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ONGOING THEORY- DRIVEN EVALUATION OF THE PUBLICATIONS FROM ROMANIA AND HUNGARY CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM ROMANIA AND HUNGARY DURING THE YEARS 1945-1953 AND A FEW POLICY RECOMMANDATIONS

Anca OLTEAN*

Abstract. *The study presents a foray into the historical writing concerning the history of the Jews from Romania and Hungary during the years 1945- 1953. Attempting to draw a picture of the historical writings of this field, the analysis reveals a framework of living conditions of the Jews from Romania and Hungary in early postwar years. The research constitutes itself in an ongoing theory- driven evaluation of the publications existent in this field, the author formulating also a few policy recommandations.*

Keywords: *evaluation, theory, publications, Jews, Romania, Hungary, recommandations*

In the opinion of the analyst Huey – Tsyh Chen theory helps to the understanding of the functioning of our world and has a very important role in the evaluation process (Chen, 1990: 17). This fundamental role of the theory has been initially denied, but later reconsidered. The evaluation process can be based on specific methods, but later the focus was put on the movement towards theory – driven evaluations. (Chen, 1990: 28)

Then, the author Huey – Tsyh Chen makes the portrait of "the rationale, logic and strategies of the theory – driven perspective" (Chen, 1990: 37). Sometimes, the theoretical knowledge is implicit or unsystematic, shows Huey – Tsyh Chen, but it surely provides a general guidance framework. In the opinion of the author, theory is supposed to guide social actions. (Chen, 1990: 40)

Our research intends to be a case – study, an application of theory – driven evaluation. Focusing on a broader description of the publications' framework from Romania, Hungary and abroad concerning the history of Jews from Romania and Hungary, during the years 1945- 1953, I tried to identify the main problems with which was confronting the Jewish Community in a near close epoch, the communist years. I emphasize the necessity of a better treatment for this community, the necessity to share the same rights as the Hungarian or Romanian majorities. I especially point out a few policy recommendations based on this survey such as the necessity of a pluralist education which to integrate the history of Jewish minority in the history of Romania and Hungary, the necessity to have a curricula that focuses on local history in an areal such as Transylvania where the presence of minorities is very significant. And last but not least, I

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want to point out the necessity of non- discriminatory policies in what concerns the human rights of Jewish minority such as the right to education in their native language, the right to exert their own religion, the right to association. These are a few policy recommendations that need to be fight for and further implemented.

The present paper has as purpose the critical evaluation of scientific publications that researched the history of Jews from Romania and Hungary during the years 1945-1953. Thus I have made an inventory of the historical writings from this field that demonstrates that, during these years, the Jews can be regarded as a distinctive ethnical group and one can talk of the existance of a history of Jews in this areal, during the years 1945-1953. During the first years after the war, the situation tended to come back to normal and the life of the Jews tended to revive. There were Jews that became victims of the communist regime, being imprisoned in communist prisons or to the chanell Dunăre – Marea Neagră. The number of communist Jews was not so high as it was mentioned later, especially as a percentage from the total of population. As I mentioned above, it was not hard to understand why some Jews chose communist that save them from death, a lot of them perceived the things that way.

It should not be ignored the fact that in that epoch it existed a current of great importance, Zionism, that militated for the emigration of the Jews in Israel. A great extent of the Jews emigrated during these years, legally or illegally, in Palestina (from 1948 Israel).

The present paper tried to explain the relation of the Jews with the communism and the relation of the Jew with the communism. I hope that the following pages to convince you that the Jews are an distinct ethnical group, having ancient important traditions, that they did not bring the communism, but adjusted or cooperated with it, hoping that thus they will contribute to the creation of an egalitarist, ideal, society or they will succeed to go in "the country of Israel".

The specialized papers concerning the history of Romanian and Hungarian Jews between 1945-1953, approach problems such as the demographical situation of Jewish population after the war and the Holocaust, and also under the condition of emigration of a part of the Jews from these areas to Israel, the USA and Western Europe. Some works present the economic situation of the Romanian and Hungarian Jews at the end of the war and the relationship of Jewry and communism, looking for explanations for massive adherence of Jews to communism. Some Jewish political leaders such as Ana Pauker or Rakosi are analized as individual entities. The problem of Zionism is much more debated as being connected to Romania's case, because the number of emigrants to Israel was bigger from Romania then from Hungary. From the most important studies concerning the history of the Jews from Romania and Hungary in the period 1945- 1953 we focus on the following:

In the study *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, the authors Peter Meyer; Bernard Weinryb; Eugene Duschinsky; Nicolas Sylvain approached the problem of restitution of Jewish property in Hungary and Romania. (Meyer et al., 1953: 185) In Hungary, the Jews who returned from concentration camps found their houses occupied by the beneficiaries of the Nazi regime, their property distroyed, their stores robbed. (Meyer et al., 1953: 185) In spite of the precarious situation, most Jews of Hungary were not Zionists and they decided to remain in Hungary, especially because, immediately after the war, the communist government promised to maintain private propriety. Most land did not return to Jewish owners, only the properties smaller than 100 acres. The communist slogan was that the land belongs to the one who works it and it was considered that the Jews never involved in working the land. Meyer et al., 1953: 186). The authors underline that the

Jews in Hungary encountered difficulties also with the restitution of apartments in towns which were given before to Hungarian Nazi party members and whom the new regime tried to convince to cooperate. In Romania, the Jews received back their civil rights. The racial laws were abolished. But as in Hungary, the Jews encountered difficulties in receiving back their properties. Also a decree from December 1944 maintained the restauration of Jewish property to its owners, in locations were there were functioning schools, shops, factories, the Jews could return only if they had lived before in those locations. (Meyer et al., 1953: 186) Also, the Jews could practice any job, in reality, in the first years after the war, they accepted bad paid jobs or they were working on the black market in Bucharest on Lipscani street. (Meyer et al., 1953: 186) The authors underline that, without any help of the state, the Jewish community was assisted after the war by the Joint Distribution Committee.

As in the study mentioned above, in his work, *Anti-semitism without Jews. Communist Eastern Europe* (Lendvai, 1971), Paul Lendvai makes a description of the situation of Jews in the communist space. (Lendvai, 1971: 309) For Hungary, the author explains that Rakosi was the communist leader most interested in destroying the Zionist organizations of Jews in communist space. The author explains that the Jews were also victims in this period. In 1951, when Rakosi government tried to eliminate the capitalists and the middle class and deported them, it was estimated that the Jews represent one third from the tens of thousands of deportees. In Romania, the Jews were supporters of the communist regime. In 1921, at its founding, the Romanian communist party was dominated by Jews, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians. The most representative Jew in power was Ana Pauker, but she was released from power in 1952 as a consequence of Romanization of Romanian communism. (Lendvai, 1971: 335).

In his study "A zsidókérdés a mai Magyar társadalomban" (The Jewish problem in Hungarian society of the present days) (Kovács, 1984: 3-14), Kovács András shows that in the publications of the years 1945-1948, the so called Jewish problem and the persecution of Jews were a frequent topic. (Kovács, 1984: 3-14) But from 1948 on nobody talked about Jews. Like other authors, Kovács András tries to find other explanations for the adhesion of Hungarian Jews to communism. Parallel with the abolition of private property, most of the Jews lost their means of living. The Hungarian Jewry chose assimilation and found a place in the political bodies of governance or in state administration. For the Jews, the presence of the Red Army in Hungary was a reason for happiness, not for fear (Kovács, 1984: 7). They were considered as foreigners as the author explains. And they did not understand the danger in which Hungary was. (Kovács, 1984: 7) The massive presence of Jews in leading positions of Hungary of Jewry can be explained, as the author considers, by the fact that they were skilled people, specialized and had a good reputation.

In his article "Szociológiai Kisérlet a Magyar zsidósag 1945 és 1956 közötti helyzetének elemzésére" (Sociological experiment with regard to the analysis of the situation of Hungarian Jewry in the years 1945-1946), în *Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon*, (Karadi, 1984). Viktor Karady furnishes statistical data with regard to Hungarian Jewry. The study contains also new approaches, as the author shows that the historiography of subjects related to Jewry was always influenced by an official censorship. The data which Karádi furnishes are provisional, they refer to the territory of Hungary in the time of the monarchy or the interwar period. The data after the Second World War are not complete because, after the deportation, not all the Jews returned, some emigrated to Western Europe or America, so it is not known how many of them

were still alive. In 1949, in Hungary the Zionist movement was banned and all the Zionist leaders were arrested.

In his work, *Second exodus/ The full story of Jewish Illegal Immigration to Palestine, 1945- 1948* (Hadari, 1991), Ze'ev Venia Hadari shows that in Germany a big number of foreigners existed at the end of the war and their way back home was a problem: "Only in Germany, was more of ten million of non- Jews at that date, a big part of them were war prisoners, together with prisoner of work and concentration camps". (Hadari, 1991: 9) The author shows that the Jews from Romania and Hungary emigrated because of the new economic processes imposed of communism and discrimination to which they were subjected.

In his work, *Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust and after liberation*, Tamás Stark (Stark, 1994: 243- 247) shows that the National Committee of Liberation of Deported Persons furnished data of 74 657 people which returned until September 1945. (Stark, 1994: 245) He offers data about Jewish population before the German occupation of Hungary which was approximatively 800 000 individuals on the territory of Hungary from the time of the war, the number of Hungarian Jews at liberation was 224 000 in Hungary from the time of the war, and during 1945- 1946 the number of Hungarian Jews was 365 000. (Stark, 1994: 248)

Bernard Wasserstein in his study *Vanishing Diaspora. The Jews in Europe since 1945*, is one of the numerous authors who offer data about the Jewry from Hungary and Romania after 1945. (Wasserstein, 1996: 1-158) He shows that the Jewish population from Hungary in 1946 was 145 000 in Romania and in Romania in the same time was 420 000. (Wasserstein, 1996: VIII). He talks about the last victims of Stalin in the period 1945- 1953, his last years, whose politics reverberated in all communist countries. In this period in Hungary the teaching of Jewish language is suppressed in 1949, in Romania 122 Jewish schools were taken over by the state in 1948.

Harry Kuller wrote the article *Presa evreiască bucureşteană 1857- 1994/ The Jewish press from Bucharest 1857- 1994*. (Kuller, 1996: 188) The paper has an innovative character, it includes data concerning Jewish press in the period 1945- 1953. After August 23 1944, the Jewish press of Romania reflected the situation of the Jews during the war: the condition of Jews in Transnistria, the robberies and assassinations committed by the Iron Guards and the supporters of Hitler and anti- Jewish legislation. Zionism was largely debated in the press.

Harry Kuller in the work *Opt studii despre istoria evreilor din România/ Eight studies on the history of the Jews in Romania* (Kuller, 1997: 5-45) dedicates one study to the process of emigration of the Romanian Jews. He furnishes data about the Jews in Romania. In 1947 there were still 428 312 Jews living in Romania, and from 1945 there have been emigrating about 400 000 Jews to Israel and Western Europe. (Kuller, 1997: 19) Among the reasons of emigration, the author talks about the fact that the new system inaugurated in Romania after 1945, the communism, was different from the lifestyle of most Jews: "The perspective of a "collective" and bureaucratic – centralized commanded work did not seem to be on the "taste" of a population which practiced since a long time the spirit of competition, competitivity, the respect of propriety, etc. The ideal of the reconstruction of an own state was not on the last place, but the voice of siren of the communism tried to pursue, without massive effect, that only in a Marxist – Leninist order the Jewish problem would be fully solved". (Kuller, 1996: 47)

Raphael Patai considers in the work *The Jews of Hungary. History. Culture, psychology*, (Patai, 1996: 596- 659) like other authors who approached the topic of

Hungarian Jewry, that while the Jews considered the coming of Red Army a salvation, the Hungarians considered it a defeat. It was very difficult for Jews and Christians to cooperate, considering the fact that before the war and in the period of Holocaust, anti-Semitism was encouraged. Stalin did not impose the immediate implementation of communism in Hungary. Anti- Semitism continued to exist, the Jews were considered as different also in the communist era, in spite of the effort they made to assimilate.

Tamás Stark offers in his study "a Magyar zsidósag veszesége a vészkorszakban (The losses of Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust) offers also statistical data with regard to the human losses suffered by the Jews in the period of Holocaust. The data are provided with approximation, but especially useful. (Stark, 1997: 521- 531)

The author Stephen J. Roth, in his study "Indemnification of Hungarian victims of Nazism: An Overview" (Roth, 1997: 733- 757) writes about the actions which were adopted in Hungary in the period 1945- 1948 with the goal of compensation for the Hungarian Jewry who suffered material and human losses during the Holocaust. These measures did not confer compensations for persons, but also restored the Jews in their material rights. (Roth, 1997: 741) After a decree in 1945 the Jews were acknowledge their propriety rights, at least in the field of agriculture and horticulture. (Roth, 1997) But the author underlines that the mobile goods, equipments, the stocks of Jewish factories were never given back and cash deposits lost value as a consequence of inflation. (Roth, 1997: 742) The author shows that the Jews were compensated in other ways, not as individuals, but as community through the formation of National Jewish Fund for Rehabilitation which was founded on November 15, 1946 and was offering assistance to the Jewish victims or to institution which were working in their service, this fund being the beneficiary of the property of the disappeared Jews from Hungary. The Treaty of Peace of Paris was promising compensation to the victims of religious and racial persecutions and, in the same time, the properties of the victims had to be transferred to the representative of their communities. (Roth, 1997: 742-743)

Andrei Corbea in his study *Antisemitismul – o permanenţă a istoriei est-europene?* (Antisemitism – a permanence of Eastern – European History) (Corbea, 1997: 210 – 213) asserted that the study of the history of Jews did not took into consideration the particularities of Eastern Europe, the internal factors which generated anti- Semitic excesses in this part of the continent. Andrei Corbea explains the latent anti- Semitism in Eastern Europe as being a consequence of a historical continuity: "Besides of what was known in the Occident – and to a sufficient extent- about the anti- Semitic component in the politics of communist regimes, since Stalinist purges from the period 1948- 1953 until the "anti- Zionism" encountered after 1967 in the countries from the Warsaw Pact (with the notable exception of Romania), an interesting and troubling idea appeared first of all in the historian's debate: may it be possible that, in spite of all dramatical ruptures which characterized the events that happened in the history of the countries from Eastern Europe, a line of continuity exists which maintains, at least in the field of social, collective representations, a latent tension between "national" element (respectively native) and the "foreign", incorporated in this geographical area by Jews and Jewry?". (Corbea, 1997: 211)

In his research, "Dr. W. Filderman şi problema Palestinei" (Dr. W. Filderman and the problem of Palestine"), Şlomo Leibovici Laiş bring into discussion two personalities of the Romanian Judaism: A.L. Zissu and W. Filderman. (Laiş, 1998: 282- 294) About A.L. Zissu, the president of Jewish Party and of the Zionist organization it was told that he was Zionist while about W. Filderman, leading the Union of Romanian Jewry and the Federation of Jewish Communities, it was said that he was not a Zionist and that he

militates for the rights of Jews in Romania. The author shows through documents that Filderman, an important leader of the Jews in Romania, whom the communists abandoned after the war, was a Zionist, too.

Gheorghe Onişoru, in his study, "Evreii şi problemele României "democrat – populare", 1944- 1948" (Onişoru, 1998: 295- 309) explains that although there had been a number of Jewish communists in Romania, it was wrong to assert that Jews brought communism to Romania. He shows that in the North- West of Transylvania in the year 1944, the Hungarian government oppressed the Jews and Romanians. He asserts an idea acknowledged by other authors, namely, that the Jewish Democratic Committee, dominated by the communists, was against the immigration to Israel, thus, opposing to Zionist movement. (Onişoru, 1998: 306).

Carol Bines elaborates in *Din istoria imigrărilor în Israel/ From the history of immigration to Israel 1882- 1995*. The author talks about "alia", the movement of emigration of Jews to Palestine, the later Israel. (Bines, 1998) The author asserts that he years 1948 – 1951 were the years of mass emigration when Jews from Romania increased the number of Jewish population in Palestine with 18%.

Vera Ranki, in the study *The politics of inclusion and exclusion. Jews and nationalism in Hungary* shows that 600 000 of Jews, more than two thirds of the number of Hungarian Jews died in the Holocaust. (Ranki, 1999: 189- 220) The Jews were confronted with two problems after the war: (1) – unlike the Hungarians they saw in the coming of Red Army in 1945, an act of liberation, their suffering ending in the same time with the German defeat. (2) – A high number of Jews adhered to the communist party, understanding that the new system brought the abolition of social inequalities, of oppression but also of anti- Semitism, being accused that they brought the communism in Hungary.

Theodor Wexler, in the study "Procesele sionişti1or" (The Zionists Trials) describes the situation existent in the years 1952-1953 when Romanian communists decided to solve once and for all the "problem of Zionists". Until 1959 around 250 of Zionists had been arrested and investigated on.

Tamás Stark, in the work *The Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust and after the second world war, 1939- 1945: A statistical review,* (Stark, 2000: 1- 174) shows that a comparison between Gulag and Holocaust can not be made especially not in term of numbers. He refers in this paper both to the situation of Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust, but also after the war. He writes about the emigration of Jews after the war, furnishing, illustrative tabels for this aspect. The number of Jews found outside their home countries was higher in Germany than in Austria and France. Another table furnishes the total number of emigrants to Palestina in the years 1945- 1948. For the years 1946- 1948 the total number of immigrants was 61 023. (Stark, 2000: 158) Another table furnishes data about the number of immigrants to Palestina, both from Hungary and from Romania in the years 1919 – 1961. In the period 1946- 1955, 17 000 persons from Hungary and 124 500 of Romania arrived in Israel. (Stark, 2000: 160).

In his work, *Magyarság, zsidóság* (*Hungarians, Jews)*, Ferenc Fejto tells that in Hungary, after the war, the condition of Jews was not perceived in a negative manner anymore, unlike the one of bourgeoisie. The Jews returned from deportation were the most interested in abandonation of fascism and democratization. For them communism represented the chance of a new life. The Jews were more cultivated than Hungarian proletarians who were ready to get new positions and, thus, had an advantage. (Fejto, 2000: 284) The author describes the Hungarian leader of Jewish origin, the prime

secretary of the communist party, Rákosi Mátyás, as formed in Russia in Bolshevik spirit. He took over the pattern of Stalin. On the other side we see the figure of Nagy Imre, a Menshevik, of democrat orientation which played an important role in the agrarian reform of 1945.

Also Péter Kende writes about the condition of Hungarian Jewry in the work "Zsidó Magyarorszag (1867- 1997)"/ The Jewish Hungary (1867-1997). The author underlines that, because of what happened in the years 1941- 1945, a lot of Jews left Hungary, but a good part also remained in the country. Some consider that the Jews that remained in Hungary took revenge on Hungarians. (Kende, 2001) Their affinity towards Hungarian culture was high. It could be a mistake to assert that the Jews brought the communism in Hungary, asserts the author, because both the Jews and the non - Jews militated for the implementation of the new system.

Robert Levy focuses his attention on the case of the Jews that became members of the communist structures, namely Ana Pauker in his study *Gloria şi decadenţa Anei Pauker/ The glory and decadence of Ana Pauker.* (Levy, 2002). The case of Ana Pauker was ignored in the Jewish historiography, explains the author, being considered a case similar to the one of other non genuine Jews who separated from community because of their communist affinities. The author focuses on the role played by Ana Pauker during the years 1947- 1952 when she functioned as minister of external affairs, pointing out the moment of her elimination in 1952, weakened by the illness she had, cancer.

Harry Kuller, in the work *Evreii în România anilor 1944- 1949 (The Jews of Romania during 1944- 1949)* (Kuller, 2002) shows the fact that not only the Jews were attracted by communism. Others joined the Communist Party ranks looking for protection and only a small number were communist party activists who separated from their religion and traditions and who came in the Jewish streets only only for propaganda purposes in order to increase the number of Jewish members on Communist Party. The author militates for an integral approach of the history of Jews in Romania that includes material, mental, economic and political aspects, and also for a unitary and/or parallel history: "But as I shown, the shaping of a history of a social – ethnical group, in our case of the Jews of Romania in the years 1944-1949, can not be limitated only at relevation of "parallel" aspects or/and particular, as the above mentioned ones, but it requires their reference to the entire local historical phenomenology in that time and in connection with larger zonal and temporal areas. Because the resultant of the interactions between the Jewish – Romanian group and the local majority or other minorities, so as the reciprocal impact in all sectors of social – economical, political and cultural life are both problems of Romanian history. So, what is to be demonstrated (Logical and ontological) in an experiment of special history – so as the present one – is that the Jews of Romania had all the characteristics of an ethnic group and after August 23, 1944: the outcome from the years of persecution – 1940- 1944 – did not cause, as a consequence of that time, a dissolving assimilation under ethnical perspective as some leaders of "the left" including Jews, predicted. (Kuller, 2002: 16) The author reveals his point of view that the research of the history of Jews from Romania was a complex issue.

The collection of interviews *Memoria salvată. Evreii din Banat, ieri şi azi (The saved memory. The Jews of Banat, yesterday and today)* coordinated by Smaranda Vultur is formed from a series of testimonies of the Jews from about their past and present. The interviews focused on the years of Stalinism in Romania, the Jews of Banat representing a small community today: "The Jews of Banat represent a community which do not surpass today, unfortunately, 400 – 500 persons, which live today in special in Timisoara, Lugoj

and Resita. A population, almost exclusively urban living in rural areas, with a few exceptions, especially in Northern Transylvania). The family history leads often to connection with Central Europe, but also with the Transylvanian one or, rarely with the one from Muntenia, Moldova, or Bucovina. Because of this the history of the place which interested us overpasses with the national and European history. The history of the two world wars, the one of expansions of left and right totalitarism in twentieth century, of anti- Semitism, of the creation of the state of Israel, of Zionism interpheres with personal and community history". (Vultur, 2002: 9-465).

In the work of Victor Karadi, *The Jews of Europe in the modern era. A socio-historical outline*, it is revealed from a larger sociological perspective the situation of European Jewry after 1945. (Karadi, 2004: 1-452) In the opinion of the author, the Jewry had a particular place in communism. Unlike other authors which approached the problem of restitution of Jewish propriety, the author concludes that this was not sufficiently given back to the Jews, in reality a lot of non- Jews remained the owners of Jewish goods. (Karadi, 2004: 393). The author's opinion it was that it existed a collaboration between the nationalists of communist countries and communist Jews, considers the author. After the war, the communists minimized Holocaust and Jewish sufferings. (Karadi, 2004: 395)

Liviu Rotman in the work *Evreii din România în perioada comunistă 1944- 1965 (The Jews of Romania in the communist period 1944- 1965)* furnishes demographical data with regard to the Jewish community before and after the Holocaust. (Rotman, 2004). He describes the actvity of Jewish Democratic Committee. He emphasises two events of great importance for the history of Jews from the communist zone: "Slansky trial" after which the general secretary of the communist party of Czechoslovakia, Rudolf Slanski is arrested together with thirteen people among whom three were not Jews under the accusation of Zionism, and the "blue gown affairs" from Soviet Union, when a lot of medics from USSR were accused for death of some Soviet leaders.

Andrei Oişteanu is one of those authors who underline the existent prejudices about Jews in Romanian collective mentality in the work *Imaginea evreului în cultura română (The immage of the Jew in Romanian culture)*. (Oişteanu, 2004) The author underlines the stereotypes which existed in Romania with regards to Jews. He mentions in popular and classical Romanian literature negative aspects with regard to Jews which were criticized for their appearance, alterity and their traditions. The conclusion which follows is that proverbial Romanian tolerance can be put under a question mark.

Aleksandr Soljeniţin offers an image of ensemble on the condition of Jews from the Soviet Union, a country who influenced the history of Romania after the second world war in the work *Două secole împreună. Evreii şi ruşii în epoca sovietică (1917-1972) (Two centuries together. The Jews and the Russians in communist epoch).* (Soljeniţîn, 2004). The most important years are the years of Stalin because what happened in Moscow could not remain without consequences in Eastern Europe. The politics of the USSR towards the Jews reverberated in all the communist block. The last years of Stalin were marked by a campaign against the cosmopolitan Jews, the elimination of the Jews from Russian public sphere and the end of the Jewish Antifascist Commitee.

Lya Benjamin, (Benjamin, 2004) such as other authors, approaches the problem of demographic data with regard to the Jews of Romania in the work *Populaţia evreiască din România în cifre şi date (până în 1948) (Jewish population in figures and datas (until 1948).* She furnishes tables concerning the situation of Jewry from Romania until 1942, but there are also a few numbers about the period that followed. In the years 1948-1988 around 95% of the total number of Jews have left off the country. (Benjamin, 2004: 147).

The emmigration happened during the waves so that in 1948 – 1953 one third emigrated, and during 1948 – 1964 another third did as like. After 1965 the last wave of Jews emigrated. For comparison, we can say that if in Romania in 1947 they were still living 428 312 Jews, after the census of January 7, 1992, there were still living in Romania 9000 of Jews. (Benjamin, 2004).

Harry Kuller, in the article *Evreii în anii tranziţiei spre comunism (1944- 1948) / The Jews in the years of transition to communism* reveals us that after the Second World War, in Romania, the Jews oscillated between integration and immigration. The author makes the portrait of the postwar years: "The years 1945- 1949 were thus years of expectations and confrontations – between bodies and organizations, between their leaders, followed by larger or smaller groups. It was an open field, opened for positions and oppositions, for diverse solutions and usual adversities. A state of democracy, some would say, in a paradox manner, the general social – political trend of the country was not leading towards democracy. At the horizon a socialism of Soviet nature was noticeable, there were Jews who desired it, others who tried to avoid it, making compromise in order to survive, until emigration; at last a lot of them decided to remain in the place where they were born no matter what conditions they had. None of the above mentioned category did not "bring" socialism to Romania. But they did not prevent its coming, because it would have been impossible". (Kuller, 2004: 155)

Victor Newman, in the study *Evreii în anii regimului comunist/ The Jews in the years of communist regime*, makes an account of the Jewish population of Romania that was about 428 312 persons from which 150 000 were active. (Newmann, 2004: 174- 180) As other authors who understood the Jews, he describe the condition of Jews under communism which he analyses as community: "The re- evaluation of the condition of Jews under communism means to know the social and intellectual stratification, but also the motivations which stayed at the base of ideational options. The political and cultural Zionism from everywhere (with a good and longstanding activity in modern Romania) had an out of ordinary impact on the local Jews. Propaganda and Zionist organizations were forbidden – a lot of leaders being imprisoned" (Newmann, 2004: 176). The author shows that the Jews continued to militate to emigrate in Israel during the communist years and rejected communist egalitarism.

Tuvia Friling, Radu Ioanid and Mihail E. Ionescu (ed) in their collective work *Raport final*/ Final report, are some from the very few authors who approached the Jewish problem reflected in Romanian historiography before 1989. (Friling, Ioanid & Ionescu, 2005) The purpose is to approach the degree of guilt of Romania towards its Jews in the period of the Holocaust, but there is also a chapter in which it is shown that, in the postwar – period in Romania, the Holocaust was distorted, negated and minimized. From the attitude towards the Holocaust, it can be noticed also the attitude of the Romanian state towards its Jews in the communist period.

Carol Iancu in the work *Miturile fondatoare ale Antisemitismului. Din Antichitate până în zilele noastre/ The founding myths of antisemmitism* makes a portrait of the situation of the Jews from Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the USSR. (Iancu, 2005) Among the Hungarian Jewish communists, the author gives the example of Rákosi. For the Jews from Romania the author considers that most of them were not communists, but emigrated to Israel.

Radu Ioanid deals with an important problem in the study *Răscumpărarea evreilor: Istoria acordurilor secrete dintre România şi Israel/ The ransom of the Jews: the history of the agreements between Romania and Israel.* (Ioanid, 2005) The author focuses

on the movement of emigration of the Jews to the holy land, Israel from 1948, a moement that had its beginnings at the end of XIX th century until the end of the presidency of Ceausescu. The position of Romania towards the emigration of Romanian Jews to Israel was in conformity with the position of USSR which, from 1946, was in favor of emigration in Palestine. The author signalized the important role played by the chief rabbi of Romania, Moses Rosen in emigration and continuity of Jewish community. He draws the attention on a shameful event which happened in communist Romania and this was the sale of the Romanian Jews to the state of Israel, an objective achieved with the consent of communist authorities.

Balász Ablonczy in the work *La fin d'une monde? Les élites hongroises face á l'installation du régime comuniste* (Ablonczy, 2006: 57-71) shows that the bourgeoisie to which the interwar ellites belonged to was often of Jewish origin. This bourgeoisie was purged and a lot of people considered the communists more evil than Hitler. (Ablonczy, 2006: 63) The elites of the interwar period were deported, no matter of their ethnical origin.

Arpad von Klimó, in the article *Detruire la source symbolique du pouvoire: la stalinisation de la culture historique des elites hongroises,* (Klimó, 2006: 73-84) shows from a cultural perspective the situation of Hungarian elites in Stalin's epoch. The Hungarian constitution, says the author, consented the dependency of Hungary to Soviet Union and the liberty of Hungary was understood after the Soviet model. In the Stalinist epoch the historical culture of Hungarian ellites was inspired after the Soviet model and it offered legitimacy to the regime imposed by Rakosi, being based on Stalinist cultural model that was based on the opposition between good and bad. (Klimó, 2006: 93)

Viktor Karady was one of the proeminent authors that approached the subject of the relations of Jews in communism in the study "Les Juifs, la modernité et la tentation communiste. Esquisse d'une problématique d'histoire sociale". (Karady, 2006: 85- 105) The author tries to explain why the Jews voted for communism after the war. Karady explains these secret adhesion through the character of modernity, to the attraction of Jews for the situation of separating from the past, for separating the inherited Judaism. Tle laicity, the scientific atheism of communism, the collectivism were other elements of attraction for Jews. (Karady, 2006: 104-105). In other words, the communism offered to the Jews the chance of a new life.

Catherine Horel in the work "1989 en Europe Centrale, une restauration des élites juives" (Horel, 2006: 335- 351) underlines the condition of Jewish ellites during the communist years. She mentions the trend of Jewish ellites to assimilate, to get closer to the dominant political trend, communism. (Horel, 2006: 336) In their try to adjust to communist system values, the Jews renegated pretty often their identity. The author shows that the communist nomenclature was to a great extent formed of Jews, in the 1950 the main political leaders were Jews: Mátyás Rákósi, Ernö Gerö, Mihály Farkas, József Révai, Zóltan Vas and Gábor Péter. (Horel, 2006) In the same time a lot of Jews were part of the political police.

Dan Danieli in the study "Interviews with surviors of the Hungarian Forced Labor Service: An Evaluation" (Danieli, 2006: 63-75) took some interviews with survivors of the Hungarian concentration camps. He underlines the need to re- create the history of the units of the concentration camps. The information does not have a unity in its character because of the sufferings of the interviewees which generates inconsequences.

The next paper is situated with objectivity on the line of the studies which put the responsibility for Holocaust not only on German shoulders, but also to the Alliated Axis Powers. Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági (Kádár& Vági, 2006: 63-75) in their research "The

economic annihilation of the Hungarian Jews, 1944- 1945" underlines that not only the German fascists maintained in Hungary anti- Jewish legislation but also a lot of Hungarians who were dreaming of Jewish property". (Kádár& Vági, 2006: 77) On May 1944 in Hungary the Minister of Justice enacted a law which was pursuing the annihilation of the presence of Jews from economic life. For their fortunes, the Jews were provided the existence in ghettos, the author naming this policy "self financing genocide". (Kádár& Vági, 2006: 78) On the other hand, the deportation of Hungarian Jews lasted 8-9 months and, in consequence, it was impossible for the Hungarian state to take over all the Jewish fortune. A part of goods was left in the care of local administration and, in consequence, the officials of the villages, local police and gendarmeries robbed some Jewish goods. The Jewry, received back only a small part of these goods after the war. After the war the restribution did not happened immediately because of the tensions that appeared between the new and old owners. ((Kádár& Vági, 2006: 86).

In the work of Daniel A. Lowy "Christian help provided to Jews of Northern Transylvania during World War II: As revealed by the Jewish weekly Egység (May 1946 – August 1947)", it is shown that the salvation of Jews by diplomats did not take place in this area, but the leaders of the churches played an important role in salvation of Jews. (Lowy, 2006:113- 135). For the same time there are mentioned salvations of Jews with the participation of International Committee of the Red Cross. The newspaper where these problems are reflected, *Egység,* is a newspaper published from May 1946 until March 1949. The newspaper became, after 1948, communist. In time, the political reasons determined about which saviours could be written and about which not. (Lowy, 2006: 128)

In the study of Jean Ancel, "The She'erit ha – Pletah: Holocaust surviors in Northern Transylania" it is mentioned that at the end of 1944, a lot of survivors of concentration camps also from the neighbouring countries arrived in Transylvania. (Ancel, 2006:155-165) After the liberation of the city of Cluj the Democratic Association of Jews was founded and similar associations have been constituted also in other liberated cities. The association helped the survivors of Holocaust materially and has as purpose the restauration of Jewish property. The Jewish communities organized themselves in Transylvania with 56 being in existence at the end of 1945. With the help of Zionist organizations, the association helped to the return of a large number of Jews to Transylvania. (Ancel, 2006: 157) As a conclusion, the author shows that although a lot of Jews reintegrated in Romania, they could not escape too easily from the nightmare of Holocaust who terrorized their lives.

Alice Freifeld in the work "Identity on the move: Hungarian Jewry between Budapest and DP Camps, 1945- 1948" explains that, on the way to camps of dislocated Jews after the Second World War, Budapest was a station and most Jews of these camps were Hungarian Jews. Hungary had around of 80 000 of Jews at the end of the war. (Freinfeld, 2006:177) The soviet soldiers played an important role in the salvation of Hungarian Jews which were not deported yet. So the Jews regarded the Red Army as a liberating force while Hungarian ethnics considered that the coming of Soviet in 1945 was a defeat and a calamity. (Freifeld, 2006: 179). After the war, the Hungarian identity was based on the blind imitation of Moscow, while the Hungarian Jews had separated themselves from their lifes and their bourgeois ideals. (Freifeld, 2006: 197)

Maria Ghitta, in the article "Problema evreiască" în *România ieri şi azi. Câteva consideraţii / The Jewish problem in Romania yesterday and today. A few considerations"* describes shortly a few characteristics of communist historiography: "The school books, the historiography, mass media were the image of a history of Romanians according to which they

never attacked other nations, being forced, in numerous occasions, to defend themselves of waves of foreign invaders. The Romanian people (entire and abstract) was (then) and had always been tolerant, hospitable, but firm in defending "the needs and nation", according to the famous expression of Romanian national poet Mihai Eminescu". The historical writing was hardened after 1989 because of some topics that came up in the last years that "the Jews brought the communism", "the innocence of the Iron guard", "rehabilitation of Antonescu", "negation/ minimization of the Holocaust". (Ghita, 2006: 185).

These considerations made us believe that the living conditions and the life of Jews from Romania and Hungary during the years 1945-1953 were far from good. Anti-semitism continued to exist in post- Holocaust world, their human rights were restrained, their property too less returned. For the post 1989 years it is necessary a more tolerant policy of Romania and Hungary towards minorities in general and Jews in particular, a pluralist education with respects for tolerance and diversity, a society where human rights and minorities' rights are protected.

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