 Eastern Europe

Soviet Union

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N OCTOBER 15, 1964, Moscow stunned the world with the news that Nikita Khrushchev had been removed as secretary of the Communist party presidium and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and placed in forced retirement. Khrushchev was replaced by Leonid Brezhnev as party boss and Alexei Kosygin as premier. While there had been rumors of internal conflicts among the top Soviet leaders and of opposition to some Khrushchev policies, the fall of the Soviet leader was completely unexpected both in the West and in the Communist countries. Prague and Warsaw expressed “surprise,” and in Hungary Kádár spoke about Khrushchev’s “great merits.” Most of the satellite leaders, though accepting the change, praised Khrushchev’s achievements and expressed the hope that his departure would not radically alter Soviet policies.

Khrushchev’s removal was followed by a swift reorganization of the Soviet power apparatus. Besides Brezhnev and Kosygin, the top group included Anastas Mikoyan, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet; Mikhail Suslov, one of the veterans who survived Stalin and the changes following his demise, and Nikolai Podgorny, a Khrushchev protégé. Alexander Shelepin, former head of the secret police and of the Young Communist League, and Pyotr Shelest, the boss of the Ukraine, became full members of the party presidium, apparently replacing Khrushchev and the ailing Frol Koslow, who died shortly thereafter. Many second-rank officials, among them Pavel Satyukov, editor of Pravda, and Alexei Adzhubei, editor of Izvestia and son-in-law of Khrushchev, were replaced. The party structure was reorganized, and the division between the agricultural and industrial sectors within the party committees was eliminated.

Destalinization

The Kremlin leaders continued the “liberal” policy of destalinization. Many old-time Bolsheviks were posthumously rehabilitated. In January a movie based on Yuri Bondarev’s novel, Stillness, was shown in Moscow, telling of the arrest of a devoted Communist on trumped-up charges and describing
his brutal treatment. In its September issue the periodical *Novy Mir* carried a startling piece, "One Destiny," by O. Morosova, in which the author gave a completely objective account of her life, the revolution, the civil war, and the purges. In the fall of 1964 Moscow was shocked by the disclosure of the memorandum left by Palmiero Togliatti and published in Italy after his death in August while on a visit to the Crimea. After initial hesitation, Togliatti's testament was republished in *Pravda* on September 10. Togliatti insisted that "the question of the origin of the cult of personality—how this cult became possible—has not been solved" and that it was necessary to undo suppression of personal freedom introduced by Stalin. On December 13 *Pravda* noted that the methods of Andrei Vishinsky, in contravention of "socialist legality," had been decisively condemned by the party and reiterated that the Soviet state, on its new level of development, was losing its class character and was gradually becoming the state of all the people. But for the time being, the new regime maintained controls over artists, writers, and scholars.

**Foreign Policy**

The new leaders reaffirmed Soviet support of the Asian-African struggle against "neo-colonialism," but took no major steps to alter the balance of forces in the underdeveloped and newly established countries.

The Sino-Soviet dispute continued unabated, and the Russians were clearly in no mood for concessions to the Chinese, who repeatedly emphasized the need for territorial readjustment along the long Sino-Soviet border. Peking hinted that the USSR was too big, and that it included many foreign lands and peoples. Replying to these charges, Khrushchev had made it clear that "we don't want a war . . . however, if we are attacked, we will defend our borders with all means at our disposal" (*Pravda*, September 20). While the tone of Soviet-Chinese exchanges after Khrushchev's removal was softer, nothing in the positions of the two adversaries changed, and the split between them remained unhealed.

**Economic Policy**

Shortly before his removal, Khrushchev announced a "consumer first" policy, but indicated that due attention would be paid to heavy industry as well. This line was essentially continued by the Brezhnev-Kosygin team. The new Soviet rulers appeared to be revamping the structure of planning and management in the direction of decentralization suggested by the Soviet economist Yevsey Liberman. The Liberman system was being tested in two garment factories.

**Jewish Population**

There was no precise information on the number of Jews in the Soviet Union, but at the end of 1963 the estimated number was 2,454,000. This estimate was based on the assumption that the Jewish population, which had stood at 2,268,000 in the 1959 census, had had the same rate of natural increase as
the general population—17 per 1,000 in 1959, 1960, and 1961; 15 per 1,000 in 1962; and 14 per 1,000 in 1963. The population of the USSR was 208,827,000 in 1959, and was estimated at 226,300,000 at the end of 1963. Thus, Jews were about 1.1 per cent of the total population. Available data indicated 285,000 Jews in Moscow, 165,000 in Leningrad, 220,000 in Kiev, 90,000 in Odessa, 39,000 in Minsk, 42,000 in Kishinev, 16,000 in Vilna, 14,000 in Vinitza, 18,500 in Gomel, 30,000 in Czernovitz, 10,000 in Zhitomir, and 9,250 in Mogilev.

Communal and Religious Life

The Jews of the Soviet Union continued to experience many disabilities and in fact, if not in law, were living under a discriminatory regime. Despite constitutional provisions guaranteeing the free exercise of religion, restrictions on Jewish religious life continued, and the removal of Khrushchev did not improve the situation. According to official sources, there were 97 synagogues in the Soviet Union in 1964. The Jewish congregations ministered to the needs of religious Jews, but their efforts were hampered by the absence of a central Jewish communal organization, the creation of which was discouraged by Soviet authorities.

Soviet authorities continuously interfered with the administration of Jewish communal affairs. Thus in June the police ousted the three-man governing body of the Moscow Central synagogue and replaced it with a new group known only as Fishlovich, Mikhailovitch, and Olitzky. Later Mikhailovitch replaced Nahum Paler as head of the synagogue. There were reports that after vehement attacks in the Odessa newspaper Znamia Kommunisma, the great synagogue of Odessa, the only one in that city, was to be closed. The Jews of Odessa had decided to renovate their synagogue and raised a fund for the purpose. Znamia Kommunisma charged that the money was being used for black-market operations and that the “synagogue and the burial society became a center of extortion . . . for the benefit of the clergy and hangers-on. . . .” Using as pretexts the dwindling number of believers, the “anti-social behavior” of synagogue leaders, termination of leases, and, simply, the necessity of utilizing the buildings for other purposes, local Soviet authorities forced the closing of many houses of worship, particularly in small cities where local Jews were unable or afraid to request the continuance of their synagogues. There were reports that the synagogues of Tashkent (Uzbek SSR) and Alma Ata (Kazakh SSR) were threatened with closure. (Moscow denied that the synagogues in Minsk and Zhitomir had been closed [AJYB, 1964 (Vol. 65), p. 269], saying that they had been moved to new quarters.)

Reports from the Soviet Union indicated that despite the relaxation in 1964 of the rules governing the baking of matzot there were not enough matzot for all Jews observing Passover. Official spokesmen for the Moscow Jewish community confirmed reports that the synagogue had been permitted to rent a special building for use as a bakery, but the building was put at the disposal of the community too late to install all the necessary facilities. In Moscow and in Leningrad the bakeries were closed as fire hazards for a few days, and
although they were later reopened, there were considerable delays in the production schedule. In some places it was difficult to obtain flour, which was in short supply, and the authorities did not take into consideration the delays in receiving allotments even when the flour was forthcoming. The situation was particularly difficult in large Jewish centers, where large numbers of religious Jews required matzot.

Many packages of matzot were sent to the Soviet Union from abroad, but such imports were looked upon with disfavor by Soviet authorities, and the packages were returned.

The Moscow Yeshiva Kol Jacob, the only one in the Soviet Union, continued to function, but its enrolment had dwindled to a few students and some older individuals who came regularly to participate in the lessons. Young people desiring to enter the yeshivah were discouraged by official pressure and social ostracism. Under these circumstances, the yeshivah was not able to prepare young rabbis to replace the old ones, whose average age was 70.

In February Judah Leib Levin, chief rabbi of Moscow and head of the yeshivah, celebrated his 70th birthday. There was a special thanksgiving service in the Moscow synagogue in the course of which the rabbi, surrounded by many congregants and guests, including Bishop Alexei of the Orthodox church, prayed for peace. While the shortage of prayer shawls, phylacteries, and prayer books continued, in June Rabbi Levin refused a gift of a set of the Talmud offered by a Canadian Jewish leader, saying that “there is no necessity to send your copy of the Talmud to us.”

Despite social pressure and continued campaigns in the press, a considerable number of Jews remained strongly attached to Jewish religious tradition. Jean-Pierre Bloch, a French politician who was in Leningrad during Rosh Ha-shanah, reported that some 6,000 Jews came to the services. Those who were unable to gain admission followed the prayers from outside. Bloch also reported that besides the main synagogue, there were in Leningrad many shiblakh (chapels) used by hasidim as well as by worshipers originating in Poland and the Ukraine. (In February Rabbi Abraham Twerski, the last hasidic rebbe in the Soviet Union, emigrated to Israel.)

On the eve of Rosh Ha-shanah, the Moscow community published a religious calendar for the year 5725 (1964-65). The printed luah contained 35 pages of Russian and Yiddish text, including, in addition to customary material, the Kaddish (prayer for the dead) and a special prayer for peace. The Kaddish was accompanied by a Russian transliteration, and the prayer for peace by a Russian translation. During the Yom Kippur services, thousands of Moscow Jews jammed the Central synagogue, where Cantor David Sternberg conducted the prayers. Some 15,000 young people crowded the square in front of the Moscow synagogue to celebrate Simhat Torah.

Antisemitism in the Press

The Soviet press gave wide coverage to events pertaining to the life of various nationalities and minorities, but ignored news of Jewish interest. How-
ever, the press was full of stories featuring Jewish names in connection with crimes, violations of law in the synagogue, "Shylocks," etc. This type of press report was particularly widespread in the local newspapers of Byelorussia, Moldavia, and the Ukraine, where there were large Jewish communities and the local populations had a long history of anti-Jewish attitudes. Such items appeared, among others, in Zvyazda (Minsk), January 9; Sovetskaya Byelorussia (Minsk), April 8; Rabochaya Gazeta (Kiev), February 9 and May 16, and Sovetskaya Moldavia (Kishinev), May 13 and June 14. From time to time this type of coverage found its way into the central press. Thus, a story in Krokodil (Moscow, May 30) alluded to some criminal "gesheft"—a word indicating the Jewish aspects of the case. Toward the end of 1963 and in 1964, the Soviet press devoted much attention to the case of the young Leningrad poet, Joseph Brodsky. Brodsky, a Jew, was accused of living as a "parasitic idler" who loved a "foreign fatherland" and was trying to run away abroad. He was sentenced to five years' compulsory labor in the Archangel province, in the far north.

**Antisemitic Publications**

Toward the end of 1963 a viciously antisemitic book by Trofim Kichko, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, was published in Kiev under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 269). Soon after, on January 11, 1964, another volume of the same type, *Contemporary Judaism and Zionism*, by F. Mayatzki, was sent to the printers in Kishinev, Moldavia. The Mayatzki book repeated all the anti-Jewish cliches current among Jew-baiters. Mayatzki's bibliography included such items as "Joint [JDC], a Department of American Intelligence," by J. Marek, published in Moskovski Propagandist in 1953, and in Pravda Ukraini, February 11, 1953. Marek's piece was part of the campaign surrounding Stalin's "doctors' plot" and was later repudiated, along with other similar material, by the Soviet authorities as a groundless pack of lies. Nevertheless, Mayatzki included it among his "scientific" sources.

**Discrimination**

Available material indicated there were only a few Jews among top party and government officials. Benjamin E. Dimchitz and Juli Khariton were the only Jewish members of the Central Committee of the party (Dimchitz was also chief economic planner of the Soviet Union). There were only five Jews among the 1,443 members of the Supreme Soviet (1962-66): Rebekah Vishtchinikin (Birobidjan), Gen. Jacob Kreizer (Far East), Ilya Ehrenburg (Latvia), Benjamin Dimchitz (Khabarovskyk), Juli Khariton (Gorki oblast). The first three were members of the National Chamber and the last two of the Union Chamber. There were very few among the top echelons of local administrations. According to available data, there was a heavy concentration of Soviet Jews in such fields as accounting and statistics. There were continuing reports
of difficulties faced by Jewish students in obtaining admission to the best universities, or in receiving academic promotion on the faculties of universities.

**Economic Trials**

During the period under review major trials for "economic crimes" involving an alleged ring of 24 black-marketeers were held in Moscow. Seven Jews and three non-Jews were sentenced to death. In announcing the forthcoming trials, in 1963, *Izvestia* had emphasized the Jewish names of the alleged ring-leaders (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], pp. 272-73). In Moscow another Jew, Arkadi Greenberg, was sentenced to death as the head of an illegal group of 21 persons trading in knit goods. Five Jews were given prison sentences in Kiev for complicity in a crime involving speculation in gold, for which a Jew, Jacob Sheinkin, had been condemned to death in 1963. The local Soviet press continued to emphasize the Jewish names of persons brought to trial for various misdeeds, but reports that two Jews who were convicted had been "framed" appeared in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. In the first case it was reported that Boris Bukhbinder, director of a school in Stavropol, convicted for complicity in an embezzlement, had been the victim of investigative methods carried over from the days of the Stalin "personality cult." In the second case R. Frekhtman, convicted a year before for black-market-eering in the Ukraine, was described as a war hero whose name had been attached to criminal activities by swindlers whom the accused did not even know.

**Western Reaction to Soviet Antisemitism**

In the West the plight of Soviet Jews was the object of frequent intervention by both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations (see p. 312). In April the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry met in Washington. A similar conference was held in France in October under the chairmanship of Daniel Mayer, Socialist leader and president of the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme*. At the October meeting of UNESCO, Moshe Avidor, the Israeli delegate, brought up the question of Soviet discrimination against Jewish culture. Severe criticism of anti-Jewish persecution in the Soviet Union was voiced by the International Commission of Jurists (*Journal of the International Commission of Jurists*, Summer 1964) and in the report of the Socialist International issued in 1964. As more information on the economic trials became available, the protest movement against Soviet treatment of Jews attracted many radical intellectuals who otherwise were generally favorable to the Soviet Union. The publication of antisemitic books in the Ukraine and Moldavia provoked a wave of indignation in the Jewish world. The Kichko book created consternation among Communist parties in the West. The Communist parties of Italy and Great Britain and the Swedish Communist youth organization strongly condemned it, as did the American *Worker* and *Morning Freiheit*, and the French *Naie Presse* and *Humanité*. Apparently under pressure from Western Communist sources, the Ideological Commission of
the Soviet Communist party acknowledged that the Kichko book "may in- 
sult the feelings of believers and be interpreted in a spirit of anti-Semitism" 
(New York Times, April 5, 1964). Soon after, however, the official Soviet 
news agency, Tass, asserted that there was no antisemitism in the Soviet 
Union and no Jewish question (JTA, August 20).

The British philosopher Bertrand Russell criticized the Soviet Union for a 
policy of injustice and forced assimilation against Russian Jews. Writing to 
Aaron Vergelis, editor of Sovetish Heymland, Russell quoted a letter he had 
received from a Soviet war veteran, whose name he withheld, complaining 
that Russian Jews lived under "a special regime" and that it was impossible 
to place problems of interest to Jews before Soviet governmental authorities. 
"We want," the writer said, "nothing more than to receive the same rights as 
Jews in Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia." Russell asked Vergelis to 
bring the letter to public attention. He warned the Soviet leaders that he was 
concerned for "justice and for the good name of the Soviet Union ... and 
that pursuit of peace and general understanding between peoples and nations 
will be harmed by silence" (World Jewry, London, September-October 1964). 
Vergelis did not publish Russell's letter, nor did he give space to the letter 
of the Soviet war veteran. He did, however, publish a reply asserting that both 
letters were part of a campaign "based ... on unfounded accusations and 
are part . . . of cold war-positions . . ." (Sovetish Heymland, Moscow, Sep- 
tember-October 1964).

Cultural Situation

Vergelis, chief official spokesman of Soviet Jewry, repeatedly declared that 
Soviet authorities did not favor Jewish cultural autonomy and did not intend 
to support Jewish efforts in education. Jewish schools, Jewish kindergartens, 
and Jewish institutions for adult education were still not permitted.

A Yiddish book was published in November, the first in three years. Issued 
by Sovetish Heymland, Azoi lebn mir ("This Is How We live"), included 
pieces by 19 writers.

While there was, to all intents and purposes, no publishing in Yiddish, ac- 
cording to the Soviet writer Abba Finkelstein, 67 books by Yiddish writers 
appeared in translation in various languages of the Soviet Union in 1962-63, 
as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
<th>Number of Copies</th>
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<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
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<td>818,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>90,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7,316,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>67</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,264,700</strong></td>
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LANGUAGE OF PUBLICATION OF BOOKS BY YIDDISH AUTHORS

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<tr>
<th>Language of Publication</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
<th>Number of Copies</th>
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<td>8,097,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
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<td>93,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldavian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>67</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,264,700</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The 1955-63 total of Yiddish books published in translation was 267 volumes with 21,683,385 copies in 19 languages. (Data for the period 1955-61 have been adjusted; *Sovetish Heymland*, No. 3, 1964, pp. 152-58; AJYB, 1963 [Vol. 64], pp. 355-56).

There were no Jewish communal cultural activities in the Soviet Union, but many Jewish individuals and groups were active in music and the theater. A new ensemble of Jewish instrumentalists and vocalists, Words and Music, was organized in Leningrad and included the actor Meir Braude, the pianist Simeon Freudenberg, and the singer Anna Shevelieva. In the spring, Dina Roitkop of Riga and Benjamin Chaitovsky of Vilna presented a program of Yiddish songs and drama in many cities of the Ukraine, including Odessa, Negin, and Czernovitz. The popular singer Nehamah Lifshitz continued to give recitals throughout the Soviet Union. On September 2, 3, and 5, she performed in Minsk and on September 10 presented the same program in Moscow, singing songs by Isaac Leyb Peretz, Hayyim Nahman Bialik, and Zalman Shneur. While Miss Lifshitz enjoyed a solid reputation, she was criticized in *Sovietskaya Byelorussia* (Minsk), on September 20, for "narrow-mindedness and preoccupation with nationalistic and religious songs."

The Yiddish art ensemble of Czernovitz, under the direction of Sidi Tal, played Jewish comedy and drama in Moscow and Leningrad and later throughout Kazakhstan. The Yiddish drama ensemble of Vilna also continued its activities. In 1964 it presented the play Ver iz shudig? ("Who Is Guilty?"), by A. Zhitinokov and B. Halperin, directed by S. Becker and L. Lurie. In May in Kharkov, Soviet Yiddish intellectuals celebrated the 80th birthday of Nathan Rozovsky, one of the oldest actors of the Yiddish stage in the Soviet Union, and in June the 80th birthday of Joshua Lubomirsky, a well-known theater director, was celebrated throughout the country.

In November Ilya Ehrenburg was the main speaker at a Moscow meeting of the Writers’ Union in honor of Isaac Babel, who perished under Stalin. It was reported that Hillel Alexandrov, associate professor at Leningrad University, was working on the archives of the late Israel Zimberg, which were in the Leningrad division of the Asian Peoples’ Institute. *Novosti* stated that Zimberg had perished in 1939, "a victim of the cult of personality."

Despite current anti-Jewish discrimination, Jews still accounted for a disproportionately high percentage of Russia’s mature scientists, many of them...
prominent in space technology. Of the 103 persons nominated for election to full membership in the Academy of Science, 16 appeared to be Jews, and of 438 persons nominated for election as corresponding members, 58. Among the persons who received the 1964 Lenin Prize were 14 with Jewish names, including 13 scientists and one artist. The scientists were Ben Zion Vul, Solomon Rifkin, Dina Gabe, Mark Aisenman, Evgeni Sapir, Sofia Belkin, Alexander Bistritsky, Lev Tzibulin, Gregor Ostrin, Solomon Shaiekevitch, Selman Sominski, Hanan Isaacson, and Nathan Abelev. The artist was Maya Plisetskaya of the Moscow Ballet Theater, who recently performed with great success in New York. These honors indicated that Jews who are professionally important to the country were permitted to enjoy high pay and prestige.

Relations with Israel

While the Soviet Union maintained normal diplomatic relations with Israel, Moscow's policy in the Middle East remained uncompromisingly hostile to Israel and favorable to the Arab states. Premier Khrushchev had sharply attacked Israel's plan for bringing Jordan River water to the Negev, and during his visit to Egypt in May he told his hosts at a mass rally in Port Said that Israel was a menace not only to the Arabs but also to the whole world. Earlier, in greeting President Gamal Abdul Nasser, Khrushchev referred to the Sinai campaign, "where Israel was serving as the agent of imperialism" (Pravda, May 10, 1964). At the same time the Kremlin continued its anti-Israeli propaganda, only slightly varying the contents to suit the needs of the moment. Thus, Radio Moscow told its Arab listeners that the American and German military establishments wished to make Israel an atomic-rocket base for NATO (JTA, April 7, 1964). Even the American-Israeli desalination agreement was held to be "a cause of concern to the Arabs" (JTA, June 19, 1964). The change in Soviet leadership did not affect Moscow's policy in the Middle East. According to Al-Ahram, as quoted in JTA, October 22, 1964, strong assurances were given Nasser that the Kremlin would continue its close ties with Egypt and would recognize Nasser's "vanguard role in Asia and Africa." In the United Nations, after the Syrian-Israeli clashes in December, the Soviet Union vetoed a United States-British resolution calling upon Syria and Israel to cooperate in preventing future clashes in the area north of the Sea of Galilee (see p. 303). Soviet delegate Platon D. Morozov called the resolution "a hypocritical document" placing the aggressor (meaning Israel), and the victim (meaning Syria) on an equal footing. The Moscow press continued to attack "Zionist propaganda" by Israeli tourists and accused Israeli officials of distributing leaflets, magazines, and other Zionist materials among the Jews of the Soviet Union. In July three Israeli citizens visiting the USSR were arrested and deported for alleged propaganda activities.

At the same time, an agreement reached in July between the USSR and Israel laid the ground for cultural exchange programs (see p. 453). As a result, Soviet soloists and a conductor were to appear with the Israeli Philharmonic, and in return Israeli artists scheduled appearances in the Soviet Union.
Earlier, a delegation of four women from the world executive of WIZO, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Raya Jaglom, visited educational institutions in Moscow, Kiev, and Leningrad. Eleven Israeli scientists participated in the Seventh International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographic Sciences in Moscow.

Emigration to Israel was limited mostly to old persons who sought reunion with their families. According to a Soviet spokesman, 200 such persons left the Soviet Union to settle in Israel in 1963 (Jewish Daily Forward, New York, May 21, 1964).

**Commemoration of the Catastrophe**

In May an imposing ceremony in Riga honored the memory of 125,000 Latvian Jews murdered by the Nazis. Six candles symbolizing the six million murdered Jews were lighted at the mass graves of the victims, and the municipality voted an appropriation to establish a permanent memorial (Folks-shtimme, Warsaw, May 19, 1964). A monument to the Jewish martyrs of Pinsk was erected by the city council of that city. It was also reported that a street was named for a Jewish Hero of the Soviet Union named Moshkovsky, who fell in action in 1939 (Day-Jewish Journal, New York, August 8, 1964). The anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt was commemorated by the Vilna Jewish choir with a concert of appropriate songs (Folks-shtimme, May 27, 1964).

**Personalia**

L. Rosenhois, a veteran Soviet Yiddish writer and the last surviving member of the editorial board of Der Shtern, died in Minsk in June. Samuel Marshak, an eminent translator of Shakespeare into Russian and a notable poet in his own right, died in Moscow in July. Eugene Varga, the well-known Communist economist and theoretician, died in Moscow in October. Solomon Lurie, a classical scholar, died in Lvov in November. A memorial meeting on the 70th anniversary of the birth of Ian Gamarnik, once head of the political department of the Soviet army, took place in the Red Army Frunze Home in Moscow. Gamarnik committed suicide in 1937 to avoid trial and execution during the Stalin purges.

Leon Shapiro
Poland

During the period under review there were indications that Władisław Gomułka, secretary of PZPR (Polish United Workers' [Communist] party), was having difficulties with both the right-wing, Stalinist "partisans" and the liberal, "revisionist" followers of the October 1956 revolution. The long-postponed fourth congress of PZPR took place in Warsaw in June 1964. There was nothing spectacular in the proceedings, although some party members circulated undercover literature critical of Gomułka and defending the Chinese Communist line. There were, however, some organizational changes. The Central Committee was expanded from 77 to 85 full members and from 65 to 78 candidate members. The Politburo was increased from 10 to 12 members, the two new places going to Franciszek Waniółka, a vice premier since 1962, and Eugeniusz Szyr, a well-known economic administrator and a Jew. By adroit maneuvering, Gomułka succeeded in weeding out men who had in the past criticized his policies or otherwise demonstrated opposition. As the year progressed it became clear that Gomułka had thwarted both extreme groups, and by balancing one against the other had consolidated his control of both the party and the country.

By Soviet standards the Polish people continued to enjoy a certain freedom in the arts and letters. But Polish intellectuals, mindful of 1956 ideals, strongly objected to government censorship and other restrictions. In March, 34 of Poland's foremost writers, scientists, and journalists wrote to Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz requesting that cultural policy "be changed to conform to the spirit of the rights guaranteed by the Polish constitution . . ." Among the signers of this letter were the writers Anton Slonimski and Jerzy Andrzejewski, the scientists Leopold Infeld and Wacław Sierpinski, and Melchior Wankowicz, a well-known author who had acquired United States citizenship after World War II and then returned to live in Poland. Though the protest was never publicly acknowledged, the government took strong measures against the independent intellectuals, including, in some cases, withdrawal of passports for foreign travel and a decrease in paper allocation to "guilty" publications. At the Polish writers' congress in Lublin, in September, Gomułka, fresh from his victory at the party conclave, appealed to the assembled writers to halt the "decline in the dynamism" of Polish literature and to "help the party solve all the problems connected with the building of socialism. . . ." In November Wankowicz was sentenced to 18 months in prison on a charge of dissemination of false information causing harm to the Polish state. In December Lucjan Motyka became minister of culture, replacing Tadeusz Galinski, who had been associated with the government restrictions against writers. Polish intellectuals were pleased about this change.

Poland continued to face considerable economic difficulties, many of which
were due to errors in economic planning. A new five-year plan being drafted for 1966–70 emphasized the necessity of creating about a million and a half new jobs.

According to Zycie Gospodarcze (May 31, 1964), Poland had 21,133 agricultural circles (voluntary collectives), 102 service and producer cooperatives, and 72 cooperative farming centers in 1963. Some 8,000 additional agricultural circles were registered but had not yet begun their work. About 79 per cent of the active circles showed a profit. A somewhat novel approach to agriculture was the so-called agrominimum system, which was gradually being introduced into private farming to raise production by good agricultural methods. By concentrating supervisory powers in the hands of a political technocracy, this tended toward increased centralization and control of private farming. For the time being, Poland continued to seek wheat abroad to satisfy its needs.

The silent struggle between the state and the Catholic church continued unabated, although both sides were reluctant to depart from the uneasy "policy of coexistence." Primate Stefan Cardinal Wiszynski stepped up the church's resistance to the continuing encroachment of the state in education, family relations, and similar fields. The church also reiterated its disapproval of the fellow-traveling Pax group, led by Boleslaw Piacecki, a well-known fascist in prewar Poland. The government repeatedly accused the church of promoting political aims incompatible with the interests of the state. The Gdansk city council sought to expropriate the Pelpin building, which housed a theological seminary. Another seminary near Poznan was raided by the police in September, and in Wroclaw the municipality moved to expropriate the building that was the archbishop's residence and the episcopal seat.

State Council President Aleksander Zawadski, titular head of the state, died in August, after a long illness. He was replaced by Edward Ochab, former secretary of the Central Committee and a member of the Politburo.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

Only about 1,000 Jews left Poland for various European countries and Israel. There were no substantial changes in the status of the Jewish community. In the spring there were unconfirmed reports that at least 20 Jews had been dismissed from high government posts (Forward, New York, May 24, 1964). While both the party and the government fought overt antisemitism, it was still common among the Polish population, especially in small cities and villages. Racial offenses were forbidden by law, but this did not stop anti-Jewish incidents. The Lodz district court sentenced a building superintendent named Matrontzyk to six months in prison for an antisemitic attack on a Jewish tenant, Bezalel Weinrob (Folks-shtimme, Warsaw, April 2, 1964). In Legnice, in western Poland, Jan Horoszkewicz was sentenced to 14 months at hard labor for insulting and attacking two Polish Jews, Abraham Moneta and Mandel Tastowsky (JTA, October 27, 1964). Twelve Jews were among
36 persons who received medals for their revolutionary activities (London Jewish Chronicle, February 28, 1964).

Jewish Population

Precise data on the Jewish population in Poland were not available. A survey published in Zycie Warszawy (December 12, 1963) indicated that there were 31,000 Jews. This seemed to be a realistic estimate. According to the same publication Jews were the third largest minority in the country, after Ukrainians (180,000) and Byelorussians (165,000). There were some indications that besides the 31,000 Jews identified in the survey, an undetermined number—one estimate was 5,000—lived a Marrano-like existence and were gradually disappearing into the surrounding population.

Communal Life

Jewish communal life centered around the Communist-dominated Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews, which claimed 27 local affiliates. Leyb Domb was still president and Edward Reiber secretary-general.

In July the presidium of the Union met in Lublin to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the “establishment of new Poland” and the “reestablishment of Jewish life.” The meeting was widely reported by the state radio and press, and the central organ of PPZR, Tribuna Ludu, gave it special coverage. The union issued a call to Jewish workers and youth for greater efforts in behalf of “our socialist fatherland and in behalf of Jewish communal work” (Folks-shtimme, July 29, 1964). In September the Union reported that there were 23 Jewish youth clubs with 1,500 members (Folks-shtimme, September 22, 1964).

The cornerstone for a building to house Jewish social and cultural activities in Warsaw (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 283), was laid in Grzebowski Place in September. It was to have a theater and a library, as well as the office of the producer cooperative Odrodzenie. The space allotted for the cooperative was to be paid for by JDC. The building was to be completed sometime in 1966. Jewish leaders devoted much effort to Jewish activities in cities with small Jewish populations. In Bialystok, Lublin, Gdansk, Przemysl, Wloclawek, and other places, the almost total absence of persons with an adequate Jewish background made impossible the continuation of many Jewish projects.

Religious Life

In 1964 the Union of Jewish Religious Congregations (Wa'ad Ha-kehillot) claimed 21 affiliated local congregations. Isaac Frenkel was still president, but during 1964 his situation seemed somewhat precarious because of rumors that his own conduct during the Nazi occupation was not above reproach and because his wife had been the personal secretary to Hayyim Rumkowski, the head of the Lodz Judenrat. No one, however, dared overtly to attack the honor of the couple.

Jewish religious life continued to deteriorate. There were no rabbis, and
as time passed it became more and more difficult to assure the continuation of religious practices like circumcision and bar mitzvah for those Jews who wished to. The religious union experienced many difficulties in maintaining its welfare activities. Though it was still represented in the Central Relief Committee on an equal basis with the Cultural and Social Union, the latter was trying to change the parity basis and obtain control.

In cooperation with the Cultural and Social Union a special committee surveyed the famous Jewish cemetery of Gesia, where such notables as Meir Balaban, Isaac Leyb Peretz, Jacob Dinenson, S. Anski, and others were buried. It was recommended that the government take charge of the graves of many Jewish writers and scholars to save the monuments from decay.

**Jewish Education**

There were six Jewish state elementary schools and three secondary schools, with 1,400 pupils. Wroclaw, Lodz, and Legnice each had an elementary school and a secondary school, while Dzierzgonow, Szczcin, and Walbrzych had only elementary schools. A new building and a dormitory were being constructed in Wroclaw to accommodate Jewish children from out of town.

In March a countrywide conference of youth club workers was held in Legnice. In August a special refresher course was given in Srodborow for teachers of Jewish subjects in Jewish schools, as well as for workers with youth and young adults. The course was organized by the ministry of education with the cooperation of the Cultural and Social Union and was directed by L. Losowsky. It was a part of a continuing effort to help Jewish schools overcome the lack of qualified personnel and to prepare needed workers for youth programs.

**Social Welfare**

The JDC-supported welfare program continued, operating through local relief committees consisting of representatives of the Cultural and Social Union and the Union of Religious Congregations. In mid-1964 the program covered some 13,000 persons: 7,000 received cash relief, 1,750 benefited from feeding programs, 750 received medical aid, 212 were students, and 1,790 participated in various cultural programs. JDC also supported a home for the aged in Warsaw, with 100 residents, and the 15 kosher kitchens supervised by the Union of Jewish Religious Congregations in various cities. ORT continued to operate vocational training for some 2,500 students. During the summer some 3,000 Jewish children, including pupils in Jewish day schools, were sent to summer camps with JDC help.

**Producer Cooperatives**

There were 17 Jewish producer cooperatives operating under the sponsorship of the Cultural and Social Union. The value of their total output in 1963 was Zl 214,192,000, with a net profit of Zl 20,606,000 (Zl = $.04). Special
measures were taken to establish efficient methods of production, and the introduction of a better system of work resulted in making all cooperatives profitable. The cooperatives employed 1,959 persons, besides 463 home workers. About 75 per cent of the workers employed in the producer cooperatives had been trained by ORT. A large number of these were home workers, mainly women (Folks-shhtimme, June 24 and July 4, 1964). There were 7,000 to 8,000 Jews, including families, associated with the producer cooperatives in 1964, or about a quarter of the total Jewish population of Poland.

JEWISH PRODUCER COOPERATIVES—MID-1964

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CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The Cultural and Social Union had great difficulty in developing Jewish cultural activities, particularly in bringing small Jewish groups in scattered cities into Jewish institutional life. Aside from this, it was faced by a tendency toward assimilation into the dominant Polish culture among the younger generations. Jewish youth, lacking traditional Jewish background or education, were apparently not interested in maintaining their Jewish identity. The union, however, continued to devote great energy to its multiple cultural undertakings. In 1964 there were over 100 projects, including dramatic groups, choral ensembles, instrumental and dance groups, and reading circles. The union launched a series of activities to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the first publication of Mendele Mocher Seforim's story *Dos kleyne mentshele* ("The Little Human Being"), the beginning of modern Yiddish literature.

The Jewish publishing house Yiddish Bukh offered its readers books by Sholem Aleichem, Peretz, and Abraham I. Reisen. Its list also included *Mit a freylikhn ponim* ("With a Happy Face"), by Sam Liptzin of New York. It
announced plans for publication of 10 Yiddish textbooks, including an elementary reader and a three-part Yiddish grammar.

The Historical Institute was devoting the current year chiefly to studies on the period of the catastrophe. It also continued publication of Bletter far geshikhte, Yiddishe shriften, a literary monthly of the Cultural and Social Union, celebrated the publication of its 200th issue.

In January a festival of Jewish amateur cultural clubs was held in Warsaw. Seven clubs were admitted to the festival: the drama circles of Czestochowa, Zary, Legnice, Warsaw, and Lodz, the vocal and instrumental groups of Swidnica, and the reading circle of Katowice. The 1964 season of the Esther Kaminska state theater opened later, in January. It presented Der pipernoter ("The Viper"), by the Soviet-Jewish writer Evgenyi Schwartz, directed by Henryk Zycel. The 3,000 subscribers of the state theater in Warsaw, Lodz, and Wroclaw were each to see five plays. The same system applied to every city with a minimum of 200 subscribers. In February the Yiddish state theater visited Vienna and was warmly received by both the public and the Austrian press. In May it left for a tour of England, where it presented 24 performances, and France, where it presented 15.

Abraham Morewski, one of the oldest Jewish actors in Poland, died on March 10, 1964, at the age of 78.

**Commemoration of the Catastrophe**

A special commission was appointed by the Cultural and Social Union to prepare observances of the 21st anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto revolt. Salo Fiszgrund was the chairman, and members included David Sfard and Edward Reiber. On April 19 there was a solemn assembly before the monument to the victims of the ghetto, and the Polish radio gave much time to the commemoration.

On May 10 the memorial at the Treblinka camp, where over 800,000 Jews were killed by the Nazis, was dedicated in the presence of high Polish officials. Many Jewish delegations from abroad participated in the ceremonies. Those present included WJC President Nahum Goldmann; Sir Barnett Janner, president of the British Board of Jewish Deputies; Moses Rosen, chief rabbi of Rumania; JDC European Director Charles H. Jordan, and representatives from Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Sweden, and other countries. About 30,000 witnessed the proceedings, which were opened by Stanislaw Turski, rector of the Warsaw University. The ceremonies concluded with a recitation of traditional Jewish prayers. Two hundred wreaths were laid at the monument. The memorial is situated on the spot where the gas ovens once stood; a huge stone holding a menorah is surrounded by smaller stones representing cities and villages where the Jewish victims lived. According to the report submitted by Joseph Pietruszinski, general secretary of the Council for the Protection of Monuments of Struggle and Martyrdom, Zl 8 million was contributed to the Treblinka memorial by people throughout Poland. Twenty-five Jewish organizations from abroad, including the CJMCAG and JDC, also contributed to the cost. Speaking at the reception tendered him and other
Jewish leaders from abroad by Janucz Wieczorek, president of the Council for the Protection of Monuments, Nahum Goldmann expressed deep appreciation for the great effort that the Polish government was making to keep alive the memory of the martyrs. He also praised the support of Jewish schools, theater, and other Jewish institutions (JTA, May 13, 1964).

Leon Shapiro

Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia continued to pursue its distinctive course of de-Stalinization in 1964. A number of old-line party bureaucrats were missing from the official list of candidates for the June 14 parliamentary election. They included ex-Premier Viliám Široký, former Slovak Communist party secretary Karol Bacílek, and Bruno Koehler, former boss of the German sections of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia. At the end of 1964 not a single important prewar Communist held a position of power in the party apparatus. The new leadership was composed of people who had been lower-echelon or youth functionaries before 1939 or who joined after the war.

President Antonín Novotný had sought to bolster his position by allying himself with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev. When Khrushchev visited Czechoslovakia on the 20th anniversary of the August 1944 uprising, he was met at the airport by Novotný and all members of the party presidium. Novotný hailed Khrushchev as the leader “who personally directed Soviet assistance to the Slovak national uprising from the headquarters of the Ukrainian guerrilla movement,” and Khrushchev referred to Novotný as an “outstanding figure of the Czechoslovak and international Communist movement.” A few weeks later Khrushchev was retired.

Novotný survived the crisis, but not without further concessions to the opposition inside and outside the party. A relaxation of foreign-travel restrictions was one such concession. Family units were still not permitted to go abroad together, but there were exceptions even to this rule. Czechoslovaks visited Western Europe, the United States, and even Israel in increasing numbers.

In November the new parliament unanimously reelected Novotný as president. Time and again in 1964 the party and state leadership asserted their authority against dissenters among writers, economists, and university teachers. However, not all critics were intimidated, and especially not the group around Kulturný Život (“Cultural Life”), the journal of the Slovak Writers’ Union, although some changes were imposed on its editorial board. On the eve of the First of May celebration, the 1964 Klement Gottwald state prize was awarded to the Slovak poet Laco Novomeský, and Kulturný Život extolled him as the spokesman for Czechoslovakia’s revisionism.
Novomeský, a Communist for 40 years, had been a party intellectual of some note before the war. During the war he was one of the leaders of the August 1944 revolt against the clerico-fascist Slovak government, allied with the Nazis. In the course of the Stalin-Gottwald purge he was denounced as a Slovak nationalist and was imprisoned for several years. Amnestied and, in 1963, rehabilitated and reinstated in the party, he thereafter expressed with impunity what others did not dare to utter. He created a sensation by publishing an article calling for the exoneration of nonparty victims of the purge, and specifically of Záviš Kalandra, a gifted political writer and historian, who was executed in 1950, along with the Czech Socialist deputy Milada Horáková and others.

Kalandra had left the Communist party in the thirties and spent five years in Nazi concentration camps. Returning to Prague after the war, he was the first to raise his voice against the antisemitic tendencies to be found in the new totalitarianism represented by the Communist party. His pamphlet, Socialists and Antisemitism, in the “Leaflets for All Working People” series, was published by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic party, in 1946. Six years later, an officially instigated wave of antisemitism engulfed the Communist party itself and led to the liquidation of most of its prominent Jewish members.

In September Mordecai Oren, the Mapam leader who had been a prosecution witness in the Rudolf Slánský trial of November 1952 (AJYB, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 288; 1963 [Vol. 64], p. 365), was at last officially exonerated by the Czechoslovak judicial authorities. Having been forced to confess imaginary crimes and to recite in open court a memorized confession which incriminated Slánský and his codefendants, Oren himself was tried in secret in October 1953 and sentenced to 15 years in prison. He served almost three years, first in the Jáchymov uranium mines and then in the state prison of Leopoldov, which held Eduard Goldstücker, the former Czechoslovak minister to Israel and an authority on Franz Kafka (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 287), and Rudolf Slánský’s brother Richard, as well. In May 1956, three years after Stalin’s death, the attorney general suspended the remainder of Oren’s sentence and he was released from prison. After his release he waged a persistent fight for judicial rehabilitation and wrote a book about his experiences in Czechoslovak jails which was translated into French as Prisonnier politique à Prague (1951–1956). It took seven years for the Prague government to clear Oren officially, and a few months more to clear his cousin Simeon Ohrenstein, former assistant to the Israeli commercial attaché in Prague. Ohrenstein, convicted as another of Rudolf Slánský’s “Zionist accomplices,” was pardoned in October 1954 after having served three years of a life sentence.

In September the Israeli radio Jerusalem announced that the Prague government had consented to pay damages to Oren, who said he could use whatever he might be paid to establish a cultural center at his kibbutz.
The Central Association of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia and the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia-Moravia continued to represent the regional religious communities and local congregations. Among the Jews who were allowed to leave for Israel and other countries were two of the five rabbis still active in 1963 (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 286).

Chief Rabbi Eliáš Katz in Slovakia and the 89-year-old Chief Rabbi Richard Feder of Bohemia and Moravia were the spiritual leaders of the community. Locally, religious functions were increasingly carried out by cantors and laymen. Bratislava, the second largest Jewish community of Czechoslovakia reported two circumcisions during the first half of 1964. During the same period 15 Jews were buried in the Jewish cemetery of the city.

The assembly of delegates of the Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia-Moravia, which met in Prague in November 1963, expressed concern about the shortage of rabbis and rabbinical students. The assembly was informed that the ministry of education had offered a state scholarship for studies at the rabbinical seminary of Budapest, but nobody had applied. All communities were urged to search for suitable candidates.

Of the 400 Jewish cemeteries in the Czech districts, the report to the assembly stated, only those in cities or townships with a Jewish population were properly cared for. A similar problem existed with regard to synagogues no longer in use.

The assembly approved the establishment of a peace fund of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities to finance its activities "against fascism, revenge seekers, militarism, and racial discrimination, and in behalf of world peace," and to develop contacts with Jewish organizations outside Czechoslovakia. It elected a new board and executive committee, with František Ehrmann as chairman and František Fuchs and Bedřich Bass as vice-chairmen. Each of the five regional Jewish communities in Bohemia and Moravia – Prague, Brno (Brünn), Usti (Aussig), Plzeň (Pilsen), and Ostrava (Ostrau) – nominated four members and four alternate members to the board. The next executive committee was composed of the chairman of the council, the two vice-chairmen, and two representatives of each of the religious communities.

The 20th anniversary of the eradication of the Czech family camp Auschwitz-Birkenau B IIb where, on the night of March 8, 1944, 3,826 Czech Jews were gassed, was commemorated by most Jewish communities with memorial services and in Prague by an anti-fascist rally in the great auditorium of the Jewish community center.

The 20th anniversary of the Slovak uprising was commemorated by Věstník ("Gazette"), with a long report on the participation of Jewish resistance fighters, both Communists and non-Communists, which emphasized the military activities of Ha-shomer Ha-tzaïr and the Maccabee youth. Both these Zionist groups were proscribed when Czechoslovakia became a Communist state.
Cultural Activities

Greater emphasis was placed on the conservation of art treasures and the creation of tourist attractions in 1964 than in the past. In June a permanent exposition of “Synagogal Textile Treasures from the 16th to the 20th Century” was opened by the Jewish State Museum in the Spanish synagogue of Prague. The museum had approximately 10,000 ceremonial objects, Torah curtains, mantles, draperies, etc., which the Nazis had stored in a central warehouse during the war—part of a vast collection of Jewish memorabilia, religious objects, and other materials which the Nazis had gathered for the ostensible purpose of creating a research center for the study of the Jewish people. In January (New York Times, February 1, 1964) the Jewish State Museum had sold more than 1,400 Torah scrolls from the same collection to an unidentified Briton. The scrolls were to form the nucleus of a Jewish museum at the Westminster synagogue of London which would also serve as a memorial to the destroyed Jewish communities of Czechoslovakia. In September the Shach Synagogue of the Moravian town of Holešov, a renowned center of Jewish learning in the 17th century, was reopened as the permanent home of the exposition “The Jews in Moravia.” The synagogue was built in the 16th century and rebuilt in baroque style in the 18th. In 1964 only a handful of Jews were left of the 200 families who had lived in Holešov before World War II.

At the initiative of the League for Israel-Czechoslovak Friendship, the Moreshet publishing house in Israel issued a Hebrew translation of Dětské kresby na zastávce k smrti, Terezín 1942–1944 (“Theresienstadt 1942–1944: Children on a Way Station to Death”). The book also appeared in an Anglo-American edition (McGraw-Hill, New York-Toronto-London) under the title I Never Saw Another Butterfly: Children’s Drawings and Poems from Theresienstadt Concentration Camp. This edition contained 25 poems and 59 watercolors, drawings, sketches, and cut-outs selected from about 4,000 such items in the Jewish State Museum’s archives. Eighty-six pictures by four Theresienstadt painters (Fritz Fritta, Otto Ungar, Karel Fleischmann and Peter Kien), all of whom perished during the war, were shown at the Ben Uri art gallery of London. A new, detailed description of the Theresienstadt ghetto, compiled by Karel Lagus and Joseph Polak and called Město za mřížemi (“A Town Behind Bars”), was published in 1964.

Arnošt Lustig published a new novel, Modlitba pro Kateřinu Horovitzovou (“A Prayer for Catherine Horowitz”). Ladislav Fuks, whose novel Mr. Theodora Mundstock won an important literary prize in 1963, published a volume of short stories, Mí černovláši bratři (“My Dark-Haired Brothers”). Josef Škvorecký, generally considered as the best contemporary Czech novelist, turned to a Jewish theme in Sedmiramenný svícen (“The Seven-Armed Candelabra”). The novel was written in 1954 but could not appear then. The book dealt not only with the Nazi pogrom but also, and in this it was unique, with the hostility with which Czechs who had moved into Jewish apartments and houses treated those who returned from the death camps.
Hana Bělohradská’s story Bez krásy, bez límce (“Without Beauty—Without a Collar”) and Ladislav Grossman’s Obchod na korze (“The Shop on Main Street”) both dealing with Jews during the Nazi period, were selected for full-length movie productions. The lead in The Shop on Main Street was offered to Ida Kaminska, the director of the Yiddish Theater of Warsaw.

The Věsník (“Gazette”) continued as the organ of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Lands and the Central Association of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia. The mimeographed German Informationsbulletin was directed to readers outside Czechoslovakia. The Židovská ročenka (“Jewish Year Book”) for the year 5725 (1964–1965) appeared in August. It contained contributions by Rabbis Richard Feder, Eliáš Katz and Bernard Farkaš and by Rudolf Iltis, Erich Kulka, Jakub Markovič, Emil F. Knieža, František Gottlieb, Arnošt Lustig, and others.

Contacts with Israel

In June 1964, the 80-year-old writer Max Brod, Franz Kafka’s friend and literary executor, arrived from Israel for his first postwar visit to his native Prague and spent an afternoon with the leaders of the Jewish community. A life-long Zionist, Brod stressed his interest in Jewish-Czech cooperation and the importance of Hebrew for the Jews in the diaspora. He expressed the hope that representative books by modern Hebrew authors would be translated into Czech and announced that his autobiography would be published in Czech by Mladá Fronta.

Hanan Rosen, the secretary of the League for Israel-Czechooslovak Friendship, also visited Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak-Jewish writers Arnošt Lustig, Emil F. Knieža, and Erich Kulka visited Israel, as did Slovakia’s Chief Rabbi Eliáš Katz, who took part in the opening there of the exposition “The Annihilation of the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia,” organized by the Prague Jewish State Museum.

The remains of Ben Avigdor, the Hebrew writer and publisher of Hayyim N. Bialik, I. L. Peretz, Sholem Aleichem, Sholem Asch, and others, who died in 1921 in Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad), were exhumed and transferred to Israel.
Hungary

In 1964 the János Kádár regime maintained its “liberal” policy of following the Khrushchev line both at home and in foreign affairs. When Khrushchev visited Hungary in March and spoke in favor of “a good plate of goulash,” he found a sympathetic audience.

Indicative of the prevailing official attitude was greater contact with foreign countries. In 1963 the number of Hungarians traveling abroad reached 521,000, and some 585,000 foreigners visited Hungary. Although from time to time the Communist party took writers and artists to task for “anti-socialist” morality and “reactionary approach,” all sorts of novels, plays, and essays were nevertheless published, including some that indirectly defended the existentialist view of man, modern painting, and modern music.

At the same time, the regime was not prepared to tolerate organized opposition. In December 1964 the Hungarian supreme court sentenced five persons to prison for trying to reorganize the Democratic People’s party and the Liberal party, both of which had been banned by the Communists since 1949.

In an effort to increase industrial production, Budapest-appointed factory directors were invested with sole responsibility for the management of their enterprises. They were supposed to meet production quotas and to operate plants at a profit. The government also moved toward widening the role of the factory councils, the present substitute for the workers’ councils which sprang up during the 1956 revolt. These elective bodies, reactivated toward the end of 1963, had advisory functions in such matters as industrial planning, wages, and the size of the labor force.

There was substantial improvement in the economic situation and trade with Western nations increased. According to official sources, the 1964 harvest exceeded that of 1963, and it was expected that Hungary would need to purchase little grain from the West.

While the regime continued to accuse Vatican “reactionary circles” of open attacks on the Communist state, it also continued the policy of “coexistence” with the Roman Catholic church. In September an accord was signed with the Vatican, stipulating the framework and areas of activity of the Catholic church in Hungary. There were sporadic reports that Josef Cardinal Mindszenty was to be permitted to leave the country. At the end of 1964, however, the cardinal was still in asylum in the United States embassy at Budapest.

In September President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia arrived in Budapest on an official visit. This was Tito’s first visit to Hungary since 1947 and he used it, clearly in agreement with Kádár, for an open attack on Red China for attempting to “hamper our fight for world peace.”

Khrushchev’s removal from office in October caused consternation in Budapest. Kádár openly expressed surprise at Khrushchev’s dismissal and credited
him with great accomplishments, particularly in the struggle for peace and against Stalinist diehards. Kádár also repeated his support of the policies adopted by the 20th and 22nd congresses of the Soviet Communist party (1956 and 1961), opposing both “dogmatism” and “revisionism.” At the same time, the government denied rumors of a planned withdrawal of the estimated 80,000 Soviet troops from Hungary.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

Estimates of the number of Jews in Hungary varied from 70,000 to 90,000. There were few overt acts of antisemitism and, according to reliable reports, the authorities dealt speedily and severely with all cases of known anti-Jewish acts or propaganda. In the course of 1964, however, Jewish cemeteries in Debreen and Aszod were defiled by vandals, whom the police were not able to apprehend.

For the first time since the establishment of the Communist regime, the anniversary of Theodor Herzl’s death was officially commemorated in Hungary. Permission was granted for a public meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of this event, which was attended by official representatives of the Israeli embassy and by Francz Csaba, Hungarian vice-chief of protocol.

There was no real obstacle to emigration, but only small numbers of Jews left Hungary. Most of these were Orthodox, who sought a more intensive religious life abroad. By East European standards, the Jews in Hungary had an active religious and cultural life, centering around the Central Board of Jewish Communities (Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete). The Budapest community of 60,000 Jews had some 30 synagogues, both Orthodox and Neolog (the latter resembling the American Conservative synagogue). According to official figures, it had 18,500 dues-paying members. Part of its budget was met by governmental grants, as with all churches. There were enough kosher butchers to supply meat to all who wanted it. On Passover the Hungarian Jews had a sufficient quantity of matzot, and the community organized fourteen public *sedarim*.

While not affiliated with worldwide Jewish organizations, the Central Board maintained contact with communities abroad, particularly in England, France, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Poland. It also had continuing relations with CJMCAG. Endre Sós was president of the Central Board; its secretary-general, Tibor Pener, died in November. In Budapest Imre Benoschofsky was chief rabbi of the Neolog community and Jeno Schuck of the Orthodox community.

**Welfare, Education, and Culture**

The manifold Jewish welfare activities in Hungary were directed by a special social council of the Budapest board. Its services included a Jewish hospital, headed by Dr. Stephan Weicz, with 224 beds, staffed by 10 Jewish physicians and equipped with a kosher kitchen; four homes for the aged pro-
viding various social services and religious activities, and several canteens where needy, mostly elderly, people received free meals.

With the aid of CJMCAG, the community maintained a secondary school (gymnasium) for some 140 students, and a yeshivah-qetannah (primary day school) for 30. Thirty Talmud Torahs attached to synagogues in Budapest and in provincial cities provided supplementary Jewish education. The Budapest community also supported a theological seminary under the direction of the scholar Sandor (Alexander) Scheiber, which had nine students and six professors and a dormitory to make it easier for students from provincial cities to attend. In 1964, three seminary graduates became rabbis in provincial congregations: David Weicz in Congros, Thomas Ray in Szeged, and Imre Sahn in Debreczen. In 1964 the seminary undertook extensive renovation of its building and synagogue. The Jewish Museum’s fine exhibit of Jewish religious art objects was open to the public. But because little had been added to the collection, the museum’s cultural importance had been somewhat diminished.

The Central Board continued its extensive publication and research program. In 1964 it included Monumenta Hungariae Judaica (2 volumes), Bibliography of Hebraica and Judaica Published in Hungary (3 volumes), and a documentary series on the position of the Jews under Nazi occupation (3 volumes). The board also continued publication of its weekly magazine Új Élet, edited by Rooz Rezso. A valuable library of 150,000 microfilms of documents on Jewish ghettos established in 1944 was prepared and collected by the Jewish communities from sources in the central state archives and in the municipal archives of smaller towns, including Debreczen, Eger, Miskolc, and Pecs. The research program was made possible through an annual subsidy from CJMCAG. Some of the CJMCAG funds were used also for the restoration work at the Cemetery of Martyrs at the Dohany Street synagogue.

Although it maintained a relatively large network of activities, the Hungarian Jewish community was in a state of latent crisis. It suffered from the gradual disappearance of the older generation of Jews who were attached to religious observance and tradition. On the other hand, there was considerable disaffection on the part of young people educated in an atheistic state and looking for employment in state-managed professional institutions, where religious adherence leading to an identity, separate from the state, was frowned upon.

Fulop Grunwald, a distinguished scholar and co-editor of Monumenta Hungariae Judaica, died in January 1964.

Leon Shapiro
Rumania

RUMANIA'S INDUSTRIAL growth continued during 1964, despite the Soviet desire that the country play a largely agricultural role within the framework of Comecon, the council for mutual economic assistance of the communist countries. Instead, Rumania demonstrated her independence by concluding economic agreements with the United States and France.

No official total figures on industrial production for 1964 were available at the time of writing, but the Rumanian News Agency claimed in June that in the first five months of 1964 the industrial-production plan was over-fulfilled by 3.2 per cent and that 74 per cent of the industrial growth was due to increased productivity of labor. The New York Times reported in December 1964 that foreign trade had doubled in five years, instead of the planned six, and amounted to more than $2.1 billion a year.

In January 1964 the deputy chairman of the state planning commission, Mauriciu Novak, was quoted as stating that Rumania would never agree to any joint planning with Comecon. Referring to Russia's still unfulfilled promise of four years earlier to supply equipment for an important Rumanian steel mill at Galatz, he emphasized that Rumania would get the most modern and efficient equipment for her industries wherever she could, East or West.

An official statement declared that Rumania was determined to proceed with industrialization and expansion of trade with the West and rejected Moscow's plan for specialized production by Comecon members. A month after the publication of this document—called by some Western journalists a "Rumanian declaration of economic independence"—an economic agreement between the United States and Rumania was signed in Washington after two weeks of negotiations. This enabled Rumania to purchase most commodities without special licenses, including equipment for oil refineries, the petrochemical industry, and steel mills; complete plants, and possibly even a nuclear reactor. It was also agreed to raise the diplomatic missions in Washington and Bucharest to the rank of embassies. The American delegation was headed by Averill Harriman, undersecretary of state for political affairs, and the Rumanian delegation by Gheorghe Gaston-Marin, deputy premier and chairman of the state planning commission.

A trade agreement with France, which followed the agreement with the United States, was concluded in five days of negotiations and signed by French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville and Rumanian Deputy Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu. The only information released about it was that it concerned scientific and technical cooperation.

Rumania again showed her independence in the discussion of a development plan for the lower Danube valley that would have involved both Rumania and Bulgaria. An article in the bimonthly geography journal of Moscow
University by Y. B. Valev, professor at the university, had asserted that "the joint development of the lower Danube region could best be handled in the future by a lower Danube international complex within the framework of collaboration of the Socialist countries." The Rumanian outcry against the plan began in the June 1964 issue of Viata Economica ("Economic Life") and was taken up by the press and radio. This immediately produced a retraction of the plan in Izvestia by the noted Russian economist O. Bogomilov, who acknowledged that "the Rumanian objections are legitimate."

In March 1964 La Nation Roumaine, the organ of the Rumanian refugees in France, estimated the population of Rumania at 18,877,000 and the membership of the Communist party at 1,240,000, an increase of 140,000 over 1962. The writer estimated that in spite of the great industrial progress two-thirds of the population were still in agriculture, and asserted that the increased tempo of industrialization was causing hardship in the cities as well as in the villages. The economic institute of the Rumanian Academy published a report on incomes, quoted by Labor in Exile (August-September 1964) the publication of refugee trade unionists from the East, from which it appeared that the wages of industrial workers in Rumania have been almost twice as high in 1938 as in 1963.

DE-RUSSIFICATION

Together with the effort to loosen economic ties with the Communist world, the drive to free Rumania from Russian cultural influence, begun some time before, was intensified in 1964. Russian language and literature ceased to be compulsory subjects in primary and high schools. Now optional, they were not popular. The Maxim Gorky Institute in Bucharest, a training school for teachers of Russian, was closed. The same fate befell the Russian Book Institute which, together with a chain of book stores belonging to it, had had a virtual monopoly in the book market. It was replaced by a publishing institute and bookstores dealing in world literature. The greatest change in this direction was the discontinuance of the Rumanian edition of the Soviet weekly New Times, which was replaced by a publication of the Union of Rumanian Journalists called Lumea ("World").

Russian names of streets and parks, factories and collective farms, were replaced by Rumanian names.

Rumania continued to take advantage of the ideological conflict between Moscow and Peking. It took a stand in favor of peaceful coexistence and against "exporting revolution" (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 291). At the same time, it opposed the conference of Communist countries planned for December 15, 1964, which had been intended to condemn and isolate China, declaring that it would participate in an international Communist gathering only if all Communist parties were invited. Two Rumanian delegations went to China in 1964, one in March to mediate the Moscow-Peking conflict and one

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1 The conference was cancelled after Khrushchev's removal in October 1964.
in September for the 15th-anniversary celebrations of the Communist regime. Both delegations included top leaders—the first, Prime Minister Ion Gheorghe Maurer, and the second, President Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej himself.

George Bailey in the Reporter (New York, November 5 and 19, 1964), after an extensive trip through Rumania and especially Transylvania, reported the revival of a spirit of aggressive intolerance against the Hungarian minority. A formerly autonomous region in an area densely populated by Hungarians, with its capital at Târgu-Mureș, was abolished and its university merged with the Rumanian university at Cluj. Since there were 1,700,000 Hungarians in the area, the question arose whether this action indicated a generally unfriendly attitude toward ethnic minorities.

A propaganda campaign for economic independence and national revival began at the height of Rumania's dispute with the Soviet Union. Workers in shops and collective farms were encouraged to discuss these sensitive political problems, which until then had been strictly forbidden. The spirit and direction of these discussions was indicated by the fact that the Russian wives of Rumanian workers were not allowed to attend the meetings (New York Times, July 5, 1964).

Even the ticklish question of Bessarabia came under scrutiny. This province, which the Russians first acquired in 1802 but which had belonged to Rumania between the two world wars, was annexed to the Soviet Union after World War II. Max Frankel reported in the New York Times (December 18, 1964) that the Rumanians were reopening the question of Bessarabia by publishing an anti-Russian essay on the subject by Karl Marx. The Russians were thus put on notice that the subject of Bessarabia was still very much alive.

There were also some signs of liberalization of the Communist regime. The Associated Press reported (June 15, 1964) that thousands of prisoners had been freed from prisons and forced-labor camps. Deputy Prime Minister Alexandru Birlădeanu put the number of those liberated in the last three and a half years at 7,674, including 2,400 in the first half of 1964 alone. The explanation given was that economic progress was so extensive and the Rumanian people so united in "Socialist patriotism" that the prisoners could now go free.

That the liberalization was limited was suggested by a report from Bucharest in the Paris refugee organ La Nation Rumaine (April-May, 1964) about a certain N. N. Tarnoviceanu, formerly a professor at the university of Jassy. Liberated from prison after 15 years of detention, he was assigned a job as laborer in the Bucharest central market.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The organ of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Rumania, Revista cultului mosaic (June 1964), estimated the Jewish population at about 150,000. A figure of 145,000 was given by the London Jewish Chronicle (February 14, 1964), which reported 60,000 Jews in Bucharest and about 10,000
each in the cities of Jassy, Galati, Cluj, Alba Julia, Bistritza, and Marmorosh-Sighet, with the rest in smaller cities and towns. At the beginning of 1963 the Jewish population of Rumania had been estimated at 170,000 to 180,000 (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 294).

About 15,000 Jews were employed in state-owned industries and commercial enterprises, and an estimated 6,000 were doctors, dentists, and technicians. Many Jews were self-employed in little shops and service trades which were still tolerated by the government.

Rumania recognized the Jews not only as a religious group but also as an ethnic minority, guaranteeing them full rights to the use of their language and the exercise of their culture. This was emphasized from time to time by both Jewish officials and government spokesmen, but the tri-lingual Revista cultului mosaic (Rumanian, Hebrew and Yiddish), still the only publication of the Rumanian Jews, did not report any cultural or social activity in the Jewish community during the whole of 1964.

In 1964 the Federation of Jewish Communities apparently made a start toward reorganization. Since the death of its last elected president in January 1961 (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 387), the office had remained vacant. In 1964 a new central body was created and Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen was chosen temporary president of the federation, until regular elections could be held. The number of organized Jewish communities in Rumania was given in Revista cultului mosaic (June 1964) as 70, whereas 100 communities were said to have existed the year before (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 293).

The Rumanian authorities did not interfere with the efforts of the federation to establish fraternal relationships with world Jewry. The August 1964 issue of Revista cultului mosaic reported a visit by two representatives of the Hungarian Jewish community, Rabbi Jeno Schuck and Endre Sos, president of the Hungarian Central Board of Jewish communities. They came at the invitation of Chief Rabbi Rosen and were greeted by the Minister of Church Affairs D. Dogaru, who welcomed the visit as a “contribution to friendship among peoples.”

The publication of the 100th issue of the Revista cultului mosaic (January 1964) was the occasion for special celebrations. There were greetings from rabbis and community leaders from several countries, among them Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie of the United Kingdom; President Barnett Janner of the Board of Deputies of British Jews; the Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel, Isaac Nissim; the chief rabbi of Moscow, Yehuda Leib Levin, and the chief rabbi of Sweden, Kurt Wilhelm.

In an interview on Radio Bucharest, reported in the February 1964 issue of the Revista, Chief Rabbi Rosen praised the government for helping the Federation of Jewish Communities provide for Passover. It was emphasized that, as in previous years (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 293), no Jew would lack matzot at Passover. The government provided the federation with 80 carloads (800 metric tons) of flour for the manufacture of matzot.

Among the political prisoners released from jails and labor camps during the year were a number of Zionists. The Jewish Chronicle (May 5, 1964)
remarked that "the release seems to be part of efforts to create a proper climate for the economic and financial talks with the United States to start next week."

Rumanian Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Gaston-Marin, the leader of the delegation sent to the United States to negotiate the economic agreement, was a Jew whose name had been Grossman. Born in Transylvania, Gaston-Marin lost his entire family to the Nazis. He was the chairman of the state planning commission.

A possible sign of a more favorable policy toward Jewish emigration to Israel came from a statement in the Revista (June 1964) that "divided Jewish families should have the opportunity to emigrate to Israel and other countries. . . . The Rumanian government approaches this question with deep humanitarian feelings. . . ." Never before had a statement of this kind appeared in a Rumanian publication.

A medical representative of JDC, hitherto considered a subversive organization, spent a week in Bucharest at the invitation of the government to take part in a conference on the pathological consequences of the Nazi persecutions. According to the Jewish Chronicle (October 7, 1964), the official Rumanian press also reported the participation of Charles Jordan, general director of JDC, at the unveiling of the Treblinka monument in Poland.

Reports of antisemitism continued and some newly arrived immigrants in Israel reported great suffering during the long waiting period before they received their exit-visas.

When the famous Yiddish actress Dinah Koenig died in Bucharest (May 7), the Rumanian Association of Artists and the commission on theater and music of the ministry of culture published expressions of sympathy and condolences and sent representatives to the funeral.

An article about Yiddish folksongs in Rumania, written by the Rumanian Jewish writer Emil Saculetz, appeared in the Warsaw Yiddish newspaper, Folks-shitimme (August 22). A well-documented article about the history of the hasidic movement in Rumania—written by a Yiddish writer from Rumania using a pen-name—appeared in the New York Yiddish monthly Yidishe Kultur (August-September, 1964). Articles such as these about Jewish life in Rumania, wholly unpolitical in content, found no place in Rumanian publications.

JOSEPH KISSMAN