The removal of Nikita S. Khrushchev and his replacement by the team of First Party Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev and Premier Alexei Kosygin brought a change in the very style of life in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev's so-called ebullient and personal ways of administering the affairs of state were condemned. The country, taking a cue from the top rulers, seemed to rely more and more on businesslike procedures, with thoroughly prepared staff work. There was an increasing amount of discussion of public affairs in newspaper articles and letters from readers, mostly specialists in their fields. In various technical fields, groups of experts emerged whose opinions carried great weight with the authorities. The old Soviet custom of citing the writings of "the leader" in connection with all sorts of pronouncements was gradually abandoned. It was reliably reported that students and faculty members at Moscow University had told Pyotr Demichev, a leading Soviet ideologist, that the party line was being presented in terms that the younger generation could not understand. New social trends were having a widening impact on Soviet society and on its various national groups.

In 1965 the Communist party had about 10,800,000 members, 5 per cent of the total population. (The official breakdown by nationalities did not indicate the number of Jews.) The post-Khrushchev leadership maintained its collective character. The situation at the top was still fluid and subject to internal tensions and rivalries. In December the veteran Communist leader Anastas Mikoyan retired from the presidency of the Supreme Soviet for reasons of health, and Nikolai Podgorny, a former Khrushchev protégé, became chief of state. At the same time Alexander Shelepin, the youngest member of the party presidium, was relieved of his duties as deputy premier to devote full time to party matters. Dmitri Poliansky, who was elevated to the position of first deputy premier, took over the important job of coordinating day-to-day administration. These two young leaders were considered among the possible successors to Brezhnev, who suffered from a heart ailment. Leonid Ilyich, the ideological expert under Khrushchev, was removed from the
post of party secretary which he had held since 1961. (Ilyichev made the
vicious attack on Ilya Ehrenburg in the course of his encounter with writers
in March 1963 [AJYB, 1964 (Vol. 65), p. 266]). He was replaced by Vladi-
mir Stepakov, a former editor of Izvestia.

Liberalization

The new Kremlin leaders continued the “liberal” policy of de-Stalinization
initiated by Khrushchev. After decades of official silence, the Moscow maga-
zine, Yunost (“Youth”—August 1965), published a picture, under the title
1918, which showed Lenin and Trotsky in the forefront; neither was iden-
tified. A new Soviet movie, The Salvo of the Aurora, also dealt with Trotsky.
In the summer of 1965 a new volume of poetry by the late Boris Pasternak
was published in Moscow. It included poems from his novel Dr. Zhivago,
which had not been published in Russia. Moscow’s State Art Literature
Agency published works by the Russian émigré writer and Nobel Prize win-
er Ivan Bunin, who died in France after the war. Bunin’s work was warmly
praised in a special introduction by Alexander Twardowsky, editor of Novy
Mir. A frank picture of Russian life under Stalin was offered in Men Alive,
which played to full houses in Moscow’s Small Dramatic Theater. It was the
story of a young man who ran away from home after his father was arrested
during the purges of the 1930s. A scene, unusual for present-day Moscow,
showed German guards picking Jews from among Soviet war prisoners for
immediate execution. The party organ Pravda (September 11, 1965) carried
an unprecedented attack by its editor A. Rumiantzev, on the government
organ Izvestia for its tendentious and rigid methods of evaluating current
Soviet literature. Rumiantzev charged that Izvestia clung to the canons of the
dead past. (Rumiantzev was shortly thereafter replaced as editor of Pravda
by Mikhail Zimyanin, former deputy foreign minister.) Evgeny Evtushenko,
an author of Babi-Yar, wrote Letter to Essenin, a poem criticizing the leaders
of the Soviet youth organization Komsomol, which brought no official action.

But in October, two writers were arrested in Moscow on the charge of
having published “anti-Soviet” works abroad under pseudonyms, Andrei
Sinyavsky, a literary critic and contributor to Novy Mir, on charges of hav-
ing published stories and literary criticism under the name of Abram Tertz,
and Yuli Daniel under the name Nikolai Arzhak. Both had won respect in
the West and Tertz especially was acclaimed by the critics.

Foreign Policy

The Brezhnev-Kosygin team continued the Khrushchev policy of peaceful
coexistence, despite Chinese charges that they were conspiring with the
United States to prevent world revolution. After the Communist debacle in
Indonesia, Pravda emphasized the necessity of “national unity” in that coun-
try and hinted that empty revolutionary slogans used by the Chinese did not
help the situation there. Moscow sent arms to North Vietnam, but avoided
a direct confrontation with the United States, while warning Washington not to escalate the local war into a general one. In December Shelepin visited Hanoi where he again promised material aid and support of North Vietnam in its fight against "the United States aggressors."

Economic Policy

Another bad harvest forced purchases of wheat and flour in Canada and Argentina. In September the party central committee asked for increased investments in agriculture, higher farm prices, and lower-priced consumer goods for the peasants. The government announced a planned reduction of compulsory farm deliveries to the state. After much public discussion and despite opposition from "orthodox" economists, the new regime decided to decentralize planning. Hundreds of plants were scheduled to adopt the Liber-man system, under which production would be related to consumer demand and individual plant managers would have greater freedom in planning production. Lenin prizes were awarded to economists known for their work in mathematical techniques widely used in the West.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The policy of russification promoted by the Soviet rulers was increasingly felt by many of the peoples of the Soviet Union. It had an important bearing on the Jewish community. In 1926, 726 out of every 1,000 Jews indicated Yiddish as their mother tongue; in 1939 the rate had fallen to 397, and in 1959 to about 200. Official Soviet spokesmen ascribed this phenomenon to the social and technological changes in Soviet society (Shlomo Rabinovitch, "Yidn in Sovietn Ferband" [Jews in the Soviet Union], Novosti, 1965, p. 50).

Population

The number of Jews in the Soviet Union in January 1965 was estimated at 2,486,000, in a total population of 229 million (SSSR V Tsifrach V 1964 Godu—Statistika 1965). The estimate was based on the assumption that the natural increase of the Jewish population (2,268,000 according to the 1959 census) was identical with that of the general population. Some estimates put the number of Jews at more than 2,500,000 on the ground that many did not state their nationality as Jewish.

Jewish Communal and Religious Life

There was little change in the general situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union, except that Soviet authorities seemed a little less inclined to ignore the existence of Jews and events of Jewish interest. Breaking with established tradition, the recently issued Guide to Moscow indicated the location of churches and synagogues in that city. A slight change was also seen in the
treatment of Jewish events in the Soviet press. In an article on the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II, Pravda (May 6, 1965), praising the patriotism of the Soviet peoples, emphasized that “among the soldiers and officers who received the title of Hero of the Soviet Union were 7,998 Russians, 2,021 Ukrainians, 299 White Russians, 161 Tartars, 107 Jews . . . and many representatives of other nationalities.” In order to understand this difference in treatment one should compare this statement with an article on the partisan movement in White Russia during World War II which appeared in the same paper earlier: Pravda then (January 19, 1965) ignored the Jews notwithstanding the well-known fact of the substantial Jewish participation in the fights in the White Russian region, once a center of compact Jewish settlement.

At the same time, Soviet authorities continued to discourage organized Jewish activities. Official sources reported only 97 synagogues in the Soviet Union in 1965, about one for every 25,000 Jews (Yidn in Soviwn Ferband, p. 47). This included four synagogues in Moscow and three in Leningrad. Many cities with Jewish communities and dvatzatka (the necessary legal number requested by Soviet authorities for organized religious service) did not have synagogues. The shortage of qualified religious personnel in the Soviet Union reached desperate proportions. It was estimated that only 40 qualified rabbis ministered to Jewish religious needs. In addition to Chief Rabbi Judah Leib Levin, there was only the aged Rabbi Nathan Olevski of the Maryina-Roshtcha synagogue in Moscow; Rabbi Hayyim Klebanov, in Leningrad; Rabbi Abraham Panitch, in Kiev, and Rabbi Israel Schwartzblatt, in Odessa. Kharkov had no rabbi. There was no way of obtaining new rabbis, shohatim, or mohalim.

Rabbi Levin told the Associated Press that his Central Synagogue had neither a library nor a Hebrew school, and that no prayer books had been printed in the Soviet Union since 1956. In July a delegation composed of eight American Orthodox rabbis, headed by Rabbi Israel Miller of RCA, visited Moscow and extended greetings to an overflow congregation at the Central Synagogue during Sabbath services. The rabbinical delegation, after seeing the chief rabbi, reported that permission had been granted for the publication of a new three-volume prayer book, in 10,000 copies. At the end of 1965, however, nothing had been heard about the project from the Soviet Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults, which supervised all religious matters. Rabbi Levin denied reports that the Moscow Yeshivah Kol Jacob had been closed. But, as head of the yeshivah, he conceded that there had been “an interruption” in the work because of inability to obtain residence permits for students from provincial cities. Rabbi Levin stated that only four pupils remained in the school, but that Soviet authorities had promised to issue the necessary residence permits to 15 to 20 students from the Ukraine, Georgia, and Uzbekistan.

Soviet officials informed the Jews of Tallin, Estonia, that their synagogue would be torn down, and rejected the request for a new synagogue. The
Jews of Lvov, Ukraine, were unable to reopen their synagogue, which had been closed by the local soviet. Neither local nor central authorities responded to the appeal made by the Jewish congregation.

The regulations governing the baking of matzot for Passover were substantially relaxed in 1965, but this mainly benefited Jews in some of the large cities. Moscow had four bakeries which produced a total of about 4,000 pounds daily. Permission to bake matzot was also granted in Leningrad, Riga, and Odessa. Such cities as Kiev, Minsk, and Kharkov, however, experienced great difficulty in obtaining even small quantities. There were reports that Jews had been arrested for transporting privately-baked matzot from Slavuta to Lvov, in the Ukraine. The Jews in Lithuania and Uzbekistan did not receive authorization to bake matzot, but permission was granted in Georgia.

At times it was not possible for Jews to bury their dead in consecrated ground. Difficulties arose particularly in Moscow and Leningrad, where Jews had to use mixed cemeteries despite efforts by the rabbi to change the situation. Although there were all sorts of obstacles and strong social pressures, numbers of Soviet Jews remained steadfastly attached to Jewish religious tradition. It was reported that tens of thousands of Jews sang and danced while celebrating Simhat Torah outside the Moscow Central Synagogue, including young Jews who had received no religious training yet showed a deep interest in their Jewish heritage. Similar reports were received from Leningrad, Kiev, and many other cities, including Tbilisi (Tiflis), Georgia, which appeared to have become a center of Jewish traditional life.

Manasseh Mikhailovitch continued as president of the Moscow Central Synagogue. George Lieb, president of the Maryina-Roshtcha synagogue, died in November at the age of 75, and Jacob Shevelev was named by the Soviet authorities to succeed him. Tanhum Kaganov, one of the three leaders of the Leningrad Jewish community, who was imprisoned in 1961 on charges of criminal contact with an embassy of one of the “capitalist states,” was released at the end of his 4-year sentence (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 369).

**Antisemitism**

There were persistent signs of antisemitic attitudes in the Soviet Union. After the vicious attack on Judaism and the Jews by Trofim Kichko and F. S. Mayatski (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 425), an equally vicious piece of Jew-baiting appeared in Minsk, in the Byelorussian Zwiazda, on February 2, 1965. The article, titled “Shadow of the Synagogue,” was written by J. Muraviev, senior lecturer at the Lenin State University of Byelorussia. Muraviev stated, among other things, that “the synagogue . . . is a reminder of the evil . . . darkness that has been blinding thousand and thousands of people,” that Judaism was “the enemy of human culture . . . and the basis of a code of morality hostile . . . to us,” and that the Bible instilled contempt for all non-Jews. Muraviev also maintained that the Jews in the United States controlled the press, radio, etc., and that, in fact, power was “in the hands of
about four thousand adherents of the cult,” among whom he listed W. Averell Harriman and Nelson D. Rockefeller.

“Hate precepts” of the Bible were also emphasized in an article by O. Osipov in the September 1965 issue of the Ukrainian monthly *Ludina i Swit*. According to Osipov, the Law of Moses demanded “merciless destruction of entire peoples and towns . . .” A piece on the house of Rothschild was printed in *Sovietskaya Rossia* (Moscow, January 15, 1965), and the Rothschilds and other Jewish bankers were also featured in the magazine *Asia i Afrika Segodnia* (January 1965). In both articles, Jewish capitalists were presented as being responsible for the sufferings of the working masses. When the UN General Assembly’s Third Committee for Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural affairs in October 1965 debated a resolution condemning antisemitism, the Soviet delegate offered an amendment to condemn “Zionism along with antisemitism, Nazism, and neo-Nazism as a policy of colonialism and race hatred” (p. 263).

**Discrimination**

There were only a few Jews in top government and party positions in the Soviet Union. Among them was Benjamin E. Dimchitz, member of the Central Committee of the Communist party, a deputy premier and chairman of the Council of National Economy. There were only five identifiable Jews among the 1,443 members of the Nationalities and Union chambers of the Supreme Soviet. In his *Yidn in Sovietn Ferband*, Rabinovitch reported 7,647 Jewish deputies in soviets, “starting from the Supreme Soviet and finishing with the local ones” (p. 36). He did not distinguish between members of the top body and the local soviets; nor did he indicate that the total number of deputies to all soviets was approximately 2,000,000, and that Jews therefore represented less than 0.3 per cent. The fact was that Jews were virtually excluded from policy-making jobs, top army positions, and the diplomatic corps. Paul Novick of the Communist *Morning Freiheit* of New York, after his return from a visit to the USSR in 1965, acknowledged that “Jews have disappeared from the diplomatic field and undoubtedly some forms of anti-Jewish discrimination remained as a survival of the cult of personality.”

There were reports during the year that Jews occupying responsible positions in the various Soviet republics experienced great difficulties in obtaining promotions, and were often retired at an early age to make room for non-Jews. In an effort to refute the accusation of anti-Jewish discrimination, Rabinovitch (p. 369) cited data on Jews in various professional occupations: Of a total of 128,000 scientific workers possessing doctors’ and candidates’ degrees, 7,680 were Jewish; 57 Jews were members or corresponding members of the Academy of Science and 20 of the Academy of Medicine (AJYB, 1963 [Vol. 64], p. 353). While undoubtedly many talented Jews were prominent in art and science, these and similar statistics did not refute the specific charges made by Jewish and non-Jewish groups, nor did they disprove the existence of anti-Jewish bias.
Economic Trials

Although the Soviet press devoted much less space than in previous years to the so-called economic trials, featuring Jews as perpetrators of crimes against the state, some continued to appear. The Minsk Zwiazda, January 20, 1965, reported that Simeon Briskin and his wife, Tsila, had been sentenced to death by the Supreme Court of Byelorussia for "stealing food and black-market dealings in gold." In Tashkent, Uzbekistan, at least two of a group of persons executed for embezzlement, Kreutzel and Stolin, had Jewish names. In Omsk, Siberia, Moisei Shneiderovitch was singled out as the leader of an alleged narcotics ring; his wife and son were arrested with him. In July Pravda published a photo of three men wanted in connection with the black-market activities of a ring allegedly headed by Shaya Shakerman. The affair, which had been discussed in detail in Izvestia (October 20, 1963), attracted international attention and intervention by Bertrand Russell (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 273). Two of the three men, Boris Reidel and Aron Koslovsky, had Jewish names. On the other hand, Black Business, a film based on recent actual economic crimes, and released in Moscow in 1965, completely ignored the involvement of Jews, which had been so strongly emphasized by the press.

Western Reaction to Soviet Antisemitism

The plight of the Soviet Jews continued to bring protests from both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in other countries. In the United States some 16,000 persons participated in a New York rally, sponsored by forty major Jewish organizations in June 1965. President Lyndon B. Johnson, in a message to the meeting, appealed for the lifting of anti-Jewish curbs. Earlier, in May, the Senate unanimously adopted a resolution condemning persecution of Soviet Jewry and other religious groups. Prominent Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders joined forces to help Soviet Jewry regain full religious freedom by mobilizing the moral conscience of the world.

In April leading Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish scientists and writers attended a two-day Scandinavian conference on Soviet Jewry in Stockholm. Lord Russell, in a message from London, called for the reestablishment of Jewish cultural rights in the Soviet Union.

The position of the Soviet Jews also became a matter of importance to various Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, which were under great pressure from many left-wing intellectuals. The Morning Freiheit (New York, March 31, 1965) stated editorially that "among the antireligious propagandists of the Soviet Union there are many ignorant persons, often among them poisonous anti-Semites..." Jewish Currents, a New York Marxist magazine, in the lead article of its January 1965 issue stated that "...antisemitism still appears in shocking forms." Some of the local branches of the British Communist party requested their leadership to inquire in Moscow about alleged Soviet anti-Jewish policies (November 1965). Similar concern
was expressed in the Italian Unità, the French Humanité, and other Communist publications throughout the free world. Moscow repeatedly denied that antisemitism was part of Soviet policy, and a letter from two prominent Soviet Jews, the Nobel Prize physicist Lev Landau and the economist Yevsei Liberman, in the New York Times of June 2, 1965, expressed "profound indignation" at false reports on the situation of the Soviet Jews. On September 5, 1965, Pravda editorially condemned antisemitism, quoting Lenin, who called for a "tireless struggle" against anti-Jewish bias and warned that "nationalistic frictions" provide material for anti-Soviet propaganda. The wide distribution of this editorial, which was reprinted in provincial newspapers, pointed to the importance attached by the Kremlin leaders to this ideological pronouncement.

**Culture**

After a trip to the Soviet Union, Novick stated in the Morning Freiheit (February 21, 1965) that "... there is still needed a full restoration and rehabilitation of the Jewish cultural institutions that were suppressed by administrative measures during the days of the cult [of Stalin]. ... There is no permanent Jewish state theater anywhere in the USSR ... no Yiddish publishing house, newspapers, schools, scholarly institutions, or other agencies for Yiddish culture that had previously existed." At a conference of Soviet writers in Moscow in March, the Yiddish language and Yiddish writers were completely ignored. It was announced officially that six Yiddish books were to appear in 1965. Four actually did appear under the imprint of Sovietski Pisatel, Moscow: Eli Schechtman's Erev ("On the Eve"); Nota Lurie's novel, Himl un erd ("Heaven and Earth"), Moishe Teif's Oisdervelts—lider, poemes, balades ("Selections—Songs, Poems, Ballads"), and Horizontn ("Horizons") an anthology of the writings of fifty contemporary Soviet-Yiddish writers. In addition, the Moscow Novosti publishers issued jointly with Yiddish Bukh in Warsaw, Masha Rolnik's volume on her experiences in Nazi camps and ghettos, Ich muz dertseylin ("I Must Tell It"). Soviet publishing agencies continued to issue books by Yiddish writers in various translations. Of 295 books in 15 different languages by 98 writers, which appeared in the Soviet Union from 1955 to 1965, only 13 were in Yiddish.

While Soviet authorities did not promote Jewish cultural work, the ferment among intellectuals encouraged individuals, interested groups, and academic institutions to take important initiatives in this area. The Moscow magazine Sovetish Heymland continued to print more and more items on Jewish life abroad, including the United States and Israel. It held a symposium on the problems of criticism and Yiddish literature in its offices in December 1964, and organized in October 1965 a number of meetings of its local readers and Jewish and non-Jewish writers in Czernovitz, Kishinev, and Bieltz, among other places. The second volume (G-Z) of the Malaya literaturnaya encyclopedia ("Short Literary Encyclopedia") carried a survey of Jewish literature from antiquity to modern times, including 18 Yiddish writers. The Len-
ingrad and Moscow universities announced projects in the field of Semitics and Hebraica. In a volume recently published by the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, 13 pieces out of a total of 72 dealt with modern and ancient Hebrew. The Nauka publishing agency of the Academy of Science was preparing a three-volume catalogue of 512 Judaic and Hebraic manuscripts in its library. In June, Joseph Amusin submitted a doctoral dissertation on the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Historical School of Leningrad University.

Yiddish songs, revues, plays, and recordings continued to be heard in many cities. The Yiddish Drama Circle of Vilna, a group of amateurs associated with the Central Council of Trade Unions, was awarded the title of Folk Theater in recognition of the excellence of its artistic standards. The Drama Circle, under the direction of Motl Kanovitch, commemorated the 50th anniversary of the death of Isaac Leib Peretz at the musical theater of Kaunas, Lithuania. In April and May the four-year-old Jewish Drama Ensemble of Kaunas presented *Keynamol nit fergesn* ("Never Forget"), dealing with the fate of the Jews under Nazi occupation; the incidental music was based in part on the *Kol Nidre*. In June the Leningrad ensemble of Jewish instrumentalists and vocalists performed in Moscow. Its program, titled *A gut yomtov* ("Happy Holiday") was warmly received. Nehamah Lifshitz gave a concert of Jewish songs on the Moscow radio in August. The well-known revue group of Benjamin Chaitovski, Dinah Roitkop, and Zina Privoenskaya performed in many cities. Sidi Tal, who received the Meritorious Artist award from the Ukrainian soviet, and Motl Saktzier were preparing a new revue for Czernovitz, Leningrad, and Moscow. In March Benjamin Schwarzer, Aaron Kahan, Hersh Levinson, Sonia Binik, Leah Kolina, Rosa Kurz, and Simeon Golkov gave a total of twenty performances, all devoted to Sholem Aleichem, in Minsk, Gomel, Vitebsk, Orsha, Mohilev, and Bobruisk.

The well-known Soviet Jewish painter, Zinovyi Tolkatchev, completed an album of drawings of the Auschwitz concentration camp which was issued by the Mistetzto agency in Kiev.

Among recipients of the 1964 Lenin prize were Leonid Kantorovitch, a mathematical economist, and the violinist Leonid Kogan, who performed with great success in New York.

**Relations with Israel**

Moscow remained hostile to Israel. Although the Soviet government maintained normal diplomatic relations with Israel, it officially informed Arab diplomats in November that it did not intend to cooperate with Israel in the economic field, and continued to supply arms to the Arabs (p. 400). In a message to Kosygin, UAR President Gamal Abdul Nasser thanked the Russians for their help in achieving "unity of the Arab nations and the peoples of Africa and Asia, who, together with the Soviet people, are fighting against colonialism and Zionism. . . ." Radio Moscow repeatedly asserted an Israeli military threat to Arab countries. Israeli relations with West Germany and the reparation agreement (p. 397) were described by Soviet propaganda as
a means of arming Israel and "creating a bridgehead for NATO aggression against peaceful Arab nations." The exchange of ambassadors between West Germany and Israel (p. 358) was denounced as a sinister maneuver prepared by United States militarists. Moscow continuously told the Arabs that Israel was not only a potential aggressor in its own right, but also a willing weapon in the hands of the Western imperialists (e.g., Pravda, April 17, 1965). From time to time Soviet authorities harassed Israeli diplomatic personnel. When Israeli Ambassador Joseph Tekoah visited a synagogue in Odessa in May, Izvestia charged that he insulted Soviet Jews by calling one of the congregants a fascist. This charge was described as "entirely unfounded" by the Israeli foreign ministry.

Nevertheless, Israel and the USSR conducted a lively cultural exchange program. For the first time in Soviet history, an Israeli delegation reported (on municipal education programs) to a Soviet-sponsored conference in Leningrad. Plans were being prepared for a joint Soviet-Israeli medical symposium, an exchange of artistic material, and an exhibit of Soviet graphic arts at the Tel-Aviv Museum. In January the Pushkin Museum in Moscow opened an exhibition of the works of 40 Israeli graphic artists.

Only a few Soviet Jews left for Israel; one was Mordecai Chazanin, secretary to Moscow's chief rabbi, and a Lubavitcher Hasid, his wife, and small daughter.

Commemoration of the Catastrophe

It appeared that the appeal made by Evtushenko some years ago for the erection of a monument to the Jews massacred by the Nazis at Babi-Yar (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], pp. 370-71; 1963 [Vol. 64], p. 354) would finally be heeded by the Kiev authorities. Mikhail Burka, chairman of the city soviet, informed the Novosti news agency that "a monument will be erected at the entrance to the park which is being laid out at Babi-Yar in memory of tens of thousands of Soviet citizens, Jews, Ukrainians, Russians, men, women, old folk, and children . . . who were exterminated there." The monument was to be completed in 1966. Dmitri Shostakovich's Thirteenth Symphony, composed to the words of Evtushenko's Babi-Yar, was performed at the Moscow conservatory and received a tumultuous ovation. The piece had been banned since Khrushchev accused Evtushenko of exaggerating the persecution of the Jews under Nazi occupation.

A monument to 1,200 Jews killed in Rudni (in the region of Smolensk) was erected in that town by relatives of the victims, with the support of the local soviet. It was designed by the Soviet Jewish sculptor Lev Kerbel.

A Soviet delegation consisting of General A. Gontscharev, A. Lebedev, E. Bielostotzkaya, and Aaron Vergelis, participated in the memorial services held at Auschwitz in April. Vergelis, Hersh Polianker, and Shlomo Rabinovitch participated in the commemoration of the 22nd anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt. Sovietish Heymland (July, 1965) published a special report on the Jewish-resistance exhibit, organized by the Center for Con-
temporary Documentation in Paris, and of the center’s permanent collection. But a Yiddish inscription on a monument to Jewish martyrs at Paner, near Vilna, was reportedly removed, and the Star of David replaced by a red star.

**Personalia**

In June Soviet Yiddish writers celebrated the 60th birthday of Joseph Gurevitch, well-known writer and Russian translator of Sholem Aleichem, Peretz, Kvitko, and others. On the fifth anniversary of the death of the poet Shmuel Halkin, in September, a memorial service was held at his grave in the Moscow cemetery. Benjamin Meerovitch, former editor of *Der Shtern*, died in Czernovitz in October.

LEON SHAPIRO
Deep social, intellectual, and ideological tensions were felt in Poland in 1965. There were scandals among the managerial elite, several high-ranking officials and groups of individuals occupying important positions in the country’s bureaucracy being brought to trial for bribery, theft, and other economic crimes. In February Stanislaw Wawrzecki, a high trade official, was sentenced to death for masterminding the theft of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of meat belonging to state enterprises.

The critical mood and the feeling of uneasiness among intellectuals, writers, and artists were expressed in their writings and in their reactions to current government policies. In March, at a meeting of Polish writers, the well-known veteran Communist Jan Wyka protested against intensified government censorship and urged his colleagues to show greater solidarity in standing up for their convictions. Wyka referred to the cases of Melchior Wankowicz (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 431), and Jan Nepomucen Miller, who was facing persecution for writing under an assumed name in the London émigré weekly Wiadomosci. In September Miller was sentenced to three years in prison for spreading “malicious propaganda” about Poland. Under an amnesty this term was later reduced to eighteen months. Wankowicz was apparently released, but his whereabouts were unknown. The unrest among intellectuals was again brought to public attention when Karol Modzelewski, a teacher at Warsaw University and son of the late foreign minister, Zygmunt Modzelewski, was sentenced to three and a half years imprisonment for distributing “material prejudicial to the state.” The many cases of harassment of intellectuals, particularly writers and journalists with connections abroad, underlined the growing tension between the Communist leadership and much of the intellectual elite, including party members.

The fight between the “liberal” followers of the 1956 revolt and the “partisans,” the hard-core Stalinist wing of the party, continued but was less open than in 1964. There were reports at the beginning of 1965 that the partisans were gaining influence in the higher counsels of the party. Using as a pretext the increasing number of economic crimes and the restlessness among intellectuals, the old Stalinists campaigned for a return to a harsher line. But in July the all-important internal security corps was shifted from the command of the partisan leader General Mieczyslaw Moczar to Defense Minister Marian Spychalski, a supporter of Prime Minister Wladislaw Gomulka’s middle course. Gomulka seemed strongly entrenched in his top party position and in the country. Of 15,699 newly-elected members of district, town, and city committees of the party, 62 per cent were white-collar employees; 22 per cent, workers; 14 per cent, peasants, and 2 per cent, other.
The 1965 election to the Sejm did not substantially change the political composition of the legislature. Although the candidates represented various political viewpoints, they all appeared on a single list and there were no contests. Of the 460 newly-elected deputies, 255 belonged to PPZR (Polish United Workers' party [Communist]), 117 to the Peasant party, 39 to the Democratic party, and 49 to so-called non-party groups, including 5 Catholics (pro-Vatican Znak), 5 fellow-traveling Catholics (Pax), and 3 so-called Christian Socialist Society members.

The new economic plan adopted by the Sejm for 1965 called for increased consumption, with production expected to rise 7.8 per cent. After much discussion and resistance, Poland seemed to be moving toward a substantial decentralization of industrial management and a reliance on market forces. It was reported that the Krupp works in West Germany had signed an agreement with the Polish government to set up joint industrial enterprises.

On Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday, Stefan Cardinal Wiszynski reiterated his criticism of the government's antireligious policy, its restriction of convents, and especially its attack on religious schools. Both church and government, however, were careful not to upset the truce that in fact prevailed in church-state relationships. The government continued its attack on the church and evicted nuns from the Glogowek convent in Lower Silesia. Yet Wiszynski, in a pastoral letter in August, supported the government position that the territories taken from Germany were to remain part of Poland, and called the resettlement of Poles in these territories "the will of God." The government praised the patriotic stand of the church, and, in a gesture of good will, permitted 31 bishops to accompany Wiszynski to the Ecumenical Council in Rome (p. 62). The Roman proceedings, including prayers and benedictions, were covered daily by Radio Warsaw. Relations became strained in December, when an exchange of letters between the German and Polish bishops at the Vatican Council touched also on German-Polish relations. The Polish government accused the Polish bishops of mixing in politics and pursuing their own "soft" line with respect to Germany. Cardinal Wiszynski denied the accusation.

Poland continued its "independent road to socialism," but at the March plenary session of the Communist party, Gomulka took pains to underscore Polish friendship with the USSR. In April, when Soviet Party Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev and Premier Alexei Kosygin visited Poland, the Soviet-Polish friendship pact was renewed for 20 years. In November Edward Ochab, chairman of the state council of Poland, spent seven days in Egypt. This did not disturb the good relationship between Poland and Israel.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Accurate data on the Jews in Poland in 1965 were not available. Reliable Jewish observers who visited Poland estimated the number at 25,000, including those who did not identify themselves with the Jewish community.
About 500 Jews left Poland from January through June 1965, and probably 500 more in the second half of the year. There was no official interference with Jewish emigration, but it was reported that some groups within the Communist party, including the partisans, were exploiting it for antisemitic propaganda.

**Antisemitism**

Although overt antisemitism was forbidden, anti-Jewish feeling was widespread in all classes of the population and, according to many observers, had recently increased substantially. Its particular intensity among Polish youth caused great concern to local Jewish organizations. The influence of Jews within the power structure seemed to have substantially diminished; there were reports that even Jewish Communists had difficulty in retaining their positions if they had Jewish-sounding names. Adam Schaff, the well-known Marxist scholar and member of the central committee of the Communist party, acknowledged the existence of antisemitism among the Polish Communists in his *Marxism and the Individual*.

**Communal Life**

Jewish communal life centered around the party-dominated Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews. According to official reports, the union had 28 local affiliates with a total membership of 7,000 to 8,000; 22 Jewish youth clubs had a membership of about 1,600. It was not possible to check the accuracy of these figures.

Jewish leaders continued to discuss the situation of the small Jewish groups in cities where communal life was difficult to maintain—e.g., Hayyim Klieger of Lublin in a special article in *Folks-shtimme* (Warsaw), August 17, 1965. There were reports that the government would further decrease its subvention for union-sponsored communal activities and that the new cuts would jeopardize some of the union’s cultural work.

On the 21st anniversary of the uprising against the Nazis, many representatives of national minorities received decorations, among them Edward Reiber, secretary of the union; Israel Felenhendler, head of its education department, and five local leaders of the union. Leib Domb was president and Edward Reiber secretary of the union.

**Religious Life**

Jewish religious life continued to deteriorate, the new postwar generation of Jews showing little interest in religious activities. The Union of Jewish Religious Congregations (Wa’ad Ha-kehillot), under the presidency of Isaak Frenkel (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 433), had 20 officially affiliated local congregations with an estimated membership of 7,000. Only 7 congregations maintained religious schools (*hadarim*), and even these found it difficult to enroll
enough students to hold classes. Wroclaw had one rabbi, Asher Zives. In a number of synagogues the congregants conducted their own services. The few shohatim and mohalim had to travel long distances to serve the communities throughout Poland. Synagogues in Lodz, Wroclaw, Warsaw, and Krakow held regular services, but the number of participants was dwindling, as was the number of bar mitzvahs. Two bakeries produced enough matzot for all who wanted them for Passover. The congregations maintained about 30 cemeteries; considerable funds were needed to take care of the hundreds which had been abandoned.

Jewish Education

There were six Jewish state elementary schools in Wroclaw, Legnice, Lodz, Dzierzoniow, Szczecin, and Walbrzych; Wroclaw, Lodz, and Legnice also had Jewish secondary schools. Total enrolment was about 1,500, including a considerable number of non-Jewish pupils in some schools. Since the number of Jewish pupils in the primary grades of some schools was steadily decreasing, there was serious doubt about continued government support. Jewish youth, born and educated in the last decade, when memories of the holocaust were beginning to fade, tended to go to Polish schools. Recognizing a growing assimilationist tendency among the Jews of Poland which threatened the future of the community, the union again and again emphasized the importance of Jewish youth programs, clubs, and camps which became increasingly central to Jewish activities.

Social Welfare

The JDC-supported welfare program was conducted locally through relief committees in which the Cultural and Social Union and Wa'ad Ha-kehillot were equally represented. The Communist-dominated union campaigned to change the parity system in the relief committees, and the religious congregations found it difficult to withstand this pressure.

In mid-1965 JDC-supported welfare programs helped some 11,000 persons: 6,300 with cash relief, 500 in school-feeding programs, 700 with medical aid, and 200 with student aid. JDC also supported 10 kosher kitchens, supervised by the religious congregations of Dzierzoniow, Gliwice, Katowicz, Krakow, Legnice, Lodz, Szczecin, Wroclaw, Walbrzych, and Warsaw, feeding 600 persons daily. About 150 persons, who used the kitchens not because of indigence but because of a desire for kosher food, paid for their meals. The home for the aged in Warsaw had a fairly stable population of 100. ORT schools provided 3,000 students with technical training.

Producer Cooperatives

In October a conference on problems of producer cooperatives took place in Wroclaw, at which the speakers emphasized the crucial importance of
cooperatives to Jewish life in Poland, and urged the managements and individual members of the separate units to give more attention to Jewish communal obligations and cultural activities. The cooperatives were not only part of the Cultural and Social Union's program, but also a considerable source of revenue for it since approximately 20 per cent of their income went to the union. There were 17 producer cooperatives (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 435), employing about 2,000. By-laws requiring that 80 per cent of those employed be members of the union were not observed in practice. The cooperatives provided gainful employment to their members and helped train those who did not have a trade. Their system of home work also provided additional income for many Jewish families.

Cultural Activities

In 1965 the Cultural and Social Union supported some 85 cultural projects, including Yiddish reading circles, choral ensembles, and dramatic groups. Its 7 Jewish folk universities had approximately 500 students. Because qualified communal workers for the union's institutions were difficult to find, the union, in cooperation with the ministry of culture, conducted a refresher seminar for Jewish communal workers in Szrodborow in October.

In 1965 the Jewish publishing house Yiddish Bukh claimed 2,500 regular subscribers who were entitled to receive its publications at a 50 per cent discount. The current list advertised four new books: *Dor ois, dor ein* ("One Generation Goes, One Generation Comes") by Peretz Markish; *Kegn-zaytige hashpoes in weltschafn* ("Mutual Influence in World Creative Endeavors") by Nahman Mayzl; *A shietl baym yam* ("A Town Near the Sea") by Kalman Segal; and *Fun haint un nechtn* ("Of Today and Yesterday") by Lili Berger. To commemorate the 20th anniversary of the defeat of Germany, Yiddish Bukh published *Mir vorenen* ("We Warn"), a volume of documents and photos of Nazi crimes, which also contained the usual Polish anti-Bonn propaganda. In the 20 years of its existence, Yiddish Bukh had published 350 volumes, including 100 original volumes of prose and 50 of poetry.

The Jewish Historical Institute continued research on the Nazi holocaust. Berl Mark, the director, was engaged in research into Jewish resistance and ghetto uprising; Tatiana Bernstein, into the economic aspects of Jewish life under Nazi occupation; Adam Rutkowski, into aid given to Jews by Poles; Damita Dombrowska, into the administrative structure of the Lodz ghetto, and Willy Orbach into health problems. Ruta Pups completed a study of the Jewish school in the Warsaw ghetto.

In 1965 the Ester Kaminska State Theater presented the play, *Farshit di bunkers* ("Bury the Bunkers"), by Ida Kaminska. It was warmly received by Jewish and Polish audiences and aroused wide discussion of the problems connected with the gruesome memories of the Nazi occupation. In the summer the theater group toured Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay.

According to reports, 15 Yiddish writers were published in 1965. They and the scholars and researchers of the Historical Institute wrote for various
Jewish publications, including *Bleter far geshikhte* ("Pages for History") and *Yiddishe shriftn* ("Jewish Writings"). The official *Folks-shtimme* was issued four times weekly and had about 5,000 subscribers.

**Commemoration of the Catastrophe**

At the University of Krakow’s special seminar on the Nazi occupation of Poland, Mauritz Winer, chairman of the Cultural and Social Union in Krakow, pointed out that few academics were doing research into the legal and social position of the Jews in the so-called government-general, set up by the occupation forces. He urged scholars to include this area of study in their research programs.

A large delegation of French Jews visited Poland in September, including Chief Rabbi Jacob Kaplan; Admiral Louis Kahn, president of the Consistoire Central, and Baron Alain de Rothschild, president of the Paris Consistoire. On September 19, the group conducted memorial services at Auschwitz which were televised to France over Télévision Française.

**Personalia**

Michael Shuldenfrei, a former member of the central committee of the Socialist Bund, died in July. During the postwar years he had been active in the Cultural and Social Union. Aaron Kivelko, assistant editor of *Folks-shtimme*, died in December 1964.

Leon Shapiro
Czechoslovakia

In 1965 former Stalinists continued to occupy key positions in the regime of President and party First Secretary Antonín Novotný. Destalinization consisted mainly of a few half-hearted concessions to personal and artistic freedom. The economy bogged down in a system of contradictory half-measures, and attempts at a meaningful liberalization were obstructed by the old bureaucracy.

In the Theses for the Preparation of the 13th Party Congress, scheduled for May 1966, the central committee admitted “disastrous economic mistakes which cost the country billions of crowns.” But the cabinet changes preceding the promulgation of the Theses showed no loss of power for the old leadership core. The practical steps taken in the reorganization of the government, though hailed as decentralization measures, led to the establishment of new centralized top-level planning bodies. These included state commissions for finance, prices, and wages; technology; economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, and management and organization.

The main reason for stagnation in what was once the most advanced country of East Central Europe was the lack of experts to replace the incompetent political appointees in charge of economic management, who were an integral part of the power structure. The economist Evžen Loebl expressed the dilemma in an article published on July 22, 1965 in Kulturny Život (“Cultural Life”), the Slovak voice of tolerated revisionism. He singled out as the “chief enemies” of economic reform persons with no capabilities, but “capable of anything,” who had reached leading positions as a result of social characteristics and the power of group solidarity. Loebl was one of the three survivors of the purge trial of Rudolf Slánský and codefendants in November 1952 (AJYB, 1953 [Vol. 54], pp. 346-47), in which most Jewish and some non-Jewish leaders of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia were sentenced to death. After his release and rehabilitation he had remained an outsider and his writings reflected his personal views.

The ambivalence of Czechoslovakia’s public life in 1965 carried over into religious policy. Josef Cardinal Beran, the spiritual head of the country’s predominantly Catholic population who had been placed in forced residence after his release from prison in 1963 (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 285), was permitted to go to Rome in February 1965 to receive the cardinal’s insignia. His activities in Rome, however, were the target of governmental complaints, and the relationship between state and church was strained by year’s end.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

At the beginning of 1965 Czechoslovakia’s Jewish population was estimated at 18,000. But Jews could apply for permission to emigrate, and though not
all were permitted to leave, some Jewish congregations lost as many as one-third of their members. At the end of the year not more than 15,000 Jews were left in Czechoslovakia.

In Bohemia-Moravia, the Czech lands, Jews were still organized in five religious communities, each subdivided into a number of synagogal congregations. The communities were located in Prague, Plzeň (Pilsen), Ustí (Aussig), Brno (Brünn), and Ostrava (Ostrau). No precise listing was available for Slovakia, where many of the smaller congregations existed in name only. There the local congregations remained directly under the guidance of the Central Association of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia.

Religious Life

At the beginning of 1965 Chief Rabbi Eliáš Katz of Eastern Czechoslovakia and Chief Rabbi Richard Feder of the Western part of the state were the only active rabbis. In March Moses Friedlaender was installed in Košice as district rabbi for Eastern Slovakia. Rabbi Feder celebrated his 90th birthday in August. Highly respected beyond the confines of the Jewish community, he was honored by representatives of all religious denominations. The festive services conducted in his honor at the Old-New Synagogue of Prague were attended by visitors from Hungary, East Germany, France, Poland, and Austria. The Czechoslovak authorities joined in the celebration, and the President of the Republic awarded Rabbi Feder an official decoration.

Communal Activities

The 27-year-old monthly Vestruk ("Gazette"), celebrated the 20th anniversary of its resumption of publication as the organ of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Czechoslovakia. Less inhibited and less concerned with official government pronouncements than in previous years, it used most of its twelve pages for religious, communal, and literary articles. There was also better coverage of news from Israel.

Of the many anniversaries commemorated in 1965, the liberation of the Terezín (Theresienstadt) concentration camp in 1945 was outstanding. Terezín had been the first, and often the last, station of the 77,297 Jews from Bohemia and Moravia who died as prisoners of the Nazis. The Prague government issued a Terezín stamp with the imprint of the camp in its historical city-sites series. A permanent exhibition of documents, pictures, texts, and other memorabilia was set up in the Little Fortress of Terezín, which had served as the Gestapo prison during the war. The main section of this exhibit was devoted to the fate of the Jews in the former German protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. The liberation of the ghetto in 1945 was also commemorated in Terezín, an English-language publication directed to readers abroad. The book, honoring Rabbi Feder, contained essays, poems, illustrations, and historical material. It was prepared by an editorial board headed by Rudolf
Iltis, editor of *Věstník*, and an advisory board composed of Rabbi Feder, Josef Bor, F. R. Kraus, Erich Kulka, Kurt Lagus, Arnošt Lustig, and Josef Polák, all publicists and writers who had either been imprisoned in Terezín or devoted a good part of their writings to Terezín and the Nazi extermination camps. One article described the Nazi efforts to use a film about Terezín, *Der Fuehrer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* ("Hitler Gives the Jews a City"), to counteract reports of the gas chambers of Auschwitz. When the movie was shot in 1944, plans had actually been completed to erect gas chambers in Terezín and to liquidate the remaining Jews of the camp in one final operation.

The Jewish State Museum in Prague arranged the Czechoslovak section of the exposition "The Jews in the Fight Against Hitlerism," opened on January 28 by the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in the Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr in Paris. The opening was attended by Chief Rabbi Katz, Vilém Benda, director of the State Museum, and Karel Lagus, director of the Czech exposition.

**Cultural Activities**

Several of the government’s literary and artistic prizes were awarded for works on Jewish themes. Prizes went to Arnošt Lustig, author of *Vlny v řece* ("Waves in the River"); Gustav Krivinka, composer of the Theresienstadt cantata *Motýli tady nežijí* ("Butterflies Do Not Live Here"), and to Jan Kadar and Elmer Klos, directors of the film *Obchod na korze* ("The Shop on Main Street"); AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 441), which also achieved international acclaim.

Ladislav Mňačko, a Slovak journalist whose *Oneskorené reportáže* ("Belated Reports") on the crimes of the Stalinist era was the literary sensation in 1963, asked Rolf Hochhuth for permission to produce *The Deputy* at the Bratislava State Theater. Hochhuth had refused to authorize productions behind the iron curtain, fearing cuts which would distort his play. Mňačko, whose own book had been published in West Germany in an unauthorized edition under the title *Der Rote Foltergarten* ("The Red Torture Garden"), finally obtained Hochhuth’s consent when he published in *Kultúrny život* Hochhuth’s letter to the editor of *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, in which Hochhuth had listed Communist crimes in Czechoslovakia.

The E. F. Burian Theater of Prague introduced Arthur Miller’s *Affair at Vichy* to the Czech public. František Gottlieb published a new play, *The Golem*, which received the first prize of the Shakespeare anniversary competition.

The Jewish State Museum presented exhibits of "Prague's Jewish Writers" in the former Spanish synagogue, and of "Silver Objects from Czech Synagogues" in the Maisl synagogue. The latter consisted of 500 representative ceremonial objects from the museum’s collection of 6,000 such pieces, originally gathered by the Nazis from the 153 Jewish congregations in the Protectorate.
Zidovská ročenka ("Jewish Year Book") for the year 5726 appeared in August. The lead article by Iltis, the editor of the volume, honored Rabbi Feder on his 90th birthday. The book contained also an essay on monotheism by Rabbi Feder and his memoirs "From My Youth." Other contributors included Rabbi Katz, František Gottlieb, František Kafka, Arnošt Lustig, Lev Brod, Emil F. Knieža.

**Personalia**

František Langer died in August at the age of 77. He was the last prominent writer of the Jewish pre-war generation and one of the best known Czech playwrights. His *Camel Through the Eye of a Needle* and *Periphery* were translated and performed all over Europe. He served as a doctor in the Czechoslovak army in exile, returned to Prague in 1945, and was named "national artist" in 1947, before the Communist takeover. His friendship for Jan Masaryk brought him ostracism in 1948, and it was not until the late fifties that he resumed his literary activities. The leading contemporary Czech actor, Jan Werich, who had himself returned from exile and who lived through the horrors of the Stalinist period, touched upon this in an obituary in *Literární Noviny* ("Literary News") of August 7: "Many outstanding personalities scarcely remembered who that fellow Langer was. The less outstanding ones obediently forgot who he was and what he had achieved. He had to pay for the fact that our cultural history placed him close to the names of T. G. Masaryk and Karel Čapek. This was why his plays were not performed and printed. František Langer never complained. He did not care to argue with morons."
In June János Kádár stepped down as prime minister of Hungary, but remained first secretary of the Communist party, thus assuring the continuation of the middle course associated with his regime. Deputy Premier Gyula Kallai became premier and second in command in the "collective leadership." Dezsoe Nemes, who had received extensive training in Moscow, was dropped as secretary of the party central committee. Official sources in Budapest stressed that the new setup did not indicate a change in domestic or foreign policies, but was part of a normal reorganization of the state machinery to "ease the burden" of the 54-year-old Kádár. At the same time, some 20 per cent of the local party secretaries and 30 per cent of the local party committee members were replaced by younger men.

Paralleling the developments in the Soviet Union, the Hungarian Communist party promised wider "liberalization" and initiated new information programs on domestic and foreign policies as "an indispensable part of democracy." In April Hungary celebrated the eightieth birthday of Gyorgy Lukacs, a humanistic interpreter of Marxism. He had been minister of culture in the Imre Nagy cabinet during the 1956 revolt, and was rehabilitated in 1963 (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 288).

Although new measures gave industrial management more freedom and sought to make production more responsive to the market, a series of decrees tightened control over workers in state enterprises. Workers who could not show three years of consecutive employment in the same factory were subject to various limitations under the social-insurance program. Although authorities continued their efforts to expand industrial production, the planned rate of increase was smaller in 1965 (4.5 per cent as compared with 7.0 per cent stipulated for 1964). Official sources revealed that on January 1 Hungary had 3,413 farm collectives with a membership of about a million.

Some cases of harassment indicated strict government control in other spheres. Tension in state-church relations continued despite an agreement with the Vatican signed in September 1964 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 442), and in December Radio Budapest announced that 12 men had been arrested for conspiracy, among them two monks. Earlier, in October, Professor Sanos Balint of Szeged University received a six-month suspended jail sentence for activity "not in the interests of the state."

In January, four months after the removal of Khrushchev, Soviet Party Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev visited Budapest with Nikolai Podgorny, then the top member of the party presidium. Kádár, Deputy Premier Antal Apro, and Party Secretary Béla Biszku returned the visit in May. They were greeted in Moscow with great pomp and expressions of warm friendship. An official communique expressed "full identity" of views on all issues involving the
two countries as well as on measures to assure "peace and amity among various peoples . . . in the spirit of peaceful coexistence of countries with varying social structures" (Pravda, May 30, 1965). In this context the Hungarian party monthly Tarsadalmi Szemle (November 1965), stated that the policy of coexistence was part of a general strategy of class warfare conducted in the field of international relations. An estimated 80,000 Soviet soldiers were still in Hungary at the end of 1965.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

While the authorities did not interfere with Jews who wished to emigrate, only very few left the country. About 80,000 Jews were in Hungary in 1965, including about 10,000 who did not participate in Jewish religious or communal activities. Precise data on occupational distribution of the Jewish population were not available. Many Jews worked in various state enterprises and in law, medicine, and scientific research at universities. The more liberal and market-oriented economic policy of the government had considerable impact on the general situation of the Jewish community. The younger people, particularly the technically trained, were being absorbed into the state-directed economy, but older men without adequate specialized training had fewer opportunities for gainful employment.

Antisemitism

Although anti-Jewish acts were forbidden, some incidents were reported in the press. In November a swastika was painted on the wall of the Jewish communal building in Budapest, and 36 tombstones were broken in the Jewish cemetery at Balaton Boglar. In neither instance were the authorities able to apprehend the perpetrators. The government, however, initiated various measures to combat anti-Jewish attitudes and to present an objective picture of Jewish life in Hungary. To this end, the story of the murder of Jews under Nazi occupation, written by three Hungarian Jews, was being filmed.

Community Organization and Religious Life

Jewish communal life centered around the Central Board of Jewish Communities (Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete). Created in 1951 as a result of government pressure, the board was the officially recognized coordinating body covering the two wings of Hungarian Jewry, the Orthodox and the Neolog (resembling the American Conservative synagogue). There had been considerable opposition in both camps to the enforced alliance, but, as time passed, the two religious trends adjusted to the new formal situation. The individual congregations, differing in type and ritual, were largely unaffected by the unification at the top. The Budapest community had about thirty synagogues, Orthodox and Neolog. Its estimated membership of over
18,000 included 5,000 Orthodox. A children's summer camp and a mikveh were maintained by the Orthodox congregations.

Rabbi Imre Benoschovsky was chief rabbi of the Neolog community, and Rabbi Jeno Schuck of the Orthodox community. Itinerant shohetim and religious teachers served the small Jewish religious congregations in cities where rabbis could not be maintained.

Endre Sos was president of the Central Board, and Mihaly Borsa its acting secretary general, replacing Tibor Penner, who died in 1964 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 443). Other communal leaders were Marcel Steiner, identified for many years with the work of the hevra kaddisha, and Geza Seifert.

The Central Board remained unaffiliated with world Jewish organizations, but maintained contact with Jewish communities in many countries.

About 500 social workers were engaged in Jewish communal work. The substantial costs of these activities were covered partly by the government, as were those of all other religious denominations, and partly with income from the sale of unused communal property.

Welfare, Education, and Culture

The Central Board of Jewish Communities conducted a wide variety of activities. Its welfare services included cash relief to some 20,000 persons (12,000 in Budapest and 8,000 in the provinces), mostly unemployed because of old age or other impediments. Communal kitchens in Budapest served kosher noon meals daily. The Budapest community also supported four homes for the aged, an orphanage and home for children of broken families, and a 224-bed hospital.

The Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest continued its activities under the direction of the well-known scholar Rabbi Alexander (Sándor) Scheiber (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 444). In 1965 the seminary had twelve students from Budapest and provincial cities. It was the only Neolog rabbinical seminary in Eastern Europe, and its faculty maintained an intensive program in many fields of Jewish scholarship. Rabbi Scheiber visited England, Denmark, and other countries, in connection with his research. Budapest also had a Jewish secondary school for 130 students and a yeshivah getannah (primary day school) for some 30. In Budapest and in provincial cities, some thirty Talmud Torahs provided traditional religious education.

The Central Board continued its intensive research and publication program. Among its projects were the Monumenta Hungariae Judaica, volumes 8 and 9; Documentation of the Catastrophe Series, volumes 3, 4, and 5, dealing with the Budapest ghetto and the deportations from the provinces; Narrative History of the Jewish Communities in Kecskemet and Pécs; eyewitness reports on the Jews under Nazi occupation (two volumes), and a photo album on the catastrophe. The library of 150,000 microfilms on Jewish ghettos established in 1944, collected by the Central Board, were placed in the Central Archives of Budapest. This material was to be made available to scholars abroad as soon as the necessary permits were obtained from the authorities.
The research and publication program was made possible by a special grant from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany and by the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, which also helped to maintain the rabbinical seminary, the gymnasium, and the *yeshivah getannah*. The Central Board continued publication of its weekly magazine *Uj Élét*.

LEON SHAPIRO
Rumania

The death on March 19 of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the president of Rumania and first secretary of the Communist party, caused little change in the regime. His posts were divided between Chivu Stoica president, and Nicholae Ceausescu, first secretary of the party.

Rumania continued to stress national sovereignty and economic independence from the other Communist countries, mainly the Soviet Union. While its ties with the Soviet Union were further loosened, trade with the West was extended.

At the funeral of Gheorghiu-Dej, attended by Anastas Mikoyan of the Soviet Union and other high Communist officials, Ceausescu extolled his initiative in setting the country on the road to national and economic sovereignty in his “Declaration of Economic Independence” of April 1964 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 445). Ceausescu referred to the declaration as the “unshakable principles” of Rumania’s international relations, essential to cooperation among peoples.

Industrialization and economic independence were also the dominant themes at the congress of the Rumanian Communists in July, where they changed their name from Rumanian Workers’ party to Communist party, and the country’s name from People’s Republic of Rumania (PRP) to Romanian Socialist Republic (RSR). These changes were adopted by the Central Committee in June to show that Rumania was moving closer to the final goal of “constructive communism.” The decisions were made without consulting the Soviet government, which had vetoed earlier plans for such changes lest they be construed as a declaration of equality with the Soviet Socialist Republics.

At the congress the party reported 1,450,000 members, an increase of 210,000 since 1964 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 446). A motion was adopted to credit those “former Socialists and Social Democrats” who had transferred to the Workers’ party with Communist membership from the day they had joined the Social Democratic party. Guest participants from abroad included Soviet party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev and the Chinese party secretary, Teng Hsiao-p’ing.

The upward economic trend continued, the Rumanian Information Bulletin reporting that foreign trade in 1964 had risen 12 per cent over 1963; 68.8 per cent of the trade was with Communist countries.

New agreements for increased trade were concluded with France, West Germany, and Austria. Early in February a visit by French Finance Minister Valery Giscard d’Estaing was followed by an agreement to increase trade by 60 per cent. France was also to invest large sums in a steel plant, a radio and television factory, sugar refineries, and other industries. West Germany held a technical exposition in Bucharest in May.

As a result of pressure from the extreme right-wing Young Americans for Freedom in the United States, the Firestone Rubber and Tire Company in
June dropped plans for construction of a synthetic rubber plant in Rumania (p. 159). In September the United States government sent a trade mission to Rumania and to Poland to explore the possibilities of increasing trade with these countries.

Three Jews were ousted from important economic posts by Ceausescu. They were: Mihail Petri, minister of foreign trade; Mihail Florescu, minister for the petro-chemical industry, and Gheorghe Gaston-Marin, president of the National Planning Committee who had headed the Rumanian delegation to Washington which concluded a trade agreement with the United States in 1964 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 445). Gaston-Marin was retained as deputy premier.

The release of large numbers of political prisoners from prisons and labor camps, among them Jews held for Zionist activities, continued in 1965. Romania, published in New York by the banned Rumanian democratic parties, quoting The Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists (December 1964), estimated the number of those liberated at over 10,000. The decree of pardon which was issued in 1964 was published in Scinteia (June 17, 1964), the organ of the Communist party, and not in the government gazette.

The new draft constitution, published in full in the party paper Scinteia in June, guaranteed individual rights and freedoms, including freedom of religion and freedom from unlawful arrest. In its preamble the reference to the Soviet Union as the "liberator of Rumania," contained in the 1952 constitution, was deleted.

In literature, the apparent rehabilitation of the well-known writer Alexandru Jar was an important development. He had not been able to publish anything after Gheorghiu-Dej had rebuked him in 1956 for allegedly trying to damage the image of the party in one of his stories. The literary magazine Gezeta Literara published one of his short stories in its September issue.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

No changes in the Jewish population of Rumania (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 447) were reported. The estimate for 1965, however, was 120,000.

The greater independence of Rumania from Soviet Russia seemed to be reflected also in its attitude toward the Jewish community. In July Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen attended an executive assembly of the World Jewish Congress at Strasbourg, the first representative of Jewry in the Soviet bloc to be present at such a gathering abroad. In his remarks to the meeting he asserted that "there is no religious persecution in Rumania" and that "Jews are free to worship and to practice their rituals." He did, however, appeal to world Jewry to send teachers and rabbis to serve his community. There were only three other rabbis, one of them more than 90 years old, to minister to the spiritual needs of the Jews who worship in 300 synagogues throughout the country. Rosen added that this request had not been cleared with his government and that the details would therefore have to be worked out by negotiation.
Rosen was also president of the Federation of Jewish Communities, the officially recognized representative body of Rumanian Jews (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 448). In all its public statements the Federation stressed the religious character of Rumanian Jewry but avoided any reference to its secular life. For 1965 it reported closer relations with world Jewry. In May a delegation of the Swiss Jewish communities visited the Federation; greetings from Jews abroad, including the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Hungarian Jewish community, were published on the occasion of Jewish holidays.

The tri-lingual (Rumanian, Yiddish, Hebrew) Revista Cultului Mosaic, the sole organ of the Jewish community, changed in June from a monthly to a semi-monthly publication, with wider coverage and special emphasis on relations with world Jewry.

Reviewing Jewish life in Rumania “From Rosh Ha-shanah to Rosh Ha-shanah,” the issue of October 15 commented:

“We are good citizens of Rumania. We take full part in the life of the country, but being religious Jews we do not feel isolated from Jewish communities in other countries. That is why the readers will find information in our journal about Jews in other countries.” Earlier, in April, the publication printed an obituary on Gheorghiu-Dej, eulogizing him for his major role in restoring to Rumanian Jews, as to all religious minorities, “liberty and dignity.”

Rabbi Rosen was again elected representative of the Jewish minority to the Rumanian national assembly, on the usual single list. At the only election rally of his “campaign” on January 20, the president of the Democratic Front for People’s Councils (the local soviet) praised Rabbi Rosen for having “brought to the public in other lands the message from our people and helped improve the ties of understanding and friendship between peoples” on his travels to France, England, the United States, and Israel.

Rabbi Rosen participated in the official receptions in June for the Archbishop of Canterbury, who came to Rumania at the invitation of the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, and of the Catholicos of all Armenians, Vasken I.

In May Rabbi Rosen and several other federation officials toured the province of Moldavia and reported in Revista Cultului Mosaic (June 15) that the Jewish communities were active and able to cope with the needs and problems of its members.

An anthology of Yiddish literature in Rumania, Oifshtaig (“Rise”), covering the past century, was brought out by the government’s literary publishing house. Its 437 pages included many works of earlier writers, but none for the period since World War II. A small volume of Yiddish verse by A. Evion (pseud. for Schmere Weinstein) also appeared in 1965.

On June 15 Revista Cultului Mosaic announced that a half-hour radio program in Yiddish would be included in the radio broadcast from Bucharest.

Joseph Kissman