April 1946 to Dr. Max Gottschalk of the American Jewish Committee, stated that the cabinet had agreed "to halt temporarily deportation procedures against Jews of German nationality." When the Czech Union of Jewish Communities called attention to the fact that in 17 districts of Bohemia and Moravia Jewish-owned agricultural holdings were confiscated under the law expropriating land held by Germans, the Czechoslovakian Ministry of Agriculture instructed local officials to halt such confiscations. In the meantime, the applications of the approximately 2,500 Jews of German nationality for recognition as Czech citizens are being considered on their individual merits with a view to determining their loyalty to Czechoslovakia.

Carpatho-Russian Jews

Of the more than 93,000 Jews who lived in Carpatho-Russia before the war, only a few hundred remain in the province now ceded to the Soviet Union. About 15,000 Carpatho-Russian Jewish survivors, however, found themselves in Czechoslovakia after the liberation. The Czechoslovak government resettled part of them in the Sudetenland.

Under a Czechoslovak-Russian treaty all Carpatho-Russian residents of that territory who in 1930 had registered as Czechs or Slovaks (not Ruthenians), or who attended Czech schools were granted the right to choose either Soviet or Czechoslovak citizenship by January 1, 1946. Those who opted for Czechoslovakia could leave the territory; the others, even if they lived in Czechoslovakia, had to be returned to Soviet Ukraine. The Jews were not mentioned in the agreement. As more than 90% of the 15,000 Carpatho-Russian Jews had registered as of Jewish nationality, their status was not quite clear. It was feared that most of them would be compelled to return to Soviet territory. However, subsequent negotiations between Jewish representatives and Czech and Soviet authorities led to arrangements under which the Soviet Ukraine invited the Carpatho-Russian Jews now residing in Czechoslovakia to register for repatriation if they so desired. It was agreed that they would not be compelled to return to Carpatho-Russia against their wish. Even before this arrangement had been agreed upon, the greater part of the 15,000 Carpatho-Russian Jews had left Czechoslovakia and were headed westward, hoping to find resettlement in Palestine or in some other country. The Prague Jewish Community arranged for immigration to France of several thousand Carpatho-Russian Jews. The Federation of Jewish Societies in France announced on June 9, 1946, that it is establishing a special department to aid Jewish refugees from Carpatho-Russia. The Federation estimated that over 4,000 Jews from Carpatho-Russia had been resettled in France and expected many more who were on the way. These Jews present a special problem for the Jewish relief organizations in France since they constitute a type of immigrant hitherto almost unknown there: most of them are very religious, requiring special treatment.

Restitution

One of the earliest laws (No. 5/45) issued by the new government, declared all sales of Jewish property after September 29, 1938, (date of the Munich Pact) as void. Harold Trobe, J.D.C. director for Czechoslovakia, reported in January 1946 that the restoration of confiscated and stolen property to Jews in Bohemia and Moravia had begun. The situation with respect to restitution in the Historic Lands is different from that in Slovakia.

Jewish properties which had been turned over to the German Auswanderungsfond in the "Protectorate" are now administered by the Ministry of Social Welfare and can be repossessed by the Jews without much difficulty. In the Sudetenland, such property had been transferred to the Ministry of Finance in Berlin and is now in the care of the Ministry of Finance in Prague. To get it back the Jews of German or Hungarian nationality have first to recover their Czech citizenship. Those of Czech or Jewish nationality have no difficulties at all. Pending a final solution of the restitution problems many Jews have been appointed administrators of their own businesses, factories or real estates.

In Slovakia, most of the Jewish property fell into the hands of the Slovak population. For this and other reasons the restitution problem is most disturbing. The federal law voiding all sales of Jewish property which occurred since Munich was not recognized in Slovakia until April 1946. Only then was Slovakia committed to enforce the federal law. The procedure is very slow. Meanwhile Jews can become administrators over their own or other Jews' property, but here again the local authorities request special certificates of loyalty and often find some reason to refuse it to Jews. As about 70% of the Slovak population had benefitted directly or indirectly by the spoliation of Jews, they are not anxious to return the ill-gotten property. Thus, the difficulties to be surmounted are great. Many Jews in Slovakia find themselves faced with the necessity of moving to some other parts of the country. Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, stated that the government would consider favorably the resettlement in the Sudetenland of those who would like to move from Slovakia. Some Jews have already left.

The Bratislava newspaper *Pravda*, official organ of the Slovak Communist Party, discussing the nationalization of large agricultural estates in connection with the problem of restitution of land confiscated from Jews by the Slovak puppet regime, urged that Jews should be allowed to repossess, in conformity with the nationalization law, as much of their former land as they now can work and should be compensated for all other holdings, which are to be divided among the peasantry. The newspaper recommended that Jewish estates which have already been parcelled out among peasants should remain the property of the new owners, but the former owners should be paid an officially determined price, the newspaper advocated. Pending final settlement of land ownership, the Slovakian regional government issued a decree granting Jews or their heirs the right to occupy, rent-free, land confiscated from them by the puppet Slovak regime. The decree applies only to 40 hectares (96 acres), since any holdings in excess of that figure are to be nationalized throughout Czechoslovakia.

In February 1946, the Ministry of Social Welfare paid 3,000,000 krana to the Federation of Jewish Congregations of Bohemia and Moravia as the first payment from the confiscated funds of Jews who had died in the Terezin camp without leaving heirs. Under an arrangement announced in May 1946, the government will make these funds available to the Jewish Federation at the rate of 5,000,000 krana monthly. The Czechoslovak Treasury also authorized repayment to Jews of the confiscatory taxes imposed upon them during the German occupation.

Reconstruction

The efforts to reconstruct the Jewish communities in Czechoslovakia have the benevolent support of government authorities. Almost immediately after the liberation of the country the government declared that all regulations excluding Jews from public life were inconsistent with the principles of the Czech constitution and therefore void. Thus, many Jewish professionals are back in their pre-war positions. President Benes has been in frequent consultation with Jewish representatives and has shown a desire to aid

the Jews in overcoming their difficulties. When a group of several hundred Czech Jews, returning from Palestine where they had taken refuge during the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia, arrived in Naples, the Czech Ministry of Social Welfare sent a special train to Naples to bring them to Prague.

The outlook for the reconstruction of Jewish life is different in the two parts of Czechoslovakia. Conditions for a proper reintegration of the Jews are much better in the Historic Lands than in Slovakia.

Jews in Czechoslovakia are organized in the Kultus-gemeinde or Congregation. In the course of the past year nearly 200 such congregations were restored throughout Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. The congregations of the Historic Lands and Slovakia are organized in two separate federations, each having autonomous privileges including the rights of taxation and of establishing schools with official support. In the Historic Lands the Federation of the Jewish Congregations is presided over by Ernst Frischer. In Slovakia the congregations were at first divided into two opposing groups, the orthodox and the reformed. Under a government decree the two groups were joined in a United Federation of which Rabbi Armin Frieder is chairman. He has very broad responsibilities and powers, including the administration and disposition of the properties of Jewish communities, the latter with the concurrence of the competent Minister. These powers will become very important when the restitution law places in his hands all the communal properties, which he evaluated at 80,000,000 kruna (\$1,600,000).

The Ministry of Social Welfare distributed large stores of machinery found at Terezin (Theresienstadt), with preference given to those who suffered from racial persecution. The main part of the distributed machinery consisted of sewing and weaving machines which are used by the Jews in establishing textile and garment industries.

In the face of all the difficulties, Jewish cultural activities have been resumed. When the first constitutional assembly of the Zionist organization of Prague was held in May 1946, more than 500 members and guests attended. At Karlovy Vary the Hashomer Hatzair named a new training farm in honor of Ben-Zion Feuerstein, a Jewish partisan hero.

Anti-Semitism

In the Historic Lands there is no outspoken anti-Semitism although there is still some resentment against some of the "Jews of German nationality" who were outstanding in furthering German culture. In Slovakia, however, the situation is quite different. The Slovak regional government is composed of the Democratic Party (majority) and the Communists (minority). The Communists charge the "Democratic" ministers with having cooperated with Hlinka, the Slovak Nazi leader, since October 1939. The relationship of Bratislava—Slovak capital—to Prague—capital of the central government—has a special bearing on the Jewish situation. Under the federal constitution, federal laws are applicable in both States; in practice, however, it is different. In the Historic Lands federal laws are accepted automatically; but not so in Slovakia. In addition, Slovakia interprets the laws in its own way. It therefore happens that certain liberal laws are applied restrictively in matters affecting Jews, as for instance legislation concerning citizenship.

When, after Munich, Slovakia became an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia and, subsequently, became an independent State allied to Germany, most of the population collaborated with the Nazis. The persecution of the Jews was most severe. Thus, the entire country was permeated with a deeply rooted anti-Semitism, which is strengthened by the fact that a large proportion of the population is holding property taken from the Jews. Thus, in the midst of the unsettled and partly chaotic conditions of Slovakia, rabid anti-Semitism is still rampant. Anti-Semitic articles continue to appear in the Slovak press, especially in the Bratislava newspaper *Cas* which is connected with the Democratic Party. Thus, in the course of the past year, Jews were wounded by anti-Semitic attackers and in some cases even lost their lives. Minor anti-Jewish disturbances still are frequent. The public prosecutor in the town of Namesti, Slovakia, who had been appointed special investigator of fascist and anti-Semitic activities, was murdered by unknown assailants believed to be those whom he was to investigate. The Slovakian Jews have a defense organization called "Association of Racial Victims." There is also a non-Jewish weekly which upholds human rights and speaks against discrimination.

In view of such conditions, representatives of Slovakian Jewry testifying before a Subcommittee of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine stated that more than 60% of the surviving Jews of Slovakia want to leave the country as soon as possible. The great majority of them want to go to Palestine, while those with relatives in the United States would like to come to this country.

Religious Life

In the past, the Jews in the Historic Lands were not very observant. The influx of Carpatho-Russian Jews, however, who brought with them the religious traditions of Carpatho-Russia, caused a change.

In one of the large old synagogues of Prague a most remarkable museum of Jewish religious history has been established. Under the occupation, the Prague Gauleiter had ordered all ritual objects from the entire country collected and brought to Prague. Thus, several thousand *sefer-torahs* and fragments of old and invaluable documents were gathered and preserved. To add to this collection, and to help restore religious life, some religious objects were also sent from the United States by diplomatic pouch, with the aid of Czech government authorities.

In Slovakia out of a former 150 rabbis there are only 15 alive, of whom only seven are really active. There are enough religious teachers available, but very few children are left. In pre-war days, 3,500 frequented Jewish schools; today only 60 under 14 years and 100 between the ages of 14-18 are alive. A Yeshivah has been opened. The problem of children in the care of non-Jews does not exist; the foster parents are always ready to give them up in return for payment of their expenses. About 600 young orphans are in special Jewish homes.

The Jewish community in Prague has been granted permission to introduce ritual slaughtering of cattle at a municipal slaughter house. The first post-liberation Passover was observed all over the country in communal seders. Matzohs and wine, in limited quantities, were available for the first time in eight years.

VII. SOUTHERN EUROPE¹

By EUGENE HEVESI²

A. HUNGARY

On March 18, 1944, on the eve of Hungary's occupation by the German Reichswehr, approximately 305,000 Jews lived in the city of Budapest and 610,000 in provincial towns and villages of Hungary, representing a total of 915,000. This included 415,000 inhabitants of territories annexed by Hungary during the war from Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, as well as an indeterminate number of former Jews and persons of mixed parentage who under anti-Semitic laws were considered as Jews.

Throughout this territory, increased by the so-called Vienna decisions, only 243,000 Jews have survived. In present-day reduced Hungary, according to estimates of the Budapest Jewish Community, there are only some 182,000 Jews, about 150,000 of whom live in the capital, the rest in provincial localities. This figure includes some 10,000 Jewish refugees from other countries, mainly Poland. Together with Jewish deportees and forced laborers who have not yet returned to Hungary, the total number of Hungarian Jews alive may hardly exceed 210,000.

The cost of Nazism in terms of Jewish lives in Hungary is, therefore, around 700,000, or about seventy-seven per cent of the original population. Most of this toll was taken in the twelve-month period between May 1944 and the end of the war in Europe, for until the occupation of Hungary by the Germans the bulk of Hungarian Jewry was physically safe. There is some justification, therefore, in saying that could the western front have been established half a year earlier, most of the Jews of Hungary would have survived.

A total of 727,000 Hungarian Jews were deported following the Nazi occupation—181,000 from Budapest and 546,000 from the provinces. The number of Jews previously deported, in July 1941, was about 20,000; in addition an estimated

¹ The period covered in this article is from June 1, 1945 to April 30, 1946.

² Member of staff, Foreign Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee.

42,000 Jewish forced laborers died outside Hungary. The total number of Jewish deportees from Hungary was therefore 789,000. Of these, only about 120,000 returned to Hungary, and a maximum of 30,000 to 35,000 may be still alive somewhere in Germany, Austria, and Russia. The last, the most numerous, are remnants of Jewish forced labor units now in prisoner of war camps in the Soviet Union. Only about 100,000 Jews succeeded in escaping deportation.

Economic Situation

Economically, the Jews of Hungary are in the worst condition of any Jewish group in Europe. They were robbed by the Hungarian Nazis and by the German army and Gestapo. They are subject, along with the general population, to the burdens of reparations and military occupation. Hungary's present economic condition is the most precarious in all Europe. Its economy was completely wrecked by the war and its aftermath. There is no food, no fuel, no raw materials, no rolling stock, no machinery for production and distribution, and no building materials to rebuild the ruins. There is no hope for early recovery, because of the absence of foreign credits, and because of the mere token extent of UNRRA help. In April 1946, the dollar, worth five pengoes before the war, had reached the astronomical level of two hundred and fifty million pengoes. The monthly salary of a high government official had dropped below the buying power of one dollar.¹

In a country where the bulk of the modern economy had been created and run by Jews, today, almost one and a half years after liberation, the overwhelming majority of Jews are still destitute and starving. Starvation is general, but the Jews are in the most dire straits because they have been robbed of everything that could tide them over the current critical period, the end of which is unpredictable. By selling some clothing, furniture, or other valuables, non-Jewish middle-class elements may keep body and soul together for awhile. Most Jews are without a usable suit or pair of shoes, and many of them also are sick and helpless.

¹ Since this was written the inflation in Hungary has reached unprecedented proportions and the currency has completely lost its value.

Possibilities for Jews to resume their economic activity as entrepreneurs, managers or employees are almost non-existent. Even those who are employed in private industry or public service are starving. Far-reaching changes in the economic structure of the country involve further long periods of transition and insecurity. They are likely to delay indefinitely the chances of recovery of the Jewish population whose capacity for endurance is at the point of exhaustion.

Politically, the Jews of Hungary are between two fires. The ideology of the present coalition government has no room for racial discrimination. The government is sympathetic with the plight of the Jews, insistent upon a formal equality of rights, and opposed to the idea of racial preferences. For political reasons, however, this equalitarian spirit operates, in practice, to the gravest detriment of the ruined Jewish population. The reason is the same as in most Eastern European countries. There is stiff competition for public favor among the various major parties of Hungarian political life. While in other countries this fight is being waged between parties within and outside the coalition, in Hungary it goes on between the coalition parties themselves. At the elections last November, the Small Landholders' Party, a democratic but more conservative and traditionally rooted political group, obtained an absolute majority in parliament. In anticipation of such an outcome, the parties of the left, notably the Communist Party, felt compelled to decline any interest in matters of Jewish rehabilitation, notably in the unpopular issue of restitution of Nazi-looted Jewish property. They are still of the same position. According to the official reasoning, nobody can enjoy "racial preferences," and Jews cannot have special claims merely because they are Jews. The fact that, having been singled out by Nazi persecution, they are suffering particularly great hardships, cannot justify differential treatment, according to their reasoning. On paper the statutes dealing with restitution promised adequate action. In practice, and as a result of Communist opposition, nothing has been or is being done for the Jews as Jews to compensate them for their losses suffered under the Nazi occupation. Only a minority has found employment in public service—though inflation makes their salaries worthless—and a number unfortunately have

entered the black market. The large majority, however, face permanent destitution.

With no real help possible at this time from the Hungarian government, the needy Jews of Hungary are dependent entirely on the assistance obtained from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. During the crucial winter months of 1945-46, an average monthly contribution of \$750,000 was spent by the Joint Distribution Committee on Jewish relief in Hungary, the largest single item in its current budget. Large amounts were expended on relief for returning deportees, for feeding tens of thousands of destitute Jews, aiding hospitals and maintaining childrens' homes. There are no more than 12,000 Jewish children left in Hungary. J. D. C. asylums care for 3,500 children; others aided by the J. D. C. total 5,600, one third of whom are orphans.

Anti-Semitism

In the midst of economic chaos, popular anti-Semitism is growing. The many usurpers of Jewish property consider the bare survival of the remnants of Jewry as an insult and injury in itself. The effects of twenty-five years of anti-Semitic indoctrination, widespread anxiety over interests vested in looted Jewish property and usurped positions, and the thirst for revenge of the beaten, but by far not inconsequential pro-Nazi and reactionary element, are the main factors in the growth of the present post-Hitler anti-Semitism. The old tendency of making the Jews responsible for whatever calamity may befall the individual and the community, is manifesting itself in an unbridled manner. The tendency of weakening the government by identifying it with Jewish interests, and through attacks on Jewry, has assumed a permanent character. Resistance to socialistic solutions, and the fight revolving around the fundamental issue of Soviet Russian influence, all appear under the pirate flag of anti-Semitism.

The November elections—the freedom of which was generally recognized—have shown that the great majority of the people are behind the government coalition. Nevertheless, reaction is strong. It has support from influential quarters whose influence on the masses cannot be under-

estimated. Many Catholic leaders in Hungary are today locked in violent, open conflict with the regime, and Cardinal-Primate Mindszenty, a relatively young prelate of German-Swabian descent, and a former inmate of a Nazi prison, is a fanatical leader in this conflict. Official utterances by government representatives against anti-Semitism are not lacking, but in the present head-on clash of fundamental issues and interests, they produce only very limited effect.

At the initiative of the Chief Rabbi of Budapest, an inter-faith movement against anti-Semitism has lately been launched by Catholic and Protestant clergymen. At a recent meeting of this group, Cardinal Mindszenty is reported to have refused to issue any statement against anti-Semitism until all Jews withdrew from the political police and from the people's tribunals dealing with Nazi war criminals. This position taken by the head of the Catholic church in Hungary makes Jewry directly responsible in the eyes of non-Jews for the policies of the regime upon which neither the Jewish community nor its leaders can exert any modifying influence. Hungary is thus far the only country in Eastern Europe which has meted out just punishment upon leaders of the Nazi conspiracy which brought forth Hungary's ruin, and the death of 700,000 innocent Jews. It seems that as far as the head of the Catholic church in Hungary is concerned, the surviving Jews have to continue as hostages for those capital criminals against humanity who have not yet been called to account for their crimes. Cardinal Mindszenty is no doubt aware that following a resolution of the board of the Jewish community Chief Rabbi Francis Hevesi has repeatedly called upon Jews to avoid service with the political police, and that this was the only way open for the Jewish leadership to deal with the matter.

The confused and explosive political situation of Hungarian Jewry is further complicated by the fact that anti-Semitism appears to cut through party lines. Leaders of the Peasant Party, one of the smaller leftist groups within the coalition, have made some of the most violent anti-Jewish public statements. Among leftist parties, with the exception of the Social-Democratic Party, there is a consistent tendency to excuse the "small Nazi" who was "misled or bullied" into the fascist movement—on condition that the latter sign

the new party's application blank, and pledge faithfulness to it in the future. There have been a number of anti-Jewish riots in various parts of the country. The most violent attacks occurred in Ozd and Sajoszentpeter, both mining communities where only leftist parties operate.

The combined effect of these vital factors, economic and political, is a universal feeling of frustration and hopelessness among Jews, and an overwhelming desire to emigrate. The change in the mood of Hungarian Jews is as dramatically sudden as the lot of 700,000 of their brethren. As late as in 1940, quite a number of Jewish refugees from Hungary, safely harbored in the United States and elsewhere, had decided to return to their homeland. Today at least seventy per cent of the Jewish population want to part with Hungary. Only a very early and decisive change in general conditions can modify this tragic position.

B. RUMANIA

After the drastic reduction of Rumanian territory during World War II (the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, the Hungarian reoccupation of Northern Transylvania, and the cession of the Dobrudja area to Bulgaria) only an estimated total of 315,000 remained of the original Jewish population of Greater Rumania of some 760,000. It is believed that the bulk of the Jewish population of Old Rumania, where deportations did not occur, have survived, with the exception of some 15,000 victims of earlier massacres (as for example, in Jassy in June 1941 where 4,000 Jews lost their lives).

Quite different was the lot of the Jewish populations of the disputed areas of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Northern Transylvania. In the first two provinces at least 250,000, in the last named area some 120,000 Jews, fell victim to the Nazi policy of deportation and extermination. Some 12,000 Jews returned from deportation to Northern Transylvania (which returned again to Rumanian sovereignty), and an indeterminable smaller number of Bessarabian and Bukovianan Jews may still be on Soviet territory where they arrived either as stragglers after the retiring Soviet forces in 1941, as deportees, or as soldiers of the Red Army.

More recently, some 15,000 of this category were repatriated by the Soviet authorities.

The number of Jews living in Rumania today is estimated to be between 300,000 and 350,000. Some 80,000 of them are returned deportees and slave laborers. In spite of the huge vital losses suffered, Rumanian Jewry constitutes the largest Jewish community in post-war Europe.

Of this surviving population, the following categories existed at the time of liberation: 60,000 returning deportees, over 50,000 former slave laborers and some 60,000 Jews removed from rural areas. The last group is completely destitute and wholly dependent on the relief granted by the Joint Distribution Committee. In addition, at least 25,000 businessmen, professional people and wage-earners are in acute economic distress as a result of the anti-Jewish regime. A large percentage of Jews are incapable of earning a living because of disease and exhaustion. Only a small segment of the Jewish population is succeeding in maintaining a normal standard of living.

The restitutive legislation (law of December 19, 1944, and of August 1, 1945) promulgated in Rumania is rich in magnanimous principles but very poor in effective validity. The principle entitles all Jews to reoccupy their former homes and business premises. In actual practice they are prevented from doing so as the law provides for numerous privileged categories who cannot be separated from their ill-gotten properties. These include public employees, members of the armed forces, war widows and orphans, veterans, physical workers and artisans, minors, public institutions and, in general, occupants earning less than 30,000 lei per month. Nevertheless, in March 1946, the Ministry of Justice reported that some 4,000 Jewish-owned apartments and shops had been returned to their rightful owners throughout the country. According to Jewish estimates, Jews had been removed from almost 18,000 flats and shops in Bucharest alone.

On principle, the law entitles all Jews to reoccupy their former jobs and resume their original trades and professions. In practice, reinstatement is far from being automatic. At the insistence of Lucretiu Patrascanu, Minister of Justice and one of the leaders of the Communist Party, only claims on reinstatement proved in court of law can be considered.

As a result, a year after promulgation of the law, at least half of the claimants are still waiting to be reinstated. This poor result is partly due to the rule that employees substituting for ousted Jews cannot be dismissed, while the employer cannot be compelled to keep and pay a double staff.

Legal remedy for forced sales and donations is quick and effective in Northern Transylvania where not only Jews but also Rumanians were victimized. In the central Old Kingdom territories where only Jews were robbed under Nazism, the restitution law is riddled with qualification and exceptions.

As in Bulgaria, land sales made by Jews to peasants "because of racial laws" are declared valid, as is any expropriation carried out for purposes of "public utility." The law authorizes the Council of Ministers to decide which properties taken over by the State, of whatever nature, were necessary "for public utility, national defense, health and communications services," and to deny their return to the lawful owners.

Another broad field of injustice involves forced sales made to Germans. On the basis of the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union is entitled to take over all former German property in all satellite countries in Eastern Europe. Much of this property really belonged to Jews who had to "sell" them under Gestapo methods of business. No restitution to Jews within this category has thus far been made.

Rumania's economic and financial difficulties cannot be compared to those ravaging Hungary. They are, nevertheless, grave enough to deprive the Jewish masses of the possibilities of rehabilitation. Adequate reinstatement and restitution would be the only solution, if the political situation would only make this possible.

The Groza government, with its important Communist Party nucleus, is supported only by a minority of Rumanians. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the people are, regardless of party affiliations, confirmed, inveterate anti-Semites. Although there is a law against anti-Semitism in Rumania, and though the disease is more or less inactive at this time, yet an eternal Damocles sword hangs over the head of every Jew. The chief weapon of reaction is anti-Semitism, and the chief disruptive argument exploited by anti-Semites is the important role within the regime of a small number of leftist Jews.

The government is confronted with the obligation of holding elections, sooner or later, and it is in quest for a popular majority among a people still strongly influenced by obscurantist-reactionary indoctrination which has always preached the doom of the Jew. This dilemma of the regime is the reason for its delaying and obstructive tactics in matters of decisive Jewish interest. This is why the Minister of Justice and the legislation sponsored by him obstruct so consistently legitimate and vital Jewish claims.

This dilemma is also the source of the fear prevalent among Jews of a bleak economic and highly uncertain political future, and of their desire to get out of Rumania, the scene of the most persistent anti-Jewish tendencies in Europe. At least 150,000 Rumanian Jews have applied for immigration certificates to Palestine. The attitude of the government toward Jewish emigration is unclear.

C. BULGARIA

Among the former Nazi-dominated countries of Europe Bulgaria represents the only exception from the general application of the Nazi policy of extermination. The Jewish community, numbering some 48,000 persons, has survived almost completely intact, owing to the strong anti-Nazi popular sentiments of the Bulgarians and to the fact that Bulgaria was geographically less exposed to direct German military pressure than some of her neighbors. As a result, the collaborationist regime found it opportune to resist the idea of deportations abroad, and substituted for it deportations within Bulgaria itself. All larger Jewish communities, notably those of Sofia, Varna and Kazanlik, were evacuated in April 1943 to remote villages in the most backward regions of the country. There Jewish men were put to forced labor while women and children were corralled into huts and barns, often without food, heat and light, and without the slightest medical and sanitary provisions.

The evacuation and isolation of practically all Jews from normal life involved the almost complete loss of their positions, business connections and property. Valuables left in homes and businesses were either looted or squandered among supporters of the pro-Nazi regime. This looting and

confiscation, following upon the enforcement of the law of July 3, 1941, which exacted a 20% (in practice, through the juggling of valuations, often 50%) property tax on all categories of Jewish-owned property, and the law of August 29, 1942, which ordered the liquidation of all commercial and industrial interests of Jews, has resulted in the final evaporation of Jewish-owned assets.

This bondage lasted until the memorable day of liberation on September 9, 1944, when the new Soviet-sponsored Patriotic Front government took over, and immediately abolished all restrictions imposed upon the Jewish population.

The formal reestablishment of freedom and equality however, soon proved to be coupled with a series of material disappointments for the Jews. First of all, it turned out that the new government failed to provide free transportation for the masses of deported Jews rushing back to their home towns. Most of the deportees were compelled to sell their last pieces of personal property to pay their fare back home. For those lacking property of any sort, transportation had to be paid out of money donated by Jews who had succeeded in retaining some of their means.

The next disappointment was the general unwillingness of possessors of Jewish homes, enterprises and jobs voluntarily to return them to the rightful claimants. Most of these "successors" took refuge in the argument that there were no legal provisions forcing them to do justice to Jewish claims.

The new law appeared only a half year after liberation, on March 2, 1945. It proved a grave disappointment. In the field of real property, the law provided for the restitution of property confiscated and possessed by the state itself, but failed to return real estate liquidated to cover the 20% tax on Jewish property; it also failed to give restitution for any category of landed property already distributed among villagers or ceded to public funds. For the latter two categories, the amount to be paid to the Jewish owner was fixed at the price prevailing at the time of confiscation. The market price of land is today at least ten times higher than three or four years ago. This means, that the Jewish owner will be reimbursed only to the extent of one tenth of the real value of property falling within these categories. It may be said that, in the main, these restrictive provisions amount to continued dispossession for most Jewish real estate owners.

In regard to movable property, the law provides that only the first purchaser of Jewish-owned property if still in possession is liable for restitution; the second possessor or buyer is entitled to claim ignorance of the Jewish origin of the property, and on that basis, exemption from liability.

The value of movable and at present irretrievable assets of Jews sold at compulsory public sales and through "voluntary" transactions, is estimated at least at 400 million leva, or five million dollars according to the exchange rate prevailing at the time of the change of ownership. The new law appropriated the ridiculous sum of thirty million leva, or, at the present exchange rate, \$5,000, to square this account. Beyond this delusive, token concession, no compensation is provided for any category of irretrievable property.

Article 15 of the law limits the maximum payment in cash a Jewish claimant may obtain under any category of restitution and compensation, at 50,000 leva, the real buying value of which is about 80 dollars. For the rest of his claim, the Jewish claimant receives government bonds, bearing no interest and not acceptable for the payment of taxes.

Finally, Article 7 of the new law obligates all recipients of restitution and compensation to turn in five per cent of any amount or value received under such titles, to a "Relief Fund for Needy Jews." The new Patriotic Front government thus recognizes the existence of specific Jewish needs in Bulgaria but sees to it that the burden of their alleviation rests upon Jewish shoulders by compulsion.

Spokesmen of the government claim that the state is in no economic and financial position to do more for the Jewish victims at the present time. This argument is all the more difficult to understand as almost all confiscated Jewish property had gone through official hands. As to its real merits, it is sufficient to note that the state budget for 1944-1945 closed with an ordinary surplus of seven and one half billion, and an extra-ordinary surplus of twenty billion leva, a truly unique achievement in present-day finances.

As everywhere in Eastern Europe, the real reason for the official reluctance to do justice to the crying Jewish needs through proper employment of the only means available—adequate indemnification for Nazi damages—is purely political. Anti-Semitism is growing in Bulgaria as almost everywhere in Eastern Europe; the position of the government is,

from the point of view of popular support, not sufficiently secure, and it is deemed unwise to provoke mass resentment over "concessions" to a small and helpless minority lacking positive political weight. Hence the consistent policy of keeping Jewish indemnification within narrow confines, and the consequent (though not intentional) subjection of the great majority of Jews to continuing privations.

In keeping with these policies, Jewish representatives of the political parties constituting the Patriotic Front are playing an important part in communal life. Along with the defense of official policies, this new Jewish leadership represents the principle that the destinies of Bulgarian Jewry are inseparably linked with those of the people, to the resistance and support of which they owe their existence as the only physically intact Jewish community in Europe. As stated in a telegram addressed to the American Jewish Committee by the Jewish Central Consistory of Bulgaria, "the future and well-being of Bulgarian Jewry are anchored in the new democratic Bulgaria of the Patriotic Front."

D. YUGOSLAVIA

There are only some 11,000 Jews in Yugoslavia, of an original population of approximately 75,000 before the war. In Yugoslavia, the Jews are sharing equally in the grave economic difficulties of the war-ravaged country in which the general population had suffered almost as heavy economic damage as the Jews themselves. Restitution of property is even more strictly conditional upon general reconstruction than in most Eastern European countries, and, therefore, even more difficult.

Most Jews are utterly destitute within a destitute population, and many of them still need shelter and clothing. Early in 1945, the government contributed some funds to Jewish relief but further assistance became impossible because of the general destruction in the country. UNRRA is operating in Yugoslavia on a relatively large scale but its per capita expenditures are much too small to assist materially in the rehabilitation of the people.

A relatively high percentage of the small Jewish population is employed in various public services but they are

also suffering, along with the rest, from the acute shortage of foodstuffs, clothing and medicines.

The trend among Yugoslav Jews towards emigration is considerably weaker than in other communities in Eastern Europe. The majority intend to stay in the country. According to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine only some 3,300 Jews wish to emigrate. In general, says the Report, the attitude of Jews towards emigration appears to depend on their political outlook and not on fears of anti-Semitism, of which no evidence exists. The Yugoslav government was the first postwar regime in Europe to promulgate legislation against anti-Semitism. There is rigid enforcement, anti-Semitism appears to be curbed, and discrimination eliminated. Property restitution is, however, lagging at least as far behind as in other countries of Eastern Europe.

E. GREECE

In Greece there are some 10,500 Jews out of an original population of about 75,000; the balance has perished through deportation and extermination. The survivors live in small groups scattered about the country, and there are no large Jewish communities left. Salonika, one of the historic centers of Jewish life, ceased to exist as such; its Jewish population has decreased from 56,000 to 1,800.

Despite UNRRA aid, and systematic relief activities by the Joint Distribution Committee, ninety percent of Greek Jews live an extremely precarious life, and the great majority is dependent on relief. As everywhere in Eastern Europe, all Jewish property was confiscated.

An important feature of the Greek legislation on property restitution is the clause in which the government renounced its claim on property of Jews who died without leaving heirs, and which normally would escheate to the state. This property is said to amount to several million dollars, and, if actually used for the benefit of the surviving Jews, it may substantially alleviate their plight.

Anti-Semitism is not noticeable today. However, the process of property restitution, if carried out effectively, may again complicate relations between Jews and non-Jews.