

Eastern Europe

SOVIET UNION

THE period under review (July 1950 through June 1951) was one of a relative consolidation inside the Soviet Union. The aggressive attacks against the free world continued on the periphery of the vast Soviet-dominated empire, in Korea, Indo-China, Malaya. The satellite countries, East Germany, and China were being thoroughly sovietized, with great waves of mass persecutions, deportations, and purges. Inside the Soviet Union proper, the material and ideological preparation for future conflicts with the free world went on without relaxation. At the same time, having completed the repair of war damage and developed the exploitation of dependent countries, the Soviet regime was able to afford some increase in the production of consumers' goods and some decrease in highly inflated prices. But the pace of investment in heavy industry and armament did not slacken. New canals and railroads were built. New, ambitious plans of further industrialization, electrification, and mechanization of agriculture were announced. The differences in income and standard of living between various layers of Soviet society continued to grow. There was no relaxation of terror, and there was a continuous purge, especially among the members of non-Russian ethnic groups. "Cosmopolitans" and "petty-bourgeois nationalists" continued to be its main victims. The purge was now taking less conspicuous forms and there were no outstanding victims in the ranks of the high Soviet command, which was preparing the nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party with all outward signs of unity. But the hunt for "deviationists" and "saboteurs" in the lower ranks continued under the banner of "criticism" and "self-criticism."

Jewish Population

There were no new statistics or official estimates of the number of Jews. Most foreign estimates varied between 1,700,000 and 2,000,000. M. Skalar, writing in the *Belgrade Review of International Affairs* on August 16, 1952, declared that "in 1952 there were only 1,400,000 Jews in the USSR," and added that 30 per cent of the Jewish population had been sent to concentration camps. As this deportation was offered as an explanation for the big decrease in Jewish population, the figure 1,400,000 was probably meant to represent the total number of Jews outside the camps; this would put the over-all total at 2,000,000 again, and the number of Jews in camps at 600,000. Both figures seem to be considerably exaggerated. But there could be no doubt that a large and disproportionate number of Jews were in slave labor

camp. (For a detailed documentation, see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 316-317.)

New Deportations

Reports of deportations of Jews from border territories (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1950 [Vol. 51], p. 340; 1951 [Vol. 52], p. 330; 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 317) were confirmed by new information printed in the *Christian Science Monitor* in March 1952. According to this and other reports, the transports of deportees from the Ukraine and White Russia were continuing, and all Jews had reportedly been removed from some districts, such as Rovno and Zdolbunov. At the beginning of the deportation, the Jews were assured by the police that this was not a penal action and that they were being removed "for their own security" because the German occupation had left dangerous seeds of anti-Semitism; the deportees were given twenty-four to forty-eight hours' notice of the transports. Later the tactics were changed, and the victims were rounded up in surprise midnight raids and removed at once. According to the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* of Zürich, July 31-August 8, 1952, a similar evacuation was carried out in Kharkov, where 4,000 Jews were removed from the city.

In the summer of 1951 mass deportations of Jews were extended to Georgia and Daghestan in the Caucasus. In Daghestan there was an agricultural Jewish population which had been forced to join the kolkhozes in the Thirties. In 1950 the Soviet press attacked these Jewish kolkhozes as "collectives of millionaires" and complained that the Daghestan Jews, clinging to their "obsolete religious customs," were "disturbing the cohesion of the Daghestan people." In 1951, Daghestanian and Georgian Jews were deported to Siberia and Central Asia. They were divided into two categories: the "politically suspect," who were sent to slave labor camps, and the rest, who were dispersed in small groups as "free settlers" in the interior of Asiatic Russia.

BIROBIDJAN

Some of the deportees may have been sent to Birobidjan, where several districts were put under the administration of the secret police and transformed into slave labor regions. Some persons who passed through Birobidjan during and after World War II recalled having seen forced labor trains arriving there as early as 1944. The existence of such camps would explain the complete silence about Birobidjan for the past several years, and the complete severance of any contacts between its inhabitants and the other Jews in the Soviet Union.

Jewish Communal Life

There were no Jewish cultural organizations or activities of any kind; no Jewish periodicals, schools, or theaters, either in Yiddish or in Russian. There were no Jewish defense, welfare, or other communal organizations. As a mat-

ter of fact, any association of Jews or any Jewish communal activity would have been considered treasonable as "bourgeois nationalism" and "separatism."

The only places where Jews were still allowed to associate as Jews were synagogues, of which there were a few. The most important of them, that in Moscow, was evidently maintained mainly for the purpose of demonstrating to foreign visitors that there was "freedom of religion" in the Soviet Union. For years all foreigners showing any interest in Jewish problems were conducted to the same synagogue and entertained by the same rabbi. Those who asked whether there was any Jewish cultural life were usually put off with vague hints that such things were to be found in Birobidjan, but nobody could ever give concrete details.

Sidney Silverman, one of the leaders of the World Jewish Congress and an extreme left-wing Labor member of the British parliament, was a delegate to the Communist-sponsored Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952. Although inclined to see Soviet policies in a favorable light, he admitted to a representative of the *London Jewish Chronicle* that he could not find any trace of the once flourishing cultural institutions, such as Yiddish schools, theaters, or newspapers. The old Yiddish culture, he said, "had probably become a very small matter if it has not entirely disappeared."

There were a few synagogues outside of Moscow. One of them, in Odessa, was visited by Israeli sailors who delivered a cargo of oranges to that port in December 1951. There were about twenty worshipers, who were afraid to speak to the foreigners about conditions in the Soviet Union or to ask them questions about Israel.

There was no central organization of the synagogues and no contact among them. The Moscow rabbi, Shlomo Shleifer, was called to represent the "Jewish faith" whenever it was necessary for the purposes of Soviet propaganda. Thus he took part in, and signed the manifesto of, the peace conference of "Soviet religious leaders" which was held in the cathedral city of Zagorsk in May 1952 and which adopted appeals against "American warmongers" and "bacteriological warfare in Korea."

Purges and Discrimination

Except for the Politburo member Lazar M. Kaganovich, the brother-in-law of Stalin, there were no Jews left in high Communist Party or State office. They had been either removed and arrested in the previous purges or silently dropped from their posts.

The most prominent of those Jews who had been demoted without being arrested, former Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinov, died on December 31, 1951. One of the old Bolsheviks, he had been Commissar for Foreign Affairs and the main advocate of collective security in international conferences up to 1939, when he was dropped in preparation for the Hitler-Stalin pact. From 1941 to 1943, during the war against the Nazis, he was Soviet ambassador to Washington, and from 1943 to 1946 he was Deputy Foreign Minister. In August 1946 Litvinov was relieved of his duties without explanation, and spent the rest of his life in obscurity and isolation.

Several other men of Jewish origin were removed from high diplomatic posts at about the same time. It was significant that the name of the most important of them, Solomon Lozovsky, who once headed the Red Trade Union International and was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs during World War II, was omitted from the Soviet *Diplomatic Encyclopedia* published in 1951. Another name omitted was that of Mikhail Borodin (Grusenberg), the famous Soviet adviser to the Chinese National Government in the Twenties and later editor of an English-language magazine in Moscow.

There were almost no Jews among the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the regional party secretaries, the members of the Supreme Soviet, the marshals, generals, and admirals. But there were still persons of Jewish origin in the Soviet lower "middle class," among the journalists, scientists, doctors, technicians, and commercial clerks. After the end of 1948, a quiet but extensive and consistent purge of Jews was conducted in this area. Those Jews who were active in public life were charged with "cosmopolitanism." Ideological reasons of the same kind were given for the purges among professors and members of the Academy of Science; this was the case when three well-known Jewish professors of chemistry (Kabacznik, Wolkensztein, and Syrkin) were expelled from the Academy in June 1951, and when the Medical Institute in Kiev was purged in the spring of 1952.

For individuals in less conspicuous occupations, the pretexts given for their purge were "sabotage," "financial malfeasance," and "nepotism." Jewish officials were accused of slowing down production, of engaging in illicit economic activities, and of helping themselves and other Jews to easy jobs.

At the same time, higher schools for officers and diplomats and many departments in universities began to refuse the applications of Jewish students. In most cases, it was not stated that officials were removed or students rejected because they were Jews. But the practices became so widespread that the trend and the intent of the government became evident to the population.

The same trend was observed in the Soviet occupation army and administration in East Germany, and was reported with many details by Soviet officers and enlisted men of Jewish origin who found asylum in democratic countries. As early as 1946 General Vassily I. Chuikov, who later became the commander-in-chief of Soviet troops in Germany, had publicly remarked during a military parade that everywhere the Jews represented a "disruptive influence." This was the signal for discrimination against Jewish members of the armed forces, some of whom were treated so badly that several deserted, seeking asylum in the West or in Israel. A series of purges and arrests followed.

Meanwhile Jewish servicemen, demobilized from the army and returned to civilian life in Russia, were not reinstated in their former positions as executives, engineers, or doctors, but asked to accept menial jobs. If they protested that this was contrary to the law that guaranteed war veterans their former positions, or if they hesitated to accept the positions they were offered, they were arrested as "vagrants" or "antisocial elements" and deported to forced labor camps. The Communists among them were expelled from the party for their "Zionist [i.e., Jewish] tendency to seek easy jobs."

Anti-Semitism

This process of forced proletarianization was accompanied by an increase in popular anti-Semitism. Thus it both represented a concession to anti-Semitic attitudes and an indirect official endorsement of them.

The existence of widespread anti-Semitism, noticed by most foreign observers but categorically denied by Soviet propaganda abroad, was thoroughly documented in a series of intensive interviews with recent refugees from the Soviet Union published by the United States State Department in 1952. The informants, thoroughly examined and cross-examined about their personal experiences, were unanimous in the opinion that anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union was widespread. Many of them described it as the most serious intergroup problem in the Soviet Union. They agreed that anti-Jewish feeling was "highly developed" and "greatly intensified during the war." Russians, as well as Ukrainians and White Russians, especially peasants, were described as "very unfriendly" to the Jews. Speaking of their own experiences, the informants described "scandals" between Jews and non-Jews in the streets and markets; one of them expressed the opinion that in a period of anarchy which might intervene between the overthrow of the Soviet regime and the establishment of a new democratic order, there would be a "mass persecution" of Jews.

Asked about the causes of these attitudes, most sources quoted the anti-Semites as saying that Jews always obtained easy and lucrative positions, and that they had fought the war in the Quartermaster Corps or in the evacuation centers in Central Asia instead of at the front. Some of the informants, although denying anti-Semitic bias, evidently believed such accusations themselves. All agreed that the Communist campaign against "cosmopolitanism" was basically anti-Jewish and some were of the opinion that it substantially contributed to the increase of anti-Semitism. "This campaign," one informant said, "was quite popular among non-Jewish citizens, not so much because they approved of it as because they disliked the Jews."

ANTI-SEMITIC STEREOTYPES

The threat of anti-Semitism was further reinforced by the appearance of anti-Semitic clichés and stereotypes in Soviet periodicals and books. The satirical magazine *Krokodil*, which had published ambiguous cartoons and obviously anti-Semitic stories in the past (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 319), was imitated by more serious publications. Like *Krokodil*, these publications did not use the word "Jew," but the swindlers and malingerers in the "true stories" had distinctly Jewish names and stereotyped "Jewish" characteristics. The stories were so fantastically improbable that it was evident that they had been fabricated. On June 2, 1952, *Pravda* published one such story about an antisocial individual whose name was Vladimir Moiseievich Bukhman. On June 19, 1952, *Meditsinskij Rabotnik*, the organ of the medical workers, described the career of another obnoxious person—an Abram Leibovich Rosenmer.

The same tendency crept into serious fiction and became so conspicuous that the London *Jewish Chronicle* described it, on October 3, 1952, as a "new trend in Soviet literature." It was the first time, the *Jewish Chronicle's* correspondent noticed, that Jewish protagonists in Soviet novels were shown only in a bad light without any effort to restore the balance by also presenting other, more sympathetic Jewish characters.

Such tendencies could not appear in the highly regulated literature of the Soviet Union without the consent of the authorities. Both novels mentioned in the *Jewish Chronicle* article—Kochetov's *Zurbiny* and Bubennov's *The White Birch*—had first appeared in the official literary magazines *Oktiabr* and *Zvezda*.

Both these recent novels differ sharply from older Soviet fiction. Thus, in the novel *Far From Moscow* by Azhanov there was a suspect and shabby Jew, also working in a supply depot, but there was also a Jewish hero.

Since it is the common practice in the Soviet Union to rewrite history continually to make it conform to the current Party line, many Jewish names were eliminated from the authoritative works of history, philosophy, and literature. In the first volumes of the new *Soviet Encyclopedia* published during 1949–52, almost all Jewish writers, artists, and thinkers mentioned in the first edition (1927) were omitted. Outstanding among them were S. J. Abramovich (Mendele Mocher Sforim), the founder of modern Jewish literature; S. Anski, the well-known Jewish dramatist, author of *The Dybbuk*; the philosopher Uriel Acosta; the novelist Sholem Asch; the philosopher and essayist Ahad Ha-Am; the working-class poet Josef Bovshover; the Soviet Jewish writer David Bergelson; the Socialist-Zionist theoretician Ber Borochov; and the famous Soviet novelist Isaac M. Babel.

On the other hand, the *Encyclopedia* devoted much more space than in the first edition to the Ukrainian hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki, who is now celebrated as one of the greatest Ukrainian generals and statesmen. The famous pogroms under his rule, in which many thousands of Jews perished, are not mentioned in the article. Chmielnicki was celebrated as a great national hero, and a monument to his memory was unveiled in the city of Lwow in May 1952.

The new edition of the *Soviet Encyclopedia* was not the only reference book from which Jewish names were omitted. Some disappeared from the already mentioned *Diplomatic Dictionary*. The new *Philosophical Dictionary* did not mention the existence of anti-Semitism in its discussion of "racism."

Relations with Israel

The relations between the Soviet Union and Israel became more strained during the period under review. Soviet propaganda attacked the Jewish state as "a colony of Western imperialism" and the members of its government as "imperialist agents." Arab movements in and around Israel enjoyed Soviet and Communist support as "movements of national liberation." The Soviet government also claimed considerable property belonging to Russian Orthodox monasteries and missions and the revived Russian Palestina Society in

Israel, and its diplomatic and ecclesiastical emissaries developed an active propaganda among the Christian Arabs.

On the official diplomatic level, the relations remained correct but became less friendly. In August 1951 the World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem adopted a resolution expressing pain at the fact that the Soviet government did not release Zionist prisoners, and urging the Soviets to permit Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel; such emigration was proclaimed to be a natural right of every Jew.

When the General Assembly of the United Nations met in Paris in the fall of 1951, Israel Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett approached Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky about this question but received a negative reply.

On November 21, 1951, the Soviet Union sent Israel a note warning it not to join the planned Allied Middle East Command. On December 8 Israel replied that it had not been invited to join and had no opportunity to consider such an invitation; that it would not join any aggressive plans against the Soviet Union, but had been assured that the planned command had no such aims; and that Israel had guarded and would guard its sovereignty and independence. The note added that the return of dispersed Jews was Israel's cardinal aim and that the Soviet Union's ban on such emigration was inconsistent with the proclaimed Soviet policy of full equality and the right of self-determination for all nations.

As far as is known, this appeal was never officially answered. Israel appeals to the Soviet government to intervene in the satellite countries for a more liberal attitude towards emigration, and to influence the East German authorities to pay reparations to Jewish victims of Nazism, also were unsuccessful. Indeed, Russian-inspired propaganda denounced prospective emigrants to Israel as Zionist agents of imperialism, and Israel negotiations on German reparations were condemned as a Jewish sellout to the Nazis.

Jewish emigration from Russia remained banned. From the establishment of Israel up to the end of 1951, only four elderly women and one invalid man were known to have emigrated to Israel legally. Israel statistics for 1951 listed ninety-seven Jewish immigrants whose country of residence had been the Soviet Union, and forty-one from the Baltic states. But most of these newcomers were evidently persons who had left the Soviet Union or the Baltic countries years before, either deported by the retreating Germans or posing as Polish Jews when the repatriation of the latter was allowed after World War II. For all practical purposes the frontiers of the Soviet Union were completely closed for emigration, and Soviet Jewry was totally isolated from the rest of the world.

JOSEPH GORDON

POLAND

DESPITE the promises contained in the official propaganda for the six-year plan, serious shortages of consumer goods plagued Poland in the period under review (July 1951 through June 1952). The lack of meat, milk, and vegetables, and the substantial increase in the prices of these products on the

free market, were bitterly denounced by Hilary Minc, Polish Vice Premier and economic ruler of the country, at a meeting of Communist cadres on October 9, 1951. Minc denounced the unwillingness of recalcitrant peasants to accept the policy of collectivization, and intimated that the efforts of the "kulaks" and speculators to "sabotage" the economic development of the country would be dealt with severely. Meanwhile, it was reported that only 1,000 new collectives were organized in 1951.

Basically, the shortage of agricultural products was due to the increasing tempo of "industrialization at all costs" which had resulted in a substantial decrease in the peasant population and a simultaneous growth of the urban and industrial groups. According to official statistics, the agricultural population of Poland fell from 61.4 per cent of the total in 1931 to 54.25 per cent in 1950.

In the fall of 1951, the Communist government, faced with strong resistance by the peasantry, intensified its attacks on all types of "deviationists" and oppositionists. Gomulkianism (named after the deposed Secretary General of the Party, Wladislaw Gomulka) was the object of a fierce press attack. The official propaganda followed the same line as in other satellite countries: it identified the Gomulka opposition with the kulaks of the villages, with all who opposed the "pure" Stalinist line, with those who opposed the "correct" foreign policy, etc. Closely after this press campaign, the government announced a so-called "resettlement plan" in February 1952. This was aimed at the large-scale transfer of peasants from the "overpopulated" sections to other areas, particularly in the western part of the country.

Increased efforts toward complete subjugation were noticeable also in all aspects of education. In line with Russian practice, disciplinary commissions were set up in the universities to check on the ideological content of courses and the scholastic achievement of students. There was a systematic overhauling of the history of Polish-Russian relations, which were now interpreted and taught in a remarkable fashion. Thus, in the course of the celebration of the month of Russian-Polish friendship (October 1951) the recurrent theme emphasized by propaganda slogans was the traditional mutual friendship between the two countries for the last one hundred and twenty years or more.

The regime's fundamentally anticlerical policy was not changed. But in May 1952 the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland, by special permission of the Vatican, installed a permanent chapter in the Archdiocese of Wroclaw, located in Western Poland and formerly part of Germany (*The New York Times*, June 17, 1952).

The projected new constitution, the subject of widespread discussion and articles in the press, had all the characteristics of similar documents in the Iron Curtain countries. Notwithstanding differences in phraseology and obviously local provisions, the projected constitution was essentially Soviet-patterned and had little to do with the actual workings of the state machinery.

Emigration and Population

The mass migration of Polish Jews to Israel was stopped in the spring of 1951 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 53, p. 324) and no further de-

partures were permitted by the authorities. The rather optimistic expectations in some Israel circles that small groups would be allowed to proceed to Israel, were hard hit by the strong and negative policy of the Polish government. In fact, not only was the mass migration effectively arrested, but all sorts of vexatious measures were taken against those who wanted to go to Israel but who for one reason or another were not able to leave Poland within the prescribed time. Numerous families found themselves in extremely difficult situations when some of their members were forced to stay behind, with the breadwinner often separated from the rest of the family. The Polish authorities looked with great disfavor and suspicion on those individuals and families who still harbored ideas of going to Israel. In fact, according to recent press dispatches some of these individuals were arrested on February 4, 5, and 16, 1952. The candidates for emigration were taken into custody by police officials as they left the Israeli Embassy in Warsaw (*The [Yiddish] Day*, Feb. 21, 1952).

Since no Jewish emigration from Poland was allowed in the period under review, one may assume that the total Jewish population was about the same as in 1951, close to 45,000. Official data on the size and occupational distribution of the Jewish population were not available.

Economic Status

Notwithstanding increasing state pressure, the integration of Jewish labor into nationalized industry proceeded rather slowly, and there were signs of some reluctance on the part of Jewish artisans and workers to enter this field. Not only were they not always received with open arms, but they faced the difficulties inherent in new and unfamiliar occupations. The Communist leadership had openly acknowledged the fact that the number of Jews employed in heavy industry was very small and that Jewish workers tended to leave heavy industry and return to the traditional Jewish occupations in cooperatives and smaller establishments. According to official spokesmen, there was even a tendency to quit the state-controlled enterprises altogether and look for a livelihood in the "private sector" (*Folks-Sztyme*, Warsaw, Feb. 28, 1952). This state of affairs was ascribed to the influence of "foreign," "Zionist," and other "capitalist" elements; and the Jewish Communist leaders repeatedly drew the attention of the community to the dangers involved in this type of nonconformism.

Simultaneous with the fight against the "deserters" from industry, the Communist officials came out with a blistering attack on the "non-productive elements" in the Jewish community. Hersz Smoliar, chairman of the Jewish Cultural and Social Union of Poland, included among the non-productive elements non-working wives of gainfully employed Jewish workers. In some cases the children of these women were not accepted in the state-controlled preparatory school system, because they were considered as belonging to the unproductive classes (*Folks-Sztyme*, Oct. 30, 1951).

In this connection, it was reported that a plan was being worked out to rehabilitate a number of the "unproductive" women by providing them with some kind of home employment through local producer-cooperatives.

Communal Affairs

For the first time since 1948, no changes took place in the organizational structure of the Jewish community. These reforms, which had culminated in the liquidation of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, were a consistent feature of previous years. Since the Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews was completely under Communist control, the party leadership evidently felt no need for further organizational change. In fact, the leadership of the Union was constantly in step with the policy laid down by the Communist Party hierarchy, and its activities were in large part devoted to the promotion of "anti-imperialist" slogans, the fight against "Zionist fascism" in Israel, and participation in the "peace campaigns." Faithfully reflecting the current Party line and the growing concern felt in the country with regard to the worsening economic conditions, the Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews repeatedly condemned the "speculators" and "saboteurs," who, it asserted, were destroying the accomplishments of "Socialist Poland." These warnings were given in unmistakable terms, and the local committees were invited to deal with the guilty persons "according to the laws of the class struggle."

The total membership of the Union in 1951 amounted to about 10,000, approximately 6,000 of them in the Lower Silesian districts which contained the majority of the Jewish population.

Hersz Smoliar continued as chairman of the Union. Secretary General Joel Lazebnik, who was considered the actual ruler of the organization, was relieved of his duties in the fall of 1951. According to an official announcement made on October 6, 1951, Lazebnik was called to assume another unspecified position and was replaced in the secretaryship of the Union by David Sfarad, former head of its cultural department (*Folks-Sztyme*, Oct. 6, 1951).

Religious Life

Although there seems to have been no direct interference with religious services in synagogues, it was apparent that the authorities looked with disfavor on the observance of Jewish religious traditions. For instance, a special press campaign was undertaken to explain to the Jewish workers why they should not stay away from their factories and shops on the traditional Jewish holidays. Absence from work was considered a breach of "socialist discipline." This put absentees in a serious and even dangerous predicament. Warnings were issued to the rabbinate and other religious personnel not to interfere with the normal industrial schedules of the state. In addition, Smoliar indicated that some persons were consorting with enemies of the state and were using the Jewish holidays as a pretext for sabotage and nationalist propaganda. Very little was known about the number of religious congregations and their membership. According to the latest reports, the new chairman of the religious congregations was a Dr. Datner of Warsaw (*Folks-Sztyme*, April 8, 1952).

Youth

All separate Jewish youth organizations were liquidated. All efforts to propagandize and organize Jewish youth were directed by the general all-Polish youth agencies, active in schools, factories, and cooperatives. It is true that there was a youth section in the Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews, but according to reports in the Yiddish press its activities were badly organized and its influence among Jewish youth was insignificant. In fact, the official charged with youth activities complained to the Union that nationalist and Zionist ideas still prevailed among the Jewish youth who for one reason or another had not gone to Israel (*Folks-Sztyme*, June 6, 1951). On the other hand, there was a growing trend, particularly among the youth of the schools and universities, toward complete withdrawal from Jewish life and Jewish interests.

Eight Jewish youths participated as members of the Polish delegation to the so-called Third Youth Peace Festival in Berlin in 1951. Upon their return these youths unhesitatingly reported on the "excellent brotherly spirit reigning in democratic East Germany."

Jewish Education

Several special festivities were organized around the Jewish government schools. One such occasion was the first graduation on May 12, 1951, of students of the eleven-grade Jewish Lycee of Wroclaw. There was also a country-wide gathering of graduates of Jewish elementary schools in Wroclaw on September 24, 1951. Notwithstanding the optimistic pronouncements of the educational officials who addressed the conference, reports from various schools noted the considerable difficulties which beset the Jewish school system. One of these arose from the fact that most of their potential students had left for Israel; those who stayed behind frequently preferred to send their children to Polish rather than Yiddish schools. At the same time, there was an increasing lack of qualified teachers—not only teachers for specialized studies but even ordinary instructors with sufficient knowledge of Yiddish, Jewish history, and literature. Special efforts were undertaken to remedy this situation, and a short summer seminar for teachers of Jewish schools was held in Szrudborow near Warsaw from July 17 to August 16, 1951.

No data on Jewish schools have been made available, but fragmentary information in the press indicates that there were in Poland at the beginning of the academic year 1951–52 some sixteen schools, including Szczecin (44 pupils), Lignice (76), Lodz (151), Walbrzych (31), Dzerzcionow, Swidnyca, Pieszce, Krakow, Bielawa, Warsaw, and Wroclaw.

As a result of the repeated charges of Communist leaders that Jewish religious education was the center of nationalistic and Zionist heresy, the schools of traditional learning were gradually disappearing. No data were available on the number, if any, of *Talmud Torahs*, *chedarim*, etc.

Cultural Activities

There was also a sharp and continuous decline in the various cultural activities directed by the Social and Cultural Union. This was well illustrated by the published figures on libraries. At the end of 1950 there were thirty-nine Jewish libraries with 55,000 books in Poland. In the middle of 1951 the number of libraries stood at thirty and the number of books had fallen to only 20,000 (*Jewish Life in Poland*, no. 16, July 1951). Undoubtedly the deterioration in cultural activities was caused not only by emigration but by the political pressure for conformity. In the case of the libraries, for instance, books on Zionism or writers tainted with "cosmopolitanism" were obviously purged. It cannot be denied, however, that there was apparently little desire among youth and professional people—who felt that there was no room in present-day Poland for a distinctive Jewish life—to join Communist-controlled Jewish cultural activities. The Jewish leaders were aware of this situation and made energetic appeals to university students and professional groups which, judging by press reports, met with little if any result. It is significant that the Social and Cultural Union decided in April 1952 to launch a special quarterly in Polish. This publication was to reach the Polish-speaking elements of the Jewish population, and was to serve as the organ of Communist propaganda among the Jews who for one reason or another abstained from participating in Jewish activities.

A country-wide festival of Jewish art was held in Wroclaw on December 29 and 30, 1951. Represented at this festival were twenty-four cultural clubs, including eight dramatic groups, two orchestras, and seven choirs (*Folks-Sztyme*, Jan. 12, 1952).

BOOKS, PRESS, AND PUBLICATIONS

The Yiddish Buch, which was the publishing center for Yiddish books, continued its activities under the direction of Leib Olicky, Bynem Heler, and David Sfar. In March 1952 it had 4,600 subscribers, including 2,750 in Lower Silesia. Among its projected publications were an anthology of verse by thirty-six Jewish poets who perished under the occupation, and a volume dedicated to Y. L. Peretz.

There were no changes in the Yiddish press. The only newspaper was the Communist *Folks-Sztyme*. It appeared four days a week and had an illustrated weekly supplement. *Yiddishe Szriften*, a monthly devoted to literature and art, continued to appear under the sponsorship of the Social and Cultural Union. Both publications contained the usual Communist propaganda.

WRITERS

As the Union of Jewish Writers and Journalists had been dissolved during the last few months of 1950, the only meeting place for writers was the Club of Jewish Writers. Apparently even this rather innocent form of organizational separateness was viewed with some misgivings by the authorities. Consequently, a joint meeting of Polish and Yiddish writers on March 27, 1952,

decided that henceforth all lectures and readings by Jewish writers were to be transferred to the building of the All-Polish Union of Writers. In addition, a representative of the Central Board of the Polish Union would be present at all important deliberations of Jewish writers.

HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

The Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, founded to study the period of the German occupation and extermination, branched out to include general historical research as well. The Institute naturally followed the Communist line and its publications even contained essays on linguistics in line with the well-known article by Stalin. The Institute continued to issue the quarterly *Bleter far Geshichte*.

Toward the end of 1951 a Society of Friends of the Historical Institute was launched by Polish and Jewish scholars and officials.

THE THEATER

Jewish theatrical life remained concentrated in Lodz and Wroclaw, where most of the Jewish actors lived. During the season of 1951 the Jewish State Theater gave 250 performances, playing in every city with a Jewish population. Apparently some of the performances did not attract a large enough Jewish audience, and the creation of a special subscription on an annual basis was considered. The theatrical repertoire included not only Jewish plays but also translations from Russian, Polish and other languages; the season of 1952 was to open with Howard Fast's *Thirty Pieces of Silver*.

PERETZ CENTENNIAL

In May 1952 the Jewish community of Poland began the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Y. L. Peretz, the renowned Yiddish writer whose work and life were intimately bound up with Polish Jewry. A clue to the character of the festival was provided by the official reinterpretation of Peretz's work; quite in accordance with current Communist practice, he has been gradually transformed into one of the forerunners of "socialist realism" in literature.

Attacks on Israel and Zionism

The continuing campaign against Israel and Zionism was the standby of the Yiddish press. This campaign increased in volume when the government of Israel agreed to negotiations with West Germany on indemnification for material damages suffered by Jews. Meetings were called throughout the country and religious congregations were obliged to join in the condemnation of the State of Israel and the world Jewish organizations participating in the negotiations. This campaign assumed incredible proportions, including personal attacks on Israeli and Zionist leaders that recalled the vilest anti-Semitic propaganda.

But the increasingly anti-Jewish policies of other Communist regimes in their fight against "cosmopolitanism" and Western influence were so far less

evident in Poland, and Communist leaders of Jewish origin, unlike their colleagues in Czechoslovakia and Rumania, were still unmolested. There is, of course, no way of telling how long this situation will continue.

LEON SHAPIRO

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE year under review saw intense new efforts to integrate Czechoslovak economic, political, and cultural life into that of the Soviet sphere of influence. Production plans were revised upwards, deliveries to Russia increased, the exploitation of labor intensified in many ways, the army and police put completely under Soviet orders, the administrative and economic apparatus repeatedly reorganized in order to attain a higher degree of efficiency and obedience. There was also an increasing passive resistance on the part of the people. In some important industries, especially coal and steel, the plans were not fulfilled. It was officially admitted that this was due to the low morale of the labor force, excessive turnover of manpower, absenteeism, and slowdowns. There were even several spontaneous—and severely suppressed—strikes in the factories. The peasants continued their resistance against forced collectivization and against the surrender of their products to the state.

Open terror continued against all those sections of the population that did not wholeheartedly support Communist policies. There was a long series of public trials, invariably ending with sentences of death or long prison terms. The victims were peasants, accused of resisting collectivization and sabotaging deliveries in collusion allegedly with the International Peasant Union; clergymen and Catholic laymen, charged with perverting religion for political purposes and plotting with the Vatican; engineers, made responsible for production slowdowns, machine failures, and accidents in mines and factories; workers, accused of "shirking," "laziness," and "sabotage." In addition to those convicted in these trials, thousands were sent to uranium mines and other concentration camps by administrative decisions of the secret police.

But non-Communists were now not the only and not even the principal victims of persecution. Terror raged inside the ruling Communist Party and found its most prominent victims among Party leaders. One purge followed another and affected every part of the Party and government machinery. It struck especially hard at individuals of Jewish origin.

Jewish Population

The number of Jews, which was estimated in 1951 at about 15,000, did not change substantially. Legal emigration was almost impossible; individual exceptions were few. Only 173 immigrants whose country of principal residence had been Czechoslovakia arrived in Israel in 1951, and most of them had left Czechoslovakia years before. Illegal escape from the country became so difficult that it was reduced to a trickle. Since there was a relatively high proportion of persons above the age of sixty, there may have been a natural de-

crease. The deportations of "bourgeois" and "unreliable" elements from the cities of Slovakia, reported in the spring of 1952, also contributed to the probable decline of the Jewish population of Czechoslovakia. But there were no reliable data about the number of Jewish deportees or their further fate. Nor were any new statistics or estimates of the number of Jews published.

Religious Communities

The Jewish religious communities were the only Jewish organizations still existing in Czechoslovakia. There were no other Jewish cultural, welfare, or other kind of organizations, and no Jewish communal activities.

The number of religious communities declined rapidly. In August 1950 it had been officially reported that forty-eight existed in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, but only nineteen were represented at a conference in Karlovy Vary at that time. The decline continued, and on June 29, 1952, the remaining communities were "consolidated" into nine at a conference in Prague. They were located in Prague, Plzeň, Karlovy Vary, Liberec and Ústí nad Labem in Bohemia, Brno, Olomouc, Ostrava, and Kyjov in Moravia-Silesia. These were administrative units; synagogues still existed in a few other places, and district rabbis performed religious services and ceremonies, traveling from place to place through rather extensive territories. There were few worshipers; not more than fifty persons participated in communal *Sedarim* in the largest communities in Prague and Brno. And when on May 30, 1952, a bar mitzvah ceremony was performed in Olomouc, the third largest city of Moravia, it was stated that it was the first in that city in fourteen years.

Věstník, the only Jewish periodical in Czechoslovakia, continued to appear. Up to January 1952 it had described itself as the Bulletin of the Jewish Religious Community in Prague and the Organ of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia; after February 1952 it called itself simply the organ of Jewish religious communities in Czechoslovakia. The Council was never mentioned again, not even at the June 1952 conference in Prague. It had evidently ceased to exist; at the conference Rabbi Gustav Sicher hinted that its bylaws, adopted five years before, had never gone into effect.

The same fate evidently met the Council's sister organization, the Association of Jewish Religious Communities of Slovakia. How many individual religious communities survived there was not known.

After February 1952, *Věstník* appeared only once instead of twice a month and its size was reduced to eight pages. It contained general Communist propaganda, articles about "fascism," "warmongering," and anti-Semitism in non-Communist countries, some religious instruction, and a few reports from individual communities, usually dealing with the deaths and funerals of their members, or anniversary meetings to commemorate the victims of Nazism.

Religious services were not disturbed by the authorities. The price for this tolerance was the support that the rabbis and the believers were forced to give official policies and especially Communist "peace campaigns." The communities had to adopt repeated resolutions on these subjects. On March 20,

1952, a statement signed "The Rabbinical Body" attacked "American bacteriological warfare" in Korea. The aforementioned conference of June 29, 1952, voted a resolution typical of such propaganda. It stated that criminal imperialism and fascism had brought Jewish communities to the brink of the abyss, from which only the Soviet Union and the Red Army had saved them; therefore the conference protested against warmongers and Fascists, against the war in Korea, against "bacteriological warfare," and the remilitarization of West Germany, and against the persecution of the "brave defenders of peace" in capitalist countries. All Jews were called on to resist warmongers and to help build socialism.

Communist propaganda was sometimes carried directly into synagogue services. Thus a report published in *Věstník* on March 3, 1952, stated that the Ostrava community had heard lectures dealing with "socialist construction" and the "fight for peace" delivered regularly during the services. Some pro-Communist propaganda even crept into some sermons and expositions of Jewish tradition written by rabbis for *Věstník*. Biblical stories were interpreted in the spirit of the Communist "fight for liberation"; the traditional Jewish ideals of social justice were described as realized by the present regime. It was evident that the Communists were trying to foist official Party doctrine on the minimum of religious instruction permitted, and that resistance against such pressures was becoming more and more difficult.

The Jewish Museum in Prague, "nationalized" in 1950, was thoroughly reorganized to this end in 1951-52. According to a report printed in *Věstník* of May 1, 1952, the museum had formerly presented a record of Jewish religious life and Jewish customs. Now, however, it had been reorganized "in harmony with scientific knowledge of our time, i.e., historical materialism." Thus the government fulfilled the demand voiced by the Communist writer Louis Fuernberg as early as 1949 that the museum should serve as an instrument of Communist propaganda.

Purge of Jews

With the emigration of most Zionist and religious members of the Jewish community to Israel in 1948-49, activities connected with religious life affected only a small part of the population of Jewish origin. Most of the remaining Jews considered themselves fully assimilated and completely integrated. They regarded themselves not only as loyal Czechoslovak citizens but also as members of the Czech or Slovak ethnic group. They accepted the new social order voluntarily or under the pressure of circumstances, and tried to contribute to "socialist construction." Many of them joined the Communist Party; some were in prominent positions in the Party hierarchy or government offices. The number of Jews in such jobs was neither high nor out of proportion to the role Jews had always played among the educated classes of Czechoslovakia. But some Jewish Communists, Party members of long standing, served in rather conspicuous positions. This fact served as a convenient pretext for anti-Semitic propaganda. But it was also considered a proof that the Communist regime did not engage in racial discrimination. If Jewish wealth

was expropriated and Jewish communal life destroyed, individual Jews at least seemed to enjoy equality and to be secure from anti-Semitic persecution.

All this changed rapidly in 1951-52. In a series of sweeping purges, almost all persons of Jewish origin were removed from high positions, and the accompanying "ideological campaign" stamped Jews, no matter to what extent assimilated, as members of an "alien" and "suspect" minority.

The purge in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia began, under pressure from Moscow, at the end of 1949. Its first victims were high officials in the office of the Premier, and in the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Information. Most were of Jewish origin, among them Milan Rejman, head of the office of the Premier; Evžen Loebel, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade; Oskar Kosta (Kohn), Deputy Chief of the press division in the Ministry of Information; Stanislav Budin (Benzion Bats), head of the Anglo-American desk in the same ministry and foreign editor of the newspaper *Lidové Noviny*. At first the dismissals and arrests were not publicized; in some cases the charges against the victims and facts about their punishment were officially "confirmed" many months later. In other cases the "culprits" simply disappeared. Milan Rejman was accused of borrowing confidential documents from his office without adequate explanation; he died in jail. Evžen Loebel was charged with sabotage and collusion with foreign capitalists. Evžen Klinger and Oskar Kosta were simply arrested and never heard of again. Stanislav Budin was publicly attacked because a book he had written attacking the United States was considered still influenced by American thinking. Having been born in Russia, Budin was probably deported to the Soviet Union. Artur London, head of the Foreign Ministry's personnel department, and Vavro Hajdu, chief of its West European division, seem to have been only demoted in 1949. In 1951 they were officially reported to have been arrested on charges of espionage and treason.

Most of these men had spent the war years in Western countries and some were known to have opposed the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. They were suspected of pro-Western sympathies and of Czech or Slovak "nationalism." The fact that many of them were of Jewish origin was not publicly stressed and there were no official anti-Semitic statements in this stage of the purge.

The second stage of the purge started with the arrest of Otto Šling, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and its regional secretary in Brno, Moravia, in October 1950. Up to that time, the purge seemed to be directed at government offices and its victims were "national" Communists, considered close friends of President Klement Gottwald. Now the trend was reversed: the victims were sought mainly in the Party apparatus, among the "international" Communists concentrated around Secretary General Rudolf Slánský, a Jew.

In a meeting of the Central Committee held on February 21, 1951, it was announced that Šling and his friend Švermová, a deputy of Slánský, were the heads of a widespread conspiracy that had infiltrated the Party apparatus throughout Czechoslovakia and was preparing the overthrow of the government and the restoration of capitalism. At first Slánský himself was not involved in the purge, since the conspiracy had taken place during his "prolonged illness." But on September 6, 1951, he was removed from his office

because of his "undemocratic methods" and his attempts to "establish a second center of power." Finally, on November 28, 1951, he was arrested as the real leader of the treasonable conspiracy.

At this stage, the purge acquired a distinctly anti-Semitic character. Šling was a Jew, and the accusation against him stressed his "bourgeois" as well as his "alien" origin. Among his "co-conspirators," arrested at the beginning of 1951, were an astonishing number of Jews. These included Vítězslav Fuchs, Party secretary in Ostrava; Hanuš Lomský (Lieben), son of a rabbi and Party secretary in Plzeň; Růžena Dubová, a Party secretary in Brno; General Bedřich Rejcin, head of the army intelligence; and Ervín Polák, Deputy Minister of the Interior. Those arrested were either Party leaders from the districts where unrest in the factories was greatest, or Party agents in the most unpopular units of the army and police. The charges that they "exaggerated Party policies," "distorted directives," and "suppressed party democracy," in order to "discredit socialism and restore capitalism," meant that the purge was an attempt to divert popular discontent to suitable scapegoats. "Alien, rootless, and corrupt cosmopolitans," e.g., persons of Jewish origin, were considered especially fit for this role.

After the arrest of Slánský, the purge of Jews became general. Although even in this stage not all the victims were Jews, hardly a Jew in high position escaped removal. Only a few of those purged could be fairly described as Slánský's close friends. (These included his brother Richard, a high official in the foreign service, and Jarmila Taussigová, member of the Party's Central Control Commission, both of whom were expelled together with the Secretary General.) Many others had nothing in common with Slánský except Party membership and "racial origin."

Among the Jewish victims of the purge were Bedřich Geminder, former representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in the Cominform; Gustav Bareš (Breitenfeld), Deputy Secretary General and chief of Party propaganda; Koloman Moško (Moskowitz), one of the four chief Party secretaries in Slovakia; Ludvík Frejka (Freund), one of the authors of the Czechoslovak Five-Year Plan; Josef Goldman, Deputy Chief of the Planning Office; Rudolf Margolius, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade; Zikmund Stein, trusted Party lawyer and legal adviser of the Soviet embassy.

The purge was most conspicuous in the diplomatic service. In addition to the previously mentioned purge in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, almost all diplomatic representatives of Jewish origin abroad were recalled and many of them arrested. Among those recalled were Rudolf Bystřický (Weichherz), ambassador to Great Britain; the novelist F. C. Weisskopf, ambassador to China; Eduard Goldstuecker, minister to Israel; Alexander Kunosi, minister to Argentina; Arnošt Tauber, minister to Switzerland; Otto Fischl, minister to East Germany; Jan Vinař, first secretary of the embassy in the United States. Some minor diplomatic officials escaped the purge by asking for asylum in countries to which they were accredited.

Most of these victims were Communists, some of them of long standing. The majority had always considered themselves Czechs or Slovaks; some were of German-Jewish descent but identified themselves with Czech nationalism during and after the war. None was a Zionist or a religious Jew.

Persecution of Zionists

There were few genuine Zionists left in the country. Those who remained after the exodus of 1948–49, because they were not able to obtain exit visas, were rounded up at the end of 1951. Former local leaders of the General Zionists, of the [Orthodox] Mizrahi, and of the [left-wing Socialist] Hashomer Hatzair were among those arrested.

But the most prominent Zionist victim of the Czechoslovak purge was Mordecai Oren, citizen of Israel and member of the Israel Knesset. A leader of the pro-Communist wing of the Mapam Party, Oren was one of the closest followers of the Communist line and attended many Moscow-sponsored "peace conferences." Returning from a meeting of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions in East Berlin, Oren went to Czechoslovakia in December 1951 in order to investigate reports about the anti-Semitic purge and about the arrest of his cousin Simon Ohrenstein, former assistant to the Israel commercial attaché in Prague. On December 31, 1951, he disappeared and was not heard of until March 23, 1952. On that date, after several diplomatic inquiries, the Czechoslovak government informed Israel that Oren had been arrested on charges of unspecified "crimes against state security." Israel diplomatic officials were not allowed to contact him, and all efforts on the part of his friends remained fruitless. In August 1952 a letter purportedly written by Oren in jail was handed over to the Israel legation for transmission to his wife; according to Israel press reports, it hinted that Oren had "confessed."

Anti-Semitic Campaign

Soon after the arrest of Slánský, the Communist Party and press began a campaign of denunciation, identifying "cosmopolitans" with "Zionists" and hinting that people of Jewish origin were apt to become traitors in the service of capitalism. The first attack appeared in *Tvorba*, a Communist magazine issuing directives for Party propaganda, on December 13, 1951. *Tvorba* wrote:

Recently many cosmopolitan elements, who later became agents of American-English [*sic*] aggressors, have come from the ranks of Zionists, who have no roots in our nation. The Jewish state of Israel is today in the hands of bourgeois Jewish nationalists who have sold themselves to American imperialists. They are using this state as their agent in the fight against the national liberation movement in the colonies, and are using the Zionist movement to organize disruptive, subversive, and hostile activities against the USSR and against the People's Democracies.

On December 18, Premier Antonín Zápotocký, speaking in connection with the Slánský "conspiracy" of traitors in the service of capitalism, told a conference of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks in Prague:

We have not punished anybody for his political or religious opinions. But we do and will punish everyone who conspires against the Republic. . . .

And we will tolerate no interference in our internal affairs from outside, be it from Washington or London, Rome or Jerusalem.

The mention of Jerusalem, cheered by the conference, was evidently understood as an allusion to Slánský's Jewish origin. Zápotocký then reminded his audience that "reactionaries" had tried to return nationalized factories to "Jewish and other capitalists." This reminder, in connection with the charge that Slánský, Šling, and other Jewish Communists had attempted to restore capitalism, evoked the spectre of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy continued after the expropriation of Jewish capitalists by their agents who had infiltrated the Communist Party.

The cue was taken up by the Party press all over the country. On January 17, 1952, the newspaper *Lidové Noviny* wrote that agents of Zionism all over the world were carrying on propaganda for imperialism and subverting socialism. On January 23 *Pravda*, the central party organ in Slovakia, stressed that Zionism tried to influence "our citizens of Jewish descent," that secret Zionists "have wormed their way into Communist parties in order to disrupt and undermine them from within," and that "certain members of our party . . . have succumbed to the ideology of cosmopolitanism and Jewish bourgeois nationalism." Several days later *L'ud*, another Slovak Communist paper, published a long article about cosmopolitans and Zionists who had no fatherland and were apt to become traitors. It reminded its readers that "our workmen . . . have always hated Jewish capitalists because these capitalists exploited and ground down the masses." The anger of the masses grew, *L'ud* asserted, when after 1945 Jewish as well as non-Jewish capitalists attempted to recapture lost positions, and when rich Jews emigrating to Palestine took great wealth out of the country. The masses' protests at this theft of the national wealth had been silenced by the imputations that they were motivated by anti-Semitism; in reality, they expressed "the healthy voice of criticism," "the healthy class instinct." Hidden enemies in high places had been protecting Jewish capitalists. But now they were being unmasked as imperialist agents and removed; the fight against cosmopolitanism and Zionism could now be fought to the very end, their representatives could be rendered harmless, and leading positions could be filled by genuine Czechs and Slovaks.

Thus anti-Semitic agitation which had led to murders and bloody riots, especially in Slovakia (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1946-47 [Vol. 48], p. 357; 1947-48 [Vol. 49], pp. 414-15; 1950 [Vol. 51], p. 359), was justified as an expression of sound "class instinct."

The campaign was seemingly aimed at "Zionists," but individuals were accused of Zionism who had been its opponents all their life. It was a campaign against "Jewish capitalists" that charged fanatical Communists like Slánský as being their agents; a campaign that often used the term "cosmopolitans" as a synonym for Jews. Thus in the eyes of those who were influenced by this official and semiofficial propaganda, the Jews again became a suspect minority, and individual Jews were made the scapegoats for the regime's crimes and failures.¹

JOSEPH GORDON

¹This article went to press before the beginning of the trial against Rudolph Slánský in November 1952. Most of the victims of the purge mentioned in the article appeared in the trial as defendants or accomplices in the "world-wide Zionist conspiracy." At the same time, the anti-Semitic campaign reached a new high.

HUNGARY

Deportations

THROUGHOUT the year under review, deportations of large numbers of "class enemies," among them thousands of Jews, continued in Hungary as a systematic instrumentality of official policy. After November 1951 the population of the Hungarian provinces were the chief victims of deportation in contrast to the earlier mass removals from Budapest, the capital. The deportations were being carried out in a somewhat more humane manner, in that families listed for expulsion were summoned by the police and given from three to ten days' grace to prepare for the journey. They were also permitted to take along some of their personal possessions.

However, as early as November 28, 1951, *The New York Times* reported that "it is not certain whether they are not being taken across the Hungary-Russian border"—i.e., being deported to perform slave labor in the Soviet Union. On February 20, 1952, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) cabled from London that "mass deportations of Jews" from the larger provincial cities had been stepped up, and that the victims were being shipped "farther East than before." A report received from Hungary and printed on February 16, 1952, by the New York Hungarian-language weekly *Az Ember*, revealed that the majority of recent deportees were being shipped, via Satoraljanjhely-Radvanszk and a new huge distribution camp at Radvanszk, directly or through Rumanian territory to Soviet slave labor camps in Northern Siberia. On July 30 the JTA reported both from Zurich and Vienna that Jewish children were being separated from their parents, who were compelled to place them at the disposal of the state "in order to build a better society." This seemed to be regular procedure in cases where parents were being deported.

On July 29, 1951, the JTA related that a delegation of Hungarian Jews who had been in Oswiecim and other Nazi concentration camps had sought an audience with high Hungarian authorities to appeal that Jews who had been inmates of Nazi camps should not be deported. The dispatch added that all members of the group were rounded up and deported, together with their families. Another JTA dispatch of July 22, 1951, stated that many of the 800 Budapest lawyers deported as of that date had been Jews. On April 25, 1952, the London *Jewish Chronicle* reported that during the first quarter of 1952 over 1,000 suicides had taken place in Budapest alone, including many Jews. It was surmised that deportation orders or the fear of deportation had caused this epidemic of suicides. The victims included the brothers Geza and Joseph Szuets, leaders of the Jewish community and first cousins of Louis Stoeckler, the chief Communist Jewish leader (*The New York Times*, August 12, 1951).

In a joint statement by the National Executive Committee of Hungarian Israelites, the Rabbinical Council of Hungarian Israelites, the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of Hungarian Israelites, and the Rabbinate and Chevra

Kadisha Division of the Budapest Jewish community, published in *Uj Elet* on July 19, 1951, the Communist-controlled Jewish community leaders denounced foreign criticism of the policy of deportations. They asserted that the expulsions of Jews "are not due to the fact that they are Jews," but to their class background as former "rich capitalists and beneficiaries and supporters of the Horthy regime." The statement failed to explain how thousands of Jewish workers, intellectuals, and poor people who were deported could be fitted into this category.

A novel feature of the deportations was revealed by *The New York Times* on November 11, 1951, in a dispatch describing a new organization, Artex, created by the government for the sale abroad, particularly in countries with convertible currencies, of the confiscated possessions of deported people. Artex was given the task of selling works of art, gold and silver objects, jewelry, porcelain, rugs, and carpets, preferably in exchange for United States dollars. On November 26, 1951, the JTA reported from London that the Hungarian Government had ordered the National Museum to confiscate and to collect from dissolved Jewish communities all Jewish books that they or emigrated Jewish families had owned, for export and sale abroad to obtain much-needed foreign currency.

A letter received from Hungary by *Az Ember* (April 19, 1952) referred to a secret report of the Hungarian State Statistical Office revealing that during 1951 exactly 38,633 persons had been deported from Budapest, and approximately 35,000 persons had been deported from provincial localities. Of those deported from Budapest, 14,353 were Jews (37.2 per cent); the proportion of Jews among the deportees from the provinces could not be established. (Well-informed Hungarian sources in the United States estimated the latter figure at around 8,000.) On this basis, the total number of Jews deported during 1951 may be put at some 22,000. No figures were available for the number of persons deported from Hungary during 1952. However, if the above total of Jews deported in 1951 is correct, the proportion of Jews among the deportees amounted to almost 30 per cent, while Jews represented less than 1.3 per cent of the total population of Hungary. At the same time, 22,000 Jewish deportees represented approximately 15.5 per cent of the Jewish population.

FOREIGN REACTIONS

Several foreign governments and voluntary groups, including Jewish organizations, protested the Hungarian deportations. On July 27, 1951, President Harry S. Truman of the United States declared that the Government of Hungary was "accountable before the world for its infamous conduct." On August 1, Secretary of State Acheson called on Hungary to permit the victims to return to their homes "or to depart freely from Hungary and accept such safe haven as may be offered by the governments of other lands." The Government of Israel was particularly eager to receive Hungary's "expendable" Jews and her representatives almost ceaselessly urged the Hungarian government to let the victims go; the only result of that intervention was that Israel was vilified in the Hungarian press as a defender of "reactionary" elements. In July 1951 the Australian Government forwarded a number of emigration

permits to the British Embassy in Budapest, to be issued to Jews who had relatives in Australia (JTA, July 19, 1952). A similar humanitarian attempt was made in March 1952 by the Swedish Government, which made available over 200 visas for aged Jews in Hungary (London *Jewish Chronicle*, March 14, 1952). In both cases, the Hungarian authorities refused to issue the necessary exit permits. In July 1952 the International Red Cross, at the request of the Agudath Israel World Organization, announced its intention to seek means of assisting the victims of deportations in Hungary, but had to confine its plans to the transmittal of relief packages (JTA, July 19, 1952). On August 24, 1951, Herman A. Gray, speaking on behalf of the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations (consisting of the American Jewish Committee, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the Anglo-Jewish Association) urged the Non-Governmental Organization of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations, meeting in Geneva, to take effective measures to halt the Hungarian deportations. Similar representations were made before the United Nations by the Agudath Israel World Organization in July 1951. None of these many protests and proposals produced any practical effect.

Anti-Semitism

By 1951 Hungary's seclusion from the free world almost completely prevented the flow of information about internal conditions in that country. The scant news available indicated that anti-Semitism was still strong in Hungary. In March 1952 both the JTA (March 26) and the London *Jewish Chronicle* (March 24) reported that large numbers of Jewish cemeteries had been desecrated. It was conjectured that one of the reasons for this vandalism was the prevailing metal shortage which prompted people to steal non-ferrous metals from graves. On July 14, 1951, the JTA reported from Tel Aviv statements by new immigrants from Hungary to the effect that all Jewish cultural activities in Hungary had ceased and that synagogues were empty because religious Jews were required to work on the Sabbath. On November 9, 1951, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported that because of the prevailing shortage of raw materials, the Hungarian Government had prohibited the use of candles in churches and synagogues.

Emigration

Under these circumstances, half of Hungary's undeported 110,000 Jews had registered for emigration to Israel, according to information given to the JTA on October 30, 1951, by Joshua N. Shai, the director of Israel's immigration department.

At the very beginning of mass deportations from Hungary in May 1951 the Israel government redoubled its efforts to reach an agreement with Hungary with regard to the emigration of "undesirable" Jews from that country. The negotiations for the emigration of 25,000 Hungarian Jews dragged on for many months; finally in January 1952 it became known that the Hungarian

Government had refused to permit the emigration of persons with any professional training and skill or the transfer of any assets possessed by migrants. According to the JTA (January 28, 1952), the Hungarians also demanded as a *quid pro quo* for their agreement to permit Jewish emigration trade concessions for certain raw materials, machinery, and shipping facilities.

As of the end of October 1952 no concrete results had been reported and these negotiations seemed to have reached a stalemate. In view of the fact that emigration from Iron Curtain countries to Israel had ceased altogether, the few hundred Hungarian Jews who were still registered on June 30, 1952 for emigration under the small quota of 3,000 agreed upon between Israel and Hungary in 1949 were likely to be the last to leave Hungary for Israel.

RUMANIA

OF ALL the satellite countries, Rumania was in the greatest turmoil during the period under review (July 1951 through June 1952). The impoverished economy of the country was strained to the utmost by Soviet demands for extensive rearmament and economic mobilization. The army, restricted by the Peace Treaty with the Allies to 200,000 men, was increased by at least another 100,000. The armament and heavy industries were being built up feverishly and integrated into the Soviet planning. The demands for stockpiling and deliveries of military supplies to the Soviet Union consumed an increasing share of domestic production. (To quote one example, the trade agreement of February 17, 1951, provided that 2,800,000 tons of oil from a total production of over 4,000,000 be transmitted to the Soviet Union.)

The result was a further lowering of the average standard of living, an acute shortage of consumer goods and a runaway inflation. A new currency reform, initiated in January 1952, reduced prices and wages to a twentieth of their former value, sums in cash being exchanged at the rates of from 100 to 400 to 1. The result was a sharp drop in popular savings; but the real value of the currency was not restored because, with consumers' goods scarce, consumers were still forced to resort to the free market where prices were several times higher. The fact that the government paid workers' wages for the second part of January in the old, devaluated lei increased the popular indignation.

The peasants, who formed three-fourths of the population, still resisted collectivization and forced deliveries of their products. After violent resistance, especially in Moldavia and the Banat, the pace of forced collectivization was slowed down. After September 1951, the collectivization drive concentrated on "lower-type" co-operatives, which combined collective work in the fields and collective use of machines with some ownership of individual property. On the other hand, a decree of March 18, 1952, obliged all owners and cultivators of land to deliver all their products at fixed prices to the state. Compulsory quotas were based on the areas under cultivation and non-deliveries were threatened by heavy punishments.

Still, passive resistance continued in the villages, extended to the factories, and slowed down the execution of investment plans, especially for electrifi-

cation and the production of tractors and agricultural machinery. The budget broke down and the inflation continued.

As there was no organized political opposition, police terror was now aimed at nonconformist social, occupational, and religious groups. Spectacular trials were conducted against "lazy" workers, peasants who refused to deliver their crops, "sabotaging" engineers, and "subversive" Catholic and Orthodox priests. Many more suspect citizens were arrested without trial and sent to slave labor camps and road- and canal-building gangs. The most conservative observers estimated the number of slave laborers in Rumania at 150,000. This was before the great wave of deportations in the spring of 1952, which was intended to clear out the "unproductive" and "suspect" elements from all the cities of Rumania.

The economic breakdown and the increased resistance of the Rumanian population led to a vast purge in high places and a reorganization of the government. The small veteran cadres of the Rumanian Communist Party, which had occupied the highest echelons of power, were largely composed of persons of middle-class origin and non-Rumanian ethnic stock. They were now made responsible for the failure of the currency reform, for the "excesses" of forced collectivization, and (by implication), for the worst excesses of the Communist regime. In addition, they were charged with corruption and a "bourgeois-aristocratic" standard of living. Of the three most prominent leaders of the Party, two, the Finance Minister, Vasile Luca, of Hungarian origin, and the Foreign Minister, Ana Pauker, a Jewess, were deposed; the third member of the triumvirate, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, a former worker of Rumanian ethnic origin and an obedient instrument of Moscow, became the dictator of Rumania.

On May 27, 1952, Vasile Luca was dismissed from the Vice-Premiership, and Minister of the Interior Teohari Georgescu, the dreaded chief of the Secret Police, was dismissed from his powerful office. On May 30 Luca, Pauker, Georgescu, and Radaceanu were dropped from the Secretariat and from the Politburo of the Rumanian Workers' [Communist] Party. On June 2 Petre Groza, the fellow-traveler who was the puppet Premier of Rumania, was elected to the inconsequential office of chairman of the presidium of the Grand National Assembly, and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was elected Premier, combining in his person the highest Party and the highest government office. On July 5, it was announced that Ana Pauker was relieved of her duties as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and a thorough purge of her friends in the state and Party apparatus followed.

During August and September Rumania "discussed" a new constitution modeled after the Soviet one. Although still conducted under the flag of Rumanian national sovereignty, the process of sovietization was continuing with great speed.

Jewish Population

No new official or semi-official data were available about the number of Jews in Rumania. The last—approximate—estimate was 270,000 for July 1951. (See AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 339.)

Emigration from Rumania to Israel slowed down substantially during the second half of 1951 and first half of 1952: fewer than 15,000 Rumanian Jews arrived in Israel in the period July to December 1951, and the number of immigrants arriving during the first few months of 1952 was still smaller. There are no data about natural increase or decrease. The lack of specific figures leaves relatively large margins for possible error. With this in mind, the number of Jews in Rumania in the summer of 1952 can be estimated in the neighborhood of 250,000. In any case, Rumania was still, after the Soviet Union, the country with the largest number of Jews behind the Iron Curtain.

The deportations of "bourgeois" and "unproductive" elements from great cities shifted parts of the Jewish population from urban to rural areas, and to localities where new factories, roads, and canals were under construction. But data about the extent of this shift were not available. It was impossible to ascertain the exact number of Jewish communities in Rumania. Reports of closed synagogues and abandoned community properties indicated that their number had substantially decreased.

Deportations and Mass Arrests

Following the Russian and Hungarian example, during the period under review the Rumanian government ordered the deportation of all "bourgeois, unproductive," and "politically unreliable" elements from the big cities. This action particularly affected the Jewish population, which was predominantly urban, middle-class, or lower middle-class in origin, and with a large percentage of individuals who had been expropriated by the Communist regime and were unable to find steady and "productive" jobs in the new economy. Many persons who had actually found employment in government or nationalized industry joined the ranks of deportables either when they were found "unreliable" because of their past activities or suspect Zionist sympathies or when they lost their positions in the political purges.

As early as November 1951, reports were circulating that a mass deportation of "unnecessary" city dwellers was slated for the near future. The police collected the identification and ration cards of city dwellers and stamped them with cryptic symbols dividing the population into various categories. Some persons with "bourgeois" backgrounds were unofficially warned to prepare for compulsory resettlement.

In February 1952 the deportations started. One directive listed the following categories of "deportables": 1. families of war criminals, of persons already deported or detained, and of emigrés. The term "family" included "relatives"; 2. former officers, magistrates, government officials, lawyers, industrialists and businessmen, and former owners of more than twenty-five acres of land, and their families; 3. saboteurs, offenders under common law, and political offenders who had served their sentence, and their families; 4. persons under fifty-six years of age who had retired.

These definitions were so broad as to give the enforcing authorities the right to deport almost everybody. There were very few Jews who did not fall

into the category of "former businessmen" or "their relatives"; having been expropriated and left without regular jobs, many had been punished for economic offenses, and fitted, together with all their relatives, into the category of "saboteurs" and "common offenders." Others were deportable because of "Jewish bourgeois nationalism" and similar manifestations of "political unreliability."

The number of persons deported was estimated as high as 200,000. A report by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) of March 12, 1952, referred to "100,000 families, mostly Jews." In addition to Bucharest, mass expulsions were carried out in Ploesti, Galatz, Timisoara, Jassy, Craiova, Cluj, and other cities.

Those deported because of their "bourgeois past" were allowed to choose their new places of residence, provided they were at least thirty miles from the nearest city; they could also take their families with them. "Saboteurs" and "political offenders" were separated from their families and sent to special places of detention or forced labor camps.

Many Jewish white-collar workers were dismissed from their jobs and joined the army of deportees. Later, after the fall of Ana Pauker, they were joined by many government officials of Jewish origin, victims of the purge.

During the deportations and on various other occasions Jewish children were separated from their parents and sent to Communist educational institutions or to factories to work as apprentices. There the authorities made every effort to prevent contact between children and their parents. According to reports received in Vienna and Zürich and reported by the JTA on July 30, 1952, many Jewish parents were tattooing symbols on the children's skins to facilitate their recognition later in life.

Parallel with mass deportations, which affected Jews as members of larger categories of the population, were several waves of mass arrests of "Zionists." In September 1951 a number of former local Zionist leaders were jailed. Arrests continued throughout the winter. In February 1952 1,200 prospective Jewish emigrants were rounded up in Bucharest, Jassy, Galatz, Braila, Botosani, and other places. They were charged with "treasonable" Zionist activities or with asking black market prices for the personal belongings they were selling before their departure. Among the victims were M. Benveniste, H. Badi, and other well-known veteran Jewish leaders, as well as four Rumanian-born employees of the Israel legation staff. Even some Jewish members of the Communist Party were among those arrested.

This persecution caused a storm of protest in the Israel Knesset during the last week of February. The Israel Government promised to take appropriate steps through diplomatic channels but, as far as is known, its representations had no results.

Political Purge

The fall of Ana Pauker during May and June 1952 started a new wave of purges affecting Jewish Communists and government officials. This removal of "alien, non-Rumanian" leaders made a strong appeal to the nationalist

and anti-Semitic feelings of the population and was followed by poorly concealed public demonstrations of these sentiments.

On July 14, 1952, the [Yiddish] *Morning Journal* of New York reported that anti-Jewish demonstrations had taken place in a number of Rumanian cities "to celebrate the dismissal of Ana Pauker" with the consent of the Communist Party, "so that people can express their joy at the purging of Ana Pauker, who is hated by the Rumanian people." The anti-Jewish character of these outbreaks was unmistakable.

The purge among government officials, especially in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance, removed many men and women of Jewish origin. The most prominent among them were Anna Toma, Deputy Foreign Minister, who was believed to be under arrest, and Alexander Yakob, Deputy Minister of Finance, who committed suicide. Jewish community leaders in Galatz were arrested as "enemies of the state and the Rumanian people," and charged with "Zionist tendencies" and "sympathy with the traitor Ana Pauker." A number of Jewish officers in the Rumanian army were purged and forced to join labor battalions. Jewish officials in the Foreign Ministry were dismissed and those serving in diplomatic representations abroad recalled. Jewish engineers employed in the oil regions were replaced by non-Jews.

Some Communists of Jewish origin were still serving in the Party leadership and in government offices. But their numbers were diminishing and their days seemed to be numbered.

Anti-Semitism

The extent of popular anti-Semitism could not be adequately measured because the official press was not publicizing reports about anti-Semitic moods and incidents. But the reports of emigrants and refugees were unanimous in asserting that popular anti-Semitism was widespread, violent, and increasing.

On April 16, 1952, before the fall of Ana Pauker, A. Sheinfeld, a Rumanian Jewish journalist, summarized the situation in *The [Yiddish] Day*, New York, as follows:

The Jewish community in Rumania is exposed to danger on all sides. On the one hand there is the anti-Semitic propaganda of former members of the Iron Guard, and on the other hand there is the government, which apparently hopes to appease the reactionary forces by oppressing the Jews. . . .

Here is one example of the anti-Semitic methods currently in use in Rumania: Every once in a while Rumanians on awakening will find at their doors copies of *Deshtearea* [Awakening], a viciously anti-Semitic newspaper, with the legend: "We will hang the Jews by the entrails of their fellows." It appeals to all true patriots of Rumania to destroy "the inner enemy, the Jew." This newspaper is also left on the doorsteps of Jews, as well as in public places. . . .

On a side street in Bucharest the corpse of a Jew was found covered with papers bearing the words: "This will happen to all Jews in Rumania

who seek to betray and sell out our country." There have also been sporadic attacks on Jews in Ploesti, Focsani and other places. Such attacks are never reported in the press.

Anti-Semitism is widely practiced in factories and government institutions. No Jew dares to complain to government agencies, which are themselves staffed with anti-Semites. The few Jews still remaining in government positions are gradually being eliminated. . . .

The Jewish population is well aware of the hatred which surrounds it. . . .

Cultural Life

A favorable report about Jewish cultural activities in Rumania published in the London *Jewish Chronicle* on February 22, 1952, enumerated the following Jewish institutions: three Yiddish elementary schools, located in Bucharest, Jassy, and Timisoara; one Yiddish secondary school; five kindergartens; the Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YKUF) cultural association, with branches "in practically every Rumanian town," and affiliated dramatic circles, choirs and libraries. The YKUF choir in Bucharest, with over 100 members, was reportedly among the best in Rumania. The correspondent further reported that the YKUF was playing "a leading and beneficial role" in "eradicating illiteracy among Rumanian Jews" and in "raising their cultural level." It was "gradually assuming control of Jewish life and pursuits throughout the country" and "its activities were carried out in accordance with Communist Party policy." The report enumerated a number of Jewish composers and musicians and some Yiddish writers whose works were sold in the "thousands of copies."

To this list must be added two Jewish theaters, which had their seats in Bucharest and Jassy, but often toured the country performing patriotic and anti-Zionist plays.

On the other hand, in July 1952 an Israel citizen who had come back from Rumania and was interviewed by the Haifa correspondent of the London *Jewish Chronicle*, reported that "Jewish communal life in Bucharest was completely dormant" and even the Jewish Communists were inactive. At about the same time, the government ordered the removal from the remaining Jewish libraries of "all books with Zionist and nationalist content." This report went on to say that the libraries were to be investigated by specially appointed committees, and it was expected that many books by Jewish authors "will be ordered removed."

Religious Life

The synagogues were still open but, as the Zürich *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* reported on March 7, 1952, the sermons "contained more propaganda for Communism and Stalin than religion." A good example was the 1951 Rosh ha-Shanah message of the Chief Rabbi of Rumania, Mozes Rosen, who accused the English and American "merchants of death" of having caused the World War by "recruiting bands of fascist murderers, in order to send

them against the Soviet Union." The same message attacked the Government of Israel for having "supported the American-English forces of aggression" and having joined the camp "in which are the murderers of 6,000,000 Jews." Similar attacks were repeated from the pulpits many times.

In the meantime, the attendance in the synagogues was decreasing and many of them were closing. In April 1952 the London *Jewish Chronicle* reported that twenty-one former synagogue buildings in Transylvania had been taken over by the authorities and were being used as clubrooms by Communist youth groups. As the local Jewish communities had disintegrated, no compensation was paid by the state, but prayer books, Torah scrolls, and other religious articles were taken over by the synagogue in Cluj. An additional forty synagogues in Transylvania were expected to be taken over by local authorities in a short time.

The remaining Jewish communities had great difficulties in obtaining rabbis and cantors. The rabbinical seminary in Bucharest had only twenty-five students, and attempts to obtain rabbis from other satellite countries met with strong opposition from the government, which was not anxious to maintain Jewish institutional life. A few itinerant rabbis made the rounds of Transylvanian towns. Cernauti, the capital of Bukovina and once the seat of a large Jewish community, lost its last rabbi when Rabbi David Tabak died in August 1951. Contact among the religious communities was seriously disrupted when the government suspended the news bulletin issued by the community of Bucharest in March 1952. This bulletin, which had served as the last remaining press link between religious organizations in different parts of the country, was discontinued because it was attacked by *Scanteia*, the central organ of the Communist Party, and by some Jewish Communists, as a "capitalist publication."

Anti-Israel and Anti-Zionist Campaign

The Jewish Democratic Committee continued its anti-Zionist activities, from time to time purging its ranks of members considered too soft for the fight against "Jewish nationalism."

At the session of the committee held on February 14 and 15, 1952, it was reported that there had been a campaign against Zionism throughout 1951. Young "activists" had visited each Jewish family and reported the results to the local committees; billboards with anti-Zionist and anti-Israel slogans were put up in Jewish neighborhoods; prospective emigrants to Israel were under pressure to renounce their plans for emigration. For the year 1952 the committee listed four main tasks: the integration of the Jewish people, including housewives, into "productive work"; the mobilization of Jews, including "religious personnel," for the "fight for peace"; the "unmasking" of the Israel leaders as "friends of Nazis"; and the strengthening of the attachment of Jews to the Rumanian People's Republic, to the Soviet Union, and to "beloved Stalin."

The campaign against Zionism attained fantastic heights. Zionists were accused, among other things, of supporting the war-time pogrom in Jassy in

which 10,000 Jews had been killed. They were alleged to have organized the pogrom "in order to substantiate the Zionist theory that Jews could survive only in their own country." The Jewish bourgeoisie, according to this accusation, "desired such pogroms in order to strengthen its nationalist position." In special meetings protesting against Israel-German reparation talks, Zionist and other Jewish leaders were attacked as allies of Nazism; the chief rabbi and other religious leaders proclaimed the excommunication of all Jews who took part in the negotiations or ordered them.

On May 1, 1952, the Jewish Democratic Committee participated in May Day demonstrations with placards portraying Premier David Ben Gurion of Israel with a swastika on his head and the German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, decorated with a Mogen David in the center of a swastika. Other cartoons, published in *Viata Noua*, represented the Israel premier as washing the blood-drenched hands of Nazi Storm Troop leaders. Zionists were described as "Fascist spies and Nazi collaborators" who were "suppressing the Israel workers just as the Nazis had suppressed their workers."

In July 1952, the ranks of the "activists" of the Jewish Democratic Committee were again purged of those who did not fight energetically enough against "Jewish capitalists and kulaks" and "dirty Zionist propaganda."

Emigration

The years 1950 and 1951 were years of substantial Jewish emigration from Rumania to Israel. In 1950, 46,166 Jewish immigrants whose country of principal residence had been Rumania reached the Jewish state. In 1951, their number was 39,036. The number of Jewish immigrants *born* in Rumania was slightly higher: 46,430 in 1950 and 40,206 in 1951.

During the first nine months of 1951, emigration varied between 2,500 and 5,600 a month. During the last three months of 1951, it dropped sharply to 1,435, 1,253, and 796 respectively.

The obstacles put in the way of emigrants were increasing. Most of the persons allowed to leave were old and sick. In October 1951 one transport carried 711 emigrants, including 412 women, most of whom were widows or invalids, and 299 men, of whom 124 were over 50 years of age. There was frequent complaint that only elderly and sick people were coming to Israel.

Beginning in October 1951, the Rumanian ship *SS Transylvania*, the only conveyance the emigrants were allowed to take and one which charged exorbitant prices for the passage, often arrived half-empty.

Some emigrants were informed of the date of departure so late that they could not reach the port in time; others were stripped so bare of all possessions that they were not able to pay for a ticket; still others could not pay the excessive passport and duty fees. Many emigrants sold their last belongings and arrived in Haifa not only without baggage, but even without overcoats and hats.

In February 1952, the devaluation of the currency brought new difficulties. Many Jews with valid visas had to remain in Constanza because, with the lei suddenly devalued, they had no funds to pay the customs.

Later the same month, many hundreds of prospective emigrants were arrested for selling their belongings at "black market prices" and for "Zionist activities." At the same time, Jewish Communists obtained the lists of prospective emigrants and forged petitions renouncing the intention to emigrate. It took great courage for an emigrant to deny having signed such a petition; the names of the "renouncers" were omitted from the lists of candidates for emigration.

In numerous cases, exit permits were granted to parents but not their children, to wives but not their husbands; those who did receive exit visas did not use them for fear that they would have to part forever from their families. Some emigrants, despairing of another opportunity, left without their nearest relatives. In March 1952 over 3,000 Rumanian Jewish families in Israel appealed to Rumanian authorities to permit members of their families who had been left behind in Rumania to join them. It was estimated that 85 per cent of these families had left children behind, 10 per cent had left parents, and 5 per cent were wives who came to Israel without their husbands.

In February 1952 about 30,000 Rumanian Jews in Israel had signed a petition protesting the arrest of Rumanian Zionist leaders and prospective emigrants, and asking for more liberal emigration policies. The Israel Government made repeated diplomatic representations and asked the Soviet Government to intervene with the Rumanian authorities. All representations were fruitless.

In May 1952, Rumanian Jewish Communists asked that no further emigration permits be issued and that Zionist agents be arrested.

In June, after the fall of Ana Pauker, the emigration came to a complete halt. The liner *SS Transylvania*, which had suspended regular service between Constanza and Haifa in April, arrived in Haifa without immigrants. Israel Government sources expressed hopes that emigration would be resumed in the near future because it was of benefit to both countries. But the number of emigrants during the year under review remained far behind expectations, and a great majority of the Jewish population of Rumania remained stranded behind the Iron Curtain.

JOSEPH GORDON

BULGARIA

IN BULGARIA, as in other satellite countries, external and internal tensions increased in 1951-52. After the break of diplomatic relations with the United States in February 1950 (*see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 343) and a series of conflicts with all her non-Communist Balkan neighbors, Bulgaria became more and more isolated from the Western world. Her frontiers with Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey were the scene of incessant frontier incidents. Inside the country, purges and persecutions continued with increasing furor. Vulko Chervenkov, premier and secretary general of the Communist Party, who had been reported in disgrace a year before, recovered his position and consolidated it by removing his competitors and strengthening economic and political ties with Moscow.

Jewish Population

After an interval of several years, the first official data about the number of Jews in Bulgaria were reported to the Fifth Conference of Jewish People's Communities, held in Sofia on April 20, 1952. Isak Frances, the secretary of the Jewish Consistory, announced that as of December 31, 1951, there were 7,676 Jews in Bulgaria; 4,259 of them lived in Sofia. There was no explanation of how the figures were computed. If correct, they would show that about one-sixth of the postwar Jewish population had stayed in Bulgaria; the rest had emigrated to Israel.

This emigration was still continuing. According to data published in the *Israel Statistical Bulletin*, 1,148 Jews from Bulgaria reached Israel in 1951 (as against 986 in 1950), and small groups of Bulgarian Jews were arriving there during the first few months of 1952.

Jewish People's Communities

In addition to Sofia, Jewish communities were reported in Plovdiv, Ruse, Stanke Dimitrov, Stalin, Iambol, Vidin, Kiustendil, Burgas, Stara Zagora, Lom, Kolarovgrad, Kazanlyk, Pleven, Khaskovo, Pazardzhik, Sliven, Karnobat, Tolbukhin, and Samokov. All but the last six of these communities were reported as represented at the Fifth Conference mentioned above, but no statistics were given concerning their membership. The conference decided that the Central Consistory should liquidate Jewish communities in all towns in which the number of Jewish inhabitants fell below fifty. A report presented at the conference made clear that an important part of the Consistory's income came from the liquidation of funds left by defunct local communities and from Jewish institutions already liquidated.

The conference of April 1952 was the first in three years (since June 1949—see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1951 [Vol. 52], p. 360). In the meantime, communal activities were directed by the Central Consistory of Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. At the conference, there were complaints that the Consistory had little direct contact with provincial communities and directed them mostly by written orders and circulars. The local communities were not able to exercise any influence on the policies of the central body. Apparently these complaints were ignored; characteristically, after the conference, the board of the Sofia community was not elected by its members but simply appointed by the Central Consistory. The chairman of the Consistory, David Ierokham; its secretary, Isak Frances; all six members of its executive; and most of the twenty-four members of its governing board were Communists. So were the newly appointed president of the Sofia community, Mrs. Nastia Isakova, and the presidents of the communities in the provinces.

Political Activities

The activities of the Jewish communities were summarized in the resolution of the conference:

In the period reported, the activities of the Consistory and of the Jewish People's Communities were guided by the political line of the government and the [Communist] Party. The Consistory and the Jewish People's Communities fulfilled their task of representing Bulgarian Jews by organizing their contribution to the construction of socialism in our fatherland, to the struggle for peace, against the American-English [sic] warmongers.

For the future, the resolution promised that the communities would educate Jews "in love of the fatherland, and in scorn and hate for its enemies, the American-English [sic] imperialists and their Balkan servants, Titoist bandits, Greek monarcho-fascists, and Turkish reactionaries." These were the central tasks to which all political, cultural, and social activities of the communities were subordinated.

This line was fully expressed in *Evreiski vesti*, the only Jewish periodical in Bulgaria. Up to August 1951, *Evreiski vesti* described itself as the organ of the Minorities Commission of the National Council of the Fatherland Front; after that date, it formally became the organ of the Consistory. A special Jewish commission of the National Front, which formerly supervised the Jewish communities, was evidently abolished as superfluous when the communities got firmly into Communist hands.

Until the end of 1951 *Evreiski vesti* appeared twice a month. After the beginning of 1952 it became a four-page monthly. The magazine was praised at the conference for "expressing the line of the government and of the Party," but criticized for containing too little local news. It printed many attacks against "Fascist and imperialist" governments in America and Western Europe; conducted a violent campaign against Israel, making extensive use of the material of the Israel Communist Party; and published many official reports about the "happy life" of Jews in other satellite countries. The Bulgarian material in the magazine consisted mostly of general Communist propaganda and official reports about meetings and demonstrations.

Religious Life

Jewish People's Communities were no longer considered religious organizations. The Law Dealing with Religious Confessions of March 1, 1949, had decreed the separation of churches and religious institutions from all state and communal organizations. On May 19, 1951, the Directorate for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers adopted new bylaws for the Jewish People's Communities. They made Jewish communities and their Central Consistory lay institutions; a Central Israelite Religious Council headed by the chief rabbi was established in Sofia, and similar local councils were supposed to be organized in the provinces. A common budget of the Central Consistory and of the Sofia community for the year 1952 adopted in December 1951, contained a subsidy of 1,300,000 leva (less than \$4,500) for religion, or about 5 per cent of the total budget. There was no other report of religious activities at the meetings and conferences of the communities, or in the Consistory's periodical. The only activities of the Central Religious Council that were publicized were resolutions for peace, and an address in which the chief rabbi

greeted the visiting Soviet Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Archbishop Nikolai in June 1952.

Cultural Activities

After the elimination of the religious element, cultural and welfare activities were considered the main tasks of the communities. But sporadic reports in *Evreiski vesti* as well as the discussions at the Sofia conference showed that these activities were shrinking and that Jewish cultural and welfare institutions, most of them built with American financial support, were being liquidated one by one.

A Jewish Cultural Club, founded in 1949, existed in Sofia. Alone or together with the Sofia community, it organized political and cultural meetings, most of them celebrating Stalin, Dimitrov, Vulko Chervenkov, the Red Army, the anniversaries of the formation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of the October Revolution in Russia, of the Communist uprising in Bulgaria in 1923, of the Fatherland Front seizure of power in 1944, etc. There were also meetings commemorating young Jewish partisans who were killed by the Nazis; their surviving relatives had to make financial contributions to the *Evreiski vesti* on every anniversary of their death. On July 3, 1951, a memorial was dedicated to the Jewish fighters for liberation and victims of the Nazi concentration camps.

Outside of Sofia, similar activities were conducted in Plovdiv, Ruse, Stalin, and Pleven. In other communities, the report to the conference complained, no such initiative was developed, although conditions were favorable in some of them.

JEWISH LIBRARY ASSOCIATIONS

Jewish Library and Reading Room Associations, which had existed in many Bulgarian cities, were now all taken over by municipal authorities and transformed into local libraries for general use, although the Jewish Consistory still gave them financial support. The largest, the Library Emil Shekerdzhiski in Sofia, now had 1,395 members of whom only 387 were Jews. This library organized meetings at which new books were reviewed from the Communist point of view, films were exhibited, and patriotic anniversaries celebrated; with the financial support of the Consistory it also maintained a Jewish People's Choir. Similar libraries existed in a few other cities; in most of them, the participation of Jews was now minimal.

Education

After the liquidation of all Jewish schools in 1948, the Consistory tried to support Jewish students in Bulgarian schools by subsidies and scholarships. Between 1949 and 1951 a total of 255 Jewish students benefited in all of Bulgaria. But in 1951 the Consistory reversed its policy. The reason was explained in its report to the conference of April 1952: Subsidies given to

young people who were able to work constituted unearned income and gave Jewish students an undue advantage, contrary to the policy of the Party and government.

In Sofia the Consistory maintained a special library with 800 textbooks for the use of students. This library, used by non-Jewish students as well, was retained.

In 1949, the Consistory had taken over a vocational school organized and financed by the international [Jewish] Organization for Rehabilitation through Training (ORT). According to an agreement concluded when the Sofia office of the ORT was closed down, the school and the funds for its maintenance were administered by a special ORT Committee, under the supervision of the Consistory. During the school year 1951-52 the school had 261 students, of whom 109 or 42 per cent were Jews. In May 1951 the Consistory decided to recommend the school's liquidation; in January 1952, it was taken over by the government and transformed into a "model electro-technical school" named after the Soviet Communist leader Sergei M. Kirov. The ORT Committee was abolished.

The Jewish Scientific Institute in Sofia was reported in 1950-51 to be the Jewish cultural agency least disturbed in its activities (*see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 346). The Institute, supported by the Consistory, translated and published documents dealing with the history of the Balkan Jews, collected folklore materials, and prepared biographies of wartime Jewish partisans. But in May 1951 the Consistory decided that the Institute "had no further value as an independent Jewish institution," and by a government decree of October 27, 1951, its properties and collections were taken over by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Social Welfare

The Consistory reported to the April 1952 conference that the Jewish hospital, founded and equipped with foreign support, "had lost its importance as an independent Jewish institute" and had been transferred to the government "for general use."

Of all the welfare institutions, only one remained under Jewish administration. This was the Ani Ventura Children's Home in Sofia, which had been maintained with the help of the Jewish health service organization OSE and administered by an OSE Committee under the supervision of the Consistory since 1949. When the OSE funds were exhausted in 1951, the OSE Committee was dissolved, but the home was continued by the Consistory, in order to "enable Jewish mothers to enroll in production." It had facilities for fifty-five children.

In 1950 and 1951, summer camps for Jewish members of the Communist children's organization were organized in a village near Plovdiv.

This was all that remained of the once vast and well-organized network of Jewish educational and welfare institutions in Bulgaria.

Anti-Semitism

Reports by emigrants arriving in Israel described increasing anti-Semitism in Bulgaria, which had been remarkably free of anti-Jewish sentiment in the past. The Bulgarian and Bulgarian Jewish official press never dealt with this topic, taking it for granted that anti-Semitism had been "abolished" by the victory of the Fatherland Front. But the problem was touched upon in the discussion of the Fifth Conference of the Jewish Communities, where one delegate was attacked for asserting that there was an anti-Semitic movement in Bulgaria. Defending himself, the delegate declared that there certainly was not an organized anti-Semitic movement, but that there were manifestations of anti-Semitism. The government and the Party were fighting against them, he said, but Jewish organizations could help point out the dangers. The conference did not act upon this suggestion and anti-Semitism was not mentioned again in the debates or in the press.

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