Institute of Jewish Affairs

Program and observations

1941 - Program

1941 - Jews in Nazi Europe, February 1933 to November 1941

1943 - Hitler's ten-year war on the Jews

1961 - Twenty years of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1941-1961

INSTITUTE

of

JEWISH AFFAIRS

Program

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
NEW YORK
1941

Institute of Jewish Affairs

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(IN FORMATION)

PAUL GUGGENHEIM
Professor of International Public Law, University of Geneva and Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales.

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ANGELO PIERO SERENI
Formerly Professor of International Public Law, University of Ferrara.

HANS SIMONS
Professor of Political Science, New School for Social Research, New York.

MARK VISHNIAK
Formerly Professor of Constitutional Law, Academy of Education, Moscow, and Academy of International Law, The Hague (1933).

STAFF

Director

JACOB ROBINSON. Graduated Law (LL.D.), Warsaw; Venia Legendi, Kaunas; Member of the Lithuanian Parliament and Leader of the Minorities Bloc, 1923-1927; Legal Counsellor, Lithuanian Foreign Office, 1931-1933; Counsel, Lithuanian-German Committee of Conciliation, Geneva, 1931; Lithuanian Counsel, Permanent Court of International Justice, The Hague, 1932.

Author of *Jewish Demography*, Berlin, 1923 (Hebrew); *The Minorities Problem, An Annotated Bibliography*, Berlin, 1928 (German); *Commentaries on the Memel Convention*, 4 vols., Kaunas, 1934 (German and Lithuanian); *The Baltic Legal Union*, Kaunas, 1937 (Russian); numerous articles.

Research Fellows

Law and Political Science:

MAX LASERSON. Associate Professor of Constitutional Law and Legal Theory, University of St. Petersburg, 1916; Deputy-director, Department of National Minorities, Provisional (Democratic) Government of Russia, 1917; Professor of Constitutional and International Law, Graduate School of Economics, Riga, 1920; Member of the Latvian Parliament, 1922-1932; Secretary, Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional and Public Law, 1925-1932; Visiting Professor of Constitutional Law and Legal Philosophy, Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg, 1930 and 1932; Lecturer in International Law and Legal Theory, School of Law and Economics, Tel-Aviv, Palestine, 1935-1939; Visiting Lecturer on East European Affairs, Columbia University, 1939-1940.

Author of *The General Theory of Law*, Riga, 1930, (Russian); *The Jewish Cause as a Problem of International Law*, St. Petersburg, 1917 (Russian); *Autonomy and Federation*, St. Petersburg, 1917 (Russian); *The State and National Minorities*, St. Petersburg, 1918 (Russian); *The Juridical Significance of the Mandate for Palestine*, Riga, 1922 (Russian); *State Sovereignty and Minority*, Berlin-Riga, 1927 (German); *On the Mandate: Documents, Statements, Laws, etc., arising from the Mandate for Palestine*, Tel Aviv, 1937; numerous articles.

Economics and Statistics:

JACOB LESTCHINSKY. Editor and Research Secretary, Department of Economics and Statistics, The Yiddish Scientific Institute, Vilna, 1925-1939.

Author of *The Jewish People in Figures*, Berlin, 1922 (Yiddish); *Problems of Jewish Demography*, Padua, 1926 (German); *Twenty-five Years of Jewish Migration*, Berlin, 1927 (Yiddish); *The Jewish People in the New Europe*, Prague, 1934 (German); *The Economic Condition of the Jews in Europe*, Tel-Aviv, 1935 (Hebrew); *Soviet Jewry, Past and Present*, New York, 1941 (Yiddish); numerous other books and articles. Contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica, The Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia* and other standard works of reference.

Migration and Colonization:

ARIEH TARTAKOWER. Dr. jur. et rer. pol., Vienna; Associate editor, *Juedisches Lexicon;* Professor of Jewish Sociology, Institute of Jewish Sciences, Warsaw, 1929-1939; President, Jewish Emigration Aid Society of Poland.

Author of *A History of the Jewish Labor Movement,* 3 vols., Warsaw, 1928-1930 (Hebrew); *The Jewish People in our Time,* 1935 and 1937 (Hebrew); *Jewish Migrations,* Warsaw, 1938 (Yiddish); *Sociology of the Jews,* Lwow, 1938 (Polish); *Jewish Emigration and Emigration Policy,* Vilna, 1939 (Yiddish); numerous articles on problems of Jewish sociology and migration.

Editorial Secretary

THEODOR HERZL GASTER. M. A., London; Curator, Department of Semitic and Near Eastern Antiquities, Wellcome Research Institution, London; 1928-1931; 1936-1939; Postgate Prizeman in Comparative Philology, University of London, 1928; Literary Editor, *Jewish Daily Post,* London, 1935; Lecturer, Biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology, New College and Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1937-1939; Member, Royal Asiatic Society.

Author of numerous studies on early Hebrew literature and religion, and on the languages and cultures of the ancient Near East, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Palestine Exploration Quarterly, Syria, Iraq, Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, Archiv Orientalni, Acta Orientalia, etc., etc.*

Research Assistants

JOSEPH NECHAMKIS. Dr. rer. nat., Prague, 1929; Dr. phil., Prague, 1932. Chief, Statistical and Biometrical Division, Czechoslovakian National Health Institute, 1930; Lecturer, Statistics and Demography, Charles University, Prague, 1933; Statistician and Staff Consultant, Czechoslovakian Export Institute, 1935.

Author of *The Demography of Sub-Carpatho-Ruthenia,* Prague, 1930 (Czech); *Unemployment and the Export Trade in Czechoslovakia,* Prague, 1935 (Czech); *Vital Statistics of the Jews in Poland,* Warsaw, 1935 (Yiddish and Polish); numerous articles on Jewish and general economics and statistics.

KALMAN STEIN. Dr. jur., Cracow, 1924; Director, Organizing Committee, Representatives of Polish Jews, Paris, 1939-1940.

Author of *The German Currency Experiment,* Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow, 1924; numerous articles.

NAHUM WEISSMAN. Docteur ès Lettres, Sorbonne; Member of Research Staff, Yiddish Scientific Institute, New York; Correspondent of *L'Européen,* Paris, and *Europe,* French-American monthly, Paris.

Author of *The Janizaries: A study of the military organization of the Ottoman Empire,* Paris, 1938 (French).

Collaborators

JACOB APENSZLAK. Editor-in-Chief, *Nasz Przeglad* (leading Polish-Jewish daily), Warsaw, 1919-1939; President, General Zionist Organization of Poland; Founder and President, Jewish Art Society of Poland; Co-editor, *Nasza Trybuna,* New York, 1941.

GERHARD JACOBY. Dr. jur. et rer. pol., Wuerzburg, 1920; Attorney, Court of Appeal, Berlin, 1921-1936.

Author of *Law of the Stage,* Berlin, 1923 (German); numerous articles on international law of copyright and other aspects of jurisprudence.

OSCAR KARBACH. Dr. jur., Vienna; Secretary, Jewish Association for the League of Nations, Vienna, 1923-1934; Delegate to the First Conference on the Rights of Jewish Minorities, Zurich, 1927.

Author of *Theory of Jewish Assimilation,* Berlin, (*Der Jude*), 1922-1923; Contributor to *Ordnung in der Judenfrage,* Vienna, 1933, *Juedisches Lexicon, Jewish Social Studies,* etc.,etc.

EDWARD KLEINLERER. Dr. jur., Rome; Deputy-director, International Institute of Visual Education, League of Nations, Rome and Geneva, 1929-1939; Correspondent of various European and American journals; Lecturer on the History of Education, Teachers' Seminary, Yeshiva College, New York.

Author of *Italy and the Economic Reconstruction of Palestine,* Rome, 1933 (Italian); *Italy and Palestine,* Rome, 1935 (Italian); Numerous articles on Italian and Mediterranean affairs in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia* and various periodicals.

LEON KUBOWITZKI. Dr. class. phil., Brussels, 1922; Dr. jur., Brussels, 1925; Attorney, Court of Appeals, Brussels; Editor, *Hatikwoh,* Antwerp, *Folk un Arbet,* Antwerp, *La Tribune Juive,* Brussels; President, Council of Jewish Associations, Brussels.

Author of *Jewish Politics,* Brussels, 1934 (Yiddish); *The Organization of the Jewish Community,* Paris, 1935 (German); numerous articles on current Jewish affairs.

MARK VISHNIAK. Professor of Constitutional Law, Academy of Education, Moscow 1917; Secretary-General, Russian Constituent Assembly, 1918; Lecturer on Problems of Post-War Democracy, Russian College of Law and Franco-Russian Institute, Paris, 1922-1940; Visiting Professor, Academy of International Law, The Hague, 1933; Editor-in-Chief, *Sovremennyja Zapiski,* Paris, 1920-1940.

Author of *Personality in Law,* 2nd ed., Petrograd, 1917 (Russian); *Protection of Minorities in International Treaties of* 1919-1920, Paris, 1920 (French); *The Oppression of the Jews in Germany and the League of Nations,* Paris, 1933 (French); *The International Status of the Stateless,* Paris, 1934 (French); Contributor to the *Dictionnaire de Sociologie, La Revue Internationale de la Théorie du Droit, L'Europe, etc., etc.*

I

AIMS AND ORGANIZATION

I.

The Need for the Institute

THE JEWISH PEOPLE faces today a crisis unparalleled in its history.

One out of every four Jews in the world is a victim of the Nazi and Fascist regimes. In Central and Eastern Europe, the great bastions of Jewish culture have been stormed to destruction. In Hungary and Rumania, persecution and dispossession are the order of the day. In occupied France, Jews are being ousted from economic life, herded into camps and reduced to the status of paupers or helots. In Palestine, the continuance of the National Home is gravely threatened. In one country after another, emancipation has been revoked and minority rights rudely scrapped. Meanwhile, across the face of the earth drift endless streams of Jewish refugees, while in lands of refuge war and defense efforts make serious inroads into the resources available for relief.

In the face of this situation, it is apparent, that the Jewish people has a vital interest in the future organization of the world. On the one hand, over four million Jews will have to be restored to normal life; on the other, means will have to be devised to prevent a recurrence of what has taken place and to insure security in the future.

A victory of the democracies, though the obvious basis of all planning, will not automatically achieve these ends. It will have to be followed through. That is the simple lesson of experience. In the peace of 1919, the two factors which did most to guarantee the Jewish future, viz., the recognition of minority rights in Central and Eastern Europe and the establishment of the Mandate for Palestine, were won only after intensive effort by Jewish political bodies. The same holds good today. The Jews will have to achieve their salvation by a vigorous prosecution of just claims before the council of nations and the conscience of the world. For that, however, they will require a brief, and it is to prepare that brief that the INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS has been called into being.

Aims

The purpose of the Institute is to conduct a thorough investigation of Jewish life during the past 25 years, with a view to establishing the facts of the present situation, determining its direct and indirect causes, and suggesting lines on which Jewish rights may be claimed in a post-war settlement.

Established in New York on February 1, 1941, under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress, with the co-operation of the World Jewish Congress, the Institute is not a political body. It is a group of scholars, and represents an attempt to mobilize the intellectual resources of the Jewish people to attack the gigantic problem which confronts it.

Founded as the result of proposals advanced by Dr. Jacob Robinson in 1939, the Instituté is an expression of the belief that a dispassionate and scientific inquiry into recent events and their background is the indispensable basis for any formulation of Jewish policy.

Program

The issues involved in this program are many and complex. They are set out in detail in the Outlines appended to the present statement. Some of them, however, may be mentioned here in broad terms.

First, then, there is the situation of the Jews in Nazi-dominated countries. The facts will have to be established. It will be necessary to know, as accurately as possible, the nature of the disabilities from which Jews are suffering, the extent of their privation and dislocation, and the underlying causes of their plight.

This leads on naturally to the question of Rehabilitation. Here, as past experience has shown, two solutions will have to be considered at the same time,—the one static and the other dynamic.

The former will apply to those who still remain in their old homes, or are willing eventually to return to them. For these, it will be necessary to devise more adequate legal safeguards than were provided by the old-time Minorities System, and it will also be necessary to examine the economic conditions of countries recently Nazified and to prepare plans for reopening former fields of endeavor or for creating new opportunities. Available resources will have to be reviewed, the possibilities of self-help and similar schemes of cooperative and constructive relief being taken especially into consideration.

The second solution will apply to those millions of refugees for whom new homes will have to be found. This means a thorough examination of immigration possibilities. The financial side of the question will have to be studied, while a competent survey of all countries will have to determine suitable places for settlement. In attacking this issue, the Institute will take it for granted that the development of the National Home in Palestine is the primary solution of the problem of Jewish migration.

Lastly, since no people lives in a vacuum, it will be an essential part of the Institute's program to review not only the immediately Jewish scene, but also the wider world scene, as it has affected the Jews.

Some of the problems which will have to be studied in this field are the recent disappearance of the standard organs of state power, the dissolution of elected parliaments, the subjection of public opinion to the state machine, the predominance of planned economy, the decline of international law, the tacit annulment of minorities agreements, the

eclipse of the League of Nations, and the transformation of anti-Semitism into an official doctrine and policy of the state.

Besides these, there are other problems, vitally affecting Jewish interests, which will have to be considered. Emancipation is one, and the Minorities System another. The impact of different political regimes on the Jews will also require examination, and it will likewise be necessary to trace the basis, antecedents and dissemination of Nazi and Fascist anti-Semitic propaganda. Some of these subjects may appear, at first sight, somewhat remote and academic, but it is impossible to estimate the current situation without taking account of this wider background.

It is obvious that so vast a program can be tackled only in stages. For practical purposes, therefore, the Institute will concentrate, for the present, on the European scene, excluding Palestine and the Americas from the range of its studies.

II.

THE INSTITUTE will operate through four departments, viz.:

I. DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND LAW,
devoting its studies to the political and legal status of the Jews within the framework of the larger problems of government and protection of individual and group rights.

II. DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS AND ECONOMICS,
dealing with Jewish statistics and demography and with all aspects of Jewish social and economic conditions since the First World War.

III. DEPARTMENT OF MIGRATION AND COLONIZATION,
covering the field of emigration, immigration, transmigration and colonization, as well as the implications of the Refugee Problem.

IV. DEPARTMENT OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION,
engaged, on the basis of the findings of the other three departments, in drafting constructive solutions of Jewish problems against the background of general ideas on the organization of the post-war world.

The program of each Department will comprise (a) Documentation and (b) Special Surveys.

The Institute conceives its task to lie not only in the pursuit of special studies and the formulation of the results, but also in the compilation of complete documentary records.

Publications

The researches and findings of its several departments will be published by the Institute in special series, as follows:

I. Political Science
II. Law
III. Economics and Statistics
IV. Migration and Colonization
V. Jews and the War
VI. Regional Surveys
European countries since 1914.
VII. Post-War Europe
Digests of Jewish opinion
VIII. Bibliographies, References, etc.

In addition to its more technical publications, the Institute will issue for popular consumption a special series of maps and charts, as well as other forms of pamphlet material.

A series of periodical papers, presenting the Jewish aspects and implications of current events, will also be published.

The publications of the Institute will be in English, but where circumstances dictate, editions in other languages will also appear.

Organization

The staff of the Institute consists of a Director, Research Fellows, in charge of the several departments, scientific and technical assistants and an Editorial Secretary.

The Institute recruits the services of recognized authorities on particular subjects, while for the study of certain problems special commissions of scholars are appointed.

Research projects of Jewish interest are also assigned to young graduates of the Universities.

For the collection of material, the Institute maintains a network of correspondents throughout the world.

An Advisory Committee of persons prominent in public life and scholarship assists the staff with the benefit of their experience and knowledge, while a Liaison Committee insures smooth cooperation between the Institute and its sponsoring bodies, the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress.

Cooperation with Other Bodies

In accordance with its belief that the supreme need of the moment is a mobilization of all available intellectual resources, the Institute maintains friendly relations with analogous bodies working in the same or cognate fields. It welcomes the extension of this cooperation to all who are interested in its aims and efforts.

II

PROGRAM OF RESEARCH

THE FOLLOWING pages present a conspectus of work which is being undertaken by the several departments of the Institute. As a concomitant of these researches, the Institute will prepare a Master Index of material available on the following subjects:

ALIENS

ANTI-JEWISH MEASURES

ANTI-SEMITISM, RECENT ASPECTS OF

AUTONOMY

COLONIZATION

EXCHANGES OF POPULATION

MIGRATIONS

MINORITIES

NATIONALISM

NATIONALITY AND CITIZENSHIP

PLEBISCITES

RACE HATRED

REFUGEES

RELIEF

SELF-DETERMINATION

SMALL STATES

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

WAR AND PEACE AIMS

WAR AND POST-WAR CHANGES

The index will cover:

(1) Holdings of public and private libraries in the city of New York.

(2) Periodical publications of all countries.

(3) Jewish current literature.

(4) Archives of public bodies.

The publication of specialized bibliographies is projected. An initial volume, on the International Protection of Minorities, will be issued shortly, and will be followed by others on Peace and Post-war proposals and other relevant topics.

Department of Political Science

A. Documentation

1. *National and International Protection of Jews*:

   a) Legal Status of Religious and Ethnic Groups.
   International treaties, agreements, laws, regulations, etc.

   b) Legislation against Race Hatred.
   Text of laws formerly operative in France and the Netherlands—laws obtaining in Switzerland and Canada—state-legislation in the U.S.A.

2. *Anti-Jewish Legislation*:

   Text of laws and decrees in the Third Reich, Nazi-occupied countries, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, unoccupied France and French Colonies, etc.

3. *Exchanges of Population and Evacuations*:

   After the First World War—in the Nazi "New Order": the regulations.

4. *Jews and the War*:

   a) In the Armed Forces:
   Conscripts — volunteers — casualties — decorations — the Jewish Army: record and statistics.

   b) As Civilian Participants:
   In the home services—contributions to the war effort of the Allies: record and statistics.

   c) As direct and indirect victims:
   Under Nazi occupation—in Soviet-annexed territories—refugees in France, Britain and British Dominions—internment camps—refugees in the theatre of war: record and statistics.

   d) Jewish Aid in Neutral Countries:
   American Jewish aid to the Allies, etc.

   e) Effects of the war on Jewish demography.

   f) Jews and the War Issue:
   As a factor in the war and peace issue—as alleged war-mongers—in pacifist groups—Jewish warnings of the war, etc.

5. *German Minorities in the "New Order"*:

   Text of laws operative in Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Bohemia-Moravia, etc.

B. Special Surveys

Jewish Emancipation.

History:

Causes, spiritual and economic—support and opposition—arguments for and against—the prospects as viewed by Jews and Gentiles—as granted on a geographical basis—as granted on an occupational basis—total and partial emancipation.

Consequences:

Entry of Jews into European life—political, economic and cultural aspects—alleged preponderance of Jews in certain fields.

Ideology:

Connection with specific spiritual trends—with specific economic needs—the social function of Jews in a capitalistic society.

Recent Collapse:

The collapse in Germany—attendant conditions—alleged unfitness of the people for democratic government—the economic crisis—the Youth Problem—the new philosophy of Pessimism—its bearing on emancipation—traits of its leading political exponents.

Problems:

Is Emancipation linked to a particular set of ideas? Philosophically, to Optimism? Politically, to Democracy? Economically, to Free Trade? Can it operate in other contexts?

Has Emancipation really collapsed? Is it in accord with popular sentiment? Or was it introduced against the will of the people? Was its collapse in Germany inevitable?

The Minorities Question.

The minority treaties, their origin, operation and tacit annulment.

Direct and indirect causes of their "failure."

The League of Nations and the Jews.

Jewish appeals to the League—Jewish groups under minority treaties—Jews in Upper Silesia—in Nazi Germany—in the Saar—in Danzig.

Was the League of benefit to the Jews?

Recent Aspects of Anti-Semitism.

The Racist Attack on the Jews:

Racist anti-Jewish tendencies in German thought: Chamberlain, Woltman, Lagarde—The Pan-German school: Daniel Fryman (Class), Moeller van den Broek, Rudolf Jung, Wilhelm Stapel.

The racist doctrine in Nazism: Gottfried Feder and the "unchangeable" program of National Socialism—Hitler—Rosenberg—*Der Stuermer, Weltdienst, Mitteilungen zur Judenfrage*—Wilhelm Grau—the Jewish Department of the National Institute for the History of the New Germany—its publications—the new science of "Judaeology" (*Judenwissenschaft*)—Nazi view of the Jews' place in Europe.

The racist doctrine in Italian Fascism: *La Difesa della Razza.*

The racist doctrine in France: Gobineau, Drumont, Guérin, *Action Française.*

The Anti-Semitic State:

The phenomenon and its implications—results throughout the world of the application of this principle in Germany.

Influence of Germany on allied and friendly powers—Italy—Soviet Union; differences.

Spoliation of Jews:

Boycott—economic discrimination—official exclusion of Jews from economic life—extermination of Jews as an economic factor.

The National and Nationalistic State and its bearing on this issue.

Moral Humiliation of Jews:

Discriminatory legislation—forced segregation—police decrees—badges—the "yellow spot."

Assault on Jewish Culture:

Destruction of synagogues and cultural institutions—break-up of religious and educational life—confiscation of libraries and museums, etc.

Exclusion of Jews from Education, etc.:

Nazi legislation—laws in Nazi-controlled countries—*numerus clausus*—exclusion of Jews from museums and libraries, etc.

Jews in the Non-Jewish Environment.

Jewish-Gentile Relations:

Survey of public questionnaires on Jews—other expressions of Gentile sentiment—co-operation between Jews and non-Jews; forces for and against.

The Function of Jews in General Life:

Is there a specific Jewish function?—Marx and Sombart on the role of Jews in a capitalistic society—Jews and Communism—Jews as cultural middlemen—as purveyors of political and social ideas.

Contributions of Jews to communal life.

Jews in Political Systems and International Movements.

Jews in the establishment of political systems—bearing of political systems on the fate of Jews.

The movement of "Enlightenment"—Conservatism—Liberalism—International Socialism—non-international Socialism—Communism—Fascism and its imitations.

Anti-nationalistic and super-nationalistic forces—their relation to the Jews.

Internationalism and Cosmopolitanism—Catholicism—other Christian ideologies—Freemasonry—Islam—International Capitalism—The League of Nations.

Nationalism and the Jews.

The concept of the national state—effects on the Jews—Jews in nationalist movements—Jews as a minority—Jews and other minorities in the common state and in international minority movements.

Jewish Political Ideas.

Foregleams in Jewish literature—in post-feudal systems.

Evolution in Western Europe: emancipation and the parallel growth of assimilationism.

Evolution in Central and Eastern Europe: rise of Jewish nationalism.

Zionism and Territorialism:

Basis—history—development—Zionist parties and their aims.

Assimilationism:

Legal admissibility of assimilation—its limitations—its operation—effect on Jews in public and political life—Jewish assimilationist groups—the attitude of Reform Judaism.

Autonomy:

Jewish autonomy in the pre-emancipation era—autonomy in modern democraties.

The organized Jewish community—its cultural and scholastic autonomy—effect on the revival of Hebrew and Yiddish.

Cultural Pluralism:

Experiences of multi-national democracies—influence on Jewish thought—relevance to the situation of the Jews.

The Question of Nationality and the Jews.

Acquisition and loss of nationality—denationalization through territorial changes or state legislation—retroactive power of the latter—attempted introduction of a uniform Law of Nationality—bearing on the situation of the Jews.

Attempted solutions of the nationality problem: *removal of nationalities* from their historically inherited domains—exchanges of population after the First World War—*the device of evacuation;* evacuation of Germans from Southern Tyrol, the Baltic States, Soviet White Russia, the Ukraine, Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania—*exchanges* in South-eastern Europe — removal of Swedes from Esthonia — *reservations*: Lublin — Gurs — the ghetto as a substitute for territorial concentration—effects of the various solutions on the Jews.

Sociology of the Jews: Recent Work.

The development of Jewish Sociology—pioneer work in recent years—program and achievement.

Social and statistical studies in Russia—ICA's investigation into the economic condition of Russian Jews.

German contributions: *Zeitschrift fuer die Statistik und Demographie des Judentums.*

Bletter far Yiddishe Statistik und Ekonomie.

The Yiddish Scientific Institute—its *Ekonomishe Shriften.*

American studies: statistical surveys—periodicals.

Department of Statistics and Economics

A. Documentation

The Department will assemble comprehensive files of all statistical material relating to Jews.

B. Special Surveys

Effect of Economic Doctrines on the Jews.

Economic liberalism — from liberalism to state-controlled economy — state capitalism — state socialism — nationalistic socialism — Communist economy—the Soviet Five-Year Plans—industrialization and bureaucratization.

Economic nationalism—in states with heterogeneous populations —tendency of the dominant group to occupy economic positions previously held by minorities—effects on the Jews.

Economic Effects of the War on the Jews.

The effect of the war on the economic situation of Jews in:

Germany and Austria

Czechoslovakia

Poland (German area, Soviet area, Gouvernement General, areas incorporated into the Third Reich)

Belgium

Netherlands

France and the French Colonies

Hungary

Rumania and the Balkan States

The Soviet Union

Soviet-annexed areas (Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, Baltic States).

Effect on Jewish refugeet in occupied territories—on refugees from Poland and Rumania in the U.S.S.R., Lithuania, etc.

Loss of economic positions—political and economical extirpation (*Ausgliederung*).

War Losses of Jews.

Human Losses:

Casualties: killed—wounded—maimed—widows—wives of missing men (*agunoth*)—orphans—lost children, etc.

Refugees: (a) returned home; (b) stranded in foreign countries; (c) interned.

Material Losses:

Destruction of property—houses—business premises—factories—workshops—schools—communal buildings, etc.
Expropriations—spoliation, etc.

Reparations.

The Department will endeavor to assess the damage done to Jews, both materially and otherwise, through confiscations, "Aryanizations," expulsions and other forms of persecution.

Department of Migration and Colonization

A. Documentation

Text of all laws, regulations, etc., concerning emigration and transmigration.

Text of all laws, regulations, etc., concerning colonization in countries of refuge, with special reference to U.S.A., Canada, Mexico, South America, Australia and New Zealand.

Non-legal literature on these subjects will be assembled.

B. Special Surveys

Experience of the past twenty years.

Freedom of migration—restrictions—arrested emigration.
The American quota law and similar legislation.
Effects of the 1929 economic crisis.
Rise of Nationalism in Eastern Europe.
Influence of Nazi Germany and allied countries—fugitives from the Third Reich and from Nazi-dominated territories.
The Russian problem—fugitives from social revolution, etc.
Beginnings of a Jewish migration policy—Jewish Agency for Palestine—Hicem, etc.

New developments in Jewish colonization;

(a) Colonization conducted or supported by governments (Soviet Russia)

(b) Colonization conducted by Jews under international guarantees and with governmental recognition (Palestine).

(c) Independent colonization (South American countries).

International action:

(a) Conferences: International Migration Congress, Rome, 1924; Havana, 1928; Labor Conference on Migration, London, 1926; International Conference on Colonization, Geneva, 1938.

(b) Measures on behalf of refugees: the Evian Conference, 1938.—International Labor Office.

The Present Situation.

Differences between the present period of restricted migration and that of earlier mass movements (1881-1914)—changes in the social and economic life of Jews.

Influence of the war: visa, transit and transportation difficulties—effect of the change of boundaries—the mass migrations from Poland, Roumania, etc.—effect of expulsions—anti-Jewish legislation and its consequences.

New colonization projects: Dominican Republic, Alaska, etc.

Plans for the Future.

Emigration of Jews in the event of a Nazi collapse—difficulties of the transition period.

Post-war settlement of the Jewish refugee problem under British and American auspices: the alternatives:

(a) restoration to former homelands.

(b) permanent settlement in present countries of residence.

(c) entry into other countries of immigration.

Regional Surveys:

Migration and colonization possibilities throughout the world, with special reference to South America and the British and French Dominions—review of the legal and economic situation.

Organization and Finance:

Organization of prospective emigrants—preparation and retraining—stratification.

Authorities and institutions responsible for Jewish migration.

Financial plans: plan for a Jewish Emigration Bank—liquidation of individual fortunes—Jewish public and private funds—participation of the state—international grants and loans.

Jewish Migration: Sociological Factors.

Jewish and non-Jewish migration—causes of Jewish migration—backgrounds in countries of emigration and immigration—consequences, political, economic and social—"valorization".

Department of Post-War Reconstruction

A. Documentation

1. *Peace Aims of the Belligerents*:

   (a) Official pronouncements
   (b) Unofficial statements
   Compilation of government papers, books, pamphlets, articles, etc.

2. *Neutral Opinions on Post-War Europe*:

   Compilation of official and unofficial statements.

3. *The Post-War Position of the Jews*:

   (a) Jewish opinions
   (b) Non-Jewish opinions
   Governmental pronouncements and unofficial statements.

4. *Reports of Relief Organizations*:

   (a) Jewish
   (b) Non-Jewish, but serving Jews.

B. Special Surveys

Peace and Post-War Proposals:

Review of Current Opinion.

Examination of discussions conducted by public bodies and in the press, with special reference to

(a) the future of the Jews
(b) the Nationality Question.

Examination of discussions conducted in Jewish circles.

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JEWS IN NAZI EUROPE

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to

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A Study Prepared by the Institute of Jewish Affairs

Submitted to the

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FOREWORD

The purpose of this volume is to present a provisional sheet of Jewish life in Nazified Europe as of November 1941. Divided into a series of chapters, the volume covers the states belonging to the Axis and the nations under Axis domination. The Soviet Union, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain and Ireland, therefore are not included.

The vast Russo-German war area however is treated briefly as an entity, although neither in a political nor in a geographic sense is it a homogeneous unit. The destiny of the Jews has not been identical in the various parts of this great region extending from the Arctic to the Black Sea. Authentic information is still scant, however, because of the Nazis having been on the scene for four months and the smoke of battle has not cleared.

This study does not claim to furnish a complete picture of the situation. Sources of information are far from adequate. Moreover, specific limitations of space have been imposed upon us.

Each report follows a more or less uniform outline. The general historical background is given, and the special Jewish issues and developments of recent years are traced. These cover the period of Nazi rule from the time it was established in the particular country to November 1941. In the case of Germany, for example, this period begins on January 30, 1933, when Hitler became Chancellor; in Norway it begins on April 9, 1940, when the German invasion was launched. This plan is followed with respect to all the annexed and occupied territories. *

In addition to the reports on the various countries, there are two chapters dealing with related problems of international concern: the questions of relief and of refugees. Both cover this crucial period (1933-1941) in Jewish history.

This study is based on a great mass of available source materials, including the official publications in the Axis states, notable the Jewish newspapers published under Nazi control and censorship. Moreover there have been utilized the reports of the official representatives of the World Jewish Congress, as well as reliable first-hand accounts transmitted to us by reputable private individuals arriving in this country from Europe.

The volume, in conclusion, sets up a balance sheet based

on the facts presented and offers a brief outline of the future awaiting Jews in these countries.

The volume has been prepared by the staff of the Institute of Jewish Affairs with the assistance, in a few cases, of outside contributors. It is published in connection with the first Inter-American Jewish Conference in Baltimore,Md., November 23,24,25, 1941 under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress.

* With regard to Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, however, the date when clear-cut anti-Jewish legislation was introduced may be regarded as the beginning of the new era.

GREATER GERMANY

(NOTE: For the sake of convenience, this survey groups the Jews of Weimar Germany together with those of the German-speaking areas annexed by the Third Reich since March 1938, namely, Austria, the Sudetenland, Memel and Danzig. No political or other implications should be drawn from this arrangement, or from the fact that the cultural contributions of the Jews of Germany and Austria are treated under one heading.)

Background

The fate of the Jews in Germany is one of the major ironies of history, because the state which now oppresses and seeks to exterminate them owes more to the Jews than does any other important power. The creative and stimulating force within the Jews released by the granting of emancipation, did a great deal in the middle of the nineteenth century to arouse Germany from centuries of lethargy and helped substantially to fuse the petty German States into an economic, political and cultural whole.

Two forces which contributed largely to the establishment of a unified Germany and to the extension of German influence throughout the world were the banks and the stock exchange, and for more than a century the Jews played a leading part in both fields. As early as 1775, at a time when they were still excluded from residence in Berlin, seven of the twelve stock brokers in the country were Jews, and in 1807, thirty of the fifty-two banks were in Jewish hands. As late as the decade preceding the rise of Hitler, the three principal banks (Deutsch, Darmstadt and Dresden) which together handled more than half of the country's credit turnover, were headed by Jews. Moreover, it was in no small degree because of the efforts of the banking houses of Warburg and Speyer that impoverished post-war Germany was able to rehabilitate herself on the strength of American loans. Indeed, this financial assistance permitted Germany to rebuild her industrial plant and once more to contest the tranditional supremacy of England. Thus, ironically enough, it is doubtful whether Germany could challenge the world today without the efforts made by the Jews during the years from Versailles to Hitler.

Although they constituted barely one percent of the population, there was no aspect of German life which did not bear their imprint. A comprehensive recapitulation of the Jewish contribution to the life of Germany would go beyond the province of this survey. It is, however, possible to recall some of the leading Jewish names in politics, the natural and social sciences, the arts, and the national economy.

The first great move toward the unification of modern Germany was the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1849 which offered the imperial crown

to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia. The President of that National Assembly was Eduard von Simson, a Jew, who later was chosen the chairman of the Reichstag of 1871 and the presiding justice of the first German Supreme Court. Julius Stahl (Schlesinger) was the founder of the ideology of the Conservative Party. Bamberger and Lasker were the founders and leaders of the Liberal Party which was the first to introduce modern political ideas into the country. Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lasalle were, together with non-Jewish Friedrich Engels, the fathers of modern Socialism and of the German Social Democratic Party. Their heirs, Eduard Bernstein, Victor Adler, Otto Bauer and Rudolf Hilferding, made major political and theoretical contributions to the development of international Socialism. At the same time, Hilferding as Minister of Finance liquidated the disastrous inflation of 1923, thereby creating the foundations for Germany's reconstruction and subsequent period of prosperity. Foreign Minister Rathenau, who was later assassinated by pre-Nazi anti-Semites, concluded the Rapallo Treaty with Russia which ended Germany's post-war isolation.

In the sciences, it is worth noting that of the forty-four German holders of the Nobel Prize, eight were Jewish, including Albert Einstein and James Frank. The Jews of the German speaking world have contributed, in Einstein and Freud, the two men who have exercized perhaps the greatest influence on twentieth century thought. Of the nine Germans to hold the Nobel Prize in chemistry, three were Jewish: Otto Wallach, Richard Wilstetter and Fritz Haber. The last was the discoverer of important missing elements and headed the German chemical industry during the entire first World War. In 1934 he committed suicide after having been driven from his laboratory and his homeland.

In medicine, the German Jews contributed Ehrlich and Wassermann, Otto Meyerhof (Nobel Prize) and Otto Warburg (Nobel Prize). Other leading German Jewish names in science and technology are: Heinrich Hertz and Mauritz Jacoby (wireless telegraphy and galvano-plastics); Karl Arnstein (Zeppelin construction); David Schwartz (aeronautics); Emil Berliner (microphone and gramaphone). In the social sciences, some of the leading figures are: Franz Oppenheimer, Gustave Kohn, Heinrich Dernburg, Ignaze Jastrow, Emil Lederer, Hans Kelsen, Georg Jellinek, Hugo Preuss (the author of the Weimar Constitution) and Hermann Staub.

In the arts, the names of Max Liebermann, who for years was president of the German Academy of Art, and Max Reinhardt, the illustrious theatrical producer and director, stand out prominently. In the years that preceded the Nazi regime, at least eight of the ten leading actors of Germany and Austria were Jewish. The world of music treasures the names of Meyerbeer, Mendelsohn-Bartholdy, Leo Blech, Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schoenberg. Among modern conductors, there are Bruno Walter (Schlesinger), Otto Klemperer, Siegfried Ochs and many others.

In the literature of Germany and Austria, the contribution of the Jews was particularly notable. Such names as Heine, Boerne, Hugo von Hofmannstahl, Arthur Schnitzler, Jacob Wassermann, Franz Werfel, Arnold and Stefan Zweig, Alfred Doeblin, Lion Feuchtwanger, Richard Beer-Hofmann,

Ernst Lissauer and Klara Viebig, are a part of the cultural heritage of the world.

To philosophy, the German Jews have given Moses Mendelsohn, Hermann Kohn, Eduard Husserl and Ernst Cassirer, to mention the most important.

Among the thousands of newspapers published in Germany and Austria, the four which probably commanded the greatest influence -- Frankfurter Zeitung, Berliner Tageblatt, Vossische Zeitung, and the Vienna Neue Freie Presse -- were edited by Jews. These four publications were of tremendous importance over the course of more than half a century in shaping liberal and progressive ideas throughout Central Europe.

That the Jews played a considerable role in German commerce, especially in foreign trade, is well known. Less familiar is their share in the development of the major industries of the Reich. Jews introduced to Germany the banking principles of the French Credit Mobilier, the idea of building upon the savings of the broad masses rather than of a few rich depositors -- and this made possible the nation's swift industrial climb. Jews also took a direct part in the process of industrializing Germany. The Allgemeine Elekricitaets Gesellschaft, one of the largest power enterprises in the country, was founded by Emil Rathenau. Orenstein and Koppel established the great locomotive and railway car foundry which still bears their name. Hirsch built the largest copper smelting plant. The Hamburg-American Steamship Line was the creation of Albert Ballin, a Jewish friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II, who committed suicide in the hour of German defeat on November 9, 1918.

This partial roster of the Jews who played so prominent a part in the birth and development of modern Germany and of Germanic culture is not intended for purposes of Jewish self-adulation. For it was no one other than Werner Sombart, later an advocate of the race theory, who wrote in 1912: "What a gap it would make in the culture of the world if the Jew disappeared!" Sombart lived to see that gap in the cultural life of Germany as a result of the ostracism of the Jews.

Statistics and Demography

When Hitler came to power on January 30, 1933, there were in the area now known as Greater Germany slightly over 760,000 Jews. Today there are no more than 250,000. What became of that half million? On the basis of available statistics, the surplus of deaths over births is known to have amounted to no less than 70,000, including an estimated 10,000 suicides. This figure does not, however, include those who were slain or hounded to death in concentration camps. How many have been killed since 1933 cannot be computed with any degree of accuracy. Only the Nazis know the figure. Five to six thousand Jews have abandoned the faith, although this does not change their status in Nazi eyes. It may thus be estimated that approximately 400,000 Jews left or were expelled from Greater Germany. When a new policy of deportation was launched this autumn, there were about 200,000 Jews in the territory of Germany proper and 44,000 in Vienna. In the other parts of Austria and in the

Sudetenland, there remain but a handful of Jewish families, while Memel and Danzig no longer contain a single Jew.

What is the character of the remaining quarter of a million Jews of Greater Germany? According to the census of 1925, there were 105 Jewish women to every 100 Jewish men in Germany; in September 1939, there were 139; today there are approximately 150 women for every 100 men. In 1925, only 40.6% of the Jews of Germany were over the age of forty; today more than 75% belong to that age group, and more than 50% are over fifty years of age and for the most part unfit for physical labor. There are, however, about 50,000 below the age of forty, who if succored in time, could still look forward to productive careers.

The situation in Vienna is considerably worse. In that city, according to the statistics of the Vienna Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt for the summer of 1941, of the 44,000 Jews, only 7522 (17.1%) were between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and of that number there were only 1953 men to 5569 women. Those over the age of sixty numbered 19, 691 (44,8%) of whom approximately two-thirds were women. Thus, nearly half of the Jews of Vienna are too old to work, with physical labor the only form of employment permitted to them. There were only 2,412 (5.5%) below the age of eighteen, according to the same figures.

The census of May 1939 affords more detailed statistics regarding the composition of the Jews of Greater Germany (excluding Memel and Danzig). There were at the time 330,892 Jews and 115,549 "partial Jews", of whom 72,738 were "Jews of the first degree" (two non-Aryan grandparents) and 42,811 "Jews of the second degree" (one Jewish grandparent). Commenting on these figures, an official German statistician wrote in Economy and Statistics (Berlin, 1940, pp.5-6): "The fear that intermarriage between Germans and Jews had gone too far, a fear based on unsound grounds, was not justified".

Of the 330,892 Jews registered in 1939, 39,466 (12%) were foreigners, whereas in 1925 that element had constituted 20% of the Jews in the Weimar Republic. Of the foreign Jews in 1925, 16,024 were stateless and 15,125 of Polish origin.

For many years the Jews of Germany had concentrated in the large cities. Nevertheless, in 1933 there were over 1800 Jewish communities scattered throughout the country. Since that time,more that 400 ceased to exist and at least another 100 in Austria and the Sudetenland have been liquidated. Five cities had Jewish populations of more than 10,000 before the policy of extermination was launched. Vienna had 91,480 (4.76%); Berlin, 82,788 (1.91%); Frankfurt on the Main, 14,461 (2.61%); Breslau, 11,172 (1.5%); Hamburg, 10,131 (0.91%). In May 1939, more than half of the Jews of Greater Germany were living in Berlin and Vienna.

It must be emphasized that the number of Jews in Germany is

declining steadily, even wholly apart from emigration and expulsion. As has already been indicated, the number of deaths exceeded the total of births by 70,000. This figure does not, however, reflect the conditions of the past few years, with the death rate mounting in increased proportions and the number of births falling at a precipitous pace because of the steady decline in the number of able bodied adults. In this respect, Berlin furnishes a striking example of what has happened.

In 1936, there were 2,483 Jewish deaths as compared with 494 births in Berlin, or a ratio of five to one. In the first half of 1939, however, there were 1,844 deaths and only six births, or more than 300 times as many deaths as births. This figure, if correct, is evidence of deliberate race suicide on the part of the Jews of Berlin.

Economics of the Jews, 1933-1941

An examination of the economic position of the Jews in Germany whe Hitler came to power, reveals the character and value of the property which the Nazis regarded as their legitimate booty. Agriculture may be omitted from this survey because the Jews were only represented to the extent of 1.7% in this field. In other occupations, it is worth comparing the percentage of Jews engaged with that of the non-Jews similarly engaged. Commerce, for example, was the pursuit of 49.8% of the gainfully occupied Jews as compared with 15.1% of the non-Jews; 18.7% of the Jews and 45.6% of the non-Jews engaged in industry and trades; 9.4% of the Jews and 8.3% of the non-Jews were in the white collar and professional class. Thus the Jewish percentage engaged in commerce was three times as great as among non-Jews, while in industry and handicraft trades the situation was substantially the reverse.

On the other hand, the ratio of the Jews to the aggregate whole in the various branches of the economy was very small. Jews constituted only 3.3% of all persons engaged in commerce; 1.2% of all employes and professionals and only 0.4% of the total number of persons in Germany engaged in industry and handicrafts.

It must be noted, however, that Jews were relatively more numerous among the class of employers than among the white collar and working class. Moreover, the Jews were concentrated in certain branches of endeavor.

Of the total number of private bankers, for example, Jews constituted 52,3% in 1928 and 48.1% in 1930. In Frankfurt-on-the-Main, in 1930, forty-seven of the fifty-eight private bankers were Jewish.

In 1930, of 9,984 large textile concerns, 3,938 (39.5%) were Jewish. This percentage was even greater in certain cities. In Berlin, large scale textile concerns owned by Jews constituted 61.5%; Breslau, 74.9%; Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 69.5%; Mannheim, 60%; Offenbach, 89.9%.

In the liberal professions, the Jews were far more important in a qualitative sense than by their number. In the light of their achievements, it is astonishing to discover how few Jews were represented in the liberal professions, in the universities and in the courts. The table below indicates that in 1933 the Jews held slightly more than 25% of the professional positions in Germany. There were only a few professions where they constituted a considerable element such as law (16.3%) and medicine (10.9%). In journalism, they were 5.1%; in the theatre, 3%; in professional posts, 2.6% and in the traditional Jewish occupations of pharmacy and dentistry, 3.6% and 2.1% respectively:

TABLE

The Place of the Jews in the Liberal Professions in Germany (1933)

Professions	Total No. of Persons Engaged	No. of Jews	Pctge of Jews
1) Lawyers & notaries	18,641	3,030	16.3
2) Patent attorneys	595	79	13.3
3) Legal consultants	3,058	165	5.4
4) Judges and prosecutors	10,359	286	2.8
5) Legal apprentices	14,683	367	2.5
6) Physicians	51,007	5,557	10.9
7) Dentists (DDS)	12,120	1,041	8.6
8) Pharmacists	18,220	657	3.6
9) Theatrical directors	1,070	60	5.6
10) Writers & journalists	17,277	872	5.1
11) Actors	23,694	703	3.0
12) Professors	7,272	192	2.6
13) Associate professors & instructors	37,505	317	0.9
14) Private teachers	10,730	461	4.3
15) Painters, sculptors, etc.	14,750	360	2.4
16) Chemists	31,013	715	2.3
17) Dentists & mechanical dentists	30,981	653	2.1
18) Musicians	93,861	1,915	2.0
19) Veterinaries	6,307	98	1.6
20) Clergy	40,165	434	1.1
21) Engineers & technologists	202,574	1,443	0.7
22) Elementary & high school teachers	251,102	1,323	0.5
Total	903,984	20,728	2.3

These are figures for the entire country, and they naturally vary according to the locality. On the basis of 1925 statistics,

half of the lawyers and one-fourth of the physicians of Berlin were Jewish. If converted Jews are added, the percentage would be much greater. Among professors and instructors, for example, there were more converted Jews than those of the Jewish faith. In certain large universities and particularly in the faculties of law and medicine there was a considerable concentration of Jews.

In Austria, the concentration of Jews in any urban area was far greater than anywhere in Germany. In 1938 165,000 of the 180,000 Austrian Jews (91.6%) lived in Vienna and comprised 62% of the lawyers; 62.7% of the dentists; 47.2% of all physicians; 28.6% of the professors - the last figure would be perhaps twice as great if converted Jews were included.

In the commercial life of Vienna, Jews comprised 74.3% of the wine dealers; 73.3% of those engaged in the textile business; 53.9% in the petroleum and oil industry; 53.0% in the shoe business.

In the Sudetenland, the situation resembled that of Vienna, but because the towns were small, the high ratio of Jews in specific enterprises serving the general population, was more conspicuous.

There were attempts made to estimate the Jewish share in the German national income and aggregate wealth. Sombart calculated that before the World War I, the Jewish share of the national income was six to seven times higher than the percentage of Jews in the population. In 1913, this would have amounted to three billion marks. Marcus, another author, calculated that in 1930 the Jewish share was four times that of the Jewish population ratio, or a total of two billion eight hundred million marks.

In 1933, of the 301,428 gainfully occupied Jews, 85,371 were white collar employes and 23,824 laborers, or a total of 109,195 (36.2%) belonging to the working class.

About one-third of the Jews of Berlin in 1925 and subsequently, were exempted from taxation by the Jewish community and from general taxes, because their income was less than 1200 marks a year. Moreover, of the taxpayers of the Berlin Jewish community, 31% had an income ranging from 1200 to no more than 2400 marks a year. In 1932, 40,000 Jews of Berlin required relief. In Vienna in 1938, there were 60,000 Jews in that category (36.3% of the total Jewish population of that city).

Legal Status of the Jews in Germany

The "unchangeable" program of the National Socialist Party adopted in Munich on February 24th, 1920 laid down the iron rule that Jews could not be regarded by the Germans as "kinsmen" ("Volksgenossen") and should therefore be treated as aliens. In accordance with accepted legal standards, that should have meant the exclusion of the Jews from public life and the exercise of the franchise, but no change in their civil status. The difference between them and citizens should have been limited to the field of political activity.

Time has demonstrated the flexibility of the "eternal" and "unchangeable" Nazi program. In a sense it might seem pointless to attempt a definition of the "legal status" of the Jews of Germany in view of the Nazi principle that "Recht ist was dem deutschen Volke frommt, Unrecht - was ihm schadet." (Right is that which serves the German people; wrong that which impedes it.) Under that definition, how might a person not of "pure" German blood claim any legal status? Furthermore, it might be argued that legislation in Germany was not only intended to provide rules for the future, but even more to "legalize" conditions already created by acts of the National Socialist Party. Despite these very real objections, a quick survey is possible of the evolution of anti-Jewish law in Germany.

Under early Nazi legislation (1933-1935) the authorities were empowered to revoke the citizenship of Jews naturalized since 1919. Simultaneously the Jews were excluded in part from official bodies, universities, schools and many professions (law, journalism and from the medical and dental Krankenkassen). A numerus clausus was introduced in all but primary schools. The establishment of a centralized Reichskulturkammer to mobilize all writers and artists into the service of the Party and state played a large role in the exclusion of the Jews from all cultural persuits - at first pensions were granted to charged officials, but such payments were successively curtailed.

In 1935, the Nuremberg laws created the categories of Angehoeriger and Buerger, with the Jews barred from the latter status and its rights, thereby giving legal expression to the original program of the National Socialist Party.

The same laws also effected the legal Ausgliederung (amputation) and the Dissimilierung (dissimilation) of the Jews from the German body. Subsequently came the laws regarding Jewish names, the stamp of the letter "J" on Jewish passeports, the special identification cards for the Jews and recently the yellow badge decree. Moreover, all rights enjoyed by Jewish bodies as communities were abolished.

The legal attack on the economic position of the Jews was steadily intensified and they were practically ousted from medicine,law and other professions, leaving only a restricted number to serve their own people.

Since 1938, the all-out legal assault upon the Jews, still in economic life has proceeded at a rapid and almost all-embracing scale, leading finally to the total confiscation of Jewish property.

Austria and the Sudetenland witnessed the same process, but the tempo was swifter and it was completed in a much shorter time.

The Jews as Outlaws.

Despite the language of the Munich program of 192o, the actual aim of the National Socialist Party has always been the complete physical extermination of the Jews of Germany. Today the ranking leaders of Third Reich no longer make a secret of their purpose. It was made explicit,for example, by Dr. Goebbels in a recent issue of Das Reich, as reported in the New York Times of November 14th, 1941.

Dr.Goebbels wrote among other things: "There is no difference among Jews. Every Jew is the sworn enemy of the German people. Every German soldier who falls in this war enters a debt in the account of the Jews. They have him on their consciences and must pay for it." Thus the Nazi objective is plain enough, although their actual practices are not always reported.

No precise data is available regarding the number of Jews killed in the streets, concentration camps and prisons of the Third Reich. Nor are there exact figures on the number of Jews sent to concentration camps and the proportion that emerged - usually shattered in mind and body. Moreover, it would be quite impossible to reconstruct a detailed account of the extent and character of the outrages practiced upon the Jews since January 30th, 1933, when Adolf Hitler became Chancellor.

Today the Jews are not the only victims of the Nazi regime of terror over Europe, but it might be well to remember that they were the first victims. Moreover, although the world has grown callous to the details of violence repeated too often to stir indignation, it is necessary to remember the stages whereby the Jews of Germany were reduced from the status of citizens enjoying equal rights with the general population, to the level of impoverished and broken pariahs.

Jews have in fact been outlaws in Germany since March 1933. As early as March 27th of that year, the following characteristic account appeared in the Manchester Guardian: "The worst excesses here in Berlin occured on March 9th (most of the victims living in the Grenadierstrasse). Many Jews were beaten up by Brown Shirts until the blood streamed down their heads and faces, and their backs and shoulders were bruised. Many fainted and were left lying in the streets and were picked up by friends or passers-by and taken to hospitals..."

This excerpt is significant because at the time the Nazis flatly denied the "atrocity stories" and maintained that they accorded equal protection, and the benefits of German discipline to all the people in the Reich. They have since come a long way from their reticence of 1933. As they grew more secure in their power, they became less sensitive to public opinion abroad and acts of violence against the Jewish population mounted in intensity.

The pre-war climax came in the organized pogroms of November 10th and 11th, 1938, after Grynszpan assassinated vom Rath, an official of the German Embassy in Paris. In scores of German and Austrian cities, simultaneous large scale arrests were made for the alleged purpose of "protecting" the Jews from "the wrath of the people". Meanwhile, Jews were beaten in the streets, seized and in many cases shot "while attempting to escape". The situation was at its worst in Austria and in the Sudetenland (occupied a month before under the Munich Pact) than in Berlin. The November pogrom also extended to Danzig, which had not yet been occupied by the German army. A noted Jewish surgeon of that

city was dragged from his house, doused in benzine and burned alive.

The account of the November pogroms that appeared at the time in the Nazi Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung speaks for itself: " As in all parts of the Reich, in Berlin,too, strong anti-Jewish demonstrations took place. In many places, shop windows were broken and the merchandise destroyed. Synagogues were set on fire and everything was burned. The same events took place in the suburbs of Berlin. In Eberwald, the synagogue was burned; similarly in Kotbus and in Brandenburg.

"The indignation of the masses against the still existing Jewish businesses in Nuremberg turned into a full fledged pogrom. In Essen, Dusseldorf, Crefeld and in other places, the synagogues are still being burned down. In Essen the Jewish youth house was burned. In Leipzig the synagogue was burned down and the textile shops of Bamberger and Hertz were also destroyed by fire. In all Jewish retail shops the windows were broken."

To this general picture, the Swiss Neue Zurcher Zeitung of November 14, 1938 added details such as the following: " In Annaburg, a Jewish business man, pursued by his tormentors who were shouting Jude Verrecke, ran from one floor to the next until he reached the roof, and there he threw himself over the top, and was smashed to bits on the pavement below. The number of Jewish suicides is increasing rapidly. Entire families are putting an end to their lives."

The November pogroms, staged by Storm Troopers and S.S. men acting on official orders, without the participation or visible sympathy of the general populace, put an end to the brief period of optimism that had pervaded certain quarters following the "peaceful solution" of the Sudeten problem at Munich, and jolted the world back to the realization that Nazi violence had not halted its march.

A foretaste of what was in store for the Jews when war came, was the deportation in a single night in November 1938, of more than 10,000 Jews to the Polish frontier town of Zbonszyn. Dragged from their beds, this army of men, women and children was herded to the railroad depot, packed into freight cars and shipped to the Polish frontier. Many perished en route and families were dispersed, but to the Germans it meant the disposal at one stroke of a large mass of Jews.

In the winter of 1940, a similar mass deportation took place in the West, when approximately 10,000 Baden Jews were rounded up and sent to Southern France in the same style.

Particularly cruel was the expulsion following the Anschluss, of 400 Jewish families of Burgenland, Austria, where the Jews had been living for from five to six centuries. Deported without their belongings and without means of subsistence, some escaped to Vienna and others to Bratislava, but a group of about seventy remained stranded for more than four months aboard an old freighter in a No Man's Land between Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Such scenes have since been repeated countless times with ever mounting cruelty, and no end yet in sight for the victims of the National Socialist doctrine that the various "inferior" peoples of Europe have no special claim to either life or liberty.

Economic Destruction

In an economic sense, the destruction of the Jews of Greater Germany has already been completed. "Aryanization" was not carried out immediately and everywhere, but was shrewdly staggered over a period of years, taking into account the character of each specific enterprise. The Nazis calculated in each case whether the particular business was connected with home or foreign markets, and whether Germans could be found to manage the business efficiently. At first, the Jews were expelled from the press, the motion picture industry, from literature, the liberal professions, the department stores and retail trade, because these served primarily the home market and there were enough "Aryans" waiting to fill the vacated positions. On the other hand, it was some time before the Jews were driven out of of the wholesale trade and the fur and textile business, because here Jewish connections in the international market were useful and necessary.

As late as 1939, there were still Jews in the fur and textile trades. Nor was it mere chance that the two private Jewish banks of Mendelsohn and Warburg, with their excellent foreign contacts and close ties with the export trade of Hamburg, were the last to be aryanized.

At first the Nazis had proclaimed that their only object was to remove the Jewish imprint from the political and cultural life of Germany, and that they did not intend to apply the Aryan paragraph to private enterprise. As a matter of fact, the first legislation based on the racial principle (The Public Officials Law of April 7,1933), was expressly limited to the holders of public office. The Nazi regime chose to move step by step in this field just as in its other major domestic and foreign policies, picking off its victims one at a time.

Today there are no Jewish business enterprises in Germany, no Jewish lawyers, craftsmen, actors or musicians. A few physicians and legal advisors are permitted to serve their fellow Jews, while a greatly increased number of Jewish social workers try to perform their impossible tasks. For at the present time, half of the Jews of Germany and two-thirds of the Jewish population of Vienna are dependent upon relief. With the exception of the manual labor which they perform upon a virtually slave basis, the Jews have been completely eliminated from the economic life of greater Germany.

The following figures furnish an approximate picture of the number of Jews in Germany and Austria deprived of their means of existence as a result of the aryanization policy:

4,000 landowners
25,000 artisans
10,000 factory owners
140,000 in trade and commerce
3,000 in banking
35,000 in the professions

In practice, aryanization has amounted to little more than confiscation, although some compensation was paid at first. While the amount was never commensurate with the actual value of the property taken, it was formerly possible to take part of such payments out of Germany. The Mosse publishing house in Berlin, for example, received only five million marks in 1933, although the German revenue authorities had assessed the property at forty million marks. The owners of the Orenstein and Koppel locomotive works were paid in Argentine shares worth seven million marks, which was between ten and twelve per cent of the value of the enterprise. Ten per cent compensation was the average a Jewish owner could expect, but during the past three years it has become impossible to take export money from Germany.

Curiously enough, the law regarding the aryanization of property was not published until November 1938, although the process had been going on for five years. On April 26, 1938 the law requiring an inventory of all Jewish property had made its appearance, and in this connection the Frankfurter Zeitung wrote on December 6th of the same year: " The inventory of Jewish property has disclosed land and business enterprises totalling 4.8 billion marks of the entire Jewish property value of 7.8 billion."

In February 1939, it was officially announced that with the completion of the ouster of the Jews from the retail trade, all concerns of a commercial and industrial character which had remained Jewish for special reasons, would be aryanized in accordance with German economic interests.

It is significant that confiscated Jewish concerns were not transferred to the"little man" in accordance with repeated National Socialist promises but to large firms. The Berlin Handelsgesellschaft, one of the five greatest banks of Germany, which had been controlled by Karl Fuerstenberg, was handed over to Krupp and the Allgemeine Elektricitaets Gesellschaft. At the head of the bank there now stands Herbert Goering, brother of Reichsmarchal Hermann Goering. The Warburg Bank now belongs to the Honiel Concern. The Jewish Department stores, long a favorite target of Nazi attack, continue to operate in the hands of large "Aryan" firms. Thus the small business men who rallied to the Nazi movement because of the promised spoils have not benefited as they had expected from the elimination of the Jews as their economic competitors.

Effect of Nazi Policy Upon Jewish Morale and the Reactions of Public Opinion

Because the Jews in Germany had long regarded themselves as an integral part of the life of the country, the repeated shocks of the successive Nazi drives toward their extermination have been severe. At least one-fourth of the 1844 Jews who died in Berlin between September 1939 and March 1940 took their own lives. Among the scores of prominent German Jews who committed suicide since Hitler came were Tucholski, Ernst Toller, Haber and Alsberg. Zionists and Orthodox Jews directed their energies toward Palestine and succeeded in sending about 10,000,mainly young men and women, to the Jewish settlements there. Other groups within Germany still retained the strength of will to organize the emigration of approximately 400,000 Jews to various parts of the world, but as the war engulfed Europe, and the Nazi legions moved into Scandinavia, the Low Countries and France, many of the Jewish refugees were again caught in the maelstrom they had briefly escaped.

The world as a whole was slow to react to the anti-Jewish drive of the Third Reich, partly because of inadequate knowledge of what the Nazis were doing, and partly because they long regarded anti-Semitism as an isolated aberration of National Socialism. Nonetheless, there were certain political reactions which should be recorded.

When Germany proclaimed an anti-Jewish boycott day on April 1st, 1933, the American and British press in particular was strong in its protests. During the plenary session of Assembly of the League of Nations that fall, the Nazi treatment of the Jews came up for discussion with Germany still in the League, and the British and French delegates spoke unequivocally against the anti-Jewish legislation and the race theory.

Five years later, world opinion reacted strongly against the November pogroms. In addition to the protests uttered in the press, the pulpits, the radio, and virtually every walk of life, it is worth recalling the protest of the British House of Commons on November 21st, 1938 and the recall by the United States of its ambassador to Berlin.

The Present Situation

To present even a fraction of the material regarding the ordeal of German Jewry is impossible within the limits of this survey. Many aspects have not been discussed, such as the prosecution of Jews on the charge of polluting the purity of the "Aryan" race. Several hundred Jews have been sent to prison and to concentration camps in connection with the Nazi-defined crime of Rassenschande, while many more have been dealt with in summary fashion on this pretext.

Of the 75,000 Jews who were still in Berlin in the early part of October, 1941, 30,000 were engaged in forced labor. If the proportion holds elsewhere, approximately 100,000 of the quarter of a million remaining Jews of Greater Germany are so employed, despite the general

age level. They are paid as unskilled laborers at the rate of 75 pfennig per hour for a working day of eight hours. Such labor is, to all intents, the only remaining means of subsistence.

Jews may not appear on the street after 8 o'clock in the evening. The use of parks, gardens, libraries, theatres, cinemas, public baths and cafes is almost totally denied to them. On September 1st, 1941, the government issued a decree, effective September 15th, requiring all Jews of Greater Germany over the age of six to wear the yellow Star of David on their coats. Thus the last distinction between the German Jew and the Ostjude was abolished. The effect of this decree, according to the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm Social Democ-raten as reported in the New York Times of October 13th,1941, was a new wave of 200 Jewish suicides in Berlin. The correspondent added that a new Nazi decree, aimed to prevent concealment of the yellow badge, required that the star be worn "over the hearts" of the Jews.

Accompanying the renewed drive to ostracize the Jews came a new series of harsh decrees. A Berlin dispatch to the New York Times on October 16th lists some of the new regulations:

" 1. The Jewish Kulturbund, which provided theatrical performances, concerts and movies for the Jewish population, has been dissolved and its artists sent to work in munition factories, on road building projects and similar chores. Jews were already barred from all cultural institutions available to non-Jews.

" 2. Grocers dealing in vegetables and fruits may not inscribe Jews on their customers'lists for these two kinds of products. For some time before Jews have been barred from purchasing sweets, condensed milk and many others canned goods.

" 3. The synagogues in Levetzow and Muenchener Streets, which remained among the few houses of worship permitted to the Jews, were closed recently and all space available inside them filled with straw sacks. It is believed the building will be used to house large numbers of Jews.

" 4. Some 2,000 Jewish families living in flats and apartments received notice during the past ten days to prepare to leave them. Persons receiving such notices were forbidden to look for other quarters. They were told they would be assigned quarters when the time comes to move.

" 5. All Jews receiving the evacuation notice must fill out an inventory of all their possessions, from the piano to collar buttons. They must fill out a list entitled "normal need of consumer". The Jews fear that when they move they will be deprived of everything except those goods listed as "normal needs" that include only a bare minimum of clothes and personal articles."

A Berlin dispatch that appeared in the New York Times on October 28th, revealed that Jews were being deported on a mass scale from Berlin

Vienna, Prague, the Rhineland and Westphalia to Eastern Poland and occupied Russia. The German censorship makes little effort to suppress the details, as is evident from the following excerpts from the dispatch:

" The deportees receive several days' warning that they must give up their apartments. Thereafter, at any hour of the day or night, they may expect the Gestapo or regular police to call for them. Their homes, with all inventory, are sealed and declared State property.

" According to Jewish sources, some refugees are obliged to leave behind wedding rings, watches, fountain pens and shaving outfits. Most Jews are said to take 100 marks with them. Some said that ninety of these marks were required for transportation costs, so they would arrive at their destinations with only ten marks.

" So far as can be learned, the uprooted Jews are classified as "criminals", undesirable social elements, and owners of catastrophe apartments. The latter means apartments suitable for Aryan refugees from cities subject to bombings...

" Many suicides are spoken of in Jewish circles."

Two days later, on October 30th, the New York Times carried another story from Berlin which was even more frank:

" Another train-load of Jews, embarked a score at a time from canvas-covered trucks, left a suburban Berlin Freight Yard today for somewhere in Poland. Similar train-loads are understood to have been departing almost daily from Berlin during the past ten days.

" Swiftly, efficiently and with as much secrecy as the situation permitted, the German Police, truckers and railroad-men assembled the human cargo of probably one thousand Jews caught up in the mass exodus. Attempts to watch the loading and departure ended 200 yards from the train, but from outside the freight-yard it was possible to watch the Jews being assembled for the trip.

" Except for the truck-loads of Jews and the regular railroad workers, the only persons admitted to the yard were Jews carrying special passes. They left the yard in a group shortly before the train pulled out, apparently after bidding farewell to the travellers - an indication that the group was largely Berlin Jews.

" Those Jews leaving the yard showed few signs of emotion. One was asked whether the train was made up of passenger or freight cars. Casting a quick glance over his shoulder, he said, freight cars- but they are full of people."

Finally, the New York Times of November 2nd reported that as a result of the recent drive, 20,000 Jews had already been expelled from Germany, including 6,000 from Berlin alone, and that the total would have been twice as great, but for the intervention of the military authorities who interceded for 20,000 Jews employed in essential war

industries of the Reich.

The deportations, according to the Berlin correspondent of the Times, were directed largely toward Litzmannstadt, formerly the leading Polish textile center of Lodz. "If German Jews find a measure of pity or even of sympathy on the part of the ordinary non-Jewish Germans", writes the Times correspondent, "it is because many of the latter find the recent anti-Semitic decrees unnecessarily harsh. While these Germans dare not utter any spoken protests, they affect an outward show of "apologetic sympathy' in subways and public places, and some even voice this sympathy when they can safely express themselves to Jews".

Perhaps the most significant aspect of these dispatches is that the German censorship permits them to pass. Apparently the Reich authorities are no longer concerned with the attitude of the United States towards their efforts to remove tha last Jew from Greater Germany and the methods which they use to achieve that purpose. For having embarked upon a policy of shooting French hostages,executing Czech and Norwegian civic leaders, destroying Serbian villages as retaliation against guerrilla resistance, there is indeed little remaining cause for the leaders of the Third Reich to indulge in further pretense regarding the fate of their primary scapegoat... the surviving Jew in their midst.

RUMANIA

Historical Background

Rumanian Jews trace their origin back to the early middle ages. The original small Jewish communities in Wallachia and Moldavia were considerably augmented by exiles from Hungary during the 14th century, refugees from the Spanish Inquisition (16th century) and the fugitives from Polish and Ukrainian pogroms (17th century).

After the first World War, Rumania (in 1919-1920) more than doubled its size and population. Already enlarged by the annexation of Bulgarian Dobrudja in 1913, the old Regat now became Greater Rumania (Romania Mare) by the addition of the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Bukovina, Transylvania and part of Banat and the seizure of the Russian province of Bessarabia.

In 1912, Rumania had a population of about 7,000,000 of whom some 250,000 (3.5%) were Jews. In 1939, the total was more than 19,000,000 with a Jewish population of about 900,000, or almost five percent.

The Jews of the new territories were of varied origin and differed in their social and economic character, as well as in their previous political experience from the Jews of old Rumania. Jews of the Hapsburg Empire, who had been thoroughly imbued with Austrian culture, had occupied important positions in industry and commerce and enjoyed a high standard of living. The Jews of Bessarabia engaged largely in agriculture, clung to old traditions and were bound to Russian as well as their own Yiddish culture. The Jews of old Rumania, active in trade, handicraft and light industry had taken an important part in Rumanian and Jewish cultural development - the Yiddish theatre, for example, originated in Rumania, when in 1878 the first was founded by Abraham Goldfaden in Bucharest. Adolph Stern, lawyer and first president of the Federation of Rumanian Jews (founded at the beginning of the present century) translated the works of Shakespeare into the Rumanian language. Moreover, many Jews of Rumanian origin who were forced to emigrate achieved distinction, as Rabbi Moses Gaster, author of a study on Rumanian literature, who became a leading figure in the Jewish community of London.

The Jews of old Rumania had lived through the political experience of always being regarded as non-citizens and aliens in the country of their birth, whereas the Austro-Hungarian Jews had long enjoyed full political rights. The Jews of Bessarabia, although subjected to many restrictions under Czarist rule, had experienced a brief period of democratic liberty under the Kerensky Provisional Government (1917).

Composed of so many diverse strains, Rumanian Jewry has never known that inner cohesion and unity which has, for example, characterized its counterpart in Poland.

Economic Structure

Concentrated in urban centers, Rumanian Jews have formed the most active and progressive element of the middle class. Developing and often initiating trade, handicraft and light industry, they have dominated such highly skilled crafts as watchmaking and bookbinding. The Rumanian credit system was initiated by the famous Jewish bank of Marmaros-Blanc which transacted as much as 40% of the financial business of the country.

The concentration of the Jews in the cities was due as much to political as to economic reasons. As a small trader or artisan, the Jew was often compelled to flee from the village because of physical violence at the hands of incited peasants or was driven out by government action. On the other hand, thousands of Jews left the country entirely; between 1900-1914, about 100,000 Jews emigrated from Rumania.

In 1920, The Rumanian government carried out the long promised agrarian reform which purported to abolish the great social differences between the rich landowners and the great mass of impoverished peasants. The development as a result of a land bourgeoisie gradually eliminated the Jews from the villages, and led to still greater concentration in urban centers. In the cities, on the other hand, the new Rumanian middle class rendered the Jewish position precarious.

On the whole, however, their economic situation during the first decade after the first World War may be said to have corresponded to the general standard of the country. Thereafter, with the rising anti-Semitic wave, they were not only gradually ousted from their positions, but finally lost all chance of regaining even part of their former economic status.

According to the census of 1930 (which like almost all Rumanian statistics was colored by political considerations), the Jews totaled 756,930 (4.2%) out of a population of 18,053,000. Of these, 540,846 or more than two-thirds, were concentrated in cities. The vast majority of the general Rumanian population, on the other hand, lived in villages (from 73 to 87%, depending upon the province).

The occupational distribution of the Jews in 1930 was as follows: 4.1% were engaged in agriculture (as compared with 73.7% of the non-Jews), 32.8% in industry and handicraft, 48.3% in trade and credit (compared with 11.3% and 4.2% respectively), 2.4% in "transport and communication" (compared with 2.3%). The army absorbed 1.9% (2.9% of the non-Jews); 2.7% of the Jews were engaged in the liberal professions and in public service (3.1% of the non-Jews); 7.8% of the Jews were classified under "other professions" (compared with 2.5% of the non-Jews); more than 80% of the Jews were engaged in light industry, handicraft and trade. Jewish participation in industry and handicraft was proportionately three times as great as of the non-Jews, whereas in commerce it was perhaps ten times as high.

The development of heavy industry and the flooding of the market with foreign products (in later years mainly German) contributed largely to reduce the importance of the Jews because they gradually lost their place in this new development. Jewish representatives of German firms, for example, were replaced by "pure" Rumanians at the request of the Nazis. At a time when the country showed signs of general recovery (there was virtually no unemployment in 1936-1937), the economic condition of the Jews took a definite turn for the worse. Big Jewish banking did not survive the great depression and the collapse of the Marmaros-Blanc bank in particular, to which the government refused to extend any assistance, ruined many Jewish business men.

In the liberal professions the picture was no brighter. Out of a total of 6,040 lawyers, about 1,500 were Jewish. In medicine, the Jewish percentage was higher. Of 6,127 physicians, 47.5% were Rumanian, 36.6% Jewish and 15.9% belonged to other nationalities. Despite their number, however, most of the Jewish lawyers and doctors were in a serious economic plight. Physicians who had studied abroad were now required to submit to new examinations and could not specialize without government authorization. In every field of endeavor, increasing popular and official anti-Semitism menaced the existence of the Jews.

Anti-Semitism

"Straini Fara Protectie" (foreigners without protection) — such has been the legal status of the Rumanian Jews. The distinctive feature of anti-Semitism in Rumania has been the perennial refusal to accord citizenship to the Jews although the status and the treatment of the Jews by the Rumanian government has, for three quarters of a century, been a matter of international concern and was taken up at various international conferences. Citizenship was promised to the Jews at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, when Rumania obtained her independence. That promise was soon broken. By various decrees and devices the government consistently managed to bar the way to Jewish emancipation. With the exception of about 800 war veterans and a few others who were granted naturalization by a special act of parliament, Rumanian Jews continued to be "Straini" in a country where they had lived for centuries.

By virtue of the Minorities Treaty of December 9, 1919, Rumania undertook to recognize as citizens all persons who resided at the end of the war in both the old and the annexed territories. Particular attention was paid to the Jewish minority and Article 7 of the Treaty specified that "Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory" were to be granted citizenship, even without formal application. The Rumanian government accepted these provisions with reluctance under the pressure of the great powers. Even the participation of 35,000 Jewish soldiers (more than 10% of the Jewish population) in the ranks of the Rumanian army during the war did not serve to decrease the hostility of the regime toward the Jews.

On February 24, 1924, a law was passed "regarding the acquisition and loss of Rumanian citizenship" that imposed various restrictions upon the inhabitants of the new provinces in open violation of the Minorities Treaty. Proof of legal residence was made the basic prerequisite for obtaining citi-

zenship. Few persons were able to procure the necessary documents and even those who did were often rejected by officials on some technicality. Despite the provision for appeal against unfavorable decisions to commissions which functioned until 1927, an estimated twenty to thirty thousand Jews recognized as citizens under the 1919 definition, lost their status though such devices.

Official measures were matched by anti-Jewish actions that included violence but were wilfully ignored by the authorities. During the twenties, there were already anti-Semitic outbreaks foreshadowing what was to come in Rumania as a result of the depression and the advent of Hitler.

Legal action coupled with boycott movements frequently ruined Jewish enterprises, while heavy taxes imposed on Jewish business men on various pretexts, drove many to suicide. The "Law for the Protection of National Labor" of 1934, ostensibly "protecting" Rumanian citizens by reducing foreign workers to a 20% quota in each enterprise, was actually inspired by the "Numerus Valachicus" ("Vlach" is an old synonym for Rumanian). Favored by Voida-Voevod, a confirmed opponent of minority rights and an anti-Semite, the law operated primarily against members of national minorities and Jews, because they were not Rumanians "by blood".

Universities were overcrowded in Rumania where, incredibly enough, the percentage of students in institutions of high learning was higher than in France or England. While the number of non-Jewish students continued to rise, the total of Jewish students fell by more than 11% in a single year. In 1933-1934 the total number of students was 40,903 of whom 5,778 (14.1%) were Jewish. In 1935, the total number increased to 41,307 but only 5,165 (12.5%) were Jewish. A trend was also apparent among the Jews toward agricultural and technical studies. In 1934, only one Jewish student was pursuing agricultural studies, whereas the following year there were 34 or 2.9% of the total number of students of agriculture. In the technical field, there was an increase during the same period from 166 Jewish students (10.9%) to 336 (12.5%). Yet the search for new economic fields and "re-training" for manual pursuits afforded no solution. Converting a Jewish small trader into an artisan served little purpose when government restrictions and the universal boycott made the existence of both classes of Jews intolerable.

Subsidized by German funds and trained by German commissions on "lecture" tours, the followers of the inveterate Jew baiter, "Professor" Alexandru Cuza and members of Corneliu Codreanu's Iron Guard spread anti-Semitic propaganda through the length and breadth of Rumania. In 1938, some 40 daily and 100 weekly papers, the most important of which was Codreanu's Porunca Vremii (Order of the Time), conducted a systematic campaign to induce the government to more drastic measures against Jews. Physical violence steadily increased and soon developed into well organized pogroms. The government made no effort to stop these activities and sometimes encouraged them. At so-called "youth" meetings, Iron Guardists were openly welcomed by local authorities and special trains were placed at the disposal of Cuza's followers.

The Goga Government

Rumania was still allied at this time to France and Great Britain but economically the country was becoming ever more dependent on Germany which swamped her market with goods and with intensified Nazi propaganda

to undermine Allied influence. The attitude of the "liberal" Tatarescu government toward the anti-Semitic activities was perhaps best exemplified by the reasons the Premier gave in 1937 for refusing to receive a Jewish delegation: "To make meaningless statements", he said, "would be an insult to the Jews. To say unpleasant things, I cannot, because I am not a confirmed anti-Semite. To say a good word, I must not, because it might harm the government."

The Tatarescu government was defeated in the elections of December 1937. The Iron Guard later known as the Totul Pentru (All for the Fatherland) Party had in the meantime acquired considerable influence. Because the Iron Guard was avowedly pro-Nazi, King Carol who moreover did not relish playing the role of a puppet, decided to entrust the formation of a new government to Octavian Goga and Alexandru Cuza, the leaders of the National Christian Party and prominent anti-Semites. By this device, it was possible to carry out the Iron Guard program without causing a breach with Paris or London. King Carol's decision came as a shock because the National Christian Party had polled only 9% of the vote in the elections. Parliament was prorogued, new elections postponed and Goga ruled without constitutional restraints.

The most important measure of the new regime, aimed frankly at the elimination of the Jews, was the repudiation of the Rumanian obligation under the Minorities Treaty to grant citizenship to all Jews. This was done by the special decree of January 21, 1938. The revision of citizenship was carried out at the expense of the Jews alone and was not confined, as in 1924, to the new territories. All Jews were required to furnish documentary proof of their claim, with the exception of Jewish veterans of the Balkan War of 1913, whose citizenship had been legally recognized by a special decree of December 30, 1918.

The shortlived Goga regime (December 28, 1937 to February 10, 1938) marked the beginning of Rumania's internal Nazification through a series of decrees embracing in their aggregate the "cold" pogrom which German Jews had been enduring since 1933. Jewish physicians were removed from the Department of Public Health and from the social insurance institutions. Doctors and pharmacists with foreign diplomas, even though in practice since 1919, were obliged to re-establish their rights by documentary proof. If deprived of citizenship, they were automatically barred from practice. Professional bodies, particularly the Ilfov Bar Association of Bucharest, expelled large numbers of their Jewish members. Those whose citizenship was under revision, were forthwith suspended and although this decision was later pronounced illegal by the courts, there was no method of obtaining redress.

The revocation of licenses held by Jews, to sell alcoholic beverages and their exclusion from trade in such government controlled monopolies as oil, salt, tobacco, and matches, affected the existence of some 12,000 Jewish families. Inspectors were dispatched to all enterprises to enforce the "protection of 'national' labor". Jewish employers were compelled to dismiss their Jewish workers on either of two grounds, namely, if the employe had lost his citizenship, in which case he was disbarred

as an "alien"; or even if he was a citizen, on "ethnical" grounds, because he was not a Rumanian "by blood". Jewish artisans were required to submit certificates from the guild, of artisans attesting to their "ability" to pursue their vocation, while Jewish Merchants and tradesmen had to prove the "usefulness and efficiency" of their trade. These provisions encouraged corrupt Rumanian officials to blackmail Jews who were allowed to continue with their work.

Local prefects frequently acted on their own account to add special clauses to official decrees. In Bukovina, Jews were forced to keep open their stores on the Sabbath, while in many cities ritual slaughtering was forbidden. In the Bessarabian city of Ismail, Jews were forced to shovel snow when unable to pay arbitrarily imposed fines. Cuzist "Lancers" and Iron Guardists instituted a reign of terror. Driving at full speed through the narrow alleys of Bucharest's Ghetto, they hurled rocks through shop windows and ran down pedestrians. Jewish lawyers were beaten in Jassy and other cities and were prevented from entering the courts. At the University of Bucharest, Jewish students were beaten by Rumanian classmates, while thoughout the villages, anti-Semitic riots drove thousands of Jews to the already overcrowded ghettos of the cities.

The Rumanian policy evoked international protest, and a petition of the World Jewish Congress brought the problem of citizenship revision before the League of Nations by providing a vivid picture of what the execution of the Goga decrees would mean to Rumanian Jewry.

King Carol, fearful of mounting Nazi influence, and impressed by the representations of the League of Nations and the French and British Ministers in Bucharest, decided to dismiss the cabinet after it had been in office for forty-five days. The brief Goga experiment had totally disrupted Rumania's economy. Clearly, it was necessary to proceed with greater caution. Two weeks after the fall of Goga, Carol proclaimed himself dictator and Miron Christea, Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, was appointed Premier. All political parties were dissolved and the liberal constitution was abolished. The new constitution (February 27, 1938) gave all legislative power to the king, made the Cabinet responsible to him alone and provided for an authoritarian regime based on the Fascist pattern of corporate representation.

Toward the "New Order"

In November 1938, Codreanu, the leader of the Iron Guard was shot "while trying to escape" and the following month the Front of National Renaissance was established as the only authorized political party. The new authoritarian regime stirred hopes among some Jews that the era of persecution had come to an end, particularly because the Iron Guard seemed to have fallen into disgrace, and the Premier, in his opening speech, had promised equal rights to all. But he soon announced his adherence to the previous policy with regard to the Jews. The citizenship revision procedure continued throughout the succeeding year. On November 24, 1939 the Ministry of Justice revealed that 203,424 cases, involving 617,396 persons, had thus far been examined. Of these, 392,174 individuals had been permitted to retain their citizenship, while 225,222 (36.7%) had lost it. To the latter figure, were added an additional 44,848 not registered in the local lists. About 30,000 had lost their citizenship in 1924. In all, therefore, close to 300,000 Rumanian Jews

In January 1939, Parliament was superseded by a Grand Council. Miron Christea remained Premier until his death in March of that year. His successor, Calinescu, was shot by Iron Guardists in October, a month after the outbreak of World War II. The Iron Guard again lifted its head and Germany acquired steadily increasing control over the political life as well as the economy of Rumania. Calinescu was succeeded by Argentoianu who gave way to a new Tatarescu cabinet which remained in power from November 1939 until July 1940. The appointment of Tatarescu, whose pro-French sympathies were well known, was characteristic of the vacillating policy of the king. Having concluded a large scale trade agreement with Germany in April 1939 he tried nonetheless to retain the friendship of France and Great Britain. In March 1940, however, he was obliged to again legalize the Iron Guard and the Front of National Renaissance became the "Party of the Nation." Tatarescu was dismissed and Iron Guard leader Ion Gigurtu became Premier in July 1940.

Gigurtu openly proclaimed his intention to join Hitler's "New Order" and that Rumania would henceforth follow the "new orientation of Europe". The Gigurtu regime and the close rapprochement with Germany saw the dismemberment of Rumania and a series of new anti-Semitic laws.

On July 1940 there began a wave of killings and local pogroms. Forty Jews were said to have been killed in the city of Dorohoi, and 600 persons (most of them presumably Jews) in Galati. Widespread disturbances marked by murder and looting continued throughout the year, reaching their climax in January 1941.

On August 10, 1940, a special statute defined who was Jewish and divided all Jews into three classes. According to this law, a person with a "Christian mother whose father is of the Mosaic religion" was deemed to be a Jew. The statute did not accept the Nazi race principle in its entirety. A subsequent decree, however, prohibited marriage between persons of Rumanian "blood" and Jews. According to the division into three classes, Jews who came to Rumania after December 30, 1918, belonged to the "first category"; those who had been naturalized through special law or by legal dispensation before December 30, 1918, and those who had fought in the "wars of Rumania for Rumania" and their dependents, belonged to the second, and were somewhat more privileged. Jews who fit neither of these two descriptions, belonged to the third category. A common characteristic of the members of all three categories was that they could not possess or acquire land (Jews were excluded from political life in 1938). In other respects, the Jews of the second category were promised that their "legally acquired" rights would be maintained. The statute contained a list of occupations and professions not open to Jews of the first or third category such as Public office of any kind, notaries, lawyers and all other professions which "by their nature are directly connected with public authorities." Furthermore Jews were not permitted to be members of administrative boards of public or private enterprises; to engage in commerce in the rural communities. Other provisions gave legal sanctions to measures already carried out in part.

Further decrees enacted in August, September and October 1940, eliminated the Jews from all the professions and occupations where they had still succeeded in maintaining themselves. Thus 1,154 Jewish lawyers who

had failed to present documents required to prove that they belonged to the second category, were disbarred by decree. At the same time, seventeen members of the judiciary and four officials of the Ministry of Agriculture were also dismissed. Jewish journalists were no longer allowed to work on other than Yiddish newspapers, while the suppression of the latter made it impossible for them to continue their profession even in this restricted field. Similarly, Jewish actors were forbidden to appear anywhere except on the Yiddish stage.

A decree of August 31, 1940, introduced new regulations for Jewish children hitherto unaffected by anti-Semitic legislation. None but the children of second category Jews were to be admitted to public schools and even they only if "space permitted", after all Christian pupils had been registered. For the others, elementary schools were to be provided by the Jewish communities. Children of first and second category parents were still to be admitted to high schools and colleges but the combined total of Jewish students of all categories was not to exceed 6% of the entire student body. In March 1941, these "concessive" laws were abolished and all Jewish students without exception, were excluded from all Rumanian schools.

The dissolution of political groups had abolished the representative Jewish bodies. Under Goga, Jewish religious institutions had already been denied the state subvention to which they were entitled in common with all religious groups. The withdrawal of the subsidy was now legally confirmed by the Gigurtu Government. This reduced to a minimum the spiritual and cultural life of the Jewish communities and religious organizations, to which the Jews were forced to confine themselves because of their exclusion from the general social and cultural life of the country.

Rumania in the Axis

The fall of France removed the last important barrier which still stood in the way of Hitler's attempted reorganization of Europe. Within a few months, Rumania despite her friendship with Germany lost the major part of her annexed provinces. In July, Russia occupied Bessarabia and Norther Bukovina bringing from 275 to 300,000 Bessarabian Jews and about 50,000 Jews from Bukovina under Soviet rule. In August, Hungary regained a great part of Transylvania, bringing about 150,000 Jews back to the old "fatherland". Hungary's occupation was confirmed by the Conference of Vienna (ending September 1, 1940) which also authorized the occupation of Southern Dobrudja (4,000 Jews) by Bulgaria.

Growing disaffection among the people because of the surrender of these territories without resistance, increasing agitation by the Iron Guard and strong Nazi-pressure, undermined the position of King Carol. The Jews were also held responsible as "pro-Bolshevik" and "anti-Rumanian" agitators. The situation became tense. Rumanian troops withdrew from the surrendered territories and bands of Iron Guardsmen raided villages and cities, breaking into the homes of Jews, beating some and dragging others to barracks to be tortured. On September 5, the veteran Iron Guardist and pro-German, General Ion Antonescu was appointed the new Premier. The following day King Carol abdicated in favor of his son Mihai. The latter to all intents surrendered his prerogatives to General Antonescu.

The new dictator appointed Horia Sima, the noted Iron Guard leader and friend of the late Codreanu as his vice-premier. In November, Heinrich Himmler, the chief of the Gestapo, came to Rumania and personally directed the expropriation measures against the Jews. On November 23, 1940, Rumania officially became a member of the Axis.

Dissension between Antonescu and Horia Sima soon led to open revolt. The first great uprising occurred in November when a section of the Iron Guard opposed to Antonescu's intimate link with the Germans revolted against the virtual occupation of Rumania by the Reichswehr. Assured of Nazi support, Antonescu finally succeeded in restoring order. The result of this revolt was reported to have been the killing of about 600 Jews; 200 in the city of Ploesti alone. Unrest continued during December and finally led on January 21, 1941, to a five day pogrom which overshadowed the worst Ukrainian pogroms of the Pettura era.

The most horrible episode of these killings, the "kosher butchery" of 200 Jews in the municipal slaughterhouse of Bucharest by Iron Guard legionnaires, was described in a letter (published in the New York Post on February 19, 1941) which the mother of a slain Iron Guardist wrote to the editor of Porunca Vremii the Iron Guard newspaper: "I went to the slaughterhouse. What I saw there, I shall not forget the rest of my life. I saw human beings hung up like animals. I saw a little girl, five years old who was suspended by her feet from the hooks where the calves are hung. Her entire body was smeared with blood. I ran away at the sight ...went to the morgue...hundreds and hundreds of dead who no longer resembled human beings. I saw men whose tongues had been torn out. I saw women's bodies torn to pieces. I saw children whose corpses were smashed beyond recognition."

The official account placed the number slain at 236 of whom 130 were said to be Jews. 254 were said to have been wounded, of whom 20 were Jews. However, the "kosher butchery" that monstrous parody of the Jewish Shehita by cutting the throats of Jews, and the shooting of 160 Jewish officials, would alone far exceed the official figures. The unofficial estimate is that from 4,000 to 6,000 persons were killed in Bucharest alone and 10,000 throughout the country during the revolt. Of the Bucharest victims, at least 1,000 were Jewish. Damage said to have been suffered by 1,500 Jewish families was placed at more than 350,000,000 lei (about $1,750,000). The revolt was finally crushed by Antonescu's forces with German military assistance and the pogrom ended. Horia Sima fled and Antonescu, as sole dictator, intensified the policy inaugurated by the late Octavian Goga. The anti-Semetic historian, Professor Jorga had been killed during the revolt. Only Professor Cuza who was now over eighty, survived to witness the complete fulfillment of his anti-Semetic program, but with the Germans in the saddle.

With Rumania in the Axis, Jewish life was doomed to inevitable, albeit "disciplined", extinction. An ever greater percentage of the roughly 450,000 Jews who live in "new" Rumania (according to the census of April 6, 1941, a country of 13,493,000 with 302,000 Jews), must rely on funds from abroad and the aid of kinsmen who still have limited means.

The Russo-German war brought new hardships to the Jews of Rumania (increased in number once more with the re-occupation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina by German and Rumanian forces). Five hundred were said to have been executed as "Communists" in the city of Jassy alone soon after the German attack began and by August 10,000 were said to have been killed. In August too, the first ghetto was established in Kishenev, Bessarabia. All Jewish men from 18 to 50 years of age have been drafted for forced labor. Their daily food ration is one-eighth of that provided for a Rumanian soldier.

In September, the 30,000 Jews of Cernovitz were ordered into a ghetto. In October, clothes and linen belonging to Jews were confiscated and turned over to the army. Jews of Bucharest must now do their shopping and marketing in one hour, (11 A.M. to noon) on week days, under a decree issued by the city council. On Sundays and holidays they are allowed to make their purchases between 9 and 10 A.M., but only "after the Rumanian population has satisfied its needs", according to an official German news dispatch of November 11 which added that storekeepers who did not comply with these regulations and served to Jews at other hours, would be sent to concentration camps. Last but not least, it has been reported that the famous Nurenberg laws are now to be introduced in Rumania.

Another bloody pogrom was reported to have taken place during Russo-Rumanian fighting in Bessarabia. The number of Jewish victims is as yet not known.

"Free Rumanian"

Unrest unquestionably exists in Rumania. The Gestapo is now more active in that country than anywhere except in the Reich itself and in occupied France because of growing disorders and discontent among the people and the Iron Guardists. The large losses suffered by the Rumanian army in the Russian campaign have served to fan the spirit of rebellion. On the other hand, the so-called "Free Rumanian" movements were formerly of rather dubious character inasmuch as their leaders, such as Virgil Tilea, the sponsor of the anti-Semitic "Numerus Valachicus", were anything but trustworthy opponents of the "New Order". Organization on a new basis may now be possible as the result of the recent arrival in this country of democratic Charles Davila, former Rumanian Minister to the United States who has pledged full rights for the Jews in a liberated Rumania.

HUNGARY

Historical Background

There are reasons for supposing that Jews were already settled in Hungary under the Roman emperors, but the first historical reference to their presence occurs only at about 960 C.E. in a letter addressed to King Joseph of the Chazars by Hasdai ibn Sharput, the Jewish statesman of Codova. Subsequent records tell of large-scale Jewish immigrations in the 11th century from Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia. Following a succession of expulsions, persecutions and re-admissions, the condition of the Jews was greatly improved under Ferdinand the Fifth, in the middle of the 18th century, and they were granted complete political emancipation in 1867. In 1896 the Jewish religion was accorded legal recognition and thenceforward Jews became increasingly active in the political, industrial, scientific and artistic life of the country.

Full political and civil rights were further guaranteed to all subjects of the country by the minority provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, June 4, 1920.

Statistical data

According to the census of December, 1930, Hungary's population numbered 8,638,319, and her territory measured 35,911 square miles. According to the same census, the Jews of Hungary numbered 444,567 or 5.1% of the total population. The census of 1920, however, showed that the Jews numbered 473,345, or 5.9%, thus indicating a decrease during the intervening period of 28,788 or 6.1%, as against an increase in the general population, during the same period, of 8.7%. Although the Jewish population previously showed an increase, a considerable decline obtained as indicated in the following table:

Year	Number of Jews	Percentage
1910	471,355	6.2%
1920	473,345	5.9%
1930	444,567	5.1%
1940 (estimated)	420.000	4.5%

Three factors responsible for the decrease in Jewish population are: decline in birthrate, conversion, and emigration.

Between 1931 and 1935 there were 1,324 more deaths than births. Since 1935 there has been a further drop in the birth rate. A striking instance of this is afforded by the large Jewish community of Budapest where, in 1930 some 204,371 or 47.6% of Hungarian Jews were concentrated, constituting 20.3% of the total population of this city. According to the Budapest Municipal Statistics Bureau, during the first half of 1940, there were only 421 births as against 1,868 deaths among the Jews.

The number of converts during the period 1931-1935 amounts to 3,765 persons. It is reliably estimated that this number has been at least trebled during the last five years as a result of anti-Jewish measures.

Finally, no less than 31,044 Jews emigrated during the decade from 1920 to 1930. On the other hand, recent territorial changes have almost doubled the number of Jews living in the country. By the Vienna decision of November, 1938, which ceded parts of Slovakia, a further 81,720 were added; the annexation of the Carpatho-Ukraine added 105.000 Jews; the cession of Transylvania by Roumania to Hungary in September, 1940, augmented the latter Jewish population by 148, 649; and finally the occupation of the Banat and the Bacska regions from Yugoslavia has given Hungary jurisdiction over approximately 20.000 more Jews.

Economic Structure

In the nineteenth century the industrialization of the country was left by the great magnates to the Jews. The latter, it has been conceded, built railroads and factories, thus providing employment for multitudes of young peasants, driven from the land through inability to obtain holdings on the jealously guarded estates of the aristocracy.

After the War, the inability of Hungarian youth to enter the Imperial service and the rise of the Christian middle class intensified the economic as well as the political struggle.

The decline in the number of Jews living in Hungary in the post-war period was an indication that a gradual process of economic extermination was in operation. Government's figures, published in April,1938, show that in 1930 Jewish lawyers constituted 34.9%, as compared with 49.2% in 1920. In the medical profession the Jewish ratio was 54.5%, a decline of 10% since 1920. In transportation Jews constituted 7.3% in 1935, as compared with 14.5% in 1900. In journalism they decreased from 49.2% to 35.3%. In scholarship the Jewish ratio fell from 27.3% in 1920 to 24.7% in 1930, and among editors and journalists from 34.3% to 31.7%. In the arts the Jewish ratio in 1930 was as follows: painting, 17.7%; sculpture, 8.3%; singers, 27.1%; composers, 28.9%; actors, 24.1% . In Government service Jews constituted no more than 4.6% in the local and national legislative bodies and a mere 1.7% in the administrative offices. Taking the liberal professions together, the Jewish ratio in 1930 was 11.3%, which corresponds almost exactly to the proportion of Jews in the urban population. Among manual workers the Jewish ratio was as follows: furriers, 20.3%; tailors 15.5%; printers, 13.5%; bakers, 11.2%; butchers, 7.2%; hairdressers, 5,1%; shoemakers, 4%; metal workers, 2,1%. Among independent traders, in general, Jews constituted 5.3%, but the gainfully employed Jews in this field amounted to 44.9%

Economic discrimination against the Jews, inspired mainly by fear of competition, was especially pronounced in industrial and workers' organizations, while a number of new enterprises were subsidized either wholly or partly by the State, for the express purpose of displacing Jews. Thus, in the grain industry, a purchasing concern called FUTURA, established some years ago with government aid, managed in a short while to gain a monopoly of all buying and exporting throughout the country, completely eliminating Jewish dealers.

Similarly, the semi-official Consumers' Cooperative, HANGYA (Ant), which maintained branches throughout the country, contrived, by systematic cutting of prices and promotion of boycotts, to drive Jewish tradesmen from the villages and farming communities.

Anti-Jewish Legislation

The appointment of Dr. Kolomon Daranyi to the Premiership on October 10, 1936, following the death of Goemboes, led many to believe that the campaign against anti-Semitism would be prosecuted with full vigor, especially since Daranyi had declared that Hungary's future policy must be one of tolerance to the Jews and of strong opposition to the Nazis. Nevertheless, on April 7, 1938, the new Premier introduced the first "Jew Law", (subsequently adopted by the Lower House of Parliament on May 13, 1939, by a vote of 123 to 7), under the name, "Government Law for the More Efficient Protection of Economic and Social Balance". The bill was passed by the Senate on May 24, and, in violation of the Hungarian Constitution and of the Treaty of Trianon, it was consequently enacted by executive order. It provided for the gradual elimination of Jews in the following manner: within the next five years commercial, industrial and banking establishments were to restrict the share of Jewish employees to 20% of the pay-roll, while the textile industry alone was to be allowed ten years to do likewise. In the arts and professions the process was to last but one year. Chambers were to be established for physicians, lawyers, engineers, the press, the theatre and film production, in which Jewish membership was to be restricted to 20%. The law even restricted the number of Jews to be employed by Jewish firms. Their combined salaries were not to exceed 20% of the total pay-roll, including bonuses and other forms of remuneration. The bill, passed by the Lower house, applies also to Jews converted to Christianity since August 1, 1919, exempting only war veterans and their children. Finally, it calls for a revision of the citizenship of all Jews naturalized since 1914.

The moving spirit behind the first anti-Jewish law, Daranyi, resigned immediately after it had been passed, its execution being left to Dr. Bela Imredy. Ironically enough, however, the latter was found guilty of having a Jewish grandmother and a Jewish great-grandfather and was therefore declared unfit to rule. It was Imredy who conceived the second, more cruelly rigorous Jew law, in turn leaving its application to his successor, Teleky.

In December, 1938, the draft of the second anti-Jew law was introduced, and on May 5, 1939 it was passed, against severe opposition. The head of the Catholic hierarchy in Hungary warned against the introduction of racial provisions, while Count Gyula Karolyi resigned the presidency of the Senate, in protest against these discriminatory laws.

The law imposed the following restrictions: a quota of 6% for Jews in the liberal professions and cultural pursuits; a quota of 12% in private, commercial and industrial enterprises; discharge from all civil service positions, and from responsible positions in the press, theatre and cinema; cancellation of all citizenship papers issued to Jews naturalized after July 1, 1914; government arrangements for migration of Jews; expropriation of Jewish land holdings and arrangements to transfer Jewish capital; these provisions were to be enforced within a five-year period, with the exception of elimination from the press, theatre and cinema, which was to be completed by the end of 1939.

The Government is at present proceeding ruthlessly with the enforcement of the "Jew-Law" and is systematically ousting all Jews from their economic positions. Although the law was supposed to go into effect gradually, a report published in August, 1939, by the Union of Industrialists in Budapest disclosed that 24,000 persons had already been deprived of their positions.

The Effect of the "Jew Law"

At the time of the promulgation of the first anti-Jewish law, it was estimated that out of 2,800 Jewish doctors , only 1,600 would be allowed to practice; of 2,700 lawyers only 1,100 would be permitted to continue and out of 480 editors and journalists only 300 would be allowed to retain their employment. The same holds true for Jewish musicians and actors. Altogether nearly 6,000 Jewish families, which gained their livelihood in the professions will be left without income. When we add to these the assistants and office workers employed by the professions, we may conclude that about 25,000 to 30,000 Jews will be affected by the new decree. Still more tragic is the fate of those employed in commerce and industry. Nearly half of the 52,000 Jews engaged in these callings will remain without employment and the decree will thus affect between 60 and 70 thousand persons in Hungary proper. Somewhat more favorable are the prospects for Jews in heavy industry, where they originally numbered not more than 7%, but even there the situation was very critical in the smaller Jewish shops, some of which had only Jewish employees. In short, it is an "optimistic" estimate made by the Budapest Jewish Community in June, 1940, stating that about 40% of Hungary's Jewry have been affected by the second "Jew-Law". This meant that out of the present population of about 800,000, about 320,000, breadwinners and their dependents, would be deprived of any kind of livelihood.

Over 45,000 Jews were tried during the past year for violation of the anti-Jewish laws, it was revealed on February 2, 1941. Only 400, however, were sent to prison, the rest being fined to an amount totalling 9,000.000 pengoes.

A Third "Jew-Law".

On July 3, 1940, Deputy Hubay, parliamentary leader of the Hungarian Nazi party, introduced a bill more drastic in some respects than the German laws. This provided that Jews be segregated in special railroad cars, be forbidden to drive automobiles, become midwives, hoist the Hungarian flag, buy from peasants or sign legal documents. In order to"restrict the propagation of Jews" in Hungary, the bill also provided that only the eldest sons and daughters of Jewish families may marry. It laid down further that non-Jewish men who marry Jewish women would henceforth be classed as Jews. Jews with "Hungarian family names" would be required to change them to "Hebrew" names. Jews would be permitted to buy, sell or read only books written in Hebrew or Yiddish. No foreign Jews would be given visas to enter the country. Jews would not be permitted to employ Gentile women under the age of forty. All business establishments employing one or more Jews would be classed as Jewish enterprises.

Many liberal members of Parliament strongly opposed the Nazi proposal and obstructed efforts to obtain an immediate decision. The House of Deputies on July 2, 1941, voted a bill to "protect the Magyar race" by prohibiting inter-marriage. The bill, however, was rejected by the Upper House, chiefly as a result of the open objection by Cardinal Seredi, Primate of Hungary.

Annexed Territories

a) Carpatho-Ruthenia and Upper Hungary. Poverty is great among the 185,000 Jews in the provinces of Ruthenia and Upper Hungary , which were annexed by Hungary after the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia in March 1939. In the days before this destruction by its covetous neighbors, the Hungarian radio, almost daily, made approaches to the Jews of this Czech province, addressing them as "our Hungarian brothers". But now, when the Hungarians are in possession, these same Jewish "brothers" are being systematically persecuted. Hundreds of them received deportation orders and many more were declared stateless, without any reason whatsoever. In Kaschau, for example, 300 Jews were arrested by the authorities on November 5, 1939, as "illegal immigrants", although they had, in fact, been settled in the town throughout the existence of the Czech Republic. The Hungarian anti-Jewish laws, have also been applied in Ruthenia and Upper Hungary. Indeed, so rapidly have the authorities moved in this area that by the middle of 1939 the licenses of 80% of the Jewish shopkeepers and artisans had been cancelled. In March of this year (1941) the regime issued a decree, to be fully implemented during the following month, ordering the "Aryanization" of all sawmills and timber yards in Carpatho-Ruthenia. Thousands of Jewish families have consequently lost their livelihoods.

b) Transylvania. The Vienna award of August 30,1940, providing for the cession of Northern Transylvania by Rumania to Hungary, delivered into the hands of Hungarians 148,649 Jews. In November, 1940, wholesale expulsion of Jews took place from the Maramaros district of Northern Transylvania and many were forced at pistol points across the Soviet border. Of the 25,000 inhabitants of the Capital city, Sziget, 60% are Jewish, 25% Rumanian, 10% Ukrainian and 5% Hungarian. 20% of the Maramaros district of Transylvania is Jewish, 60% Rumanian, 12% Ukrainian and 8% Hungarian. The majority of Jews are peasants.

Notwithstanding that great numbers of the Jews of Transylvania are engaged in menial occupations, a decree of December 11, 1940, imposed upon them a 6% numerus clausus. It was announced, however, that this would not be applied to physicians.

c) Yugoslavian Territory. The Banat region of Yugoslavia invaded by Hungarian troops has a Jewish population of about 20,000. The most important Jewish communities acquired by Hungary are in Subotica (5,000), Novi Sad (4,000), Osyik (3,000) and Sombor (1,500).

Jewish refugees from the war devastated areas of Yugoslavia met with a hostile reception in trying to flee to Nazi-dominated Hungary. Moreover, the Hungarian military authorities in the former Yugoslavian territories, ordered all those to leave within three days who did not possess Hungarian citizenship prior to October 31, 1918.

Since the start of the war against the Soviet Union the situation of Hungarian Jewry has become still more aggravated, as manifested in mass expulsions, wholesale arrests and other forms of deprivation. Thus, a Budapest police communique of August 2, 1941, reported that 12,000 Jews of "dubious citizenship" had been expelled during one week. The deportations followed midnight raids on homes and hospitals, and those affected, although of Russian or Polish citizenship, had been residing in Hungary for many years. Furthermore, on November 7, 1941, the authorities cancelled the cards held by Jews for their ration of fat.

Shortly after the outbreak of the German-Russian hostilities, Hungary became a mass hospital for German soldiers and officers wounded on the front. Therefore, hundreds of Jewish doctors were mobilized into medical service all over Hungary, despite the fact the licenses of many of them had been revoked. Jews were also ordered to report for forced labor on roads and fortifications along the Soviet border.

ITALY

Background

The Jewish communities of Italy are among the oldest in Europe. There was a Jewish colony in Rome as early as 160 B.C. and the communities of Brindisi, Ravenna and Brescia date back to the fall of the Kingdom of Judaea in the first century B.C. They witnessed the triumph and the fall of the Roman Empire, they were governed by Princes and Pontiffs, they saw periods of economic and spiritual development and decadence.

The Jews of Piedmont,Lombardy, Venice and other provinces participated freely in the struggle for a united and independent Italy during the 19th century. Two Jews, Enrico Guostalla and Guiseppe Finci , played a notable part in the Garibaldi army of liberation and the ghetto of Rome was finally abolished when Garibaldi's troops occupied the city in 1870. Religious freedom and full emancipation of the Jews, proclaimed at this time, later became the fixed policy of succeeding governments. Italian Jews have won distinction in all branches of the national life, including the armed forces, the arts and professions,and the civil service. Two outstanding Jewish figures were Ernesto Nathan, Mayor of Rome for many years and Luigi Luzzati who was Prime Minister in 1909-1911.

The attack on the Jews in Italy began shortly after the March on Rome in October 1922. It was opposed, however, by Mussolini who considered it wiser to embrace Italian Jewry within the framework of the State. In this sense, on February 25, 1923, he assured Professor Angelo Sacerdoti, Chief Rabbi of Rome, that "Italian Fascism has never sought to follow an anti-Semitic policy". This disclaim of anti-Semitism was later repeated on several occasions.

On October 30, 1930, a new law was promulgated for the Jewish communities in Italy by which it was provided that a unitarian, representative body of Italian Jewry, "The Union of Italian Jewish Communities," be formed, to be entrusted with the guardianship of the general interests of the Jews of Italy.

Article 35 of the new law provided that the Jewish communities of Italy "shall work towards the enrichment of Jewish culture and share in the general religious and social activities of Jewry," and maintain spiritual and cultural contact with Jewish communities abroad, especially with those which have close traditional relations with Italian Jewry and Italy.

With Mussolini's consent, a delegation of Italian Jews took part ih the Geneva meetings of the World Jewish Conferences in the years 1932, 1933, 1934, and 1936, which studied the means of defense against anti-Semitic persecution in Nazi Germany.

The further political developments in Fascist Italy which climaxed in the Mediterranean tension with Great Britain and in her aggression against Ethiopia, had somber effects on the position of the Italian Jews.

The Fascist press began to attack "Anglo-Zionist imperialism," and the "Jewish Sanhedrin of Geneva" for the sanctions against Italy, and also accused Italian Jews of connivance with "Anti-Fascist Internationals." The political and military alliance with Germany, and the fact that Mussolini was preparing to pose as "protector of Islam," increased the anti-Semitic sentiment.

The New Anti-Semitic Wave

The racial manifesto issued on July 14, 1938, by a group of anonymous professors at the instigation of the Ministry of Popular Culture, marked a break with the principle of civic equality which the Jews of the Italian Peninsula had enjoyed until that date. That singular document had to serve as the "scientific" pretext and foundation for the newly inaugurated anti-Semitic policy. This policy was strongly condemned by Pope Pius XI who branded it an "unhappy imitation" of Germany. To the accompaniment of a virulent campaign in the press, Telesio Interlandi, the editor of the anti-Semitic "Il Tevere" and advocate of racialism in Italy, was appointed Director of a newly established Department of Demography and Race Protection in the Ministry of Interior.

On August 5, 1938, the government declared its intention of restricting Jews in all spheres of activity (public and otherwise) in the ratio of 1:1000 of the total population. It was announced at the same time that a special census would be taken to ascertain the number of Jews in the country. This total number of Jews in Italy, according to the data of this census published on October 10, 1938, is 57,425. This figure is somewhat higher than that given by the 1931 census, which was 47,825.

The economic distribution of Italian Jewry before the World War was calculated as follows: Industry, 24.7%; Liberal professions, 21.6%; Agriculture, 8.0%; Commerce, 45.7%. The last figure, however, included a majority of hawkers and pedlars.

Latium leads all Italian regions for the number of Jews with 12,943, followed by Lombardy with 11,559, Julia Venetia with 8,285, Tuscany with 5,931 and Piedmont with 5,439. Some regions have almost no Jews, such as Sardinia with only 67, Calabria with 24, and Lucania with 10.

Rome is the city with the greatest Jewish population with 12,779, followed by Milan with 10,219, Trieste with 6,085, Turin with 4,064, Leghorn with 2,322, Florence with 2,326, Genoa with 2,263, and Venice with 2,189.

On August 8, 1938, a press campaign was started to eliminate Jews from leading positions in industrial, banking and insurance organizations. Jews in high governmental positions began to tender "voluntary" resignations. A Ministry of Education order on October 23, 1938, stated that candidates for posts in the Italian school system must in future submit

proof of "Aryan" birth.

Anti-Jewish Legislation

The newly adopted anti-Semitic policy reached its climax in the Cabinet meetings at the beginning of September, 1938. On September 7, the government approved a decree requiring all Jews residing in Italy, Libya or the Aegean possessions since January 1, 1919, to leave their homes within six months.

On November 15, 1938, a government order which incorporated and unified the provisions of the previous decrees of September 5 and 23, applicable alike to teachers and students, excluded Jews from State recognized schools and universities and from "all academies, institutes, and associations of science, arts and letters." The suspension of teachers, school administrators, and academicians became effective on October 16, 1939. Under the aforesaid decree, Jewish children were barred from general schools and confined to their own schools or other schools whose diplomas are not recognized by the State. The decree of September 5, 1938, had already succeeded in eliminating from the roster of Italian universities and academies several names illustrious in Italian science and scholarship. Among prominent scholars dismissed were Professor Levi-Civita and Senator Gino Volgerra, both of the Papal Academy of Science; Fereigo Enriques, author of the well-known work, "Problems of Science," which ranks with the works of Mach and Poincare; Alessandro della Seta, Director of the Italian School of Archeology in Athens; Roberto Almagia, honorary member of the Royal Geographic Society of London; Mario Donati, founder of the "Italian Archives of Surgery;" Umberto Cassuto, authority on the Bible and Hebrew literature; Giorgio del Vechio, former Rector of the University of Rome, and others. A list published in "La Vita Universitaria," an official journal devoted to Italian university affairs, gave the names of 99 distinguished scholars dismissed in the "purge."

These educational restrictions marked the beginning of wholesale anti-Jewish legislation. This was first espoused by the Fascist Grand Council on October 6, 1938, in a series of orders for the "defense of the Italian race," and were finally codified and promulgated on November 19, 1938. The new laws defined precisely who was to be considered a Jew, viz: 1) a person whose parents were of the Jewish race, even though he himself professed a different religion; 2) a person one of whose parents was Jewish and the other of foreign nationality; 3) a person whose mother was Jewish and father unknown; and 4) a person whose both parents were of Italian nationality, but one of whom was of Jewish descent, professed the Jewish religion, or was registered in a Jewish community. No one was to be considered Jewish whose parents were of Italian nationality, one of whom Jewish but who, on October 1, 1938, belonged to another religion.

The definition of race was less stringent than in Germany. The Fascist concept of "race purity" left large loopholes for "escape." One of these was conversion and therefore baptisms became frequent, due to

a desire to place children in Catholic schools and circumvent the economic restrictions imposed on Jews, more especially the law regarding the transfer of immovable property. According to official statistics, 4500 Jews have embraced Christianity since the enactment of the Italian racial laws. These conversions were stimulated also by the hope of emigration to Latin America, where many countries admit proselytes while barring Jews.

The limitations imposed by the decree of February 9, 1939, on the economic activities of Jews and on their ownership rights was reminiscent of action taken by Germany early in the Nazi anti-Semitic campagin. The law stated that Italian citizens of Jewish race could not own land with a combined taxable value of more than 5000 lire ($250) or urban buildings with one of more than 20,000 lire. Jewish owned land and urban property exceeding the stated limits was to be transferred to a newly created Institute for the Administration and Liquidation of Immovable Property. The Institute issued bonds negotiable (only among Jewish citizens) in payment for the real estate over which it thus assumed control. The law provided, however, that Italian Jews might give away their property, provided the recipient "is not considered as belonging to the Jewish race."

It further decreed that Jewish owned enterprises with more than 100 employes were to be administered by a specially appointed Commissar for a transitional period of one year, and then transferred into "Aryan hands."

Special exemption, extended to their families, was granted to Jews on the following grounds: families having members killed in the Libyan, World War, Ethiopian and Spanish campaigns; soldiers mutilated or invalided in the above wars; volunteers and holders of military distinctions; persons who were members of the Fascist Party before the March on Rome; persons who rendered exceptional service to Italy. It was stated by the Ministry of Interior on October 23, 1939, that 2801 Jews had so far been granted "exemption certificates" while other applications for exception were still under consideration, making a grand total of 8641. It is estimated that half of the Italian Jewish population fall into the above categories, but a considerable proportion refrained from applying for exemption.

A further indication of Nazi practice was the passage on July 13, 1939, of a special law prohibiting the insertion in wills of clauses restricting inheritance to persons of Jewish faith. It was provided also that all Jews not exempted would have henceforth to bear a surname indicative of their Jewish descent. A law of June 29, 1939, effective on March 1, 1940, provided that Jewish citizens in the liberal professions (i.e. physicians, lawyers, chemists, etc.) were to be divided into two categories: Jews not exempted, and Jews exempted from the racial laws. Those included in the first category were permitted to serve only clients of their own faith, Aryans were forbidden to employ the professional services of Jews, and only persons falling into the second category were permitted to practice their professions. No citizen of Jewish ancestry, even though exempt from the racial laws, will be allowed to be a notary.

The newly adopted racial legislation and the anti-Semitic press

attacks reduced the proud and flourishing Italian Jewish communities to a state of civic and economic degradation. The Jewish communities of the Italian Peninsula were, however, consoled and encouraged in their plight by the complete absence of anti-Jewish feeling among the Italian population. Sympathy for their Jewish fellow citizens, so hard pressed by the enactment of the racial laws, was shown and expressed by all classes of the Italian population, including many followers of Fascism.

The War

Italy's entry into the war on Germany's side brought new causes for concern to the Jews of Italy. The ineffectiveness of the press attacks against the Jews and of the official circulars of the Fascist Party urging the population to refrain from showing compassion to the Jews aroused the anger of the Fascist Jew-baiters even more. The Italian Streicher, Roberto Farinacci, renewed, in his organ, "Regime Fascista," his attacks against the Jews with even greater vehemence than before, denouncing Italian citizens for their hesitancy in attributing the war to "International Jewry." He later saddled onto the Italian Jews the responsibility for Fascist defeats in Albania, Libya, and on the "home front."

Throughout the major Italian cities, the government has arrested a number of prominent Jews in an effort to eradicate "defeatist" elements. In Turin, Milan, Trieste, Genoa, Fiume, and other cities, the Fascist Party sought to stir up anti-Jewish street demonstrations in order to divert popular discontent and resentment at Italy's military reversals, economic hardships, and complete subservience to Nazi Germany.

The Present Situation

At the beginning of 1941, it was estimated that nearly half of the Jews of Italy were unemployed as a result of the government's anti-Jewish measures. Practically, the only important occupation in which any considerable number of Italian Jews continue to be employed is that of small shop keepers, particularly in the clothing and dry-goods business. But the larger stores have been compelled either to sell out to Aryans or to Aryanize themselves by incorporating non-Jewish interests. In industry, however, the government tacitly recognized the important contribution Italian Jews have rendered the national economy and the State. The cotton, wool and silk industries have been largely developed by Jewish factories and Jewish initiative, and these goods are particularly valuable in war time. Most of these factories are therefore still permitted to function normally. On the other hand, all Jews have been eliminated from the insurance business which was almost entirely their creation. Seventy-five percent of the Italian Jews in the liberal professions have been barred from their professions.

According to an official communique, issued on October 24, 1941, there were 45,410 Jews of Italian citizenship in the country on January 1, 1932. Jews of foreign citizenship in the Kingdom of Italy on June 1, 1940,

totaled 5,012. Of the Jews of Italian citizenship, 5,966 had been expatriated by October 15, 1941. Of the foreign Jews, 1,338 had left Italy. The total of expatriated Jews on October 15, 1941 was 7,304. The great majority of all foreign Jews who remained in Italy are interned or confined in small cities. Except in some isolated cases, their treatment can be considered humane.

The Jews of Italy, though spared physical persecution, follow with grave concern the growing control and interference of Nazi Germany and of the Gestapo in all domains of Italian economic, social, and public life. In view of the complete subservience of the Fascist government to the will of the senior partner of the Axis, the Italian Jews, like their co-religionists in other German occupied countries, are at the mercy of the Nazi and Fascist masters.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Background

The Czechoslovak Republic, as created at the close of the first World War, consisted of five provinces: the so-called "Historical lands" of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia (previously under Austrian administration), and Slovakia and Carpatho-Ruthenia (previously under Hungarian rule).

At the time of the last census, in 1930, there were in the entire Republic 356,830 persons of declared Jewish faith (2.4% of the total population), distributed in three main groups: (a) Jews of the "Historical lands", (b) Jews of Slovakia, and (c) Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia.

The Jews of the "Historical lands", numbering 117,551 at the last census (1930) resembled the German Jews of the pre-Hitler era in the sense that they lived primarily in the large cities and were thoroughly assimilated.

The majority (50.7%) were engaged in commerce, industry and finance, and occupied a prominent position in the national economy. A large proportion (13.5%) pursued the liberal professions. Jews in the upper and middle classes also figured conspicuously in the economic, social and cultural life of the nation, playing a prominent role in science, art, literature and politics.

The birth-rate among Jews in Bohemia and Moravia was one of the lowest in Europe, with an average annual population decrease of six persons per thousand.

The Jews of Slovakia bear a closer resemblance to those of Hungary, but were less assimilated. According to the census of 1930, they numbered 136,737. Their social and economic level was scarcely impressive, and they were engaged chiefly in commerce, agriculture, handicraft and manual labor. Among limited ranks of the Slovak intelligentsia, however, they were well represented. According to the statistics of the Bratislava Jewish Communal Organization, half of the lawyers and sixty per cent of the doctors in Slovakia were of Jewish origin. The natural increase of the Jewish population was considerable, averaging six persons per thousand annually.

The large Jewish population of Carpatho-Ruthenia, numbering 102,542 (14.1%), was of the pre-emancipation type, highly religious and belonging mainly to the sect of mystical pietists known as Chassidim. Socially and economically, they belonged to the middle and lower classes. Their natural increase was extremely high, averaging 23 per thousand annually. Since November 1939, all Carpatho-Ruthenia has been a part of Hungary.

During the twenty years of government under Masaryk and Beneš, the Jews in Czechoslovakia were united in their devotion to their country; a devotion that increased in intensity as anti-Semitism mounted in the surrounding States.

There was no Jewish problem in the country prior to Munich. At the Peace Conference of 1919, Czechoslovakia assumed by treaty the obligation of granting equal rights to all citizens, irrespective of race, creed, or nationality. This principle, duly embodied in the Constitution, was steadfastly observed throughout the existence of the Republic. True to the inherent tolerance of the Czechoslovak people, Jews and non-Jews lived side by side in peaceful fashion; if there were any anti-Jewish feelings, these were rooted in national rather than racial considerations, being directed against Jews who persisted in regarding themselves as Germans. In Slovakia and in Carpatho-Ruthenia, however, religious prejudices also entered into the picture.

The first change occurred when, with the German occupation of Austria on March 12, 1938, the security of Czechoslovakia was at once imperiled. As the issue of the Sudetenland loomed large on the political horizon, the situation of the 25,000 Jews in that area became acute, and acts of terror began to be perpetrated by the followers of Konrad Heinlein. Prague was unable to suppress this wave of violence and about 15,000 Jews were forced to flee into the interior of Bohemia to join 25,000 of their co-religionists who escaped Nazi terror in Germany and Austria. The Jews in the Sudetenland tried to liquidate their property, and transferred a large part to the interior of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, sections of the Czech press launched an anti-Semitic campaign.

The Munich Agreement and the "Second Republic"

Five days after the Munich Agreement of September 30, 1938, which ceded the Sudetenland to Germany and Teschen to Poland, President Beneš resigned and the so-called "Second Republic", headed by Emil Hácha, came into being, with Slovakia and Carpatho - Ruthenia being granted full autonomy.

The Czech press in Bohemia and Moravia at once intensified its anti-Jewish campaign. The professional associations of lawyers, physicians, journalists and engineers demanded the enactment of an "Aryan" paragraph, but expelled their Jewish members without waiting for adoption of such a measure. Jewish physicians were denied the right to practice in hospitals and were debarred from the panel of the Sick Insurance Fund. On February 1, 1939, the Government decreed a reexamination of the status of naturalized citizens - a step directed principally against the Jews, while exactly a month later, Jewish state municipal employes were dismissed, several banks and industrial enterprises subsequently following this example. Nevertheless, despite the demands of Fascists and other groups, the Government of the Second Republic did not issue a single overtly anti-Jewish decree.

The situation of Jewish refugees became acute. Including those from the Sudetenland, their number was as high as 40,000. To these were added another 2,000 expelled from the Sudetenland into a No Man's Land and later admitted into Czechoslovakia.

Still worse was the situation of the Jews in autonomous Slovakia. With the restraining hand of Prague removed, a reign of terror broke out. Arrests and deportations of "alien Jews" began. Following the Vienna Conference of November 3, 1939, when a portion of Slovakia was ceded to Hungary, pogroms assumed mass proportions. Jewish property was looted, Jews were attacked in their homes and on the streets, synagogues were set afire. Two months later, at a press conference on January 17, 1940, the Premier, Father Tiso, expressly declared that the Jewish problem was one of the most important facing Slovakia and would be solved on racial lines.

In Carpatho-Ruthenia, which also obtained full autonomy after Munich, there were a number of changes unfavorable to Jews, although the Premier, Father Vološin, declared on several occasions that Jews would retain complete equality with other nationals. But the autonomy of this region was not destined to endure for long. When the Nazis moved into Prague, Hungarian troops occupied Carpatho-Ruthenia.

The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

The Second Czecho-Slovak Republic came to an end on March 15, 1939, when German troops occupied Prague and Bohemia and Moravia were proclaimed a Protectorate of the Reich. A dual system was established, with actual power vested in the Reichsprotector and the hollow appearance of authority retained by the helpless Hácha government.

A Jewish census of October 1, 1939, revealed that there were then 90,147 Jews (43,849 men and 46,298 women) in the Protectorate, of whom 80,319 (89.1%) openly professed the Jewish faith. More than half (46,170) lived in Prague.

On July 4, 1939, apparently under German pressure, the Czech Government of the Protectorate issued a decree (promulgated only on April 26, 1940) excluding the Jews from the liberal professions, state and municipal employment, journalism, art, theatres and the film industry. Unwilling to wait for legislation to enforce the decree and desiring to keep the process of "aryanization" in German hands, the Reichsprotector proceeded to liquidate Jewish property along the lines of Nazi legislation of 1938 and 1939. Bank accounts and savings deposits were frozen; the registration of holdings ordered and their transfer prohibited, while commercial enterprises were taken over by German commissars. Jews were thus completely eliminated from economic life and their entire wealth passed into the hands of the Reich. The actual purpose of "aryanization" was not only to give Germany the possession of Jewish property, but of Czech holdings as well, wherever the Jews participated in any manner in a Czech enterprise. To this end, measures

were taken to prevent the Czechs from retaining or acquiring control of "aryanized" concerns. As a result of this policy, the entire Jewish population lost its means of subsistence and Jews in the profession, with very few exceptions, were ousted from their positions.

Toward the close of 1939, most of the commercial and industrial stock companies, banks, manufacturing plants and insurance companies, were "aryanized". Jewish property in the Protectorate was estimated by the German authorities at three billion R.M. (one billion dollars).

Mass arrests, murder, execution, deportation to concentration camps, and every other outrage have been perpetrated against Jews in the Protectorate. Jews are expelled from their homes and forced to move to prescribed districts where an entire family usually cannot obtain more than one room. They may not appear on the streets between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M., nor are they permitted the use of the parks. They are prohibited from traveling from one locality to another, even to attend the funeral of a member of their family. Although they receive food ration cards, they may only make their purchases at certain hours, and tickets for clothing and shoes are entirely denied to them. They are forbidden to bathe in the rivers or fish in the streams, they may not travel in the front section of street cars, use taxis or drive an automobile. The entire male population, between the ages of 17 and 55, has been ordered to register for forced labor. All acts committed by Jews contrary to the decrees of the German authorities and the Gestapo, as well as all alleged criminal offenses, are tried before German Courts according to German regulations.

The Jewish Communal Organization at Prague plays a vital role in the life of the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia. It publishes the only weekly newspaper in the Protectorate devoted exclusively to Jewish affairs - Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt (Židowské Listy)

In order to speed Jewish emigration a special central bureau (Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung) was created in the offices of the Communal Organization. This bureau is in fact a branch of the Gestapo, because in addition to the Jewish representatives, it contains police and revenue agents. Jews seeking to emigrate were required to fill out some 18 questionnaires, and their plight was aggravated still more when they were obliged to pay an exit tax so exorbitant that it devoured everything they possessed. As a matter of fact, it was easier for the poor to emigrate, and the slogan of Czech Jews became that "to be poor in Prague is to be a millionaire".

Orders for the deportation of Jews from Bohemia and Moravia to Prague had to be carried out within twenty-four hours, and the victims were not permitted to sell their property or to take their personal belongings with them. The result was that all Czech Jews expelled from their homes and concentrated in Prague, became an additional burden to the Prague Jewish Communal Organization.

In order to dispose of the Jews as quickly as possible, Eichmann, the Nazi expert in Jewish affairs, himself helped organize illegal emigration to Palestine and other countries overseas. The torments that such emigrants suffered are known to the world. A notorious case was that of the S.S. St. Louis, carrying a shipload of refugees bound for Cuba. The vessel could not find a port to admit its passengers and remained long at sea without food or water.

The Gestapo plan to transport the remaining Jews to the Polish Reservation at Lublin was carried out only in part, on October 12, 1939, and concerned the 8000 Jews of Moravská Ostrava and a few other cities in Moravia. Each person was permitted to take only a small overnight case of personal belongings and a sum of money not exceeding 3,000 crowns ($100). At the Moravská Ostrava station, deportees were robbed by the Gestapo of the handful they possessed.

The small but influential Fascist press, as well as the controlled Czech newspapers in general, continue their virulent anti-Jewish propaganda. The extent of its success, however, may be gauged from the fact, that admonitions against intercourse with Jews have to be continually repeated. In a thousand ways, the rank and file of the Czech people have shown their antipathy to these outpourings. As a matter of fact, the Czech government itself has been far from enthusiastic over the enactment of anti-Jewish measures. Despite the pressure exerted by the occupation authorities - the majority of the Czech people remain immune to anti-Semitism. They shun such German subsidized Czech Fascist groups as Vlajka, The Aryan Cultural Association, which are now engaged in disseminating anti-Semitic propaganda.

In the fall of 1941, when Reichsprotector Baron Konstantin von Neurath was removed and replaced by Reinhard Heyderich, the chief-lieutenant of Heinrich Himmler, a wave of mass arrests began among leaders of the Czech government, the army and the intelligentsia. Among the offenses with which they were charged was the non-fulfillment of anti-Jewish legislation and continued intercourse with Jews.

A decree issued on September 1, 1941, and effective September 15, ordered all Jews over the age of six in the Protectorate, as well as in Germany, to wear yellow armbands bearing the word "Jew" in black letters.

At the beginning of October 1941, a drive was launched for the deportation of Jews from Prague to Polish ghettos and to the Nazi occupied zone in Russia. The Jews marked for deportation were herded together in synagogues. Among them there were elderly men, women and children. Orders to leave were served at night by two Gestapo agents. In many instances, Jews were given notice of from two hours to only ten minutes.

Dr. Edouard Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Government - in-exile, issued on October 5, 1941, a declaration assuring Jewry that the future Czechoslovak state will follow the tradition of religious tolerance instituted in the first republic by Professor Masaryk, Father of his Country.

Slovakia

With the connivance of Berlin, Slovakia declared itself independent on March 14, 1939 - a day before the Nazi occupation of Prague. A treaty of "protection" was concluded with the Reich, and since that date the foreign and domestic policies of that territory, including the treatment of the Jews, have been dictated entirely by Germany.

The cession of certain western and southwestern areas to Hungary on November 3, 1938, under the terms of an Italo-German award, reduced the Jewish population of Slovakia from 137,000 to 86,000.

From the establishment of Slovak "independence", terrorism, pogroms and persecutions were the order of the day. Hlinka Guards pillaged Jewish homes and shops, beat up Jews in the streets and staged mass arrests. When German divisions were massing in Slovakia as one of their springboards for the invasion of Poland, about 20,000 Jews were removed from the border zone to the interior "to forestall espionage against troop movements." At the close of the Polish campaign of September 1939, about 2,500 "Polish and foreign" Jews were ejected and removed by the Nazis to the No Man's Land between Slovakia and former Poland, while several thousand Slovak Jews were deported to the Lublin reservation. In Bratislava, Jews were obliged to leave their homes in the historic Jewish Quarter. The Quarter, dating back to the fourteenth century, was found to be "too dirty" for habitation, was razed and a park laid out on its site. The ritual slaughter of animals and sale of kosher meat were proscribed on the ground that "the former is not humane and does not conform with the principles of the Slovak Government". The police of Bratislava issued an ordinance barring Jews from the Danube Fair, from cinemas, theaters, restaurants, cafes and other public places.

All the Jewish public institutions were closed and a single Jewish Center established in their place. Membership in this Center is obligatory for all Slovak Jews. Its program is cultural, educational and philanthropic with emphasis on the restratification of the Jewish youth. It publishes Vestník Ústredne Židov, a weekly newspaper in the German and Slovak languages, which has been in existence since the early part of this year and resembles the Prague Jewish weekly.

The attitude of the Slovaks toward the Jews is one of indifference for the most part. Among officials and the middle class, however, some sympathetic understanding exists.

In the matter of Jewish status, Slovakia followed completely in the footsteps of Germany. Within a few months, over eighty anti-Jewish decrees were issued, framed after German prototypes and calculated to reduce the Jewish population to the level of pariahs. A Jew Codex of 270 clauses was promulgated at the beginning of August 1941.

Official statements released in February and May, 1941, by Augustin Moravek, chairman of the Slovak Central Economic Burea, and Šaňo Mach, Minister of the Interior respectively, present the following picture of current conditions:-

The census of Jewish property and the process of "aryanization" have been completed. Jewish land became state property for distribution among small landowners. The Jews thereby lost 4,693 farms (89,000 hectars). To date Jewish farms in 81 districts have been confiscated and turned over to non-Jewish hands. Between 6,818 to 7,400 Jewish commercial establishments, doing a gross business of about 650 million Slovak crowns, were liquidated. 1,208 industrial establishments, with a turn-over of about 780 million Slovak crowns, were "aryanized". The number of liquidated Jewish businesses in Slovakia was brought to 8116 by September 30. The total loss sustained by Jews through liquidation and "aryanization" of their property is estimated at more than a half billion dollars.

"Aryanization" in Slovakia was carried out on the basis of experience in Germany and Hungary. The services of a German expert were employed. All possible measures were taken to forestall "sabotage" and the "flight of Jewish capital" abroad.

The Government has ordered the salaries of the Jews still retained in the Civil Service to be cut.

Today, Jews cannot obtain employment without a permit, although 13,000 employers have submitted applications for the service of Jewish workers. Reorganization of Jewish labor camps is under way to provide a means whereby the Jews who are excluded by law from the economic and social life of Slovakia, may nonetheless serve as manpower without competing with "aryan" workers and enterprises. Figures released by Minister of the Interior Mach in May, 1941, reveal that about 18,000 men had been enlisted to that date.

In the autumn of 1941, the situation of the Jews took a decided turn for the worse. As from September 19, 1941, all Jews in Slovakia have been required to wear yellow armbands bearing the Star of David.

The deportation of Jews from Bratislava and other larger towns to new ghettos is now in full swing. In order to expedite the concentration of Jews evacuated from all the larger towns of Slovakia, the Slovak military authorities have thrown military objectives, such as barraks, stores, etc. There is room there for about 15,000 Jews, so that the work can be carried out during the next few days.

An order issued from the Slovak Ministry of the Interior at the beginning of September states that considerations of public order make it imperative that Jews shall not purchase milk and milk products before 8 A.M. and shall not start shopping other articles of daily use before 10 A.M. Purchases at markets and fairs are forbidden to Jews altogether.

NOTE - The problem of the Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia is considered together with that of the Hungarian Jews.

POLAND

Introduction

After 20 years of rebirth and political independence, Poland lies again lacerated and enslaved. Her fate is unknown, as is that of all Europe. Her hopes and prospects are wholly bound up with the outcome of the war, but are also dependent upon the political order to be established in a Europe liberated and free.

Almost at the very first steps of the Polish people on the road to political consolidation and national crystallization, it encounters Jews and remains bound up with them for well nigh a thousand years. And in the present tragic moment, too, the lots of both peoples are fatally joined together. For,(one cannot conceive of a free Poland without Jews). And it is perhaps symbolic that the ravishers and enslavers of Poland treat both peoples, Jews and Poles, as lesser breeds, as inferior nations.

(A bare 150 years ago, Polish Jewry was virtually world Jewry. On the eve of the partition of Poland, in the last quarter of the eighteenth centry, approximately 90 percent of all Ashkenazic Jews lived in that country). Bearing this fact in mind, one comes to the conclusion that all the major and minor communities which sprang up in the nineteenth century, both in Europe and throughout the rest of the world, were biological and cultural offshoots of the Polish Jewish tree—the only Jewish galuth tree which has derived its sustenance from one and the same soil over such a long period, an unbroken period of almost a thousand years.

Polish Jewry itself, however, consisted of different branches, depending on the ethnographical group which predominated in this or that region. Accordingly, there were Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and White Russian Jews in the former Polish state. But the first branch, the Polish one in the narrow sense of the word, possessed a multitude of such merits as made it, especially during the last two decades, the national wellspring of vital energy from which Jews the world over benefited.

Fidelity to national traditions, religious conservatism, extraordinary potentialities of creative national energy,—such were the characteristic traits which in our era, the era of national awakening, raised the religiously and nationally most conservative Polish Jewry to the very highest and most responsible position in World Jewry. The spritual decline of Russian Jewry; the liquidation of German Jewry; the very doubtful national future of the numerous Jewries scattered to the farthest corners of the earth—all this enhanced and raised still higher the national worth and the national cultural importance of Polish Jewry. Religious leaders, secular teachers of the most diverse categories, leaders and founders of various Jewish movements, founders of Jewish periodicals in many countries.of the diaspora, founders of economic and cultural institutions in scores of lands—all this during the last twenty years, the most critical in the destiny of

our people, emanated almost exclusively from Poland, if tiny Lithuania is left out of the account. Without the chalutzim from Poland, the whole upbuilding work of Palestine is simply inconceivable.

In the last years before the war, Polish Jewry received hard blows in every field of endeavor, economic, political, and cultural. The process of economic elimination assumed dangerous proportions; politically the Jews of Poland were pushed into an obscure corner; culturally there was a process of disintegration of the old and firm Jewish foundations, and an assimilation, without material and spiritual prospects, which halted at the public school. However, the struggle and resistance of the old established and deeply rooted Polish Jewry scored great successes in all the enumerated fields. And Poland was the only country in the whole world where we beheld a differentiated and outwardly torn, but at bottom firmly united, Jewry welded together in the struggle not only for economic existence and political freedom, but also for the preservation of its national identity.

And whatever the destiny of the coming Polish state may be, and no matter what the very remote future of the Polish Jews may look like, large Jewish masses will remain for many years closely linked with the Polish land and people, and that not as scattered and detached individuals, but as a national unit, as a historically moulded and consolidated national organism.

Ruined and desolate is the Polish state, crushed and humbled the Polish nation. But much greater is the Jewish catastrophe, far more bitter our lot. We shall endeavor here to give briefly a picture of this disaster, to afford some idea of the sufferings and persecutions, the murders and the plunderings which Polish Jewry has to endure at the hands of the modern barbarians.

We shall furthermore deal only with the condition of the Jews who came under German control immediately after the partition of Poland at the end of 1939. Concerning the lot of these Jews we possess rich and absolutely reliable data. Our information is drawn, first, from the Official Gazette; second, from the Gazeta Zydowska (Jewish Gazette), which appears twice a week (since July, thrice) under the strict German censorship. This material is the chief source upon which all our further work is based. It is supplemented by testimony—reports of trustworthy persons who themselves went through those experiences in Poland or were present there at the time.

Jewish Situation on the Eve of the War

Let us first cast a glance at Jewish life in Poland, on the eve of the German invasion. Throughout Poland there lived in 1939 about 3 million 300 thousand Jews, who constituted 9.5 percent of the total population (34,849,999).

As we are going to discuss only the condition of the Jews in that part of Poland which was occupied by the Germans in October, 1939, we must dwell at once upon the partition of the Polish state. According to the data of the German periodical, Wirtschaft und Statistik (Berlin, 1940, Nos. 19, 22, and 23), Russia received 13,500,000 inhabitants and Germany 22,150,000, making a total of 35,650,000. This is more than the Polish population in 1939 according to the Polish figures. Probably the date concerning the part seized by Soviet Russia are not quite accurate. As the Jews, according to the census of 1931, formed 9.6 percent in the region taken over by Germany in 1939, it may be assumed that there were about 2,150,000 Jews in the German-occupied part of Poland.

That many Jews there would have been under the first German occupation if they had all remained in their places. In the first couple of months of the occupation, however, many Jews fled to Soviet Russia. No one knows their number exactly. The estimates vary between 100 and 600 thousand. It may be assumed that close to 200,000 actually fled then from the Nazi hell, and that in the part occupied by the Germans in October 1939, there remained about 1 million and 950 thousand Jews.

The part of Poland seized by the Germans in October, 1939, was the more industrialized and the more cultured. This section also contains the two largest cities of Poland, Warsaw and Lodz. In 1939 there lived in these two cities alone about 600,000 Jews, or 28 percent of the total Jewish population of this region. Jews constituted 29 percent of the total population in Warsaw and 34 percent in Lodz. Of the urban population of the entire region, the Jews formed 23.4 percent.

The zone occupied by the Germans in October, 1939, may, from the standpoint of the density of the Jewish population, be divided into two very different parts: the former Russian and Austrian part (the provinces of Warsaw, Lodz, Kielce, Lublin, and Cracov), where 2,100,000 lived, and the former German part (the Poznan, Corridor, and Silesian provinces), where only about 30,000 Jews lived and where they constituted altogether one percent of the total population.

The occupied region was divided by the Germans into two parts: a Government General, which has its own administration, and the so-called Warthegau, which has been incorporated into Germany. According to the German figures, there were 12,107,000 inhabitants in the Government General, and 10,043,000 in "Warthegau". There are no official data regarding the Jews, but from certain calculations it follows that, at the moment of the occupation, there were about 600 thousand Jews in Warthegau. The Germans have expelled from "Warthegau" about 1,500,000 people, among them approximately 500 thousand Jews. We therefore conclude that there are

now 1,650,000 Jews in the Gouvernement General, where they constitute 12.3 percent of the total population. In the annexed part of Poland there remain only about 300,000 Jews, who constitute only 3.5 percent of the population of that section.

In August, 1941, the Gouvernement General was enlarged by the addition of the three East Galician provinces (Lvov, Stanislavov, and Tarnopol), where, before the war, there were upward of 600,000 Jews. But this does not come within the purview of the present report.

In the entire region occupied by the Germans in October, 1939, the Jews constituted 23.4 percent of the city population. If, however, we subtract the three former German provinces (Poznan, the Corridor, and Silesia), where there were very few Jews in general, the percentage of Jews in the urban population will amount to 30.0. If one further takes into consideration the fact that the Poles expelled from "Warthegau" were no doubt peasants whom the Polish Government had colonized by the thousands in the Corridor, and who in all probability went back to the villages, and that the Jews, per contra, must certainly have gone, all of them, to the cities of the Gouvernement General, and that the Jews were generally expelled from many small towns and forced into the cities, it may be assumed that the Jews in the Gouvernement General now constitute no less than 40 percent of the whole urban population.

We consider this fact of great importance, because it is sure to make itself felt not only during the war, but after. This forced concentration of the Jewish population in a smaller number of provinces, on the one hand, and in the cities, especially the large cities, on the other, is bound to leave deep traces and will certainly have no little effect upon the condition of the Jewish masses. One must add that very probably the percentage of the Jews in the cities of the Gouvernement General is even higher than we have just put it. As in the first World War, a large part of the urban non-Jewish population will probably desert the cities this time, too, and go to the villages, where many of them still own some land and where, in general, one can more easily escape starvation.

According to its national composition, the region occupied by the Germans in October, 1939, is decidedly Polish. The Poles there constitute more than 80 percent. The Jews, as we have seen, form 9.6 percent; the Germans, 4 percent, and the rest are miscellaneous. Of Germans there were in this occupied part not more than 750 thousand in a population exceeding 22 millions.

The natural increase among the Jews in this part of Poland amounted to about 26 thousand a year. Nearly half as many used to emigrate annually.

There is a very great difference between the various parts of this region in the matter of language: in the former Russian provinces, 87 percent of the Jews gave Yiddish or Hebrew as their mother tongue; in the former German provinces, only 50 percent, and in the Galician province of Gracow, 74 percent.

We pass over to the occupational and social physiognomy of Polish Jewry. The largest single segment of Polish Jewry lived by industry and handicraft—42.2 percent of all Jews (among the Poles, only 20.9 percent, and among the Ukrainians and White Russians, 0.6). Only 4.1 percent of the Jews lived by farming (among the Poles, 59.7 percent, and among the Ukrainians and White Russians, 90.0). The fourth most important occupation were the liberal professions and the civil service: among the Jews, 6.5 percent (among the Poles, 4.8, and among the Ukrainians and White Russians, 1.5). There were very few civil servants, and more members of the liberal professions, among the Jews; among the Poles, it was the other way around.

If we divide the urban population of the Polish State according to social status, we get the following interesting setup:*

Social Status	Jews	Germans	Poles	Ukrainians and White Russians
Bourgeoisie and Middle Class	6,7	6.2	2.5	1.4
Lower Middle Class	55.5	17.8	15.0	20.4
Proletariat	54.9	66.6	73.5	68.3
Unknown	2.9	9.4	9.0	9.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Polish Jewry was thus typically of the lower middle class. More than one half of the Jewish urban population belonged to the class of small storekeepers or small artisans. If it is remembered that the Jewish proletariat was not employed in the heavy and large industries, nor in government enterprises, but was distributed and scattered among tens of thousands of small workshops with one or two helpers each, and that in such a proletarian environment the transition to the lower middle class category was not an uncommon occurrence, it becomes evident that, in a social and psychological sense, fully 90 percent of Polish Jewry belonged to the lower middle class.

Appalling poverty prevailed among this mass of people. Suffice it to say that, in most Jewish communities, from 35 to 40 percent of the Jewish inhabitants had to apply for relief on the eve of Passover and other important Jewish holidays.

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*The first group—the bourgeoisie and middle class—comprises all independent merchants and manufacturers who employ labor. The second group embraces all independent merchants and artisans who do their own work, without hired help. The third group includes all wage earners: workmen, white collar workers, and civil servants.

The Jews played a very great part in the economic life of the country. According to the fugures of 1938, the Jews held 49.5 percent of all retail licenses in Poland, and 53.1 percent of all wholesale licenses. In the trade in grain, which was one of the most important articles of export, the Jews constituted over 90 percent of all engaged in this line.

In so important a line as the textile industry, Jews in Bialystok and Lodz formed one hundred percent of all textile manufacturers; 55.0 percent of all large textile contractors, 76.6 percent of all medium and 82.2 percent of all small textile contractors.

In business the Jews constituted (in 1931):

In Warsaw	In Lodz	Type of Business
68.6%	80.0%	in the wholesale trade
70.1%	73.6%	in the retail trade
59.4%	81.8%	in stockbroking

The export of quite a number of articles, such as textiles, ready-made garments, preserves, and many others lay entirely in Jewish hands. And only with Jewish diligence and perseverance, with Jewish international connections, and with the ability to risk and do business was it possible to create some market in the world for Poland's backward and feeble industry.

In some liberal professions in Poland Jews constituted a very high percentage. In 1937 Jews formed 52 percent of all lawyers, and 35.8 percent of all physicians. This was a survival from the past, however. The number of Jewish students kept declining catastrophically; from 9,579 Jewish students in 1923, who constituted 24.4 percent of all students, the number dropped to 4,113 in 1938, which constituted only 8.2% of all students.

We have given the occupational and social structure of the Jewish population throughout Poland. In the part occupied by the Germans in October, 1939, the percentage of Jews engaged in industry and handicraft will be a couple of points higher yet, as will be the percentage of proletarians. The proportion of Jews in business will be smaller, as there are more non-Jewish storekeepers in the Polish districts than in the Ukrainian and White Russian.

Polish Jewry was one of the poorest materially, but one of the richest in Jewish social and cultural institutions. Polish Jewry possessed a large network of economic and cultural institutions which set themselves much broader tasks and bore witness to an abundance of creative social energy, not to speak of purely charitable institutions, central and local, of the most varied kinds.

The great network of credit cooperatives, which on the eve of the war numbered close to 150 thousand members and in the year 1938 distributed 50 million zlotys in loans; the more than 800 gemilot hasadim (free loan funds) which in the course of a single decade (1928-1938) granted interest-free loans aggregating more than 125 million zlotys to the poorest Jewish elements; the great chain of cooperative workshops; the associations of small business men and artisans each with tens of thousands of members--all these were economic institutions of great scope and far-reaching objectives. On the one hand, they served as a means of self-protection against the outside world, and, on the other, they organized the Jewish masses for a struggle for better conditions of life.

No less imposing and whighty was the network of Jewish educational organizations with tens of thousands of pupils in the schools and with no fewer students in the various adult courses and people's universities--institutions which set themselves broad national tasks, such as the right of Jews to cultural autonomy.

The Central Health Organization (Toz) had a wonderful network of health institutions, which would have been a source of pride to the most cultured nation.

If one adds the amazing political activity of the Jewish masses, the nearly fifteen thousand chalutzim who in the course of two decades furnished Palestine with two thirds of all immigrant pioneers, the great labor movement, it becomes sufficiently evident how active, how lively, how creative was the social life of Polish Jewry.

The German Occupation

If one devotes a few days to a perusal of the materials which tell us what Polish Jewry has endured in the 800 days since the German Army set foot on Polish soil, one must cry out: The Germans have become barbaric and insane.

For if, in Germany, a clear distinction may be drawn between the trained beasts of Hitler's school and the normal German population, and if one may even note that the normal German population views the enormities of the Hitler gangs with disgust and indignation, the situation is quite different in Poland. Here the murdering and plundering, the persecuting and torturing are done not by "chosen" groups reared in the "ideals" of contempt and hatred for the "inferior" Jewish race. Here all this is the work of the German Army! The German Army, which is a national army, embracing representatives of every social group, of every ideological stratum of the nation.

And if it is easy to sense in Germany that the persecutors and tormentors are far from sure either of their own superiority or of the inferiority of the German Jews, and that they may possibly be laboring under an inferiority complex, the situation

in Poland is much worse in this respect also. Here all the Germans actually believe that they are so much above the whole surrounding population, especially the Polish Jews, that they may permit themselves absolutely everything. And with German inflexibility and naivete', or rather stupidity, and also, unfortunately, with German thoroughness and extremism, they all firmly believe in it and carry out the program of the Nazis.

Have the Germans got a program? This is no simple question. For, at the first acquaintance with the murder-and-torture data, one gets the impression that a gang of marauders and murderers has invaded a foreign country, and each is doing according to his personal bent and what his unbridled criminal fancy dictates. In the case of one it goes as far as murder and pulling out gold teeth from the mouth of the slain; in the case of another it goes as far as driving a whole community into a deep river and roaring with laughter as he watches the helpless persons, driven on with guns and whips, struggle in vain against the waves; in the case of a third, a weak character and inconsistent Nordic type, it goes no further than picking the pockets of those he lodges with and forcing them to load their furniture upon the robber's wagon.

But upon closer reflection, one finally perceives that there is a program, and that the whole work of pillage and murder is being directed and controlled from a center, and that the far famed and much praised discipline of the German is showing wonders here, too.

To begin with, one observes a difference between Jews and non-Jews even in Poland, which is entirely inhabited by "inferior" races. All are inferior, to be sure, but the Jews are the lowest of the low and one may deal with them as one pleases. Jews are in general outside the pale of law, being denied its protection at all times and in all cases. But with the German, that genius of organization and discipline, even lawlessness is organized and well ordered.

During the first three months, the lawlessness was absolute, general, and collective—collective in a double sense, both as regards the subject and the object: whole groups of German soldiers attacked small towns, plundering, murdering, expelling, torturing. In the cities they went along the streets, seized Jews, carried them off, and gave no account of what became of the captives; large numbers broke into homes, beating, torturing, murdering, plundering and sacking whole districts, hundreds of residences. In a certain street of Warsaw, 53 Jews were dragged out of their houses and shot to death because the police were unable to catch a criminal in that vicinity. At the end of November, 1939, that is after it had enjoyed free reign for three months, this lawlessness was suddenly stopped and replaced with individual lawlessness and with legal, centralized lawlessness on the part of the authorities.

What does this mean? It means that individual Germans may still rob and murder with impunity, but there must be no attacks by groups, no general murdering and plundering by bands. But the central authority may and does expel hundreds of thousands of Jews from their old established homes, expelling them without a why or wherefore, but merely in order to ruin them physically, psychically, and materially. The central authority confiscates and commandeers--in plain language, takes away the fortunes of large groups of Jews--but this is already being done according to certain paragraphs of some law, interpreted and enforced with characteristic German minuteness and thoroughness. Instead of wilful murders and tortures by occasional groups of soldiers, there came a whole system of ways and means designed to wear out the Jewish population physically and psychically, to cause it to become sterile and die out.

Extermination is the main object of the whole policy of the Germans toward the Jewish population both in Poland and in Germany. But whereas in Germany itself they did not have enough courage to proclaim general violence, and the attitude of the normal German population must have dampened somewhat the lust for plunder and the appetite for murder, a much more favorable situation has developed in Poland in this respect. First, it is war time, when violence in general is a legal procedure; second, one is not under the critical eye of one's own people and neighbors, who might restrain at least their own children; and thirdly, and this is very important, there is no danger lest <u>national</u> pillage turn into <u>social</u> pillage, lest the attack upon Jewish capitalists might develop into an assault upon capitalists generally.

Hence one must conclude that while the Germans are truly barbaric, especially in Poland, they are far from crazy. Everything with them is organized, and even the violence, which has passed through several stages and is still continuing, has been well thought out and divided into periods: absolute and general violence in the first three months, then violence by individuals and organs of authority.

We must declare at the very outset that words are powerless to portray the agony and suffering of Polish Jewry in the 800 days of German rule. The hell-like reality of the Polish Jews, a hell-like reality which has already lasted more than 800 days, and where literally every minute, every second demands Jewish victims, without a stop, without any interruption, and the hand of the torturer and murderer, the robber and offender is still unwearied,--this reality is not to be described in words. Let the reader multiply what is described tenfold, twentyfold, and he will perhaps come near to an idea of the life of our brothers under the German lash.

The war began on September 1 and was over in three weeks. As a matter of fact, it was only the city of Warsaw which held out that long. In the rest of the country the war was over in ten days. How many Jews fell upon the battlefields? How many Jews were killed or maimed by bombs on the highways along which hundreds of thousands of Jews fled, hoping to save themselves from Hitler's hordes? How many Jewish women and children were killed in Warsaw during the 20 days that bombs rained incessantly upon the city, where dwelt 375,000 Jews living in the very center, into which the German devils hurled death and destruction with particular zeal? How many Jews were suffocated or perished under the ruins of burned buildings?

To all these questions there is no answer, and perhaps there never will be. The victims run into the tens of thousands. The Jewish losses are relatively greater than their proportion in the population for the following reasons: according to general reports, Jews turned out in large numbers for the general mobilization and especially for the defense of Warsaw, and fought bravely and heroically against the forces of Hitler. Second, Hitler's bombers tried hard to hit the Jewish districts. Thirdly, the Jews of Warsaw lived in the heart of the city, while the Christian populace lived on the outskirts, which were almost untouched by the bombardment. It should also be remembered that there were incomparably more Jewish refugees from the small war-zone towns and also from the larger war-zone cities. The panic which seized Polish Jewry at the thought of falling into the hands of Hitler's bandits was so great, that hundreds of thousands, mostly men, took to the roads. If nearly two hundred thousand Jews managed to slip into Soviet Russia, which was no easy matter, one may imagine that at least three times that number fled from their homes. Moreover, there was also a flight to Rumania, Lithuania, Hungary, and wherever it was possible to flee. This panic, a specifically Jewish curse, cost no little blood and produced not a few victims of another sort. Thousands of Jewish families were torn asunder — the women and children remained in German-occupied Poland while the men languished far from home.

Tens of thousands of Jews were still building barricades in the streets of Warsaw, Jews in long caftans were defending the barricades day and night, Sabbath and weekday, and keeping the Hitler hordes out of the city — and in the provincial towns of the occupied regions, the special Hitler inquisition adapted to wartime was already in full swing.

We will cite a typical picture of a small town, and the reader will have to remember that scores of Jewish towns were

in the same situation. The Rabbi of Brak, a town in the province of Lomza, managed to escape to Wilna, whence he sent a report on all he had seen with his own eyes and experienced with every fiber of his being. The Rabbi relates: "On the Friday before Rosh Hashonah, the Polish troops left the town, and the Germans entered. The Sabbath day passed in comparative quiet. In the evening an airplane flew overhead and began to rain bombs. From forty to fifty women and children were gathered in my house. A bomb crashed through the roof, but God be praised, no one was hurt, as the bomb fell into a barrel of water.

"Suddenly German soldiers rushed in and shouted, 'Get out you criminals! We shoot! I began to plead that a wounded man was lying in my home, but they yelled, 'Out!' So we ran to another house, but were driven out from there also. Thus hundreds of soldiers with fixed bayonets were driving all the people of the town and rounding them up near the church. The people were driven with such fury that they were not permitted to halt for a second. Jechiel Rosenberg was running with an infant in his arms. The child fell down, and when he tried to pick it up, he was jabbed with a bayonet and wounded.

"Those rounded up were surrounded by soldiers with leveled guns. The cries of the people reached to heaven. Husbands bade farewell to their wives, parents to children, the more devout recited the confession (viddu). As they stood thus terror stricken, they saw flames rise from the houses. The first to be set on fire were the synagogue and the home of the late Rabbi

"Meanwhile they kept bringing in fresh persons, Jews and also Christians."

The Rabbi recounts that an officer came and announced that a German soldier had been found murdered, and for this all the townspeople deserved to be shot. Hitler, however, was sparing their lives, but the town must be destroyed. The Rabbi asserts that the story about the soldier was an invention. All the people passed the whole night in the place and saw all their possessions go up in flames. The Rabbi continued:

"About 8 o'clock in the morning, the same officer appeared. They picked out all men under 40 years of age and carried them off in trucks. The older men and the women and children were released and told to go to Ostrovo. I tried to get permission for the burial of those killed the night before (they were: Chaim Steinberg, Chaim Joseph Ziskes, Michael Finkelstein, Hershel Shernavin, Yudel Levatovsky, a grandson of Mordecai Kazev, David's elder boy, Hershel Steifman, Motel Holland, Jacob Mayer Rothbard, and two women, Falicha, and Hersh Isaac Rothbard's wife, who perished in the flames), but this

permission was refused.

"I set out afoot for Ostrovo with a little girl of four years. The road swarmed with soldiers. I had eaten or drank nothing since Saturday morning. On the way I began to beg the murderers for a little water for the child. The Germans replied, 'You want water? You'll be given death.' An officer stopped me and stuck his revolver against my heart. I implored him to have mercy on the child, and that had its effect. It was my luck that I was alone. For, a hundred meters ahead of me three Jews were walking with their wives and children. The children were taken away from them and handed over to the women, while they were taken to the woods and shot. They were Mendel Treblinsky, Isaac Mayer Shaikin, and David Przeszelnice.

"Only six houses were left standing in Brak. The old and such as were unable to flee stayed in the few houses on Ribarka Street. Monday night, just before Rosh Hashonah, it seemed, Poles informed the German authorities that Jews were hiding in the town. They knocked at Mayer Shmulkes' door. Zesha Melammed opened it. They shot him dead on the spot. In one bed lay Isaac Kuperberg and Israel Chaim the Shohet. Kuperberg was killed, and Israel Chaim wounded, dragged himself to Ostrovo where he died. Jacob Krupinsky they killed in the street.

"Many persons were also passing the night at Hershel Surokin's when they heard the shooting, they jumped out of the windows. The Germans broke in the door and found another twelve Jews. They were driven to the old cemetery, where they were bayoneted and then shot. The bodies lay on the ground until Saturday, and were partly eaten by dogs and crows. Saturday, they were buried in the old cemetery."

And so it went on in scores of towns for weeks: Chelm, Ostroviec, Zebrova, Lask, etc. In one place, it was charged, a German soldier had been killed, in another, revolutionary literature had allegedly been found, in a third, a Jew had offered resistance, in Lublin a Jew had fired at the Germans from a Yeshivah. Unfortunately, all these were pure fiction, invented as a pretext for murdering and plundering.

Bear in mind that these were not storm troopers nor Hitler youths, but ordinary Germans with their usual cruelty and bloodthirstiness.

This anarchy and murder, pillage and lawlessness continued until the end of November. Thousands of Jews were tortured to death! With particular savagery and cruelty the Germans raged in Lodz. They broke into homes, beat and carried off the men, made merry with the women, and carted away the furniture and other household goods. Textiles and other goods were taken from Jewish business houses in Lodz, loaded on hundreds of trucks,

and shipped to Germany. Nobody knows whether this was done on order or not. The same took place in Warsaw. Both in Warsaw and in Lodz, people were evicted from their homes and Germans were installed. This was done with particular frequency in Lodz, where local Germans, who only the week before had dealt with Jews, worked for Jews, and lived in supposed amity with them, took a very great part in the looting.

We close this section with a brief account of the expulsion from Suvalki — an expulsion which is unparalleled in history for sheer cruelty and shameless plundering. Five thousand Jews were driven into the market place. They were ordered to empty their pockets and surrender everything they had. They were also told to remove their boots and shoes, and were all driven barefoot out of town. Women and children, hospital patients, inmates of the home for the aged — all without exception were rounded up and driven from the city. For weeks these unfortunates languished at the Lithuanian border. Little by little they were taken across the frontier and distributed among the smaller towns of the Suvalki province which had passed under Lithuanian rule. How many died at the border and on the roads, how many took sick — for it was then mid-autumn, when it is terribly cold and moist in that region — all this, unfortunately, is unknown. One thing is known: the living envied the dead.

Besides the human victims of the first three months of the Jewish occupation, it should be added that, during the same period, the Germans burned many synagogues and Scrolls of the Law. In Zebrova they burned two synagogues and turned still another one into a stable for horses. In Lelov, in Kurov, and in Markishov they put all the synagogues to the torch. Typical of the savagery which seized the German Army after its victories in Poland, is an incident which occurred in Plonsk. There the Jews were driven into the market place on Rosh Hashonah and forced to kindle fires and burn Torah scrolls and religious books. Just before they were set aflame, an officer fired bullets into the sacred books and remarked, "I have shot the Jewish God."

Every city, every small town even, deserves a complete report. On every theme — the murders, burnings, forced labor, legal and illegal pillage, yellow badges ghettos, expulsions, economic discriminations, and bans without number and without end — a whole book could be written. We cannot dwell on every point or theme, neither can we list the events chronologically. We can only give a summary of the situation.

One of the most terrible afflictions of Polish Jewry is the expulsions. It can be stated that the expulsions have not ceased for a day in the 27 months of German rule. In the first few months, Jews were driven to the Soviet borders. Hundreds of Jews were drowned in the rivers. They could not swim across. It must be admitted that the Soviet frontier authorities acted quite liberally

toward the Jewish victims of Hitler's persecutions. Tens of thousands of refugees were openly admitted in addition to the tens of thousands who were already in the zone of Soviet occupation at the time the Galician and White Russian districts were occupied, and in addition to the tens of thousands who had illegally crossed the border. Nevertheless, there were not a few cases where on one side Nazi soldiers fired at the swimming refugees and prevented them from returning, while on the other, Soviet soldiers fired at Hitler's victims desperately struggling with the waves of the Bug or the San.

These border tragedies ceased at the end of November, 1939, because Russia closed the frontier. Now began the second stage of the expulsions. Two kinds of expulsions have since then taken place uninterruptedly: Jews are driven from one part of a city to another and from the small towns to the large cities, though frequently also the other way around — from Cracov, for example, to a score of minor points. In these expulsions one aim is discernible, to uproot the Jew as much as possible, to turn him more and more into a homeless wanderer, into a beggar. If the Jew remains in his old place, he manages to get around all the bans and restrictions. He then finds friends and supporters even among the non-Jewish population who help him find a way to earn a little, to obtain a morsel of bread, and once in a while to get some butter or cheese. Away from home, he is more helpless, more readily doomed to hunger and want, and hence nearer to destruction, which is the real object of all the persecutions and oppressions, of all the discriminatory laws and regulations.

In the winter of 1939 the Nazi administration began to establish a reservation, a kind of vast concentration camp, for great masses of Jews. They entertained the idea of settling on this reservation hundreds of thousands of Jews, or, possibly, all the Jews not only of occupied Poland, but also of Austria, and the Protectorate, as well as of Germany proper. This idea of a central tomb for over two million Jews appealed strongly to some of Hitler's most ardent pupils, and they began to pack Viennese, Hamburg, Stettin, Teschen, and other Jews into railroad cars. They also began to transport there Jews from the Corridor, and also from the Lodz and Plock districts which had already been annexed to Germany. They permitted the Jews to take along up to fifty kilograms of baggage and a maximum of 200 zlotys and hauled the cars — freight cars, of course, and sealed, as in the case of lepers — to Lublin.

An indescribable terror overcame the Jews of all the enumerated countries, and none was ever sure that he would not be awakened in the middle of the night and taken forthwith to a freight train to be transported to Lublin. Thus all the Jews of Stettin were deported and only ten of them succeeded miraculously in obtaining permission to return. The fear was indescribable because they well knew they were going to their doom, not a quick doom, unfortunately, but a gradual one after much suffering and illness. It was well known that there were no dwellings there; that bitter cold prevailed in that region, and that the Jews themselves would have to clear forests in order to erect barracks for them to dwell in. It was well known that

there was no possibility there of earning even enough for dry bread, and that epidemics were inevitable, epidemics that would mow people down like grass.

It is not known how many people were deported by the Nazis to the "Jewish State" as some of these sadists called the Lublin mass-grave. But the experiment soon failed. Possibly the Nazis were frightened by the nest of epidemics which they were creating, and which was bound to infect also the very creators of the nest and so they renounced the "marvelous" idea of a wholesale grave for the Jews.

We have already mentioned the deportation of about 300 thousand Jews from the districts annexed to Germany; that is, from "Warthegau". Parallel with these deportations there began a series of expulsions from cities and towns of the Gouvernement General. To tell the truth, it is hard to discern the real purpose of these expulsions because their character is chaotic enough, and one cannot assert that it is solely a question of concentrating the Jews in a smaller number of points in order to be able to watch them more closely, to reduce the "burden" of the administrative organs charged with Jewish affairs, and to facilitate and expedite the attainment of the main goal — the extermination of the Jewish population. But it can be proven, nevertheless, that, generally speaking, there is a policy of concentration. The Jewish population of Warsaw has increased by a full hundred thousand at the expense of a score of minor localities. Lublin has absorbed at least thirty thousand Jews. Again, there are quite a number of medium-sized cities, such as Tarnov, Piotrkov, Kielce, which have received ten thousand Jews each. We further have a list of scores of small localities to which Jews were deported from the surrounding villages. A small town like Blonje harbored more than 500 refugees in October, 1940. There are 500 refugees in the small town of Jaslo. In Gazeta Zydowska for August 6, 1940, it is reported that, "more than 1,000 Jews have arrived in the town of Osviencim from Bielsko-Biala. There have also arrived Jews from Zhiviec, Brzesc, Czechowice, Dziedzice, Kolo, Andrychov, and Jawiszcowe." From this long list of towns whence Jews were deported to a single locality which received an addition of more Jews than had ever lived there, it may be deduced that there is a policy of concentrating Jews in ever fewer points. That in the pursuit of this policy no account whatever is taken of economic factors and no consideration whatever is given to the question of how the deportees are going to earn their livelihood is obvious and needs no proof.

We are unable to give an exact list of all points from which Jews have been expelled. We shall merely draw up a list of the localities mentioned directly in the Gazeta Zydowska as points of expulsion, or those of which it is reported that refugees from them have arrived somewhere. The magnitude of the expulsions we shall never know, as it is doubtful that even the Germans possess lists of the expulsion points. The expulsions bear such a casual

character that one must conclude they are being carried out not by the central authority, but by local satraps and are dependent on the whims of the satraps. It is not even certain whether the order of expulsion stipulates where the exiles may go and where they may not go, or whether this is left to the decision of the exiles.

Thus we read, for example, in Gazeta Zydowska for April 15, 1941, that between March 10 and 13 more than 12,000 Jews arrived in Lublin from other localities, and in the same issue of the paper we read that Jews have been sent out from Lublin to Rejoviec, Belzhec, Bychova, Siedlische, Sosnowice, Chodel, and Lubartov. These are all minor localities, not far from Lublin. It is thus evident that the authorities did not force the exiles to remain in Lublin and did not hamper their transfer and distribution to minor communities in smaller places. On the other hand, we read in the same paper for February 7, 1941, that 70,000 Jews have arrived in Warsaw from cities west of the Vistula. Had these exiled Jews been free to go where they pleased, they surely would not have chosen the Warsaw ghetto, where one is condemned to starvation or, at best, to forced labor for a pittance, and would have sought refuge in the small towns, where contact with the non-Jewish population is still unhampered and one can get along more easily. In Gazeta Zydowska for March 11, 1941, we read that that there are ten thousand Jewish refugees in Kielce. Again the question arises, were they ordered to go to Kielce, or were they at liberty to go wherever they pleased? Further on we shall show that the Cracov Jews went at least to a score of localities, including remote ones. And the distribution of the Cracov Jews bears such an unorganized character, that one cannot possibly conceive that those issuing the decree of expulsion had any idea or plan in mind, except, of course, the main idea, which is the chief motive of all their actions: the desire to harass the Jews.

Let us quote the names of the localities mentioned in the paper. We give the date found in the paper, which, of course, gives not the exact date of the expulsion, but the approximate date.

CITIES AND TOWNS FROM WHICH JEWS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED:

Name	Date of News Item	Number of Exiles
1) Cracov	July, 1940	50,000
2) Bielsko-Biala	August 6, 1940	1,000
3) Zhiviec	August 6, 1940	
4) Andrichov	August 6, 1940	
5) Kolo	August 6, 1940	
6) Dziedzice	August 6, 1940	
7) Czechowice	August 6, 1940	
8) Brzezie	August 6, 1940	
9) Javiszovice	August 6, 1940	
10) Radom	December 13, 1940	25,000
11) Jendrzejov	January 24, 1941	750
12) Sokolov	January 21, 1941	
13) Zhirardov	February 11, 1941	600

Name	Date of News Item	Number of Exiles
14) Piaseczno	February 18, 1941	
15) Jeziorna	February 18, 1941	
16) Vlochy	February 18, 1941	
17) Korczew	February 18, 1941	
18) Rudki	February 18, 1941	
19) Pruszkov	February 18, 1941	
20) Blonje	February 18, 1941	
21) Mshonov	February 18, 1941	
22) Lenczica	February 28, 1941	1,200
23) Krynica	March 4, 1941	All the Jews
24) Osviencim	April 18, 1941	All Jews expelled. They left on foot.
25) Zebrzydovice	June 24, 1941	
26) Brody(village)	June 24, 1941	
27) Opatov	July 14, 1941	1,000

In addition to this table, it should be added that on April 22, 1941, all the Jews were expelled from the Cracov district, and that on February 7, 1941, as stated above, seventy thousand Jews were expelled from points west of Vistula.

There is no point in casting up the sum total of the number of exiles, as we are sure the table includes only a small number of localities. But even from these few one may conclude that at least two hundred thousand were exiled.

In order to give some idea of the methods of uprooting whole Jewish communities and scattering and dispersing them over many localities so that they may not be able to reorganize and form new communities, we shall cite the reports about the Jews of Cracov. On the eve of the war, Cracov contained over sixty thousand Jews. Today there are only 10,800. Where did they send and transport approximately 50 thousand Jews? Here is a list of cities and towns where Cracov Jews have arrived. That does not mean that this list exhaust the number of localities among which such deeply rooted and acclimatized Jews as those of Cracov have been dispersed. The list includes only such localities as happened to be mentioned in the Gazeta Zydowska. In all probability there are plenty of places which happen not to have been mentioned in the paper.

LOCALITIES WHERE JEWS REFUGEES FROM CRACOV HAVE ARRIVED

Name of Locality	Date of News	No. of Arrived Refugees
1) Kielce	August 6, 1940	3,000
2) Szczucin	August 6, 1940	A group of refugees from Cracov
3) Brzesko	August 6, 1940	" " " " " "
4) Warsaw	September 10, 1940	Refugees " "
5) Miendzyrzecz	November 30, 1940	350 men
6) Prokocim	December 31, 1940	300 "

Name of Locality	Date of News	No. of Arrived Refugees
7) Rejoviec	December 31, 1940	140
8) Chelm	January 10, 1941	2 transports of refugees from Cracov
9) Rejoviec	January 10, 1941	Second transport
10)Ruda	January 10, 1941	80
11)Savin	January 10, 1941	135
12)Wola	January 10, 1941	77
13)Tarnov	January 10, 1941	Jews continue to arrive from Cracov
14)Svierze	January 17, 1941	A group of refugees from Cracov
15)Sabibur	January 24, 1941	Refugees from Cracov
16)Bochnia	January 24, 1941	Exiles from Cracov
17)Brzeska	January 31, 1941	Refugees from Cracov
18)Jaslo	April 4, 1941	4 transports of refugees from Cracov
19)Bronowice	June 6, 1941	Many refugees from Cracov

We could compile a similar list about the expulsion from Radom. This community, too, which numbered over 25 thousand Jews before the war, has been scattered among a score of localities.

And can words, however poignant and meaningful, express the whole anguish, the whole tragedy of these tens of thousands of Jews, who were uprooted from their homes, without means, often without the most essential clothes, with infants in their arms, with the aged on their backs, and with only one prospect for the future: starving and suffering and living in stables and communal buildings?

Some solace may be found in the self-sacrificing spirit with which the Jewish communities, especially in the small towns of the provinces, met the refugees. There have been cases where house-holders themselves went to sleep on the bare ground in the stables and yielded their beds to the wayworn and desperate refugees. They shared their last morsel with them. Often the whole town would turn out to meet the refugees. Silently and with bowed heads, but with burning hatred for the tormentors, and with gifts of food for the tormented, men and women, children and the aged went to meet the refugees, to do honor to their exiled brethren and, by the same token, to express their contempt and disgust for the oppressors and persecutors.

Simultaneously with the expulsions from cities and towns, Jews began to be driven from one part of the city to another -- the first step on the road to a ghetto.

Already in November and December, 1939, the Nazis in Warsaw and in Lodz began to expel the Jews from certain streets, especially the wealthier and more attractive ones, and to commandeer the residences for their military men. In November, 1939, Jewish communal authorities in Warsaw were notified to prepare the Jewish populace for the ghetto project and to make all preparations to bring about the ghettoization of the entire Jewish population of the city. They managed to

stave off the blow at that time. But not for long. On October 15, 1940, an order was issued for the establishment of a ghetto in Warsaw. By that time a ghetto was already in existence in Lodz, but regarding the Jewish population of that city we have very little information in general. By November 25, 1940, the ghetto in Warsaw was complete in every way: both in respect of being walled in, and isolated from the surrounding population, and in the total removal of all the Jews of the city to the ghetto and of all Christians in the walled-in zone to the city districts reserved for the Poles. In a certain sense it may be said that the Poles of Warsaw also have a ghetto, but only in the matter of residence and not as regards movement. In general the city of Warsaw is divided into three sections: one, in which the "higher race" — the Germans — resides; another, in which the former masters of the land — the Poles — live; and a ghetto, fenced off and barred on all sides, which no one can leave or enter without a special permit from a representative of the "higher race". Permission to go to other parts of the city is very seldom granted to Jews, save to the few Jewish workers who are employed in factories outside the ghetto walls and have permanent permits.

In the space of a couple of weeks one hundred thousand Jews had to leave their homes in various parts of the city and move to the ghetto. On the other hand, some eighty thousand Poles had to abandon their residence in the ghetto zone and remove to the Polish section. Thousands of Jewish businesses had to be liquidated or sold in the course of a couple of weeks. There were very few non-Jewish businesses in the Jewish zone.

Altogether the ghetto contains 1,692 buildings, of which 1,359 are dwelling houses, 162 war-wrecked structures, and the rest factory and office buildings (Gazeta Zydowska, May 13, 1941). According to the census of 1931, there were 24,832 buildings in Warsaw.* Let us assume that the percentage of habitable houses is the same in the other parts of the city, that is, 80.3%. It then follows that in the entire city, disregarding the question of additional houses erected between the census and the outbreak of the war, there were 19,786 dwelling houses. The Jewish ghetto, which has only 1,359 dwelling houses, thus received only 6.8% of all the residential buildings, whereas the Jewish population constituted 29% of the total population even before the influx of a hundred thousand Jewish refugees. Even if we assume that there are a great many small houses in the outlying sections of Warsaw and that the Aryan zone contains more factory buildings than the ghetto, it is still apparent that the ghetto is overcrowded.

The congestion that soon developed in the Warsaw ghetto is indescribable. Typhus and other epidemic diseases, which had been raging ever since the war, assumed the most dangerous proportions.

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* Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludnosci Miasto Warszawa. Warsaw, 1937, P.2.

After Warsaw, ghettos were set up in the provinces, about which we unfortunately have less information.

It is impossible to establish the exact number of localities in which there are ghettos. In the Gazeta Zydowska we have found the names of twenty odd points as well as of a couple of districts in which ghettos have been introduced in every locality. Below we list the cities and towns mentioned in the aforesaid newspaper. The list does not exhaust all the localities of the Gouvernement General; moreover, it does not include the ghettos of "Warthegau", such as Lodz, for example. The Gazeta Zydowska does not always mention the date on which a particular ghetto began to function. In such cases we cite the date of the issue of the paper containing the news. As the day of the ghetto's introduction is seldom named, we give in all cases only the month. We list the localities according to the chronological order of their ghettos. We give the number of Jews in each locality. For the larger centers, figures are available from the census of 1931; for the smaller localities, there are figures only from the census of 1921. The number of Jews in most small localities in Poland was stable, as the natural increase was offset by emigration either to other countries or to the larger cities of Poland.

Cities and Towns in which the Germans Have Introduced Ghettos:

Cities and Towns	Province	No. of Jews	Year of Census	Ghetto Decree Month - Year		Ghetto News in Gazeta Zydowska Month - Year	
1)Glovne	Lodz	1430	1921	May	1940		
2)Krasnostav	Lublin	1943	1931	July	1940		
3)Warsaw		352659	1931	Oct.	1940		
4)Rogov						Dec.	1940
5)Kazimiers						Dec.	1940
6)Otwock	Warsaw	5408	1931			Jan.	1941
7)Mschonov	Warsaw	2188	1921			Jan.	1941
8)Laskarzev						Jan.	1941
9)Zhirardov	Warsaw	2726	1931			Jan.	1941
10)Cracov	Cracov	56515	1931	Mar.	1941		
11)Lublin	Lublin	38937	1931	Mar.	1941		
12)Bochnia	Cracov	2459	1921			Apr.	1941
13)Kielce	Kielce	18083	1931			Apr.	1941
14)Radom	Kielce	25159	1931			Apr.	1941
15)Falenica	Warsaw					May	1941
16)Chmielnik	Kielce	5924	1921			June	1941
17)Ostrovlec	Kielce	9334	1931			July	1941
18)Opatov						July	1941
19)Miechov	Kielce	2383	1921			July	1941
20)Radomsk	Lodz	7347	1931			July	1941
21)Przedborz	Kielce	3749	1921			July	1941

In all the localities enumerated, there lived, according to the census, about 550,000 Jews. If we subtract those expelled from Cracov, Radom, Zhirardov, and Opatov, and add the newcomers in Warsaw, Lublin, Kielce, and many small towns, we have, according to the table, a minimum of 600,000 Jews in the ghettos. However, we have as yet no complete list of all localities in which ghettos have been introduced: in Lodz alone 156,000 Jews are shut up in the ghetto. With Lodz the number of Jews in the ghettos reaches three-quarters of a million. In reality the number of Jews confined in the ghettos ought to be put at no less than a million.

But the expulsions and the construction of the ghetto barriers have not yet stopped. And so the other million Jews live in a state of fear and terror. For, nobody is ever sure that he will not be dragged out of his bed in the dead of night and deported wherever it shall please the local satrap. Nor is anybody sure that the satrap will not conceive a notion on some evil day to shut up the Jews either in a local ghetto or maybe in that of some other locality.

What is the purpose of the ghettos? Besides the malicious desire to make the life of the Jews unbearable, the Germans no doubt have another object in view here. Nothing unites people as much as common suffering. Nothing welds notions together as much as a common hatred toward a common enemy. Ther Germans have not forgotten how their common hatred of the Czarist regime united the Poles and the Jews. Neither have they forgotten, surely, what a tremendous role the Jews played in the revolution against Czarism. To isolate the Jews from the surrounding population, to degrade the Jews in the eyes of the Poles; to bar the Jews from all contact with the Polish population, -- this is certainly one of the ways of combating the revolutionary movement even before it assumes concrete form.

Health conditions.

How do the ghetto conditions affect the health of the Jewish population? We cannot dwell here in detail upon this extremely important question. We shall cite only a few figures about Warsaw, but these few data cut one to the heart; they must shock and startle everyone who gives thought to the end we are coming to, and must perforce come to, if the war (heaven forbid!) should drag on for years.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE WARSAW GHETTO: *

	MONTH	YEAR	BIRTHS	DEATHS	DEFICIT
1)	April	1941	361	2,061	1,700
2)	May	1941	451	3,881	3,430
3)	June	1941	396	4,290	3,894
	Total	3 months	1208	10,232	9,024

* Gazeta Zydowska, June 13, 1941; Aug.18, 1941

In three months we have a net loss of upwards of 9,000 Jews. Even if we assume that this rate of losses will remain stable, we shall still have an annual deficit of over 36,000 souls in the Warsaw ghetto alone. The rapid rise of mortality from month to month offers little hope that the grim Reaper will not intensify his harvest. We do not know what the situation is in other cities. But we do know that the best facilities for medical care are to be found in the Warsaw ghetto, and that people come to Warsaw from the provinces, and even from Lodz, for medical treatment and medicaments. But even if the mortality is no greater in the other parts of Poland than in the Warsaw ghetto, we still have an annual decrease of 140 to 150 thousand persons among the two million Polish Jews, who have been in Hitler's clutches for more than two years now. Of the dead, two-thirds were men and one-third women, a most interesting phenomenon. It confirms the reports that the Jewish male population which is employed in very large numbers in the labor camps at the hardest and most dangerous tasks, ill clad and exhausted by undernourishment, has been weakened to a greater extent than the women. But this means that the meager income from work is diminishing from month to month, since the women cannot replace the men in the building of roads and canals. And this means, further, that after a few months work the men become physical invalids, the high rate of mortality among the men being proof that there are a great many more sick and weak in their ranks.

The foregoing mortality figures assume an even more sinister significance when it is added that they are the results, not of epidemics which may be checked or greatly reduced by special means. Unfortunately, this is the "normal" mortality — normal under the hell-like conditions of the Hitler ghettos. Of the 486 patients at the Jewish hospital in the first-quarter of 1941, only 69 were afflicted with contagious diseases (Gazeta Zydowska, June 6, 1941). These data were published in that paper last June, and if an epidemic had existed at the time, the paper would have made it known in some way or other. This is not to say that there are no epidemics among the Jews of Warsaw: the Gazeta Zydowska of September 3, 1941, reports that, owing to the epidemics, the Jewish Children's Hospital had to be converted into a hospital for epidemic patients. "Toz" conducted a campaign for antityphus inoculations among 50,000 Jews in Warsaw and among 90,000 in the provinces. In the first seven months of 1940, 40,000 people passed through the quarantines for epidemic and other convalescents. It seems that, thanks to the good work of "Toz" and of the community organization, the epidemics were finally controlled. However, as to the "normal" death rate, which is a consequence of the entire murderous regime of Hitler, the Jewish population is helpless and left to the mercy of the "Angel of Death".

How do the nearly two million Jews in Poland support themselves? This is a hard question that cannot be answered not even by those living in Poland, let alone by us who derive

our information from the meager pages of the only Polish-Jewish periodical, which is rigidly censored and watched by the Germans. The situation may be sized up somewhat like this: Business, as a source of income, has greatly declined. The most staple commodities, such as foodstuffs, clothing, and shoes are issued only against ration cards. The prices are fixed. Jewish grocers receive foodstuffs only for the Jewish population, hence in a very limited measure. The food rations for Jews are smaller than for the rest of the population. Their bread allowance is one-half of the Polish portion, and one-fourth of the German. For clothing and shoes, the Jews, it seems, receive no ration cards at all. Such of the export and import trade as is still carried on, but exclusively with Germany, is in the hands of German government agencies. The rest of the domestic trade is virtually dead: there is simply nothing to sell. The factories are working for Germany, mostly to supply military needs.

A small part of the Jewish population is still living on capital. Not on the earnings of capital, but on the principal. One of the first decrees, the second after the ban on the ritual slaughter (shehitah), was about bank savings and about capital, which must be reported. A Jew is not allowed to keep at his home more than two thousand zlotys. The rest he must deposit in a bank and may draw up to 200 zlotys a month. It is on this meager sum, about $20 at the official rate of exchange, that the "rich" live.

Far better is the lot of the laboring elements, of the artisans and the wage earners. The Jews of Poland are the hardest-working part of the population. They engage in the most arduous toil, sweating and ruining their health, and receive hardly enough to keep body and soul together. Yet this is the largest, if not almost the only, source of income. We shall divide the work into three categories: (1) forced labor; (2) free labor; (3) cooperative labor.

The entire Jewish population in the ages of 14 years to 60 must perform any kind of work the Germans want them to. Thus ran the decree about the registration of the whole Jewish population issued on October 26, 1939. But it cannot be said that this order has been completely enforced. Rather may it be inferred that slave labor must have proven so little productive that the Germans are resorting to it more and more rarely.

Here is an example from Warsaw. In the first six months of 1940, Jews put in 1 million and 200 thousand days of slave labor. Who payed for this work? According to the report of the Gazeta Zydowska (August 9, 1940), from which these and the following data are taken, it appears that the Jewish community of Warsaw paid 25% of all the workers and spent one million and 425 thousand zlotys for this purpose during the aforesaid six

months. From this it is to be inferred that the remaining workers were paid by the Germans. There is no doubt that the Germans did not pay any higher rates than the Warsaw Jewish community. Multiplying the sum disbursed by the Jewish community by four and dividing the product by the number of work-days, we find that the average daily pay of a worker was somewhat less than five zlotys. In reality, however, a worker received only four zlotys a day (Gazeta Zydowska, August 28, 1940). That this is insufficient even for dry bread is obvious, since a kilogram of bread costs twice as much as a day's pay. From the same paper we learn that the Warsaw Jewish community furnished eight thousand Jewish workers daily. That forced labor was not a very great hit may be inferred from an item in the Gazeta Zydowska for June 24, 1941, in which it is reported that, "by order of the authorities, all labor camps in the Warsaw Jewish district have been disbanded. All Jews have been released and have gone home." But it is also possible that the camps were liquidated because there was no food for the workers. For in the Gazeta Zydowska of the same week, but dated June 20, we find the following item: "The labor camps at Pieklo and Narta have been liquidated because the contractor was unable to feed the workers." And an item in the same paper for July 14, 1941 states that "1,581 persons have returned from the liquidated camps of the Warsaw district."

From all these news items the following conclusions may be drawn: The German contractors, who were supplied with forced laborers by the Jewish community, were under obligation to give these workers certain rations of food products. On the eve of the summer harvest, there was a scarcity of farm products, and the contractors were unable to fulfill this condition. So they disbanded the camps. On the other hand, we know that, although the work in the camps entails great hazards and great suffering, as the German overseers indulge not only in curses and insults, but in blows with guns, Jews are begging to be taken into the camps, since this hard and degrading work is still preferable to starvation.

It is impossible to ascertain the extent of forced labor throughout Poland. From the columns of the Gazeta Zydowska we have compiled a list of 43 Jewish communities which have furnished levies of forced laborers. This does not mean that the other communities have not supplied any slave workers. One cannot even tell just how many forced laborers have been supplied by these 43 Jewish communities, as the reports are of different periods and do not always state the total number of workers furnished, but merely give the latest levy, so that one cannot tell how many

were previously supplied. From the same paper we get information on some seventy-five labor camps. However, the number of workers in various camps differ greatly. Take, for example, the Lublin district, where 12,000 Jews worked at Belzhec, 3,500 at Biala Podlaska, 1,000 at Mircze, and only 150 at Krizszanowka and 130 at Liszko. Again, different levies of workers are employed at different times. We have earlier quoted the report that eight thousand Warsaw Jews did forced labor during the first six months of 1940. We learn from Gazeta Zydowska of April 22, 1941 that "25,000 Jews are employed at construction work in the Warsaw district, and that 4,000 Jewish workers left last week for work on location." That the talk here is of forced labor is beyond question, for these were certainly government construction projects. No private construction enterprises, especially on such a scale as to employ 25,000 Jewish workers alone, are possible in Poland today.

25,390 Jewish forced laborers were employed in twenty-nine camps in the Lublin district in October, 1940 (Gazeta Zydowska, October 29, 1940). But we do not know how long they worked. From perusing and studying the often-quoted Polish Jewish paper, one carries away the impression that, generally speaking, about 100,000 are employed at forced labor. This may be reckoned as the number so employed all the time, although the personnel changes, as a very large percentage of Jews cannot stand the strain and have to be sent home. Besides, there are special occasions when a great many more Jews are drafted for special labor. Thus we learn, for example, that Jews were mobilized in scores of cities during the winter to clear the snow, and not only in town but on the highways and railroad tracks as well.

Besides slave labor there is also free labor. We have no idea how and on what conditions this work is being performed. The information is scanty. But a few general statements may be made. In the cities where ghettos exist, the Kehillah (Jewish community) receives orders from the German Labor Office, as well as the necessary raw material, and assigns the work to Jewish artisans or manufacturers. In other cities, where there is no ghetto, they probably work also on private orders. One thing is clear: of late, there has been an acute shortage of labor, and workers are kept busy. How much one earns and what one can buy with the couple of zlotys earned, is another question, but there are plenty of opportunities to sweat and lose one's health. Thus the Warsaw Kehillah announces that "workers are wanted for paid road-work at Krasne (Cracov district)" (Gazeta Zydowska, May 10, 1941). A month later we come upon this notice in

the same paper: "The Labor Department of the Warsaw Kehillah is looking for workers (paid) to work some distance from Warsaw" (Gazeta Zydowska, June, 6, 1941). Still more interesting is the following announcement: "The Director of the German Labor Office in Warsaw has announced, that he is looking for several thousand workers. He promises wages according to the prevailing rate, good food, and proper treatment." (Gazeta Zydowska, May 16, 1941).

Apparently, the shortage of workers is so acute that one must violate Hitler's gospel and promise Jews good treatment and the prevailing wage and even decent food. We read the following news from Cracov: "All skilled workers of the Building trades, bricklayers, gas workers, electricians, tinsmiths, locksmiths, carpenters are employed. The season for men's tailors, dressmakers, capmakers has begun. A shortage of labor is foreseen." (Gazeta Zydowska, June 27, 1941). In the issues of Gazeta Zydowska for August, 1941, it is mentioned a couple of times that a Jewish commission has arrived from Lodz to register workers — tailors, locksmiths, mechanics, harness-makers, and others for work in Lodz, and the commission is remaining two weeks in the Warsaw ghetto in order to engage the required number of workers.

On January 15, 1941, a decree was issued that all workers must have work cards, and that work could be obtained in accordance with these cards. The Jewish workers received no cards. Employed workers are exempt from obligatory labor (in the case of Christians, forced labor is called "obligatory labor".) Jews do not enjoy this privilege. Nevertheless, the Warsaw Kehillah has succeeded in getting also the Jewish workers of the cooperatives exempted from forced labor. Perhaps this explains the great love prevailing among the Jewish population for producer's cooperatives. Although there are many other causes, economic and juridical, impelling cooperation — an organized group manages to obtain work more readily; it is also easier for it to assume responsibility for the work and for its proper performance.

Unfortunately not much information is available on this question also. The first mention of Jewish cooperation, we find in Gazeta Zydowska of February 18, 1941, where it is reported that " the Labor Commission of the Warsaw Kehillah has approved five tailor workshops with 900 workers, 2 shoemaker cooperatives with 500 workers, and a hosiery cooperative with 200 workers." In the same issue we also learn that the "carpenter workshops have filled part of the orders for the Transfer Office."* From this it is to be inferred that cooperative carpenter shops had been in operation for some time. On a mid-May issue of the paper we find

* This is the link between the Labor Office and the Jewish Kehillah.

a report that the Jewish artisans' Association has organized hosiery cooperatives at Leszno No.40, in Warsaw, which employ 3,000 master workers, journeymen, and helpers, and 1,500 machines. A more detailed account of the working conditions is contained in Gazeta Zydowska, of August 8, 1941: "The workers employed in the workshops receive daily, two plates of soup for seventy groschen, and once a week a kilogram of bread for 35 groschen. Sometimes they also get a kilogram of oil and a kilogram of soap. The workers earn up to 100 zlotys a week. (They work by the piece)."

Finally let us quote the very latest news from this paper (August 18, 1941) that, "3,000 workers are employed in the producer's cooperatives."

The data given thus far concerned only Warsaw. There is little information about the rest of the country, but what there is of it is very interesting, proving as it does that the cooperative form of work is spreading also in the provinces. It is reported from Cracov that "cooperative tailor workshops with 150 members have been formed. They have large army orders. A master tailor earns 180 zlotys a week. The cooperative brush workshops comprise 10 master workers and 60 helpers. A helper earns from 20 to 60 zlotys a week. The carpenters have received large orders." (Gazeta Zydowska, August 1, 1941).

From Kielce comes the news that 60 masters are employed at the gaiter-makers' cooperative (Gazeta Zydowska,. December 16, 1940).

Extremely interesting is the news from Pabianice: In June, 1940, a cooperative was formed by 350 tailors. In August of the same year another workshop was established with 750 members. Also existing is a carpenter workshop with ten members. Adn steps are being taken to establish a capmaker's cooperative with 40 workers, a linen cooperative with 30 workers, and a cooperative of gaiter-makers (Gazeta Zydowska, April 4, 1941).

From all this it may be concluded that the artisans and workers are the ones who are active even in a personal sense, and they are really better off. Nothing whatever is heard of the Jewish business man, as if this class were wholly extinct. Apparently, the Germans have actually managed to take over the distribution machinery to such an extent, that the private storekeeper and dealer has disappeared altogether. There are still small groups of shopkeepers in the ghetto, who sell at fixed prices the foodstuffs they receive from the Germans through the

Kehillah. The distribution machinery for non-Jews is entirely in non-Jewish hands. This fact is bound to have serious consequences in the postwar period. The Polish shopkeeper, who will have filled the place of the Jewish shopkeeper for years, will not only have the advantages of priority, but will also have the connections with the buying public.

In a social sense, too, the working class is better off — cooperatives, be they ever so confined within their limits and forbidden even to dream about social problems, yet every meeting, every session is in itself a social act, and the participant feels after all like a member of a group; he is not so lonely as the shopkeeper nor so despondent.

Too much hope should not be pinned on the war cooperatives: we have seen that all the consumer's cooperatives which sprang up during the first World War soon vanished. But it is quite probable that this time it will be possible to make better use of the producer's cooperatives, which may become the nucleus of the coming constructive solution of the problem of the Jewish declassed.

The most widespread source of sustenance is the soup at the communal soup kitchens. According to the figures of the Joint Distribution Committee, 630 thousand Jews in Poland are dependent on permanent relief, 500 thousand Jews receive aid daily in money or in food, 260 thousand adults receive lunches daily — soup and a piece of bread, 23 thousand children are given one meal a day, and 24 thousand orphans are maintained in institutions.

This is a small cross-section of the extensive and widely ramified relief work which the Jewish communities carry on with the means they receive from foreign organizations: from the Joint Distribution Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the Federation of Polish Jews, and other bodies.

Unfortunately we cannot dwell on such important developments in Jewish life in Poland as the yellow badge, the restrictions on freedom of movement, the cultural condition, and the problem of education. But we must characterize, although quite briefly, the spiritual state of Polish Jewry and the wonderful social energy which has manifested itself in a time of affliction in this so sorely tried branch of World Jewry.

From personal messages, from between the lines of the Gazeta Polska a paper held in the iron grip of the Nazis, from a whole series of acts of the Jewish communities which has led to the arrest of their representatives, it is to be inferred that Polish Jewry, as a body, manifests quite clearly its contempt for the Hitler beasts. The latter sense it and are annoyed and infuriated by it. There are no personal acts of revenge. But by the passivity with which they submit to his cruel excesses, the Nazi is made to feel at every step that he is not regarded as a man from whom justice and humanity might be expected. He is made to feel that his murders and beatings, his looting and insults are looked upon as though they were the work of some natural force or of some wild brigands in a forest. It is hard to fight against natural forces; it is hard to struggle with a band of armed brigands. So one submits with contempt and disgust. And the disgust is so plain and so eloquent that even the thick-skinned pure Aryans are aware of it and nearly burst with anger and rage.

One of their chieftains has even complained that the Polish Jews, however one may insult and persecute them, do not commit suicide. Apparently he had been eagerly looking forward to this, as he had been accustomed to witness it in Germany and Austria. Now the body of Polish Jewry is covered with many wounds, with wounds dripping with blood and pus, but its soul has remained whole. The Jewish spirit of hope, the Jewish spirit of faith has remained whole and sound.

That can easily be seen from the social work carried on in every field. One perceives in this work that they care for the soul no less than for the body. At the first opportunity efforts are made to provide a school for the young. In several localities they have succeeded in doing so. But since this is hard, as the Germans do not permit it, a committee is formed in each house to look after the children. In these bitter times an energetic campaign is being waged against juvenile beggary and juvenile delinquency. The kehillahs are democratic in form; but as elections are impossible, efforts are made to attract representatives from all layers of the population in order to have direct contact with the latter, and in order that the poorest and lowliest may not feel downhearted.

The Jewish communities have been transformed into organs with tremendously wide and responsible functions. They actually have to provide the bread of the entire Jewish populations; two hundred thousand homeless refugees are provided with shelter and food; hundreds of thousands are transported from city to city and must be cared for. The accounts of how even the smallest Jewish communities organize the reception of refugees cannot be read without tears; they try not only to provide the newcomers with food and a roof over their heads, but to make them feel that they are among brothers, among deep-feeling and sympathizing brothers. A warm, hearty atmosphere is created to make the exile from his own home feel more cheerful and hopeful.

Jewish life has in general become autonomized. The Jewish communities endeavor to extract all that is positive from their isolation from the surrounding world. Yiddish has become the official language of the Jewish population, and in the Jewish post office in Warsaw, for example,

Yiddish reigns supreme orally and in writing, although it is forbidden to write letters in Yiddish or in Hebrew. In all Jewish insitutions, where formerly the Polish language predominated, it has been replaced by Yiddish. The communities support every cultural enterprise, such as the theatre, lectures, in order to afford the Jewish population an opportunity to meet, to find distraction, and to forget for a while the terrible loneliness and bitterness of their life.

Great activity is being displayed by Jewish associations, such as "Toz" (Health Organization), and "Ort" (Association for the Advancement of Farming and Manual Work among Jews); but the one which particularly distinguishes itself is "Hechalutz" with its wonderful organization, which has managed under the conditions described above to develop an activity which will form the finest chapter in the history of the struggle of the Jewish population for elementary existence. Wherever there is a bit of free land in the possession of a Jewish community, "Hechalutz" comes, establishes a farm and saves hundreds of young Jews from going under. Not only has Hechalutz developed its famous kibbutzim at Grochov (near Warsaw), at Czestochowa, at Bendin, but it has established scores of new kibbutzim But in the present situation of the Polish Jews, the kibbutz acquires quite another value: it is no longer merely an institution for vocational retraining and physical adaptation to hard work. It is now almost the only national institution which by the very reason of its existence affords solace and hope to the whole Jewish population.

The Polish Government in Exile

In the last days of September, 1939, a new Polish government headed by Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski was formed in France. In January, 1940 a Polish National Council was formed, and Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart was appointed as the Jewish representative to the Council.

In Paris and later in London as well as in New York, negotiations were conducted with the Polish government and with the representatives of the Polish emigres and of the Polish-American population in the United States regarding future polish-Jewish relations in Poland.

On November 3, 1940 at the Academy of Polish Jewry held in London, Minister of Social Welfare Jan Stanczyk speaking in the name of the Polish government declared, that "Jews as Polish citizens will be equal in their obligations and rights with the entire Polish community. They will be able to develop their culture, religion and customs. This will be secured not only by law, but also by the common suffering in these most terrible days of oppression."

During General Sikorski's visit to the U.S.A. in April, 1941, he received a joint delegation of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress. The delegation voiced the sympathy of the Jews for the Polish people in their struggle for liberty and expressed the hope that in the Poland of the future, complete equality would be assured for all citizens in the exercise of civic, religious and national rights. General Sikorski replied that his government condemned anti-semitism and recognized full equality of rights for all citizens. In connection with this interview, General Sikorski later made the following statement before the Polish National Council in London:

"In New York I received the delegation of the World Jewish Congress. I had a long conference with them and received their memorandum to which I shall now reply. Unfortunately Poland has often been the victim of many circumstances. Poles were too hastily accused and among other things, of extreme anti-semitism and of pogroms. Liberal principles are a guide for the government. It will follow a sincerely democratic policy in accordance with which in the future Poland, the principle of equal obligations and equal rights will be applied toward all citizens of the Republic, irrespective of nationality, race or religion. That is the attitude of the Polish Government. Any different attitude toward this difficult problem could never be understood by the American community nor by the British who are waging with us the hard and stubborn fight against Hitler's ideology. I have no doubt that in this local, and after all so limited sphere too, the same principles will finally triumph. Whoever opposes these principles is working against the interests of his own nation."

During Minister Stanczyk's recent visit to this country as a delegate to the International Labor Organization sessions, several conferences were held with him by various Jewish groups and he again reiterated, in a conference with the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress representatives, that complete equality of rights for the Jewish population would be safeguarded in post-war Poland. At te the same time, he condemned the anti-Jewish utterances of certain Polish groups in exile. Thus, first steps have been taken toward a better understanding between the Poles and Jews.

DENMARK

Background

Denmark has the oldest Jewish community in Scandinavia, the earliest reliable date being February 2, 1622, when King Christian IV invited the first group into the country. At the present time, there are about 6,000 Jews in the country, ninety-seven percent of whom live in Copenhagen. This figure has changed but little during the past thirty years.

The Jews have occupied a prominent place in every aspect of the political, cultural (Georg Brandes) and economic life of the country. They have been important in industry, trade, finance, and the professions. When the Nazis came to power in neighboring Germany, repercussions were naturally felt in Denmark. The refugee problem was a very delicate one for the government and it admitted no more than 1200 in all. The police enforced the government policy strictly, in many cases turning back refugees at the frontier.

Under Nazi Occupation

The Nazi attack on April 9, 1940 came like an unexpected clap of thunder and occupation of the small country was complete within the space of a few hours, before any appreciable number of Danish Jews could escape. Since that time, formal authority has remained in the hands of the Social Democratic government of Premier Stauning, but the Germans have tried to impose their will upon the Danes by every possible means. They have not always succeeded in their efforts. Under the law, the Jews still retain equal rights despite systematic German attempts to stimulate anti-Semitic feeling. The handful of domestic Nazis, most of whom belong to the small German minority in the country, have tried to assist Reich agents in this task, but all efforts to incite the Danish people against the Jews have failed. Instead, the population systematically boycotts the German forces of occupation.

N O R W A Y

Background

The Jewish community in Norway is the youngest in Europe. There was not a single Jew in the country until 1852, because only those who had previously accepted the Christian faith could enter. The first two Jews who entered the country in 1852 were Nosen N. Nathan and L. Samson, both of whom came from Denmark. Today, after ninety years of equal rights, Norway has a Jewish population of 1500 persons, or roughly, one half of one percent of the population. Nearly all the Jews of Norway are of Eastern European, particularly Russian, origin. Russian Jews began to come as early as the pogroms of the 80's. The largest Jewish settlement is in Oslo, the capital, where there are approximately 900 Jews. The remaining Jews are scattered throughout more than twenty localities.

Practically all Norwegian Jews are of the merchant class and have been active mainly in the textile trade and watchmaking. They are also represented in the tobacco industry. Very few, however, engage in manual labor, and the Jewish community as a whole belongs to the middle bourgeosie. There are about forty Jewish professional men, mainly doctors and lawyers, as well as nine Jewish officers in the army.

Norway had no anti-Semitism and very few anti-Jewish manifestations prior to Hitler. The attitude of the people to the small Jewish community was a friendly one. The year that Hitler came to power saw the birth of a domestic Nazi Party in Norway known as the National Sammling. This organization, like others of its kind, at once made the dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda a basic part of its program. The efforts in this direction met with very little success among the people.

Under Hitler's Rule

The situation of the Jews in Norway since the German invasion on April 9, 1940, should be divided into two periods. During the first period, from April 9 until September 25, 1940, the country was under German military rule. Since September 25, 1940, a considerable part of the administrative authority has been entrusted by the Germans to the puppet Quisling government.

When Hitler attacked Norway, the only avenue of escape was to Sweden. The Swedish government, however, at once closed the frontier and permitted no one to enter. As a result, almost none of the Norwegian Jews managed to escape from Hitler. Only a few dozen political refugees, who had ties with the Swedish Social Democratic Party, made good their escape.

Terboven, the Nazi Commisar of Norway, immediately introduced harsh measures against the Jewish refugees. Many were arrested and others were ordered to report daily to the police.

During the very first months of occupation, the Nazi authorities ordered the confiscation of radios belonging to Jews, and in a short time, about half the radios in Jewish homes were seized. A non-Jewish delegation then informed the German authorities that Norway did not recognize discrimination against Jews and they demanded the repeal of the confiscation decree. The order was suspended and Jews whose radios had already been seized were allowed to purchase new receiving sets.

In the fall of 1940, a gang of Quislingites plastered the few Jewish stores of Tromsoe with anti-Semitic inscriptions. The response of the population was to flock to the Jewish shops, as a gesture of solidarity with their Jewish neighbors.

Quisling did succeed, however, in destroying the Jewish community in Norway. As soon as he took office, he began to persecute the Jews in order, in his own word, "to free Norway of the Jewish yoke." New Jewish decrees were at once enacted, for the alleged purpose of establishing "order" in the country.

In April 1941, a number of Jews in Trondheim and Bergen were arrested on the charge of organizing anti-German activities.

Indicative of popular resentment against the anti-Jewish decrees, is the fact that in October 1940, when the Jewish establishments were ordered to display identifying signs, students went through the city carrying pails of water and ladders, to remove these inscriptions.

After the Germans launched their attack on Russia on June 22, 1941, the situation of the Jews in Norway deteriorated still more and a wave of terror began. The Quisling government and the German authorities, branding all the Jews as Communists and friends of Russia, held them responsible for every act of sabotage in the country.

B E L G I U M

Historical Summary

The Jewish settlement of modern Belgium belongs to the youngest and smallest in Europe. True, there were Jews in the Belgian provinces as early as the 4th century, while in the later Middle Ages several communities grew up and flourished. Nevertheless, from about 1360 down to as late as the 18th century permanent settlement was rendered impossible by constant persecutions and expulsions and, for a time, by the duress of the Spanish Inquisition.

It is estimated that in 1830, the year of Belgium's independence, there were no more than 3,000 Jews in the country. In 1940, on the eve of the German Invasion, they numbered as many as 85,000 permanent residents and some 25,000 refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia.* The former are, in the main, the result of two great waves of immigration, the first originating in Russia and Galicia during the 1890's and the latter in Poland after the first World War. Owing to the severity of the Belgian naturalization laws, a considerable proportion of her Jewish inhabitants kept up their foreign status.

Contribution to National Life

The equality of rights (actually in force since the French occupation of 1792), which independent Belgium proclaimed in 1831, was faithfully carried out.**If the number of Jews who attained to official positions was small, their influence was nevertheless noteworthy. Belgium had Jewish Ministers (e.g. Paul Hymans) and Senators (Sam Wiener, Paul Errera and Herbert Speyer), a Jewish ambassador (Paul May), Jewish judges, professors (Léon, Paul and Jacques Errera,Robert Goldschmidt, Niko Gunzburg, Oscar Weill, Herbert Speyer) and high functionaries (e.g. Max Gottschalk). Jews were also distinguished in military life, the services of Generals Bernheim and Ernest Wiener earning special commendation in the first and second world wars respectively. The latter, now a prisoner-of-war in Germany, was a former chairman of the Jewish Consistory.

Jews in Commerce and Industry

Jewish enterprise, especially in the fields of industry and finance, contributed greatly to the economic development of the growing Belgian nation; the banking houses of Cassel, Lambert and Philipson playing a specially significant role in this respect. In the post-war period, the Jewish influence was particularly prominent in the diamond and leather-goods industries, which Jews had built up and in which they obtained something like a monopoly. Nor was it only in commerce that they left their mark, for they were equally well represented in

* All figures given in this article are unofficial estimates.

** See page BEL-7

the sphere of production. There were, for instance, thousands of Jewish diamond-workers and at least 1500 purse-makers, while they also had a considerable share in the textile and fur trades and in the manufacture of raincoats.

Disquieting Tendencies

At the same time, it must be admitted that in recent years there developed a tendency to stem the tide of Jewish immigration and even to liquidate new arrivals by the introduction, especially in the economic field, of anti-alien legislation. The first victims of this attack were alien stallholders in the markets, consisting mainly - as far as the Jews were concerned - of former miners and laborers hit by the depression of 1930, and of recent immigrants. Later this discrimination was extended to all foreign employes, their right to work being made dependent upon the holding of labor permits. Indeed, in the days immediately preceding the Nazi invasion there was even a well-founded apprehension that the continual pressure of the middle class might result in further discrimination in other branches, and that the position of foreign Jews (i.e. the majority of the Jewish population) might become appreciably worse.

Communal Activities

The Jewish population, concentrated in a few cities like Antwerp and Brussels, was permeated, on the whole, with a keen sense of its Jewish affiliations. The Zionist movement was strong and influential, its several factions being grouped into a Federation. The Jewish religion was officially recognized by the Government and a number of rabbis and cantors were on the State's pay-roll. The communities, the character of which in Belgium was purely religious, possessed a central organ of representation in the Jewish Consistory. The Jewish educational system was composed mainly of two types of schools: Antwerp, for instance, boasted two religious day-schools subsidized by the state, while there was a rabbinical seminary at Heyde and a people's University at Brussels, as well as a number of religious and secular supplementary schools.

The Press was represented by two weeklies in Yiddish and one in French, besides a number of minor publications issued by Jewish bodies.

Welfare and relief services were organized on a fairly extensive scale. In Antwerp they were grouped around the well-known "Centrale". The tendency towards coordination in Jewish matters led, in recent years, to the establishment of "Councils of Jewish Associations". They embraced in Antwerp all, in Brussels nearly all political, religious, philanthropic, cultural, economic and sporting organizations and institutions. At the first World Jewish Congress, Belgian Jewry was represented by a number of elected delegates.

Refugee Relief

Particular mention should be made of the assistance afforded to refugees from Germany. Belgium became one of the most hospitable havens of refuge for the victims of the Third Reich. It is estimated that between the rise of Hitler in 1933 and the fall of the country in

1940 no fewer than 40,000 exiles resided in the country for longer or shorter periods. Some 25,000 of them were still there at the time of the invasion, and of these 16,000 were receiving aid from the Community. The refugee committees had before them financial and administrative tasks of considerable importance. In 1939 their total expenditure ran to the figure of 20,000,000 Belgian francs (about $700,000). These committees were supported by the Joint Distribution Committee, which granted them during January-May 1940 as much as $275,000. Subsidies voted by the Parliament, to the extent of 6,000,000 Belgian francs in 1939 and 8,000,000 in 1940, also helped to relieve the financial burden cast upon the community.

Anti-Semitism

The rise of Nazism in Germany could not but affect its tiny neighbor on the west. The Flemish element of the population, in the northern areas, was the first to be infected. Sympathies for the racist ideology, the temptation to exploit anti-Semitism as a stepping-stone to power, and paid German propaganda, all these contributed their share. Two groups were particularly instrumental in the spread of anti-Semitism in Flanders: the militarily organized Verdinaso and Volksverwering. Both of these groups systematically kept up, through their party organs, a bitter and unremitting Jew-baiting campaign. They were joined lately by the Flemish National Party (Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond) which possessed a not inconsiderable representation in Parliament. The movement spread to the Walloons in 1936, when the Rexist leader, Léon Degrelle, came to realize that parliamentary methods would never bring him to power, and decided to play Hitler's card. An ally, or perhaps a rival, in these efforts was the anti-Jewish National Legion (Légion Nationale). All of this agitation produced but little effect upon the broad masses of the Belgian people.

Jewish Defense

Jewish resistance to Nazi and anti-Semitic attack was well organized. The Jewish boycott committees of Belgium were among the most efficient in Europe, while counter-propaganda was carried on consistently by means of pamphlets, press releases and public meetings.

In its struggle, the Jewish leadership was greatly enheartened by the sympathies of Belgian public opinion. Léon Degrelle's political expectations were not realized through his anti-Semitic activities. In the elections of April 1939, the representation of the Rexist party in the Chamber of Deputies was reduced from 21 to 4 seats. The experience of Germany brought home the belief that anti-Semitic agitation is usually concomitant of fifth-column activity. This conviction led in March 1940 to the interdiction of a number of anti-Jewish scurillous periodicals.

Invasion and Flight

News of what was happening in Poland, memories of the German occupation during the first world war, and alarmist propaganda conducted by Nazi agents together contributed, on the day of the invasion, to the creation of a veritable panic, leading in turn, to one of the

largest mass exoduses in history.

Millions of Belgians fled in a wild stampede toward France, and among them was the larger part of the Jewish population.

The fate of the exiles was not everywhere the same. Some were trapped between the pincer movement of the advancing German divisions and were forced to return home. Their example was later followed by others who had already reached unoccupied zones. Once they got back, however, they discovered their mistake. There ensued a second Jewish emigration from Belgium, mostly of an illegal nature.

Present Position

Contradictory reports and estimates permit the following picture of the situation up to date. Some 200 of the older Jewish families in Brussels and 1,000 engaged in the diamond industry in Antwerp (altogether, about 6,000 persons) have found refuge in the United States, while a further 450 families (comprising some 2,500 persons) have taken up residence in Central and South American countries. Nearly 7,000 persons are scattered over England, North Africa, Spain and Portugal. A further 8,000 (a third of whom are German refugees) are in unoccupied France, where they have been or soon will be interned, and there are several thousands in the occupied zone. The remainder, constituting about 75% of all Jews in the country on the day of the invasion, are still in Belgium itself. On the other hand, the majority of the civic and religious leaders of the community are now abroad.

Fate of the German Refugees

Especially tragic has been the fate of thousands of German refugees living on Belgian soil at the time of the invasion. On May 10, 1940, some 5,000 males between the ages of 17 and 60 were arrested as enemy aliens and deported to France where they were interned. In June of the same year, French authorities had arrested German women-refugees, too. The story of the sufferings of these unfortunates is connected with the sinister names of the concentration camps of St. Cyprien and Gurs. Recently, a number of these internees have been shipped to Algeria.

The Preliminary Lull

Until October 1940 the life of the Jews in occupied Belgium was at least endurable. No discriminatory measures were introduced, and the economic situation improved. Indeed, so favorable were reports from home that, as stated above, a number of those who had originally fled to unoccupied France smuggled themselves back across the frontier! What was really happening, of course, was that the Germans were pursuing the old tactic of "kidding the people along" in order to restore the economic machine to normal and thus render possible an easier and more lucrative spoliation of the country's resources.

Anti-Jewish Legislation

In October 1940, however, the legal position of the Jews began steadily to deteriorate. As soon as the occupation authorities came to give up their hopes of setting up a Belgian Quisling regime, they promptly took it upon their own shoulders to introduce anti-Jewish legislation. The first decree of this type, prohibiting the ritual slaughter of animals (Shehitah), was issued on October 23, and was followed five days later by two decrees comprising a series of curbs against the Jews.

The "Jew Law"

The more comprehensive of the latter two decrees, entitled Judenverordnung ("Jew Law"), defines as a Jew anyone possessing at least three "racial Jewish" grandparents or two Jewish grandparents, if he himself professes the Jewish faith. Jews who fled the country are forbidden to return. The decree also introduces a separate register for the Jewish population; it requires that firms under Jewish control be registered and forbids them to dispose of their holdings; it also prescribes distinctive marking of Jewish hotels.

By the second decree, Jews were excluded from public positions, the school system, the press and the radio.

This last provision, however, affected but a small number of Jews, while the other measures (with the exception of the ban on Shehitah) scarcely bore upon the normal routine of daily life. Moreover, Jews were greatly heartened by the sympathetic attitude of their non-Jewish neighbors. Thus, most of the Belgian authorities did their best either to soften the application of the decrees or else systematically to sabotage them, while the Bar Association refused to strike its Jewish members off the rolls.

Expulsion of Jewish Aliens

Soon there followed a second blow. On November 19, several hundreds of Jewish aliens, mainly those possessing merely provisional permits of residence ("white identity-cards"), were summarily expelled from Antwerp to various points in the Hasselt district of Northern Belgium. The expulsion created a veritable panic and gave rise to the rumor that Belgian Jews were to be deported to the Lublin "reservation". The resultant confusion produced a fresh wave of emigration, which has not yet subsided.

Native Anti-Semitism

By the Spring of 1941 the situation had grown materially worse. On February 15, the German authorities called a halt to the issuance of exit-permits to Jews. Meanwhile, the Flemish Nationalists had adopted an all-out anti-Semitic program, their leader, Staf de Clercq, declaring openly, on March 23: "What we want is a 100% German victory". In the same month, the Brussels radio took occasion, in several of its broadcasts, to indulge in unbridled vituperation against the Jews,

while in April, at a performance of the anti-Semitic film The Wandering Jew, the lawyer René Lambrichts, leader of the Volkeverwering, proclaimed to the audience that "the last Jew must be driven out of Flanders and the Walloons."

These events served as the prelude to an attack, on April 14 (Easter Monday) on the two large synagogues in the Oostenstraat, Antwerp. Fanatic gangs broke into the sacred edifices and set fire to the scrolls of the Law and other religious appurtenances.

Economic Curbs

Two further anti-Jewish decrees (both dated May 31) were issued on June 10, 1941. The one was officially described as a supplement to the "Jew Law" of October 28, while the other bore the title Decree Concerning Economic Measures against the Jews (Third Jew Law). The essence of these decrees was that Jewish enterprises (defined as any with even one Jewish director) were to be registered and clearly marked "Jewish business" in German, Flemish and French languages on the stationery, on the signs and at the entrance of their businesses; that they were forbidden to dispose of their property without the consent of the German military commander; Jews were also required to deposit their securities with a Devisenbank (bank authorized to carry out foreign currency transactions) and were prohibited from holding accounts with other banks.

The purpose of these measures was stated clearly in the Koelnische Zeitung of July 16. They were destined, wrote that journal, "to eliminate Jews from all important economic positions".

Other Restrictions

In July 1941 the Jewish population was forced to turn in their radios, while in September they were required to have their identity-cards stamped anew. A curfew was imposed upon them from 8 p.m. until 7 a.m. Their freedom of movement was restricted to trips to Brussels, Antwerp, Liège and Charleroi. Moreover, in Antwerp they were prohibited from taking walks on the streets and from frequenting public parks or baths.

The Community Today

Despite the agonies of the situation, Belgian Jewry has continued to maintain, albeit in restricted fashion, its essential social and cultural activities. In Brussels, Jewish life is concentrated around the community organization, which has taken over the former functions of the "Council" and gathered around itself the various branches of communal endeavor. In Antwerp, the "Centrale" continues its relief work, Jewish schools remain open and the Maccabi organization is taking charge of cultural activities.

Belgian Sympathy

As stated above, the Jewish community is greatly heartened by the

sympathy of its non-Jewish neighbors. The pro-Nazi attitude of the Rexists, Flemish Nationalists and others of their ilk arouses in the broad masses of the population nothing but suspicion and contempt. Such elements are regarded as traitors, and their anti-Semitic agitation receives the same short shrift as the rest of their propaganda.

Attitude of the Government-in-Exile

The attitude of the Belgian Government-in-Exile towards the anti-Jewish legislation operative in the homeland was formally expressed in two decrees of January 10, 1941. Such measures, says the official commentary, are illegal, since they contradict "the principle of the Belgian Constitution of equality, without distinction of creed, race or language". International conventions do not permit an occupying power to introduce such legislation. It is laid down, further, that anyone who assists in carrying out the expropriation-orders of the occupying power renders himself liable to eventual imprisonment and fine and to the loss of his civil rights.

** How honestly Belgium maintained the principle of equality may be illustrated by the fact that on November 22, 1938, her Chamber of Deputies devoted a special meeting to the sharp condemnation of the pogroms recently launched in Germany in the wake of the Vom Rath assassination. The courage of this action will be the better realized when it is recalled that at that time the anxieties of Munich were still fresh in the memory and that the whole of Europe was still jittery, the French press even going so far as almost to suppress all reference to the excesses while the French Government wined and dined von Ribbentrop.

L U X E M B U R G

Background

The first record of a Jew living in Luxemburg appears in a document dated 1276. During the middle ages, the Jews lived in a ghetto and when the Spaniards came (middle of the sixteenth century) they were all expelled. Thereafter, with the exception of a few Marranos, there were probably no Jews in Luxemburg again until the end of the eighteenth century. By the laws of January 28 and July 20, 1790, and of September 27 and November 13, 1791, the Jews were granted equal civil rights with other citizens. A Jewish community was organized under a law of March 17, 1808.

In 1935, about 3,100 Jews lived in the Grand Duchy (about 1.1% of the total population of 285,524, according to the census of 1927). They were engaged mainly in industry and commerce.

Under Nazi Rule

On May 10, 1940 came the German occupation. Part of the Jewish population fled before the invaders into France. Those who remain live under Nazi rule which has practically liquidated the Jewish community in Luxemburg.

Anti-Jewish legislation began with two decrees of September 5, 1940 forbidding intermarriage and intimate relations with "Aryans" and requiring the registration of all property of Luxemburg Jews in the country and abroad. Unlike a number of other occupied countries, in Luxemburg the term "Jew" is defined in accordance with the Nuremberg laws of Germany. This may be regarded as an indication that the Germans intend to incorporate the Grand Duchy into the Reich.

The provisions regarding the registration of Jewish property were supplemented by decrees of December 19, 1940, February 7 and February 18, 1941, the two last providing that the property of Jews who fled or emigrated from Luxemburg could be declared forfeit. The Jews were also excluded from the state subsidies granted to children of large families (decrees of December 23, 1940 and January 15, 1941). On December 3, 1940, the slaughter of live stock in accordance with Jewish ritual requirements (Shechitah) was prohibited. In August 1941, it was announced that Jews still living in Luxemburg would be treated in accordance with regulations effective in Germany (ban on travelling, Star of David,etc.). Parallel with the antisemitic legislation came the drive to expel the Jews.

On September 18, 1940, the Gestapo transmitted to Dr. Serebrinic, the Chief Rabbi of Luxemburg, an order that all Jews leave the country within two weeks, taking with them no more than 1,500 francs

(about $30) and about sixty pounds of personal luggage.

It was impossible to comply with the Gestapo order. When the time limit had expired, the Gestapo herded hundreds of Jews in freight trains and sent them by way of occupied France and Spain to the Portuguese border. The Portuguese authorities refused to admit them and they remained for weeks in a No Man's Land between Spain and Portugal, living in freight cars amid frightful conditions of cold and hunger. Thanks to the combined efforts of the Grand Duchess of Luxemburg and Jewish relief organizations, some of them succeeded in obtaining ship passage.

Of the remaining Jews of Luxemburg, groups are periodically rounded up by the Gestapo and sent to Polish ghettos.

H O L L A N D

Background

The Jews have always enjoyed complete freedom in the Netherlands. Unlike other European countries, the Jews there were never segregated in Ghettos, nor curbed in any way. The archives of many Dutch townships make mention of Jews as early as the 14th century. Jews driven from Spain and Portugal eagerly turned to Holland for refuge. Religious liberty for all citizens was formally guaranteed by William of Orange in 1582, as recorded in Article XIII of the Union of Utrecht.

By the middle of the 17th century the first German and Polish Jews arrived. Large Jewish communities sprang up in Amsterdam, the Hague, Middleburg and Rotterdam toward the end of the 17th century. At the time most of the German and Polish immigrant Jews were small tradesmen and did not produce the scholars and scientists as did the settlers from Portugal who gave the world Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Uriel Acosta (1590-1647), Menasseh ben Israel (1604-1657).

Jews were very influential in the conduct of foreign affairs and the wars of the country as far back as the 17th and 18th centuries under the rule of the House of Orange (M.Machado, de Pinto, etc.).

In 1795 the Batavian Republic, as Holland was then known, felt the full impact of the French Revolution and its accompanying emancipation of the Jews. It inspired the National Convention on September 2, 1796, to affirm that "No Jews of the Batavian Republic shall ever be denied the rights and privileges of citizenship."

Dutch Jews fully participated in the country's economic, political and cultural life. Their more outstanding savants and jurists include: Tobias M.C. Asser (1838-1913), Jacques Oppenheim (1849-1924) and E.M. Meyers (b.1880); the writers Herman Heijermans (1864-1924) and Israel Querido (1874-1932); artists like Isaac Israèls (1824-1911) and the actress Esther de Boer van Rijk (1853-1937).

In 1810 there were 16,882 Jewish inhabitants in Holland; in 1933 - 156,817, or 1.3% of the country's total population of 8,392,102, according to the census taken in 1934. In Amsterdam alone there were 66,000, or approximately 8% of the city's dwellers. Those numbers were increased during 1933-1940 with the arrival of 25 to 30 thousand refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

It is estimated that for 1930, 40% of the Jews were employed in industry, 45% in commerce and 15% in miscellaneous occupations.

In Amsterdam, the Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews have two valuable libraries: Bibliotheka Rosenthaliana and the Livraria de Montesinos. The Society for the Advancement of Jewish Studies has made significant contributions to Jewish culture.

Pre-war Holland resisted resolutely the Nazi ideology and its aggressive propaganda. The National Socialist Party under Alfred Mussert made little progress among the populace. In December, 1939, the University of Amsterdam inaugurated a widespread protest against Jewish persecution in Germany. That was perhaps the last open expression against Nazism in free Holland.

On May 10, 1940, the Nazis invaded the country and, after a brief heroic struggle, its independence was destroyed. The Jews were suddenly confronted with a catastrophical situation. Only a small number succeeded in escaping to France and England; the rest remained at the "mercy" of the ruthless conqueror.

The German Occupation

During the first weeks of the occupation, the Nazis made strenuous efforts to win the Dutch people over to their cause and, for a short time, even left the Jews undisturbed. Then realizing that the Dutch would never be coaxed into "collaboration," the Nazis unloosed an inhuman, pitiless campaign against the whole population, with special emphasis on the Jews.

It started (June, 1940) with the looting of Jewish stores and the removal of Jewish judges from the bench. Jewish lawyers, physicians and dentists were ordered to confine their practice to Jewish clients only. Children's hotels and refugee centers as well as the famous Home for the Aged in Amsterdam, were confiscated by the authorities, and a number of social institutions were closed. Nazi assaults on life became frequent spectacles. Some 300 Jews were arrested in Amsterdam and in the Hague and sent to concentration camps. Refugees were rounded up and returned to Germany.

On July 31 ("Verordnungsblatt," August 3, 1940), the Nazis proscribed ritual slaughter under the "tender" pretext of preventing cruelty to animals. On August 28, 1940, they ordered that all persons of Jewish and partial Jewish descent be excluded from public office and barred from teaching, except in specific Jewish schools. A Jew was defined as one having one Jewish grandparent. Any person belonging or having belonged to a Jewish congregation was considered a Jew.

Persons so classified were "advised" on September 11 to register and, three days later, that "advice" was extended to include anyone who was married to a Jew or partial Jew. The Nazis' systematic destruction of Jewish economic life was stepped up when they ordered all Jews owning or controlling shops to submit a list of their stocks on hand and of their holdings abroad by November 30. Significantly, refugees who immigrated after January 30, 1933, were asked to state their last place of residence, i.e., Germany, Czechoslovakia or Poland, for the ostensible purpose of reprisal.

Beginning with March 12, 1941, a license is needed for the engagement in any form of business enterprise, remodelling of buildings, renting, leasing and liquidating of shops, stores, offices and rooms, in accordance with a corollary to the decree of October 22, 1941. The Reichskomissar may appoint trustees (Treuhaender) for any shop, with the said shop covering their administrative expenses, or terminate its existence after serving formal notice. Evasion of this order carries a long term of imprisonment or a heavy fine.

Jews may no longer trade in the Stock Exchange. This injunction, however, does not deprive them altogether of membership in the Stock Exchange Union, but permits the hiring of Aryan agents to represent them in any stock transaction they undertake.

Jews are excluded from the Dutch Labor Service (Hollandischer Arbeitsdienst) by a decree issued on May 21.

Jews owning real estate or land had to report such holdings by June 30, and were given until September 1, 1941, to execute and notarize the sale thereof. Sales effected between May 9, 1940, and May 27, 1941, required licenses of record.

Another decree of August 8 stipulates that Dutch Jews must deposit all their money and convertible assets in a special account with the German controlled banking house of Lippman, Rosenthal et Co., of Amsterdam. This also applies to executors of Jewish capital and public funds. If one's amount exceeds 1,000 guilders, or be more than 1/10 of the taxable income for 1940-1, the "free maximum" will be fixed to correspond with the said 1/10. Persons whose total capital is less than 10,000 florins and whose taxable income for 1940 amounted to less than 3,000 guilders, are exempt. The penalty for violation is imprisonment up to 5 years and a heavy money fine.

A law imposed August 16, provides that all mortgages must be registered with the Netherlandische Kadaster (land registry office) at the Hague before September 15. This institution is authorized to take over and administer Jewish land property. The Reichskomissar has further ordered to keep Jewish stores closed on Sunday and eliminate all regulati ns which tend to favor Jewish business in any way or form.

After October 1, all Jews were barred from public markets, auctions, produce exchanges and slaughter houses.

The Nazis boast that some 20,000 Jewish enterprises are already under Aryan control. It is their familiar process of expropriation: first Jewish officials are dismissed, Nazi commissars appointed, and, finally, Jewish property liquidated at forced sale prices.

Apart from destroying the Jews economically, other Nazi decrees and defamations aim to humiliate the Jews. In December, 1940, Jews were prohibited from employing domestics of German extraction. Jewish students, wishing to complete their studies, now have to obtain permission from the Ministry of Education as of February 11, 1941. No new Jewish student is allowed to enroll in a university. On April 2, the government commissioner for Haarlem thenceforth barred Jews from restaurants, motion pictures, theatres, public dining rooms and baths. Later, the Mayor of the Hague excluded them from hotels and parks. They were also forbidden to appear on the boulevards of Scheveningen, Kykduin, Monster and Wassenaar.

On September 5, an order was issued by which Jewish children were excluded from schools attended by non-Jewish teachers, and segregated in special schools.

The General Commissioner of Internal Security declared, on September 15, that henceforth Jewish movements in the streets will be governed by regulations similar to those enforced in Germany. He has subjected them to a curfew, restricted their inter-urban travel, and prescribed for them a yellow Star of David on the left side of their coats. Jews must also stay away from libraries, museums, swimming pools, beaches, sport events, Pullman and dining cars.

Finally, decrees were issued which had a tragic but also a grotesque character: for instance, in April 1941, the occupational authorities decreed that Jewish bood was not to be used for transfusion for "Aryan" patients.

Enforcement of these defamatory regulations is invariably accompanied by wholesale arrests and exile to camps. By way of inciting the Dutch people, the movies are ordered to feature the anti-Semitic picture, "The Eternal Jew," and the Jews are painted as the prime cause of their misfortunes. Their diabolical efforts notwithstanding, the Nazis have failed in completely destroying Jewish life in Holland. Despite their confiscated institutions, the communities continue to function in the fields of mutual-aid and education. A Jewish newspaper, "Der Yoodsche Wachter" (The Jewish Guardian) is being published.

The attitude of the Duch masses comforts them in their sorrow. Stolid as they are, they show in more than one way their opposition to the German overlords. Duch official quarters resent the Nazi brand of anti-Semitism. The native police, left comparatively intact, had closed down the "De Misthoorn", a counterpart of the infamous "der Stuermer", on the grounds that it endangered the public peace.

At the time the Nazi anti-Jewish measures cascaded upon their victims, the Protestant ministers addressed to Seyss-Inquart (October 24, 1940) the following spirited protest, quoted in parts:

"...These measures violate the spiritual dignity of mankind, are contrary to the principles of Christian mercy... The Church cannot look on calmly upon the suffering of a people who have given Christ to us... We therefore urge Your Excellency to repeal these measures in the spirit of your solemn pledge to respect our tradition and customs and not to enforce upon us an ideology and practices completely alien to our nature..."

The Leyden professor, Rudolf P. Cleveringa, a pupil of the ousted Jewish jurist, Edward Moritz Meyers, publicly declared at the time of the latter's dismissal regardless of the certain consequences for such courageous utterances: "... I cannot adequately express the sense of shame and sorrow I and my colleagues feel... Indeed I should allow the terrifying silence speak for all of us... We had hoped to be spared the crying injustice... While we are unable to fight suprior force... we can confidently look to the future... The figure of Meyers will yet return to our midst..."

The following day Cleveringa was hustled off to a concentration camp. His students staged violent protest demonstrations. Thus the oldest university in Holland, the Leyden University, was closed.

As an eloquent gesture of sympathy many Gentiles bring food and other necessities to their Jewish neighbors; boycott the theatres, movies and cafes, and secretly raise throughout the Netherlands relief funds to aid the Jews rendered destitute by vicious Nazi legislation.

F R A N C E *

Historical Summary

Jews have lived in France since the third century when, as Roman citizens they established trading colonies on the south coast and along the principal waterway.** Dwelling at first on terms of amity with their neighbors, they later encountered the hostility of the Christian Church and of its more fanatical ecclasiatics and sovereighns. Following centuries of persecution and oppression, not excluding banishment from several cities and provinces,*** they were finally expelled from the country and robbed of their property by Charles VI in 1394, to be restored only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Despite hardships, however, the Jews of France succeeded, throughout this period, in maintaining a high level of cultural achievement, producing such outstanding figures of scholarship as GERSCHON ben JUDAH of Mayence (960-1040) and the illustrious RASHI (Rabbi Solomon Isaaci) of Troyes (1040-1105), foremost Jewish commentator on the Bible and Talmud, and serving as one of the mainsprings of Jewish learning in the West.

The modern history of French Jewry begins on September 27, 1791, when a decree of the National Assembly (ratified by the King on November 13) removed all previous disabilities and admitted them to full rights of French citizenship.

Contribution to French Life

The emancipation thus granted, forerunner of similar measures through Europe, paved the way for an increasing participation of Jews in all phases of national life. Suffice if to say, in

* The legislation of the Vichy Government was extended also to the French Empire. In view of the geographic limitation of this work (Jews in Europe) we omitted to treat the situation of the Jews in the French dependencies. The reader can find this information in "Jewish Affairs" Vol.I, No.2, of September 1941.

** The earliest Jewish settlements were Avignon (2nd cent.); Lyons (4th cent.); Arles, Narbonne and Paris (5th cent.); and Bordeaux, Adge, Orleans, Marseilles and Tours (6th cent.). The settlement at Toulouse dates from the eighth century and that at Montpellier from the 11th century.

*** E.g. from Narbonne (673), Sens (876) and Ile-de-France (1182). Large scale ixpulsions in 1306 and 1322 were revoked in 1315 and 1359 respectively.

the field of scholarship, the representative names of Henri Bergson (1859-194)) and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), in philosophy; Jacques Hadamard (b.1865) and Maurice Levy (1838-1910) in mathematics, Gabriel Lippman, Nobel prize winner (1845-1921) in physics: Salomon Reinach (1858-1932) in archaeology: Hippolyte Bernheim (1847-1919) and Fernand Vidal (1862-1929) in medicine, Lyon Caen(1838-1910) in jurisprudence, and Lucien Levy-Bruhl (1857-1939) in anthropology. Literature claims Catulle Mendes (1841-19)9) Gustave Kahn (1859-1936), Henri Bernstein (b.1876), Andre Spire (b.1868), Andre Maurois (b.1885), Edmond Fleg (b.1874) and Bernard Lazare (1863-1903): Georges Bizet (1838-1875), Jacques Halevy (1799-1862), Jacques Offenbach (1819-1880) and Maurice Ravel (1875-1937) in music: Rachel (Elizabeth Felix) 1820-1858) and Sarah Bernhardt (1845-1923) in dramatic arts; and in painting Camille Pissarro (1830-19)3) and Rose Bonheur (1822-1899). In politics mention may be made of Isaac Adolphe Cremieux (1796-1880), Achille Fould (1800-1867), Leon Blum (b.1872) Georges Mandel (b.1885) and Jean Zay.

Nor is it only in civil life that the Jews of France have made their contribution. In the first World War, 8500 * out of a total of 40,000 in service ** lost their lives in defense of the fatherland, while in recent hostilities no less than 60,000 rallied to the colors.

Despite their contribution to national life and the relative insignificance of their numbers, antagonism towards the Jews has been a feature of certain French circles for the past fifty years. This movement is associated mainly with reactionary and monarchist elements, to whom the liberal heritage of the Revolution is a token of cultural retrogression.

French Jewry

French Jewry today is composed of: a) French born, b) East Europeans and c) Orientals. As far as the actual number of Jews living at present in France is concerned, it is impossible to tell with any degree of accuracy, since for the past 130 years, the National Census has not required registration of faith. However, according to the most reliable authorities, the number of Jews in 1933 was about 250,000. Following the rise of Hitler, about 50,000 Jewish refugees are estimated to have entered the country from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. In this same period, several thousand Polish Jews also entered the country. To these numbers must be added a further 25,000 Jews, who, during the wild stampede, poured in from the Lowlands in May-June 1940. Allowing, therefore, for a reasonable margin of error, the aggregate of Jews may be put down at 330,000, which is 0.7% of the total population of France.

* 2,000 were aliens.
** Including 13,000 aliens.

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Occupational distribution

About 70% of French Jewry normally live in Paris. Unofficial sources estimate the occupational distribution of the Jews employed in that city in 1936 approximately as follows:

	French-born	East Europeans	Orientals
	%	%	%
Commerce	60.0	35.0	70.0
Industry & Handicrafts	20.0	50.0	15.0
Liberal Professions	20.0	5.0	3.0
Varia	-	10.0	12.0

These figures may be taken as representative of French Jewry as a whole.

Present distribution

The collapse of France, on June 22, 1940, and the subsequent partition of the country into an occupied and unoccupied zone, transformed, almost overnight, the structure of French Jewry. In the first tragic days of bewilderment thousands of Jews fled desperately from the capital to the seeming refuge of the "free" area. It is impossible to determine accurately how many Jews there are today in each of the two zones, but a reasonable estimate may perhaps be formed on the basis of the following statistics for Jewish heads of families in the department of the Seine (Paris and environs) compiled by Xavier Vallat, Commissioner for Jewish Affairs:

A.	Aliens	34,152
	Naturalized	11,795
	French citizens by marriage	966
	French citizens by declaration	480
		47,393
B.	French-born	17,066
		64,459

Counting 2-3 persons to a family, the number of Jews in the aforementioned department thus amounts approximately to 160,000, and since there are normally but few Jews in the rest of the occupied zone, while Alsace-Lorraine is today practically "judenrein," the round figure of 165,000 will probably cover the total number of Jews in the German-controlled area. Deducting this number from the aggregate 330,000 estimated to have been in the country at the time of the armistice, Jews under the Vichy Government may thus be put at approximately 165,000.

These figures, however, fluctuate for the following reason: although the two zones as well as Belgium are officially separated, and

although the Jews are not allowed to move from one zone to the other, life is stronger than all decrees issued, and a transfer from one place to the other - even to a limited degree - still takes place.

The above figures prove that the number of alien Jews is more than twice that of the French Jews, while 40% of those possessing French citizenship are of foreign birth. Expulsion of alien Jews and revision of naturalization would, therefore, confront some 200,000 persons with imminent disaster.

The fall of France and the introduction of the "National Revolution" under Marshal Petain were twin disasters for the Jewish population. On the one hand, the Jews were exposed to the ruthless anti-Jewish policy of the invaders, and on the other, to a recrudescence of anti-alien and anti-Semitic tendencies on the part of the Vichy Government. In the following pages an attempt will be made to present in rapid outline, the main features of the Jewish catastrophe in each of the two areas.

Occupied zone

According to article 3 of the Armistice, Germany enjoys there under the full rights of an occupying power. The French Government assumes the obligation of supporting all measures proceeding from the exercice of these rights and of putting them into effect with the aid of the administrative machinery.

The German occupation is, in reality, not an ordinary military occupation; it is an attempt to penetrate into all phases of political, spiritual and economic life and to turn the country into a Nazi colony. French papers still appear in Paris, but they are French only because of the language, as they are strongly influenced by the Germans. Likewise, there is a French radio, but here again coordination has left its mark, and the radio is now but a mouth-piece for Dr. Goebbels.

Whereas, south of the line of demarcation, political organizations have been dissolved, in Paris several new ones have been created since the armistice. They include the Free Front, the National Collectivist Party, the French League, the National Popular Group, the French Popular Party and the Social Revolutionary Movement. The leaders of most of these groups proclaim that Petain's Revolution is not sufficiently revolutionary and anti-Semitic, and that French collaboration with Germany is not close enough.

Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitic activity followed immediately upon the entry of the Germans into France. Paris had not been occupied for a month before a French counterpart of the Jew-baiting "Stuermer" sardonically entitled "Au Pilori" (To the Pillory) was on sale in the streets. Within a week, the effect of this scandalous sheet was apparent. The capital awoke one

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morning to find the windows of many stores plastered with the words "No Jews admitted". In less than a month the movement of Jewish exclusion had spread to the theatres, the Paris Salon, and the Conservatoire.

Nor was "Au Pilori" alone in the attack on the Jews. Other journals, masking their real purpose under such patriotic titles as "La France au Travail" (France at Work), "La Vie Nationale" (National Life), or "Le Paris", vied with one another in a campaign of virulence, while such old-established newspapers as "Le Matin" and "Paris Soir" did not disdain to serve as vehicles for Nazi propaganda.

Nevertheless, it was not easy to convince the French people that the Jews were the cause of their misfortunes. They knew only too well that behind these anti-Semitic onslaughts stood the Old Guard of reaction hand-in-glove with the Nazis. There were, of course, quite a number of groups ready to capitalize on the campaign, such as the young Paris lawyers who, on July 30, protested against Jewish and Masonic competition, or the crowds who, on August 20 and September 5, demonstrated against Jews on the Champs Elysees and the main boulevards of the capital. These, however, were but purely sporadic phenomena. The attitude of the French population toward the Jews was at all times correct and often distinctly friendly and considerate. Personal liberty was not assailed. Indeed, it is a matter of record that the stronger the pressure of the Nazis became, the farther did the French people recoil from anti-Semitic feelings. Signs in stores and public places forbidding admission to Jews had a habit of disappearing, while suggestions in the press (e.g. by Jean Thorel) that France organize an exodus of the Jews from Europe, failed to find appreciable response.

Confiscations

Preliminary propaganda was, however, soon followed by direct action. At first this took the form of extra-legal confiscations. On August 21 and 27, Gestapo agents in Paris made the rounds of the leading Jewish organizations, including the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish National Fund, the ORT, the OSE and the famous Ecole Rabbinique. A few weeks later (on November 3 and 28), the offices of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, as well as those of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency were raided, and some 60,000 volumes from the libraries of the Alliance and the Ecole Rabbinique were removed to the Institute for Research on the Jewish Problem in Frankfort. On September 13, the children's homes run by the ORT in St. Denis and Tournelle were confiscated, while in Paris all synagogues, with but one exception (the Rothschild synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire), were closed. * Simultaneously, the fortunes of the house of Rothschild were declared forfeit, and five months later, the same fate overtook those of other wealthy Jews, such as Lazard' Brothers, Saul Amar and Louis Dreyfuss.

* Some synagogues,however, were later reopened.

Anti-Jewish legislation

These measures, however, soon gave way to the introduction of formal anti-Jewish legislation. An initial decree, issued on September 27, prohibited all fugitives belonging either presently or in the past to the Jewish religion or having more than two Jewish grandparents from returning to the occupied zone. Jews were ordered to register with the authorities before October 20 and to have their papers stamped with the word JEW, while by the end of the same month, every Jewish-owned business was to be marked distinctly as a "Jewish Enterprise." Leaders of Jewish communities were required to supply the authorities with all material and documents necessary for the execution of this measure.

This decree was soon followed by a second on October 18, ordering the registration of all Jewish concerns, and by a later decree issued on December 12, 1940, appointing "Aryan" commissioners in charge of them. The crowning blow fell, however, on April 26, 1941, when a new order, the so-called "Third Decree," revising the terms of the original decree of September, defined as a Jew (a) anyone possessing at least three Jewish grandparents, i.e. members of a Jewish congregation, or (b) anyone possessing but two, if he or she was currently so affiliated or married to a Jewish spouse. All persons falling within the new categories were required to comply with the consequent regulations by May 30. Moreover, Jews were forbidden, as from May 20, to engage in wholesale and retail commerce, restaurant and hotel business, insurance and tourist agencies, carrier services, banking, advertising, real estate, mortgage transactions and employment bureaux. They were also prohibited from acting as commercial travellers and high officials in any establishment or from accepting any position which might bring them into direct contact with customers or clients. It was further laid down that, even in other forms of employment, Jews were to be replaced by "Aryans" on the demand of the German military authorities.

On May 28, 1941, the German military authorities isssued the so-called "fourth" anti-Jewish decree, according to which Jews or Jewish-owned enterprises which were not yet under the control of "Aryan" commissioners could not dispose of their capital or securities, unless they were in possession of a special licence of the "Controle des Administrateurs provisoires." This decree also applied to goods or objects of value owned by Jews or Jewish enterprises. One exception was made in this decree, i.e., the execution of normal transactions connected with the maintenance of the enterprise and payment of wages, with a limitation, however, that the monthly amount should not exceed 15,000 francs. This law, which also comprised penalty provisions, entered into effect on June 10, 1941. Thus, practically all the Jewish-owned property was blocked.

The results of these measures were soon apparant. As early as Spring 1941, Berlin could claim that some 11,000 Jewish enterprises in Paris were practically under the administration of "Aryan" commissioners.

It depends largely upon the temperament of the commissioners whether or not the Jewish owners are deprived forthwith of all means of subsistance. Their Jewish employees, however, receive no quarter whatsoever, and their consequent plight is still further aggravated by the severe unemployment crisis in the occupied zone.

The extent of the deprivation can be judged from statistics compiled by Xavier Vallat for the Department of the Seine. Some 12,000 Jewish families were registered there as living by trade, 29,000 as being dependent on the earnings of manual laborers and "white collar" workers, and 15,600 as being among the jobless. Nor was the acuteness of the situation confined to the commercial field, for there was also an untold number of intellectuals without employment.

The number of restrictions of various kinds grew constantly. For instance, according to the "Neue Zuericher Zeitung" of September 17, 1941, Jewish tenants living in the Department of Seine, of which Paris forms a part, are not allowed to remove their furniture from their homes while the house-owners are entitled to sell the furniture of those Jewish tenants who are in the unoccupied zone or elsewhere and do not pay rent.

Although the "Aryanization" in the economic field was mainly ordered and carried out by the German military outhorities, the French authorities cooperated with them in this respect. For this purpose, the French Government has established a special Control Commission under the chairmanship of the former Governor of the Bank of France, Fournier. The main task of this commission consists in making suggestions regarding the appointment of "Aryan" commissioners, and the replacement of ownership in various enterprises. Nominally the commission is only entitled to make propositions, but the list of the commissioners appointed by the German military authorities is published in the "Journal Officiel".

The "Aryanization" of Jewish industrial and commercial enterprises is carried out officially in the form of a sale, whereby the German authorities try to eliminate any hesitancy on the part of prospective "Aryan" purchasers by maintaining that the French government is a party to this process of "Aryanization" of the national economy and is therefore very unlikely to encourage a possible invalidation of the sales contracts at a later date.

Concentration camps

Parallel with the economic destruction of the Jews, a new chapter of Jewish martyrdom began - concentration camps and arrests. On March 15, 1941, nearly all Jews living in the northern coastal district were summarily expelled from their homes and ordered to be interned in two camps in the Department of Yonne and Aube. Two weeks later,5,000 Jews from Paris, between the ages of 18 and 40 (mainly Czechoslovakians, Austrians and Poles), were sent to a camp in the

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neighborhood of Orleans. On August 20, further mass raids were carried out by police, and 6,000 persons identified as Jews were arrested in the eleventh arrondissement of Paris, while, in the following month, the practice developed of rounding up Jews and others and holding them as hostages against anti-Nazi disturbances.

In addition to the aggravation of the situation in the occupied zone, a decree issued by the prefecture of Paris on Sept. 29, 1941, orders all Jews over 15 years of age, French citizens as well as aliens, to register monthly with the authorities.

A few days later (October 5) bombs exploded in 7 synagogues in Paris. Even the French press in Paris did not mention this incident, while in Vichy this action was strongly criticized by the "Journal des Debats."

Thus far, approximately 165,000 human beings have been deprived of their rights and economically ruined.

Relief efforts

The number of persons dependent on charity increases daily. A co-ordinating committee was formed in Paris to organize relief. In the first three months of 1941, seven canteens were opened and 450,000 francs disbursed. Some 3,000 persons received free medical attention; a Home for the Aged, an Orphan Asylum and a professional Mutual Aid Society were established, and the famous Rothschild Hospital continues to function.

Communal organization

The internal administration of the community remains nominally in the hands of the Consistory, headed by Chief Rabbi Julien Weill. Actually, however, in October 1940, the Germans appointed commissioners for Jewish affairs in the persons of Lieutenants Danaker and Lumper of the SS guard. Repeated efforts were also made by the Nazi authorities to organize Parisian Jewry into a closed community, and to effect such a measure with the cooperation of the Jews. Two approaches were made to the Consistory in this direction, but both were promptly rejected on the grounds that French law does not recognize religious communities. The Germans then tried to achieve their object through the aforementioned Coordinating Committee by introducing two Jews from Vienna to serve on it as their confidential agents. The Committee, however, has so far succeeded in postponing execution of the plan.

Jewish newspapers and periodicals have been entirely suppressed, their place being taken by the "Informations Juives" issued bi-weekly in Paris, (since April 19, 1941), by the Coordinating Committee.

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"From Anthropology to Propaganda"

In the spring of 1941 a new Institute for Studies on Jewish Problems was created in Paris, under the chairmanship of Serpeille de Gobineau (a descendent of Count de Gobineau, father of the modern Racist Theory) with Rene Gerard as director. The Institute regards itself as an instrument of national defense, its official motto running:"From Anthropology to Propaganda".

An anti-Semitic exhibition, "Jews in France"opened in Paris on September 25, with the view of showing the harmful influence which Jews allegedly have had upon French life.

Alsace-Lorraine

Population: Jews have lived in Alsace-Lorraine since the twelfth century, possibly even since Roman times. On the eve of the present war, they numbered approximately 55,000, constituting 1.6% of the total population and living mostly on the land and in small towns. The only large concentrations were at Strasbourg (8,400: 4,6%), Mulhouse (2,200; 2.3%) and Colmar(1,400; 3.0).

Present conditions: The Jews of Alsace-Lorraine are now practically liquidated. Some 15,000 were evacuated from the frontier zone at the beginning of the war, and in May 1940, when the invasion of France was in full swing, many fled before the German divisions and were subsequently forbidden to return.

The Jews who remained faced an even graver fâte. A series of decrees, in which Jews and Frenchmen were significantly classed together, contributed to their complete economic extinction.

Unoccupied zone

Different in degree, but not in essence, is the fate of the Jews in the "Free" zone. Whereas in the occupied territory their ruin is already complete, here the development has been gradual. Franco-German collaboration thrives in this field.

Internment camps

At the outbreak of the war (September 3, 1939), all German and Austrian male residents in France, approximately 15,000, were ordered interned. In October and November,however, all who had children born in France, as well as those regarded as politically innocuous, were released. With the invasion of Belgium and Holland, severe measures ensued, but later, as the German troops came pouring across the frontiers, the Government, spurred by humanitarian considerations, at once freed the majority of the internees. Thousands joined the milling crowds who streamed down the highways of France in those tragic days. Only a small proportion succeeded in crossing Spain to the security of Portugal. The others were still in the unoccupied zone when the armistice was proclaimed.

On July 7, 1940, apparantly in accordance with Article XIX of the armistice, which provided for the delivery of all nationals claimed by the Reich, the French Government ordered the reinternment of German and Austrian refugees, at the same time closing the frontiers to all male citizens under 45 of belligerent countries.

Thus began a chapter of indescribable misery. Some 25,000 Jewish refugees - mostly Germans and Austrians - were herded into a number of ever-changing camps at Agde, Argeles, Caylus, Gurs, Recebedou, Rivesaltes, Vernet d'Ariege, Noe, and several other places, to be released if they could show prospects of emigration, or if they possessed sufficient resources to obtain a legal permit of residence and had, in fact, obtained one. Invariably, however, their places were filled by new arrivals.

Cities in the south of France were raided intermittently, and innocent victims, rounded up in the streets or taken from their apartments, were dragged to the camps. Thus,on May 6 and 7, 1941, veritable mass - arrests occurred in Marseille, while, on one occasion, over 1,500 persons were herded aboard the steamship "Massilia" subsequently to be deported, some to North Africa, and others to Argeles and Gurs.

The largest camps are at Argeles (3,000 Jews), Gurs (8,000) and Rivesaltes (4,500, mostly children). At Gurs are interned most of the 9,000 Jews who, on October 24, 1940, were deported at 24 hours notice from Baden and the Palatinate.

Reports on conditions in the camps make pitiful reading. Internees are herded together in wooden shacks, without air or light, dressed in rags and barefoot, their food consisting only of crudely baked bread and a few vegetables. Cold, squalor, vermin and hunger have created epidemics. The death rate is staggeringly high (some estimates put the deaths at Gurs alone at as many as twelve a day), many of those detained seeking release in suicide.

Jewish welfare organizations (e.g. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Relief Department of the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish Health Organization, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society , and the Federation des Sociétés Juives) are doing their best to bring relief. Agricultural settlements have been created by the Relief Department of the World Jewish Congress at Gullard (near Toulouse) and at Viarose, Charry and Talluyers, while in several camps workshops have been established by the ORT.

Recently, however, the internees have been faced with a new calamity - deportation to North Africa to work on the Trans-Sahara Railroad. A few hundred persons from various camps have already been sent there.

Destitution

The problem of the camps, though the most tragic, is by no means the only one which bears witness to the fate of the Jews in unoccupied France. Most of them are refugees, entirely without means. In the early days, the French Government supplied a certain measure of financial aid, but this amounted at the most to but 10 francs (22¢) per person per day.

Even so, however, with the supplementary aid from Jewish organizations, it was possible at least to ward off starvation. In August 1940, however, the official order went forth that aliens living on relief either from Government or from welfare agencies were to be interned in camps. An insoluble problem was thereby created. Those without resources renounced the Government grants and other relief in order to escape internment. The result was, of course, a marked deterioration in the standard of living.

In October 1940, a central Committee of Relief was set under the presidency of Chief Rabbi Issaye Schwartz, under which all welfare organizations coordinated their efforts. More than 50,000 Jews were currently aided in the unoccupied zone, but the number of destitutes is steadily increasing.

Outside of the camps, the Jews in unoccupied France have been made to suffer severely by the anti-alien and anti-Jewish policy of the Vichy Government.

The first blow, by which some 50,000 to 60,000 Jews were potentially affected was struck on July 16, 1940, when new conditions were laid down for the withdrawal of citizenship.

Loss of citizenship

This step was followed, six days later, by an order for the revision of all naturalizations granted on the basis of the law of August 10, 1927. It was stated at the end of 1940 that as a result of this measure some 1,000 persons - half of them Jews - had already lost their civil status, and an acceleration of the process was expected during the current year.

Loss of citizenship, accompanied by confiscation of property, was also decreed on July 23 and September 10 for all persons who had left France or the French Empire between May 10 and June 30, 1940. Further decrees of February 28 and March 8, 1941, provide the loss of citizenship also for all Frenchmen who acted in a foreign country against their duties as members of the "national community," or who went to the Free French possessions. In recent months, however, the Government has cancelled the application of these decrees in cases where it could be proved that they were unjustly applied.

Curbs on employment

Following the curtailment of citizenship came restrictions on employment. An order of July 17 rendered all state employment terminable by the end of the year, while on September 13, such employment was officially limited to those whose parents were Frenchmen, exception being made only in the case of World War veterans.

This law, however, was substantially modified by a further decree of April 3, 1941, limiting the exemptions to (a) persons grant-

ed naturalization for special services rendered to the State; (b) a special group of so-called "French proteges"; (c) World-War veterans; (d) direct kinsmen of soldiers killed in the last two wars, and, finally (e) inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine.

The same principle was applied to physicians by laws of August 16 and October 28, 1940 *, to veterinary surgeons by laws of November 17 and December 11, 1940 and January 24, 1941, and to lawyers by a decree of September 10, 1940.

Moreover, on September 27, 1940, male aliens between 18 and 55 considered "superfluous" to the economic life of the country and without possibility of returning to their homelands were ordered registered in special "groups" - designed, no doubt, as the "nuclei" of labor-camps in France and North Africa.

The Jewish Statute

All these measures were but the prelude to the enactment of a comprehensive statute designed to withdraw from the Jews that civic and political equality for which they had struggled during the era of emancipation. To this end German pressure was constant and relentless, negotiations on the subject being opened between Vichy and the Reich within a month after the occupation. At first, proposals were advanced insuring the equality of all Jews whose families had been resident in France since 1789. These, however, were summarily rejected by the Nazi authorities and finally, on October 3, 1940, a comprehensive Jewish Statute (published only on October 18), established the definition of Jew, debarred Jews from all higher administrative posts and paved the way for the subsequent introduction of a "numerus clausus" in the liberal professions.

The publication of this statute evoked a spirited protest, in the name of French Jewry, by Chief Rabbi Issaye Schwartz.

> "We protest most solemnly," he wrote to Marshal Petain on October 22, "against the principles and provisions of the statute..... French Jewry has taken as its watchword: Creed and Country. Faithful as ever to this ideal, we shall draw our courage and our hope from the love of God and from the lessons of Holy Writ, - the twin sources of France's spiritual life."

A revised and elaborated form of this statute was issued on June 2, 1941. **

* In the Spring of 1941, some 800 Jewish physicians and pharmacists were reported to have been debarred by this measure.

** During the period between the first Jewish Statute (October 3,1940) and the second Jewish Statute (June 2,1941) besides the numerous decrees, a number of implementing provisions was issued, such as: determination of the amount of money to be paid to employees affected by the measures taken: exclusion of Jews from the new so-called

The law, in its new form, defined as a Jew any person descended from at least three Jewish grandparents, or from two if his or her spouse is likewise descended from two Jewish grandparents, the latter are in turn defined as persons belonging to a Jewish congregation. Further, all persons with only two Jewish grandparents, if currently in a Jewish congregation or so attached prior to June 25, 1940, are likewise defined as Jews.

Jews are prohibited from functioning as Chief of State, member of the Government, Council of State or Council of the Legion d'Honneur, officers of the Courts of Law and general inspectors of finances and are further debarred from office in the department of mines, bridges and roads and in all elected assemblies. They may not serve as ambassadors or high officials in the civil service, nor may they be teachers, army officers, soldiers or sailors, nor occupy any important position in a charitable institution subsidized by the State.

Jews are likewise excluded from all other posts (even lower),unless they possess a certificate of military service, issued in accordance with the law of December 19, 1926, or unless they have been cited during the campaign of 1939-40 as entitled to receive the "Croix de Guerre" or awarded the ribbon of the "Legion d'Honneur" or any other military honor. (According to Xavier Vallat, some 10,000 Jews will benefit by these exemptions.)

Furthermore, Jews may practise the liberal professions or engage in commerce, industry or handicrafts only within limits and under conditions established by decree. They may not serve as commission agents, nor may they be active in banking, brokerage or forestry. They may not publish, edit or manage periodicals, unless these are of a scientific or religious character, nor may they play any part in the production and distribution of films, or the management of theatres, cinemas and radio stations. Persons affected by this law must be summarily dismissed, though the law provides, in a limited measure, the payment to them of old age pensions. Exemption can be granted only to persons who have rendered special services to the State or whose families have been residents in France for at least five generations and have earned special distinctions for benefits conferred on the country. Such exemptions, are of a strictly individual character, no advantages deriving therefrom being conferable upon relatives in any given case. Police prefects are empowered to

** (continued) Armistice Army, from State Councils, Mayor, etc., as well as exemptions from the Jewish Statute made for Jews who have special merits: Jacques Rueff - economist and vice-president of the Bank of France (decree of January 24): Paul Levy - Mathematician (decree of March 14): General Darius Bloch (decree of December 13); Raymond Beer - Engineer (Decree of April 19); Commander Brissac (Decree of January 5)

intern any Jew who violates the regulations, even if he is a French citizen.*

Simultaneous with the statute of October 3, 1940, a further decree empowered police prefects to order alien Jews interned in special camps or to appoint compulsory residences for them,** while the issuance of the revised form of this decree ordering a census of the Jewish population. This census was carried out by means of a detailed four-page questionnaire (Declaration Individuelle), in which the Jews had to state not only their nationality and religion but also their place of birth, nationality and religion of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Furthermore, the occupation and profession of all Jews had to be indicated in detail, as well as their participation in the first World War and the present war, and the war distinctions received by them. At the same time, statements had to be made as to property, shares, participation in economic and commercial enterprises, real estate and mortage.

* In a decree of July 28, (published on August 1) the Government defined the application of the ruling excluding Jews from numerous professions in accordance with the law adopted June 2. The measure also contains provisions for placing property affected by the regulations in the hands of non-Jewish managers.

The ruling makes it clear that Jews are prohibited not only from exercising directly a long list of professions, but from indirect connection with these professions or ownership of enterprices connected with them. They cannot be managers or directors or have the right to sign alone or with others for a forbidden enterprise. The same decree has also forbidden every cession of Jewish enterprises without the consent of the Commissariat of Jewish Affairs. By a decree of October 12, horse and cattle breeding and trading in grain have been added to the pursuit from which Jews are barred. It was also announced that henceforth Jewish farmers who own land and agricultural laborers will have to have special cards issued by the authorities in order to continue farming.

* Although in August 1941, the Council of State promised internees the right to appeal, this concession is in fact meaningless, since the motion of appeal confers no rights to postponment and only the formal side of the internment decrees can be contested.

After the new legislation went into effect, the Association of Jewish War Veterans sent a memorandum to Xavier Vallat on August 11, 1941, in which they stated among other things:

"We declare solemnly that we renounce all exceptions which may possibly be stablished in favor of War Veterans.

"The French Israelites who died for France and whom we represent, and those who fought for France, do not want to beg for the humiliating alms given by a measure, which, as you yourself said, does not allow the Jews in general and consequently their families to elude the importunities which may result from their legal character of Jews (communique to the press of July 12.)

"Among the French Jews, those who gave their lives, the wounded men who gave their blood, the living who wear the 'Croix de Guerre', did not think that they had made their sacrifice to a country and that they were decorated by a country which would cast them off. The fathers and the descendants of our dead, our survivors, wounded and mutilated men, declare through our voice that they will not deny France, and that, despite all they have had to endure, they intend to add their silent sacrifice of today to their sacrifices of bygone times. They hope thus to merit doubly, in a more just and free future, their character of Frenchmen, which they will never abandon in their hearts, even if it is wrested from them by force."

The Commissariat of Jewish Affairs

In order to coordinate the several branches of the anti-Jewish legislation, a Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was set up on March 29, 1941, under Xavier Vallat, a Rightist deputy and lawyer, whose attitude towards Jews may be judged from his accusation in the Palais Bourbon, on June 6, 1936, that Jews had gained control of the ancient Gallo - Roman fatherland.*

The function of the new department, further clarified on May 19, was to suggest to the Government all laws and decrees necessary for regulating the Jewish problem and implementing the Jewish Statute, as also to coordinate the anti-Jewish activities of the several ministries, to supervise the liquidation of Jewish properties, to appoint commissioners and to control police regulations concerning Jews.

* Following his nomination, Vallat declared that he considered Jews an ethnical minority unwilling to assimilate, but seeking to dominate the French people. The Jewish statute, he explained, was not due to any feeling of hatred or desire for revenge; it was merely an instrument of national defense. A similar explanation wa also given by the Minister of Justice, Joseph Barthelemy, in an Algerian publication of June 1941, where the statute was described as "cruel, but necessary".

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New Curbs

New curbs followed one another in rapid succession. On June 3, Jews were forbidden to serve in the police, on June 18, they were banned from the school of Aeronautical Engineers, and on June 21, a numerus clausus introduced in all universities and colleges restricted their numbers to 3% of the total registration.

The law of July 16, 1941, (published July 17) brought the number of Jewish lawyers to a maximum of 2% of the total number of lawyers. If before June 25, 1940, a bar of attorneys had a smaller percentage of Jewish lawyers, this percentage was to be maintained even after the passing of the law. Furthermore, persons who enjoyed certain privileges provided in the Statute were admitted in excess of the percentage established. Besides, exceptions were make for persons with special professional merits.

On September 6, the same regulation was applied to physicians, and on September 25, to architects.

Aryanization

Nor was the new drive confined to educational and professional life. On July 26, regional services for economic "Aryanization" were established in Marseilles, Lyon, Toulouse, Limoges and Clermont-Ferrand. It was explained that the creation of these services had been made by the application of the law of June 2, forbidding Jews to engage in certain professions. On August 15, it was announced that the Government had set September 15 as the deadline when Jews in France would have to retire from occupations forbidden to them.

A decree of August 26, authorized the Commissioner for Jewish Questions to appoint provisional managers for Jewish businesses. The decree provides for the sale of these businesses and of the commercial property and stock of the firms involved. It affects industrial, commercial and artisans' enterprises and commercial buildings that are leased. State bonds and residential property are exempt.

The proceeds from the sale of Jewish property will be deposited in a government fund in the name of the owner. A ten percent deduction will first be made to cover the costs of the various operations involved and to provide a relief fund for destitute Jews.

In the disposal of property owned in common by Jews and non-Jews, the non-Jews have the right to a four month's delay, in which to liquidate their part in the enterprise. The decree leaves action to the discretion of the commissioner and does not prescribe that action shall be taken against every Jew.

At the instance of the Commissioner General for Jewish Questions, the Minister of the Interior has appointed "provisional managers" for numerous Jewish enterprises in the Unoccupied zone. The new move implies, therefore, that economic "Aryanization" is about to be extended to the whole country.*

According to the laws existing in the unoccupied zone, all property of the Jews, with the exception of household goods, French government bonds, and stocks of French companies, is administered by the State. The Commissioner General is entitled to appoint a provisional manager for all Jewish property (with the exception just mentioned), and with the permission of the Commissioner General, the provisional manager may sell his property. However, the purchaser of the Jewish property must pledge himself not to sell the acquired property before a period of three years. Enterprises which cannot be sold are to be liquidated in a legal way.**

Whereas, under the original October regulations, only 800 to 900 families were directly affected, including 25 university professors, 500 high officials and judges, 250 teachers and about 100 military officers of higher rank, the legislation of June 1941, dealt a cruel blow to the Jews engaged in the liberal professions, denying them access to the universities and paving the way for their almost complete exclusion from commerce, industry and handicrafts. Indeed, as time goes on, the situation of the Jews in the "Free" zone is being more and more squared with that existing in the occupied zone. Further proof to the effect that the anti-Jewish legislation in progress forms a part of the Franco-German collaboration is given by a leading article in "Le Temps" of April 24, 1941, according to which "the October decree is considered as a permanent measure of the Petain government, whereby France does not intend to chase the Jews nor to deprive them of thir means of existence." Six weeks later, the new legislation went into force.

* On September 25, it was announced that since the introduction of the anti-Jewish laws, thirty-two Jewish banks have been liquidated in occupied and unoccupied France, and the remaining are administered by Aryan managers.

** We wish to point out the difference which exists in this connection between the occupied and unoccupied zone: the Courts in unoccupied zones are of the opinion that the expropriation carried out by the German military authorities cannot find application in unoccupied France. For instance, on June 7, 1941, the Credit Lyonnais in Lyon was sentenced because it refused to deliver an "Auslands Effekten Depot" to a Jewish customer. As reason for this sentence, they stated that the decree of the German military authorities has no validity in unoccupied France.

Cultural Life

The assault upon their economic existence has naturally affected the cultural life of the Jews in the unoccupied zone. Although the Consistory (established in 1808) still continues to function, its resources are depleted by the fact that it can no longer rely, as formerly, upon the financial support of the wealthier Jewish families. Following the departure from France of Baron Edouard de Rothschild, the Consistory has been headed by M. Jacques Heilbronner, former member of the Council of State and aide of Petain during the World War. Heilbronner's function is to act as liaison officer between the Vichy Government and the Jewish communal authorities.

A council for the cultural development of the Jewish community was planned shortly after the occupation, under Chief Rabbi Issaye Schwartz, but its possibilities are necessarily restricted. Significant, for instance, is the fact that permission was refused for the publication of a Jewish journal.

Attitude of the French People

The only bright spot in this black picture is the attitude of the French people. With the exception of a few directly interested parties, the overwhelming majority of the French people has accepted the anti-Jewish legislation as a further painful proof of the country's degradation. Thus, the new measure were violently attacked by the French Socialist Party at a secret meeting held toward the end of 1940, while on the following March 26, the Protestant Church took a firm stand against anti-Semitism and the Jewish Statute.

In a letter written to Chief Rabbi Schwartz, Pastor Boegner (chief of the Protestant Church in France), expressed his sympathy with his Jewish fellow citizens.

When an assault was made against the synagogue in Marseilles on May 17, 1941, the Bishop of Marseilles, Mgr. Delay, in a letter addressed to Rabbi Salzer, expressed his deep indignation at the criminal and covardly act committed against the synagogue of Marseilles.

Such resistance, however, has little influence on the development of events.

The True Attitude of Vichy

As for the true attitude of the Vichy Government towards the Jews, this presents something of an enigma. On the one hand, it cannot be denied that many of the men now grouped around the aged Marshal Petain are drawn from Monarchist and reactionary circles previously noted for their anti-Semitic tendencies. It is also significant that the slogan of the National Revolution: "Country,

Family and Work," which has replaced the older "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," bears a certain similarity to the declaration, made in April 1936, by the then Count of Paris, head of the Maison Francaise. It is also true that M. Lebeau, Governor of Tunisia, was dismissed from his post allegedly for friendship with Jews, and that the Vichy radio station has on several occasions indulged in vituperative Jew baiting invective. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that such manifestations may equally well be due to German pressure and to a purely expedient policy of "collaboration" with the conquerors. It is noteworthy, for instance, that on certain occasions the Vichy government has taken pains to point out that the introduction of its anti-Jewish measures must not be interpreted as an approval of excesses committed against the Jewish population. Indeed, an express declaration to this effect was made on August 26, 1941, by the Minister of of the Interior, Pierre Pucheu, following bomb outrages against synagogues in Marseilles, Vichy and Nice, while Marshal Petain himself has studiously avoided mention of the Jewish question in any of his speeches, save on one occasion when he spoke of "nationless Jews".

Free France

In contrast to the ruthless attitude of the Vichy Government, ever more influenced by the Germans, was the statement of General Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Free French Movement, to the World Jewish Congress, on August 22, 1940:

> "On the day of Victory, in which I firmly believe, liberated France will not fail to see to it that justice is reestablished for those who are collectively suffering injustice at the jands of the Hitler regime, and among others, for the Jewish communities which are at present subjugated by Germany and, unhappily, the most grevious victims of intolerance and persecution."

These words were reinforced by a further declaration on November 11, 1940:

> "Be assured," wrote the Free French leader, "that since we have repudiated everything which has been falsely perpetrated in the name of France since June 23, the cruel dcrees directed against French Jews can and will have no validity in Free France. These measures are not less a blow to the honor of France than they are an injustice to her Jewish citizens."
>
> "When we have achieved victory, not only will the wrongs done in France itself be righted, but she will again resume her traditional place as the champion of freedom and justice for all men, irrespective of race or creed, in a new Europe."

In this spirit, a formal repudiation of the anti-Jewish laws, coupled with a pledge for the restoration of equal rights for Jews after an Allied victory, was issued, on May 7, 1941, by Rene Cassin, permanent secretary, and Maurice de Jean, director of the Council of the Free French. In accordance with this policy, the Vichy laws have not been applied in any territory (including Syria) controlled by that authority.

In this connection, Jacques de Sieyes, the representative of General de Gaulle in the United States, on August 4, 1941, made the following declaration to the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress:

> "According to the declaration made by General de Gaulle, the Free France applies only the French legislation prior to June 18, 1940, and the ordinances issued by the leader of the Free Frenchmen. Stop. Consequently, the laws regarding race are considered null and void by the Free France."

On October 4, 1941, General de Gaulle sent a letter to Dr. Stephen S. Wise, in which he stated as follows:

> "Upon the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the emancipation of the Jews in France, I hereby stress, once more, the policy of the Free French - which embraces all Frenchmen.
>
> "The famous Decree emancipating the Jews of France, as well as the proclamation about the Rights of Men and of the Citizen, are still in effect and cannot be abrogated by the men of Vichy.
>
> "We condemn as null and void those changes in our Constitution which have been instituted by the so-called Government of Vichy and which are per se unconstitutional and illegal.
>
> "The Free French, wherever they are in power, respect and apply the Constitution and the Legislation of the French Republic and are resolved after our Victory to restore equality, in respect to their dignity and their duties to all citizens on soil or territory."

In reply to this letter, Dr. Stephen S. Wise sent the following message, expressing the feeling of the American Jewry with regard to the Free French movement:

> "It is with deepest satisfaction that I have received your letter addressed to me as President of the American Jewish Congress and Chairman of the World Jewish Congress on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the emancipation of the Jews in France, together with your confirmation of the policy of the Free France toward all Frenchmen.

"It is good to read your word that the rights of citizens remain in force and cannot be abrogated by the men of Vichy, and that you consider null and void all changes in the Constitution and in French laws made by the so-called Vichy Government.

"I need hardly say to you that our hearts and hopes are with Free France for the sake of France, for the sake of the French Republic. The France that will live is not the Hitler - enslaved Vichy but the Free French which enjoys the benefit of your own leadership.

"On behalf of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, I send you the assurance of high personal regard and I express the hope some day to have the joy of seeing Free France restored for the benefit of Frenchmen and restored, too, in the regard of men who cherish freedom throughout the world."

YUGOSLAVIA

Background

According to the first census of 1921, there were 64,746 Jews in Yugoslavia (0.54% of the total population). The second census, of March 31, 1931, however, revealed an increase to 76,654 (0.55%). In conformity with the general trend of Jews towards urbanization, those of Yugoslavia were concentrated in the larger cities, such as Zagreb (12,315; 6.4%), Belgrade (8,389; 3.5%), and Sarajevo 8,090; 10.3%). Two-thirds of the Jews, numbering 47,244, were of Ashkenazic, or East Europian origin. The Sephardim, residing in Belgrade, Southern Serbia and Bosnia, numbered 26, 459, and there were also 2,951 Jews who formed a separate Orthodox group.

Geographically and culturally the Jews of Yugoslavia fall into four groups (corresponding to the four areas out of which the united state was constituted in 1918), viz:

1. Jews of Croatia and Slavonia, and of Banat and Bacska, formerly part of Hungary.

These were Ashkenazim and constituted two-thirds of the entire Jewish population. Modern and, to a certain extent, assimilated, they were both intellectually and economically in advance of their brethren in other areas. They possessed mills, banks, department stores, lumber yards, etc. Only a small proportion of them depended upon charitable assistance.

2. Jews of Bosnia and Hercegovina, formerly under Austrian rule. (1878-1918)

For the most part small shoemakers, tailors, plumbers, longshoremen, etc., their standard of living fell far below that of the western world. A large number of Sephardim also lived in Bosnia , especially in Sarajevo, where there was a strained political atmosphere, involving constant clashes between the Islamic, Greek Orthodox, Serbian and Croatian Catholic populations. In that province the Jews dominated as middle men and small traders. In recent years they also penetrated the liberal professions.

3. Jews of Serbia

Mainly Ashkenazim, these represented a substantial middle class, consisting of small traders, merchants, white-collar workers and exporters, as well as physicians, lawyers, architects, bankers and a few large industrialists. They were an industrious element, contributing greatly to the cultural and economic advancement of the country.

4. Jews of Macedonia (annexed in 1920)

This group consisted mainly of Sephardic and Oriental Jews and was, in marked contrast to the others, uncultured and poverty-ridden, living in ghettos.

The economic structure of the Jews was by no means uniform throughout the country, conditions differing from province to province in accordance with the varying standards of the local populations. Concerning their occupational distribution, there are no official figures.

It is established that agriculture absorbed 3%, commerce 37%, handicraft 13%, industry and finances 2%, liberal professions 8%, white-collar workers 25% and miscellaneous 12%.

The central authority in Yugoslavian Jewry was the Federation of Jewish Communities. Comprising, at its inception, some 121 local units with a total voluntary membership of 68,107 persons, this body was at once accorded recognition by the government, being placed under the formal supervision of the Ministry of Justice and receiving an annual subvention from the state. It enjoyed complete autonomy in religious matters, and the Chief Rabbi was granted equal status in official life, with the ecclesiastical leaders of other faiths.

Jewish education was systematic and progressive, thanks to the fact that the government's curriculum of "religious instruction" was not confined to mere "Sunday-school" subjects and therefore allowed the entire range of Hebrew culture to be covered. The literary and intellectual life of the community was also advanced after 1923, by the work of a special association founded by the joint efforts of the entire rabbinate.

On the other hand, international developments naturally aroused among the Jewish population fears of internal repercussions, and this found expression in mass conversions to Christianity. Thus, 300 wealthy Jews who, though only 3% of the Jews of the City, had hitherto provided one-third of the Jewish Community's tax income, were baptized in Zagreb alone. Indeed these conversions assumed such proportions as to persuade the Congress of the Protestant Church, on April 5, 1939, to impose severer conditions of baptism. The Congress demanded a one-year trial period before the conversion became effective.

Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism in Yugoslavia is a recent and alien growth, due entirely to Nazi influence. Moreover, it does not represent any genuine feeling on the part of the masses, but is the creation

only of political exigency and pressure.

When the Serbian government was forced into exile, during the first World War, Grand Rabbi Dr. Isaac Alkalai of Belgrade was sent by the Serbian government on a mission to Western Europe and the United States to influence public opinion in favor of the restitution of Serbia. For a year and a half Dr. Alkalai and the members of his delegation were active in the leading political circles of London, Paris and Washington, where their activities met with success.

King Alexander, who was assassinated at Marseille in 1934, was an open friend of the Jews, while his cousin, English educated Prince Paul, who subsequently headed the Regency Council, managed at first to resist the German pressure, suppressing all attempts to fan racial hatred. Later, however, as the economic stranglehold of the Reich increased (in 1939 she controlled 32.5% of the import and 39.9% of the export trade), the government was obliged to walk the tightrope of political expediency, and while overtly professing its championship of the Jews, to countenance the subtle enroachment of anti-Semitism. Fascist attempts to introduce anti-Semitism into the national life met with little official encouragement, in spite of intensified Nazi pressure. Nevertheless, the virus percolated to an ever-increasing degree into the intellectual circles of the urban centers, especially the students, and proceeded thence to infect public offices and ministries. State and municipal contracts, for instance, were withheld from Jews on the flimsiest pretexts, while positions as officials or communal agents were also denied them. Some 400 Jewish public officials, who had been appointed during the early days of the kingdom, were likewise gradually eliminated, while the intricate system of fiscal taxation was operated to the detriment of the Jews.

Anti-Jewish Legislation

All of these measures, however were extra-legal, and it was not until late in 1940 that legislative curbs on Jews were introduced. By a decree of October 5, licenses previously granted to wholesale food concerns owned or financed, either wholly or partially, by Jews, were summarily discontinued, renewal of them being left to the discretion of local authorities. The latter were further empowered to place state commissioners in charge of those concerns, the licenses of which were revoked, to see that these enterprises were liquidated within two months. Punishment up to two years' imprisonment and 500,000 dinars fine were provided for violation, with internment and forced labor for repeated violation.

A further decree of the same date restricted Jewish pupils in state schools to the proportion of Jews in the population, exceptions being granted only in the case of children of war

veterans or of those who had been of service to the state. Foreign Jews were barred altogether from secondary high schools. Finally, under a new decree, all Jews were excluded, in mid-October, from printing, publishing and newspaper concerns, and from bookstores. This action followed expulsion of Jews from motion picture, theater and broadcasting concerns.

Reaction to anti-Semitism

It was reported that dissension prevailed among Yugoslav cabinet members over the Jewish issue. Some of them were understood to have threatened to resign if the government embarked on a large-scale anti-Semitic program. Nor was the opposition confined to government circles. On April 24, 1939, the democratic students of the University of Belgrade, (90% of the entire student body), in a special issue of their journal, "Mladost" (Youth), condemned anti-Semitism, and appealed to the entire youth to combat racialism as the "grave of civilization", while on October 9, 1940, at a meeting of the Yugoslav Society of High School Professors, resolutions were adopted condemning the limiting of Jewish students and teachers as unconstitutional and unfair.

After the Outbreak of War

Charging that the war had been forced on Germany by "British Imperialism and Jewish capital," Hitler, on April 6, 1941, hurled his mechanized legions against Yugoslavia, which grimly prepared to resist the invasion. While the country speeded mobilization, representatives of all Jewish communities and organizations convened in Belgrade and pledged maximum aid and cooperation to the government.

More than 700 Jews were killed and scores of synagogues and Jewish community centers destroyed in a series of savage air raids which reduced Belgrade to a city of fire and ruins, it was reported on April 14, 1941. Many lost their lives when they sought protection in the city's famous Oneg Shabbos center, headquarters of local Zionist and women's organizations. The Jews, including many women and children, were buried under tons of debris when the building was hit by a bomb.

Following the occupation, Nazi officials, on April 20, ordered Jews to appear at Gestapo headquarters with all their jewelry and valuables. A warning was issued that those who failed to report voluntarily would be shot. The occupation of Yugoslavian cities had no sooner begun, than the Gestapo walked in and took control. They came armed with lists of Jews to be arrasted. Indeed, wholesale arrests of Jews and other pro-British elements preceded the arrival of Heinrich Himmler, chief of the secret police. As a result of this, a wave of self-destruction broke out. Among those who preferred death to surrender were several who had played

conspicuous and important parts in the Jewish life of the country, such as Samuel Pinto, president of the Sarajevo Sephardic Congregation, Rabbi Uhrbach, head of the Ashkenazic community in the same city.

Thousands of Jews from all parts of the country, especially from Croatia, poured into Belgrade before the rapid advance of the Nazi divisions.

A decree of May 30, 1941 established the egal status of Jews in so-called old Serbia. Jews were excluded from all cultural activities, from the press, literature, the film industry and the theatre. They were also eliminated from the liberal professions with the exception of a small number of physicians who were allowed to treat Jewish patients. Significantly , the decree is entitled: Law on Jews and Gypsies. Children of mixed marriages are also defined as Jews if the belonged to a Jewish communal organization prior to April 5, 1941. All Jews were obliged to wear yellow badges bearing the inscription "Jew".

All Jewish bank accounts were blocked, Jews were forbidden to remove valuables from safe deposit boxes and they had to make an inventory of all their property. All men between 14 to 60 are subject to forced labor. Jews who left their homes during the war are not allowed to return. Between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M. Jews may not to be seen on the streets. They are barred from theatres, restaurants and other public places and a system of registration of the Jews has been established. Hundreds of Jews are being shot for alleged acts of sabotage and since the outbreak of the Russo German war, as alleged Communists.

In Macedonia, the situation does not differ greatly from that in old Serbia. It is estimated that there are 8,000 Jews in old Serbia under German military rule. Approximately 50,000 are in the provinces now occupied by Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria and an additional estimated 30,000 are in "independent" Croatia.

The fate awaiting the 29,000 Jews in Croatia is best illustrated by the fact that one of the leaders of the new "free" Croatian state is Ante Pavelitch, an Italian-financed terrorist, who was convicted in absehtia of complicity in the assassination of King Alexander and subsequently fled to Rome. In a special broadcast to the Croats on April 14, 1941, Pavelitch declared that the new government would confiscate the property of Zagreb's 12,000 Jews and distribute it equally among the Croats.

After accusing the Jews of having debased the national language and culture, the Axis puppet announced that the Nuremberg anti-Jewih laws would shortly be introduced. Leaflets containing excerpts from the broadcast were subsequently dropped by Nazi planes throughout the country. The excerpts were coupled with a plea to

Croats still fighting in the Yugoslavian armies to desert their posts and return home.

The Germans initiated their regime by issuing an order on April 20 requiring Jews in Croatia and under captured territories to deliver the keys of all community centers, synagogues and institutions to the local military headquarters. On the same day, Jewish business men in Croatia were instructed to compile lists of their possessions and to turn over to the Nazis duplicate keys of their enterprises and safes. This order, it was believed, foreshadowed a Nazi move to expropriate all Jewish property in occupied Yugoslavia.

By order of Pavelitch the offices of the Zionist Organization and of other Jewish communal organizations in Zagreb, were sealed on April 21, Nazi troopers being posted at the doors.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Jews killed by the Croatian government. The Jews seek various forms of escape. It is reported by persons who have just arrived in this country, that nearly all Jews in Croatia have become converted to Catholicism. Even if this is of no great value in Croatia itself, it helps those who succeeded in escaping to Italian occupied territory where 5,000 Croatian Jews are now reported.

A special category of "honorary Aryans" has been introduced by legislation and thousands of Jews have petitioned for that status. It is interesting to note that marriage to a Jewess does not in any way affect the status of a Croatian. The reason for this seeming liberalism is that the leaders of the Croatian regime (Dr. Pavelitch, General Kvaternik, the Commander in Chief of the Croatian army and Minister Janitch) are married to Jewesses.

BULGARIA

Background

The Jews of Bulgaria constitute one of the oldest settlements in Europe. They lived there long before the Bulgars appeared as a nation on the arena of history, dating back, according to historians, to the reigns of Darius, King of Persia, and Alexander the Great. Authentic material concerning Bulgarian Jews was uncovered as early as the beginning of the Christian era.

Today Bulgarian Jews are divided in Sephardic and Ashkenazi groups, with the former forming 90 percent of the population. The latter, having arrived in the eighties chiefly from Hungarian, Austrian and Russian Jewish stock, assimilated with the Sephardim.

Ladino, a Spanish dialect, is spoken by a majority of Bulgarian Jews. The youth is, to some extent, Bulgarianized. Up to 1940 there were 32 organized Jewish communities within the country's old border with smaller Ashkenazi settlements functioning in Sofia, Rustchuk (Russa)and Verna.

When Bulgaria gained her independence at the close of the Russo-Tuerkish War in 1878, Jews in the country numbered about 19,000. The census of 1934 showed the number of Jews to be 48,565, or 0.80 percent of the total population. With the exception of a bare 127, all persons of Jewish descent gave Hebrew as their religion, and 92.2% lived in the larger cities. Sofia harbored 25,863, or about 11% of the capital's citizenry. Close to 71.38% of Bulgarian Jews could read and write Bulgarian as compared with 54.36% of literate Bulgarians and with only 11% of learned Turks.

Statistics for 1926 disclose that while the Jews aggregated 0.85% of the total population, their position in the country's economy amounted only to 0.53%, with 13,645 men and 2,382 women actively participating. They were distributed as follows: 8,326 in commerce; 5,280 in various crafts and industries; 772 in the liberal professions; 300 in transportation: 79 in government and municipal employ; 75 in agriculture and 507 in miscellanous occupations. No less than 47.9% worked as wage earners. In Sofia, 2411 Jews were engaged in trading, with 723 as small peddlers.

In 1936, there were 145 Jewish physicians in the country , with 5 more in 1941, out of a total of 2,796, and 95 lawyers out of 2,608. A lawyer's average earnings did not exceed 84 levas a day, amounting to one dollar.

Corporate Jewish Life

In 1880, the government recognized the Jewish community as a juridical body. Twenty years later, Bulgarian Jews celebrated Community Day for the first time. All communities were joined in the Consistory which represented the Jews to the government. Officials always consulted it on matters of Jewish interest. Members to its executive board were popularly elected. The chief rabbi served as the religious leader.

For the school year 1926-1927, a total of 3,347 pupils was distributed among 43 Jewish educational institutions.

Bulgarian Jews took small part in the country's spiritual life and were inconspicuous in its culture.

Prior to the government of Bogdan Fillov, anti-Semitism was never official State policy. Jews had been considered loyal and an integral part of the Bulgarian commonwealth.

German Nazism spurred the native Fascists to more aggressive and vicious activism which threw the entire Jewish population into constant terror.

Under the Swastika's Influence

The Nazis found Bulgaria fertile soil for their pernicious propaganda. Ever since the Treaty of Versailles had reduced her territory, Bulgaria has been dreaming of rectification. In Hitler's ascension to power, the expansionists saw their chance. Meanwhile, Hitler made use of every means and ruse to ensnare that Balkan country into his "orbit". First, he tied up her economy with Germany. Bulgaria's exports to Germany grew by the year, and with them,Germany's debts to Bulgaria. Economic subjugation brought in its wake spiritual enslavement.

When the Nazi hordes marched into Bulgaria, the country was in chaos. Jew baiting had become patriotic slogans along with demands for territorial revision.

When Kassia Ivanov's cabinet fell, the pro-Hitler Bogdan Filoff formed a new government under which the position of the Jews became more and more untenable. Its first official act was to expel all foreign-born Jews from the country. While it was calculated to hit the refugees, the ruling affected others as well.

New discriminations came to supplement these measures. On January 23, 1941, "the protection of the nation" was proclaimed. This decree undertook to define who was and who was not a Jew. It sought to deprive Jews from gainful emplyment, prohibited them to change their names and contrived to push them out completely from the country's economic life.

Only 25 out of 150 Jewish physicians have been allowed to treat Jewish patients and only 7 dentists to practice. Of 95 lawyers, only 18 are allowed before the bar. No Jewish pharmacist may operate a drug store. (In 1936, 40 Jewish pharmacists were registered in Sofia alone). They were given nine months in which to liquidate their wares. In commerce, 300 out of 2800 are left undisturbed and 8 manufacturers out of 83.

Nazi pressure was undeniably responsible for the law "the protection of the nation". Following the Nazi's physical occupation of Bulgaria (March 1, 1941) the Jews were completely robbed of every vestige of human decency, placed outside the social pale and reduced to the status of slaves. Foreign and native born alike were forced into labor camps. The Jewish Consistory was dissolved and the communities were disfranchised. The B'nai B'rith lodges were closed and their properties confiscated. Ritual slaughter was banned. Jewish political parties were scrapped.

The "Geulah Bank", fundamental to the Jewish economic structure, was taken over by the government and Jewish property was expropriated. Empowered by the decree of June 14, 1941, the government taxed the few remaining richer Jews 20 an 25%. Jewish economic life was as a result entirely dislocated.

The fate of the older Jewish residents is shared by some 20,000 newcomers. While the number of Jews living in regions recently acquired by Bulgaria is undetermined, it may be assumed that there are about 1,000 in Dobrudja, ceded in 1940 by Rumania; 15,000 in Macedonia, annexed from conquered Yugoslavia, and another 3 or 4 thousand in the Thracian province of former Greece. Greater Bulgaria has now about 68,000 Jews.

Terror in the country is increasing. In their determination to exterminate the Jews, the Bulgarian anti-Semites are working hand-in-glove with the Nazi Gestapo. About 100 deputies of the "Narodni Sobrani" (Bulgarian Parliament) have been thrown into jails all over the country and ten lost their lives in the general violence. Many Bulgarian liberals find themselves in German concentration camps.

However, it is as erroneous to conclude that the Bulgarian people have turned anti-Semitic overnight as it is to say that they cheerfully submitted to the Nazi boot. There is still an appreciable body of liberal citizenry which regards the present government policy as catastrophical. A like undercurrent of government opposition is manifest among the masses.

GREECE

Greek Jewry consists of two elements, viz., (a) the community of Salonika, and (b) that of the mainland and the islands. The former is ancient, descended from Sephardic refugees who fled from Spain and Portugal in the 16th century. The latter, on the other hand, is comparatively modern, for although Jews have, in fact, lived in Greece for over 2,000 years, most of their communities were wiped out during the insurrections of 1821, and resettlement began only some nine years later, when the country had achieved its independance.

Population

According to the census of 1928, the latest available, there were 72,791 Jews in the country, constituting 1.17% of the total population. Their regional distribution was as follows:-

Macedonia.....	60,484	4.3%
Western Thrace.....	2,974	1.0%
Epirus.....	2,641	1.1%
Thessaly.....	2,275	0.5%
Ionian Islands.....	1,977	0.9%
Central Greece & Euboea...	1,876	0.12%
Other areas.....	564	
	72,791	1.17%

Some 98.75% of total live in the towns, and of these nearly two-thirds, or 55,983, are concentrated in Salonika, where they form as much as 10.4% of the gross population. On the other hand, Janina absorbs but 4,000, Athens 3,000, and the smaller communities of Cavalla and Larissa less than 2,000 each.

Occupational Distribution

There are no official figures concerning the occupational distribution of Greek Jewry; only the following estimates for Salonika are available:

Laborers and employees.....	65.0%
Artisans and small traders.....	25.0%
Industrialists, professionals and others.....	10.0%
	100.0%

Most of the Jews engaged in the liberal professions worked exclusively for their co-religionists. Thus, out of 68 teachers, only 6 were employed in municipal institutions, the remainder serving in Jewish schools, while 12 out of 14 journalists worked for the local Jewish press.

Destitution

The economic position of Salonika's Jews has deteriorated steadily during the past three decades. Following the allocation of the city to Greece in 1915, and the severance of it from its hinterland, Jewish longshoremen, along with their Gentile fellow-workers, tended to lose their employment, as the importance of the harbor decreased. In 1920, the repatriation of some 200,000 Greek peasants from Anatolia stepped up commercial competition and offered a challenge which forced thousands of Jewish families to leave the city and seek their future in Egypt, Italy and the Holy Land. In 1940, some 32,500 or 59%, of Salonika's Jews were living on relief from communal funds.

Suppression of Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism, though not entirely unknown and occasionally leading to excesses, has been rigidly checked in recent years. The Government has not been slow in evincing its sympathy for Jewish distress and its determination to preserve the principle of civil and political equality. Thus, in August 1936, the late Premier Metaxas addressed a special message to Chief Rabbi Korets of Salonika offering assurances that the Administration would continue to "nourish the same feeling of sympathy for Jewish citizens as has heretofore existed". On November 21, 1939, Governor George Kyrillis of Macedonia, in an official declaration, reaffirmed the Government's intention of preserving the civic rights of Jews. Legislative measures were, in fact, introduced to curb the activities of anti-Semitic factions, as often as not mere fronts for Axis propaganda.

War Service

When the Axis invasion began in the spring of 1940, Jews responded enthusiastically to the national emergency. The heroism of Colonel Mordechai Frizis was cited as an example of patriotism by Premier Metaxas who also took occasion to commend the valor and loyalty of the Jewish population. As the tempo of the war increased and German troops poured in to reinforce their badly battered Italian comrades, the small Jewish community of Athens contributed no less than 9,000,000 drachmas to the national defense fund, according to reports of January 21, 1941. The bombing of St. Sofia cathedral the following month, evoked a donation of 50,000 drachmas towards the cost of repairs from the impoverished Jews of Salonika. Nor were Jews less active on the field of battle, their services earning official commendation from Premier Emanuel Tsouderos when he landed in South Africa, along with King George, on July 11, 1941.

Especially grievous was the plight of the Jews in Salonika, where air-raid shelters were all but non-existent and where thousands were killed and injured during the German bombardments of the Jewish quarter.

Curbs

Following the collapse of Greece and the occupation of the country by Axis forces, a number of curbs were imposed upon the Jewish population. Thus, it was reported on May 15, 1941, that all Jewish physicians and lawyers had been debarred from practice, while dispatches of June 20 revealed that a 9 P.M. curfew had been imposed on Jews in Salonika and Athens, and that many had been interned in concentration camps at Levadia on charges of "pro-British activities."

Extra-legal oppression has also added to the plight of the Jews in Greece. Most sinister in this respect has been the return to the country of Ivan Mihailoff, the notorious Macedonian terrorist. Under his leadership, a Nazi-inspired organization known as The Black Cross has set about systematically looting Jewish stores and levying "collective fines" upon Jewish communities. Jews have also been forced, under penalty of execution, to wear yellow armbands and have in recent months been herded into "labor corps."

FINLAND

Background

The Jewish community in Finland is one of the youngest in Europe. It did not begin to develop until after 1827 when Czar Nicholas I of Russia introduced military service for Jews. A number of Jewish soldiers of the Russian army who had served in the Grand Duchy of Finland, remained there after their term of service was completed.

The collapse of Czarist Russia brought Finland her independence. On December 6, 1917, Finland was proclaimed an independent state, and on December 8 of the same year, the Finnish Parliament enacted a law granting equal rights to the Jews. The period from December 8, 1917, until November 30, 1939, was the most favorable in the history of the Finnish Jews.

Ninety-seven percent of the Jews in Finland are tradesmen and commercial employes. In recent years, they began to turn to the liberal professions.

The Jewish population at the outbreak of the Soviet-Finnish war consisted of about 1800 persons. According to the census of 1930, Finland had 1765 Jews, of whom 1135 resided in Helsinki, 312 in Viipuri, 255 in Abo and about 100 scattered throughout the country. The Jews constituted approximately one half of one percent of the population of Finland. When the war came, they responded with enthusiasm to the call to arms. Approximately 200 Jewish young men went to the front, among them fifteen reserve officers of various rank. Many Jews volunteered, others contributed large sums to the war effort and Jewish women sewed articles of clothing for the soldiers. Many Jewish soldiers distinguished themselves by their courage and, on a number of occasions, the Finnish command publicly praised their patriotism. Fifteen Jews died on the battlefield.

During the war, the Jews were also active in promoting the Finnish cause abroad. Santeri Jacobsson, the mayor of Lauritsala, was sent by Foreign Minister Vaino Tanner to Stockholm to conduct an expensive propaganda campaign among Jewish people of the world.

The Moscow peace of March 12, 1940, brought complete ruin to the Jewish community of Viipuri. Not a single Jew remained in the city when the Red Army took possession. They all fled to the interior and the Jewish communities of Helsinki and Turku supported them as best they could. The government looked after the needs of the evacuated Finns, provided them with homes, food, clothing and tools, but the Jews received nothing.

After the war of 1939-1940, the entire Finnish situation changed, and with it the attitude toward the Jews. Chaos reigned in the economy of the country. The 450.000 evacuees from the ceded territories were a heavy burden on the government.

Within the Nazi Orbit

As early as the summer of 1940, it could be perceived that the Finnish people were succumbing to the Nazi pressure.

As Nazi influence mounted, the Finnish attitude toward the Jews became more hostile. Officially the legal status of the Jewish population was not altered, but discrimination was practiced in fact. A strict license system was introduced on imported articles and the Jews found it more difficult than others to obtain licenses for the import of textiles. Here, too, the Nazi hand was at work. Virtually, the only remaining market for Finland was Germany, and Nazi trade representatives declared that they would not maintain commercial relations with non-Aryan firms. A number of Finnish manufacturers refused to continue dealing with their Jewish customers.

Private relations between the Jews and the Finnish population became more strained than ever. Certain cooperative buildings refused to accept Jewish tenants any longer. Servant girls refused to work in Jewish homes. Jewish commercial establishments were harassed by repeated investigations which provided the pretext to impose fines for alleged illegal trade practices.

In this second war, the irony of events forces Jews of Finland to bear arms as Hitler's allies.

THE NAZI-SOVIET WAR AREA

Introduction

Enormous obstacles stand in the way of portraying present conditions in this vast area. Since the outbreak of the war between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany (June 22nd, 1941), neither the Germans nor the Russians have furnished reliable reports regarding Jewish conditions in the affected territory.

Germany has already conquered all the buffer regions annexed by the Soviet Union from September 1939 to June 22nd, 1941. From the Jewish viewpoint, this area is of tremendous importance, comprising Lithuania (250,000 Jews), Latvia (95,000), Estonia (5,000), Eastern Poland (1,270,000), Bessarabia and North Bukovina (330,000). In addition, the German armies have seized Soviet White Russia, the Soviet Ukraine (2,300,000), and part of the Russian Soviet Republic (about 70% of the Jews in this republic live in Moscow and besieged Leningrad). Thus, at first glance, more than 4,000,000 Jews live in the greatest battle arena of the second World War. This figure cannot be considered correct, however, for the following reasons:

Several thousand Jews were evacuated from Lithuania to the interior one week prior to the outbreak of war. Many refugees fled before the advancing German armies, while others, particularly men of military age, industrial workers and government employes, were evacuated together with the general population by the Soviet authorities.

Because they were concentrated in large industrial cities, we may assume with reasonable assurance that substantial numbers of Jews of Soviet Russia proper succeeded in escaping German occupation. The figure of 4,000,000 must therefore be reduced considerably.

With regard to the sources of information, these are better for the buffer states and territories than for the Soviet Union proper. There is a great deal of information on Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and some reasonably reliable information for the three former Galician districts. For the other regions, the material is mainly of German or Rumanian origin and cannot be checked.

An additional difficulty is the almost complete lack of communication between this great area and the world, except in the case of Eastern Galicia which was recently incorporated into the Polish General Government. With these reservations in mind, we shall attempt to present a general picture based on the limited reliable information at our disposal.

Administration

The administration of the newly occupied regions (Eastern Poland, the Baltic countries, White Russia and the Ukraine) is gradually being transformed from a military to a civil basis. Eastern Galicia (capital: Lwow), and part of Volyhnia (Kremintz) have been incorporated into the Polish General Government (Governor-General: Frank) as the separate province of Galicia.

The three Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) and Soviet White Russia now constitute the so-called Ostland region with Riga as the capitol. The Reich Commissar for this region is Heinrich Lohse (the former Gauleiter of Schleswig-Holstein). For the Baltic and White Russia, regional commissars have also been appointed: Wilhelm Kube for White Russia; Dreschler, the former mayor of Luebeck, for Latvia; and Dr. von Reutelen for Lithuania. The establishment of an "Ostland" is proof that Germany does not intend to restore the independence of the Baltic states. Further evidence of this is the fact that the National Lithuanian Government, formed on June 22nd, 1941, has finally resigned.

Soviet Ukraine is now a separate administrative unit with Erich Koch, former Gauleiter of East Prussia, as the Reich Commissar, but neither the boundaries nor the capitol have been determined. It is not yet clear what administrative disposition will be made of the Eastern provinces of Poland (except Galicia and the Vilna district), or of the Bialystok-Grodno district and the remainder of Volyhnia. It is believed, however, that Bialystok and Grodno will be incorporated into Greater Germany.

On November 17, 1941, the German government announced the appointment of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg as the "Reich Minister for the East" with supreme authority over the entire occupied zone, an area estimated by an official German source on October 31, 1941, as 615,000 square miles, or more than three times the size of Germany in 1937. Dr. Rosenberg, the Baltic German philosopher of Nazi paganism and arch-enemy of Christianity, is perhaps the leading anti-Semitic theoretician of this generation.

Jewish Life Under Nazi Domination

The Jews of the occupied Soviet territory now find themselves subject to German law. In the district of Galicia, the laws of the Polish General Government now apply. On August 7, 1941, the following decrees were made applicable to Galicia: The decree of July 24, 1940, defining who was a Jew; the decree of November 28, 1939, regarding the organization of Jewish communities; the first two executive orders of April 25 and June 7, 1940, regarding the Jewish communities; the decree of October 26, 1939, establishing forced labor for the Jewish population; and the first and second executive orders of December 11 and 12, 1939, pursuant to the earlier decree.

On the basis of these enactments, Jewish communities are being established in all the large cities (Lwow, Stanislawow, Tarnopol, Drohobyhcz and Brody). Further regulations are being imposed and it is reasonably clear that the legal status of the Jews in Eastern Galicia is very much the same as in the General Government.

We possess no detailed information regarding anti-Jewish legislation in the other parts of Eastern Poland, Ostland and the Ukraine, but there is every reason to believe that it follows the familiar pattern.

Wilhelm Kube, the Commissar for White Russia, at once introduced forced labor for Jewish males between the ages of 14 and 20, and for girls between 17 and 24. At the same time, the German compulsory school attendance regulations for children between 7 and 14 excluded the Jews, and the Jewish schools in White Russia were not reopened for the fall term.

The first decree of the Reich Commissar for the Baltic countries was also directed against the Jews. All Jews are required to wear yellow badges bearing the Star of David; they may not walk on the sidewalks or in groups. Land belonging to Jews, as well as Jewish commercial enterprises, have been confiscated by the Commissar and turned over to German merchants sent into the Baltic area from East Prussia. Jews have been excluded from the liberal professions and all Jewish doctors must register.

On July 30, 1941, a Labor Bureau was established in Latvia to register all Jews between 16 and 60, in order to find "suitable occupations" for them. In Riga alone, about 5,800 Jews have been arrested. In the Vilna district, all refugees who came from other parts of Poland have been required to register.

Ghettos have already been established in such cities as Lwow, Bialystok, Grodno, Vilna, Kovno, Riga, Odessa, and Minsk.

The situation of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Soviet territory is perhaps even worse than in the Polish area seized by Germany in September, 1939. The social reforms of the Soviet regime had already impoverished the entire Jewish middle class. The new German anti-Jewish decrees have completed the process of pauperization. Moreover, the Nazis have launched a large scale anti-Semitic propaganda campaign to instill popular enmity against both the Jews and Soviet Russia.

The Ukrainian Nationalists of Eastern Galicia and the Ukraine, and the Lithuanians, Letts and Estonians of the Baltic, are being systematically incited against Russians and Jews alike. German policy in this regard has been clearly expressed in a number of official statements and proclamations, two examples of which may well be cited.

In Lwow, on September 1, 1941, Governor-General Frank issued the following proclamation: "In the name of the Fuehrer, I, as Governor-General, hereby annex the district of Galicia to the Government General and in so doing place it under the protection of Greater Germany.

"The terrible years of suffering and oppression at the hands of the senseless, irresponsible regime of the Warsaw ruling clique, and of the gruesome Soviet regime of terror are over. Thousands of your brothers and sisters have fallen as victims of bloodthirsty Jewish Bolshevism... As far as possible, we shall provide restitution for all the injustices committed against you. Your private possessions shall be returned to you. The freedom of your national culture, as well as all your religious liberties, shall be restored."

Soon after the outbreak of the Russo-German war, Dr. Alfred Rosenberg delivered a vehement anti-Semitic speech, calling upon the people of the Baltic states to free themselves of the rule of Jewish Bolshevism. In the same connection, the Rome radio declared: "We are not fighting against the Russians, but against a band of criminals who are abetted by the Jews."

The German and Rumanian forces of occupation are known to have staged pogroms in the following cities: Kamenetz-Podolsk, Rovno, Berdichev, Kiev, Odessa, Chernigov, Uman and Minsk. The fate of the Jews expelled from Hungary to Galicia (more than 18,000) is particularly tragic. Thousands of them have been slain and the survivors are in terrible plight in the vicinity of Stanislawow.

Jews may expect scant consideration from Obersturmfuehrer Eichmann, who has been appointed to deal with Jewish affairs for the Ukraine. Eichmann, a German who was born in Palestine, was the Gestapo representative who "solved" the Jewish problem in Vienna. Thousands of Jews have been arrested on various pretexts in all the German-held cities of the Ukraine. Jews are being mobilized everywhere for forced labor on highways, railroads, etc. About 200,000 Ukrainian Jews have been impressed into such labor battalions.

The Jews of Western Poland, who have lived since October, 1939, as refugees in Eastern Galicia, present a separate problem. According to a decree of the Governor General of September 4, 1941, Jews require a special permit to cross the border between the General Government and Galicia in order to return to their families. Moreover, different currency regulations exist in the two zones. Persons crossing the frontier may not carry more than 600 zloty. In the district of Galicia, the zloty is the unit of currency. According to a decree of September 8, 1941, a zloty is equal to five roubles. (In 1939, the Russians paid only one rouble for a zloty.)

The anti-Semitic decrees and the pogroms already referred to do not tell the whole story. Because the Jews lived largely in the cities, their losses in life and property during the fighting were abnormally high. When the Germans occupy a city, they at once force the Jews to give up their homes. In the labor camps thousands of Jews are living at the present time under a wintry sky without the benefit of barracks. Ghettos are invariably established in devasted sections of the occupied cities.

The economic situation of the Jews is desperate. Heavy fines are constantly imposed and possessions are confiscated. The Jewish community of Lwow, for example, was fined twenty million roubles. Cultural life is suppressed. Nothing may appear in the Yiddish language. On July 13, 1941, the Yiddish theatres in Vilna and Kaunas were closed. The famous Strashun Library in Vilna was partly destroyed by fire and the remainder transported to Frankfurt. The Mapu Library in Kaunas and the Bialik Library in Tallin have suffered the same fate. At the present time, with German divisions still pressing forward, the process of destruction continues at a ruthless pace.

THE JEWISH REFUGEE PROBLEM

Introduction

·Although it is possible to some extent to study the present refugee problem and the basic difference between it and similar problems of the past, it is difficult to assess the influence of the present war since we are in the midst of it and each day may bring about new changes. It is more difficult to attempt solving that problem as long as the great enigma of the future confronts us and everything depends upon the outcome of the war which is daily developing into a world war in a much wider sense than the first World War.

The following observations are based upon two assumptions: 1) that no fundamental changes will occur in the near future, and 2) that both England and the United States will emerge from the present conflict as strong as they are today and will have the decisive voice in reshaping the post-war world.

Jewish Refugees Today

At this writing Jews are driven from Germany and from almost all countries under Axis control not for political, religious or social, but for clearly defined racial reasons. Whereas formerly Jews could escape persecution in accepting the views dictated by an overbearing majority and its rulers, no such possibility exists in Nazi Europe. For no one, no matter how eager to do so, can change his race.

None of the forced Jewish mass migrations of the past ever assumed the proportion of the present upheaval. Today, however, we are faced with a situation where entire Jewish populations are simultaneously uprooted. Their numbers, including potential victims, run into many hundreds of thousands, if not millions. National tragedy of such magnitude is unprecedented in the history of the Jewish people.

This brings us to the possible method of solving the problem. Transplant large masses of migrants from one country to another — this is by no means an easy task. In the past it was comparatively easier. The world was then open to all. But today opportunities for resettlement are choked off. Only one country, Palestine - as far as its Jewish residents are concerned - has expressed readiness to receive refugees. The British government, however, at the instigation of the Arabs, is doing all it can to hinder Jewish immigration. The United States has shown sympathy with the refugees and relaxed somewhat its immigration restriction. Other likely countries are either closed to newcomers, or apply their laws exclusively against the Jews, directly and indirectly. Their motive may not necessarily be antisemitic. In some cases, no less characteristic, it is fear of spreading prejudice that prompts the countries to keep the Jews out.

That alone, however, is only half the trouble. What makes the plight of the refugees really hopeless is that they cannot take their money out of the country. At the beginning of the Nazi holocaust refugees who settled in Palestine were able to transfer part of their possessions according to a special agreement reached between the Palestinian and German governments known as the "Haavarah". Similar arrangements on individual bases for emigrants into other countries were in effect for some time. Deprivation of their funds sharply reduces their possibility of being absorbed economically. Hence the refugee problem becomes the concern of not only the Jews but of the whole of mankind.

The War and the Refugee Problem

The present war has greatly aggravated but not provoked the refugee problem. As the Germans continued to advance, the number of countries forcing out the Jews grew considerably. Emigration possibilities, scant even before the war, dwindled still further by virtue of the spreading hostilities. The number of refugees before the war was about 220,000 - one-fourth of the present total exclusive of the many thousands who may be forced to flee at any moment not knowing where.

Apart from this appalling growth of Jewish migrants, new complications arose for those living as "enemy" aliens in France and Great Britain. At the outbreak of the war, France arrested and interned 18,000. When the French army collapsed in July, 1940 almost all German and Austrian refugees were rounded up. At this writing (middle of 1941) some 30,000 find themselves in internment camps in unoccupied France. In June and July, 1940 England isolated over 20,000 aliens. Many of the internees were transported to Australia and Canada for safe keeping. Though many of them had been later released, five or six thousand probably are still confined.

Lack of transportation facilities eliminates from immediate consideration any form of comprehensive emigration planning. We find thousands of anxious refugees crowding the ports of France and Portugal with no ships to take them anywhere, visa and available funds notwithstanding. Increasingly disturbing is the continuous tightening of immigration restrictions. Entry to South America and into the British Dominions is practically cut off. The only countries still capable of absorbing immigrants, are Palestine and the United States. During this war period, Palestine has made room for over 30,000, and the United States for twice that number. Yet the British government, holding the Mandate over Palestine, has imposed artificial curbs, compelling refugees to seek a ciruitous way. Needless hardships and countless tragedies develop whenever the British authorities proceed to deport the so-called "illegal" entrants to the Island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. After the refugee-ship "Patria" exploded in the harbor of

Haifa, did they permit it to unload its unhappy cargo. The immigration quota laws of the United States were never exhausted, especially since the economic crisis of 1929. As it is, this country will not admit beyond several thousand annually, which is only a drop in the bucket. If it should become directly involved in the war, even this slender avenue of escape will vanish.

The internment camps in France, Spain, Portugal, Shanghai, Switzerland and in other countries are little better than the concentration camps in Germany. Shortage of food and clothing, utterly unsanitary surroundings coupled in many cases with inhuman treatment, invariably culminate in physical and moral destruction. There, conditions are but a short step to abject slavery. Forcing refugees to labor in Siberia and in the French Sahara furnishes a glaring example of this form of human degradation.

The situation at Present

At the moment it is difficult to determine the precise number of refugees. We have no way of differentiating between refugees and voluntary emigrees. Furthermore, as soon as one finds a place of settlement we must, strictly speaking, exclude him from consideration. But taking into account that all who left Germany since 1933, Austria and Czechoslovakia since 1938, were refugees, and adding those exiled by the war, we may arrive at a nearly accurate estimate as follows:

UP TO NOVEMBER, 1941

From Germany	300,000
Austria	120,000
Czechoslovakia	50,000
Nazi Poland to Soviet Poland & Russia	300,000
Nazi Poland to Other Countries	25,000
Belgium	25,000
Nazi Occupied France	70,000
Rumania (mostly to Bessarabia after the Russian Occupation)	40,000
Italy	6,000
Holland, Yugoslavia, etc.	30,000
TOTAL	966,000

In other words, every ninth Jew in Europe has been made homeless, a condition unparalled in human history. Fugitives from the Russian Revolution numbered no higher than 3 million, or less than 2% of Russia's entire population. While that number declined in succeeding years, amounting to barely 400,000 as of 1936, that of Jewish migrants is ever on the increase.

We now come to the question of potential refugees. If the Nazis win, they will multiply thousandfold; if Nazi Germany goes down in

defeat, it can scarcely be assumed that their numbers (in that case, immigrants) will drop for some time to come. In fact hundreds of thousands more will have to seek havens in foreign lands. One of the main problems with which the nations will have to contend, will be especially the Jewish refugee problem.

COUNTRIES WHICH ADMITTED JEWISH REFUGEES, 1933-1940

Palestine	110,000
United States	135,000
France, England, Belgium, Holland	150,000
Central and South America	116,000
France (during war)	60,000
Soviet Russia	330,000
Lithuania, Rumania, Hungary	25,000
China (Shanghai)	20,000
Japan, Portugal, Morocco	20,000
TOTAL	966,000

Conditions in France with regard to refugees, as stated before, are no better than in Nazi Germany. Similarly life in Soviet Russia was extremely hazardous for those who escaped the Nazi hordes in Occupied Poland. Not until the Nazi invasion of Russia and the signing of a pact between Russia and the Polish Government-In-Exile, were all the Polish refugees freed from Siberia. The latter is also enlisting the aid of private organizations to help them find places of refuge.

Transit countries such as Rumania, Lithuania, Japan and Portugal offered temporary asylum to the plighted travelers, but few remained to settle. In the last analysis their rehabilitation rests on Palestine and the United States and, to a lesser degree, on certain South American countries.

Is There A Solution to the Refugee Problem?

The Jewish Refugee is not abandoned to his fate. Jewish organizations in Palestine and in the United States are assisting generously. In Palestine there is the Jewish Agency with a special relief division established for the benefit of the German Jewish exiles and a Committee to aid those from Poland. In the United States the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), founded in 1908, renders excellent service. Added to it is the National Coordinating Committee For Aid to Refugees and Immigrants which was reorganized in 1939 as The National Refugee Service and is devoted to retraining refugees. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the World Jewish Congress help to secure living space for the homeless Jews. The HIAS-ICA-Immigration Association (HICEM) assumes responsibility for transportation. Like

bodies are functioning in almost every South American country with branches scattered in Europe. In England there is the British Council for German Jews which has the cooperation of the government.

Efforts at restratification designed to avoid undue concentration in cities may also be cited as part of their activities. Particularly effective in this sphere are the "Hechalutz" organizations, formed in nearly every European country following the first World War for the express purpose of preparing Jewish youth for productive labor in Palestine. The Ort, originating in Russia in the sixties, with subsidiaries in many countries, also cooperates in vocational retraining.

Various governments and inter-governmental agencies have been helpful at different times. France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland have offered asylum, or secured moral and financial support. Special tribute should be paid to the United States for permitting visitors and others whose emergency visa expired, to remain in the country. The British government had displayed concern for refugee children, admitting thousands of them in 1938 on the condition that they would leave the country upon reaching maturity. A similar measure brought before the United States Congress failed to be passed.

Less impressive were the efforts of inter-governmental agencies. Neither the Nansen Office, created in 1921, nor the High Commissioner appointed in 1933 for alleviating the plight of the German refugees, nor the Committee elected by the Conference at Evian, France, convoked in July, 1938, at President Roosevelt's recommendation, could bring any pressure to bear upon the German government to alter its barbarous course, or succeeded in finding hospitable countries for the Jewish wanderers.

The value of their combined efforts, however, cannot be over-estimated. Without them certain starvation would have been the lot of hundreds of thousands of victims. Whether or not their methods are fundamentally sufficient to solve the refugee problem is another question. If the mass of Jews is to be saved from annihilation, other schemes will have to be devised.

Therefore, how best can we integrate the refugees with the economic and cultural life of their new country? Where shall we find new homes for those who are still adrift and settle the millions who will come to swell the tide of "wandering Jews"?

The first question is in a measure answered in Palestine. There refugees have turned to agriculture and others found employment in urban centers which, like Tel-Aviv, are developing

at astonishing pace. This despite the fact that most of them had no previous vocational training and no knowledge of the native language. The unassimilables are negligible in number.

The National Refugee Service in the United States and comparable institutions attempt occupational restratification by creating agricultural colonies and by initiating the refugees in the skilled trades. Appreciable success has marked their efforts. In some cases, however, refugees persist in pursuing their former professions or in doing odd jobs, a tendency hardly conducive to fruitful readjustment.

Obviously there remain two possibilities of resettlement under favorable economic and psychological conditions. These are: large-scale agricultural colonization and infiltration into highly industrialized regions where there is ample room for varied occupations. The United States should be regarded as best suited for the latter. It can absorb far more newcomers than its present immigration quota permits.

Virgin territories fit for colonization can be found in several countries, but their governments are reluctant to encourage immigration of any kind. The Santo Dominican Republic has allowed 400 refugees, mostly Jewish, to settle on a farming colony. Collective farming is tried in the Argentine, United States and Canada. Plans for similar projects are still in the process of being worked out in Ecuador, Madagascar, British Guiana, Australia and Alaska.

Materialization of such plans requires not only suitable soil and immense financial resources, but also agronomical equipment and physical fitness. The Jews, an overwhelmingly urban people, possess neither. While in Palestine the sense of tilling the soil serves as a stimulus towards national reconstruction, a new incentive will have to be supplied elsewhere.

The question whether territories other than Palestine should be reserved for Jewish colonization needs further examination. Various opportunities must be explored in order to avoid fresh breakdowns and disappointments. That is the momentous task which representative Jews and world governments should bear first in mind when they come to solve comprehensively the Jewish refugee problem at the conclusion of the war.

JEWISH RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE

(1933-1941)

Scope of the activities

To understand the significance of the Jewish relief activities of the past nine years, it is necessary to bear in mind that there are three distinct tasks which Jewish social work had to perform:

1. To rescue the destitute and prevent their demoralization.

2. To counteract the economic and social efforts of the ever-increasing anti-Jewish feeling in the Nazified countries.

3. To aid the Jewish victims of the present war.

We shall confine ourselves to an examination of the Jewish social work in Nazi Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries, prior to September 1939, and the extension of these activities during the present war.

Relief Activities in Nazi Germany

Since 1933, German Jewry which had formerly contributed greatly to social work for Eastern European Jews, itself became a subject of relief. The scope of these relief activities has grown from year to year and, since the outbreak of the war, from month to month. Whereas during the first years it was necessary to aid those who left Germany, it later became equally important to aid those who remained to enable them to survive the rising tide of anti-Semitism. During the past few years, these activities have of necessity assumed the character of mass charity, because the entire Jewish population of Germany has been ousted from every field of economic endeavor and reduced to abject poverty.

The emigration of the Jewish refugees from Germany was, and still is being directed by the German-Jewish Aid Society, Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland* with the assistance of the Jewish Immigration Association "Hicem" and the American Joint Distribution Committee. The problem which these organizations had to solve was not only to furnish financial aid to tens of thousands to enable them to cover their transportation expenses, but also to investigate immigration possibilities in a period of growing difficulties and new restrictions, and to train the prospective immigrants for their life in new countries. Out of these efforts, developed the great apparatus of the world-wide Jewish refugee aid organizations which today are handling hundreds of thousands of cases not only in Germany, but everywhere in Europe. Apart from general relief work, Jewish immigration from Germany to Palestine is being handled by the existing branches of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, particularly by the Palestine offices and by a special body for the settlement of German Jews in Palestine.

* This is the name to which Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden was changed by order of the Nazi authorities.

Constructive relief activities in Germany began soon after the establishment of the Jewish aid apparatus with the attempt to assist the German Jews to earn their bread despite the loss of equality of rights and increasing persecution. Loan societies were established for artisans and former merchants. In 1937, 65 Loan societies of this type were in operation, and 3,500 loans totalling over 1,000,000 marks ($400,000) were granted by them. Schools were created for the Jewish children expelled from the German public schools. In 1937, there were 167 of these schools, attended by approximately 24,000 of the 39,000 Jewish children of school age in Germany.

New homes were found for tens of thousands who streamed from smaller cities to Berlin in the search for greater security. Men and women ousted from liberal professions and positions in commerce and industry were trained for new occupations. An average of 5,000 persons were trained annually in various centers of Germany. A new Jewish cultural life came into being because there was no place for the Jews in the general cultural activities of the Third Reich. The decline in the living standards of the entire Jewish population was alleviated as far as possible to prevent a general collapse of morale. This work continued as long as it was legally possible to conduct constructive work in Germany.

A central body was established in Berlin under the name of "Zentralausschuss fuer Hilfe und Aufbau" as an administrative agency of the general organization of the German Jews (Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland) which, with the support of the Jewish organizations abroad, supervised these activities. The work was carried out by special committees dealing with problems of emigration, economic relief, social service and fund raising. The expenses were covered partly by the voluntary contributions of the German Jews themselves, and partly by foreign associations, notably the Joint Distribution Committee and the Hicem, while the British Council for German Jewry (established in August 1936) concentrated its efforts on assisting the resettlement of German Jews in other countries.

In the last three years, however, particularly since the pogroms of November 1938, all Jewish institutions active in Germany have been suppressed with the exception of immigrant aid offices and institutions of charity, and it is impossible to carry on constructive aid activities at the present time. The Jews still in Germany must live on charity secured mainly from American funds.

In Austria and in the Czech Protectorate, the process of pauperization was much swifter than in Germany. The fate of the Austrian Jews was sealed within a few days after Nazi occupation on March 12,1938. Almost immediately thereafter, the greater majority of the 200,000 Austrian Jews required support or assistance in leaving the country. A thousand dollars a day went to maintain a chain of soup-kitchens in Vienna under the supervision of the Jewish community (Juedische Kultusgemeinde). Thousands of Austrian Jews were driven by the Germans across neighboring frontiers, where the local Jewish population had to look after them.

The situation in Czechoslovakia was also very difficult although the

shock was not as sudden and terrible as in Austria. Immediately after the Munich Pact, 15,000 Jews of the Sudetenland increased the swelling ranks of refugees. The necessity of organizing relief for the Czech Jews became acute almost immediately after the occupation of Prague by the Germans on March 15, 1939.

The War Period

The disasters of 1933-1939, despite their magnitude and mass character have been multiplied many times since the outbreak of the present war. The fate of Polish Jewry, and later of the Jewish communities in nearly every country of Europe, created tasks of an unprecedented and unimagined scale. The first job was to aid the Jewish war victims whose number, from the first weeks of the Polish invasion ran into hundreds of thousands. Later the Jewish refugees comprised not only exiles from Germany and Poland, but fugitives from the Low Countries, France and the Balkans, and reached mass proportions perhaps unequalled in history.

Moreover, with the spread and growing severity of anti-Jewish legislation, and the expulsion of the Jews from their economic positions, hundreds of thousands required an urgent minimum of aid to prevent their physical and moral collapse.

These tremendous relief requirements could only be met in part by the organizations which had handled the Jewish relief work in former years. Such relief organizations as the Jewish Colonization Association, the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation and the Agro-Joint were paralyzed by the war. Part of the necessary funds were collected in the occupied countries by the voluntary taxation of the local Jewish communities, insofar as they were not yet completely plundered by the Nazis. Some relief work was carried on by Red Cross organizations, particularly the American and the International Red Cross. A new inter-territorial Jewish relief organization was the Relief Division of the World Jewish Congress, established at the beginning of the war which, with the help of funds raised in South America, succeeded in helping the war-stricken Jewish population of Poland, France and several countries which gave the Jews refuge. The Joint Distribution Committee continued the work it had been conducting for many years.

The reorganized apparatus of Jewish social work was confronted with the immense tasks in extending aid to the Jewish population of war-stricken Poland, Western Europe, the Balkans and,finally,Russia. Approximately 2,000,000 Polish Jews who were engulfed by the German divisions that overran Poland in September 1939, found themselves confronting the dual spectre of famine and pestilence, beside which their earlier privations paled.

Confinement in the Ghettos, notably the Ghetto of Warsaw where nearly a half million Jews were crowded into one sector of the city, made the situation almost hopeless. About one-third of Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland (600,000 persons) were homeless and without bread in

the face of winter. A tremendous relief network extending over 400 towns and villages of the Polish General Government, was organized within a short period of time, supported in part by the Polish Jews themselves and partially by such foreign organizations as the Joint Distribution Committee, the American Red Cross, the American Commission for Polish Relief, the World Jewish Congress and several others. The most important Polish-Jewish relief organization, Jewish Social Self-Help, was organized in May 1940, with a central Committee in Cracow and 300 local committees in various parts of the country. The Jewish Social Self-Help, which received some subsidies from the central and local authorities, in the main from the taxes paid by the Jews, raised a large share of its funds by voluntary contributions. In Warsaw alone more than 20,000 Jews contribute an average of one dollar per month. In the first six months of the current year, the expenses of the organization amounted to more than 6,000,000 zloty ($1,000,000, according to the official rate of exchange).

A chain of kitchens (more than 80 in Warsaw alone) is being maintained; food, clothing and linen are distributed, homes have been found for children. Moreover, a large part of the donations from abroad, especially from the United States, are distributed through this organization. Apart from this, a number of well known institutions are continuing their relief work. Foremost among them are the Society for Protection of Jewish Health (Toz) the Society for Professional Training (ORT), the Society for Protection of Children (Centos) and the Jewish Emigration Aid Society (Jeas). In the majority of cases, they are supported by the respective world organizations of Ose, Ort, and Hicem. During 1940, the Joint Distribution Committee invested over $880,000, and in the first six months of the current year over $400,000 for its relief activities in Poland. The relief activities of other organizations have also been important, but none have been able to cope effectively with the present scale of mass misery.

The defeat of France in June 1940 made the situation of the Jews in France, especially the recent Eastern European Jewish immigrants and German Jewish refugees in that country, totalling more than 100,000 men, women and children, almost as serious as that in Germany and Poland. The heavy burden of helping refugees in France which, during the first four months of 1940, required a monthly budget of more than $40,000, had to be doubled after the Battle of France.. The existing relief organizations of French Jewry (the chief being the Comite d'Assistance aux Refugies, the Federation des Societes Juives and the Ose) were unable with their resources alone to look after the mass of destitute people and the tens of thousands of refugees, a large part of whom were confined under miserable conditions in internment camps in unoccupied France.

The mass deportation of Jews from Alsace and later from Baden and the Palatinate into unoccupied France, made the situation even more desperate. Here, too, several international organizations had to supply aid, the foremost among them being the Joint Distribution Committee, the American Friends Service Committee (The Quakers) and the Relief Department of the World Jewish Congress (Relico). In the field of emigration, a great deal is being done by the Hicem. The maintenance

of the soup kitchens, distribution of food and clothing, cash relief and medical aid are the main forms of immediate assistance. Furthermore, special relief had to be organized by the Ose for refugee children, several thousands of whom are fed, or at least provided with milk and looked after by a visiting nurse service. Despite all these efforts, the situation in France remains extremely difficult.

Relief work along the same liner also had to be organized in such occupied nations as Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, or in countries where refugees streamed, such as Lithuania, Portugal, Switzerland and, to a lesser extent, Sweden and Finland.

The Jews of Greater Germany, the Czech Protectorate, Italy and Slovakia continue their miserable existence, largely dependent upon charity. Their situation has become more desperate because of the increased burdens of war and the refusal of the authorities to allow them sufficient rations of food and clothing. Out of 230,000 Jews who have remained in Germany and Austria, over 100,000 are today being regularly supported by charity. In the Protectorate the situation is somewhat better, but even there every third Jew requires support. The same holds true for Slovakia, where the policy of Jewish extermination is being carried out with greater violence than in Germany itself.

In Italy the refugees whose number has dwindled rapidly in the last few years, are subject to intolerable oppression and 3,500 of the 5,000 refugees still in that country (the greatest part of whom have been interned by the Fascist authorities) have to be supported. A local Refugee Aid Committee, subsidized by international Jewish organizations, particularly the Joint Distribution Committee, tries to provide these victims with enough to survive.

The constructive aid activities which played an important role in the Jewish social work of previous years, have disappeared entirely in the face of the tremendous task of saving the Jewish population from famine and disease. The dispatch of food, medical supplies and milk for children, within the limits of the British blockade, has constituted the main task. An extremely difficult problem has been relief for those in internment camps, whose number after the fall of France grew to tens of thousands of men, women and children threatened with mass starvation. Countless tragedies, caused by the separation of families or the death of a parent have had to be handled as best as possible under trying conditions.

A tremendous new problem arose with the outbreak of the war between Germany and Russia on June 22, 1941. During the preceding twenty months, hundreds of thousands of refugees had fled from Nazi-occupied Poland to Soviet-occupied territory. Many were removed far to the interior and to Siberia, where existence was very difficult for them. With the outbreak of the Russo-German war, the number of refugees increased tremendously, because a large part of the border population was removed into the interior by the Soviet authorities. It became necessary, however, to organize relief for the Jewish population of the German-seized provinces of Russia (as well as former Russian Poland), whose situation today is the same as that of the Jews in Nazi Poland. While the existing

relief organizations in Nazi Poland are seeking to extend the scope of their activities to assist the Jewish population in the recently occupied territories, the problem of the refugees in Soviet Russia, who number hundreds of thousands, has yet to be seriously approached. Some relief activities for the Polish refugees have been undertaken by the Polish Government, while the Russian refugees are apparently being looked after by the Soviet authorities and the local relief organizations. No foreign relief organizations have to date been admitted to Russia, nor has the Soviet Government modified its policy of forbidding the acceptance of used clothing and placing heavy duties on new articles and food parcels.

Summary and Outlook

It is not easy to estimate the number of Jews who must be provided for by relief efforts. No precise figures are available even for the most important countries and the situation is in a state of constant change, literally from day to day. Taking into account, however, that over 600,000 Jews in Poland at the present moment depend upon relief; that the majority of Jews in Germany and Austria have been deprived of all means of earning their bread, and that with the increasing process of "aryanization" almost everywhere in Europe, the number of Jews expelled from economic life is growing daily, it would certainly be no exaggeration to state that today at least 1,500,000 Jews in Europe (apart from the Polish refugees and the normal Jewish population of the war-stricken areas of Russia) need support in order to survive.

Nor is it easy to estimate how great are the funds invested in the Jewish relief effort in Europe, because no one knows the amounts that are being raised by the traditional philanthropic institutions, and even the modern relief organizations do not always publish their financial reports. The Jewish Colonization Association, for example, which certainly did a tremendous amount of relief work, and published detailed annual reports, never enlightened the Jewish public regarding its income or its expenditures. Our estimate is, therefore, based on the few figures that are available. It must be taken into account that the American Joint Distribution Committee spent for its relief activities during the years 1933-1940 the sum of $28,000,000; that the expenditures of Hias during the years 1933-1939 amounted to $2,100,000; of ORT during the years 1933-1938, to $2,800,000, of OZE for the same period, $2,000,000, and of the World Jewish Congress to $300,000, during the first two years of its relief activities; if we calculate that the other relief organizations (Jewish Colonization Association, American Joint Reconstruction Foundation, Agro-Joint) and the local relief committees (traditional and modern) spent together a sum equal to that (which is a fair estimate), it would appear that from $60,000,000 - $70,000,000 have been invested in Jewish relief activities in Europe since 1933.

CONCLUSIONS

How does the general picture of Jewish life in Axis Europe look? The most important elements are the following:

1. Decrease in the number of Jews in Europe

At the beginning of 1933, the area now under Axis domination had a population of about 8,500,000 Jews. Since that time, about 600,000 Jews have migrated. Another 400,000 are now homeless refugees, interned in concentration camps, building railways in deserts, waiting vainly in harbors for a ship, rotting on floating prisons, in the heat of the Sahara and in the cold of Siberia. Human flotsam... In addition, hundreds of thousands of Jews of the Soviet Union have been forced to leave their homes as evacuees and as refugees.

The Jewish birth rate has been decreasing steadily during this period, while the death rate has been increasing at an accelerated speed of between five and ten times the normal pace. The population has been further decimated by the death of thousands in concentration camps, at the hands of the Gestapo and in the flames of total war, while many thousands more took their own lives in hopeless despair.

2. Physical Deterioration

Health conditions are frightful. Those who work are virtual slaves; others are forced to remain idle with no means of sustenance- - - and all are undernourished. The Jew is entitled to one-fourth the bread rations of the "master-race" and almost no other food. Housing conditions are appalling. If there have been no great epidemics, it is only because the germs of death do not recognize the race theory and the Nazis have been forced to take precautionary measures for their own safety. From the German-controlled press of the Continent, it is only possible to guess the fearful toll of the sick, the maimed, the underfed and the starving.

3. Uprooting of the Jewish Population

Great masses of Jews who could not leave Europe, have been driven from their homes, their towns and their villages under the Nazi plan to build a Greater Germany that would be "judenrein". As a result of this ruthless policy, many historic Jewish communities have been destroyed, while others teem with impoverished deportees from forbidden towns. At least one-third of the Jews still in Nazi-dominated Europe have already been torn from their homes and those who remain have no security. The link between the Jews and the non-Jews has been broken by the German sword and ghetto walls have risen in scores of cities.

4. Economic Ruin

The Jews have been ousted from their former occupations, robbed

of their belongings, and reduced to the state of peons or beggars. Excluded from economic life, many of them find forced idleness a greater tribulation than forced labor for the Nazi overlords.

5. Suppression of the Spirit

The Jews have been eliminated and extirpated from the cultural life of the countries in which they live. At the same time, they are denied the spiritual refuge of their own religion and culture. Their schools, their literary and scientific institutions, have been closed down; their synagogues burned or destroyed; the ritual food laws of their religion suppressed. The great centers of Jewish learning, religious and secular, are no more. Jewish students no longer attend the high schools and universities, and to the majority even elementary education is now denied. Jews may not enter concert halls, theatres or cinemas.

6. Psychological Depression

As outlaws and outcasts, the Jews live under extreme psychological tension which must produce a state of constant moral depression. Perpetual humiliation and the stigma of the yellow badges cannot but jeopardize their mental health.

Greater Germany is a virtual graveyard for the Jews. Of the 765,000 Jews originally in this area, only 225,000 still remain, existing in permanent fear of seizure or deportation, with the visible future holding no promise. In the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Jews although destitute, have the open sympathy of the Czech population. In other countries under Nazi domination, particularly Holland and Belgium, the friendship of the general populace, extended despite German threats, is some consolation. Divided France, still smarting from her wounds and loss of former glory, has not yet expressed her true feelings regarding the anti-Jewish measures of the Petain regime. In Italy, Nazi-imported anti-Semitism is mitigated by the complete indifference of the people. The Balkans are in a state of complete political, military and social chaos in which the Jews suffer together with the Serbs, the Greeks and the other oppressed peoples. The vast battlefield of Russia has seen German and Rumanian atrocities and pogroms on a scale unparalleled for centuries.

In the light of the entire picture, are there any reasons for hope? Four factors point the road toward a better future:

The first is the faith, shared by the Jews with the entire democratic world, that Hitler must ultimately go down in complete defeat.

Secondly, the anti-Jewish legislation and practice in all the countries now under Nazi domination, with the exception of Rumania, are not a result of the spontaneous will of those nations, but of a

policy imposed by the Third Reich. In the long run, the attitude of the peoples of Nazified Europe must speak louder than the anti-Semitic decrees of Quislings and Nazi satellites.

Thirdly, the Jews are not the only victims of the Nazi terror, although they were the first. All the peoples whom Hitler has oppressed and degraded are the natural allies of the Jews. Today this means- - - the people of Europe. The future of Jews is not an isolated problem. It is inseparable from the whole future of Europe itself and of all civilized mankind.

And, finally, although the Jews are now living in an era that holds a graver threat to their destiny than any since the aftermath of the Thirty Years War and the Ukrainian insurrection of the seventeenth century, they are better armed for this great trial by fire. Three hundred years ago the Jews were the helpless victims of a policy of destruction. Today they fight back as restless captives in Nazi-imprisoned Europe and as soldiers in all the Allied Armies. And wherever the Jews are still free, they extend their hand of help to their brethren and look forward to their future role in the reconstruction of Jewish life in Europe as a part of the great task of restoring civilized existence for all men.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

FOREWORD

Page 1 line 5 from top should be: Sweden, Turkey (added)

GREATER GERMANY

Page	1	line	18	from	bottom	should	be:	Deutsche, Darmstaedter
"	1	"	17	"	"	"	"	Dresdner
"	3	"	3	"	top	"	"	Mendelssohn
"	3	"	4	"	"	"	"	Cohen
"	3	"	4	"	"	"	"	Edmund
"	3	"	18	"	"	"	"	Elektrizitaets
"	4	"	11	"	"	"	"	succored
"	5	"	15	"	"	"	"	Economics of the Jews before Hitler
"	6	"	6	"	"	"	"	2%
"	6	"	10	"	"	"	"	"traditional Jewish" (canceled
"	6	"	11	"	"	"	"	2.1% - 4%
"	7	"	3	"	bottom	"	"	"but no change in their civil status" (canceled)
"	7	"	1	"	"	"	"	activity and certain professior
"	9	"	4	"	"	"	"	was worse
"	10	"	7	"	top	"	"	Eberswalde
"	10	"	16	"	"	"	"	Zuercher
"	10	"	18	"	"	"	"	Juda
"	10	"	19	"	"	"	"	verrecke
"	11	"	17/18	"	"	"	"	out of the
"	11	"	23	"	bottom	"	"	Mendelssohn
"	12	"	18/19	"	top	"	"	"take" (canceled)
"	12	"	8	"	bottom	"	"	Elektrizitaets
"	12	"	7	"	"	"	"	Reichsmarschal
"	12	"	6	"	"	"	"	Haniel
"	13	"	26	"	top	"	"	session of the Assembly
"	16	"	9	"	"	"	"	"apologetic sympathy"
"	16	"	9	"	bottom	"	"	the
"	16	"	8	"	"	"	"	remove the last Jew

RUMANIA

Page	4	line	6	from	top	should	be:	through
"	4	"	15	"	bottom	"	"	Professor
"	6	"	18	"	top	"	"	throughout
"	8	"	18	"	bottom	"	"	Northern
"	9	"	14	"	top	"	"	Petlura
"	10	"	6	"	"	"	"	Kishinef
"	10	"	14	"	bottom	"	"	"Free Rumanians"

HUNGARY

Page	1	line	4	from	top	should be:		Shaprut
"	1	"	6	"	"	"	"	Cordova
"	2	"	1	"	"	"	"	1931 - 1935 in Budapest
"	2	"	2	"	"	"	"	while in the whole country the number of converts 1919-1938 amounts to 30,000 persons.
"	2	"	9	"	"	"	"	51,000

ITALY

Page	1	line	18	from	top	should be:		Luzzatti
"	3	"	14	"	"	"	"	October 16, 1938
"	3	"	20	"	"	"	"	Volterra
"	3	"	21	"	"	"	"	Federigo

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Page	2	line	22	from	top	should be:		Henlein
"	4	"	18	"	bottom	"	"	Zidovské

" 5, the second paragraph should read:

The Gestapo plan to transport the remaining Jews to Poland was carried out only in part on October 17, 1939, and concerned 6,000 Jews of Moravska Ostrava and a few other cities in Moravia.

Page	7	line	11	from	top	should be:		Bureau

POLAND

Page	1	line	10	"	bottom	"	"	spiritual
"	1	"	17	"	top	"	"	century
"	11	"	26	"	"	"	"	Rabbi
"	13	"	25	"	"	"	"	German occupation
"	13	"	11	"	bottom	"	"	badges, ghettos,
"	16	"	23/24	"	top	"	"	we read that there
"	27	"	6	"	"	"	"	daily two
"	27	"	14	"	bottom	"	"	And steps
"	30	"	19	"	top	"	"	kibbutzim, but
"	31	"	3	"	bottom	"	"	At the same time

NORWAY

Page	2	line	12	from	bottom	should be:		Trondhjem

LUXEMBURG

Page	1	line	3	from	bottom	should be:		Robert Serabrenic

HOLLAND

Page	3	line	12	from	bottom	should be:		Neederlandische
"	3	"	8	"	"	"	"	regulations
"	3	"	5	"	"	"	"	product
"	4	"	24	"	top	"	"	blood
"	4	"	13	"	bottom	"	"	Dutch
"	4	"	18/17	"	"	"	"	Mutual aid
"	5	"	7	"	top	"	"	superior

FRANCE

Please note that this chapter is composed of four parts:

Page 1	Introduction	
" 4	Occupied Zone	
" 9	Unoccupied Zone	
" 19	Free France	

Page 1	line	5	from	top	should	be:		ecclesiastics
" 1	"	6	"	"	"	"		sovereigns
" 1	"	14	"	"	"	"		Gershon
" 1	"	15	"	bottom	"	"		suffice it
" 1	"	2	"	"	"	"		expulsions
" 2	"	2	"	top	"	"		1940
" 2	"	6	"	"	"	"		Charles Lyon Caen
" 2	"	8	"	"	"	"		1909
" 2	"	10	"	"	"	"		Lazare
" 2	"	11	"	"	"	"		Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864) (added)
" 2	"	12	"	"	"	"		(1828-1858)
" 2	"	14	"	"	"	"		1903
" 3	"	10	"	"	"	"		Miscellaneous
" 4	"	1	"	bottom	"	"		apparent
" 6	"	4	"	"	"	"		apparent
" 7	"	15	"	top	"	"		Zuercher
" 7	"	25	"	bottom	"	"		authorities
" 10	"	1	"	top	"	"		apparently
" 13	"	4	"	"	"	"		are in turn defined as persons of Jewish race if they belong to a Jewish congregation
" 14	"	6	"	"	"	"		form, on June 2, 1941, coincide with that of a decree orderin
" 14	"	16	"	"	"	"		mortgage
" 14	"	15	"	bottom	"	"		enterprises
" 15	"	5	"	top	"	"		established
" 15	"	4	"	bottom	"	"		was
" 16	"	12	"	top	"	"		made
" 17	"	30	"	"	"	"		their
" 18	"	10	"	bottom	"	"		cowardly
" 19	"	15	"	top	"	"		of (canceled)
" 19	"	16	"	bottom	"	"		hands
" 19	"	8	"	"	"	"		decrees
" 20	"	11	"	"	"	"		citizens on French soil

YUGOSLAVIA

Page 1	line	9	from	top	should	be:		Ashkenazic origin.
" 1	"	16	"	"	"	"		Slovenia
" 1	"	9	"	bottom	"	"		"Serbian and Croatian" (cancele
" 2	"	13a	"	top	"	"		<u>Jewish Community Life</u> (Heading
" 3	"	19	"	"	"	"		encroachment
" 4	"	5	"	bottom	"	"		arrested
" 5	"	7	"	top	"	"		legal status
" 5	"	8	"	"	"	"		legal
" 5	"	15	"	"	"	"		they
" 5	"	3	"	bottom	"	"		Jewish

BULGARIA

Page	1	line	21	from	bottom	should	be:	Russo-Turkish
"	2	"	3	"	"	"	"	employment
"	3	"	19	"	top	"	"	the government imposed on the few prosperous Jews a capital tax ranging from 20% to 25%
"	3	"	16	"	bottom	"	"	4000 in Dobrudja
"	3	"	10	"	"	"	"	Narodno Sobranje

FINLAND

Page	1	line	25	from	bottom	should	be:	Abo-Turku

NAZI-SOVIET WAR AREA

Page	1	line	12/13	from	top	should	be:	the Soviet Ukraine (1,574,428)
"	2	"	3	"	"	"	"	capital
"	2	"	4	"	"	"	"	Krzemieniec
"	2	"	9	"	"	"	"	capital
"	2	"	19	"	"	"	"	capital
"	2	"	22	"	"	"	"	Volhynia
"	3	"	2	"	"	"	"	Drohobycz
"	4	"	20	"	bottom	"	"	pressed

REFUGEES

Page	2	line	6	from	top	should	be:	Jewish Agency and the German Government known as the "Haavarah"
"	2	"	4	"	bottom	"	"	circuitous
"	5	"	11	"	top	"	"	in 1880
"	5	"	21	"	bottom	"	"	Nansen

RELIEF

Page	3	line	2	from	top	should	be:	25,000
"	3	"	17	"	bottom	"	"	Department

CONCLUSIONS

Page	2	line	23	from	bottom	should	be:	250,000

HITLER'S TEN-YEAR WAR ON THE JEWS

Institute of Jewish Affairs
of the
American Jewish Congress
World Jewish Congress

New York, 1943

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PREFACE

The full story of what has happened to European Jewry under Hitler and the rule of the Axis cannot be told at this time. Some of its most terrible pages are still being written, from day to day, wherever the power of the Axis has not been broken. An interim balance is possible, however, of the effects of Hitler's war against the Jewish people since January 30, 1933, and, more especially, since September 1, 1939, when his armies invaded Poland. To present that balance sheet is our aim.

This volume is the result of the cooperative research endeavors of the members of the Institute of Jewish Affairs and several outside contributors. It is based on an exhaustive examination of Axis and other source materials collected by the American Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Congress, and the Institute of Jewish Affairs. Of these sources, the most important are the following:

1. The official law gazettes of all Axis and Axis-dominated countries, including the decrees of the occupation forces and of the puppet regimes.

2. The official newspapers of the Axis-supervised Jewish communities, such as the Berlin *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt,* the papers of the same name published in Vienna and Prague, the *Vestnik Ústredne Židov* of Bratislava, and the *Gazeta Żydowska* of Cracow.

3. The first-hand reports of diplomats and foreign correspondents stationed inside Axis Europe, and of the informed neutral press, particularly of Switzerland and Sweden.

4. The published as well as unpublished materials of the governments-in-exile, including the reports submitted to them by their representatives within the occupied countries, and by groups having such inside representatives.

5. The underground press, including the documents and letters smuggled out of occupied Europe, as well as eye-witness reports when corroborated by other evidence.

Geographically, the book covers all the areas of Europe under the direct or indirect control of the Axis. Historically, it encompasses the period of Hitlerism and war, projected against the general background of the pre-Hitler role of the Jewish people in the destiny of the countries now under Axis rule.

Shlomo Bickel is the author of the report on Rumania; Julius S. Fischer on Hungary; Gerhard Jacoby is responsible for the report on Germany, while Oscar Karbach contributed the chapters on Austria, Danzig, the Saar Region, German Upper Silesia and Greece. Max M. Laserson is the author of the reports on Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Denmark and Norway. Hugo Perutz wrote the section on Czechoslovakia, Joseph Schechtmann prepared the reports on the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and Maria Schwarz wrote the chapters on Holland, Italy and Poland. The report on France is the joint work of Henri Sinder and Kalman Stein. Leon Kubowitzki, Jacob Lestchinsky, Arieh Tartakower and Zorah Warhaftig contributed their aid and advice on various aspects of the work. Jacob Lestchinsky was most helpful in the statistical and economic sections of the reports, and has given much of his knowledge and long experience to summarize the results in the concluding chapter.

Boris Shub, the Editor of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, is the editor of this volume.

JACOB ROBINSON, *Director*

August 20, 1943

Central Europe

GERMANY

1. Background

The nineteenth century saw the unification of Germany and the gradual emancipation of the Jews. The creative and stimulating force within them gaining impetus with growing freedom, wove itself intimately into the pattern of German life. Although only a minute portion of the population (about one percent), the Jews were inseparably bound with the growth of Germany and with the fusion of the petty German states into an economic, political and cultural whole. But despite emancipation, many avenues remained closed to them. In their anxiety to belong, a considerable number paid for the temporary opening of new vistas with conversion. Because the doctrine of racism did not yet exist, those Jews who adopted the Protestant or Catholic faith were able to overcome the last barrier which divided them from full participation in German political, economic, and social life. Jews who remained true to their faith continued to suffer from a host of unwritten restrictions, which remained unchanged until the Weimar Republic. Despite all odds, however, the Jewish spirit made a profound mark on the consciousness of Germany. In politics, the natural sciences, the arts, and the national economy, Jewish names stand in the foreground of modern Germany. It is not necessary to recapitulate the whole story of Jewish contribution to the life of Germany. It is enough to recall a part of it.

Presiding over the Frankfort National Assembly of 1848-1849 which offered the imperial crown to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, thereby making the first great move toward the unification of modern Germany, was Eduard von Simson, a converted Jew, who later became the chairman of the Reichstag of 1871 and the Chief Justice of the first German Supreme Court (*Reichsgericht*). The ideology of the Conservative Party was formulated by Friedrich Julius Stahl (Schlesinger). The founders of the Lib-

eral Party, Ludwig Bamberger and Eduard Lasker, were the first leaders to introduce modern political ideas into Germany. Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle, together with the non-Jewish Friedrich Engels, created modern Socialism and the German Social Democratic Party. The names of Eduard Bernstein and Rudolf Hilferding are inseparable with the development of international socialism. Hilferding as Minister of Finance liquidated the disastrous inflation of 1923, thereby creating the foundations for Germany's reconstruction and subsequent period of prosperity. The Rapallo Treaty with Russia, which ended Germany's post-war isolation, was concluded by Walther Rathenau who later died by the bullets of pre-Nazi anti-Semitic assassins.

Of the forty-four German holders of the Nobel Prize in the sciences, eight including Albert Einstein and James Frank were Jewish, and four half-Jewish. Of the nine Germans to hold the Nobel Prize in chemistry, three were Jewish: Otto Wallach, Richard Willstaetter and Fritz Haber. The last discovered the method for the production of ammonia from atmospheric nitrogen, and headed the German chemical industry during the first World War.

In medicine, Jacob Henle, Benedict Stilling, Albert Fraenkel, Paul Ehrlich, August Wassermann, Albert Neisser, Otto Meyerhof (Nobel Prize) and Otto Warburg (Nobel Prize). The physical sciences as well as technology are not exempt from Jewish names. They list Heinrich Hertz and Mauritz Jacoby (wireless telegraphy and galvano-plastics); Karl Arnstein (Zeppelin construction); David Schwarz (aeronautics; in 1898 his widow sold his patents to the Zeppelin plants); Emil Berliner (microphone and gramophone); Heinrich Caro (discoverer of methalene blue); Eugen Goldstein (cathodic rays and alcaloids); Nikodem Caro (fixation of nitrogen); and the mathematician George Cantor.

To philosophy, the German Jews have given Moses Mendelssohn, Moses Hess, Hermann Cohen, Edmund Husserl, Georg Simmel and Ernst Cassirer, to mention the most prominent. Gustav Cohn, Franz Oppenheimer, Ignaz Jastrow and Emil Lederer are some of the leading figures in the social sciences. In law, Wilhelm Wilda (old German law and history); Paul Laband, Georg Jellinek and Hans Kelsen (constitutional law); Hugo Preuss (the author

of the Weimar Constitution); Heinrich Dernburg and Martin Wolff (civil law); Levin Goldschmidt, Hermann Staub and Otto Gradenwitz (commercial law).

In the arts, Max Liebermann, for years president of the Prussian Academy of Art, not to mention Otto Brahm and Max Reinhardt, illustrious theatrical producers and directors. At least eight of the ten leading actors of Germany and Austria in the years that preceded the Nazi regime were Jewish. The world of music treasures the names of Giacomo Meyerbeer, Felix Mendelsohn-Bartholdy, Leo Blech, Gustav Mahler and Kurt Weil. Among modern conductors, there are Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, Siegfried Ochs, and Hermann Levi who, as the foremost director of his time, helped Richard Wagner in the performances of the *Ring* cycle, *Tristan und Isolde* and *Parsifal.*

Literature in the German language with such names as Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Boerne, Paul Heyse (who was half Jewish), Jacob Wassermann, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, Arnold Zweig, Ludwig Fulda, Georg Hermann, Alfred Doeblin, Lion Feuchtwanger, Alfred Mombert, and Friedrich Gundolf, is part of the cultural heritage of the world.

Maximilian Harden, Paul Rodenberg, Theodor Wolff, Georg Bernhard, and Alfred Kerr won fame as journalists. Some of the most highly reputed German papers, the *Frankfurter Zeitung, Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Vossische Zeitung* were published and edited by Jews. These three publications were of tremendous importance, over the course of more than half a century, in shaping liberal and progressive ideas throughout Central Europe. Among the leading book publishers were the world renowned firms of S. Fischer and Propylaen (Ullstein) as well as Ruetten and Loening, Georg Bondi, Paul Cassirer, Erich Reiss; Albert Goldschmidt (Grieben-Verlag), for scientific books; S. Karger (medicine); and Guttentag, Carl Heymann, I. Bernsheimer and Otto Liebmann (law).

Jews played an important part in German banking and the stock exchange for over a century. As early as 1775, at a time when they were still excluded from residence in Berlin, seven of the twelve stock brokers in the country were Jews; by 1807, thirty of the fifty-two banks were Jewish-owned. Jews introduced to Ger-

many the banking principles of the French Credit Mobilier. By thus building upon the savings of the broad masses rather than of a few rich depositors, the nation's swift industrial climb was made possible. The last decade preceding the rise of Hitler found the three principal banks (*Deutsche, Darmstaedter, Dresdner*) which together handled more than half of the country's credit turnover, headed by Jews. Germany's fifth largest bank, *Berliner Handelsgesellschaft,* was directed by Carl Fuerstenberg. After the last war, it was largely through the efforts of the banking houses of Warburg, Mendelssohn, Warschauer, Bleichroeder, and Speyer-Elissen that impoverished post-war Germany was able to rehabilitate herself on the strength of American loans.

The considerable role played by Jews in German commerce, especially in foreign trade, is well known. Less familiar is their share in the development of the major industries of the Reich. The industrial plants founded and owned by Jews (*Friedenshuette in Beuthen, Huldschinsky-Werke, Hahn'sche Werke, Oberschlesische Kokswerke*) were far from negligible. The *Allgemeine Elektrizitaets-Gesellschaft,* one of the largest power enterprises in the country, was founded by Emil Rathenau when he acquired the German rights to the patents of Thomas Edison. Ohrenstein and Koppel established the great locomotive and railway car foundry, while Julius Berger Tiefbau built a part of the German railway net. Hirsch inaugurated the largest copper smelting plant and Ludwig Loewe founded one of Berlin's largest plants, which manufactured tools, engines and munitions. Emil Rathenau, Fuld in Frankfort on Main, and Berliner in Hanover are to be thanked for the introduction of the telephone in Germany. The chemical and nitrogen industries and mining were developed by Milch, Caro and Maximilian Kempner. The Hamburg-American Steamship Line was founded by Albert Ballin, a friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Ballin committed suicide in the hour of German defeat on November 9, 1918. The ammunition plant of Simson in Suhl (Thuringen) had a Reich monopoly for the manufacture of small arms. Philip Rosenthal was a prominent figure in the china industry; in tobacco there were Garbati and Manoli. The growth of the film industry is synonymous with many Jewish names. The radio industry owed much to Herman Aron (*Nora*) and Sigismund Loewe.

II. Statistics and Demography

When Hitler came to power, Jews held a strong and accepted position in the economic life of the country. Because they could find little place in the civil service (which included the railroads and other public utilities), the army, and agriculture, nearly half of the gainfully occupied Jews turned to commerce. However they constituted only 3.3% of the total number of persons gainfully occupied in commercial pursuits. While nearly 10% of gainfully occupied Jews were in the professions and the civil service, they constituted only 1.2% of the total thus engaged and only 0.4% of the total in industry and handicrafts. Jews did, however, have relatively greater representation in the employer class than in the white collar and working class. They were also concentrated in certain branches of endeavor. For example, of the total number of private bankers, Jews constituted 52.3% in 1928 and 48.1% in 1930. In Frankfort on Main, in 1930, forty-seven of the fifty-eight private bankers were Jewish.

In 1930, of 9,084 large textile concerns, 3,938 (or almost 40%) were Jewish, and in some cities the percentage was even greater. In Berlin, Jews owned over 61% of the large-scale textile concerns; in Breslau almost three quarters of the firms; in Frankfort on Main a shade below 70%; in Mannheim, 60%; and in Offenbach just about 90%.

In the light of their achievements it is astonishing to discover how few in number were the Jews in the liberal professions, the universities and the courts. The table below indicates that in 1933 the Jews held slightly more than 2% of the professional positions in Germany. Only in law (16.3%) and medicine (10.9%) did they constitute a considerable numerical element. In literature and journalism they constituted a fraction over 5%; in the theatre 3%; as professors in universities about 2.5%, and in pharmacy and dentistry, 3.6% and 8.6% respectively.

TABLE I

The Place of Jews in the Liberal Professions of Germany (1933)

	Professions	Total No. of Persons Engaged	No. of Jews	Pctge. of Jews
1)	Lawyers and notaries	18,641	3,030	16.3
2)	Patent attorneys	595	79	13.3
3)	Legal consultants	3,058	165	5.4
4)	Judges and prosecutors	10,359	286	2.8
5)	Legal apprentices	14,683	367	2.5
6)	Physicians	51,007	5,557	10.9
7)	Dentists (DDS)	12,120	1,041	8.6
8)	Pharmacists	18,220	657	3.6
9)	Theatrical directors	1,070	60	5.6
10)	Writers and journalists	17,277	872	5.1
11)	Actors	23,694	703	3.0
12)	University professors	7,272	192	2.6
13)	Directors and teachers in high schools and junior colleges	37,505	317	0.9
14)	Private teachers	10,730	461	4.3
15)	Painters, sculptors, *etc.*	14,750	360	2.4
16)	Chemists	31,013	715	2.3
17)	Dentists and mechanical dentists	30,981	653	2.1
18)	Musicians	93,861	1,915	2.0
19)	Veterinaries	6,307	98	1.6
20)	Clergy	40,165	434	1.1
21)	Engineers and technologists	202,574	1,443	0.7
22)	Elementary and trade school teachers	251,102	1,323	0.5
	Total	903,984	20,728	2.3

These figures encompass the entire country; they naturally vary according to locality. For example, in Berlin in 1925, half of the lawyers and one-fourth of the physicians were Jewish. (This figure excludes converted Jews who, particularly among professors and instructors, constituted a greater number than those of Jewish faith.) In certain large universities, especially in the faculties of law and medicine, there was a considerable concentration of Jews.

In 1933, of the 301,428 gainfully occupied Jews in Germany, 85,371 were white collar employees and 23,824 laborers, making a total of 109,195 (36.2%) who belonged to the wage class.

About one-third of the Jews of Berlin in 1925 and subsequent years had incomes of less than 1200 marks a year and were therefore exempt from taxation by the Jewish community as well as from general taxes. Moreover, of those in thè Berlin Jewish community who paid taxes, 31% had only an income ranging from 1200 to 2400 marks a year. In 1932, 40,000 Jews of Berlin required relief.

The Jewish communities played an important role in cultural and social life. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, many new synagogues were built in the bigger cities of the Reich. Jewish schools and libraries were sustained by the Jewish communities throughout the country. The first Jewish high schools (*Realgymnasien*) were founded in Berlin, Breslau and Cologne; the *Freie Volkshochschulen* (people's colleges) tried to bring higher education within the reach of the entire Jewish population. The communities were the center of extensive welfare work for the sick, the aged, and the poor. They maintained hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and convalescent homes. They provided employment agencies, and services for the protection of workers. In many cities they sustained public kitchens to feed the poor. The *Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der deutschen Juden,* founded in 1917, was the directing center for all organized welfare institutions, sustained both by communities and by private grants.

On January 30, 1933, there were about 525,000 persons of Jewish faith living within the limits of Germany (not including the Saar). The German census of June 16, 1933 placed the exact figure at 499,682 (0.8% of the population) for Germany without the Saarland.

For many years the Jews of Germany had concentrated in the large cities. In 1933 there were 160,564 persons of Jewish faith in Berlin, 26,158 in Frankfort on Main, 20,202 in Breslau and 16,885 in Hamburg. In all, about 70% of the Jews lived in cities of more than 100,000 and the rest in smaller cities, towns and villages throughout the country.

It is interesting to note that from 1910 to 1925 the Jewish population of Germany increased by 29,000, while the years between 1925 and 1933 were marked by a sharp decline, dropping 65,000 in that period. The reasons given for the decline by the German Statistical Office were (a) the surplus of deaths over births

among the Jewish population, (b) withdrawals from the Jewish community, and (c) the beginning of emigration, caused by the new political conditions.

What has become of the half million Jews of Germany during the past ten years (1933-1943)? Table II shows the rapid disappearance of German Jewry under Nazi rule.

TABLE II

DISAPPEARANCE OF GERMAN JEWRY

Date	*Jewish Population*
1925 (census)	564,379
January 1933 (estimate)	525,000
June 1933 (census)	499,682
September 15, 1935 (estimate)	450,000
September 1937 (estimate)	350,000
May 17, 1939 (unpublished census)	235,000
September 1, 1939 (estimate)	215,000
November 1, 1940 (estimate)	160,000
November 1, 1941 (estimate)	120,000
May 1, 1942 (estimate)	80,000
October 1, 1942 (estimate)	40,000-50,000
September 1, 1943	5,000

Ten years of Hitler have seen the able-bodied Jewish population of Germany vanish, partly through emigration of the youth and male population. The age structure of the Jews in Germany was unfavorable long before Hitler. In 1925 about 40% of the Jews of Germany were over forty. By 1941 three-fourths of the remaining Jews in Germany were within this age group, with more than half of them over fifty years of age and, for the most part, unfit for physical labor. Moreover, the surplus of females over males mounted rapidly after 1933. In 1925 there were 106 women to every 100 men. By 1939 the ratio was 139 to 100. The aging of the Jewish population may be seen from the following table for Prussia, where four-fifths of the German Jews lived.

TABLE III

Age Structure of Prussian Population (1843-1939)

Year	Under 14 Years		15-60 Years		60 Years and over	
	Jews	*Non-Jews*	*Jews*	*Non-Jews*	*Jews*	*Non-Jews*
1843	36 %	34.9%	57.56%	59.1%	6.44%	6.0%
1925	16.2%	24.4%	71.2 %	66.4%	12.6 %	9.2%
1933	15.8%	23.0%	67.7 %	65.0%	15.7 %	12.8%
1936	13.8%	23.0%	64.6 %	64.2%	21.6 %	12.8%
1939	7.9%		59.6 %		32.5 %	

A further picture of the age structure of German Jewry is obtained from the table published by the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* on the basis of a Jewish census taken in September 1939. The *Reichsvertretung* warned, however, that some figures were not exact, because not all the Jews living in the cities were included:

TABLE IV

Age Structure of Jews in Germany (1933-1939)

Age	1933		1939	
	Number	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
60 and over	81,400	16.3	59,700	32.3
40-59	157,400	31.5	76,600	41.4
25-39	119,700	24.0	24,100	13.0
16-24	58,600	11.7	9,700	5.2
0-15	82,700	16.5	15,000	8.1
	499,800	100.0	185,100	100.0

From January 1933 to the end of 1938, the surplus of natural deaths over births among the Jews of Germany amounted to 36,000. From 1939 to 1942 (with a far smaller Jewish population) it still amounted to 5,000 a year. By the first half of 1939 there were 1,844 deaths and only six births in Berlin. Clearly this development was due to the conditions created by Nazism. Jewish deaths in concentration camps and through suicides from 1939 to 1943 were estimated at 15,000.

By September 1, 1942, there were only 40,000 to 50,000 Jews left in Germany. These were employed in war industries and at

forced labor. Of some 310,000 to 360,000 German Jewish refugees who escaped across the Reich frontiers, many thousands later fell into Hitler's hands when his armies occupied the areas which had given asylum. About 150,000 of the 525,000 Jews in Germany as of January 30, 1933, had been deported to Eastern Europe by September 1, 1943. Of this number 50% or about 75,000 died in transit. About 75,000 German Jews reached occupied Polish and Soviet territory as slave labor. By the middle of 1943, the Nazis were boasting that Germany was completely *"judenrein."* If there are still Jews in Germany their number must be extremely small, perhaps a few thousand.

III. Ostracism

The original program of the National Socialist Party, adopted in Munich on February 24, 1920, laid down the iron rule that Jews could not be regarded by Germans as "kinsmen" (*Volksgenossen*) and should therefore be treated as aliens. In 1933, this doctrine was to serve as a springboard for the most ruthless legalized destruction of a people khown to history. With the Nazi point of view that law (*Recht*) is that which serves the nation, the so-called legal status of the Jews in the Third Reich became only a means to the Nazi end: the systematic destruction of German Jewry.

A foretaste of what was in store for the Jews under Nazi rule came almost immediately after Hitler took power. Jews were seized in their homes during the night and dragged away to the barracks of Storm Troopers, where they were assaulted and tormented. At the time, Nazi propaganda insisted that "the anger of the German people" was directed only against Jews who were "Marxists" and "Communists." The first wave of persecution was crowned, however, by the boycott of April 1, 1933 aimed against the Jewish middle class and professionals.

The strategy of the anti-Jewish boycott was carefully planned by a central committee headed by notorious Julius Streicher, ace Jew-baiter of the Third Reich. The objective, presented to the German people by the publication of an eleven-point program, was the complete boycotting of all Jewish business establishments, professional services and products.

On the appointed day, detachments of Storm Troopers went to work with well-rehearsed precision. Show windows of Jewish-owned stores were smeared with yellow paint and anti-Jewish slogans, and sentries were posted to make certain that no "Aryan" entered despite Streicher's instructions. In many cities SA units broke into courthouses and drove Jewish judges and lawyers into the street under a rain of blows. Although the government officially ordered the boycott suspended after one day, the campaign continued in many cities during the months that followed.

On the night of May 10, 1933 before the Berlin Opera House, Storm Troopers and students under the personal direction of Joseph Goebbels, as President of the German Chamber of Culture, consigned to the flames of a huge ceremonial bonfire, thousands of books whose authors were Jews, together with other representatives of liberal, progressive and democratic thought. The scene was repeated the same night by Nazi students in Dresden, Nuremberg, Breslau, Frankfort on Main, Stuttgart, and many other cities. In July a number of Jewish doctors were seized for spreading "atrocity propaganda" and held for more than six weeks before they were released as innocent.

Immediately after the boycott of April 1, 1933, came the first of the "Aryan" laws which were to expel all persons with but one Jewish grandparent from public life in Germany. The law for the "restoration of the professional civil service" excluded non-Aryan officials, clerks and workers from all public offices in the civil service, the Reichsbank, the Reich Railway Company, and the legal profession, but made several temporary exceptions. "Non-Aryans" were forced to retire, but if they had completed at least a ten-year period of service, they were granted the regular pension. Exceptions were made for persons who during the first war had fought for Germany or her allies; or whose fathers, sons, or husbands had been killed in action. Furthermore, the barring of officials, lawyers and patent attorneys did not apply to persons who had worked in such a capacity on or before August 1, 1914. It was said that these exceptions originated from President von Hindenburg's desire to save some of the older men as well as those who had fought at the front. Non-Aryan judges were excluded from office. Admission of non-Aryan lawyers to the bar was cancelled

and Jewish patent attorneys eliminated. By the first of April 1934, 1,312 Jewish lawyers and 1,162 Jewish notaries found themselves barred from their professions. Even elected non-Aryan lay assessors, jurors and commercial judges, were eliminated, their terms ending as of June 30, 1933, without exception.

Although Jewish physicians and dentists were not, at that time, deprived of their licenses, the earning of a livelihood was made virtually impossible as the further admission to sick funds (*Krankenkassen*) was closed to them. Most of the German working population were required by law to belong to a sick fund, contributions for which were deducted from the pay envelope. Thus the practice of the majority of the physicians and dentists in Germany was dependent upon the sick fund, and elimination from the *Krankenkassen* spelled ruin.

The Aryan paragraph was also applied to the reorganized Reichswehr, the German labor service, and to most departments of the new Chamber of Culture (*Kulturkammer*). The latter particularly affected the profession of journalism. It also covered the boards of taxation for the Reich and the German states, as well as experts and consultants for the Reich Insurance Office and all other social insurance offices. By the spring of 1934 Jews were, with a few exceptions, excluded from the cultural and public life of Germany.

By the summer of 1935 most naturalized Jews had been deprived of their citizenship. The law regarding "annulment of naturalization and abrogation of German citizenship" was aimed especially at the Polish Jews, who had been naturalized since November 9, 1918. Again a few exceptions were made for those who had "rendered special service to the German cause." The law did not apply to naturalized Jews only but also to native German Jews who lived abroad and "by their behavior did damage to German interests." On the latter count it deprived such men as Albert Einstein and Lion Feuchtwanger of their German citizenship.

The law against the "overcrowding of German schools and universities" (April 25, 1933) closed the educational institutions to all but a small number of the Jewish youth. The percentage of "non-

Aryan" Germans admitted to schools, colleges and universities was not to exceed, in any school, college or university, the percentage of non-Aryans within the entire Germany population. A catastrophe for observing Jews was the banning of the ritual slaughter of cattle. These laws indicate the *legal* aspect of the period from 1933 to September 1935. But there were daily incidents behind the facade of law which presaged the greater violence and state-organized lawlessness to come.

During this period the Aryan paragraph was not formally extended to commerce and industry. On the contrary, the German Minister of Economics declared in September 1933 that the boycott of non-Aryan firms gravely interfered with Germany's economy. In October 1933, the Ministers of Economics and Labor promulgated a joint order against anti-Jewish discrimination. In January 1934, the Minister of Economics in Saxony ordered newspapers to accept advertisements of Jewish firms; in February 1934, Reich Minister of the Interior Frick warned against molesting Jews in private commercial enterprises. Germany was then in need of the collaboration of foreign countries to achieve her economic ends. Foreign currency was required to capitalize the purchase of raw materials needed for the manufacture of articles for export. It was this situation which brought about an agreement for the transfer of capital belonging to Jewish emigrants from Germany to Palestine between the Reichsbank, the Temple Bank, the Anglo-Palestine Bank and the German Trust Haawarah in Palestine. Furthermore, Germany could not yet dispense entirely with Jewish entrepreneurs and employees without seriously disrupting her industry and commerce.

On May 1, 1934 Jews were informed that they could continue to manage their concerns, but that it would be well for them to appoint Aryan deputies as managers. That year three large department stores were closed and later reopened "after reorganization" employing only non-Jews. There were no longer any Jewish actors on the German stage. All occupations involving "state recognition," even such as swimming instructors, dancing, gymnastics, teachers of the blind, social service workers, were now without Jews. Jewish newspaper vendors disappeared from the streets.

In such cases where Jews were permitted to retain their pro-

fessions or jobs by law, the population was nevertheless instructed to boycott Jewish services, under the slogan that "whoever buys from Jewish shops or consults a Jewish lawyer or doctor, commits an act of treason against the German people." Jews were no longer permitted to attend concert halls, theaters, and were excluded from resorts. By the middle of 1935, the President of the German Authors' Union proudly announced that 1,628 Jews had been expelled from the organization and 1500 had been denied membership because they were "incapable of interpreting the German spirit." The radio industry dismissed all its Jewish artists and employees.

On September 15, 1935 the so-called Nuremberg laws placed all German Jews beyond the pale of citizenship. Thus began a period of complete segregation (*Ausgliederung*) and dissimilation (*Dissimilierung*) of the Jews from the German people.

Back in January 1934, a new citizenship law had been drafted which provided that the population be divided into four categories, consisting of (a) inhabitants of Aryan blood, (b) foreigners residing in Germany, (c) Germans residing abroad, and (d) inhabitants of "alien" race, specifically Jews, Negroes, and Gypsies. The *Reichsbuergergesetz* (German citizenship law) and the *Gesetz zum Schutze des Deutschen Blutes und der Deutschen Ehre* (the law protecting German blood and honor) of September 15, 1935 recognized only two categories: Jews and non-Jews. With these laws the Nazi distinction between "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" gave way to the division between Germans and Jews or "part-Jews" (*Mischlinge*). Jews were denied German citizenship (*Reichsbuergerrecht*) and reduced to the status of "subjects" (*Staatsangehoerige*). They lost the right of franchise, they were forbidden to intermarry with Aryan Germans, or to employ German females under the "canonical age" of forty-five as domestic servants; and the concept of *Rassenschande* (race defilement) was introduced into criminal law.

Although Hitler told the Reichstag in Nuremberg that the aim of the new legislation was to establish a "tolerable relationship" between the German and Jewish people, and high ranking Nazis spoke of the Nuremberg laws as an assurance to Jews of their security as a separate legal community within the boundaries of

the Reich, the law clearly conferred no rights whatsoever upon Jews. Instead it gave legal stamp to their ostracism and paved the way for further oppressive measures.

Local authorities in Germany now received a freer hand in "solving the Jewish problem." Hitler's repeated declarations that the Party and State were one and indivisible in every respect, sanctioned any act of an individual Party official as the expression of the State's will. Incidents which in 1933 and 1934 had been explained as "spontaneous" patriotic manifestations, were now buttressed by the law of the German State as the expression of healthy popular sentiment against "racial aliens."

The exceptions previously made in favor of Jews who had fought at the front, or had long years of service to their credit, were no longer observed. All Jewish officials, civil employees and workers were forced to retire. Jewish doctors still connected with sick funds were dismissed, as were all remaining Jewish notaries. Jewish druggists were no longer permitted to lease public pharmacies. Those who owned their establishments were forced to rent them forthwith to non-Jews. For the moment, Jewish doctors who still held licenses did not lose them, and Jewish lawyers and patent attorneys who were still active were not disbarred. However, German women were warned "not to entrust their bodies to a Jewish doctor" (*"ihren Koerper nicht einem juedischen Arzt anzuvertrauen"*) and few Germans were foolhardy enough to be represented in court by a Jewish attorney.

Meanwhile the anti-Jewish boycott and the drive against Jewish enterprises gathered momentum. Stores now displayed the sign, "German Firm," a privilege reserved for enterprises which did not accept the aid of Jewish capital, had no Jewish creditors, did not purchase wares from Jews, and employed no Jewish help. Members of the Nazi Party faced expulsion if they bought from Jewish stores; the general public was subjected to equally effective pressure. Persons entering Jewish stores were photographed, and their pictures and names published. This meant expulsion from the Labor Front and dismissal from employment.

In the face of systematic boycott, Jews were forced to sell their enterprises. Germans eager to take over the establishments were easily found but they were never willing to pay a fair price. If the

owner was not prepared to sell for the amount offered, unofficial Party "persuasion" was firmly applied. Riots were staged outside the Jewish establishment, and the owner was taken into protective custody until he agreed to sell. This was the typical method used for the acquisition of Jewish concerns. It was called—Aryanization.

Aryanization extended to concerns of every kind and size: department stores and chain stores, large and small banking enterprises, insurance companies, the textile and clothing industry, leather and shoe factories, the lumber industry, the chemical industry; all were made *judenrein*. The Jewish owners or stockholders were bought out by Germans who invariably paid only a very small part of the real value of the enterprise. The so-called "application of the Nuremberg laws to the economic field" was, for those Germans with the right connections, the opportunity of a life-time.

As far as the land was concerned, the Homestead Law of September 29, 1933 had already provided that only citizens of German or "cognate blood" could be considered peasants. With the embodiment in law of the blood and soil ideology, Jews were excluded from all ownership of land and the possession of mortgages. German mortgage banks required that Jewish real estate and house owners clear their mortgages on short notice. No mortgage on Jewish property was extended, no new ones were granted. Jewish property came largely under the custody of administrators who deliberately lagged on interest payments, thus providing an excellent excuse for the foreclosure of mortgages and the expropriation of property owned by Jews.

Jewish millers, hop raisers, and brewers, livestock, meat, egg and grain dealers soon learned that the German farmer was not only forbidden to buy from Jews but also to sell to them. Jews no longer received the necessary import quotas. The wine business in Jewish hands was forcibly turned over to Germans. Severe measures were threatened against contractors who dared to deal with Jews. In the markets, where Jewish dealers were segregated into "ghetto places," disturbances were staged. German farmers who dealt with Jews were boycotted and were paid lower "punitive" prices for their produce as punishment.

Jewish executives and employees in commerce and industry

were being systematically expelled from their jobs. Under instructions from the German Labor Front, German concerns abroad which still retained Jewish managerial personnel, were instructed to replace all Jews, regardless of their value, with Aryans.

By the beginning of 1938, from 120,000 to 130,000 Jews had succeeded in emigrating to other countries by paying a "flight tax" which early in 1937 had already amounted to $70,000,000, according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Of those who remained in Germany, a small number still retained their employment and enterprises, but the sword of Damocles hung over their heads. As of October 1935, the Jewish unemployed had been excluded from the German Winter Relief Fund, and their care fell exclusively to the Jewish Central Relief Committee. During the winter of 1935-1936, this Committee had to provide for the relief of 75,000 Jews. In March 1937, it announced that 60,000 of Berlin's 150,000 Jews were on relief, and that this figure was steadily increasing. The payments received for Aryanized property were exorbitantly taxed. All Jews were regarded by the Reich as future emigrants and were forced to give up to the government 25 percent of their property as security for the Reich flight tax. Jews were excluded from all income and wage benefit deductions. Women with Jewish children were regarded as single, and thus subject to the higher taxes on unmarried persons.

Despite all this, Jews tried to sustain some semblance of their cultural life. Jewish schools were enlarged and new ones opened to release children from German schools, where they were forced to sit on "Jew benches" and insulted. Synagogues now not only became centers of revived religious worship, but also of renewed Jewish cultural life. Here the community assembled for lectures, meetings and announcements. However, the existence of these Jewish communities became increasingly difficult. In July 1937, a new tax law provided that Jewish welfare institutions, on whose dwindling funds so many Jews were increasingly dependent, were no longer exempt from taxation.

Such was the situation on March 11,1938, when Hitler moved into Austria.

IV. From Anschluss to Munich

In Austria, Hitler was able to accomplish in a few short weeks that which in Germany had taken several years. No sooner was Anschluss proclaimed than the train of Jewish life in Austria was completely derailed. Repercussions in Germany were felt at once. With the country gearing for war, rearmament in full swing, and economic life in the firm hands of Nazi-minded industrialists and military experts, the complete ouster of the Jews could no longer have serious economic consequences. The vise was closing. The tempo of persecution now increased at great speed, reaching its climax in the avalanche of anti-Jewish legislation which was to come in the wake of the November pogrom.

Jews were made conspicuous by passports and compulsory identification cards stamped with a red "J". A new decree published a list of first names which Jews were permitted to bear. Those whose names were not on the approved list were forced to prefix them with Israel or Sara.

The exclusion of Jews from the professions of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and law was completed by the end of 1938. A handful of doctors and lawyers were left as "caretakers" for the Jewish population. The few pensions still paid to former Jewish officials were either greatly reduced in amount or entirely suspended. The new German professional codes flatly barred Jews from all professions and public offices, from service in the armed forces; from the Labor Front; Jewish war veterans were forbidden to wear their old uniforms.

On March 28, 1938, the Jewish religious communities were deprived of their status as public law bodies, reduced to the position of ordinary business associations, and communal officials lost their civil service status. The formation, change, or dissolution of communities or central organizations, as well as the "disposal or substantial changes in objects of historical, scientific or artistic value, especially archives," required state approval. The last was intended to enable the Reich to confiscate the great Jewish libraries of religion and learning, and to strip places of worship of their century-old relics and treasures.

The veiling (*Tarnung*) of Jewish ownership or participation in an enterprise, as well as contracting with a Jew, was subjected to

a stiff penalty. The decree of April 26, 1938, which required the registration and assessment of all Jewish property, domestic and foreign, served as a basis for the ordinances after November 1938, which accomplished the complete expropriation of the property of German Jewry. The disposal or lease of a concern in trade, industry, agriculture, or forestry required official authorization, if the contract involved a Jew. The third ordinance to the Reich citizenship law introduced a legal definition of "Jewish enterprise" which was analogous to the definition of "Jew." A firm was deemed Jewish if one or more of the parties personally liable was Jewish.

On July 6, 1938 a sweeping law changing the regulations of certain trades and occupations (*Gewerbeordnung*) excluded Jews from all itinerate occupations and those requiring licenses such as traveling salesmen, peddlars, market stand vendors, in other words, any enterprise with no fixed place of business. It also prohibited Jews from furnishing professional information and advice about financial circumstances and personal affairs, expelled them from the real estate business, marriage brokerage (except between Jews) and the tourist trade. All such occupations were to be terminated by December 31, 1938, and in special cases (when more convenient for the Reich) no later than September 30, 1939.

V. The Pogrom of November, 1938

On November 7, 1938, Hershel Grynszpan shot and fatally wounded Ernst vom Rath, third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris. This pathetically heroic act of a seventeen year-old boy unleashed the cold fury of Nazi barbarism. In reprisal the Reich government launched an orgy of violence not seen in Germany since the Thirty Years' War. Organized Nazi units, paced by well-trained formations of the Elite Guard, the SA, and the Hitler Youth, penetrated into every section of Jewish domicile in Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland. Within the space of twelve hours, over 400 Jewish synagogues and places of worship were dynamited and set on fire. Acting on orders, firemen confined themselves to preventing the spread of flames to adjacent buildings. Jewish stores and shops were systematically looted and destroyed. In the streets Jews were assaulted, then arrested to "protect them from the wrath of the people," and sent to concentration camps. Several

hundred Jews were killed or driven to suicide during the two days of the pogrom.

At the given signal the violence ceased as abruptly as it had flared up, but the government lost no time in proving that its work was not completed. The pogrom was followed by mass arrests. Jews were hunted everywhere. Afraid to remain at home, many took to the woods and forests; others spent weeks in railway compartments, traveling aimlessly by day and by night, without daring to halt anywhere. Within a short time, 60,000 more Jews swelled the concentration camps of Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Oranienburg, Dachau.

On November 12th, Hermann Goering, as director of the Four Year Plan and Prime Minister of Prussia, began issuing the decrees which were but the continuation of the pogrom by "legal" means. He ordered the Jews to pay an "atonement" fine of one billion Reichsmark (400 million dollars) payable as 25% of their property, and promulgated two edicts which completed the elimination of Jews from the economic life of Germany. At their own cost, Jews were forced to remove the debris of their wrecked homes, stores, and places of worship. In Berlin alone this was estimated at $60,000. Payments of insurance claims for damage to Jewish property were seized in favor of the Reich. A later decree compensated non-Jewish owners for the accidental destruction of property adjacent to charred synagogues and Jewish edifices. Jews were forbidden to withdraw more than $40 from the banks without special authorization. Radios and telephones in Jewish hands were confiscated.

On November 15, 1938, Reich Minister Rust introduced the *numerus nullus* in schools with the following statement:

> "After the ruthless murder of Paris, German teachers no longer can be expected to give instruction to Jewish pupils. It is also self-evident that German students find it unbearable to share classrooms with Jews."

The decree provided for the dismissal of all Jewish children from German schools; henceforth they were to attend only Jewish schools.

On December 3rd, on the basis of the edict of April 26,

1938 which required the registration of Jewish property, a draconic new decree imposed on Jews the compulsory deposit of their securities, stocks and bonds with a foreign exchange bank, and forbade them to acquire, pawn or sell objects of gold, platinum, silver or precious stones. In 1939, all such objects were ordered turned over to public purchasing offices established by the Reich. Jews were ordered to sell their remaining real estate and forbidden to acquire any new property.

Though some Jews still remained nominal owners of their firms, trustees (*Treuhaender*) responsible to the state authorities were appointed as custodians. On December 14th the *Treuhaender* were ordered to appoint managers (*Betriebsfuehrer*) in accordance with the 1934 law which had introduced the leadership principle in industry. January 1st was set as a deadline, after which Jews could no longer even hold positions as assistants to the Aryan managers.

On November 28, 1938 a general decree of the Reich Minister of Interior marked the first step toward the resurrection of the ghetto. Governors of provinces, mayors and other local officials were empowered to exclude Jews from certain localities, as well as to ban them from appearing in public during certain hours.

And less than a week later, on December 3rd, a virtual ghetto was decreed in Berlin by the following order of the Police President:

"1. Streets, squares, parks and buildings from which the Jews are to be banned, are to be closed to Jewish subjects of the State and stateless Jews, both pedestrians and drivers.

"2. Jewish subjects of the State and stateless Jews who at the time when this decree goes into effect still live within a district banned to the Jews, must have a local police permit for crossing the banned areas.

"By July 1, 1939 permits for Jews living within the banned area will no longer be issued.

"3. Jewish subjects of the State and stateless Jews who are summoned by an office within the banned area, must obtain a local police permit for twelve hours.

"4. The ban on Jews in Berlin comprises the following districts.

" (1) All theatres, cinemas, cabarets, public concerts and lecture halls, museums, amusement places, the halls of the Fair including the Fair grounds and broadcasting station

on the *Messedamm,* the *Deutschlandhalle* and the Sport Palace, the Reich Sportfield, all athletic fields including ice skating rinks;

"(2) All public and private bathing places;

"(3) Wilhelmstrasse from Leipzigerstrasse up to Unter den Linden including Wilhelmsplatz;

"(4) Voss Strasse from Hermann Goering Strasse up to Wilhelmstrasse;

"(5) The Reichsehrenmal including the North sidewalk up Unter den Linden, from the University up to the Armory."

Only the stone walls of the ghetto were missing; they were to come soon in German-occupied Poland.

The November outrages and their sequel, coming on the heels of the Munich agreement, helped to swiftly dispel the illusion of "peace in our time." For here was violence and destruction officially sanctioned by the state. The government-controlled *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* had boasted of the destruction of synagogues, the looting of shops, and the "strong anti-Jewish demonstrations" — all of which began and ended with clock-like precision at the signal of the authorities of the Third Reich.

VI. On the Brink

Stripped of their property, declassed and pauperized, German Jews were now worth little more than their ransom or slave labor value. The so-called Jewish question, however, still had limitless propaganda potentialities, both internally and abroad. With Germany's feverish military preparations, the need for labor, unskilled as well as skilled, was tremendous. By mobilizing Jews who had been expelled from their professions into unskilled forced labor, Germany was able to release many thousands of Aryan workers for other tasks. To some extent this alleviated the labor shortage and counteracted the demand for higher wages. Jewish labor service camps were created, and separate barracks were erected near Berlin for Jews working on road gangs under SS supervision. Jews employed as factory workers were segregated under Nazi foremen and, in many places, forced to wear yellow armbands.

In March 1939 the President of the German Institute of Labor Placement and Unemployment Insurance introduced compulsory labor for Jews in a decree which stipulated that they were to be segregated and do the heaviest type of physical labor:

> "It is not in the interest of the state to leave the labor power of employable unemployed Jews unused, and perhaps even to have to support them from public funds without receiving any service in return. An effort must be made to employ all unemployed and employable Jews as soon as possible and to combine therewith the release of German workers for urgent and important state political projects.
>
> "The employment of Jews shall take place in fields of enterprises of building construction, soil amelioration, etc., separately from others . . .
>
> "I therefore request you immediately to influence public and private enterprises in your district to provide such work. It is assured that contractors and their enterprises will not suffer disadvantages by the employment of Jews. Jews in the sense of this decree are Jews who are German subjects and stateless Jews who are capable of work."

The inauguration of Jewish forced labor in Germany, on the eve of war, provided the laboratory for the coming system of Nazi slave labor for all the subjugated peoples of Europe.

In November 1938, the official Elite Guard newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps,* warned that unless foreign countries provided for the removal and resettlement of the Jews, more drastic measures culminating in extermination, would be taken against them. After the pogrom, renewed attempts were made by the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees to aid the emigration of the Jews from Germany. Germany immediately grasped at the fresh ransom possibilities. Here was an excellent opportunity for obtaining an international loan and additional foreign exchange. Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, hatched a scheme whereby the Reich could profit greatly from the emigration of the Jews.

Dr. Schacht's plan called for dividing the Jews in Germany into three catagories: (1) Those capable of earning wages, who were to be brought out of Germany at an agreed monthly or yearly rate; (2) direct dependents of these wage-earners, who were to emigrate as soon as wage-earning members of the family could accept them

in their new homes; (3) the aged and infirm who were to be permitted to remain in Germany with guarantees that satisfactory provision would be made for them.

The joker in the Schacht Plan was the provision for an international loan, to be raised for the Reich on the security of property left behind by Jewish emigrants. Part of the loan was to be serviced through increased Reich exports over a certain norm, the rest to come into the Reich as foreign exchange. Dr. Schacht estimated the "transferable" portion of all Jewish wealth in Germany, after all taxes, including the "flight tax" and fines were paid, at one and one-half billion Reichsmark.

Nothing ever came of the ingenious Schacht proposal.

April 1939 saw the eviction of Jewish tenants from their homes. A law provided that rental contracts between Aryan lessors and Jewish tenants could be dissolved at short notice. Jewish tenants could be ordered to admit other Jews into their apartments as subtenants. Jewish lessors could not rent vacant apartments without special permission. In this way Jews were ousted from the better residential sections, and gradually herded together in segregated districts and apartments. The rental legislation, coming after the banning of Jews from certain streets, marked another move toward complete ghettoization.

On July 4, 1939 the Reich Association of Jews (*Reichsvereinigung der Juden*) was established as a virtual agency of the Ministry of the Interior. Under its jurisdiction fell all German-Jewish subjects and all stateless Jews within Germany. The decree also subordinated Jewish religious communities to the status of local branches of this secular body. The Reich Association's chief function before the war was to provide the machinery for Jewish emigration. With this decree too the German government divested itself of all responsibility for Jewish relief, placing another heavy load on the already overburdened shoulders of the Jewish community.

With this decree it also became the duty of the Reich Association to maintain Jewish schools and educational institutions for the training of Jewish teachers.

On the eve of the war, the position of the Jews still remaining

in Germany was utterly hopeless. According to Otto Hirsch, president of the *Reichsvereinigung,* 100,000 Jews had emigrated during 1938 and up to October 1939, despite the fact that emigration had become increasingly difficult because of the diminishing amount of property transferable from the Reich. The deductions made from the property of each emigrant were as follows: the "atonement" fine (25%); Reich flight tax (25%); emigration tax payable to the *Reichsvereinigung der Juden* (5%); tax on all acquisitions made during the Nazi regime (100%-500% of the value). What remained was transferable at a rate of exchange of six percent. Of a fortune of 100,000 Reichsmark ($40,000), no more than $1,100 found its way abroad. Emigrants who were not fortunate enough to leave Germany during the early phase of Nazi rule, usually arrived penniless in foreign countries.

VII. War

The outbreak of the war in September 1939 started the Jews in Germany on the last mile of the road to annihilation. Their isolation within Germany was completed; more and more districts were prohibited them; they could not leave their homes after 8 P. M.; they were forbidden to use motor vehicles; they were even segregated in air-raid shelters. In the *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt,* the only Jewish newspaper allowed in Germany after November 1938, Jews read the texts of the latest anti-Jewish laws; they also heard them announced in their synagogues during religious services.

Discriminatory rationing measures placed the Jews on a semi-starvation basis from the beginning of the war. They received less meat than Aryans, and later no meat at all; they were forbidden to buy fresh vegetables and fruits. In theory they could obtain unrationed poultry and fish by registering with their food dealers, but in most cases the shopkeepers refused to accept their applications. In most German cities, Jews were assigned shopping hours when only leftovers remained on the counters. They could not buy milk for their children. At first they received half the German coal ration, but soon that too was revoked. They were denied clothing rationing cards, without which even mending and sewing

materials could not be purchased. On their wretched diet they were forced to clean streets and gutters, shovel snow and build roads.

In December 1939, some 20,000 Berlin Jews out of 95,000 still had regular work, mainly in the building and transport trades and in war factories. By October 1940, nearly all able-bodied Jewish males—50,000 of the remaining Jewish population of 160,000—had been conscripted for labor service. Women were not excluded. All men between the ages of 18-55 and women 20-45 were subject to forced labor. By February 1941 the age limits were extended to 65 for men and 55 for women. They were paid almost nothing for their work, but were nevertheless forced to pay an income tax. In the concentration camps, Jewish inmates were organized into special battalions for road building and work in forests and swamps.

A decree of September 1, 1941, bearing the signature of Reinhard Heydrich, ordered all Jews over the age of six, male and female alike, to wear a yellow Star of David with the black inscription "Jew" on their clothes. The star had to be worn *"visibly, firmly sewn to the left breast of clothing."* Later ordinances emphasized that the star had to be worn on any outer garments in which Jews appeared in public, including even dressing gowns or nightshirts worn in air-raid shelters. By a further executive ordinance dated March 26, 1942, Jews were ordered to affix the Star of David to their doors. With the yellow star came final segregation. No Aryan dared to speak publicly to a Jew bearing the star. No grocer dared any longer to sell to Jewish housewives the foods prohibited to them by law. Jews were further forbidden to purchase coffee, cocoa, tobacco, flour, white bread, pastry, and all kinds of sweets. Jewish diabetics were denied the necessary additional food allowance. Those who obtained special police travel permits were barred from dining cars and sleepers. They were forbidden the use of trolleys and buses, forbidden to stroll in the streets, look into shop windows or stop to converse with one another. They were even forbidden to keep their domestic pets any longer.

According to an ordinance of November 25, 1941, Jews who permanently resided abroad were no longer deemed to be German

subjects. They were thus rendered stateless, deprived of the right to inherit from a German subject, and any property they still might have in Germany was seized.

VIII. Deportation to the East

In September 1941 the German government began the systematic deportation of the remnants of German Jewry to forced labor camps and penal reservations in occupied Poland and Soviet territory. The first mass deportations of Jews from Germany had taken place three years before, in November 1938, when in a single night, more than 10,000 Jews of Polish or former Polish nationality were deported to the Polish frontier town of Zbonszyn. Dragged from their beds, men, women and children were herded to the railroad station, packed into freight cars and shipped to the Polish frontier. Families were separated, many died en route, but the Germans were devising a new kind of deportation, inhuman, but serving their purpose. In the fall of 1940, in the same manner, approximately 10,000 Jews of Baden and Pfalz had been rounded up and sent to Southern France.

Shortly after the occupation of Poland, Germany made public a plan for the creation of a Jewish "reservation" in the area of the Polish city of Lublin. At first only Jews from Austria and Czechoslovakia were transferred to this region, but in March 1940 Jews from the Reich were included as well.

These deportations were to serve as a prelude for the eventual deportation to this area of about half a million Jews from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Austria. According to a report made by *Gruppenfuehrer* Ferdinand Hiegs to Gestapo Chief Himmler, 30% of the deportees lost their lives through diseases, suicide, unsatisfactory housing conditions at the "place of destination," inability to stand the labor conditions or to acclimate themselves due to advanced age.

Deportees were permitted to carry with them only a small amount of underwear and winter clothing. All other belongings had to be surrendered before departure. Such was the situation in the fall of 1941.

With the ever-increasing need for manpower, emigration was

forbidden to Jews under 60 years of age, in November 1941. The Reich prepared to feed remaining Jewish labor to the furnace of the war machine. Ordinances were promulgated creating a special status for Jews employed in German labor. Jews were barred from the German working community, and thus excluded from all legislation protecting Aryan workers. They could not work as apprentices, they were not entitled to special pay for work on Sundays, holidays or overtime work; they received no pay for time off caused by illness or childbirth. They were excluded from old age security; unemployment relief was limited to the barest maintenance; they could be discharged on 24 hour notice. They were forced to work in segregated groups. They had to accept whatever job was assigned to them by official employment agencies, regardless of the nature of the work or its location. Jewish forced labor was not limited to work within Germany. Jews together with Poles were assigned to labor brigades in bombed areas, or behind German lines on the Russian front. Gradually Germany's need for labor on so many fronts was synchronized with the deportation measures. Thus, in October 1941, when thousands of Jews were rounded up all over Germany and removed to undisclosed destinations, it was asserted that they were not sent to concentration camps or imprisoned, but were to be used for "purposes helpful to the war economy."

New raids were made in September, October, and November 1941; in March and June 1942, and in the following months, under various pretexts. The result was always the same: arrest and deportation. Usually the victims would be herded into two Berlin synagogues, on Levetzow Street and Munchener Street, which had been turned into straw-filled barracks. From here they would be transported to railway stations in the Berlin suburbs, where relatives were not admitted to bid them farewell, and freighted in cattle cars to an unknown destination. Another procedure was conscription by the authorities through the *Reichsvereinigung*. The latter would receive an order for a trainload of Jews to be shipped to the East. Families suddenly would receive notice to prepare to leave their homes. They were forced to fill out an inventory of all their belongings, from pianos to collar buttons, as well as a special list entitled "normal needs of consumer." The list of "normal

needs" contained such articles as the owner was permitted to carry with him when deported. Everything on the general inventory was declared forfeited to the Reich and later publicly auctioned. These auctions gave Germans an opportunity to buy clothing, linen, furniture, and other scarce household goods. All remaining assets were forfeited. In the fall months of 1941 alone, some 20,000 German Jews were deported. *The circumstances were such that in a single October day 280 Berlin Jews committed suicide.*

Deported German Jews have been sent to various localities in the East. As the Lublin experiment was abandoned after a wave of epidemics originating from this area threatened German troops and civilians, the Polish city of Lodz became a clearing center for masses of Jewish deportees. From Lodz the Jews were distributed to different areas, such as the swamps of Pinsk, the Rokitno marshes or to ghettos of various Polish cities. In many cases, children over 14 years have been separated from their parents and sent to the occupied Ukraine to toil in the fields. Since February 1942 German Jews have also been sent to Terezín in the so-called Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia and thence to Eastern Europe.

It is well to recall four men, leaders of German Jewry, who remained faithfully at their posts to the very end: Heinrich Stahl, Otto Hirsch, Julius Seligsohn, and Rabbi Leo Baeck. All four have given their lives: Otto Hirsch and Julius Seligsohn perished in German concentration camps; Heinrich Stahl and Rabbi Baeck in the prison-city of Terezín.

At the end of 1942 there were still some Jews living in a number of Berlin districts. As late as December 31st, the *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* announced the distribution of ration cards for Jews. During the same month, the official newspaper also warned Jews of the stern penalty for failure to fill out new registration forms, apparently in connection with deportation, as required by a decree of November 11, 1942. At the end of the year religious services were still being conducted in seven Berlin synagogues. There seemed to be a lull. It was very brief indeed.

In his New Year's message, Hitler again thundered total destruction. He was echoed by Goebbels, Ley, Rosenberg, and such hirelings as American traitor Robert H. Best. Speaking in the Sportpalast on February 18, 1943, Propaganda Minister Goebbels

made a significant slip of the tongue, which for an instant ripped aside even that curtain of pretense which the Nazis still maintain, "We want to exterminate—*ausrotten*—the Jews," he said, and then quickly changed "exterminate" to "eliminate" (*ausschalten*). On the previous day, February 17th, the German people were openly told for the first time by the Berlin radio that the mass extermination of the Jews was being carried out by the German occupants in Eastern Europe.

During the same month it was stated that Berlin would be "*judenrein*" by the end of March. On February 27th, and during the week that followed, new arrests took place, as Jews were removed even from war industry jobs for expulsion to Poland. A ruthless house-to-house search rounded up most of those who were in hiding. When the Gestapo came for the 85-year-old widow of Max Liebermann, she committed suicide.

In April it was reported from Stockholm that the fugitive Jews of Berlin who still eluded capture were living "*as vagabonds without ration cards and without a fixed place of residence; they hide out with whoever dares to shelter them and feed them a bite to eat from time to time.*"

On May 11, 1943, the Nazis announced that Frankfort on Main and the entire province of Hessen-Nassau no longer contained a single Jew. Meanwhile the Gestapo doubled its patrol of the frontiers to prevent any intended victims from escaping the fate that was in store for them. A group of Jews who were caught attempting to cross from the Reich into occupied Belgium, were described by their German tormentors as "ragged and torn." Said a Nazi newspaper with brutal cynicism: "The migration mania of the Jewish parasites will be nipped in the bud."

In June, *Das Schwarze Korps* discovered that there were still some Jews living in the Reich in "privileged wedlock" with Aryans. A new campaign was launched with sound and fury. But by this time the Nazis were battling phantoms. The Jewish population had, to all intents, vanished from the face of Germany.

IX. Epilogue: Who Has Profited?

The National Socialist Party program promised the German people that when the yoke of "Jewish capitalism" was removed,

trusts and cartels would revert to the state, the people would participate in the profits of big business, and the German small businessman would inherit the Jewish banks, department stores and factories. Fed by these glib assurances, a large part of the lower middle class flocked to the Nazi standard. Have the Nazis kept their word?

The elimination of Jews from German economic life was obviously to the immediate advantage of their non-Jewish competitors. The thousands of Jews in Germany and Austria deprived of their means of existence (4000 landowners, 25,000 artisans, 10,000 factory owners, 140,000 in trade and commerce, 3000 in banking, 35,000 in the professions) are proof that a good number of Aryans must have profited from the loot. Far overshadowing this, however, is the dominant fact that ten years of Hitlerism have resulted in the greatest concentration of property in a few powerful hands that Germany has ever known. The large Jewish enterprises were not divided, but were turned over to leading German concerns. The following list affords some idea of the actual workings of "Aryanization:"

Jewish Concerns	*Aryan Successors*
Hahnsche Werke A.G. (pipe manufacture)	Mannesmann Roehrenwerke A.G.
Wolf, Netter und Jacobi A. G. (metal manufacture)	Mannesmann Roehrenwerke A.G.
M. Stern (scrap and metal)	Mannesmann and Hoesch
The stock of Blumenfeld A. G. owned by Jews (coal)	Krupp
Rawak und Gruenfeld (iron) and control of Werschen-Weissenfelser Braunkohlen A.G. and Anhaltische Kohlenwerke, both owned by the Julius Petschek Concern	Flick
The stock of Eisenhuettenwerke Thale owned by Oppenheimer in Cologne	Otto Wolff
Dr. Cassirer und Co. A.G. (cable factory)	Siemens
Control of Aronwerke, Nora-Radio (radio)	Siemens
Max Levy G.m.b.H., Berlin (electrical machines)	Hugenberg

Jewish Concerns	*Aryan Successors*
Bachmann und Ladewig A.G., Chemnitz (textiles)	Deutsche Bank
The Warburg Bank	Haniel
The old Bleichroeder banking house	Hardy & Co. (Dresdner Bank Concern)
The Berliner Handelsgesellschaft	Krupp and Allgemeine Elektrizitaets-Gesellschaft
Publishing houses of Rudolf Mosse and Ullstein	Franz Eher Verlag (publishing the *Voelkische Beobachter*)
L. Behrens & Soehne, Hamburg	Norddeutsche Kreditbank A.G.
S. Merzbach, Offenbach	Frankfurter Effekten und Wechselbank
Dreyfus in Berlin and Frankfort on Main, and Hirschland in Essen	Merch, Fink & Co., Munich
Jacquier und Securius, Berlin	Richard Lenz

As for Jewish-owned department and chain stores, such as Tietz, Wertheim, Schocken, Barrasch, which had played a prominent part in anti-Jewish propaganda, they were neither dissolved, made common property, nor leased to small businessmen. They were transferred to large Aryan firms, thus concentrating greater wealth in fewer hands than ever before. The small German businessman was forced to stand by and see his promised gold pass into the hands of big business. Today the average German must look back upon the Nazi pledge of prosperity at the expense of the lives and fortunes of a minority, as little more than a pipe-dream.

SAAR REGION

The fate of the small Jewish community in the Saar was sealed in 1935 when 91 percent of the population voted for union with the Third Reich thereby ending fifteen years of League of Nations rule. At Versailles, France had obtained temporary control of the Saar coal mines as part compensation for the German destruction of mines in Northern France. At the expiration of fifteen years a plebiscite was to be held in order to allow the population to choose German, French, or continued League rule. In the interim the laws which were valid in 1918 were to remain in force, and the Weimar Constitution was never introduced.

On January 1, 1933, there were, in the eight districts of this most densely populated area of Europe, some 4,000 Jews who composed 0.56% of the total population. Nearly half of them (2,083) lived in Saarbruecken, the capital, while the district of Saarlouis harbored 938 Jewish inhabitants. Of the 18 Jewish communities, 11 were recognized as institutions of public law. The occupational distribution of the Saar Jews was similar to that of their brothers in Germany. They were mostly middle class merchants in textiles, shoes, cattle and grain; or in the paper, clothing, chemical and tobacco industries. In the professions they did not exceed the average in the Reich (28 physicians out of 413; 20 lawyers out of 109; and a few teachers and judges). After the war, a number of Jews from France and Poland settled in the Saar.

As in Germany proper, organized Nazi propaganda began to make its mark in 1930. Influential newspapers were bought up, various Nazi organizations introduced, systematic attempts were made to boycott Jewish enterprises, and Jewish professional men and employees were dismissed from their jobs. And in the Saar as well as in Germany, Hitler's advent to power was a decisive turning point. Jews were excluded from the

athletic associations, from the unions of war veterans, and from the Winter Aid. The Jewish manager of the Saarbruecken Theatre was forced to resign. The professional organization of physicians adopted the *Fuehrer* principle and promptly sent out a questionnaire regarding the parentage of its members. This was halted by the governing body of the Saar, which also banned the anti-Semitic paper *Saarfront*. When the bar association refused to adopt a resolution asking for the introduction of the Aryan paragraph for its members, 35 dissident Nazi lawyers resigned and founded an organization of their own. While the attitude of officials and judges remained "correct," except that decisions in cases of anti-Jewish activities were very lenient, the teachers and students systematically persecuted Jewish pupils.

When the League of Nations set up a special Committee for the Saar Problem on January 18, 1934, just a year before the plebiscite date, Germany suddenly soft-pedalled anti-Jewish propaganda in order to make certain that nothing would interfere with the scheduled election. On the other hand, individual German public officials, confident of a Reich victory, anticipated the introduction of Reich anti-Jewish legislation by repeated announcements that Jewish undertakings would have to close by 1935 and that the Jews would have to emigrate.

Although the *Comité des Délégations Juives* attempted to assure to the Saar Jews the maintenance of their status of legal equality, the Reich refused to allow any exception to the *Gleichschaltung* of the Saar. The fate of the Jews in this particular case, was not only linked with that of the political opponents of Germany, but also with that of the French nationals living in the Saar.

On December 3rd and 4th, 1934, there was an exchange of notes between the French and German governments, in which both sides bound themselves to give all persons residing in the Saar "every facility to retain or sell their immovable property and to remove their movable property free of any charge." France also promised, in the case of a plebiscite vote in her favor, to grant all inhabitants protection against any discrimination, as well as complete legal equality with all other French citizens, if they acquired French nationality. Germany, however, reserved

complete freedom as to legislation with regard to nationality, agreeing only to delay discriminatory measures for the period of one year.

On March 1, 1935, less than two months after the plebiscite, Germany took possession of the Saar, in accordance with the Versailles Treaty. On March 16th Germany repudiated the same treaty by denouncing its disarmament clauses.

According to Germany's plebiscite agreement with France, the Jews in the Saar were given a period of grace and the opportunity to emigrate. Attempts were, however, made to induce them to stay so that their capital would not be transferred abroad. The new Gauleiter, Joseph Buerckel, who was later responsible for the rapid liquidation of the Jewish community of Vienna, issued a statement assuring "patriotic" Jews that they would not suffer unjust treatment. That his word was not taken seriously may be seen from the report of the Committee of International Assistance to Refugees, issued in February, 1936, on the activities of the Nansen Office. According to that agency, 3,000 to 4,000 refugees from the Saar had passed through their offices. Although the percentage of Christián political refugees was certainly larger than elsewhere, it is obvious that the overwhelming majority of Jews had left the Saar.

GERMAN UPPER SILESIA

Between the advent of Hitler and July 15, 1937 – for four and one-half years – there existed within the Third Reich a fantastic anomaly, an island of equality within a totalitarian sea. On this island, no rabid anti-Semitic propaganda was conducted, no copies of *Der Stuermer* were sold, and Jews, through a strange play of fate, were immune from the Nuremberg laws.

After the partition of Upper Silesia, in accordance with the 1921 plebiscite, a German-Polish Convention under the aegis of the League of Nations was signed at Geneva on May 15, 1922, providing for the protection of all minorities in both Polish and German Upper Silesia. A special League machinery was set up consisting of a Mixed Commission and Court of Arbitration, in addition to the other agencies of the League to assure equal treatment for minority groups. This convention was to remain in force for 15 years, until July 15, 1937. As a result, for more than four years after Hitler came to power, German Upper Silesia was at the same time under totalitarian German rule and under the democratic supervision of the League of Nations.

Germany, after making an unsuccessful attempt at the *Gleichschaltung* of the area, decided for political reasons to stand by her obligations under the Geneva Convention, especially as the expiration of the Convention would lift the magic circle which protected German Upper Silesia and give Hitlerism a free hand.

At the time of the partition, there were in Upper Silesia about 10,000 persons of Jewish faith, about three-fourths of one percent of the population. About one-third of them were born in the now Polish part and had opted for Germany. Of the 22 Jewish settlements, the largest were in the towns of Beuthen, where they comprised 3.1 per cent of the city's population, Gleiwitz and Hindenburg. They were a comparatively well-to-do part of German Jewry. About three-quarters of them were en-

gaged in commerce, and thirteen percent were in industry and handicraft. The rest earned their livelihood as professional men or public employees. Their number declined during the first years after the war, and they were hard hit by the depression, so that by 1933, of a total population of 9,228, 12.5 percent were on relief.

The establishment of the National Socialist regime in Germany, immediately resulted in the introduction by the government of Upper Silesia of all those anti-Jewish regulations already enforced in the Reich, regarding Jewish public employees, participation of Jews in cultural life, admission to schools, dismissal of private employees, and boycott. Thereupon one Franz Bernheim, as a member of the Jewish minority in Upper Silesia, backed by the Committee of Jewish Delegations, petitioned the League of Nations on May 22, 1933, that the German policy be declared as contrary to the terms of the Geneva Convention. Keller, the German representative, admitted at the Council's meeting of May 26th that Germany's international obligations could not be set aside by internal legislation. He placed the blame at the door of "subordinate organs acting under a mistaken interpretation of the laws." But when the Council report was drafted in this sense, Keller declared that he was not in a position to accept this report, and expressed his doubts whether it came within the League's jurisdiction. A Committee of Jurists of the League rejected the German interpretation. The report, drafted on the basis of Keller's original declaration, was adopted on June 6, 1933. The hope was expressed, however, that the Council would never again be called upon to deal with such petitions from Upper Silesia.

So it happened that, while everywhere else in Germany Jews were being reduced to the state of pariahs, the fortunate few in Upper Silesia continued to enjoy equal rights, to practice medicine and law, and to hold office. As a matter of fact, between 1933 and 1936, Jews were appointed to new official posts. Jewish merchants were even permitted to accept vouchers on the State Winter Relief and on the National Socialist People's Welfare.

As the deadline for the expiration of the Convention ap-

proached, a considerable number of Jews had the foresight to emigrate. But by the end of 1936, 7,700 still remained.

Fifteen days before the Geneva Convention expired, a decree was enacted by the Reich for the immediate introduction into Upper Silesia of all anti-Jewish laws decreed for Germany during the preceding four and a half years. It provided that Jewish officials were to be dismissed by August 31st, part-Jews by December 31, 1937. Citizenship acquired by Jews between November 9, 1918, and January 30, 1933, became subject to revocation.

Precisely at midnight on July 15th, the first copies of Streicher's *Der Stuermer* appeared on the streets of Upper Silesia. By August the pogroms began. The fate of the small Jewish community of Upper Silesia has since completely merged with that of their brethren in other parts of the Reich.

DANZIG

Before the First World War, the Jewish community in the Baltic seaport of Danzig boasted no outstanding characteristics. The majority of its members were occupied in the trade which served the province of Western Prussia, Danzig's hinterland. There were few cases of great wealth among them and as little extreme poverty. Attracted to the western parts of the Empire their number slowly but steadily decreased, from 3,000 or about 3.5% of the total population in 1861, to 2,400 or approximately 1.5% of the population in 1910.

The Versailles Treaty restored to Danzig the status of Free City, thus focusing on this rather insignificant Baltic port the limelight of public interest. As neither Poland nor Germany were to control the mouth of the Vistula, Danzig together with its immediate surroundings became a separate entity under the direct supervision of the League of Nations. A democratic constitution, providing certain minority rights which were under international guarantee came into force on July 12, 1922. All possible measures, such as a customs union with Poland and an independent currency, were taken to insure Danzig's position in the economic life of the Baltic area. The Free City looked forward to a stable and prosperous future.

These conditions caused a considerable influx of Jews. Some were German citizens who preferred to become subjects of Danzig rather than of Poland; some were refugees from Soviet Russia, but mainly they were Polish nationals who were assured the right of free settlement on the territory of the Free City by the Versailles Treaty. By 1923 the Jewish population of Danzig had increased to 7,300, and in the following year it had grown to 9,200 (2.4 percent) of whom only 2,500 were of old Danzig stock. These figures continued to fluctuate for economic reasons. In 1929 there were about 7,800 Jews in Danzig; in 1933, they numbered some 10,000.

It was only natural that Danzig, with a German element of

more than 95 percent, should be deeply affected by the advent of Hitler. The German government and the National Socialist Party did everything in their power to absorb into the orbit of their influence first the electorate and later the Free City itself. However, it was not until the first shots of World War II that Hitler annexed Danzig. For six years the Free City was to see a period of incessant political struggle, between the officials of the League of Nations, and the Nazi-controlled local parliament, the *Volkstag*.

Elections to the *Volkstag* were held on May 28, 1933, four months after Hitler became Reich Chancellor. The Nazi Party polled about the same percentage as in Germany, electing thirty-eight deputies out of seventy-two. Two months later, again with Germany as an example, the *Volkstag* voted a Law of Full Powers which gave the now Nazified Senate a free hand as far as internal control was concerned. In line with the new political course of the Reich, the new government hastened to effect a reconciliation with Poland, thus eliminating any effective interference on the part of Danzig's neighbor. The stage was set for National Socialism, and for the gradual reduction of the Danzig Jews to the status of pariahs.

During the first two years, the new leaders restricted themselves to such measures as could be carried out without open breach of the letter of the constitution. Reorganization of the professions by the introduction of the Fuehrer principle, according to which all Jewish representatives were ousted from the boards, made the admission of new non-Aryan members practically impossible. With the support of Storm Troopers and of Hitler Youth, boycotts were organized against Jewish shops. In these and similar cases of anti-Jewish demonstrations, the police held themselves aloof. Destitute Jews were denied help by the Winter Aid, although it was supported by the taxes and voluntary contributions of all elements of the population. The authorities, during this period, still made a pretense of acknowledging the constitution. They even issued a reassuring statement to the Zionist Congress held in Prague in 1933. Further assurances of moderation were expressed as late as July 2, 1934 by Hermann Rauschning, who retired in the fall of that year as President of

the Danzig Senate, apparently in opposition to the more radical elements of the Nazi machine headed by Gauleiter Forster and Senate Vice-President Greiser.

Spurred by victory in the Saar plebiscite, Germany hoped to achieve the same end in Danzig through an electoral triumph which would enable them to dissolve the *Volkstag* and overthrow the constitution. They failed significantly. In the election of April 7, 1935, they received only 57% of the vote and elected only 43 of the 72 deputies. Denied the opportunity for changing the constitution the Nazi majority nevertheless decided to take matters into its own hands. The Senator of Justice said:

> "One cannot make law here as in Germany, but administrative measures will be adopted which will lead to the same results."

For the first time Danzig Jews suffered open attack. Jewish merchants who came as usual to the St. Dominic market, were herded off to a side street and picketed by Storm Troopers. In August, 1935, the authorities stated that they would accept no responsibility for "measures of subordinate officials." That year two Jewish petitions regarding the situation in Danzig were laid before the Council of the League of Nations. The result was a recommendation on the part of the Council which did not change matters in Danzig.

Although the Senate on May 5, 1936, amended certain of its former decrees which the Council and the Permanent Court of International Justice had declared contrary to the constitution, the following day saw the publication of regulations for the admission to judicial office, the bar, and the civil service which prescribed that the candidate must be acceptable "with regard to his personality." This proviso was obviously meant to cover the exclusion of non-Aryans.

The year 1937 brought marked deterioration in the field of Jewish economic rights, with the introduction of a law requiring a permit for the founding, expansion, or transfer of shops or handicraft establishments, including even those obtained through inheritance. Jews could obtain no such permits. Pressure was brought to bear on the owners of buildings to deny or to dis-

continue leases for commercial and professional premises held by Jews. Autumn of the year (October 25, 1937) saw the first pogrom. Jews were beaten, the windows of nearly all Jewish shops were smashed, and several stores were destroyed. Although Greiser deemed it necessary to apologize for these events, Danzig at the beginning of the fateful year 1938 embarked on a "tax-pogrom." Revenue officials appeared in the premises of Jewish industrialists and merchants, probed their ledgers, often for weeks, and always found a pretext to inflict tremendous fines, in one particular case 1,250,000 gulden, which resulted in the suicide of the owner of the firm. Delinquent taxes were collected with utmost severity. Jewish customers who happened to be present at the time of investigation were searched and their money confiscated for alleged tax-debts. All Jewish employees were dismissed and the Jewish Employment Office closed. On January 1, 1939, Danzig openly joined the Labor Front of the German Reich. Jews were ejected from seaside resorts, they were forbidden to enter theatres and the public library, and generally were not permitted to go out after nightfall.

The Free City joined wholeheartedly in the pogrom of November, 1938. The synagogue of Zoppot was set on fire and that of Langfuhr wrecked. The time was becoming ripe. On November 21 the Nuremberg Laws were introduced in clear violation of the constitution. Jewish lawyers and doctors were told to wind up their affairs by the end of February, 1939.

By the end of 1938, 3,000 to 4,000 Jews had already left Danzig. Now the Jewish community undertook to arrange for wholesale emigration. All real estate owned by the community, including the synagogue, passed into the hands of the Free City. Measures were taken to pool Jewish financial resources in order to support the emigration of the pauperized members. In March, 1939, a ship carrying five hundred Jews left Danzig; another transport followed and the evacuation would have been carried through according to plan. But on September 1, 1939, as the German Reichstag heard Hitler's declaration of war, his armies marched into Danzig and Poland. The same day, after six years of turmoil, Danzig was annexed by the Reich. The remainder of the Danzig Jews were later deported to Polish ghettos.

AUSTRIA

I. Background

German occupation brought swift destruction to perhaps the most brilliant Jewish community in pre-Hitler Europe. It was of Viennese Jews that a well known author wrote:

> "In their customs, their appearance, their spiritual qualities they formed one of the finest strata of society in the world. They were neither narrow-minded nor boastful; they kept their eyes and hearts directed to the rest of Europe, felt with justification that they were an elite dating from the old empire. There is no need to enumerate the famous names in art, science and industry which this small group of scarcely 200,000 people has given to the world."

For the record, however, it would be well to recall some of those who have had great influence on Austria and the surrounding countries but are comparatively unknown in the United States: Karl Kraus, editor of *Fackel;* the great newspapermen, Moritz Benedikt, Moritz Szeps, and the Singer brothers, the pianist Alfred Gruenfeld, the sociologist Josef Popper-Lynkeus; the historian Heinrich Friedjung, among many others. And a group of brilliant representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia active between 1870 and 1910, who contributed an important part of the essence that was Vienna, including the professor of law Karl Gruenhut, the actor Adolf Sonnenthal, the composer Karl Goldmark, the statesmen Josef Unger and Emil Steinbach. Freud and Schnitzler belong to this group, although they were still alive after the war. Gustav Mahler, Moritz Rosenthal and Erich Wolfgang Korngold are names known wherever music is heard, as are Max Reinhardt and Elizabeth Bergner in the world of the theatre. After Anschluss, Professor Namier, a British scholar wrote:

> "The Jews form the greater part of Vienna's educated and well-to-do inhabitants . . . with these men . . . the best part of what the world was accustomed to consider Viennese culture will be laid to rest."

The bright traditions of this culture were kept alive throughout the tempests of the post-war period not only by the intelligence and enthusiasm of Jewish scholars, authors, playwrights, composers and publishers, but also by the thousands of middle-class and proletarian Jews who formed the bulk of the audiences and reading public. Rarely if ever had a Jewish group *as such* played so significant a role in the service of mutual understanding and good will between their country and the world. Through their influence the window toward the western democracies was kept open until March 1938.

By and large, Austrian Jews were Viennese Jews. Before 1918, Vienna, capital of the Habsburg Monarchy, had little in common with the Alpine provinces. Vienna's German elements derive mostly from what later became known as the Sudetenland and all the peoples of the monarchy as well were represented in the population of the metropolis. When the old fortress grew into a modern capital and attracted considerable numbers of Jews from the Habsburg provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia, and from Hungary, the Alpine districts received practically none of them. Even in a period of liberalism and prosperity these lands offered few opportunities for Jewish settlement. A quite anomalous distribution of the Jewish population was thus created, when in 1919 the treaty of St. Germain made of Vienna and the Alpine provinces the Republic of Austria. No less than 93% of the Jewish population was concentrated in Vienna proper, and at least 3% more in its immediate vicinity. There were scarcely any Jews in the western part of the new republic and none of the federal states of Upper Austria, Salzburg, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Carinthia had more than 0.1% Jews.

The seven communities of the former Hungarian Burgenland, with a Jewish population of 3,000, were notable among Austria's 25 Jewish settlements. In 1937 the Jewish population of Austria numbered 192,000, or 2.83% of the total.

The tidal wave of anti-Semitism which has today engulfed Europe, originated in Vienna, the same city which saw the renaissance of Jewish national feeling. After the unification of Germany in 1871, the growth of Pan-Germanism saw the development in

Austria of a strong political movement headed by Georg von Schoenerer, which made anti-Semitism an inherent part of its Pan-Germanic program. As a counterpoise to this movement, then regarded as treasonable, Karl Lueger founded the Christian Socialist Party with its own brand of anti-Semitism, minus the racist dogma that was embarrassing to the Catholic church.

Thirty years ago, this agitation for a Greater Germany and against the Jews, left an indelible imprint on the warped consciousness of an inmate of a flophouse in the twentieth district of Vienna, who later, as the Fuehrer of the Third Reich, was to give this program a consummation beyond the wildest dreams of his precursors. The same seeds bore a different fruit too. At the turn of the century they inspired the young Viennese journalist, Theodor Herzl, to project his lofty plan for the national resurrection of the Jewish people through the reconstruction of a homeland in Palestine. Thus Vienna fostered all the elements which were to make the twentieth century so fateful in the age-old history of the Jewish people, and gave to its urbane Jewish community a unique brilliance whose heritage no barbarism can efface.

The dissolution of the Danubian Empire and the political tension which characterized its post-war history, made great inroads into the economic life and nerve centers of the Jewish community. Prosperity and spiritual well-being were not compatible with constant uncertainty and unrest. The anti-Semitic excesses of various short-lived rightist groups during the early twenties were followed by the growth of the *Heimwehr,* and the rise of Nazism, which had first reared its head in Vienna with the assault on the Zionist Congress in 1925. The year 1934 brought open civil war, which was succeeded by unsuccessful attempts to appease Hitler and finally by the familiar events leading to Anschluss.

In this light, it is not surprising that by 1937 the Jewish birthrate in Austria was probably the lowest anywhere on record, amounting to only 4 per thousand. As far back as 1927, the annual decline of the Jewish population was over 2000. In 1936, 1,100 children attained school age; two years later the figure had dropped to 882, and it was estimated that, without Anschluss, their number in 1940 would have been only 690. Emigration and

conversion played a comparatively small role in this process. Although during the period between September 1, 1932 and April 30, 1936, Jewish agencies supported the emigration of 5,500 persons, only 1,838 were of Austrian domicile and only 734 were Austrian citizens. Conversions were increasingly balanced by returns to Judaism. Thus in 1932 there were 805 conversions, and 290 reconversions, while in 1934 the numbers practically cancelled each other, as there were 586 conversions and 580 returned to the Jewish faith.

Vienna, once brain and heart for the life of 51 million subjects of the Dual Monarchy, was never able to recover from the blow which reduced it to a metropolis without a hinterland other than 32,000 square miles of mainly mountainous territory. Her industry and banking had no outlet and were strangled by tariff barriers and bans erected by the new states of the Danubian basin. This decay seriously affected the commercial middle-class and the petty merchants who found increasing numbers of competitors among dismissed employees of the big concerns. The same held true for the professions, as the wave of German-speaking state officials, army officers and their families, who having elected Austrian citizenship after the collapse of the monarchy, swarmed into Austria.

Jews of the younger generation made a feeble attempt at adjusting themselves to the changed conditions of life. In 1928 the University of Vienna still had 2,204 Jewish students. In 1936 the figure was cut almost in half (1,553). Only 13% of the Jewish youth were pupils of commercial schools, as compared to the 51% of adults occupied in commerce. Unfortunately, this shift to handicraft and skilled manual work did not provide them with brighter prospects. In Austria, too, unemployment had become the basic problem. In 1937, while 45% of the non-Jews, supporting on an average one person, were gainfully employed, only 36.5% of the Jews could earn a livelihood, and had to support an average of two persons. Lack of work became an important political factor and promoted economic anti-Semitism. Between 1929 and 1937 the number of taxpayers in the Jewish community fell from 60,000 to 45,000. By 1935 there were in Vienna 59,000 unemployed Jews and 65,000 destitute Jews (including family members) who depended on the support of charitable agencies.

It was a greatly weakened Austrian Jewry that had to face the eradication of the third Jewish settlement in Vienna—the first having been destroyed by the Vienna *Gesera* of 1421, the second in 1670.

II. Under Nazi Rule

A few days after Austria had been occupied by the German Army, G. E. R. Gedye, the *New York Times* correspondent in Vienna, wrote:

> "In a fortnight the Jews have been brought under an infinitely more severe regime than was reached in Germany after a year. That is why the daily list of suicides is so great, for the Jews are exposed to arrest, plunder, deprivation of their opportunity for a livelihood, and mob fury."

Three elements distinguished the anti-Jewish policy for Austria from that of Germany. As has already been seen, the new policy was to mark the beginning of the decisive period of annihilation of all Jewry under Nazi rule. It accelerated the pace of anti-Jewish measures already in force in Germany. It introduced far more ruthless treatment in order to speed the exodus of the Jews; and it brought significant experiments in the complete elimination of the Jews from all economic and professional activities; experiments which a few months later became law for the Reich as well as the newly seized parts of Czechoslovakia, and which today are universal throughout Nazi Europe.

As early as 1938, no less than three distinct waves of organized terror were directed against Austrian Jewry. The first, which began immediately after the invasion, was characterized by forcing Jews of both sexes to do such demeaning labor as cleaning barracks and latrines, and by the ruthless expulsion of Jews from provincial towns. In Burgenland, 51 Jews guarded by Storm Troopers, were brought by boat to a breakwater in the Danube River. There they were left without food, warm clothing or identification papers. The purpose was to drive them into Czechoslovakian territory. This was the first attempt on the part of a state to deport citizens to a foreign land. A few weeks later, followed mass arrests of Jews who were seized in the streets and

sent to German concentration camps. In November 1938 the great pogrom was thoroughly and ruthlessly carried out in Austria. These events resulted in an unprecedented wave of suicides. A neutral diplomat said:

> "I no longer try to prevent Jews from committing suicide because there is absolutely no hope for them."

Immediately after occupation the total number of suicides was already estimated at several thousand, and in a single day 150 Jews were buried. (The average for 1937 was 8-9 daily burials.)

It is interesting to note that Austria's first anti-Semitic decree was issued a few days before German occupation. Hitler's henchman, Arthur Seyss-Inquart, who had been forced on Schuschnigg as Minister of the Interior, returned from Berlin with Himmler's orders: All mayors throughout Austria must cease collaborating with priests in baptizing Jews whose citizenship was questionable. After Anschluss, the Reich's legislative machinery worked with a rapidity hitherto unknown. On March 15th the Jews were forbidden to display the German flag. The next day regulations for holding the mock plebiscite to decide the question of union with Germany excluded the Jews from participation, on the basis of the Nuremberg Laws which were only officially introduced in Austria on May 20th. As a matter of fact, not only the National Socialist Party, but even administrative authorities and judges did not wait for the publication of anti-Jewish laws in the official gazette, a process which was not completed until September 1938.

While the complete "coordination" of Austria was feverishly carried out, Jews were not admitted to the *Reichsvertretung* of the German Jews. Nor were they allowed to have a Jewish *Kulturbund* of their own. The operation of the racial laws in Vienna hit hard at an important part of high Austrian society. According to the correspondent of the *New York Times*:

> "The strict application of the Nuremberg Laws, which are already put into operation, will mean a revolution. . . . In fact, the revolution is already visible. The strict application of the grandmother clause will eliminate a large proportion of the scions of families now deemed notable and honored accordingly."

The Nazis never concealed the fact that they intended to annihilate the Jewish settlement in *Ostmark,* as they had renamed Austria. As early as March 26, 1938, at a mass meeting three weeks before the plebiscite, Goering announced that Vienna must be free of all Jews within four years. However, even the sudden plunge to the state of pariahs would not have driven the majority of Austrian Jews into exile, but for the policy of expropriation that went with it. It was in Austria that the Nazis first appointed their Party men as "commissars" or trustees of Jewish concerns. Simultaneously all restrictive regulations were put into force. As in the Reich, Austrian Jews were told to make out detailed reports of all their property as of April 26,1938, and thereafter the process of expropriation became identical for both countries. It is significant that only 20% of the small shops and factories in Jewish possession became Aryanized, thus making way for the concentration in Nazi hands of trade and industry throughout Austria. Jewish employees and workers were dismissed and deprived of any possibility of earning a livelihood. The purging of businessmen and professionals followed. By the fall of 1939, 65% of the remaining Jews were dependent on the support of the Jewish community.

Eighteen months after annexation, when the German armies marched into Poland, there still remained in Austria 55,000 desperate and destitute Jews, with no hope of emigration. The war brought to an end the unparalleled pace of Jewish emigration from Vienna, although some were still able to flee. The attack on Pearl Harbor closed the last avenue of escape. Germany however, had its own solution for the problem of emigration. Thus, as far back as October, 1939, a "removal order" (*Uebersiedlungsaktion*), at that time limited to able-bodied destitute men, was addressed to the Jewish community. These men were removed to occupied Poland. The expulsions, which were temporarily discontinued after several weeks, were, for the first time, connected with the undisguised expropriation of all property and the loss of citizenship.

The spring of 1941 still found 49,000 Jews in Vienna. A year later, there were only 30,000 living under steadily deteriorating conditions. By July their number had been reduced to about 15,-

000, and in mid-August some 10,000. A careful examination of the Vienna *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* for the spring and summer of 1942 reveals that the following methods were being used to liquidate the remnants of the Viennese Jewish community: deportation of the able-bodied, including those of middle age, for forced labor; planned annihilation of the others by starvation rations, "mercy killings" in institutions, and induced suicides. Within the short space of 82 days, the *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* recorded 502 burials in a population of between 10,000 and 15,000. *This amounts to a rise of more than 1000% over the normal death rate.* In the same period, there were practically no deaths among infants and small children, a fact which is scarcely surprising in view of the announcement as early as the fall of 1941 that *no Jewish baby had been born in Vienna in more than 18 months.*

In October 1942 the Viennese Jewish community was dissolved and its functions transferred to a Council of Elders (*Aeltestenrat*), which was given jurisdiction over all persons regarded as Jewish under the Nuremberg laws, irrespective of their religious affiliation. Membership is compulsory for all who are defined as Jewish, including baptized women whose husbands are Aryan (the so-called "privileged mixed marriage"). According to a recent Nazi order, all persons registered with the *Aeltestenrat* must be buried in the Jewish cemetery, even if they are of Christian faith. The only concession made is that, on the express wish of the next of kin, a Christian priest may officiate at the burial services at the Jewish cemetery.

By the beginning of 1943, a few institutions for the aged, and overcrowded apartments in several narrow streets harbored the last of the community which was once the third largest in Europe. After five years of Nazi rule, Vienna had become another tombstone in Hitler's European cemetery.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I. Introduction

In the Republic of Czechoslovakia, fathered by Thomas Masaryk, the Jewish people enjoyed complete civil, political and religious equality. What is more, the so-called Jewish problem was practically non-existent. The Czechoslovak Republic as constituted at the Peace Conference, comprised the so-called historical lands of the Czech people, Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, and the provinces of Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. In a total population of about 14,500,000, persons of Jewish faith numbered 356,830 or just under 2½ percent (according to the 1930 census). Jews were also permitted to declare themselves to be of Jewish nationality, a privilege of which 204,779, or about 57% availed themselves. About 25% chose Czech nationality, while those who identified themselves more closely with German or Magyar culture and language, elected German or Magyar nationality. The free choice of nationality was in keeping with the spirit of the Minorities Treaty which Czechoslovakia signed in 1919. For it must be remembered that Czechoslovakia combined within itself a diversity of peoples and traditions, and that these differences were mirrored in the Jewish population too.

The Jews of the historical provinces of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, numbering in all 117,551 (1930 census), had lived there for centuries and had become greatly assimilated. An indication of the high degree of assimilation in the former Austrian territories may be seen from the prevalence of intermarriage.

These provinces held the bulk of the industries and resources of the Republic. The population as a whole was mainly urban; more than half of those gainfully occupied worked in industry, commerce, finance, or insurance, less than one-fifth were farmers. The Jews, as a predominantly urban population, were associated with trade and industry to an even higher degree. Nearly half of the Jewish population of Bohemia (35,425 out of 76,301, accord-

ing to the 1930 census) lived in Prague and was mainly upper and middle class. As employees they formed only a very small proportion of those employed in the stone, glass, textile, building mining industries, in the foundries and hardware factories; as proprietors they were concentrated in the basic industries upon which the economy of the Czech provinces rested. In the civil service the Jews were negligible numerically but they held a number of the higher and more responsible positions.

The Jewish minority participated actively in the political life of the country. Shortly before the proclamation of Czechoslovak independence, a Jewish National Council was formed in Prague. Among its leading members were Hugo Bergmann, Max Brod, and Ludwig Singer. Later the Jewish minority was represented in the Prague municipal council, as well as in the district and provincial councils. After 1929, the Jewish Party elected two representatives to parliament, where as "guest members" of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Labor Party, they joined the government coalition. The Jewish Party included within its fold Zionists, non-Zionists and a considerable proportion of orthodox Jews. "Non-national" Jews, that is those who professed Jewish faith only, chose their places in the various other parties.

The Jewish community of Prague was one of the oldest in Central Europe and wielded great influence over the other communities. All were supervised by the Supreme Council of Jewish Communities. Contributions and membership fees were assessed upon all those who professed the Jewish religion. Concerned mainly with welfare work, the communal organizations were to prove invaluable when German refugees streamed into Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak Jewry boasted a number of influential periodicals such as *Selbstwehr* of Prague, *Juedische Volksstimme* of Brno and *Židovské Zprávy,* all of which were Zionist in character; while *Rozvoj* represented the cause of religious reform within the framework of Czechoslovak culture.

In Slovakia, which under Hungarian rule had remained backward and agrarian compared to the Czech provinces, the pattern of Jewish communal life was modelled after that of Hungary. In all there were 136,737 Jews in this province, of whom 72,678 elected

Jewish nationality in 1930. In 1920 a Union of Orthodox Communities was established with headquarters in Bratislava where the reform and the so-called *status quo* communities of Slovakia also maintained their central offices. Reflecting the cultural differences which existed among the Jews of Slovakia was the Jewish press, which consisted of three Yiddish publications, three in the German language, one in Hungarian and one in Slovak. The Jewish newspaper with the largest reading public was the German-language *Allgemeine Juedische Zeitung* of Bratislava. Under Hungarian rule, the educational system of Slovakia had been quite primitive; under the Czechoslovak Republic great progress was soon made. In 1918 there were only 140 public schools in the province; by 1935 there were 3,277; under Hungarian rule there were no Slovak high schools; by 1935, there were 49 high schools and 195 junior high schools. Among the Jewish population illiteracy dropped from 5.49 per cent in 1921 to 1.92 per cent in 1930.

In the urban economy the Jewish population played a more visible role in Slovakia than in the Czech provinces because of the undeveloped state of the Slovak middle class. In this milieu, the Jews were not nearly as much assimilated as their neighbors in Bohemia.

Finally, there were more than 100,000 Jews in the province of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (102,542 according to the 1930 census). In this mountain region, the most backward area of Central Europe, the Jews constituted more than 14 percent of the total population (compared to only 2.42 percent in the entire republic). Here Jews and Ruthenians alike lived isolated lives amid the remote plateaus of the Carpathian mountains. Among the Jews of this province, piety and superstition were blended in a way of life which to this day continues to recall the medieval past. The Jews of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia retained their traditional garb and customs; they remained distinctive and different. Practically all of them were orthodox; intermarriage was virtually unknown; assimilation inconceivable. Yet they lived at peace with their peasant neighbors and many of them tilled the soil. In fact, the proportion of peasants among the Jews of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was greater than anywhere else in Europe. What has happened to this branch of European Jewry since the outbreak of the war is still

a complete mystery. Following the German occupation of Prague in March 1939, the province of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was occupied by Hungary, its former master. Since then practically nothing has been heard from the Jewish population of more than 100,000 souls.

II. The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia

In the half year interval between the Munich pact and the German occupation of Prague, the Jewish population of the Czech provinces had cause enough to read the handwriting on the wall. Since the annexation of Austria in March 1938, Jewish refugees had been pouring into the country from Germany and Austria, and after Munich from the Sudetenland as well. By the end of 1938 there were 129,500 Jews in Bohemia-Moravia, of whom some 20,000 were recent refugees. When the Germans conducted a census in October 1939, they recorded 90,147 Jews in the Protectorate of whom 80,139 professed the Jewish faith, the remainder being Jewish by German definition. The drop of nearly 50,000 in the Jewish population in less than one year was caused by the following factors: about 46,000 emigrated, and of these 7,000 did so illegally; about 2,000 were deported to Poland in October 1939; and finally deaths exceeded births by 2,000. The same German census revealed that 46,170 Jews, more than half of the Jewish population, were concentrated in Prague.

Since the German-recorded census of October 1939, little indeed has remained of the Jewish community as it existed before the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. The agony of the Jewish population is irrevocably linked with three German names: First there was Baron Konstantin von Neurath, Hitler's original choice as Reich Protector; then Reinhard Heydrich who succeeded him to enforce a "firmer" policy, and third S.S. Leader and Police General Kurt Daluege, who stepped into the shoes of the slain Hangman. Under von Neurath, who was appointed Reich Protector on March 19, 1939, came the laws which deprived Jews of their civil and political rights, excluded them from the Czech economy and confiscated their property. Under Heydrich, the physical destruction of the Jewish population began

Heydrich replaced von Neurath on September 25, 1941. A short time before, on September 1st, he had, in his capacity as Deputy Minister of the Interior, promulgated the decree which compelled Jews to wear the Star of David. As the new Protector of Bohemia-Moravia, Heydrich began by closing synagogues on the ground that Jews were fomenting unrest and utilizing their houses of worship as nests of conspiracy against the Reich. At Heydrich's direction many synagogues were converted into motion picture theatres and museums. It was Heydrich, too, who decreed that the ancient prison town of Terezín become a Jewish concentration camp and depot for deportation to Poland. The reign of terror which the Gestapo Chieftain introduced as soon as he took office, was marked by about 1500 executions between September 28th and November 30, 1941 alone. During that period, 324 names of Heydrich's victims were published, and of this number 52 were Jewish. When Heydrich was assassinated in May 1942, and followed by Daluege, the latter struck in swift retaliation, ordering the mass execution of hostages: for Czechs the firing squad; for Jews the gallows. Between June 27th and July 3, 1942, no less than 535 persons were known to have been slain on Daluege's orders. Of 750 persons executed after July 3rd, 62 were Jews. The German-published list of victims showed that a large proportion were professors, teachers, engineers, judges, lawyers, civil servants, physicians and other representatives of the Czech intelligentsia. The death list included two seventeen-year-old boys and a woman of 75. That is how Daluege made his debut as Reich Protector, proving both to Hitler and to the population of Bohemia-Moravia, Christian and Jewish alike, that the removal of Heydrich meant only the continuation of Gestapo terror with greater brutality.

For the Jewish population, the campaign of mass murder which Heydrich instituted and his successor followed, was but one stage on the road to annihilation. From the moment Czechoslovak independence ended, the German machinery of oppression went to work to reduce the Jews of Bohemia-Moravia to the status of pariahs. Anti-Jewish legislation in the Protectorate was patterned for the most part after the laws already introduced in the Third Reich. With one novel twist, however: in Bohemia-Moravia there are two distinct anti-Jewish codes, one handed down in the name

of the Reich by the "Protector"; the other promulgated by the puppet Czech government. This dual legal apparatus enables the Reich to monopolize any sphere of anti-Jewish action which it wishes to reserve for itself, while at the same time delegating to the Hacha "government" such Jewish matters as are of local concern only.

The major anti-Jewish decrees promulgated in the name of the Reich Protector dealt with the following subjects:

(1) The status of Jewish property (June 21, 1939).
(2) The displacement of Jewish employees (October 23, 1939 and September 14, 1940).
(3) The elimination of Jews from economic life (January 26, 1940).
(4) The status of Jews and Jewish organizations (ordinance of March 5, 1940 which concentrated the handling of intra-Jewish affairs in the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Prague).
(5) The tenancy of Jews (October 7, 1940 and February 5, 1941).
(6) The protection of "German blood and honor" (February 16, 1940).
(7) The wearing of the Star of David (September 1, 1941).
(8) The notorious edict of February 16, 1942 "concerning measures for the allocation of Jews in closed settlements." The last spelled the prison fortress of Terezin.

In addition to the above decrees, closely modelled after the anti-Jewish legislation of Germany, Reich officials in Bohemia-Moravia have handed down a host of other oppressive regulations, many unpublished, which have operated to torment and to destroy the Jewish population.

The impotent Hácha government has had to follow the German lead, enacting both executive ordinances for the enforcement of the Reich legislation and decrees of its own. Jews were barred from public life by the Czech "government" ordinance of July 4, 1939, which was not published until April 24, 1940. This decree excluded Jews from all judicial and administrative posts; from public bodies; from official and quasi-official occupations; and from the liberal professions. Aping Nazi Germany, a decree for the "protection of Czech blood and honor" was promulgated on

March 7, 1942. It laid down "additional prescriptions for Jews and part-Jews." An ordinance of July 17, 1942 deprived Jews of all claims for social security, overtime pay, holidays and other rights accorded to Czech workers. Jewish children were excluded from Czech schools on August 15, 1940. They had been barred from German schools in the Protectorate almost immediately after occupation. One Jewish school, located in the fifth district of Prague, was permitted to remain open. Naturally it could accommodate only a comparative handful of Jewish students. Children who could find no school bench turned to the private classes established by the Jewish community.

The Germans tried as far back as April 1939 to "reorganize" the Jewish community along the lines of the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland.* The entire responsibility for the relief and emigration of Jews of the Protectorate was turned over to the Prague Jewish Community and its branch in Brno. To meet the heavy pressure of the duties imposed upon it by the German authorities, the Prague communal organization was forced to expand greatly. By January 1942 it consisted of 32 divisions and agencies including such departments as: Dossiers on Jews, Vital Statistics, Social Welfare and Sick Benefit, Emigration, Internal Travel, Jewish Labor, Division for non-Mosaic Jews, and many others.

Religious matters in the Protectorate were also under the supervision of the Prague community, although from the time Heydrich succeeded von Neurath the official *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* of Prague no longer carried announcements of religious services. Since the German occupation of Bohemia-Moravia, acts of desecration and destruction are known to have been committed against synagogues in the following localities: Náchod, Pardubice, Falknov, Budějovice, Toužim, Votice, Milevsko, Dobruška, Louny, Brno, Jihlava, Vítkovice, Zábřeh, Bohumín, Místek-Frýdek, Moravská-Ostrava, Prostějov.

Before large-scale deportation began, the Jewish population of Bohemia-Moravia had already been deprived by the laws of the Reich Protector and the supine Czech government of all civil and political rights, of its place in the economy, of its property and indeed of its very bread. Under the terms of a series of police

edicts, Jews were denied access to market-places; they were forced to buy food toward the end of the day when little remained, and they were denied many unrationed and semi-rationed foods. In the city of Prague, a police decree of September 12, 1940 forbade Jews to approach the market-places on marketing days. A decree of February 4, 1941 provided that Jews could only buy food between three and five P.M. Similar orders were issued soon thereafter in Brno. An order of the Minister of Agriculture, dated October 23, 1941, provided that Jews were to get no fruit of any kind, no marmalade, jam, cheese, sweets, fish, poultry or game. Later, when a decree of May 28, 1942, established consumer tickets for previously unrationed foods, it was expressly provided that Jews were to receive no such tickets. These decrees add up to slow starvation. By 1941, short rations combined with inadequate medical care (in Prague, only a single private hospital accommodated Jewish patients) and overcrowding sent the death rate soaring to 14% of the Jewish population. Moreover, during that year there were only 617 Jewish births in the entire Protectorate.

Since October 1941, a drive has been under way to expel Jews from Prague, Plzeň and Brno, ultimately to the ghettos and extermination centers of Poland and occupied Soviet territory. The Jews marked for deportation, including their womenfolk, children and aged, were herded together in synagogues, usually at night. The first stop was Terezín which Heydrich had selected as the deportation depot. Terezín, with a normal population of about 7,000, is an old fortress dating back to the time of Joseph II. Situated on the left bank of the Elbe, on the main road between Dresden and Prague, the fortifications and subterranean vaults extend over an area of several miles. During the past two years, Terezín has become a vast prison for the Jews of Bohemia-Moravia. Back in December 1941, 7,000 young men were sent there for forced labor. On February 16, 1942 a decree was published whereby the entire town was transformed into a ghetto under Gestapo supervision. By this edict the municipality of Terezín was dissolved and the "Aryan" population was ordered to move. The Gestapo ordered the Jewish community of Prague and its Brno branch to compile deportation lists. By the middle of 1942 an additional 10,000 Jews were interned in Terezín. Between July 1st and July

15, 1942, 8,000 elderly Jewish men and women ranging between 65 and 85 years of age were also sent to the fortress town, where a so-called Reich Asylum for the Aged was established. In the second half of July, 8,000 additional Czech Jews were imprisoned in Terezín. The Jewish population of Prague was now no more than 15,000, and in all of the Protectorate no more than 30,000 Jews were still at liberty. A few months later, it was reported that only 10,000 were still free.

Very little is known as to the actual conditions within Terezín, apart from the fact that the able-bodied are forced to construct barracks to receive new arrivals bound for Poland. Even less is known regarding conditions within the home for the aged. Those who are immured within the very dungeons are completely cut off from the outside world and nothing is known regarding their fate. A second concentration camp established in August 1942 in the vicinity of Tábor, Southern Bohemia, holds Jewish deportees for whom there is no place in overcrowded Terezín. On February 25, 1943 the *New York Times* estimated that there were then 10,000 Czech Jews in Terezín.

To the overwhelming majority of the Czech people, the persecution of the Jews stands as one of the symbols of the liberties lost when the republic was destroyed. Revolt against Nazi-inspired racialism, even if expressed only by such a gesture as accompanying a Jewish friend to the deportation train, is a Czech challenge to the whole caste system so laboriously built up for the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. Since September 1941, when all persons defined as Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David, "Aryan" Czechs have been forbidden to maintain any relations whatsoever with Jews. This prohibition has not worked. On October 6, 1941, the controlled radio warned all Czechs who continued to maintain cordial relations with Jews that they, too, would be forced to wear distinguishing marks and, if necessary, would be taken into protective custody. The newspaper *A Zet Pondělník* found it necessary to launch a tirade against "Aryan" Czechs who publicly wore the Star of David. Such persons, said the newspaper, would be designated as Jews, excluded from the nation, and all anti-Jewish measures would be applied to them. Intimidating the Czech peo-

ple is no easy task. On July 22, 1943, the world learned of the execution of two Czech men and a woman for helping Jews to escape deportation.

III. Slovakia

Created in the hour of Czechoslovakia's destruction through the connivance of Hitler and the native fascist Catholic Peoples' Party, puppet Slovakia has proved to be the anti-Semitic state par excellence. Since Berlin recognized the "independence" of Slovakia in March 1939, that Nazi satellite has made a veritable fetish of the relentless persecution of the Jewish population (reduced from more than 135,000 to about 90,000 in November 1938 as the result of Hungary's territorial grab one month after Munich).

Father Hlinka, the founder of the Slovak brand of Hitlerism, died a little too soon to reap the fruit of his labors, but his political heirs, particularly Premier Josef Tiso and Minister of Interior Šaňo Mach, have served the Axis cause with complete devotion. Declared Šaňo Mach to a gathering of Hlinka Guard leaders:

> "The constitution [of Slovakia] and everything must be conducted in a spirit of Slovak National Socialism . . . Slovak National Socialism means the practical and spiritual integration of the Slovak people in the European total revolution led by Adolf Hitler."

The constitution of July 21, 1939, defines Slovakia as a National Socialist State based upon "Christian" principles. The single party principle is embodied in the Hlinka Guard created from the ranks of the Catholic Peoples' Party. The Hlinka Guard is not merely a political machine; it is an efficient instrument of terror. These Slovak storm troopers not only have the benefit of Berlin's advice; inside Slovakia itself they work under the guidance of the so-called *Freiwillige Schutzstaffel,* the Elite Guard of the German minority. These two organizations operate in close collaboration, suppressing all pro-democratic movements, terrorizing Czechs and anti-Nazi Slovaks alike, and executing the countless anti-Jewish measures which have been enacted since March 15, 1939.

Slovakia boasts the most elaborate anti-Jewish legislation in all of Axis Europe. By September 1941, about 130 anti-Jewish

edicts had already been promulgated by the puppet regime. On September 10, 1941, a sweeping Jewish Code was published, a document of 270 paragraphs restating and amplifying laws and ordinances published before that date. In the two years that have elapsed since the enactment of the Jewish Code, at least 150 additional anti-Jewish edicts have come out of Bratislava. Anti-Jewish legislation has been complicated by the fact that the political leaders of Slovakia were Catholic priests. Consequently, it was not easy to embrace the racial principle in full. Distinctions were, therefore, made between Jews of various categories in order to safeguard the rights of persons baptized before a certain date; there were also provisions regarding Jews who were married to Catholics. Furthermore, because of the absence of a developed Slovak middle class, exemptions had to be made for "economically valuable" Jews. In many cases, too, the specific anti-Jewish provisions reflected the complicated bookkeeping of Slovak business dealings with Germany. Thus when the Slovak Government seized furs, shoes, and other personal belongings of Jews and turned them over to the Reichswehr for use during the first winter campaign in Russia, the precise value of this property was registered by law, not for the sake of compensating the Jews, but so that Slovakia could collect payment from the Reich.

The first definition of Jews contained in the ordinance of April 18, 1939, which limited Jews in the professions, was not based on "race" or "blood" but on "Israelite faith." Any person who adhered to the Jewish religion as far back as October 30, 1918, or was descended from a person then of Jewish faith, was regarded as "Jewish" without distinction as to sex or nationality. On the other hand, persons of Jewish descent who were baptized before October 30, 1918, were exempt from the initial decree. Needless to say the Slovak definition did not satisfy Berlin. The Nazis pressed for the adoption of the Nuremberg principle. In the Jewish Code of September 1941 the racial criterion was accepted and the notion of part-Jew (*Mischling*) was introduced. As a result, from 10,000 to 15,000 baptized Jews, mainly of the professional and well-to-do commercial class, were engulfed by anti-Jewish legislation and their property subjected to Aryanization. Even under the Jewish Code, however, there were still certain

exemptions for Jews whose economic skill was indispensable. Such persons received special identification cards as well as residence and travel permits. Even the favored few did not come by these privileges without the payment of a stiff price. The "fees" for temporary security fixed under the Jewish Code ranged as high as 500,000 crowns for full Jews and 100,000 crowns for *Mischlinge*.

The principal beneficiary of the confiscation of Jewish-owned property has been the Slovak party state. Even the hollow sham of an "atonement fine" which the Reich levied on German Jews following the vom Rath assassination, was imitated by a Slovak decree of November 9, 1941, which imposed a capital levy of 20 percent on all remaining Jewish property.

Early in 1940, all Jewish public institutions were closed down and the familiar Central Jewish Office under strict government control was created to expedite the liquidation of the Jewish community. As usual the functions of the central body were defined as cultural, educational and philanthropic, but the actual purpose of the Central Jewish Office was to act as the clearing house for deportation — as the Jews were soon to discover.

Persecution in Slovakia has taken all of the obvious forms and certain unique refinements as well. For example, Chapter 10 of the Jewish Code provides:

> "Confessors of the Israelite faith, members of the Jewish religious communities, are permitted to exercise their religious practices in such buildings only whose external appearance does not indicate their purpose."

What this meant, of course, was that Jews could not turn to their synagogues for comfort, for there are few Jewish houses of worship in Slovakia "whose external appearance does not indicate their purpose." Before this clever clause was devised, members of the Hlinka Guard had desecrated and destroyed synagogues in Bratislava, Žilina, Bardějov, Bánská Bystřice, Kežmarok, Malacky, Nitra, Svatý Jur, Zelnica, Presov, Pezinok, Stupava, Trnava.

In Slovakia too the Yellow Star must be worn by every Jew over six years of age, and it must also be displayed on the entrance of every Jewish dwelling as an invitation to Hlinka Guard cruelty.

The multiple anti-Jewish restrictions enacted during the first

two years of Nazi domination proved to be only the prelude to a more radical program: the complete expulsion of the Jewish population. Back in August 1941, Jews were forced to leave their homes in the historic Jewish Quarter of Bratislava which dated back to the fourteenth century. The district was razed to the ground to make way for a park. Residents of the destroyed area who were still employed, were transferred to a new ghetto within the city, but the majority of Bratislava Jews were moved by fall to ghettos in Sered and Nováky. In the same period, Jews were expelled from Prešov, Nové Město, Žilina, Lipt. Sv. Mikuláš and about twenty smaller towns. They were concentrated in fourteen temporary Jewish centers. By March 25, 1942, the preliminary arrangements for the deportation of the Jews were completed and Minister of Interior Mach then announced quite plainly that his government intended to expel the Jews, minus their belongings.

On May 15, 1942 the Slovak parliament approved a constitutional law for the deportation of the Jewish inhabitants of Slovakia. Exempted for the moment were persons baptized no later than March 14, 1939, persons living with non-Jews in valid marriage contracted before the date of the Jewish Code, and certain professionals and technicians, specifically retained for a fixed period because they were essential to some branch of the administration. Jews who were baptized too late to escape deportation, were to travel separately and be permitted to live in accordance with their creed. The deportees lost their Slovak citizenship and their property was declared forfeit to the state. In as much as their destination was Nazi-occupied Poland, Slovakia had to pay the Reich 4,000 marks per head for receiving the victims. This balanced the accounts for the payments made by the Reich to Slovakia for confiscated clothing and furs sent to the German army in Russia.

By May 20, 1942, 32,000 Jews had been deported and 5,000 others had fled across the frontiers of Slovakia. On May 18th, 5,000 were transported to Hungary, on the ground that they were born in Czechoslovak territory ceded to Hungary in November 1938. By the end of June another 15,000-18,000 Jews were deported mainly from Eastern Slovakia, presumably to Poland. On July 19, 1942. the Bratislava newspaper, *Gardista,* stated that from 56,000-

57,000 Jews had been deported from Slovakia. About 18,000 Slovak Jews were confined last summer in the Polish ghettos of Lukow, Miedzyrzec-Podlaski and Chelm. On October 11, 1942, the Berlin radio quoted Šaňo Mach as saying that there were only 20,000 Jews then left in Slovakia. That was nearly a year ago.

In December 1942, all remaining Jews between the ages of 16 and 60 were ordered to register for forced labor in the camps at Sered, Nováky and Vyhnia, and to take with them their aged and children as well. Persons baptized before March 14, 1939 were included under the order. For the temporary "privilege" of laboring in these camps prior to deportation, the Slovak government imposed a special tax.

In May, 1943, the official *Věstnik* revealed that there remained in Slovakia only 5,000 persons of Jewish faith and 11,000 Christians of Jewish origin.

IV. Free Czechoslovakia Speaks

Within dismembered Czechoslovakia itself, the Czechs have shown far more stubborn resistance to Nazi domination or ideological influence than the Slovaks. The quislings of the Protectorate have found much less popular support than their counterparts in puppet Slovakia. The Czech people, with the exception of a small group of corrupt collaborationists, have remained free from Nazi taint. Whenever possible, they have tried to help their Jewish fellow countrymen. Even in Slovakia there has been some opposition to racial persecution. Catholic clergymen have been warned against baptizing Jews in order to shield them. The Protestant Church of Slovakia in a pastoral letter of May 31, 1942 denounced the "reckless anti-Semitism" of the regime.

Speaking in the name of Czechs and Slovaks alike, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile has repudiated all acts committed on Czechoslovak soil in derogation of the rights of the Jewish people, whether such acts emanated from the Reich Protector of Bohemia-Moravia, the Hacha "government," or the puppet Slovak regime. President Beneš told the *Union of Orthodox Jews of Czechoslovakia* in London on July 22, 1941, that "Jewish rights in postwar Czechoslovakia will be secured in the same way as those of all

other citizens." Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, speaking in New York on June 18, 1942, said:

"You can believe me when I promise that the Jewish problem is inseparably united with the problem of my own people. Hitler has tried to take away human dignity from the Jews, from the Czechs, and from all the others. The result will be vastly different from what he expected. To reinstate the people of Israel, to make them feel safe, to give them social and economic security, to try to repay them for the sacrifice they brought for the cause of freedom, to solve the Jewish problem in all its complexity, is the duty of every public-spirited man and woman, regardless of race, color, and nationality."

Southeastern Europe

HUNGARY

I. Background

For over a thousand years, Jews have lived in Hungary. They were mentioned in the correspondence between Chasdai Ibn Shapruth and the ruler of the the Chazars. During the era of the Árpád dynasty (1000-1300 A.D.), the kings invited Jews to the country and bestowed on them special favors. Béla IV assured them of a privileged status in the hope that they might bring new life to the land which had been ravaged by the Tartars. Down the centuries, the Jews who settled in Hungary came from Western Europe. It was not until the last hundred years that they began migrating from the East. The Eastern Jews brought with them the new Chassidism, but the descendants of the Western Jews continued to adhere to traditional forms of worship. Despite their differences, the two groups lived together in harmony; it was not until the latter part of the 19th century, when the reform movement took hold, that a schism took place in Hungarian Jewry. In 1868, one year after they received full Hungarian citizenship, the Jews became divided into three factions: orthodox, status quo, and neolog (reform). The three groups massed into separate organizations, each headed by a central office. In 1895, the Jewish religion took its place among the "legally acknowledged and recognized sects." These religious organizations were enabled to remain powerful and unchanged for a period of fifty years because of Hungary's strict laws governing religious communities. According to law, not more than one congregation of the same denomination (whether orthodox or reform) could exist in even the largest city. The government sometimes made an exception, providing that the economic security of both the old and the new congregations was assured. Each had the right to levy a tax on its members, which was collected through the state

authorities. Weathering many internal differences, Hungarian Jewry remained aloof from the outside Jewish world; neither the Zionist movement, *Agudath Israel,* nor any other international trend left an appreciable mark on the Jews of Hungary.

In 1830 there were 90,026 Jews in Hungary (2.3% of the total population). One hundred years later, the Jews comprised over 5% of the total population and numbered 444,567. Beginning in 1870, when industrial capitalism reached Hungary, the city of Budapest, as the center of political and economic life, offered enormous economic possibilities. The Hungarian middle class filled the civil service positions and looked down upon commercial endeavor; the German minority, mainly prosperous farmers, would not leave the land, while the other minorities (Rumanian, Slovakian, Serbian) were more or less a subject class. It remained for the Jews to take advantage of the commercial opportunities, and this they did. They came to Budapest in large numbers, mainly from the southern and western counties. The same process took place on a smaller scale in towns and villages where increased commercial possibilities attracted many Jews. Thus the Jewish population grew with the development of the cities and towns. By 1930 the Jews comprised more than one-fifth (20.3%) of the population of Budapest. Of the total Jewish population, 204,371, or nearly half, resided in Budapest.

The Jews served an important function in the development of Hungary, and her economic rise from a Balkan level to that of Western Europe may largely be credited to them. There was very little friction because no competitive middle class existed, thus leaving the field clear for Jewish initiative. As a result, they rapidly became assimilated; within a generation, the Hungarian language replaced German and Yiddish for the vast majority. In areas where there were large numbers of other national minorities, Jews were the first to spread Hungarian culture. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Jews had become completely fused with the life of the country. As long as the Dual Monarchy existed, they constituted the commercial middle class of Hungary, they developed the industries and trades, and contributed much to the character of the cities.

All this changed in October 1918, when the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy and the defeat of the Central Powers reduced Hungary to a fraction of its former size, and made of it a homogeneous Magyar state. Now there was no longer place for the thousands of Hungarian officials and nobles who lost their posts and their land in Slovakia, Croatia and Transylvania. The gentry found itself unemployed, and forced to seek new opportunities within the confines of the truncated state. Thus, as competition became keen, the special niche occupied by the Jews during the existence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was destroyed. The seeds of anti-Semitism were sown.

Immediately after military collapse came internal chaos. First a brief period of Socialist rule; then a shortlived Bolshevist regime, headed by a Jewish journalist named Béla Kun. The Communist dictatorship was in turn overthrown by White Guards. In the reign of terror which followed, more than one thousand Jews were murdered.

During the ten-year premiership of Bethlen, as well as under his successors, Count Julius Károlyi (1931-1932) and Goemboes (1932-1936), the situation of the Jews improved. Under Bethlen such well-known Jewish figures as Vázsonyi, Paul Sándor, Ernö Brodi, and others again appeared in parliament. In 1927 a law was enacted which provided that Jews were to be represented in the Senate by one reform and one orthodox rabbi. There were now 50,000 members in the Budapest neolog congregation; many towns boasted religious communities of from five to ten thousand members. Large or small, each religious community had its synagogue and rabbi who held his office for life. Parochial schools, talmud torahs and talmudic academies provided religious education and were centers of religious learning. This remained unchanged until 1940.

Meanwhile in the economic field, the Jews were losing their unique position. With job-hunting, former civil servants crowding into commerce and the professions, and with the children of Hungarian farmers and laborers entering the universities in ever-increasing number, competition both in commerce and in the professions became sharper. Between 1920 and 1930, the number of Gentile physicians in Hungary increased from 935 to

1,798, while the number of Jewish doctors only rose from 1,394 to 2,151. During the same period, the proportion of Jews in trade fell from 40 to 35 per cent, although their absolute number increased by nearly 9,000.

Despite all this, the economic distribution of the Jews in Hungary remained quite remarkable, even as late as 1930. Dr. Alajos Kovács, a leading figure of Hungarian science and member of the Hungarian Christian Socialist Party, was commissioned in 1936 to write a thesis to be used for anti-Semitic propaganda purposes. It was entitled *The Position of the Jews in Crippled Hungary in the Light of Statistics.* Beneath this long-winded title, some interesting facts came to light. Kovács was compelled to admit, on the basis of his own research, that the Jewish population was economically distributed along far healthier lines than the Gentiles. In 1930, according to Kovács, 43 percent of the Jewish population belonged to the commercial and industrial upper and middle class; 25 percent to the intelligentsia; and nearly 32 percent to the working class. In contrast to these figures, Kovács pointed out that, while in the Christian population the bourgeoisie constituted 44 percent, the intelligentsia amounted to only 5 percent, and "almost half the Christian population consists of members of the poorest and most ignorant strata."

But for the Jews a vicious cycle had now begun. They educated their children for the already overcrowded professions, where they encountered increasing difficulty. In 1920 the first anti-Jewish law was passed, the *numerus clausus* to limit the proportion of Jewish students in the universities. Then the establishment of the *Futura* government granaries eliminated Jews from one of the most important branches of trade. Some Jewish government employees were dismissed, and new vacancies were filled only with Gentiles. With many doors closing, Jews crowded the fields still open to them. To circumvent the *numerus clausus,* they sent their sons to foreign universities; the number of Jewish professionals, white collar employees, and skilled workers continued to increase despite restrictions and competition. However, the charged atmosphere was evidenced by the emigration of 3,044 Jews over a period of ten years.

Despite economic tension, the political position of the Jews steadily improved until 1933. Hungary continued to be chiefly concerned with the recovery of lost territories. Several hundred thousand Jews lived in these lands. They were Hungarian in language and culture; in Transylvania and Slovakia they maintained a substantial Hungarian press. Consequently the government felt that it would be poor strategy to alienate this large group by the practice of state anti-Semitism.

Premiers Bethlen, Károlyi and Goemboes were geared to Mussolini's fascism. By 1935, however, the parliamentary elections began to show Hitler's influence. With Goemboes' death that same year, the vacillating policies of the new Premier, Kálmán Darányi, left Hungary wide open for Nazi propaganda. Nazi newspapers, clubs, and front organizations sprang up like toadstools. The next election saw two Nazis in parliament. Shortly after Munich, Hungary obtained a slice of Slovakia, and Darányi's successor, Béla Imrédy, openly joined Hitler. Imrédy was finally ousted on the suspicion that he was of partly Jewish origin. Under Count Paul Teleky, who followed him, Nazi representation in parliament greatly increased.

II. Axis Partnership and War

After the Nazi occupation of Austria, the tides of Hitlerism swept into Hungary as well. In May, 1938, Premier Imrédy forced through an anti-Jewish law which provided for a gradual reduction, over a course of five years, of the percentage of Jews in commerce and industry. A year later, on May 4, 1939, came a far more sweeping anti-Jewish law. Aimed to satisfy the anti-Semitic policy of the government, while placating the church in its concern regarding converts, the new law emerged as one of the most complicated documents in the vast field of recent anti-Jewish legislation in Axis Europe. For the sake of the church, exemption was provided for persons with but one Jewish parent or two Jewish grandparents, if they were born Christian or had been converted before the age of two. Members of the Christian clergy were under no circumstances to be deemed Jewish, nor any person who had been converted before 1919,

nor one who had contracted a marriage pursuant to which his children would not be considered Jewish. Further exceptions were made for veterans who had been wounded or decorated in the last war. In certain cases, however, even such veterans could be considered Jewish.

Amplifying the earlier anti-Jewish law, the new act provided for the reduction or exclusion of Jews in accordance with a staggered timetable ranging from several months to five years. Accordingly, Jewish judges of the royal courts were to be retired by January 1, 1940, while Jewish teachers were not to be finally removed until January 1, 1943. Within five years after enactment of the law, all licenses held by Jews for the sale of monopoly products were to be revoked; in certain commercial occupations Jews were to be reduced gradually to a twelve percent quota. Jews were not excluded from law, medicine, engineering, the theatre, journalism, dentistry, and handicraft, but no vacancies in these pursuits were to be filled by Jews until their proportion in each was reduced to 6 percent. Furthermore, the number of Jewish college and university students was to be reduced at once to 6 percent, while Jewish technology students were limited to 12 percent. The law also empowered the authorities to compel Jews to turn over or lease their real estate.

Despite its many exceptions, and the fact that Jews were not excluded from the leading professions, the law proved disastrous. It wrecked the careers of hundreds of Jewish students, and completely barred Jews from the civil service. Within a fairly short period it meant that the number of Jews in white collar employment would be reduced to 12 percent, at a time when a large proportion was forced into these fields. According to 1930 figures, which placed the number of Jews economically active at 213,235, the law condemned 34-35% of the Jews to ultimate impoverishment.

In practice, the law of May 4, 1939, proved even worse. For although it established deadlines for the elimination of Jewish employees, it did not forbid their earlier dismissal. Many private concerns anxious "to hasten this process of elimination,"

fired Jewish employees long before the statutory period had expired.

Despite strong opposition in parliament on the part of the Social Democrats and the Catholic Church, the Nazi line was followed in other ways, too. Labor camps for Jews were established. On the pretext that they were "spreading false rumors" or because V's for Victory appeared on their synagogues, Jews were repeatedly rounded up and interned. Man-hunts were organized to track down Jews who had escaped from Bratislava or Vienna. Priests who "forged" Hungarian birth certificates for foreign Jews, or "altered" records of conversion, to make it appear that recent converts had adopted Catholicism before the deadline fixed by law, were arrested and imprisoned.

As Hungary drew closer to the Reich, the tempo of anti-Jewish action quickened. In January 1940, a decree of the Minister of Education dismissed all Jewish teachers as of that month, although according to the 1939 law they were to be retired gradually until their complete disappearance in 1943. The Minister of Commerce decreed on November 16, 1940, that only those Jewish tavern and innkeepers who employed Gentile help would be permitted to keep their licenses until the final date provided by law. Many hastily discharged their Jewish employees, but nevertheless lost their licenses a few months later. Between January and April, 1940, Jewish newsdealers, market hawkers, traveling salesmen and peddlers lost their licenses. In October 1940, the Hungarian parliament celebrated the return of Transylvania by passing a law which deprived the Jewish religion of representation in the Senate.

Independent Jewish merchants were crippled by restrictive decrees. They were forbidden to sell such government-controlled articles as salt, kerosene, tobacco and sugar. Only assigned wholesalers were permitted to deal in textiles, coal and groceries, and Jews were thus barred from dealing in such commodities.

On May 15, 1941, a decree was passed which provided that if a Jewish employee was called into military service he was to be replaced by a Gentile. A year later, when Jews were excluded from military service, Premier Kállay declared in parliament that every able-bodied Jew would be sent to a labor camp.

Marriages between Gentiles and Jews were banned in August 1941, under pain of five years' imprisonment for both parties. Heavy penalties were also fixed for extramarital relations between Gentiles and Jews.

Hungarian Jews of Polish descent now became a favorite scapegoat. Many of them who were born in Hungary were unable to produce birth certificates, because for some thirty years Jewish births had been recorded, often negligently, by rabbis and *shochtim*. There were cases where Jews who had been settled in the country for three generations or more were unable to prove Hungarian birth to the satisfaction of the authorities. In 1941, 18,500 of these Jews were deported to Galicia. Here they were turned over to the tender mercies of the German army. According to eye-witness accounts transmitted to a representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, some 11,500 of these deportees were lined up along the banks of a river and slaughtered by machine-gun fire. The survivors were reportedly sent back to Hungary and immediately interned in concentration camps.

In 1942 the Jewish religious institutions were deprived of their former position, and state subsidies for congregations and schools were cancelled. As a sop to strong parliamentary opposition, however, it was decided that the government should regulate the levying of communal taxes and collect them from the Jewish congregations.

During the summer of 1942, a drastic law finally declassed the Jewish rural element, the landowners and tenant farmers. It provided that Jewish-owned estates were to be expropriated. Compensation was supposed to be paid in the form of 30-year bonds bearing 3½% interest. Later, Jews were forbidden to rent land as well. The law did not strike at a large number of persons, but by wiping out several large fortunes, it indirectly affected many Jewish congregations and charitable institutions which had looked mainly to the few wealthy landowners for support.

Although Hungary's anti-Jewish laws have not been nearly as brutal as their German counterparts, they have operated slowly but surely to pauperize the Jewish population. During the winter

of 1940-1941, a Budapest periodical reported that many Jewish intellectuals who applied for snow removal jobs, had to be rejected because they had no overcoats and their shoes were full of holes.

In the face of persecution, the number of conversions rose from an annual average of 260 in the period between 1920 and 1930, to 1,111 for the year following the first anti-Jewish law; during the first ten months of 1940 there were some 1,000 new conversions.

Today the Jewish community of Hungary is in about the same situation as was German Jewry before the annexation of Austria accelerated the pace of anti-Jewish legislation. In the face of mounting adversity, the differences which formerly divided Hungarian Jewry have largely given way to unity. The neolog and orthodox central bodies have joined forces in the common fight to save the remnants of Jewish rights. Zionism, long spurned by the assimilated majority, has won many adherents; Zionist organizations have joined with others in welfare work. The principal charitable organization, *Országos Magyar Zsidó Segély Akció,* has established employment agencies and vocational retraining schools in an effort to prevent the complete economic breakdown of the Jewish community. (By September 1940, only 59 Jewish students registered in universities; the vast majority turned to the crafts still open to Jews.) Such bodies as the Hungarian Jewish Cultural Organization, the Free University of the Budapest Congregation, and the Zionist Organization have struggled to bolster morale by conducting classes in the history, literature and perennial problems of the Jewish people.

The Hungarian government has not always followed the advice emanating from Berlin. With the possible exception of Finland, it has maintained a far greater measure of political independence than the other satellites of the Reich. In parliament, the Social Democrats and other groups have frequently embarrassed the regime by opposing the demands of Germany with regard to the treatment of Jews, as well as in other matters. The government itself, reacting to the deteriorating military fortunes of the Reich, has steadfastly refused to burn its

bridges behind it. In recent months the German press has loudly demanded that Hungary cease to be a "Jewish paradise."

Hungary is very far indeed from being a paradise for the Jewish people. Economic restrictions have deprived a large proportion of their employment; they have become largely declassed, and have lost their political rights. At the present time, the number of Jews toiling in forced labor camps is believed to range from 60,000 to 80,000. Those who are employed within Hungary are treated tolerably well, but the battalions sent to work behind the Axis battle lines in Russia are probably no better off than Jewish forced laborers under German or Rumanian army control.

Nevertheless, it is true that Hungary has not followed the Nazi policy of mass deportation, planned starvation, and mass extermination. There are still no ghettos and no yellow badges in Hungary, nor anything to indicate that these trappings of the New Order will be introduced in the future. As a result, the tormented Jews of the neighboring Nazi satellites of Slovakia, Croatia and Rumania look upon Hungary as a place of refuge. Some have managed to enter the country, but most of those who attempt it are stopped by frontier guards and sent back.

Firm opposition to racial persecution has been expressed in many Hungarian quarters. The most forthright condemnation has emanated from Cardinal Serédi, Primate of the Hungarian Catholic Church. Speaking at a religious gathering in Budapest last December, he declared:

"No master race exists in the world. . . . Murder is murder."

RUMANIA

I. Pre-Nazi Anti-Semitism

Before the last war, there were some 300,000 Jews in Rumania, whose total population was then about 7,000,000. As a result of territorial acquisitions the area of Rumania doubled and the population nearly tripled. So did the number of Jews through the addition of Bukovina, Transylvania and Bessarabia. By 1930 the official census recorded 756, 930 Jews, but this figure was probably an underestimation because the government was anxious to minimize the importance of all minorities, Magyars, Germans, Ukrainians and Bulgarians as well as Jews. At the outbreak of this war, Rumania's 850,000 Jews were distributed approximately as follows: 300,000 in Old Rumania and Dobrudja; 330,000 in Bessarabia and Bukovina; 220,000 in Transylvania and the Banat region.

The differences between the Jewish populations of these areas were too great to be obliterated during the twenty years that followed the creation of Greater Rumania. In Bukovina and Transylvania, Jews had gained political and civil emancipation in the middle of the 19th century; in Bukovina they had won these rights during the revolution of 1848 and under the Austrian constitution of 1867. Given the opportunities which emancipation afforded, the Jews of Bukovina soon attained such preeminence in the professional class, that toward the end of the century more than half the doctors and lawyers of Bukovina were Jewish. In Transylvania the Jews had occupied an important place in Magyar society. Here, as in other parts of Hungary, the religious reform movement spread rapidly and served as an instrument of assimilation. In Bessarabia, on the other hand, the Jewish population retained memories of Czarist oppression; communal organization was quite primitive, centering around the collection of the *Korobka* (the tax on kosher meat and Sabbath candles). Yet Bessarabian Jews

cherished their own colorful way of life and retained a passionate longing for political freedom.

In Old Rumania itself, Jews had been struggling for nearly a century to achieve elementary rights as men and citizens. From the beginning they were arbitrarily designated as "aliens," although the first Jews who appeared in what was later to become Rumania had fled from persecution at the hand of Emperor Justinian in the 6th century, and perhaps six centuries earlier some had come from Judaea. In any event, following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, there was a considerable influx of Sephardim into the cities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Sephardic communities were established in Bucharest, Craiova and other cities centuries before Rumania became a state. In the middle of the 17th century, Ukrainian Jews who fled the pogroms of Hetman Chmielnicki settled in Moldavia. The first formal act of disenfranchisement was embodied in the constitution adopted in 1829 during Russian military occupation. Short-lived emancipation was not to come until 90 years later, when it was dictated to the Rumanian Government by the great powers. In 1848, Rumanian revolutionists were unsuccessful in their abortive attempt to unite Moldavia and Wallachia under a charter which would have guaranteed the "emancipation of the Israelites and political right for all compatriots of whatsoever creed." Eighteen years later, when the first constitution of the United Principalities was adopted, carefully staged anti-Semitic riots prevented the adoption of an organic law which would have granted Rumanian citizenship to Jews. Instead, the constitution provided that only aliens of Christian faith could become citizens. Under Rumanian law, Jews whose ancestors had lived in the country for centuries were nonetheless deemed to be aliens. When the great powers recognized the union of the two principalities by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, it was upon the express condition (Article XLIV) that the new kingdom grant civil equality and religious freedom. Rumania signed the treaty and the constitutional convention voted in 1879 that "difference of religious belief and confession shall not constitute a bar to the acquisition and exercise of civil and political rights." This assurance proved to be verbal only, because the organic law also provided that non-Christian "aliens" could acquire citizenship only

by an individual grant of both houses of parliament. Under this provision, only a few hundred Jews obtained Rumanian citizenship. The Jewish population remained without civil or political rights until 1919, when in an attempt to outmaneuver the Peace Conference, which was then drafting treaties for the protection of minorities, Rumania finally promulgated a law for the emancipation of the Jews of the Old Kingdom. The citizenship of the Jews of the annexed provinces was guaranteed by the Minorities Treaty which Rumania signed on December 9, 1919.

Post-war Rumania did not openly flaunt the pledge given to minorities for some time. On the surface the pretense of democracy and equal rights for all had to be maintained in order to preserve the good will of the western democracies. From the start, however, a host of administrative measures operated to undermine the practical value of the formal promises given to the Jewish population. In the province of Bukovina, the Jewish government schools were Rumanized, and Jewish teachers were either forced out of classrooms by arbitrary tests in the Rumanian language, or were shifted to posts in remote areas of the Old Kingdom. Jewish judges and other government officials were advised to retire; those who refused were demoted so as to force most of them to resign.

In Bessarabia, the first few years of Rumanian occupation were marked by a virtual reign of terror conducted by General Popovich and Secret Police Inspector Husarescu. The label of Bolshevism was indiscriminately applied to all inhabitants of Bessarabia who tried to preserve their institutions against forcible Rumanization. Under the dictatorship, such classics of Yiddish literature as the writings of Mendele Mocher Seforim and Sholem Aleichem were banned as "subversive" and Jewish weddings were dispersed as "revolutionary gatherings." In Transylvania, Jewish public life was utterly crushed. Jews were made to suffer because of their age-old identification with the Magyar language and culture. Under the guise of combatting Hungarian irredentism, Rumanian officials deprived thousands of Jewish government employees of their posts.

Not until the premiership of Ion Bratianu (1922-1926) did these uncoordinated anti-Jewish practices blossom into a clear-cut

anti-Semitic policy. Bratianu's National Liberal Party represented the aspirations of the rising Rumanian middle class of the Old Kingdom. Its goal was to replace Hungarian and Jewish middlemen and merchants of the new provinces with Rumanians, and at the same time to Rumanize cities and towns whose character was predominantly Magyar or Jewish. With regard to the Hungarians this proved to be well-nigh impossible, but in the case of the Jews, four years of Bratianu rule did much to impair the formal rights which had been won with so much difficulty.

In 1924 a citizenship law was promulgated which required persons in the annexed provinces to submit documentary proof of continuous residence in one community for 10 years prior to 1918. This law, which violated the spirit of the minorities treaty, rendered stateless many thousands of Jewish families. It was also to prove a guide to further disenfranchisement ten years later, when the Supreme Court held that a 1925 law concerning the court's organization, automatically extended beyond that date the time for appeal from the decisions of the citizenship commissions. Following this ruling, prosecutors began to file belated appeals which resulted in the annulment, on purely technical grounds, of the citizenship of tens of thousands of Jews.

Under the Bratianu rule a number of other decrees operated to the detriment of the Jewish population. A decree for the reduction of alcohol production deprived several thousand Jews of their liquor licenses. A 1925 private school law had the effect of rendering private Jewish education impossible. A law regarding final examinations in high schools was applied so as to make it difficult for Jewish high school students to enter college. An effective barrier against medical education was the rule that a Jew might not dissect a Christian corpse. Anti-Semitic student rioting, tolerated by the government on the pretext that the universities were autonomous, also served to deny Jews higher education.

In 1924 the future Iron Guard leader Corneliu Codreanu, who was then still a law school student, assassinated the Chief of Police of Jassy for his "pro-Jewish sympathies." Codreanu was acquitted by the jury which tried him, and in the riotous celebration that followed his release, the Iron Guard movement was launched. Jew-baiting now raised its voice in parliament too, with Professor

Cuza as its most ardent spokesman. In the spring of 1926, Cuza's student followers staged a pogrom in Oradea Mare (Grosswardein) during their congress. Synagogues were put to the torch and the delegates returned home bedecked in sheets of parchment from desecrated Torah scrolls. The technique of the Bratianu government was to condone anti-Semitic practices at home while issuing indignant disavowals to the world. Rumanian representatives abroad regularly denied that any laws were passed with an anti-Jewish intent; pogroms and riots were belittled; and the Jewish community was promised law and order if it refrained from complaining before the bar of international opinion.

It remained for Octavian Goga as Minister of Interior in 1926-7 to justify anti-Semitism from his ministerial bench, in reply to the interpellation of a Jewish deputy regarding violence in Czernowitz. Calling anti-Semitism "the spirit of the trenches," he charged the Jewish community with plotting against the government and sent his police to investigate the activities of the Union of Rumanian Jews. A little more than a decade later, Goga was to reappear on the scene, this time as premier with a pro-Nazi program.

When Carol returned to the Rumanian throne in June 1930, a number of new factors served to step up the pace of state anti-Semitism. Carol had come back on the promise of lifting the country out of the trough of the depression which had deflated farm prices, destroyed the domestic market, and produced large-scale unemployment. The king failed to work an economic miracle, and his entourage had only demagogic promises to offer the people. The parliament elected in 1931 contained an avowed anti-Semitic group, as well as a considerable number of anti-Semitic deputies within the government party. The uncompromising stand of Juliu Maniu and his Peasant Party against the corruption of the court, drove Carol more than ever to seek the support of the anti-democratic and anti-Semitic forces. At the king's inspiration, the followers of Professor Cuza and Octavian Goga combined to form one party.

In the meantime, Hitler's accession to power and his impressive diplomatic triumphs encouraged Carol's anti-constitutional aspirations and spurred Rumanian anti-Semitism. Germany's poli-

tical and economic influence over Rumania was now increasing rapidly. As early as 1932 the volume of German trade with Rumania had already outstripped that of Great Britain and France, because the foreign exchange control law enacted in Rumania in 1932 drove out money with a high exchange value and left the field clear for manipulated German marks. Jewish merchants and manufacturers, big and small alike, who had supplied goods to the villages, were hard hit by a 1931 law which released peasants from their pre-depression liabilities. When the banking crisis came, the government and the Rumanian National Bank acted to save the leading financial institutions from bankruptcy; that is, all except the great Jewish banks of Marmoros-Blanc, Leibel Berkowitz and Sons, and the Brothers Ashkenazi. These were deliberately permitted to collapse, thereby destroying the savings of thousands of Jewish small depositors and businessmen.

The Law for the Protection of National Labor of 1934 delivered another blow against the Jews by providing that 80 percent of the workers in private enterprises had to be Rumanian citizens. This was interpreted to mean "ethnic" Rumanians. Instructions issued to that effect by the Minister of Commerce in a circular of September 17, 1937, warned concerns which continued to employ more than twenty percent "non-ethnic" Rumanians that they would lose their foreign trade permits and discount privileges with the National Bank. An order emanating from Berlin for the dismissal of all non-Aryan commercial agents representing German concerns abroad, meant the discharge of hundreds of Rumanian Jews who had long represented German firms in Rumania. Following the lead of the government the Bucharest bar association launched an "investigation" of Jewish attorneys. This example led to similar action by the bar associations of other cities and, as a result, from December 1935 to September 1937 not a single Jew was admitted to the practice of law in Bucharest, and the bar associations of Jassy, Galatz and Piatra-Neamţ expelled a large number of Jewish lawyers.

The Jewish population was now becoming more isolated than ever before. For now the other minorities, which looked to Berlin and Budapest for support, avoided all political contact with the Jews. Many Rumanian politicians who had previously spoken in

the name of equality, now joined in the chorus demanding "protection" for the national-ethnic element. The erstwhile democratic premier, Alexander Vaida-Voevod, formed a new party whose slogan was *Numerus Vallachicus,* meaning to all intents, "Rumanians only." The Rumanian Orthodox Church which previously had observed the appearance of neutrality, now espoused an undisguised anti-Semitic program. In fact, Patriarch Miron Cristea issued a statement on August 18, 1937 calling upon the Rumanian nation to fight "the Jewish parasites." This incitement to violence by the man who was to become Prime Minister under Carol's totalitarian constitution of 1938, was echoed by the expanding anti-Semitic press, led by *Porunca Vremii, Buna Vestire,* and *Universul.* The propaganda of hate stimulated organized violence. Hoodlums took possession of the streets, the trains, the motion picture houses, the parks. Democratic papers were removed from newsstands and publicly burned. When elections were held in professional organizations, Jewish members who attempted to participate were assaulted. One such occurrence was in Bucharest, on December 8, 1935, when the Jewish lawyers of the city were brutally beaten for attempting to vote in the bar elections. Every demonstration by the followers of Cuza and the Iron Guard now became an excuse for fresh anti-Jewish outbreaks. In the general parliamentary elections of 1937, Jews took virtually no part.

On December 28, 1937 Octavian Goga became prime minister with Professor Cuza as his right hand man. Anti-Semitism was the sum total of the new government's program. Goga lasted only 44 days; in that time his war against the Jews threw the whole economic machinery of Rumania out of gear. Goga was overambitious and his full program was not to be realized until much later, when Carol was gone and Rumania firmly within the German vise. The most significant single act of the Goga regime was the Citizenship Revision Law of January 21, 1938. This measure for the first time expressly singled out Jews as a separate category in flagrant violation of the existing constitution. Under its provisions, all Jews, with the exception of a negligible exempt group, were required to submit new documentary proof of their right to citizenship within a prescribed time. On instructions from Bucharest the local authorities systematically refused to issue such papers.

The Goga law was defended from the throne by King Carol and was carried out mainly under the regime of Patriarch Cristea who succeeded Goga. The effects of the citizenship law did not become fully known until shortly after the outbreak of the war. On November 24, 1939 the official Gazette published the results: of 617,396 Jews who submitted their papers, 225,222 were deprived of their citizenship and 44,848 were not recorded on any citizenship rolls, the court merely certifying their non-citizenship. Adding to these figures approximately 30,000 who had lost their citizenship through Supreme Court decisions in connection with the 1924 law, in all some 300,000 Jews, or more than one-third of the total, lost their citizenship by the time the war began.

During Goga's brief term in office, officials and bureaucrats throughout the country took their cue from the policy laid down in Bucharest. In Czernowitz, district prefect Nikifor Robu staged mass arrests of Jews, accompanied by strong-arm methods and pillage. Professor Alexianu, who was to become the governor of Transnistria, introduced edicts which forbade the use of Yiddish in business establishments and on the streets. In many places Jews were compelled to keep their stores open on the Sabbath, and in a number of cities the ritual slaughter of cattle was prohibited. In Izmail, Bessarabia, heavy fines were imposed upon the Jews, and in the cities of Old Rumania Jews were even forbidden to enter public buildings to obtain the documents relating to their citizenship. It now became all but impossible for Jewish lawyers to enter the courtroom, for Jewish physicians to venture into non-Jewish hospitals, or for Jewish students to attend university classes. Fear spread to the countryside too; during the brief Goga regime a larger number of Jews left their village homes than during the preceding decade.

When Goga gave way to Patriarch Cristea, who ruled in the king's name under the authoritarian constitution of February 27, 1938, the principle of equality of all citizens was still professed in words, but the holding of government office was now restricted to ethnic Rumanians. Jews were unofficially barred from the *Front of National Renaissance,* and by March 1940 they were formally excluded from Carol's *Party of the Nation.*

In the economic sphere, Jews soon felt the indirect effects of

the Goga citizenship law. A decree of September 15, 1938 subjecting all denationalized Jews to the Alien Control Law eliminated them from all pursuits open to citizens only, such as law, business management, certified accounting, and the ownership of rural property. Jews were also deprived of their licenses to sell government monopoly products, such as salt, tobacco, liquor and matches, thereby impoverishing about 12,000 families. All Jewish doctors in government service were dismissed and several thousand Jewish artisans lost their trade certificates, and by the same token, their right to work. Under Cristea and his successors the pressure against the private employment of Jews was constantly increased; banks would no longer accept the notes of Jewish businessmen; Jews were barred from public auctions and could no longer bid for government contracts; Jewish newspapermen were fired.

The summer of 1940 saw King Carol's regime disintegrate following the collapse of France, the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, and the intervention of German military force. On July 6, 1940 Rumania pledged adherence to the foreign policy of the Axis. On August 9, 1940 the tottering regime of King Carol enacted a general Jewish Statute, based on the racial principle. The era of outright Nazification had begun. Under this statute Jews were divided into three categories:

1. Those who had entered Rumania after December 30, 1918.

2. The handful who had been individually nationalized before December 30, 1918; those who had fought in Rumania's wars, had been wounded or decorated, or were the direct descendants of Jewish soldiers who had died for Rumania.

3. Jews who belonged to neither the first nor the second category.

Only those in the second category retained substantial rights. But 90 percent or more of the Jewish population belonged to the first and third categories. Naturalization by special grant was a privilege conferred upon very few prior to 1919; and the phrase "Rumania's wars" was a sly way of eliminating Jewish war veterans of Bukovina and Transylvania, territories which had been non-Rumanian until 1919. The statute of August 9, 1940 meant that nine-tenths of the Jews of Rumania were to be barred from most occupations and were to be excluded from military service. All

Rumanian Jews, without exception, lost the right to own rural land and were obliged to liquidate such holdings within six months. (This affected more than four percent of the Jewish population.) On August 31st intermarriage was banned.

All of Carol's feverish attempts to appease Hitler availed him nothing. After the surrender of half of Transylvania to Hungary and the cession of Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria, the King was forced to abdicate on September 5, 1940 in favor of his son Michael, and General Antonescu became Chief of State.

II. Under the Swastika

Antonescu had come to power with the blessing of Berlin and the backing of the Iron Guard. During his first five months in power, he depended mainly on disciples of the "martyred" Iron Guard leader, Codreanu, whom Carol had executed. The Iron Guard had waited long for this day and celebrated its accession to power with pogroms, which served, among other things, to divert the storm of anti-German indignation which followed the Vienna Award of Transylvanian territory to Hungary.

Anti-Jewish measures were now coming in rapid succession. By October 1st Jews were ousted from the bar association, the Rumanian writers' society, the federation of building contractors, the association of certified accountants, the stock exchange, the association of commodity brokers, the arbitration boards of the stock exchange, the medical association, the high school teachers' federation, the Rumanian Opera, and the association of veterinarians. The handful of remaining Jewish teachers, judges, and honorary consuls were dismissed from their posts.

In the meantime, the Iron Guard had taken over the control of the police and was proceeding to "Aryanize" Jewish business concerns by forcing the owners to sell. To spur Aryanization, fictitious "Jewish criminals" were rounded up and held for investigation. The so-called investigations usually took place in the notorious Green Houses of the Iron Guard. Many who entered were never seen again, and during this reign of terror a number of "Aryan" opponents of the Iron Guard were also purged. Often it was only the intervention of Antonescu himself which saved so-

called ethnic Rumanians from the fate of their Jewish compatriots.

While terror ruled the streets, the anti-Jewish legislative mill was working under full power. A decree of the Ministry of Public Worship drastically curtailed the rights previously accorded to Jewish religious institutions. Synagogues were now limited to one for every 400 urban families and one for every 200 rural families. No new house of worship could be erected without the special dispensation of the Minister of Public Worship. On September 23, Jews were barred from the theatrical profession, except those theatres expressly designated as Jewish. On October 7th, the Minister of Education issued a decree for the exclusion of Jewish children from the public schools.

The first expropriation law was promulgated on October 4th. Jewish owners of rural land who, under Carol's August 9th law, had been given six months to liquidate their holdings, now lost even this period of grace. The term Jewish-owned rural property was interpreted broadly so as to include suburban land adjacent to Jewish-owned factories, and this too was seized. Nominally there was to be compensation in the form of three percent bonds, but the same decree froze these bonds from the moment of issue.

The basic Rumanization laws came on October 4th and November 12, 1940. The first gave the Ministry of National Economy blanket powers to appoint Rumanization commissars over any enterprise; the second laid down the actual procedure for the expulsion of Jewish employees from private concerns. But the tempo of Rumanization was too rapid, particularly in the eyes of the German military authorities and economic experts who were now firmly in the saddle. Germany could not afford to have the economy of its satellite disrupted. Iron Guard commissars were replaced by non-political experts. Thus, although the law of November 12th provided for the complete ouster of Jewish personnel by December 31, 1941, the actual pace of Rumanization was synchronized to the needs of the German military machine.

With Germany assuming the role of the master, internal dissension flared up once more in November when the Iron Guard "executed" 64 former aides of deposed King Carol. On November 23rd Antonescu announced that Rumania had joined the Axis. A pogrom in Ploesti, center of the vital oil fields, took an estimated

toll of 2,000 lives. Uprisings continued throughout December. The climax came late in January when the faction headed by vice-premier Horio Sima staged an armed revolt which lasted from Tuesday, January 21, through Thursday, January 23, 1941. Most of the fighting took place in Bucharest. It was accompanied by pogroms which swept the entire country. In the small towns of Moldavia and Southern Bukovina, and in the cities of Ploesti, Buzeu and Constanza, Jews were massacred. In Bucharest itself, the Jewish quarters of Vacaresti and Dudesti were destroyed, the headquarters of the Jewish community sacked, and the treasurer slain. The Palestine office was pillaged and its director was murdered. Scores of Jews were herded into the courtyard of the Jilava prison and into the Baneasa woods, machine-gunned, and their corpses left lying in the snow. The climax of bestiality was reached when Iron Guardists slew 200 Jewish men, women and children in the Bucharest slaughterhouse and then displayed the corpses as kosher meat in hideous parody of Jewish ritual slaughter of cattle.

How many Jews perished during the January pogrom is still not known. While the government conceded that hundreds had been slain, other sources placed the figure at as high as six to ten thousand. Property damages in Bucharest alone amounted to 366,000,000 lei. Antonescu finally suppressed the uprising with the help of German troops. The price he paid was complete subservience to Berlin.

The five months' interval between the January massacres and the invasion of Russia was characterized by Hitler's economic satrap, Dr. Neubauer, as the period when Rumania served as the Reich's "quiet raw material front." During the pause the Gestapo helped to maintain totalitarian law and order in the interest of maximum production. For the Jews this was a respite from organized murder, but the economic cold pogrom continued. They were now completely barred from military service; under decrees of January 20, and March 30, 1941, they were subjected instead to heavy military taxes ranging as high as 15 to 20 percent of income, as well as flat imposts of from 1,000 to 7,000 lei annually, graduated according to military age. The Rumanization of business personnel, pursuant to the law of November 12, 1940, proceeded slowly

in enterprises where Jewish specialists were still needed. It was provided, however, that "Aryan" assistants were to serve with them until they were trained to take over such positions. Because of the housing shortage, a decree of March 18th extended the term of residential leases, but Jews were excluded from the benefits of this measure, thereby forcing many to move to slum dwellings and leaving others homeless. A law of March 28th provided for the expropriation of Jewish urban real estate holdings.

The period of relative calm came to a sudden end on June 22, 1941 when Rumanian troops surged across the frontiers of Russia together with the soldiers of the Third Reich. A period of unbridled barbarism now began, beside which the sporadic anti-Jewish outbreaks of Rumania's past history paled. The first victims to fall were inhabitants of Jassy, a city situated about twelve miles from the Bessarabian border, on the very ground where the Rumanian army was deployed. From the first day of war the populace was incited against the Jews as "confederates of the Allies and Russia." When military operations against the Red Army encountered stiff resistance, a massacre began. According to an official communique of July 30th, 500 Jews were lined up against a wall and shot on the charge of having fired on German troops. During the terrible July days several thousand Jews are said to have perished in Jassy. From that city, terror travelled with the Rumanian army to recaptured Kishinev and Czernowitz. A pogrom of particular savagery raged in Kishinev; among those murdered was the 83-year-old Chief Rabbi, Judah Loeb Zirelson. Jews of the villages and small towns near the front were herded into Kishinev and Czernowitz, where ghettos were established in August and September. In Czernowitz, the local military command issued an order that in the event of an attempt on the life of a Rumanian or German soldier, fifty prominent Jewish residents would be shot together with the assailant.

The Jews had not been quartered in the ghettos of Kishinev and Czernowitz for long before an order came for their expulsion. In October, 1941, the German-Rumanian military authorities directed that all Jews of Bessarabia and 85 percent of the Jews of Bukovina who had survived the bloody pogroms and had not been removed to the Russian interior, were to be deported across the

Dniester River, to that part of the Ukraine administered by Rumania as the province of Transnistria. By August 13, 1942 the *Krakauer Zeitung* reported that 185,000 Jews had been sent to Transnistria, but there is nothing to indicate whether this represented the total of those deported or only those who reached the territory alive. In 1939 Bessarabia and Bukovina had had a combined Jewish population of 330,000. Of this number, according to the *Krakauer Zeitung,* there remained by August, 1942 only 16,000, all in Czernowitz. Some had managed to escape, others were evacuated when the Red Army fell back in retreat, but tens of thousands remained unaccounted for; these must have perished in the massacres which preceded deportation, or else they died of maltreatment, exposure, hunger and disease on the road to Transnistria. A representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee who returned from Europe in March, 1942, was told by persons who had spoken with Hungarian and Rumanian convoy troops, that the highways leading to Transnistria were lined with the mass graves of Jewish deportees.

The unprecedented brutality which marked the deportation drive of 1941-1942 caused considerable consternation inside Rumania, even among supporters of the Iron Guard regime. On July 14, 1942, a prominent Rumanian official of Bukovina submitted a memorandum concerning the deportation of Jews to Transnistria in which he said, among other things:

> "The savage methods employed against the Jews without any justification or the slightest benefit to the nation created an atmosphere of indescribable depression among the Rumanian population of Bukovina. . . . The population had to witness thousands of Jews, most of them life-long personal friends, dragged by armed soldiers through the streets of Cernauți (Czernowitz), with only a few belongings on their backs, and while the church bells called to worship, these poor souls were packed in carloads and deported. Their desperate cries filled our hearts with pity. They were dragged out of their homes without warning in the middle of the night. . . . I personally witnessed in at least twenty instances wild aggressions committed by riff-raff, in plain daylight, in the center of Cernauți, against some Jewish intellectuals, completely innocent passers-by, former high magistrates, physicians and lawyers. . . ."

The same official made it plain that he was not concerned with the fate of the Jews, but with the possible effects upon Rumania, of what he characterized as "a savage system" that might reduce Rumanians *"to the lowest level of the most barbarous peoples on the globe."* He therefore suggested that the brakes be applied, and that future deportations should be carried out with greater concern for the economic interests of Rumania, and with greater emphasis upon the appearance of legality.

Meanwhile, in Transnistria itself, total war and the scorched earth policy had reduced many towns and villages to shambles, so that there were few habitable dwellings during the fearful winter of 1941-1942. To add to the misery, all food supplies were requisitioned by the military authorities, and no provisions or medical supplies could be sent to the deportees from Rumania proper. Under the decree of August 11, 1941, issued by Professor Alexianu as governor of Transnistria, any Jew leaving the place of residence assigned to him by the inspector of police was subject to execution as a spy. Rumanian-controlled newspapers of the province have since reported many executions of Jews who attempted to flee from Transnistria. At first the Alexianu order applied only to Soviet Jews under Rumanian occupation, but it was later extended to Jewish deportees from Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Old Kingdom. A decree of November 11, 1941, converted the entire province into a gigantic penal labor colony for the Jewish population. In each community Jews were organized in groups of 20 for forced labor. The head of each colony was required to furnish the authorities with a list of all artisans and other employable persons. The former were to perform any labor assigned to them within their special skills. Manual laborers were to toil according to the decree, "in agricultural work and road repair; to fell trees in the forest; to work in the quarries, and similar labor."

In Rumania itself there were still, in July, 1942, 272,000 Jews of whom 98,000 lived in Bucharest. By that time, all of them faced the permanent threat of deportation to Transnistria on the slightest pretext. The widow of a noted philanthropist, for example, was deported for tearing down the "to-let" sign displayed in the window of her home by order of the Rumanization Office. The most spectacular case of deportation was that of Dr. William Fil-

derman, leader of the now defunct Union of Jewish Communities.

According to the newspaper *Timpul,* the number of privately employed Jews was down to 17,134 by December 31, 1941, a decline of about 40 percent within the year. Those who lost their jobs were now impressed into forced labor battalions. A decree of November 15, 1941, introduced forced labor for all Jewish males between eighteen and fifty years of age. Supervising such labor was the General Inspectorate for Compulsory Labor Camps and Colonies. Actual control over Jewish labor camps was entrusted to the general staff of the Rumanian army and the inmates were subject to military law.

A law of December 16, 1941 dissolved all Jewish communal organizations including the Union of Jewish Communities and substituted instead the government-directed Central Office for Jews in Rumania. Registration with this Central Office is compulsory for all persons defined as Jews, including about five to six thousand converts and their children. The Central Office and its local branches acts as the sole representative of Rumanian Jews in all dealings with the government. It collects taxes, registers Jews for forced labor and for deportation, keeps vital statistics and engages in such welfare work as the authorities permit. The Central Office was also charged with the task of collecting absurd war guilt declarations from Rumanian Jews reading as follows:

> *"I, the undersigned, hereby declare that I am responsible for the war and deserve to be punished."*

In January 1942, Jews were ordered to surrender quotas of warm clothing and blankets to the army, which was then experiencing the rigors of the winter campaign in Russia. This tribute was to be collected through the Central Office, each contribution being measured in proportion to gross income. Failure to deliver was punishable by five years' imprisonment and a heavy fine. Jews who did not possess the fixed quotas of clothing were ordered by a decree, published on January 21st, to pay cash equivalent for each article, the amounts ranging from 800 lei for a cap to 10,000 lei for an overcoat. According to the Zurich *Volksrecht of* August 8, 1942, the Jews of Bucharest were forced to deliver 1,538,000 articles of wearing apparel. The same newspaper also reported that

of the 98,000 Jews of Bucharest, 28,177 were then engaged in forced labor and that of all Jewish males in Rumania between 18 and 50, only 17,000 were still exempt from forced labor because of the specialized skilled work which they performed. The latter group, whose number has steadily decreased, was taxed to the tune of 1,200,000,000 lei (nearly $3,000,000). The Jewish population was also compelled to subscribe heavily to the Rumanian war loan, and was ordered to pay a collective punitive tax of four billion lei by December 31, 1943, under pain of deportation to Transnistria.

On March 14, 1942, a law was enacted against the camouflaging of Jewish ownership which annulled all "suspicious" transactions between Jews and Rumanians. The terms of this edict were so broad and the penalties so severe as to frighten off those "ethnic" Rumanians who for reasons of friendship or self-interest were aiding Jewish proprietors. During the first five months of enforcing the camouflage law, *Timpul* of August 10, 1942 reported 540 cases involving attempts to conceal Jewish ownership with the aid of Rumanians "who did not understand the dictate of the times and sabotaged the great national reform."

The Vice-Ministry of Rumanization and Colonization, headed by a journalist named Titus Dragos, was created on June 11, 1942 to administer expropriated Jewish property. Subject to the supervision of Dragos, the management of seized buildings was taken over by the Rumanization Commission which became notorious by its initials C.N.R. (*Centrul National de Romanizare*). This body ruled that former Jewish owners could continue to occupy their apartments at a rental approximately 50 percent higher than the actual value, as long as there were no Rumanian applicants for tenancy. Apartments occupied by Jews are always for rent and Rumanian law provides that a "to-let" sign must always be displayed in the window. As soon as an "ethnic" Rumanian apartment hunter finds the residence to his taste, the Jewish occupant must vacate it. Thousands of Jews have since been ejected from their homes and apartments.

Under a law of July 3, 1942, the C.N.R. took over the administration of all Jewish communal property except synagogues and cemeteries in actual use. On August 8, 1942 *Timpul* reported that

in the province of Prahova, whose Jewish population in 1939 amounted to no more than 15-20 thousand, the C.N.R. seized over 400 urban houses, 16 vineyards and landed estates, 7 forest areas, and 4 factories, the aggregate value of which was officially estimated to be a billion lei. The management of this property between April and July 1942, yielded the C.N.R. an income of 7,000,000 lei. In the town of Vaslui, according to *Timpul* of August 24, 1942, the C.N.R. seized the synagogue, the bath house, the poultry slaughter house, the hospital and the home for the aged; in Adjud, the bath house and the home of the ritual slaughterer; in Deva the home of the rabbi, the sexton's quarters, the synagogue, the bath house and the poultry slaughter house. All of the above was property which belonged to the Jewish community. Today the Jews are left in possession of a few synagogues and – their cemeteries. By June, 1943, the Rumanization Commissar reported to Marshal Antonescu that the Jews were being rapidly eliminated from all remaining positions, in favor of newly trained "ethnic" Rumanians.

By September 1, 1943 Rumanian Jewry, which had constituted the third largest Jewish community in Europe, faced extinction. In Bessarabia, once the home of a Jewish community rich in tradition, there are no Jews today. In Bukovina there were 16,000 in mid-1942; out of the original 185,000, scarcely more than 75,000 were then toiling under conditions of starvation and disease in Transnistria. The tentative overtures made for the release of 70,000 Transnistrian Jews brought no results. How many of the 272,000 Jews who were still in Rumania in July, 1942 are alive at the present writing is not known. But it is known that they subsist from day to day on starvation rations and in utter poverty, always facing deportation to penal labor and death.

YUGOSLAVIA

I. Background

Yugoslavia's Jews are as varied as the peoples of the country itself. They may be divided broadly into Ashkenazim and Sephardim, and according to the areas that after 1918 emerged as the united state of Yugoslavia. Totalling 76,654 under the 1931 census, they were concentrated in such cities as Zagreb (12,315), Belgrade (8,389) and Sarajevo (8,090). In all, 47,244 were of Eastern European or Ashkenazic origin. The Sephardim, who lived mainly in Belgrade, Southern Serbia, Bosnia and Dalmatia numbered 26,459; the small oriental group 2,951.

Serbia's Sephardic Jews represented a well-to-do middle class. There were a few large industrialists among them, but in the main they were the small traders, merchants, exporters, white collar workers or physicians, lawyers, architects and bankers. The Jews of Bosnia and Herzegovina, formerly under Austrian rule, were also predominantly Sephardic. In Herzegovina, they were mainly shoemakers, tailors, plumbers and longshoremen, and their standard of living was lower than in other parts of the country. In Bosnia, although for the most part middlemen and traders, they played an important role in industry, particularly in lumber. In recent years they had penetrated the liberal professions. A great part of the Sephardic and Oriental Jews of Macedonia, in marked contrast to the rest of Yugoslavian Jewry, were uneducated and poverty-ridden.

More modern and to a certain extent assimilated, were the Jews of Ashkenazi origin who lived in Croatia, Slavonia and Voivodina. Both intellectually and economically ahead of their brothers in other parts of the country, they composed two-thirds of Yugoslavian Jewry. In Voivodina the Jews were almost exclusively engaged in business. In Croatia they were mainly lawyers, physicians and bankers; and owners of mills, lumber yards and department stores.

In Serbia proper, the Jews were granted full religious and civil liberty by the Treaty of Paris in 1856. However, that same year and again in 1861 measures restricting Jewish rights were adopted. Not until the constitution of January 2, 1889, were these curbs finally abolished, and the small Jewish community in Serbia, which in 1905 numbered only 6,430 persons, achieved complete equality of rights. The Council of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, established in 1921, was recognized by the government as the central representative body of the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities then in existence. Only the extreme orthodox communities remained aloof.

II. Shadow of the Axis

Anti-Semitism was practically unknown until 1918, when Slovenia, Croatia and Voivodina were joined to old Serbia. These former Habsburg provinces brought with them the seeds of anti-Jewish feeling, which after 1933 flourished so well under the care of German propaganda. The Reich was reported to have spent 30 million dinars for this purpose, and by 1940 the vines of anti-Semitism were firmly rooted in certain influential circles of Yugoslavia.

As usual foreign Jews who had escaped to the country were the first victims. As early as February, 1940, all Jewish refugees in Croatia were ordered interned in special camps to be maintained by the Yugoslav Jewish organizations. By April, 700 refugees were distributed among ten such internment centers.

In July, 1940, a brand new weekly entitled *Balkan,* markedly anti-Semitic in tone, made its appearance, and *Zbor,* a quasi-totalitarian organization, busied itself with the dissemination of anti-Jewish literature. Two months later, the newspaper *Vreme* called for the liquidation of the Jews along the totalitarian pattern.

The first official steps against Yugoslav Jewry coincided with increased Nazi influence, which was organically connected with the economic dependence of Yugoslavia upon the Reich. The kingdom had large surpluses of corn, cereals, cattle, wine, fruit, eggs, lumber and ore. It had to import wool, cotton, machines and pit coal. The western democracies, especially post-war France, did

little trade with Yugoslavia. With the exception of some wood to French North Africa, eggs to Switzerland, eggs and fowl to England, hops to the United States, Yugoslavia found no market for her products in the democratic countries. Exports to France, England, Belgium, and the Netherlands during 1939 did not exceed 17.35% of Yugoslavia's total exports, while imports from these countries constituted only 9.47% of Yugoslavia's total import trade.

On the other hand, Germany more than willingly bought cereals and other agrarian products as well as wood and ore, while Italy was a great consumer of Yugoslav cattle, wood and brown coal. In exchange, these countries furnished Yugoslavia with much needed industrial products, cotton yarn and armaments. In 1939 Germany controlled 47.6 percent of Yugoslavian imports and 39.2 percent of its export trade. The Reich's absorption of Bohemia and Moravia in March, 1939, transferred large Czech capital investments in Yugoslavia to German control. In October of that year a trade pact provided for increased shipments of minerals and timber to the Reich in return for German munitions. Germany was strengthening her grip and Yugoslavia was forced to walk the tightrope of political expediency. What this meant for the Jews has become a familiar story. The public offices and the ministries were the first to be infected by the anti-Jewish policy. State and municipal contracts were withheld from Jews on the flimsiest pretexts and Jews were pushed out of official positions. Some 400 Jewish public officials who had been appointed during the early days of the kingdom were gradually eliminated, and the intricate tax system was operated to the detriment of the Jews. On August 17, 1940, it was the German radio that announced the Yugoslav government was planning curbs.

All of these measures were extra-legal, but in October with a new German trade pact brewing, the time was ripe for the first "legal" anti-Jewish curbs. By a law of October 5, licenses previously granted to wholesale food concerns owned or co-owned by Jews, or the capital of which was mainly owned by Jews, were summarily cancelled. Their renewal was left to the discretion of local authorities. The latter were further empowered to place state commissioners in charge of the concerns whose licenses had been re-

voked. These were to be liquidated within two months. Punishment of as high as two years' imprisonment and 500,000 dinars fine was provided for violation, with internment and forced labor for repeated transgression. Another decree of the same date introduced a *numerus clausus* in the universities, high schools, teachers' seminaries, and other professional schools. Exceptions were granted to children of parents who had been of service to the state. Foreign Jews were completely barred. A further decree of October 7th banned Jews from the wholesale food trade and appointed government commissioners over Jewish-owned food factories. These decrees did not apply in Croatia. Finally under a new edict, in mid-October, all Jews were excluded from printing, publishing and newspaper concerns, and from maintaining bookstores. This action followed the expulsion of Jews from the motion picture industry and radio.

On October 19, 1940, the new economic accord assured Germany of about 60 percent of Yugoslavia's exports as against some 50 percent under the previous agreement. In announcing the pact, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovitch frankly declared that Yugoslav cooperation with the Third Reich was not only "economic but political." By January 7, 1941, Yugoslavia owed Germany about 1,000,000,000 dinars on their joint compensation trade account, and Germany's economic stranglehold on Yugoslavia was an accomplished fact.

German anti-Jewish propaganda did not always find smooth sailing. It was reported that dissension prevailed in the Yugoslav Cabinet over the Jewish issue and that several members had threatened to resign if the government embarked on a large scale anti-Semitic program. On April 24, 1939, 90 percent of the student body of the University of Belgrade, in their magazine *Mladost,* condemned anti-Semitism and appealed to Yugoslav youth to fight racialism as the "grave of civilization." When the *numerus clausus* became effective, a general scuffle took place between fascist-minded and progressive students at the Belgrade University. The Yugoslav Society of High School Teachers openly denounced the decree as unconstitutional.

High Greek Orthodox and Catholic circles were unanimous in condemning anti-Jewish propaganda. Early in 1940, the Serbian

Patriarch Gavrilo, while visiting a synagogue near Belgrade, deplored religious persecution, and the official Catholic organ *Die Donau* condemned racialism. In October, the Patriarch of Sarajevo expressed to representatives of the Jewish Community his sympathy for their suffering.

One month before the first anti-Jewish measures were taken by the government, the District Court of Spalato, on December 5, 1939, decided against a claimant, who was a Nazi commissar in Vienna, ruling that Yugoslav debtors of Jewish firms which had been expropriated by the Reich must pay their debts not to the appointed commissars, but to the former Jewish owners, even if these owners were refugees abroad. The court stated that it could not recognize the institution of a commissar appointed on racial grounds, since this would contradict the Yugoslav Constitution which guaranteed equal rights to Jews.

In January, 1940, three Jewish judges were awarded royal orders, and in April the Belgrade municipality named streets in honor of the Jewish brothers, Amar, who had been killed during the first World War, and the noted Jewish writer Chaim Davitcho. On February 4, 1940, a Belgrade court imposed a heavy fine on the editor of the German-language periodical *Erwache* for publishing Talmud forgeries.

The collapse of France, Italy's entrance into the war, the political alignment of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, all served to pull Yugoslavia into the Axis maelstrom. On December 6, 1940, Premier Cvetkovitch declared that his country was willing to participate in the creation of a new European order. A few months later, on March 25, 1941, Premier Cvetkovitch signed a treaty in Vienna which made Yugoslavia a member of the Axis.

This event was immediately followed by mass arrests of Jews and other anti-Nazi elements on the basis of lists of "undesirables" handed to the government by the Gestapo. There was a short respite when the revolution of March 27th brought to power the anti-Axis Simovitch government. Quick revocation of the anti-Semitic laws was immediately promised to the Jews. On April 2nd, three anti-Semitic newspapers were suppressed. Nazi propaganda outdid itself in spreading the word that the Jews had fomented the revolution. When on April 6th, German troops invaded the

country, Hitler declared that this war was forced upon him by "British imperialism and Jewish capital."

The regular Yugoslav Army, after brave but brief resistance, capitulated on April 18th. The country was divided into seven parts. And for the Jews the nightmare began.

III. Dismembered Kingdom

Serbia proper was reduced to approximately its 1912 boundaries. Occupied by German troops, it is ruled as a German protectorate by a puppet Serbian Government established on August 29, 1941, under General Milan Neditch. Including German-occupied Banat, there were 20,000 Jews in Serbia. Montenegro, a puppet state under Italy's control, has no Jewish population. In Croatia, a puppet state which includes Bosnia and Herzegovina and is ruled by *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelitch, there were about 30,000 Jews. Dalmatia, the Croat districts of Susak, Castica, Cabar, a part of Delnice in the vicinity of Fiume, as well as a part of northwestern Slovenia which is ruled as the Protectorate of Ljubljana, were annexed by Italy. Germany also received parts of Slovenia with centers at Maribor and Veldes. In the Hungarian-annexed parts of Backa and Banat (*Voivodina*) there were some 15,000 Jews; in the Bulgarian-annexed districts of Macedonia about 15,000.

a) German-Occupied Areas

For the Jews in German-occupied Yugoslavia, that is Serbia proper and the Banat region, disaster started with the day of occupation. According to the testimony of a special envoy of General Draja Mihailovitch, several days after Nazi occupation, hundreds of Jews in Belgrade were lined up and every fifth one was shot. On a single morning, 119 Jews were murdered in this manner.

On April 10th, the persecution of Jews was begun in Banat, in a section where there lived a thinly scattered German population. All the Jews were jailed and the most prominent were killed at once. The remainder were placed in a tugboat and taken to Pancevo where they were turned over to the Gestapo. In Petrovgrad, Jewish men were ordered to dig their own graves. Then they were

shot, as their wives looked on. On August 20th, all Banat Jews were transferred to Belgrade; they were sent to a labor camp at Tasmajdan for forced labor; many were shot. The Banat had become *judenrein.*

Mass executions of "Communists and Jews" for alleged sabotage or for aiding the Serbian guerrillas was the order of the day in almost every city and town. According to German figures, from August to November, 1941, 218 Jews and 18 Jewesses were executed in Yugoslavia. In December, 1941, Yugoslav sources revealed that 280 Jews, among them women and children, were executed in the concentration camp of Uzice on charges of aiding the Serbian guerrillas. In the small town of Kragujevac, which had a small but wealthy Jewish population of about 400, all males between the ages of 15 and 50 were among some 3,500 slain in reprisal for the killing of 10 Germans.

By October, 1941, according to a trustworthy source, 4,000 Jews had already been shot, while by November the toll had mounted to 6,000. By this time, only 250 Jewish men remained in Belgrade. Women and children who, until then had not been molested, were summoned to the Tasmajdan camp on Christmas Day. The children were sent to unknown destinations; the girls and younger women were shipped in three railway cars, presumably to Poland. The rest were confined that winter in the Zemun camp near Belgrade.

The robot Nazi machinery did not stop to catch its breath; simultaneously with the mass executions, it ground out the same old anti-Jewish legislation. On April 20, 1941, all Jews, irrespective of age or sex, were ordered by the German *Kommandantur* to register in person and to bring all their jewelry and valuables with them. For purposes of this law, a Jew was defined as such if born into the Jewish faith. A decree of May 25th froze all Jewish bank accounts. All commercial transactions concluded with Jews after April 5th, the day before the Nazi invasion, were declared void. On May 30th, a decree issued by the forces of occupation in Serbia entitled "Law on Jews and Gypsies" established the legal status of Jews in "Old Serbia." It defined a Jew as such if descended from at least three Jewish grandparents. Jews were again ordered to register and the yellow armband inscribed with the word "Jew" was

introduced. They were excluded from all administrative offices and eliminated from the liberal professions. All concerns and real estate owned by Jews were to be registered and the owners lost the right of disposal of their property. All Jews between the ages of 14 and 60 were declared subject to forced labor. The Serbian authorities were made responsible for the carrying out of these measures.

The small Belgrade Jewish community was pauperized by a single blow. A fine of 10 million dinars ($300,000 at pre-war rate) was imposed upon it, to be paid in two installments, the first on June 10th, the second only 10 days later. All able-bodied Jews were placed in segregated labor gangs and compelled to work ten hours a day. In Belgrade, they were forced to clean the rubble of the bombed city, under the supervision of German soldiers and local *Volksdeutsche*. Decrees of May 20th, May 21st, and July 16th, excluded the Jews from the press, the theater, literature and the film industry. On July 22nd, a decree provided for the appointment of commissars to administer Jewish-owned property. On January 3, 1942, the occupation command in Belgrade announced that all Jewish-owned property in the care of commissars must be reported to the security police and the Belgrade *Feld-* or *Kreis-kommandantur* before January 15th. On February 11th, the Ministry of Finance was authorized to sell the land and concerns belonging to Jews who had "offended the state." The proceeds of said sales were to be used to satisfy the claims of the former owners, as well as the claims of certain third parties. The usual restrictions for the purpose of segregation were placed on Jews. Those who had left their homes during the war were not allowed to return. A curfew between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M. was enforced, and Jews were barred from theaters, restaurants and other public places. In February Jews were forbidden to travel on trains. In September 1942, the Serbian Council of Ministers decreed that all Jewish-owned real estate and other holdings become the property of the state.

At about this time, to meet General Mihailovitch's threat to attack concentration camps and liberate the internees, the German forces of occupation removed 12,000 Jews from various small concentration camps to a new camp at Parachin, surrounded by electrified barbed wire and strongly guarded by special German troops.

By the summer of 1942 there were no longer any Jews in Belgrade. Its Jewish population had either been herded into suburban forests and shot or sent to concentration camps. Later even these camps were liquidated. The Jewish internees were brought to the town of Zemun, which was under the supervision of the German *Feldkommandantur* of Belgrade, and were kept in an open stockyard. Some time in February 1942, 3,000 women were deported from this town. In July 1942, there were 7,000 Jewish women and children under 18 years of age in Zemun. The men had been transferred elsewhere, the majority to the East for forced labor.

The scale of the Nazi-fostered propaganda campaign in Serbia may be measured by "Premier" Milan Neditch's statement of April, 1942, that over 100,000 copies of five anti-Semitic pamphlets had been circulated since November 1941. Nevertheless, the majority of the Serbian population remained sympathetic to the Jews and opposed to the anti-Jewish policy of the puppet government. A small minority of fascist Serbs, Moslems and local Germans have furnished the only collaboration for the German extermination policy.

On December 24, 1941, the German occupation command found it necessary to threaten the death penalty for harboring or in any way assisting Jews. In June 1942, public whipping was introduced for persons convicted of selling food to Jews on the black market.

On September 9, 1942, the Berlin *Boersenzeitung* boasted that old Serbia and the Banat province are "the first areas in Southeastern Europe to be completely *judenrein*." Soon thereafter, the Jewish section of the Gestapo in Serbia was closed down as "there were no longer any living Jews within its operating area."

b) Croatia

Croatia obtained virtual autonomy in 1939, after a long internal struggle between Serbs and Croats. The dominating political parties of Croatia, the Peasants headed by Vladimir Machek, and the Independent Democrats, were both firmly anti-Nazi and democratic. However, Croatia's democratic regime was short-lived. On April 10, 1941, four days after the German invasion,

while the desperate struggle of the Yugoslav army was still going on, Ante Pavelitch, leader of the fascist *Ustashi*, proclaimed the independence of Croatia. His puppet state was promptly recognized by the Axis powers.

The Pavelitch government announced that the Nuremberg laws would shortly be introduced. In a special broadcast on April 14, 1941, Pavelitch declared that the property of Zagreb's 12,000 Jews would be confiscated and distributed equally among the Croats. On April 20th the German forces of occupation ordered the Jews of Croatia to deliver the keys of all community centers, synagogues and institutions to the local military authorities. Jewish business men were instructed to compile lists of their belongings and to turn over to the Germans the keys to their concerns and safes. A racial law after the traditional Nazi pattern was enacted on April 30, 1941. It provided, however, for a special category of "honorary Aryans," a title to be bestowed upon Jews who had rendered special service to the Croat nation before April 10, 1941, and on their descendants. In view of the prohibition on mixed marriages, it is interesting to note that the wives of the three foremost Croat leaders, Ante Pavelitch himself, Marshal Slavko Kvaternik, and Minister Milovan Zanitch, are Jewesses. Decrees in May prohibited the employment of Aryan female servants in Jewish households. During the same month, Jewish lawyers were disbarred and the licenses of Jewish physicians were revoked. By June 7th, all Jewish government employees were ousted; after October 7th, Jews were barred from the universities. Anti-Jewish exhibitions were organized in five Croat cities.

All Jews over 13 and Jewesses over 12, were ordered to wear "distinctive markings," and they were also barred from public places. Practically all the synagogues in Croatia were either liquidated or converted into "Aryan" clubs. Following the projected transfer of the capital of Croatia from Zagreb to Banjaluka, all Jews were exiled from the latter. The lone Jewish cemetery was destroyed and its tombstones used for the paving of streets.

On May 21st, 1942, a decree deprived the Jews of citizenship and made of them mere "subjects"; on September 6, they were declared stateless. On June 4th, Jews were excluded from participation in literature, art, the theater, and all athletic activities. The

same day a decree barred Jews from all governmental and municipal offices and from the liberal professions. A Pavelitch decree of June 5th made the "hiding or veiling" of Jewish property punishable by a prison term of from one to five years, and Jews were ordered to register their firms and properties. Intensive investigations of thousands of Jewish shops were conducted in August prior to Aryanization. On August 27th, a decree ordered the confiscation of all Jewish-owned dwellings and real estate in Zagreb. The German radio on October 29th announced the confiscation of all Jewish-owned property, enterprises and bank accounts. The Jews were ordered to surrender to the revenue authorities all securities, precious metals, tapestries and objects of art. Debts to Jews were to be paid to the Ministry of Finance.

Practically all Jews under 65 were deported and interned. Often they were dragged from one camp to another without apparent reason. The camps themselves were lacking in the most primitive hygienic equipment. Internees were forbidden to communicate with their families, and were completely cut off from the outside world. Deaths which occurred in camps were not reported.

In the concentration camps of Loborgrad there were 1,400 women and children; in Jasenovac, about 100 kilometers south of Zagreb, some 3,000 men were interned. Some 7,000 Serbs and 2,800 Jews were condemned to labor in the salt mines of Pag, the loneliest and most deserted of the Dalmatian Islands. The barracks were overcrowded and fly-infested. Food was scarce and the prices fantastic. Cheese cost from 200 to 300 dinars a kilogram. The camp was surrounded by machine guns, which were often in use. Natives told of corpses floating off the island shores. The large number of Jews who had been deported to work in the salt mines of Dalmatia were, after Italian occupation, transferred to camps in the interior of Croatia. In all the camps, health conditions were intolerable, with the mortality rate constantly rising, especially after January, 1942. Although some Jewish doctors were permitted to work in Croat hospitals, they were not allowed to work in concentration camps for Jews. In some camps there is only one physician or a medical student for 2,000 or more prisoners.

It is estimated that during the first six months of the Pavelitch regime at least 200 Jews were executed in Croatia. According to a

report of the Croat government published by the *Donauzeitung,* 357 Jews were executed during the first half of 1942. The Yugoslav government-in-exile report of February 5, 1942, states that 150 Croatian-born Jews were killed in the Braka district by a single unit of Pavelitch's *Ustashi*; in another section of Croatia 130 Jewish refugees from Germany were massacred.

By February, 1942, the Croat government considered the Jewish problem "solved," and liquidated the existing state office which had dealt specifically with Jewish affairs. Its functions were turned over to the Ministries of Finance, Commerce and Interior. All confiscated Jewish property which had not been turned over to public institutions, was to be auctioned and sold to "reliable" Croats and *Volksdeutsche.*

The attitude of the population is not uniform. A large element, especially the local Moslems and *Volksdeutsche,* willingly participated in the persecution of Jews. On the other hand, in February, 1942, the BBC reported that the Catholic clergy in Croatia had protested by "wearing the same badge which the government of Ante Pavelitch has forced the Jews to wear." In Zagreb, open protests were voiced from the pulpits of the Catholic churches. As a result, a priest named Lanker, who was charged with helping Jews and conducting anti-government propaganda, was sentenced to twenty years of hard labor. In March, 1942, the friendship displayed by Croatians to their Jewish fellow-prisoners in the camp at Jasenovac forced the authorities to transfer the Jews to another camp.

The Pavelitch government's policy toward the Jews does not differ from Hitler's. Extermination is the aim. As early as September 4, 1941, the *Popolo di Roma* put this blunt question: "Where are Croatia's 40,000 Jews now?"

By May, 1942, the Nazi organ, *Grenzbote,* triumphantly announced that the Jewish population of Croatia had, in the course of one year, been reduced from 35,000 to 6,000. One after another, the concentration camps closed down because the inmates had disappeared. First Loborgrad in August; then Jasenovac several weeks later. There were still a few Jewish communities in Croatia as late as the first half of 1943. *Hrvatski List* of February 11, 1943, announced that all Jews living in Osijek, including foreign and

baptized Jews, were to report to the police the following day. Those failing to do so would be sent to a concentration camp. On March 5th *Nova Hrvatska* published an order summoning all Jews of Zagreb to report to the police with their documents by March 10th. According to a Geneva report dated May 13, 1943, there then remained in Zagreb about 1,000 Jews, including 230 persons living in four homes for the aged. The Jews of Sarajevo were ordered to report to the local police by April 10, 1943. As late as May, 1943, some 3,000 Jewish women were still held in a concentration camp near Novogradzisca, and 1,500 men were in a camp near Jasenovac. At the end of May, some 400 Jews who were still living in Zagreb under the protection of the Archbishop, were seized one night and deported, before the churchman could intervene to save them.

c) Italian-Occupied Area

It is to Italian-occupied territories and Italy that the Jews of Croatia tried desperately to escape. For compared to conditions in the rest of dismembered Yugoslavia, Italian-held areas were havens of refuge. During the first months of the *Ustashi* regime, the Croat authorities delivered exit permits to Jews who paid their part of the tribute imposed upon the Zagreb Jewish community. The number of Jews who thus escaped is estimated at 3,000, although some sources claim that 6,000 Croat Jews managed to reach the Italian-held towns of Ljubljana, Split and Susak; while some 2,000 Jews from Bosnia treked to Italian-occupied Dalmatia (Split, Boche di Cattaro), and others fled to Albania.

The Italian occupants did nothing to encourage this influx. Their consulate in Zagreb refused to grant visas on exit permits issued by the *Ustashi* authorities, so that the holders were obliged to slip surreptitiously across the Croat-Italian border. By the end of June, 1941, the Italians closed their borders, and refugees concentrated in Boche de Cattaro, and in Albania, were transferred to a concentration camp in Kavaja, Northern Albania. Here they remained until December, 1941, when they were moved to a camp in Ferramonte, in South Italy where some of them are still held. Others were released to *"confino libero"* and shifted in part to the province of Sondrio. A number of refugees who reached Split later succeeded in entering Italy.

For the most part, the Italians interned only those who were destitute or "under suspicion." Italian camps are more tolerable than those under Croatian or German control, and the internees are not subjected to hard labor.

d) Hungarian-Occupied Area

Immediately after the Hungarians occupied Voivodina, the government issued a decree providing that all persons of Yugoslav nationality who had settled in the area after December 1, 1918, were to leave the country. They were not to receive any compensation for the loss of their properties, investments, or work for the past twenty years.

The decree, however, scarcely affected the Jews of Voivodina, for most of them had lived there for generations, and were by their language, family and business ties connected with Hungary. There was also some attempt to resettle the Jews of the newly acquired area in Hungary proper. Until the latter part of 1941, little news came from Voivodina. In some cases Jews were reported to be expelled with only 300 dinars in their pockets. Many were interned in camps together with the Serbs. It was reported that in Novi Sad, 13,000 Jews were forced to live in an open camp through the coldest months of winter, with little food or clothing.

Anti-Jewish measures made themselves felt in June, 1941. Although Jews suffered through loss of work, their property was not confiscated at this time. And, although the Hungarian border is permanently closed, a number of Belgrade Jews succeeded in reaching Hungarian-held territory where, for the moment, they were safe.

On May 7, 1942, however, the Yugoslav government-in-exile charged that the Hungarian troops occupying Northern Yugoslavia were torturing and killing "at least 100,000 Serbians and Jews."

In Novi Sad, the Hungarians were reported to have executed 120 Jews, including women, children and the aged. For alleged cooperation with Yugoslav guerrilla units, a heavy fine was imposed on the Jewish community. After partisans attacked Novi Sad and killed 60 Hungarian gendarmes, certain districts were surrounded and 2,000 Serbs and 1,000 Jews were murdered. The Yugoslav

government-in-exile also charges that Serbs and Jews have been entirely exterminated from the towns of Subotica, Horgos, Sombor, Backa-Topola and Novi Sad.

e) Bulgarian-Occupied Area

Only a few cities of the Bulgarian-occupied Macedonian areas had Jewish inhabitants. There were some 3,000 in Skoplje, about 7,000 in Bitolj, and a very small number in Stip and others. The Bulgarian government at first showed little inclination to persecute the Jews. The measures taken by Sofia in June 1941, were said to have been due largely to German pressure. For the most part, however, Jews of Yugoslav Macedonia were too poor to be worth plundering. The decree ordering all Yugoslav citizens who had settled in the Bulgarian-occupied zone after December 7, 1918, to return to their former homes, had little bearing upon the Jewish inhabitants, although it did apply to refugees from German-occupied Belgrade and Sarajevo.

Although the Bulgarian government did not conduct a systematic drive against the Jews during the first year, it gave a free hand to Vancho Mihailoff, the notorious Axis protégé and bandit, who returned to the Balkans from Germany in April 1941. Mihailoff's Black Corps, composed of renegade *Komitajis,* terrorized the Serbian and Jewish inhabitants. Official persecution began last year, when many Macedonian Jews were exiled to the Bulgarian-held island of Thasos in the Aegean. In May 1943, trainloads of Jews deported by the Bulgarians reached the notorious extermination center of Treblinka, in German-occupied Poland. By the end of May, all of the Jewish inhabitants of the Bulgarian-held territory were said to have been deported to Poland.

IV. Jewish Chetniks

The Jews of Yugoslavia, unlike those in other Axis-subjugated countries, have been able to fight back. There are many Jews in Draja Mihailovitch's army and in the partisan detachments. In fact, the General's aide de camp is a young Jewish doctor from Belgrade. A Jewish Patriotic Brigade was created under the leadership of a guerrilla fighter named Wiener; it has fought Axis

troops many times. Many of these Jewish fighters are former prisoners of concentration camps whom Chetniks and partisans have liberated. The Jewish Chetniks are important enough in number to publish their own newspaper, *Zidov*.

BULGARIA

I. Background

When the Jews of Spain and Portugal were seeking new homes, a number of them found their sanctuary in Bulgaria. Modern Bulgarian Jewry consists almost entirely of the descendants of these Sephardim, and to this day Ladino, an old Judeo-Spanish dialect, is their language. It was not until the eighties of the last century that Jews of Ashkenazi stock, mainly from Hungary, Austria and Russia, joined the Bulgarian Jewish community.

The Congress of Berlin which established Bulgarian independence in 1878, laid down the principle of equality of civil and political rights for minorities in that country. This principle was incorporated into the Bulgarian Constitution and Jews continued to enjoy full rights from that time until 1940. In 1880 the government recognized the Jewish community as a juridical body, and until Bulgaria openly joined the Axis, there were 32 organized Jewish communities with smaller Ashkenazi settlements functioning in Sofia, Ruschuk, and Varna. All were represented before the government through a central consistory whose executive board was popularly elected. The board was always consulted by the government in matters of Jewish concern.

In 1878 there were 19,000 Jews in Bulgaria. By 1934 their number had grown to 48,565 (0.80 percent of the total population). Over 92 percent lived in the larger cities. In Sofia alone, at the end of 1939, there resided some 27,038 Jews, about 11 percent of the capital's inhabitants. The number of Jews was increased in 1940 by the acquisition from Rumania of South Dobrujda with 1,000 Jews, occupied Yugoslav territory with 15,000; and 3,000 or 4,000 in the Thracian province annexed after the dismemberment of Greece. Before deportations began, "Greater" Bulgaria contained about 70,000 Jews.

Bulgarian Jewry played a very modest part in both the cul-

tural and economic life of the country. According to 1926 statistics, although Jews comprised 0.85 percent of the total population, they participated in the economy only to the extent of half of one percent. The greatest number were occupied in commerce (8,326), followed by the various crafts and industries (5,280). There were comparatively few in the liberal professions (772) and transportation (330); and 147 were employed as domestic help. Only a handful were in the civil service and agriculture. By 1941 the number of Jews in the liberal professions had practically dwindled to 150 physicians and 95 lawyers.

Although the achievements of Bulgarian Jewry were not spectacular, they held a definite place in the life of the country. The former Minister of Education, Stoyan Omarchevsky, stated that among the male population of the Jews, and the female population of the Armenians, there was to be found the greatest percentage of literacy in Bulgaria. For the school year of 1926-1927, some 3,347 pupils were enrolled in the 43 Jewish educational institutions. Bulgarian Jews kept to their traditions. There were singularly few conversions, and in the census of 1934, all but 1,200 persons of Jewish descent gave Judaism as their religion.

II. German Influence

Anti-Semitism was very weak until collaboration with Hitler. Of the small and unsuccessful anti-Semitic groups, the fascist army league, *Rodna Zaschita,* was the most conspicuous. This organization, active between 1925 and 1930, was finally suppressed by the government, only to be reinstated five years later under foreign pressure, together with other fascist and anti-Semitic groups. In 1934, when a synagogue and the home of a Jewish resident were bombed, the government ordered the arrest of 140 anti-Jewish agitators.

In July 1939, members of the outlawed anti-Semitic organization *Ratnitsi* perpetrated anti-Jewish excesses in the town of Pazardjik. In September adherents of the same organization were arrested in Sofia for plundering and destroying Jewish shops. The Bulgarian government issued an official statement reaffirming its determination to suppress anti-Jewish disorders and to put an end to the subversive activities of the *Ratnitsi* and the *National*

Legionnaires. Persons supporting these outlawed organizations were to be interned in concentration camps. On February 4, 1940, the government declared that it recognized no distinction between Jews and other law-abiding Bulgarian citizens and strongly condemned the anti-Jewish excesses.

But the Bulgarian government, subjected to strong German pressure, was forced to take back with its left hand what its right hand had given. Refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia were again placed on the rack, and Jews from Italy and Greece, many of whom had lived in Bulgaria for decades, were given a foretaste of Nazi method. After 1937, when through manipulated trade pacts the Reich achieved economic domination over Bulgaria, Nazi political influence grew rapidly. Throughout most of 1939 the Kiosseivanoff Cabinet was cautiously but consistently pro-German. Influenced by Nazi promises of assistance in the pressing of Bulgarian territorial claims against Rumania and Greece, as well as German threats of military and economic reprisals if Bulgaria failed to "cooperate", Bulgaria was between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Internally, however, the government made a last stand against outright Nazification, and in April 1939, the Bulgarian National Socialist Party was dissolved. But by January 1940, Kiosseivanoff had to step aside in favor of the actively pro-German government headed by Professor Bogdan Philoff. Hitler's role in the regaining of Southern Dobrudja made the Reich's position even stronger. On June 20th Bulgaria signed a "cultural and educational" treaty with Germany. The first tangible results of this agreement were the dissolution on July 27, 1940 of the Freemasons, and restrictions on the civil rights of Jews on October 8th. These measures were approved on December 24, 1940 by the Bulgarian National Assembly (Sobranje), which since the Gheorgieff coup d'état of 1934 had to all intents become an obedient rubber stamp for King Boris.

On January 23, 1941 a "Law for the Protection of the Nation" was published in the Bulgarian Official Gazette. Its second section, dealing with "persons of Jewish descent," in one fell sweep completely robbed Jews of their civil rights, imposed economic restrictions, and in a diluted form introduced the Nazi racial

criterion. Jews were defined as such if possessing one Jewish parent. Offsprings of mixed marriages concluded before the law went into effect, and persons of Jewish descent who already had, or would in the future adopt the Christian faith, were deemed Jews. The law also banned Jews from naturalization and from using Bulgarian endings in their names. It closed to them all state institutions or private welfare societies, banned them from employment in clerical positions in state or municipal institutions, and forbade them to join the army. It ordered them to perform forced labor in segregated labor camps. It forbade Jews to marry Bulgarians or to employ Bulgarian domestics. It introduced a *numerus clausus* in the schools. It cleared the way for segregation by preventing Jews from changing their residence without police permission, and by authorizing municipal and village authorities to exclude Jews. Broad economic restrictions deprived them of the right to own or rent land, compelling the liquidation of real property by sale to the state land fund. In each given locality, Jewish professionals and business men were thenceforth to constitute no larger proportion than their percentage, locally, in the population. Jews could not own banks, cinemas or newspapers, or be the directors of such enterprises. All property owned by Jews was to be registered with the National Bank within a month after the law went into effect.

Shortly afterwards, on February 15, 1941, a "regulation for the application of the law for the protection of the nation" established the category of "preferred Jews" to consist of:

(a) War veterans and volunteers decorated for bravery, war orphans and widows.
(b) Persons of Bulgarian birth registered or residing in a Bulgarian community before the law became effective, who had been converted to Christianity before September 1, 1940.
(c) Jews married to Bulgarians before September 1, 1940 and who had adopted Christianity prior to this law.

III. Axis Partnership

a) Legislative Pogrom

On March 1, 1941, the same day that, in Vienna, Premier Philoff ceremoniously signed the Axis pact in Hitler's presence, the German army entered Bulgaria. On March 2nd, the Bulgarian Sobranje ratified the pact and accepted the "temporary" presence of German troops. Thus Bulgaria became a full fledged satellite of Germany. The anti-Jewish policy was immediately intensified and a number of new measures were introduced. On March 11th, all the Jewish inhabitants of Philipopolis were expelled to other parts of the country, and their homes and furniture were requisitioned for the use of German officers. The following week, Jewish dealers were ordered to register their stocks, a preliminary step to confiscation. In April all Jewish agents and salesmen were ordered dismissed from their positions and the government, over-anxious to please the Axis, announced that it was sending a delegation to Hungary for the purpose of studying that country's anti-Jewish legislation.

In July the confiscation of property began. A law dated July 13th provided for a 20 percent tax on Jewish-owned properties valued between 200,000 and 3,000,000 levas and 25 percent on properties worth over 3,000,000. In Sofia alone, a tax of 20,000,000 levas was imposed on 1,454 Jews. A Bulgarian radio commentator estimated that this tax would net the treasury one and one-half billion levas (about $15,000,000 at pre-war rates). The number of Jewish undertakings permitted to continue in business was limited to 761, out of a total of 4,272, the majority being groceries and other food shops. All Jewish pharmacies and drugstores were prohibited and only one Jewish industrial enterprise in Sofia was permitted to continue in existence.

That same month, July 1941, saw the banning of ritual slaughter, the confiscation of all telephones and radios, and the mobilization for forced labor of all foreign Jews between the ages of 20 and 46.

The number of Jewish professionals permitted to practice was greatly restricted. At the end of 1941, only 59 Jewish physicians received authorization to continue. Despite an acute shortage,

only 10 Jewish engineers and 36 persons with secondary technological training were permitted to work, out of a total of 125 holding degrees. Jewish dentists were limited to 17; chemists to 5; lawyers to 36 (out of a total of 95); architects to 2; musicians to 14. By an order published in the Sofia newspaper *Zora*, those Jewish physicians and dentists continuing to practice were to drop any Bulgarian endings to their names by December 31, 1942. At the beginning of 1943, the number of Jews in the professions was further cut down. The new list comprised only 21 Jewish physicians, 7 dentists, 21 lawyers, 6 engineers, 3 chemists, 23 mechanics, 1 architect, 12 musicians and 1 Jewish actor.

These restrictions, although still short of the demands of the Reich, succeeded in completely disrupting Jewish economic life. A more extensive anti-Jewish program could not be put into immediate effect because a considerable part of the Bulgarian people had no sympathy with the Nazi-inspired policy of King Boris and his government.

The opposition in the Sobranje was led from the start by former Premier Nicholas Mushanoff. On November 3, 1940 a delegation of twenty Christian professors had protested against anti-Jewish measures to Premier Philoff. Several weeks later, the Bulgarian Holy Synod formally denounced these laws. In January 1941, the Metropolitan of the Greek Orthodox Church of Sofia warned the government that he would not abide by the application of the Jewish law to converted Jews. The same year, the Union of Bulgarian Lawyers refused to accept the forced resignation of its president, Dr. Joseph Fadenhecht, a converted Jew. Such examples of backsliding led Svetlozar Pavloff, an anti-Semitic Bulgarian journalist, to complain bitterly.

> "There are still some naive people who think that the struggle against the Jews has been grafted into Bulgarian life in blind imitation of foreign ideas."

In demanding full powers from the Bulgarian Parliament to deal with the Jewish problem in June, 1942, Minister of Interior Gabrovsky frankly stated:

> "To date Jewish legislation has proven itself insufficient and in Bulgaria sufficiently sharp boundaries between Jews

and Bulgarians are not drawn. Jews still have the opportunity of unhindered commerce with Bulgarians. Unfortunately they are still aided by Bulgarians in circumventing the law."

Gabrovsky therefore demanded extraordinary authority to set aside "normal legislation" in order to cut short all delays in the disposition of the Jewish problem. This demand brought strong protest from the benches of the opposition. Former Premier Mushanoff and Petko Stainoff were among those who courageously defended the Jews. On the other hand, some fascist deputies protested that the government had not been radical enough. They echoed the Nazi-financed *Vetcher* which a few months earlier had violently attacked the government for its "lenient" treatment of the Jews. Insisting that Bulgarian Jews continued to hold their former positions despite the anti-Jewish laws, *Vetcher* had written:

> "Apart from the confiscation of radios, the imposing of a special levy on Jews and forbidding them to appear in the streets in the evening, nothing has been done to curb Jewish activities."

On June 29, 1942 the Sobranje gave the government a carte blanche to "solve" the Jewish problem on a racial basis. Several days later, a Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was created, headed by a lawyer named Dr. Alexander Beleff. The Commissariat was composed of four sections: administrative, economic, budgetary, and labor. The first had jurisdiction over measures of segregation, transfer of residence and similar matters. The economic section was charged with liquidation of Jewish property; the budgetary division took control of the funds of the Jewish community.

By May 1942, 5,000 Jews between the ages of 21 and 31 were mobilized in construction gangs, working in cooperation with the German *Todt* organization to build 700 miles of roads in Dobrudja. Another 1,000 were already laboring on the construction of a new railway line from Sofia to the mining region of Pernik. These Jewish workers were segregated in separate labor battalions, and forced to wear broad yellow armbands so as to be easily distinguishable to their German overseers. It was expected in May that the original figure of 5,000 forced laborers would be

doubled within a short time. Indeed, two months later, Minister of Interior Gabrovsky ordered that Jews between the ages of 31 and 47 be mobilized for forced labor, thus increasing the number already at work from 5,000 to 8,500. By September 1942, all Jews mobilized for civilian work or in labor battalions became subject to the summary jurisdiction of military tribunals. The pace of persecution was stepped up now. All Bulgarian Jews were prohibited to travel outside their home area. In larger towns, they were not even permitted to enter the suburbs. Scores of Jews were forcibly removed from trains and seized for violating this decree. All Jewish-owned buildings were ordered sold to non-Jews by the end of 1942. In Sofia, Jews were confined to certain districts, and a 9 p.m. curfew imposed upon them. Even more gratifying to Berlin was the arrest of a number of Sofia Jews on charges of *Rassenschande*; and the *Donauzeitung* was able to announce that from September 29, 1942 all Jews in the capital were to wear the yellow Star of David. "Preferred Jews" were to be permitted to wear a yellow band instead of the Star. Failure to comply was punishable by three years' imprisonment. Jewish war veterans refused to take advantage of their exemption, stating that they "preferred to share the fate of their brothers." A month later, under church pressure, the government exempted all converted Jews from wearing the yellow insignia.

In September 1942, all Jewish-owned assets in Bulgaria, valued at some $30,000,000, were frozen. Twelve percent was credited to the account of the Commissariat and the Jewish communities. Jews were permitted to withdraw a maximum of 4,000 levas ($72) a month.

All commodities produced by Jewish firms had to bear a yellow label stating: "This is a Jewish product." All Jewish business establishments still in operation on September 15 were to display a sign reading: "This is a Jewish enterprise."

Originally Jews had been permitted to retain 49 percent of the stock of various commercial and industrial corporations. The Minister of Interior complained that as a result Jews had been able "to secure through various tricks the management of the undertakings; unfortunately they have found Bulgarians who served as their dummies." For this reason, the Commissar for

Jewish Affairs issued an ordinance in September which provided for the liquidation of all commercial and industrial corporations where Jews owned any share. All proceeds from the said enterprises were to be turned over to special accounts in the Bulgarian National Bank. Violation of the decree was made punishable by ten years' imprisonment or fines as heavy as 2,000,000 levas. The Geulah Bank, a leading Jewish credit institution, was taken over by the government. Jews were ordered to surrender insurance policies, stocks and bonds, and to declare their property to the National Bank. In exchange, they received 3 percent bonds, but these could not be redeemed for a number of years. Jews were also deprived of shares in the mining industry and steamship lines.

In September, Sofia Jews were barred from the streets and from the use of trolleys during certain hours. In Plovdiv, where there were 6,000 Jews, they were banned from the main thoroughfares, the cinemas, theatres, the better restaurants and hotels, and the three large public parks.

Jewish religious and cultural life was undermined by the dissolution of the central consistory and the disenfranchisement of the local communities. These were replaced by new consistories organized by the Commissar of Jewish Affairs. The B'nai B'rith lodges were closed and their properties confiscated. Zionism was outlawed, and a number of Zionists were arrested on the charge of running an underground railway via Turkey to help Jews escape to Palestine. Jews were even forbidden to bake unleavened bread for Passover.

b) Deportation

The Sofia government began deporting Jews from occupied Greek territory in March 1943, and this soon had repercussions in Bulgaria proper. The government was attacked in the Sobranje on March 27th with second vice-president Pesheff joining in condemnation of the policy. Pesheff was forced to resign, but the opposition was strong enough to check the government for the moment. In fact it was announced that Jews who possessed Bulgarian citizenship would not be deported. But this was a tactical move only. On April 12th, the Minister of Interior told Swedish

newspapermen that all Jewish communities had to prepare for evacuation. On May 20th, the Berlin radio made the startling announcement that the entire Jewish population of Sofia, numbering some 25,000, had to be out of the city within three days. The German news agency DNB reported that Jews who did not leave within the prescribed 72 hours "will be compulsorily transferred to Poland by virtue of an agreement made between the Bulgarian and German governments." The Minister of Interior explained that "The measure has become necessary in the interests of the nation."

The announcement of the deportation order brought turmoil in the capital. Crowds of Bulgarians massed in various parts of the city, shouting: *"We want the Jews to remain!"* and charging that the government was a tool in the hands of Germany. In the district around Klementina Street, several thousand Jews formed a procession and marched through the streets in protest, until they were dispersed by police clubs. At 6 o'clock on the evening of May 26th, when the first group of 4,000 Jews was being marched off to the railway station, the column was blocked by a great throng of Bulgarians singing their national anthem. Another crowd converged upon the Ministry of the Interior building, shouting anti-Axis slogans. When police charges broke up the demonstration, the protesting crowd regrouped to parade before the Sofia synagogue. In the scuffle that followed, the police finished second, and the military had to intervene. Several hundred demonstrators were arrested. The people of Sofia had won a brief reprieve for about half the Jews scheduled for expulsion that evening.

The following day, however, two trains loaded with Jewish deportees moved out of Sofia. On May 28th, the Minister of the Interior declared that the evacuation was proceeding "normally" and would be completed within a short time. By the evening of May 31st, 6,000 Jews had been evacuated. By June 20th, 19,339 of Sofia's 25,000 Jews had already been expelled from the city. Of some 5,000 still in Sofia, approximately 3,000 were mobilized for labor camps or factories. About half the remaining 2,000 were exempt because they were married to Aryans.

The expelled Sofia Jews were sent mainly to the district of Karnobat, thirty miles from the Black Sea; many of them were

quartered in the towns of Vidin, Karnobat and Pleven. Here they are prohibited to engage in any occupation except handicraft. They are subjected to a nine o'clock curfew, restricted in their shopping hours, forbidden to visit resorts and places of amusements, or to possess radios.

Meanwhile in Sofia, a special staff of Bulgarian commissars was assigned to compile lists of all property left behind by deported Jews. Cash, merchandise, and keys were to be surrendered at once. A commission was set up to liquidate all valuables deposited by Jews in Bulgarian banks. On May 26, 1943, the *Ostdeutscher Beobachter* announced that all able-bodied Jews in Bulgaria were to be transported to labor camps.

GREECE

There were Jews in the Greece of antiquity. Modern Greece's largest and oldest Jewish community, Salonika, which harbored two-thirds of Greek Jewry (55,983), was founded in the sixteenth century by Sephardic Jews who fled Spain and Portugal. The rest of the Jews of Greece lived in the comparatively young communities on the peninsula and the Aegean islands. Most of these were decimated during the insurrections of 1821, and it was not until nine years later, when Greece achieved independence, that the new settlements sprang up.

According to the census of 1928, there were 72,791 Jews in Greece, constituting a little over one percent (1.17%) of the total population.

Regional Distribution of Greek Jewry

Macedonia	60,484	4.3%
Western Thrace	2,974	1.0%
Epirus	2,641	1.1%
Thessaly	2,275	0.5%
Ionian Islands	1,977	0.9%
Central Greece-Euboea	1,876	0.12%
Other areas	564	
	72,791	1.17%

More than ninety-eight percent of the total dwelled in the cities, with the greatest concentration (23.7% of the total population) in Salonika where they had lived and thrived for centuries. In contrast, other large cities such as Janina had only 4,000 Jews, Athens only 3,000, and the smaller communities of Cavalla and Larissa less than 2,000 each.

Although there is no official data concerning the occupational distribution of Greek Jewry in general, the figures for Salonika show that 65% were occupied as laborers and employees, 25% were

artisans and small traders and only 10% were manufacturers, professionals, etc. Most of those engaged in the liberal professions worked exclusively for their co-religionists. Out of sixty-eight Jewish teachers, only six were employed in municipal institutions. Twelve of the fourteen journalists worked for the Jewish press.

As a result of the Second Balkan War, Salonika, after centuries under Turkish rule, was ceded to Greece in 1913. Severed from its hinterland, its once teeming harbor relegated to inactivity, the port no longer provided work for many who had earned their living out of the trade that had crowded its wharves. The efforts on the part of Greece to modernize Salonika and improve her economic situation bore little fruit: There were many Jews among the longshoremen, traders, importers, exporters and others whose livelihood was tied up with the life of the harbor. As a result, the economic position of Salonika's Jews deteriorated steadily during the past three decades. The repatriation of 200,000 Greeks from Asia Minor in 1920, increased commercial competition to such an extent that thousands of Jewish families were forced to leave the city and seek their fortune in Egypt, Italy and Palestine. By 1940, 32,500 or 59% of Salonika's Jews were living on relief granted them from communal funds.

Anti-Semitism, though not unknown, was kept in check by the Greek government in the years before Axis occupation. In August 1936, Premier Metaxas addressed a special message to Rabbi Korets, Chief Rabbi of Salonika, assuring him that the administration would continue to "nourish the same feeling of sympathy for Jewish citizens as has heretofore existed." On November 21, 1939, Governor George Kyrillis of Macedonia, in an official declaration, reaffirmed the Government's intention of preserving the civil rights of Jews. In fact, legislative measures were introduced to curb the activities of anti-Semitic factions, which were usually fronts for Axis propaganda.

When October 28, 1940 brought Italian invasion, the Jews of Greece rallied to the national emergency. All Jews eligible for military service joined the army. One of the first heroes to die was a Greek Jew, Colonel Mardochai Fridji. On the field of battle, Jews won the official commendation of the late Premier Metaxas, and of Premier Tsouderos. The small Jewish community of Athens

contributed 9,000,000 drachmas to the national defense fund. Though impoverished, the Jews of Salonika donated 50,000 drachmas towards the cost of repairs of the ancient church of St. Sofia, bombed in February 1941. Thousands of Jews lost their lives during the German bombardment of the Jewish quarter. Air raid shelters were practically non-existent in Salonika.

Immediately after the collapse of Greece and its occupation by Axis forces, anti-Jewish legislation was introduced. It was reported on May 15, 1941, that all Jewish physicians and lawyers had been deprived of their licenses. According to dispatches of June 20th, a 9 P.M. curfew was imposed on Jews in Salonika and Athens and large numbers were interned in concentration camps at Levadia on the charge of pro-British activity.

Jews were forced, under penalty of execution, to wear yellow armbands. In November 1941, Greek banks were ordered to confiscate all funds belonging to Greek Jewish communities and philanthropic organizations, including the contributions received from Jewish organizations overseas before the invasion. At the same time, all pensions of Jewish war veterans and former public officials were cancelled.

The Greek population, particularly in Salonika, has tried to help their Jewish fellow-citizens by sharing precious food, and hiding them when they were hunted by the Gestapo. Within starving Greece, however, the plight of the Jews is particularly hard. At the beginning of 1942, their official bread allowance was only one ounce a day and even that was difficult to get. They received little benefit from the shipments of food and medicine reaching Greece from abroad. Actually the share of the Salonika Jews was only 5% of that to which they were entitled. By May 1942, more than 7,000 Jews had died of starvation, including 3,000 children under 14 years of age.

Such were the circumstances when on a Saturday, July 11, 1942, the entire Jewish male population of Salonika (with the exception of those possessing Italian citizenship) between the ages of 16 and 55 was ordered to register, the first step to mass deportation to labor camps. German sources assert that only 7,000 of this number were found in good enough health for forced labor. It was intended to establish a huge ghetto on the island of Crete as a

punishment for Jewish "responsibility" for Greek resistance to the Axis, but military reasons made this project unfeasible. Instead, labor camps were set up in the Macedonian mountains, and the remaining Jews were forced to move to the villages surrounding Salonika, where they were mobilized for work on German fortifications. According to another report from an Axis source, however, the greatest ghetto in the Mediterranean area was set up in Salonika. The Greek government-in-exile charged that 3,500 Salonika Jews were deported to Poland in March 1943.

On March 24, 1943, the *Donauzeitung* reported that the deportation of the Jewish inhabitants of the Bulgarian-occupied Greek districts of Western Thrace (2,974) and Eastern Macedonia (about 13,000) had begun that month, when the first trains left Thrace. By the end of May, some 14,000 Jews from Thrace and Macedonia were in Poland, in German hands. Many Jews attempted to escape this fate by fleeing to Italian-held Albania, to Turkey, or other parts of Greece. At the Aegean port of Cavalla, the Bulgarian police found the headquarters of an underground railway which furnished identification cards and passports for flight to Albania and Turkey.

Eastern Europe

POLAND

I. Background

One of the early legends surrounding the origin of the Polish state, relates how the tribe of Lech out of which the Polish nation grew, in search of a king, offered the crown to one, Abraham Prochownik, a Jew. Abraham refused the crown and counselled the people to choose a wiser and more worthy man who was called Piast. Perhaps as in all legends there is little more than a grain of truth in this one. But it bears witness to the fact that the Jews were in Poland, or what was later to be known as Poland, right from the start. They were there from the very moment when the people on the vast plains east of Germany were emerging from the twilight of myths and sagas into the limelight of historic existence—the tenth century.

The new unused country attracted Jews from the West, and from the East there came red-haired descendants of the strange Chazar Kingdom. Most of Poland's Jews came from Germany. They fled the growing frenzy of religious prejudice and fanaticism which enveloped the Western world, and culminated in the Crusades. They found in Poland an agricultural land, economically primitive, and politically unstable. They became pioneers in trade and finance. The more enlightened princes, sensing their importance to the backward country, tried to assure the Jews a certain amount of security, in the form of statutes protecting their life and property. The shepherds of the young Christian community, however, imbued with the Western fanaticism sought to drive out the Jews by inciting the populace and the princes against them. Down the ages the Jews remained the focal point of a tug of war, drawn towards destruction by the ecclesiastic powers, to be pulled back from time to time by the casual protection of the state.

Despite the insecurity of their position, the Jews were hard at work. They leased and administered the Polish mint, proof of which fact lies in the Hebrew inscriptions on old Polish coins.

They rented and administered such valuable sources of revenue as salt mines and large estates; they took charge of the collection of customs duties—and they put their money into circulation. More than that, they placed Polish foreign and home trade on a running basis. Utilizing their connections with the merchants of the East and West, they created for Poland an export and import trade with the world. Within the country itself they wandered unprotected along dangerous muddy roads, bringing goods to its farthest reaches. The activities of the Jews did not end with commerce. They played an equally important role as artisans. They brought with them the trades learned in the west and set up little shops. Often they produced articles never before seen by the backward population.

Their economic success also proved the main source of income for the treasuries of the Princes and Kings. For they paid heavy taxes and tithes, customs duties and road tolls.

Thus in young Poland, the Jews came to occupy a position not filled by either the clergy, the nobility, or the peasantry, that is the middle class. Through perseverance and hard work they developed Poland's economy. In the beginning there was no competition. However as soon as the time came for the Jews to reap the fruits of their harvest, the first competitor arrived on the scene. The German burghers, artisans and tradesmen were backed by the clergy and granted many privileges. The Jews were faced with the usual handicaps, legal and otherwise. Throughout Polish history it was the lot of the Jews to be ousted from the economic positions which they created and developed. They fought and achieved despite tremendous odds. More often than not, they had the backing of the court which, of necessity, appreciated the benefits brought by the Jews to the country and the Royal treasury. In 1539 King Sigismund I issued a decree in which he proclaimed: "The nobles having Jews in their towns and villages may enjoy all the advantages to be derived from them, but must also try their cases. *For we* [the King], *not deriving any advantages from such Jews, are not obliged to secure justice for them.*"

Thus the landowning nobility were invited to partake of the "advantages" to be derived from the Jews in their villages and estates for the small price of a doubtful justice, and the king was

"not obliged to secure justice for them," since he got nothing out of it.

Living as they did in permanent insecurity, dependent on the whims of kings or princes, surrounded by hostility, the Jews of Poland faced the outside world at least as a united group. Forced to remain aliens, they concentrated on their own traditions, learning and spiritual values, and they were able to uncover a spring from which Jewish thought and faith has been drawing ever since.

From the purely mechanical need of the court to expedite the collection and delivery of taxes from the Jews, grew Jewish autonomy. The rabbis and judges elected by the Jews were recognized by the king. The Jews were granted the right to handle their own social, spiritual and economic affairs, particularly the payment and turning over of tax monies. Thus while they toiled to fill the king's coffers, the Jews were enabled to build a life of their own. The Rabbis and teachers, elected by their people, taught the young, ran the Talmudic academies, organized charity, took charge of the synagogues and cemeteries. Judges settled disputes, and concerned themselves with matters pertaining to commerce and handicraft. In the course of time, the sporadic conferences of rabbis and elders, became regularly held conventions of "The Council of the Four Lands," Great Poland, Little Poland, Red Russia and Volhynia. The Council as the guardian of Jewish tradition and learning became as well the protector of Jewish civil rights in Poland. Although little could be done for the civil rights of Jews, the firmly knit communal self-government resulted in Jewish unity and the expansion of Jewish culture. Despite the fact that the organization was hardly ideal, that the interests of the community did not always prevail, that among the elders and those surrounding them could be found vice, selfishness and corruption, this autonomous organization made possible the survival of the Jewish spirit in a hostile world and the development of Jewish thought to unprecedented heights.

Two great schools of religious thought, Rabbinism and Chassidism, grew and flourished in the Jewish communities of Poland. The path of Polish Jewry is dotted with great commentators of the Talmud, learned men of Jewish law, with fanatic Cabbalists and subtle philosophers. On it have paused the great Baal-Shem-Tov,

founder of the Chassidic movement and Elyah Hagaon, the celebrated Talmudic scholar of Vilno. It has been swept by the antagonism of the varied trends which fired Jewish thought. In the nineteenth century the Western wind brought to Poland the breath of *Haskalah* (enlightenment). The neo-Hebraic literary movement took poets and writers back to the language of their forefathers. The end of the 19th century introduced Poland to Zionism, and in the manufacturing centers the Jewish Socialist movement was attracting attention. The 20th century saw a largely differentiated but nationally conscious Jewry, still wielding great influence on Jewish life throughout the world, and with its ten century-old roots, a vital part of modern Poland.

Until the close of the 18th century which marked the end of Poland's independence, the Jews continued to live dependent on the favors of the court and suffering almost constant persecution of opposing forces. They had contributed much to Poland's economy, but the restrictions which had all but tied their hands had never been rescinded. During the 150 years of Poland's subjugation, they actively participated in the armed attempts to regain her independence and willingly gave their lives for the land which from the beginning had treated them as step-children. Bernard and Jacob, physicians, fought and died in the service of the patriotic anti-Russian Confederation of Bar. Berek Joselewicz organized a Jewish battalion for Kosciuszko's army and died with the rank of Colonel. His regiment, after heroic resistance, was annihilated in a Warsaw suburb by Suvorov's Cossacks. In the lists of General Dabrowski's Legions, fighting for Poland's freedom under the banners of Napoleon, could be found the names of Second Lieutenant Notkiewicz, Cavalry Major Kacper Junghoff, Lieutenant of Chasseurs Mordka Rosenfeld and many others. In the Insurrection of 1831, Lieutenants Ferdynand Eisenberg, Karol Grunberg, Synaj Hermisch, Major Michal Landau, among others, gave their lives that Poland might be free. Before the Insurrection of 1863, Rabbi Beer Meisels, Marcus Jostrow and Izaak Kramsztyk led the Jews of Warsaw in a demonstration against the Russian yoke. They were imprisoned, and many of their followers were felled by Cossack sabres. The Jews, undaunted, participated in the insurrection. Grostern, Halpern, Hoffenblum, Rosenbach, Liban,

Lewinsohn were but a few of the Jewish officers who fought for their Polish motherland. Epstein was a member of the Insurrection Government, and Wohl and Kronenberg were its financial advisers. When half a century later, in 1914, the people of Poland, under the leadership of Pilsudski again took up arms, there were many Jews in the ranks, of whom hundreds were decorated for bravery. Motel Natan Lewinsohn, grandson of the Lewinsohn who had fought in 1863, Izaak Jungermann, Dr. Adolph Sternschuss, Bronislaw Mansperl, Wladyslaw Steinhaus gave their lives and were among those who received the *Virtuti Militari,* highest decoration of the Polish army.

It was not until 1921 that the Polish Constitution granted the Jews full citizenship. But centuries of prejudice and habit had conditioned the Polish people. It would take more than a constitution to outweigh the age-old practices and prejudices of daily life. Nevertheless, during the 20 years of Poland's new-found independence, the Jews played an important role in many branches of Polish life. Had their path been less stony, they might have contributed still more.

On the eve of World War II there were 3,300,000 Jews in Poland, out of a total population of 35,000,000. They were 9.5% of a population which comprised 64.8% Poles, some 22% Ukrainian and White Russians, and 2.6% Germans. In 1931, over three-quarters of Poland's Jews lived in the cities and towns, constituting 27.3% of the total urban population. As the tendency since the turn of the century was towards a decrease in the Jewish urban population and a rise in the non-Jewish one, this ratio may have been upset somewhat after 1931.

Their occupational distribution was as follows:

OCCUPATION	PERCENTAGE IN RELATION TO JEWISH TOTAL	PERCENTAGE IN RELATION TO NATIONAL TOTAL
Crafts and Industry	42.2	20.0
Commerce	36.6	52.7
Servants	0.7	4.9
Liberal Professions	4.9	12.4 (incl. civil service)
Farming	4.3	1.0
Transport, Communications	3.1	11.4
Civil Service	0.2	
Miscellaneous	3.3	

After centuries of activity, it was only natural that there be a high percentage of Jews occupied in trade and commerce. Their concentration in these fields was also helped by the fact that other positions had virtually been closed to them. In the past, despite heavy competition, Jews had been able to hold their own. However as the role of the government in Poland's economy took on greater importance, the position of the Jews became more precarious. The Jews were not admitted to subsidies, cheap credits and tax benefits, and so while the absolute number of Jewish commercial elements increased, their percentage in comparison with that of non-Jews decreased. Thus during the period of 1921-1931 the number of Jewish employers in trade was increased by 23.2% but the number of non-Jews rose 118%. Yet Jews continued to occupy an important position in domestic and foreign trade. Farm products and other food commodities, textiles, hardware, books and writing materials were largely in the hands of Jewish merchants. Modern foreign trade, their heritage of generations of work, was controlled by Jews up to the outbreak of the war. They were leading in the export of textiles, canned goods and plywood.

In the main, however, the Jews engaged in commerce were small storekeepers. Only 6.6% of the individual proprietors employed help. In industry, to which many Jews hitherto employed in trades shifted their activity, they were largely responsible for the development of the garment industry, and the manufacturing of textiles in the great centers of Lodz and Bialystok; for canned goods; for rubber goods; for the tobacco industry, in which 10,000 were engaged and from which some 40,000 earned a livelihood. When the state tobacco monopoly was introduced, with the exception of a few hundred invalids, Jews were completely ousted. The same holds true for the oil industry in the former Austrian-occupied part of Poland, from which Jews later found themselves shut out; and partly for timber and saw-milling, a scene of Jewish activity for centuries.

In the crafts Jews also constituted a prominent percentage. In such trades as glass and chemicals they were over 80% of the total number of those engaged. But here, too, they occupied for the most part small income positions.

The unusually high percentage of Jews engaged in transport

and communication (there were practically no Jews among the 175,000 state railroad employees) was due to the many private Jewish owned bus lines, and to the fact that a large number of Jews made a modest living by transporting passengers and goods in simple horse-carriages.

The Jewish intelligentsia flocked to the liberal professions although here also their position became uncertain as the government introduced measures to exclude Jews from higher education and the professions. The very small percentage of Jews in the civil service best evidences the government's attitude.

As far as the social distribution of the Jews was concerned, some 62% were "independent" (of whom the majority were small manufacturers, merchants, and artisans who employed no help); 26.8% were workers, mainly employed in handicrafts and small industry, in contrast to the Polish workers who were mostly at work in the larger industries; 8.2% were employees, and 2.8% were of unknown occupation.

The economic position of the Jews in Poland grew from bad to worse. The Jews, accustomed to fighting against odds, tried one means after another to alleviate the situation. They formed Jewish credit, producer, agricultural, and consumer cooperatives. In 1938 these cooperatives numbered 775 and had a membership of 143,608. They established free loan associations of which in 1938 there were 826. There were many who felt that the best solution was to seek their fortunes under less difficult circumstances elsewhere. From 1927 to 1937, 185,000 Jews left Poland to go abroad. About 71,000 of them went to Palestine.

The ancient spring of Polish Jewish cultural life did not run dry for modern Polish Jewry. The Jews supported some 700 private schools in which either Hebrew or Yiddish was the language of instruction, two seminaries and a number of Yeshivas. Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish newspapers and magazines appeared. Polish Jewry contributed to Yiddish literature some of its greatest writers, I. L. Perez and Sholem Asch. Moses Schorr, Meier Balaban, Itzchok Schipper (who made important studies on the economic history of Polish Jews), were outstanding historians. Chaim Slonimski and Nahum Sokolow were pioneers in Hebrew literature. Samuel Poznanski was a celebrated student of the Karaite problem.

Polish science, art and literature, also tasted of the spring of Polish Jewish culture. Julian Klaczko, Wilhelm Feldmann and, more recently, Professors Szymon Aszkenazy and Marceli Handelsmann, were some of Poland's outstanding historians. Ludwig Gumplowicz, the sociologist, and Ludwik Zamenhof, creator of Esperanto, have won world fame. Professors Maurice Allerhand (law), Leon Sternbach (philology), Rafal Taubenschlag (Roman Law), and Dr. Maksymillian Rose, the brain specialist, were internationally known. Julian Tuwim was the foremost poet of independent Poland. Antoni Slonimski, poet and journalist, and such writers as Leo Belmont, Bruno Winawer, Marian Hemar are prominent in Polish literature. In painting and art there are Gottlieb, Lilienthal and Szyk; in music, Rubinstein and Huberman.

Politically the Jews of Poland were divided among many parties, the most important of which were the Zionist, the Socialist Bund and the orthodox Agudath Israel. Jewish leaders fought incessantly for equality and justice for their people. From the tribune of the Diet, in lectures, in the press, they demanded that the minority obligations stated in international treaties and in the Polish constitution itself be fulfilled. Throughout the period of Polish independence this fight was carried on. Fascist menace was on the way, and the outlook became steadily gloomier for the Jews. The support of the democratic and socialist groups of Poland enabled the Jews for a time to brave the Fascist tide. Discrimination continued to feed on the official trend, and the Jews could not help but be resentful. However, when the political clouds gathered on the Polish horizon, their patriotism proved far stronger than their resentment. They were the ones to contribute most to the National Loan, and later they gave their blood freely.

When Eastern Poland was occupied by Soviet Russia, the Jews were confronted with a choice of Soviet citizenship or Siberian exile; over half a million Polish Jews chose the privations of exile, rather than renounce the citizenship of their homeland.

II. The Invader

When the German invader overran Poland the die was cast for the Jews. The Nazi racial theory was immediately put into action.

In the name of the New Order, the Jews were deprived of their freedom, of their homes, their property, and finally of the bare necessities of life, and life itself.

It was of Poland, the fount of Jewish culture, that the Germans made a deportation and annihilation center for hundreds of thousands of Jews from other subjugated countries. Indeed, they have made of it a veritable cemetery for the Jews of Europe.

a) Loss of Rights

Polish Jews were deprived of all rights. Forced to wear yellow badges, their yellow identification cards stamped with a big J, their shops branded with Hebrew signs, they were rapidly segregated and reduced to the role of pariahs. Along with the other subjugated peoples they lost all political rights. They were robbed of all opportunities of earning a livelihood and left to fend for themselves. Jewish doctors were ousted from the Health Councils and forbidden to treat non-Jews. Jewish lawyers were disbarred. No Jew could be an official interpreter. Jews were forbidden to deal in gold and other precious metals and stones. No Jewish workers or artisans received the work cards, without which it was impossible to obtain employment. Thus in theory, at least, only the German authorities could employ Jews, and heavy physical labor was the only possible solution for the overwhelming majority. Jews were not only unable to earn a livelihood, but they were barred from all relief, such as pensions, unemployment relief and most of the social insurance benefits. All tax exemptions and reductions hitherto granted to Jewish religious communities, institutions, foundations and societies were cancelled. Jewish taxpayers were denied the right of appeal on their taxes. In the ghettos the Jews were completely cut off from the outside world. Those still free were not permitted to enter theaters, cinemas, lecture halls and other public places. Jewish children, forbidden to attend any schools other than those supported by the Jewish Council, were for a long period of time left without any educational facilities whatsoever. It took the Councils more than a year to get the necessary permission for the opening of schools. When it was finally granted, they lacked the funds and space for proper

organization. No Hebrew or Yiddish mail was to be forwarded by the post-offices. During the first weeks of occupation ritual slaughter was prohibited, for, as the Nazis explained, "in an area under German dominion any cruelty against animals is impossible." Even the consolation of common prayers was not granted the Jews. Religious services were forbidden "on account of the epidemics."

b) Loss of Property

Jewish property, both private and communal, became easy loot for the invader. Private fortunes were confiscated. Of the synagogues which escaped the destruction of the September campaign and later marauding, the majority were converted into barracks, power stations, stables and public latrines. The fate of Jewish hospitals and school buildings was much the same. At first, during raids on Jewish homes, the German soldiers simply pillaged what ever happened to take their fancy and destroyed the rest. Within a short time, however, the wholesale robbery was "legalized." Within the "annexed" area, all Jewish-owned property, with the exception of clothing and cash or bank accounts under 1,000 marks, became subject to outright confiscation. Jews in the General Government were ordered to place all their cash over 2,000 zlotys in bank accounts which were then frozen. Each individual was permitted to draw from the bank a maximum of 250 zlotys per week. All Jewish-owned property had to be registered. The penalty for not registering property was immediate confiscation. What the registration of property has come to mean for the Jews of occupied Europe is an old story. A German lawyer analyzing the decrees of the General Government in the *Deutsches Recht* of August 31, 1940, wrote:

> "From the decree on the duty to register the Jewish property . . . it may be expected that for the fulfillment of tasks of common interest, Jewish property will be seized first of all."

There were in all of Poland, excluding the former Russian-occupied areas, some 130,000 Jewish commercial enterprises. The total number of commercial enterprises confiscated by the Germans was about 120,000. There is no doubt that the majority of those seized were Jewish-owned. In Poland, Jews owned about

65,000 plants and factories. Since the Germans confiscated about 80,000 in the category, it is clear that with the possible exception of those behind the ghetto walls, all Jewish-owned factories were taken over by the Germans.

It was during their transfer to the ghettos that Jews lost most of their property. The amount of personal belongings and furniture that they could take with them was limited by a fifty-pound maximum weight rule for baggage as well as the lack of space in the new ghetto quarters. For example, the decree which introduced the ghetto in Lodz, permitted the Jews to take with them from their old homes one suitcase of clothing, underwear and family heirlooms, providing that the suitcase could be carried by the owner. The order, issued on March 3, 1941, by the Deputy District Chief for Cracow, on the transfer of Jewish commercial and artisan enterprises to the ghetto is typical. It provided that Jewish-owned enterprises already under Aryan trusteeship were to be exempt from transfer. The Deputy District Chief was to decide how many enterprises the ghetto needed. Should the number of concerns outside the ghetto be greater than that allotted to the ghetto, the Deputy was to decide which ones were to be merged or liquidated. In such a case, however, as the stocks of merged concerns "would lead to the overcrowding of the new enterprises," two-thirds of the stock must remain outside the ghetto. Furthermore, permission to transfer an enterprise did not include the right to take along the stock. This required a separate permit. Many a Jewish storekeeper found himself with the permission to open a store in the ghetto but without goods to sell. The same order forbade the transfer into the ghetto of all Jewish-owned factories which were to be placed under Aryan trusteeship. Thus in the most far-sighted and "legal" fashion, the Germans moved the Jews of Poland into the ghettos of Poland, and carefully unburdened them of their property.

In the former Russian-occupied Poland, the Jews together with others lost their property to Soviet nationalization, and the Germans preserved this system. Jewish-owned real estate, together with all Polish agricultural and forestry concerns in the incorporated territories fell under German management. In the General Government, a great deal of Jewish-owned real estate was destroyed

or damaged during the September campaign. What remained was taken over by the Germans. In the Warsaw district alone, 11,000 Jewish-owned estates were placed under German control. Their urban property was taken away from the Jews and was either placed under trusteeship or confiscated, "with the object of serving public interest."

c) Uprooted

A dominant feature of the New Order's housecleaning in Poland was the uprooting of thousands of people from their homes. Thus the Jews were not only deprived of their homes and property, but were so concentrated and segregated as to enable the Germans to easily carry out all restrictions against them. Furthermore the ghettos served as large pools for German forced labor and eventually facilitated the execution of Hitler's extermination plan.

The first wave of deportation started in October, 1939. For five months, mainly in the "annexed" territories, Jews were torn from their homes and left to shift for themselves as best they could. Some 400,000 of the 700,000 Polish Jews living in these areas were affected. About 30,000 Jews were expelled from the northern part of the Warsaw district. The 4,000 Jews of Suwalki were driven to a No Man's Land on the Lithuanian border. Out of the great Jewish center of Lodz, at first destined for evacuation, 50,000 people were deported. Lodz's complete evacuation, however, was not carried out. From the towns and counties of Wloclawek, Sieradz, Plock, Wielun and others, 50,000 to 60,000 Jews were uprooted. There were towns from which the entire Jewish population was ordered to leave. Always they were given only short notice. They could take with them a small provision of food and their most necessary personal belongings. They were transported in freight trains or trucks filled to capacity. Many a corpse was taken out at the end of the journey.

At first the Germans did not force the Jews to go to any specific destination. They scattered en route in search of any makeshift shelter, depending on the aid of the communities from which their brethren had not yet been expelled. As early as March, 1940, dispossessed Polish Jews were to be found in 250 localities of occupied Poland. They were housed in barracks, schools, synagogues and

in private homes. Sometimes contributions were made by their former communities, but in the main they were supported by the community in which they found shelter. Many letters of thanks were published in the controlled *Gazeta Zydowska* (Jewish Gazette) from refugees to the local population for sharing the little it had with those even less fortunate.

The end of 1939 brought the spectre of the Lublin reservation. According to Alfred Rosenberg's plan, by the middle of 1940 the projected reservation was to house some 500,000 Jews from Poland, Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Late in 1939, in addition to the 314,000 local Jews, some 50,000 to 60,000 from other German-occupied countries were deported there. Living conditions were unspeakable. Jews were left in the open fields, without shelter and without food. Those who could not find haven with the peasants had to build barracks with their bare hands. The plan to make Lublin a Jewish reservation was soon abandoned. Instead it became a monster ghetto for the Jews of other German-occupied countries. Of a transport of 1,415 Czech Jews deported to Poland, presumably in the summer of 1942, about 90% were sent to the Lublin district. The majority were concentrated in the towns of Lubartow, Opole and Kamionka.

A second period of deportations reached its climax in February and March, 1941, when 12,000 Jews were expelled from Lublin and some 70,000 people were swept out of the villages on the left shore of the Vistula in the Warsaw district. About 44,000 of them sought shelter in the already overcrowded Warsaw Ghetto. Now many Jews, such as the inhabitants of Plock who had been spared during the first deportations, were victims in their turn. Now the Jews of Oswiencim who in 1939 and 1940 had given shelter to their brothers from the neighboring Dabrowa Basin were, together with those whom they had succored, exiled from their homes on the eve of Passover. At this time, 50,000 of the 60,000 Jews in Cracow were also expelled. The refugees spread over hundreds of towns and villages. The victims of Cracow alone were to be found in large numbers in some 19 localities.

The deportations which came in 1942 portended an even more terrible fate for the Jews. The deportees were no longer permitted a choice of refuge. All transports were eastward bound. Soon it

became known that these expulsions had another meaning as well. The Jews were marked for extermination, whether under the deliberately unbearable conditions of transportation, or at the point of arrival. Thus some 400,000 Jews were deported from Warsaw, and great numbers from eastern Galicia, including about 13,000 from Tarnopol and other towns and villages.

The following excerpt from a Polish underground paper of June 8, 1942, shows that deportation was already but another name for death:

> "I was driving along the Radzymin road in the direction of Wyszkow, leaving Radzymin behind. Suddenly I heard shots and saw something that looked like a huddled caravan. Soon I could see scores of peasant wagons crowded with women, children and babies. Behind the wagons there was a crowd which made a ghostly impression. Like a herd of sheep driven by dogs, the people were teeming, falling into each other, rushing in every direction like mad. They were attacked with clubs by mounted Germans in uniform and by soldiers in uniform on motorcycles, each carrying in its side-car a civilian armed with a revolver. The victims were obviously Jews who had been driven here from neighboring villages. Suddenly there were more shots. A frightful wailing arose from the crowd, shrieks of pain, death groans, and brutal curses of a soldier. I urged the driver to hurry past this caravan of death. I was ashamed to witness these inhuman scenes. We had passed the caravan when the driver suddenly exclaimed: 'Here he lies.' A red, scratched leg protruded from a ditch, behind it a motionless body with its face in the mud. We hurry up. 'Another one,' says the driver in a trembling voice. A little farther, a heap of corpses. The driver said: 'There must be some twenty here. What are they doing? What are they doing to them?' More and more corpses lay along the road. Finally, we reached a turn in the road and turned right. But here, too, a heap of rags lay in the ditch and beside it two dead bodies.
>
> "Thus, the witness saw with his own eyes the journey of Jews, expelled from the ghetto of Tluszcz, near Warsaw. Some of them were shot down in Tluszcz before the beginning of the journey. Six hundred others were driven out upon the road. About two hundred reached Radzymin still alive. Their further fate is not known."

Those Jews who were not driven from their homes and those who found temporary shelter were not much better off. They be-

came slaves of the invader. By February, 1942, there were 85 known labor camps in the General Government where some 100,000 Jews toiled at forced labor. Life in these labor camps defies description. Amid the sternest and most brutal discipline, Jews tried to subsist. "If there only were this soup," wrote one of the laborers who had been promised soup in addition to the black bread which was all he and his fellow stone quarry workers received. Jewish forced laborers were then at work on railway tracks, river canals, and reclamation projects; they were repairing bridges, draining marshes, clearing forests and digging in peat beds; they were mining iron ore; working in saw mills and sugar factories; clearing bomb and shell wreckage at the front and, at the point of Nazi bayonets, building German fortification lines. In the penal labor camps of Treblinka, near Sokolow, and Oswiencim they toiled under conditions which were even more harsh. According to reports of the Polish underground, some 26,000 Jewish men and women had passed through Oswiencim by June 1, 1942. Of this number, it is estimated that at least 63 percent, or about 16,000 never emerged alive.

Ghettos established by the Germans on the principle of getting the greatest number of people into the smallest possible space, became the new homes for ousted Jews. Within a few days and on an unprecedented scale, whole populations were transferred into newly formed ghettos. In Warsaw, some 150,000 Jews were taken from their homes and herded into the Warsaw Ghetto; in Lodz some 50,000 were forced to move. The three largest ghettos in Poland until the middle of 1942 were Warsaw (about 450,000), Lodz (200,000) and Lwow (100,000). In addition, other ghettos are known to have been set up in at least 46 towns. In many places Jews were segregated into certain districts which served as ghettos although they were not walled in. The number of ghettos, however, has gradually dwindled, because of deportations and mass extermination.

The Warsaw Ghetto, concerning which there was more specific information than for any other ghetto, was typical. Established by a German ordinance of October 16, 1940, it was a separate administrative unit completely cut off from the outside world with the exception of official channels established by the Germans. The

Jewish Council, consisting of 24 men, had to conduct the affairs of the ghetto in accordance with German orders. It was the intermediary between the ghetto population and the Germans. Its members were hostages, pledging with their lives that German decrees would be carried out. The Jewish Council was faced with the gigantic task of settling a community of originally 359,827 persons (or 29% of Warsaw's population) and later, due to the influx of refugees of close to 450,000, into a space containing only 1,692 buildings (or 6.8% of the edifices of the city) of which 10% were war-wrecked. The Council had to start from scratch; its work was divided among 23 departments. A Jewish police force was organized to maintain order in the ghetto. Six post offices handled mail and telegrams. The Council was in charge of some 170,000 Jews liable to forced labor and was responsible for supplying the Germans with manpower for the dreaded labor battalions. It organized so-called free labor to give the people some opportunity to earn a livelihood, and still satisfy the German requirements. Collective workshops were set up, which accepted German orders and limited amounts of raw materials from them. However, the pay was insufficient to provide the minimum food, and so the Jewish Council supplied the workers with small additional rations of bread and soup. The re-stratification of youth, planned and conducted by the Jewish Community and the ORT in pre-war years, was continued in the ghetto. During the year ending in August, 1941, 4,000 young men and women attended classes in engraving, watchmaking, drafting, industrial laboratory technique, soap manufacture, leather work, etc. The most difficult job was that of the Supply Department of the Council, which had to secure food and other necessities for the ghetto. The Council supervised the community kitchens run by the Jewish Self-Help. All this required a tremendous expenditure. From April 1st to September 30, 1941, the Council was forced to spend 24,541,800 zloty. The revenue was derived from eleven types of taxes: cemetery and burial, ration card, labor battalion, hospital, destitute, business tax for maintenance of the ghetto police, commercial and industrial license surtax, insurance premium, and special taxes on "prosperous" Jews. These were all in addition to the general taxes

imposed by the Germans. Only the completely destitute were exempt from payment.

The death penalty faced anyone who dared slip outside the ghetto walls without permission. There were two entrances to the ghetto, through which commercial traffic moved, amid inconceivable congestion. The provision of the original German order stating that each one-window room had to accommodate at least three and a half persons, constituted luxury when compared to the actual conditions. It was said that usually from eight to eleven persons were forced to share a single room. The section of the city which had been chosen as the site for the ghetto had no parks, gardens or public squares. Children could find little relief from their miserable living quarters in the narrow sunless ghetto streets lined with drab, dilapidated houses.

The food rations, barely sufficient to support human life from the beginning of German occupation, were systematically cut down to the starvation level. Finally they were down to a weekly pittance of a pound of black bread, two ounces of so-called jams or marmalade, an ounce of sugar, and perhaps a few potatoes. Ghetto Jews received no other food. By a series of German starvation decrees, they were expressly barred from all meat, poultry, fish, eggs, vegetables, white flour, wheat bread, fruits and fruit juices; they were forbidden to buy food outside the ghetto, nor even to accept gifts of food from the outside. Many hunger-crazed Jewish children who tried to slip past Gestapo guards in search of food, paid with their lives. The fuel situation was equally frightful. During the winter of 1940-1941 the situation was such that in the Warsaw ghetto only one room per house could be heated, and children had to take turns at warming themselves in that room. Since that winter the inhabitants of the ghetto received no fuel at all.

Overcrowding, starvation, and general insanitary conditions bred disease. Typhus, edema and tuberculosis were rampant in the ghettos. Jews constituted 88.4% of the victims of the 1940 typhus epidemic in Warsaw. Anemia rose 113% among Poles and 435% among Jews. Not only were Jews forced to live under these inhuman conditions, but they were deprived of medical facilities. The modern Jewish hospital in Warsaw had been confiscated dur-

ing the early months of occupation. Makeshift hospitals were established in private homes, but the supply of medicine for the ghetto was so small as to be practically worthless. Between January and March, 1941, the Society for the Protection of Health treated some 60,000 patients in 32 localities of Poland not including the large cities. The number of patients continued to rise steadily, while the facilities for handling them steadily decreased. Finally, medical help for Jews under 5 and over 45 was forbidden by the Germans.

Mortality figures soared. In Warsaw during June, 1939, there were 334 Jewish deaths (annual rate 11.4 per thousand). In April, 1940, 1,044 persons died (29.0 per thousand); in June, 1941, 4,290 (108.2 per thousand); and in September of that same year, 5,700 (136.8 per thousand). The mortality rate of Jewish refugees in Warsaw was even higher. Out of 11,200, 117 died (125.0) in May, 1941; out of 9,330, there were 281 deaths (362.1) in September; and in January, 1942, 729 refugees died out of 8,870 (987.0).

Reports made by German police and other persons who had visited the ghettos on duty or on Gestapo-conducted "sight-seeing tours" throw harsh light on the life of these prison settlements. An early report on Lodz stated that "the encirclement of all Jews in the ghetto gives the surest guarantee of making the Jews perform constructive work and bars them from contact with the German *Volksgenossen.*" Another German account described the Lodz ghetto as a large camp enclosed by a 24 kilometer-long wall within which "Jews make their living through production of various goods delivered to the German ghetto-administration by the ghetto Elder. Among the estimated 200,000 Jews there are as many as 7,000 tailors and 1,000 carpenters who are made to perform useful work. A part of the Jews also work on the construction of German State motor highways." A German paper stated cynically that "the greatest part of the Jews have an understandable interest in leaving the ghetto," since "naturally the conditions of Jewish life in the ghetto are not particularly luxurious." A German war correspondent reported the following about an unnamed ghetto:

> "Everywhere . . . we found Jews. And what characters they were! Dirty, in tatters, and with an expression in their faces where permanent grins mingled with shyness and uncertainty.

. . . The shops in the streets were like dens or holes. The deeper we went into the ghetto the sadder looked the streets, narrower became the lanes, smaller the neglected houses which looked at us with curtainless, soiled windows. In the ground floor flats the Jews covered the windows with carton or newspapers. . . . Still, we looked into these inhabited dens, for *one must see something like this*. . . . In the house entrances, on the steps there were Jews lying around and sleeping. From their bodies hung tattered and soiled clothes which seemed not to have been changed for months. In the middle of a square, at a lamp-post, a Jew lay asleep. On the curbs, bearded figures squatted, offering for sale their goods, lying on the ground or on the curbstone —old shoes, worn suspenders, second-hand jackets, matches, and many more things. . . . Wherever we looked we saw sad, worn out figures."

d) Vestiges of Life

From the day of German invasion, the Jews were faced with an ever darkening and more menacing future. Nevertheless, they tried as long as it was humanly possible, to preserve some framework of existence. They worked harder than ever in the few occupations for the moment still open to them. The Jewish Councils, to meet German labor requirements, organized carpenter, capmaker, tailor, shoe, textile and other workshops. In the beginning the Germans gave the Jews old rags and ordered clothes made out of them; from waste leather they demanded shoes. The Jews were undismayed. Toiling 12 hours a day, receiving in payment only a few cents and a plate of soup, they proved their workmanship. Then the Germans supplied them with new materials. A German paper wrote that in the town of Bochnia, Galicia, 800 Jews were employed in workshops producing baskets, brushes, brooms, lingerie, mattresses, toys, boxes, and candy. The reporter announced in amazement that a blouse had been made in four minutes, and slacks in just twice that time.

Nor did the Jews forget their moral and spiritual responsibilities. They organized illegal schooling for their children, with the aid of visiting teachers who travelled from place to place. They issued a newspaper, the *Gazeta Zydowska,* which though strictly censored, managed to throw some light on their situation, discussed their problems, and brought them a little hope. Their self-

organized relief-kitchens served 120,000 meals daily. In children's "corners" the teen-agers took care of the babies. "Spoon" brigades approached those who seemed as if they could afford to donate a spoonful of flour or barley for the masses of starving. As long as it was possible, the Jews functioned as a community.

The Socialist Bund, the Zionist *Chalutzim,* worked hard at organizing and improving life in the ghettos. The agricultural training of the Zionist youth stood them in good stead. Under the most difficult conditions they managed to make use of all available bits of land. One pre-war farm at Grochow, in the vicinity of Warsaw, survived until the spring of 1942. On this farm a group of 60 boys and girls managed for a time, through sheer will, to overcome the innumerable obstacles placed in their way by the Germans. Somehow tiny gardens and farms sprang up wherever there was a bit of land belonging to a Jewish Council, a field, or a garbage dump. Bendzin, Sosnowiec, Oswiencim, Strzemiezyce, Kielce, Lodz, Cracow, Radomsko, Opoczno, Czestochowa, Kalisz, Wegrow, Zdunska-Wola all had plots of freshly tilled earth. Part of the products were turned over to the community kitchens which fed the neediest.

For those who were unable to find work on a farm, the *Chalutzim* organized shoe, tailor and carpenter shops. Others worked as porters, janitors, drivers, and at any other available job. They took part in the underground education of Jewish children. For a time they operated a big laundry in Lodz, which tended to the needs of the majority of Lodz's Jews. Forced labor, deportation and internment, made sharp inroads, often forcing them to abandon projects which they had hardly begun. This did not prevent them from continuing their activities. Children were taught Hebrew by rote, because no books were available. Holidays and memorial meetings were not forgotten. The record of their work ends abruptly in the middle of 1942. Since that time there has been no word.

As Hitler's extermination policy reached full swing, even the newly-forged ghetto way of life changed radically. The Jews lived from day to day, expecting each to be the last. By German police orders of October 10th and November 14, 1942, the Jews were concentrated in 13 ghettos and 42 so-called "Jewish Quarters," from

which the Gentile populations had been removed. Thus they were completely cut off from the outside world.

e) Death

All the scientific barbarism and refined cruelty of German rule was brought into play in carrying out Hitler's extermination policy against the Jews. Polish Jewry was destined for death, not a peaceful death, but one to be earned on the rack of Nazi violence and evil. Total war, the campaign of September 1939, took the first toll. Amongst the killed and wounded civilians there were some 60,000Jewish victims. The number of Jews who fell in the ranks of the Polish Army is known to have been over 30,000. By September of 1943, living conditions under the Germans had caused the "natural death" of 500,000 Jews. This staggering figure, however, did not satisfy the Germans. Fischer, the governor of the Warsaw district, stated that:

> *"We will destroy this tribe. They will disappear due to hunger and misery."*

And the Jews lived in gnawing hunger and abject misery. From the very beginning, impatient German soldiers and the Gestapo, shot them down on the streets in "reprisal" or without bothering about any pretext. Sometimes Jews were hanged in the public squares, and to their limp bodies were attached placards describing their "crimes." Sometimes a Jew collapsing under the conditions of his forced labor, was asked if he would prefer some lighter work. In answer to his feeble affirmative, he was ordered to dig a ditch—and then shot. "Enforcing discipline" through murder was the order of the day in many a labor camp. Jewish forced laborers put to work on fortifications were later shot to preserve military secrets. Many Jews were tortured to death in concentration camps by the notorious methods tested in Dachau and Buchenwald. In March 1943, there came word that over a hundred Jewish intellectuals and spiritual leaders were executed by the Germans in Oswiencim, allegedly for the distribution of Jewish underground publications. Six rabbis and twenty journalists and writers were among those killed. Jews were put to death for transgressing against any one of the innumerable German orders and decrees.

Whether it was for leaving the ghetto in search of food, smuggling a loaf of bread in, or for displaying "hostility toward the German nation" the penalty was death, even for those under 16. Jewish children, caught outside the ghetto walls by Gestapo men or German gendarmes, were mercilessly shot down. *Poland Fights* of June 30, 1942, reported that 30 Jewish children were drowned by the Germans in clay pits as an "example" to the population. A frequent occurrence during the early months of occupation was the burning alive of Jews in their synagogues. The number of such victims cannot even be estimated. Exactly how many thousands of Jews perished in the tightly packed freight cars, which took them from their homes in the Western provinces, may never be known. Carrying their condemned battalions, who received neither bread nor water for days and nights on end, these death trains left behind them a trail of corpses.

Hitler's orders for complete extermination required even more effective methods. German science was brought into the picture. In Chelm the gas chamber was introduced; in Belzec electrocution; in Treblinka B, death by hot steam. By July 1942, the Germans boasted an impressive record. In addition to the 400,000 dead of "natural causes," they had now murdered outright some 300,000 Jews. One-fourth of Polish Jewry in German-occupied Poland was already dead. The time had come to "liquidate" the remaining Polish Jews and the hundreds of thousands of their brothers from abroad who had been deported to Poland. There is not an occupied country in Europe from which Jews have not been sent East. According to German admissions, the transports were of such a nature that at least 30% of the deportees died en route. Underground sources revealed these special methods, devised to insure the death of deportees before they reached their destination. German physicians were injecting air bubbles into the veins of deportees, which caused death within a few hours.

In November 1942, underground sources spoke of "reports which indicate that up to 50% of the deportees are no more. That is due not only to hunger, disease, and inadequate clothing, but also to violence." By the beginning of 1943 it was doubtful whether more than 150,000 deportees were still alive, and the number of victims was steadily mounting.

In July 1942, under the cloak of deportation, began the wholesale annihilation of large Jewish centers in Poland. It is known that tens of thousands of Jews were slaughtered in many Polish cities, but the most substantial details of this story of death have come from Warsaw.

A new "extermination center" was established in Sobibor to supplement those already in action at Treblinka and Belzec. On July 22, 1942, acting on German orders, the Jewish Council of Warsaw issued a deportation order. With the exception of those working for the Germans or those fit to work though not yet "included in the process of employment," the employees of the Jewish Council, and the members of the Jewish police and hospital staffs, all Warsaw Jews became subject to deportation to the East beginning July 22nd. They would be permitted to take with them personal effects weighing not more than fifteen kilograms. The penalty for evading or obstructing deportation was death. Those who were to remain behind were likewise threatened with the death penalty if they left the ghetto. The Germans ordered the mayor of the ghetto, Adam Czerniakow, to prepare the first list of 10,000 Jews. Shortly after Czerniakow conferred with the Germans, he committed suicide. He was succeeded by Lichtenbaum.

The number of deportees varied from 6,000 to 10,000 daily. From the outset, the deportations were accompanied by terror and bloodshed. People were shot at random. The aged and infirm were led to the cemetery and shot down. Any one who was not quick enough or attempted to hide was killed. The Germans drove through the streets of the ghetto in rickshaws drawn by Jews. To accelerate the speed of extermination they machine-gunned any group of people within sight. By nightfall of each day the bodies of 20, or 30, or 40 victims lay on the streets.

To round up prospective deportees, the Germans threw cordons around certain streets and drove the inhabitants into the so-called loading station (*Umschlagplatz*) adjacent to a railway track outside the ghetto. The scenes that accompanied this "evacuation" defy all description. For four months, the inhabitants of the ghetto lived in a state of stark terror and bewilderment which was fanned by German stratagem. Realizing that any attempt to

carry out the immediate mass annihilation of a half million people concentrated in one spot might result in desperate resistance, the Germans tricked their victims into death. They created "privileged" classes whom they promised to spare because of the work they were doing. Always, the group deported on any given day was to be the last; and those remaining were to be left in peace.

During the entire period that this process went on, the Jews of the ghetto had one aim: to obtain work certificates which would save them from deportation; only to discover a few days later that, again, for the thousandth time, the Germans had broken their pledge. As for the decimated ranks of Jews who still were led each day like cattle by the shop guard (*Werkschutz*) to slave in German workshops, and were quartered in designated blocks without contact with their families—these bewildered and torpid beings finally found themselves, too, among the defenseless, teeming crowd at the *Umschlagplatz,* the depot to death. Even then they still refused to grasp the truth, hoping against hope that they were being sent to the East to work. The Germans wanted them to believe this. The ghetto was flooded with forged letters from Jews who had been deported months before, and now "wrote" that they were well off and working. This ruse was so successful that many Jewish families, who were promised that if they volunteered for work elsewhere they would not be separated, collected their belongings and went to the *Umschlagplatz* without awaiting their turn. Some, who understood what was in store, took their own lives. Others, who also knew, called upon the people to resist. But that summons was not heeded until much later, when less than 40,000 Jews remained in the Warsaw Ghetto, and when several hundred thousand had already been murdered piecemeal, cheated by the Germans into surrendering their lives without a struggle.

The deportees were packed tight into freight trains under the usual conditions. The trains were headed mainly in the direction of the extermination camps at Treblinka, and some to Belzec and Sobibor. Only some 4,000 of the deportees were sent to work behind the front line. What happened to over 400,000 is now well known from detailed reports that have come out of Poland. Many lost their lives en route in the airless freight cars whose floors were

sprinkled with quick lime and chlorine.

From an eyewitness who had been in Treblinka B, known throughout Poland as the "slaughterhouse," has come a detailed account accompanied by a map. The camp of Treblinka B, which lies conveniently close to a railroad siding that receives transports directly from Warsaw, is the main extermination center where most of the Jews of Warsaw, and many from other ghettos have been murdered. When the victims arrived, they were told that they were in a quarantine distribution center for labor camps. On this excuse, they were ordered to undress for disinfection. They then were driven to the death house, a concrete windowless structure containing several chambers lined with steam pipes. Women and children first, the Germans ordered. The floors are wet, slippery; the victims fall, and others pile in on top of them. When the chambers have been packed to capacity, they are hermetically sealed, and the hot steam is released through the pipe-vents.

After the proper interval, the doors of the death chambers are opened, and cold water is poured in to disentangle the glued mass of human arms and legs.

Jewish grave diggers remove the bodies. Their orders are explicit: *"Ein Mann—zwei Leichen."* Each grave-digger must bury two corpses at top speed.

After some 90 percent of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto had thus been murdered in Treblinka and other death camps, those who still remained half-starved in Warsaw were preparing for their final act.

A report received by the Polish Government-in-Exile in January 1943 stated that for twelve hours the rattle of machine guns was heard in the ghetto. More Jews were being murdered.

The German *Donauzeitung* of February 23, 1943 wrote:

> "It is reported from Warsaw that the dissolution of the Warsaw Jewish quarter in the autumn compelled the application of extraordinary sanitary measures in order to make the streets concerned accessible for the general population and the homes habitable, as their condition defies all description."

"General population" meant the Poles who were being steadily pushed out of the residential section occupied by the Germans.

Further proof of the depopulation of the Warsaw Ghetto comes

from letters sent to Warsaw from Palestine through the International Red Cross, letters which were returned bearing the following inscription:

"Not delivered; addressee could not be traced."

In March 1943 a message smuggled out of Warsaw to Polish circles in London related how, when the Germans were clearing out a certain block, the Jews resisted and in the ensuing clash many Germans were killed. Thereupon the enraged Nazis brought up machine guns and mowed down hundreds of Jews. The message appealed to the civilized world for help against the continuation of the slaughter, and closed with the following words:

"The responsibility is with you—rouse the world to action."

Their fears were well-founded. On April 21st, an underground Polish radio broadcast a frantic appeal for aid. The last Warsaw Jews were being machine-gunned. Women and children were defending themselves with their bare hands. Polish sources shed some light on the abruptly terminated broadcast. According to these sources, the remaining Warsaw Jews were holding off the Germans with arms supplied by the Polish underground, and even with home-made weapons. Some 1,000 Germans were killed in this battle. After a fight of several days in barricaded streets, the ghetto was at last enveloped in silence. There are no more Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. It is believed, however, that some of them, particularly women and children, were able to find refuge and a hiding place among the Polish people.

It must not be forgotten that Warsaw was only one city with a large Jewish population. Throughout the cities, towns, and villages of Poland, Jews struggled desperately for survival under the heel of German occupation only to share the fate of the Jews of Warsaw.

An eyewitness reports from Bendzin. In August 1942, all the Jews of the city, including infants, were ordered to assemble in two stadiums. They were to have their food-cards stamped. The penalty for not appearing was death, but the German authorities assured the Jewish Council that nothing would happen to the Jews thus assembled. They arrived at the indicated place where they were forced to stand for 36 hours, without food, and in a pouring rain. Children slept in the mud. Women fainted. At the

end of the second day they were divided into three groups: strong healthy people possessing work-cards, who were released; older people with work cards, who could be released on application of the Jewish Council or the Aryan commissars in charge of their shops; old people, women with children, and those unfit to work, who were deported. As the line of demarcation was not very firm, and many in the first and second groups were included among those to be deported, the transport numbered about 5,000 people. They were kept for two days longer in some empty buildings, then crowded into the familiar freight trains. They were never heard from again. It was rumored that they had been sent to nearby Oswiencim and cremated in electric furnaces. Others say that they were gassed en route. A similar fate befell the Jews of Piotrkow, Kielce, Wloszczow, Lublin. . . . Those fit to work, remained until their usefulness to the enemy was over. The old and infirm were shot. Those who lagged behind were shot. From Piotrkow comes the story of women who could not keep pace with the transport on the way to the station. They were led under a wall and shot. Their children remained in the transport. During a round-up of deportees, looking out of a window meant death. In Radom impatient German soldiers shot down Jews as they made their way to the assembly place for deportation. In the Galician city of Stanislawow, 700 Jews remained of over 30,000, the majority of whom had been killed in the massacres of 1941. In the neighboring town of Delatyn, all Jews together with the members of the Jewish Council were killed. In that entire district practically all the Jews were either shot, burned to death or otherwise annihilated. The Lwow Jewish Community of 100,000 is said to have been all but destroyed. The 15,000 Jews of the Sanok district were said to have been wiped out. On February 7, 1943, the town of Brzeziny near Lodz was cleared of Jews when those who had remained were blown up in their synagogue by the *"Lodz Technische Nothilfe."* *The New York Times* of February 16, 1943, reported that 30,000 Jews of Czestochowa were deported, "some of the victims marked for slaughter and others for forced labor. All the aged and feeble were sent to Rawa-Ruska in Galicia for execution by the Nazis." The Cracow Ghetto previously reduced from 60,000 to 6,000 by deportations was said to have been liquidated in a three-day mas-

sacre in March, 1943. The American traitor Douglas Chandler who uses the pseudonym of Paul Revere, broadcast on April 2nd an account of a visit to Cracow in which he stated that "Not a single Jew remains in the city." At about the same time, on April 12, 1943, *The New York Times* reported that the Germans were beginning the liquidation of the Lodz Ghetto which had some 200,000 inhabitants.

Polish underground sources reported that by the end of 1942, Jews of the following cities and towns had been either completely exterminated or deported to death centers elsewhere: the Lublin district (except the Majdanek camp), Chelm, Zaklikow, Krasnik, Zawichost, Jedrzejow, Pinczow, Busk, Wislica, Annopol, Cmielow, Biala-Podlaska, Sokolow, Wegrow, Seredyn, Kosow, Staszow, Bodzentyn, Suchendniow, Chmielnik, Rawa-Ruska, Brzesc, Grodno, Grajewo, Hrubieszow, Zambrow, Kruszyn, Siedlce, Kaluszyn, Minsk-Mazowiecki, Krynki.

Each of these names, so difficult to pronounce, must be remembered; for in each of these, men, women and children, the aged, the crippled and the infirm, were murdered by the Germans.

By September of 1943 not less than 1,600,000 Polish Jews had perished. If the half million Jews who had fled to Russia or had been deported by the Soviets into the interior are taken into consideration, an optimistic estimate would place the number of Polish Jews still surviving in Poland by September of 1943 at a maximum of 1,200,000.

Of some 500,000 Polish Jews deported by the Soviets to Asiatic Russia in the beginning of 1940, several thousand succeeded in reaching Iran from whence they are being distributed to Palestine, Africa and Mexico. Apart from this number a mere 6,000 Polish-Jewish refugees managed to reach Allied or neutral countries.

Most of those who escaped, fled in the early months of German occupation, across the Lithuanian, Hungarian or Rumanian borders or through Italy. There were a few cases of miraculous escape through Germany to Switzerland or France. Over 3,000 of these refugees reached the United States, another 2,000 are in Palestine, some 500 in Canada, with equal numbers in Morocco and Spain, while 200 arrived to safety in Portugal. Negligible numbers reached Britain, Switzerland, Sweden, South Africa, Aus-

tralia, New Zealand and the Latin American countries.

Many Jews fled Poland only to be forced to remain in Axis-occupied or satellite countries. Of these, some 10,000 were caught in the Baltic countries where they met the same fate as the native Jews. Three thousand remained in Hungary. Some were deported back to Poland; the lot of the others is unknown. Several hundred were in France, where some were interned and the majority deported back to Poland. A few were able to flee to Spain, Switzerland or Morocco. An unknown number reached Rumania; 1,000 Shanghai; 50 Finland and 100 were interned in the Italian camp of Ferra Monte.

The overwhelming majority of the Jews of Poland have fallen victim to the German invader. The massacre continues. Each day there are a few less left to tell the tale.

III. Resistance

a) Underground

During the September campaign, the Jewish civilian population fought shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people. Together they prepared the defense of Lwow. At the time of the siege of Warsaw, Jews, men and women, workers and intellectuals, young students and bearded orthodox elders, dug trenches, did patrol duty, served as liaison messengers between the city and the military forces, extinguished fires, and organized themselves into volunteer defense battalions.

In defeated Poland the resistance of the Jews, as well as that of the Poles, went underground. Open fighting was well nigh impossible. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the Jews lacked the weapons to strike back, and the knowledge that every individual act of sabotage would be repaid with collective reprisals, there were cases of open resistance against the enemy on the part of Polish Jews, culminating in the heroic battle of the Warsaw Ghetto. As reported by underground sources, the Jewish population in several Polish towns barricaded the ghettos and fought off the German police and Gestapo, who had come to carry out mass deportations. In Nieswiez the fighting between the Jews and Germans lasted for several hours; the latter were successful only

after having received reinforcements. In Lubliniec, near Czestochowa, all the Jews were ordered into the marketplace and most of their clothing was removed and loaded into trucks. Several women attempted to retrieve their clothes and began beating the German gendarmes. This served as a signal for the entire population of the town, Jews and Poles alike, who bore down on the gendarmes. The terrified Germans, without even attempting to use their guns, escaped in one of the trucks. In the village of Adamow, the local Jews had reason to expect a mass deportation. In small numbers they stole out into the woods. When a sufficient group had gathered, they returned to the town, overpowered the German garrison, collected as many of their possessions as they could, and returned to the forest. In a concentration camp near Lwow, 17 German guards were said to have been killed in a fight with prisoners. The Jews paid a heavy price for each such incident.

Although little concrete news is available, there is proof that Polish Jews are taking active part in the underground fight against the invader. It is known that the Gestapo blacklist of 20,000 persons engaged in anti-German activities includes some 2,000 Jewish names, a very high percentage, considering the strict German control of Jewish activities. News of Jewish underground work comes mainly from German sources and refers to the early part of 1942. The *Krakauer Zeitung* of that period claimed that in the Cracow ghetto the Jews had organized a "resistance center" to help Polish partisans, and were publishing illegal pamphlets. They were warned by the Germans that the ghetto would lose its "autonomy." In Lublin a young Jewish lawyer was hanged for distributing anti-Nazi literature among the peasants. Two Jews of Katowice, father and son, were sentenced to death for organizing a partisan group. An illegal press run by six Jews was discovered in Cracow. Its printed matter included songs which praised the Polish Army and England. A guerrilla group of Poles and Jews were captured in Kutno. Four Jews were shot to death as members of partisan groups in Pinsk. In Zukow a Jew and a Pole were shot for underground activities. A number of Polish peasants and Jews succeeded in derailing a German military train. In the resulting crash, 30 Germans were killed. Most of the peasants were able to escape. The less fortunate, among them 8 Jews, were executed by the

Germans. A Jew who had escaped from Tarnow and succeeded in reaching Palestine in November 1942 related that partisan groups were active all over Poland, and that many Tarnow Jews had joined the guerrillas. It was reported that in the Lublin district, Jewish guerrillas held up a train, killed three German guards, and liberated 60 Poles who were being transported to Germany for forced labor. The Jews escaped and the Germans offered 100,000 marks reward for information concerning their whereabouts. In the Galician city of Tarnopol, eleven Jewish men and three women were hanged for guerrilla activities. For three days their bodies remained hanging from a balcony which bore a large sign with these words:

"The same fate is reserved for all others who act as these Jews."

The German Basic Penal Law of December 16, 1941 gives further, though indirect, proof of underground activities. It provides for the death penalty for Poles and Jews "if they commit any violence against a German citizen because he belongs to the German nation," or, "if by spiteful or provocative behavior they demonstrate a mentality hostile to Germany—and especially if they make anti-German statements or tear down or damage proclamations of German authorities or public institutions, or if by their general attitude they disparage or prejudice the authority and the welfare of the German Reich or the German people." It also provides the death penalty for the "illicit possession of firearms, hand grenades, bayonets, explosives or any other weapon of war, or if they have reliable information that a Pole or a Jew is in illicit possession of such objects and have failed to make immediate representation to the authorities."

The Jewish underground movement, as that of the Poles, is organized along the lines of the political parties in pre-war Poland. The Jewish Socialist Bund and the Zionist youth of all political shades are the most active. The Bund published three periodicals, The *Bulletin* and the *Voice of Youth* in Yiddish, and *For Your Freedom and Ours* in Polish. The Zionist *Chalutzim* organization *Gordonia* published an educational paper *Iton Hinuchi* in Hebrew. Twenty-six issues are known to have appeared. A letter from a member of *Gordonia* dated Warsaw, April 29, 1942, to a Zionist in Switzerland shows that the paper was still appearing during the

first half of 1942. The decoded message of the letter follows: "During the Easter Holidays our newspaper and book came out. It is a very good issue. It carried articles about A. D. Gordon [one of the founders of the Zionist labor movement], the situation of the Jewish people and the details of its life which will at once interest the historian. It also contains an ideological article. It will be distributed by messengers to all our people." *Dror,* another Zionist organization, is also known to have published a periodical at irregular intervals.

Underground papers are but one of the many activities of the Zionist youth in Poland. In the short coded letters they were sending out until the middle of 1942 could be seen the amazing faith, strength and energy of the *Chalutzim.*

A letter from Lwow dated May 26, 1942, relates that: "I am working in my old profession [meaning the Zionist movement] though there have been great obstacles in exercising it. Also other relatives [meaning Chalutzim in the provinces] work though not all of them are in good health."

Another letter from a group in Warsaw, dated April 15, 1942, reads: "We are twenty-three people. With the exception of small children, all of us work. We help each other and study together and take care of the small children so that they may be trained for the future."

b) Jews in the Polish Army

"Fighting beside their Polish comrades in the Polish Army, Polish Jews have won the undisputed right to undisturbed work, prosperity and happiness in the liberated fatherland to which we are going through sacrifices and sufferings and which we are certain to reach," declared Jan Stanczyk, Polish Minister of Social Welfare, on November 3, 1940.

From the very first day of the war, Jews streamed into the Polish Army. On countless occasions they distinguished themselves by their heroism and courage. According to Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, a member of the Polish National Council, 32,216 Jewish officers and men were killed during the September campaign in Poland, and 61,000 were taken prisoners. The casualties

seem unusually high since the total number of killed and wounded in the Polish Army is estimated by Polish circles at some 200,000. This would place Jewish casualties at 16% in a country whose Jewish population was only 10% of the total.

Together with their Polish comrades in arms, at the conclusion of the Polish campaign, Jewish soldiers tried to smuggle out of Poland. From the internment camps of Hungary and Rumania, they attempted to reach France and the new Polish Army which was being rebuilt there. Young Jewish boys falsified their ages to Polish authorities in Rumania in order to be sent to France. Polish Jews living in Britain and Belgium came to France and enlisted in the Polish Army. As long as the enlistment remained voluntary, the proportion of Jews in the Polish Army was so high that it was jestingly referred to as the "Jewish Army." Naturally, after the general mobilization of Poles in France, this proportion was altered by the drafting of Polish miners and farmers resident in France. By June 1940 Jewish soldiers constituted 11 or 12% of the total. After the collapse of France, when the army was again reorganized, this time in England, there was only a very small percentage of Jews in its ranks. This was due to the difficulties of evacuating from France, as well as to a certain discouragement over the anti-Semitism displayed in the Polish Army in that country. After the Polish-Soviet Treaty in July 1941, when a Polish Army was organized in Russia, those Polish Jews who had been interned for refusing Soviet passports now rushed to join the Polish ranks. Professor Stanislav Grabski, one of the leaders of the Polish Nationalist *Endek* party, on his arrival in London from Russia declared that "Jews just as Poles are fulfilling their military duty and joining the ranks of the Polish Army." The commander of the Polish Army on Soviet soil, General Anders, stated in May 1942 that Jews constitute 15% of the Polish armed forces in Russia.

Among the many tales of Jewish heroism is the one about the private who, during one of the late stages of the Sepember campaign, was the only volunteer ready to undertake the delivery of an important message under the most difficult circumstances. He succeeded in delivering the message and after the battle was decorated for bravery . . . and the one about the cadet, who performed wonders of heroism at the crumbling French front, and saved the

unit under his command. There are many Star of David-marked graves, strewn over the African desert. There were those who died the death of heroes at Tobruk.

ESTONIA

The earliest Jewish settlers came to Reval (Tallinn) in the 1790's, but it was not until the middle of the 19th century that they began to arrive in any appreciable numbers. As artisans, privileged merchants and intellectuals, they were allowed to settle in territory outside the Pale. By 1897, 1,193 Jews (1.86 percent) lived among the 64,000 inhabitants of Reval (Tallinn) the capital. In the district of Reveal, there were 1,228 (0.787%) Jews of a total population of 157,000. The Jewish population of Dorpat (Tartu) numbered 1,774 or 4.24% of 42,000 inhabitants.

In the Estonian Republic, Jews, who together with other minorities enjoyed complete cultural autonomy, occupied a unique position. The Constitution of June 15, 1920, guaranteed the Jews minority rights. On February 12, 1925, a Law of Cultural Self-Government of National Minorities was promulgated which granted cultural autonomy to each minority numbering not less than 3,000 members.

In accordance with this law on October 19, 1925, the Jews submitted a program to the government in order to establish their autonomous institutions. The organized Estonian Jewish community began to function in June 1926. Its autonomous powers were divided among the following agencies:

1. A Cultural Council of 27 members, elected tri-annually by the Jewish citizens;
2. An Executive Committee of seven members; and
3. Local Committees entrusted with compiling the Jewish nationality cadaster, aiding the tax officials, and maintaining the schools. The sources of communal income were defined by law so as to include, in addition to subsidies, private donations and sums contributed by the state and the municipalities, a compulsory tax upon all members of the minority at rates fixed by its elected officials.

Each minority elected its president. Mr. G. Eisenstadt, the first

president of the Jewish community, retained his office throughout the existence of Jewish cultural autonomy. In 1930, four state elementary schools and two high schools were turned over to the Jewish Cultural Council. The problem of the language of instruction remained a bone of contention between the Zionist and Yiddishist factions.

An anti-Semitic movement which blossomed in Estonia in the middle of the 1930's, made considerable headway and resulted in the limitation of the number of Jews admitted to the Tartu State University, particularly the medical school.

The number of Jews in Estonia was so small that it is almost impossible to speak of their participation in the country's political life. Jews were never elected to Parliament and were represented only in the town councils of Tallinn and Tartu. However, they received cultural representation by the establishment of an endowed chair dedicated to Jewish history and literature at the Tartu University.

In 1934 there were 4,381 Jews in Estonia, constituting 0.4% of the population. Of this number 98% were urban dwellers. There were Jewish communities in Tallinn with 2,203 Jews, Tartu with 920, Valga with 262 and Parnu with 248. Figures for the 1,688 gainfully occupied Jews in Estonia in 1934 show that about half the Jewish population was engaged in trade, either as entrepreneurs or as employees, while industry and handicraft absorbed one-third of the total. Employees comprised 37.9 percent of those gainfully occupied.

Occupational Distribution of Estonian Jewry:

	NUMBER	PERCENT
Trade	514	30.5
Trade employees	409	23.9
Artisans	249	14.7
Manual laborers	233	14.0
Liberal professions	159	9.4
Industrialists	82	5.0
Property owners	26	1.5
Religious pursuits	16	1.0

German occupation of Estonia was not as rapid as that of Lithuania and Latvia. Lithuania was occupied in a few days, and

German troops moved into Latvia on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the outbreak of the Russo-German war. Estonian Jews on the other hand, had almost two months' time to make good their escape to the Leningrad area of the Soviet Union. By the time Tallinn fell on September 3, 1941, a considerable part of Estonian Jews were reported to be beyond the reach of the German army and the Gestapo.

LATVIA

I. Democracy

When, at the end of the last war, Latvia emerged out of the districts of Latgale, Courland and Livonia, Latvian Jewry was composed of elements of diverse extraction and historical experience. The Jews of Latgale had their roots within the Czarist Pale of Jewish settlement, in the districts of Dvinsk, Rejitza and Lutzin. For centuries, they had lived in a Polish and Russian milieu. On the other hand, the Jews who had begun to trickle into the former German-dominated Duchy of Courland, during the first decades of the 18th century, developed under the influence of German culture, and maintained close ties with German Jewry. In Livonia, mainly in the capital city of Riga, dwelled Jews who had come from Courland, as well as those who had emigrated from Lithuania and other parts of Russia.

When in 1919 the new democratic regime introduced minority rights on a broad scale, the heterogeneous Jewish groups began to work together in parliament and in municipal affairs. As a result, the way was paved for the fusion of the Jewish population, which in 1920 numbered 79,368, or slightly more than 5 percent.

By 1935, there were 93,479 Jews in Latvia, constituting 4.79 percent of the country's total population of a little less than two million. After the Great Russians, the Jews were the largest minority group in Latvia.

The rights accorded in the Latvian Republic to minorities were most successfully applied in the field of education. On December 18, 1919, a law was passed for the organization of autonomous minority schools. It was provided that:

> "The head of each minority's school administration represented his nationality in all cultural matters with the right . . . to participate in an advisory capacity in the sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers, dealing with the cultural life of the nationality he represents."

The educational heads (Jacob Landau directed the Jewish Department from 1919 to 1934) were elected by the members of the corresponding minority in Parliament and confirmed by the Cabinet. The minority schools were maintained by the state and municipalities in exact proportion to the percentage of the minority population. By 1936, 12,347 pupils were enrolled in elementary schools, and 2,358 students in the high schools administered by the Jewish Department. In Riga, Libau and Dvinsk there were Jewish trade schools. Riga also had an agricultural school as well as a Jewish theater partly subsidized by the municipality.

Attempts were made in 1920 and 1921, to create a private Jewish autonomous organization, with elected communal organizations and a *Central Vaad* (Committee). But with Jewish political life centered around the parliament (Saeima) and the local self-government, these attempts were soon abandoned. The *Beirat* (Advisory Council), which represented Jewish business and industrial associations, as well as the majority of the Jewish cooperatives, had considerable influence in economic matters but not in questions of purely political significance.

From the time of the Constituent Assembly and through the years of 1922 to May 1934, Jews had from three to six parliamentary representatives. In Riga, where almost half Latvian Jewry was concentrated (41.3% in 1925), they played a considerable part in the municipal administration. Throughout the entire democratic period, a Jewish physician headed Riga's Department of Health.

Their representation in legislative and municipal affairs was of importance to the social position of the Jews, divided as they were into different parties and political groups. The political picture corresponded somewhat to the occupational distribution of Latvian Jewry.

Occupational Distribution of the Latvian Population in 1935

	NON-JEWS		JEWS	
	Absolute	*Percentage*	*Absolute*	*Percentage*
1. Agriculture	800,846	70.0	717	1.8
2. Industry and Crafts	160,720	14.1	13,881	35.8
3. Commerce and Credit	49,933	4.4	18,370	47.3
4. Communication	25,435	2.2	726	1.9
5. Administration and Police	38,711	3.3	871	2.2
6. Liberal Professions	36,315	3.2	3,555	9.2
7. Domestic Help	31,925	2.8	709	1.8
8. Unknown	9,263	..	537	..
TOTAL	1,153,148	100.0	39,366	100.0

In its economic struggle, Latvian Jewry was joined with other Latvian groups, especially those representing the interests of the urban population and the moderate Social Democratic Party. Jews had representation in the Union of Latvian Towns and in its Council, in the tax commissions of the Finance Ministry; they participated in the sessions of the Central Land Distribution Committee, and in the Council of the Riga Municipal Bank. Until the fall of the democratic regime, Latvian Jews felt sufficiently secure and free to fight not only for their civil rights, but also for the improvement of their economic and social situation.

II. Dictatorship

On May 15, 1934, Karlis Ulmanis, leader of the Peasants' Union, staged a successful coup d'état which introduced a Fascist era. Without explicit anti-Jewish legislation, but by means of well-camouflaged regulations and the transfer of power to administrative bodies, the Ulmanis regime succeeded in forcing Jews out of all important industrial, commercial, and financial positions.

The period between May 1934, and Soviet occupation in the early summer of 1940 was one of stagnant depression for Latvian Jews. Economic life was entirely in the hands of the new regime, and the peasantry which backed Ulmanis emerged as a privileged

class. Very few Jews were admitted into the corporative chambers, supposedly to replace a parliament. In the Chamber of Commerce and Industry there were only 4 Jews out of 60 members. In the Chamber of Literature and Arts, dedicated to the preservation of the spiritual legacy of the Lettish people, there was only one Jew.

Although the establishment of monopolies and the concentration of many branches of industry in the government's hands always meant the expropriation of Jewish plants and the ouster of Jewish personnel, these transactions were never openly tainted by reference to the religion of the victims. A typical example was the nationalization of the timber trade, which meant the liquidation of a hundred-year-old industry in which Jews were prominent.

School autonomy was destroyed by the Fascist regime almost immediately after it took power. In July 1934, two new laws were enacted changing the organization of the Ministry of Education and abolishing the 1919 public education. The first substituted the heads of the minority education offices by so-called "referents on minorities' educational affairs"; the second repealed the 1919 law concerning the national minorities' schools of Latvia. The latter was in turn superseded on July 24, 1935, by the publication of special instructions regulating the functions of the referents.

The referent was to make all final decisions in matters of Jewish education and culture. The heaviest blows were directed against the secular Yiddish elementary and high schools, but a considerable number of Zionist schools were also closed. In the last year of democratic Latvia (1933-34) there had been 118 Jewish educational institutions. In the year 1939-40, there were only 74. One large private Hebrew gymnasium in Riga with about 1,500 pupils, and several Hebrew public schools in the provinces remained open until the summer of 1940.

III. Soviet Rule

When Soviet troops marched into Latvia on June 15, 1940, Lettish Nationalists initiated a powerful undercover campaign against Jews, accusing them of welcoming the army of occupation, while hushing up demonstrations of sympathy shown to the Soviet troops on the part of the Latvian and Russian population.

The Ulmanis regime had left only the remnants of Jewish col-

lective and cultural life. With the coming of the Soviets, radical changes were introduced for Jews along with other groups. Although Jews received full equality of rights as Soviet citizens, a ban was placed on all independent Jewish organizations, Zionism was outlawed, the Jewish press was subjected to rigid censorship, and Hebrew education was forbidden. Cultural self-determination lost its flavor with the Sovietization of the few Jewish schools, and an exodus to Russian schools began.

On July 12, 1940, *Der Kamf,* a Yiddish pro-Communist newspaper, which replaced the Orthodox daily *Haynt,* made its debut with a campaign against Zionist and Orthodox Jews. A number of Zionists and members of the *Agudath Israel* were arrested in Riga on the charge of having supported a reactionary policy under the previous regime. Social Democrats and Bundists were also arrested or deported. Jews were employed in the lower stratum of administrative personnel, especially in nationalized plants and factories. In towns with a Jewish majority or considerable minority, Jews were represented in the local municipalities and town councils.

As a result of Soviet economic policy the social structure of the Jews in Latvia was drastically changed. According to Shatz-Anin, a leading Communist in Latvia, more than half of the Jewish population was expected to make a complete change in occupation. He claimed that some would have to turn to agriculture, but as there was little available free soil in Latvia, part of the Jewish population was expected to migrate to the Russian interior.

During the period of Soviet occupation (June, 1940-July, 1941), 34,250 Latvian citizens were deported or fled into the interior of the Soviet Union. Altogether some 15,000 Latvian Jews now live in remote areas of Siberia and Uzbekistan under primitive conditions.

IV. German Occupation

Since the occupation of Latvia by Germany in July 1941, all regular channels of information have been cut off. During the four days of chaos between the withdrawal of the Red Army and the arrival of German troops, the Latvian Radical Nationalists ruled the streets. Systematic pogroms were staged throughout the coun-

try. According to private advices reaching the United States, from 20,000 to 25,000 Jews were slain. The greatest murder of victims were in Riga, Mitau, Bauske, Dvinsk, and Kraslava.

There are indications that certain Latvian fighting units joined the German army and that local police units were compelled to collaborate in the pogroms. With the cooperation of certain groups of the Latvian intelligentsia, the Germans established a shadow government called the *Generaldirektorium* under the leadership of General Oscar Dankers.

The surviving Jews of Latvia were concentrated in temporary ghettos in Mitau, Libau, Riga and the Latgale province bordering on Russia. In Riga, where a large portion of the Jewish population resided (43,000 before the war), the ghetto established at the end of August 1941, was situated in a suburb without hygienic facilities and surrounded by barbed wire. A Jewish Committee, organized on German orders to assist in the establishment of the ghetto, included Dr. R. Blumenfeld, former director of the Health Department of Riga. It soon developed into the familiar Gestapo-directed *Judenrat*.

During the first days of October, 1941, Jews were forced to leave their homes on two hours' notice and were driven into the ghetto. The police officials decided which belongings the victims could take with them; and in this process looting was widespread. In the ghetto itself, all was confusion, and many were forced to camp unsheltered in backyards. On October 25th, the ghetto was shut off from the outside world. The Council had found it necessary to reduce the space allowed to each person from five to three square meters. Rations for inmates were fixed as follows: 120 grams of butter per week, 300 grams of bread per day, 175 grams of meat per week, available at the 17 food stores which served the entire ghetto. Very soon, however, these rations were drastically reduced. The bread allotment, for example, was decreased from 300 to 150 and later to 100 grams per day. Finally a desperate food shortage developed, and Jews traded their last belongings in return for a piece of bread.

Despite the establishment of ghettos, the Germans continued to make use of Jewish technical experts and physicians. According to a Stockholm report of October 9, 1941, all Jewish doctors and

dentists in the Baltic countries were ordered to register for service on the Soviet-German front, to treat wounded German soldiers. A later dispatch gave further substantiation: Jews employed in various commercial and industrial enterprises in Latvia were not to receive their wages directly from their employers, but were to be paid through the German District Commissar.

In the spring of 1942, however, Heinrich Himmler issued instructions for the "reduction" of the Jewish population of the Baltic area. Indicative of what was to come, a certain part of the Riga Ghetto had been ordered cleared of its inhabitants in November 1941. All Jews who had been living in this zone were to be transferred to the other section. The area thus cleared was again separated by a fence and was named the small ghetto. Thereafter it was to house all men working for the Germans outside the ghetto. (They had conscripted all able-bodied men between 18 and 60.) The wives and families of these men were to remain within the original ghetto.

According to a report transmitted through the State Department, on the night of November 30th all people living in the large ghetto, about 8,000 in number, were assembled, with their personal effects. They stood the whole night without shelter. In the early hours of the morning of December 1st, they were led away by Latvian auxiliary police, under German supervision, to the woods of Bickern and Zarnikau where all 8,000 were shot.

On December 7, 1941, the report continues, an order was issued that all women were to be in their homes by 7 o'clock in the evening. During the night of December 7th, the 16,000 people still in the old ghetto were assembled and taken away in the same manner as the victims a week earlier. According to a statement of the commander of the Latvian ghetto guard, these 16,000 people were led to the woods, and after being ordered to undress, were mowed down by machine guns. The same informant does not know what happened from the end of December 1941, to June 1942. But in June 1942, he was again in Riga and reported that, by that time, there was no trace left of even the German Jews who had been deported to Riga. It would appear that all had perished, except those employed at forced labor, estimated at 15,000, who were still quartered in the hovels of the small ghetto of Riga.

LITHUANIA

I. Background

For over 600 years Jews have lived in Lithuania. They have seen a great empire buffeted by fate, reducd to a fraction of its former size. Together with their fellow countrymen, whether under independence, union with Poland, or Russian domination and national resurrection, they have remained faithful to their country. The shattering of the once great Lithuanian empire created an odd phenomenon. For the Jews there came into being a spiritual concept of Lithuania—*Lita*—endowed with far broader boundaries than the tiny state fashioned after the first World War. *Lita* among the Jews encompasses not only Lithuania but most of White Russia as well, and those Jews living in this realm whose boundaries are a thing of the spirit only, are known the world over as *Litvaks*. Their preoccupation with intellectual pursuits, and absence of religious fanaticism made of them the enlightened vanguard of the Jewish people of Eastern Europe.

In 1923, there were approximately 150,000 Jews in the Lithuanian republic, some 100,000 less than the census had been expected to show. The majority of the *Litvaks* had remained in Poland and Russia although hundreds of thousands had emigrated to the United States, Palestine, South Africa, and Latvia. In South Africa, the Jewish community is practically a *Litvak* colony.

The renaissance of the Lithuanian state, albeit with narrow frontiers, was the work of the Lithuanian national movement, which during the 1905 Russian Revolution put aside its hitherto purely cultural interests and emerged as a political power seeking the attainment of local self-government for the Lithuanian territories. This necessitated a fight for representation in the Imperial Duma, against the opposition of Russians and Poles. Significantly, the Jews from the beginning supported Lithuanian candidates and vice versa, a policy which was followed until the first World War. Jews also played an important part in the struggle to lift the ban on the use of the written Lithuanian language.

When independent Lithuania was established, the only one of its minorities to give it wholehearted support was the Jewish one, which also identified itself with the aspirations of the Lithuanian people on the question of Vilno and Memel. After Memel was finally annexed by Lithuania, Jews were active in its industrial development, serving as a factor of unification in bringing together the once Prussian with the former Russian parts of the country.

On October 10, 1920, when a coup d' état brought Vilno under the control of Polish General Zeligowski, Vilno Jewry boycotted his Parliament of "Middle Lithuania." The attitude of the Vilno Jews served to strengthen Lithuania's claim to the district.

In October, 1920, when a parliamentary delegation toured the capitals of Europe in behalf of Lithuania's claims, one of its members was a Jew, as were members of earlier delegations to Versailles and Moscow.

An organization of Jewish local communities was established by law on January 10, 1920. It had the right to levy taxes and was charged with keeping the books of civil status. On January 12th, at their first conference, the Jewish communities established a National Council of Lithuanian Jews which, although it had no official legal status, was to all intents and purposes recognized by the government. The Council was dissolved by the police on December 24, 1924, and less than a year later on March 31, 1925, the organized Jewish communities were also abolished. The books of civil status were turned over to the rabbis and the old Russian system of synagogue boards was reestablished. No official Jewish communities existed thereafter in Lithuania. The government continued, however, to subsidize Jewish religious and social institutions.

On May 12, 1922 Lithuania signed a Declaration of the Rights of Minorities, and the Lithuanian Constitutions of 1922 and 1928 established broad principles of individual rights and autonomous organization for national minorities. Until September 1924 there was a Minister for Jewish Affairs in the Lithuanian Cabinet. The Jews had parliamentary representation in the Constituent Assembly and the first three Seimas, until after the putsch of December 17, 1926 when the Parliament was dissolved. Lithuania remained

without a parliament from 1927 to 1936. In the Seimas of 1936, based on the "one list" system, neither the Jews, nor the major political parties were represented. Although the dissolution of the third Seimas marked the end of official representation for Lithuanian Jewry, contact between the leaders of the Jewish community and the government was maintained.

In the field of education Jews were able to preserve their rights for some time. The Minister of Education was in charge of minority schools as well as those conducted in the Lithuanian language. The majority of the Jewish children attended elementary and secondary schools with Hebrew or Yiddish as the language of instruction, and the Lithuanian tongue as well as Lithuanian history and geography prominent subjects on the curriculum. There were no government-run Jewish secondary schools, and the number of Jewish children in Lithuanian schools, though tending to increase was very small. The only Russian secondary school was fast losing popularity and after 1933 the German secondary school lost all its Jewish pupils. For the most part, secondary school education was obtained in the Hebrew and Yiddish schools which were subsidized, to an ever-smaller extent, by the government.

Though not prescribed by law, there was a *numerus clausus* in fact in the medical school, and when admission to the bar was placed under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Justice instead of the Council of the Bar, legal education for Jews had little practical value. The virtual *numerus nullus* in the civil service accounted for the absence of Jews in engineering and other departments of the University. Jewish attendance in the University decreased from almost 40% to 16% in the period of 1922 to 1935. After 1935 the decline was even more rapid.

The feeling of insecurity as the result of shrinking opportunities made for smaller families and for emigration. From 1923 to 1939 the Jewish population dropped from 155,000 to 145,000 or from 7.5% to 6% of the total Lithuanian population. Between 1929 and 1938, out of 34,413 emigrants, 11,795 (35 percent) were Jewish.

In the two decades of Lithuanian independence, though anti-Semitism expressed itself in occasional instances of violence, it never seriously endangered the general position of the Jews. On

the other hand, while the economic situation of Lithuanian Jewry was not as precarious as in other central and eastern European countries, it was no longer anchored in the knowledge of tomorrow's security. The older generation was sure enough for itself but could make no promises to its children. The economic position of Lithuanian Jews was on the downward slope.

When the republic was created, Jews led in both the export and import trades. By 1939 their control had dropped to 20% of the exports and 40% of the imports. In 1923 there were 2,160 Lithuanian commercial enterprises as compared to 13,799 Jewish ones; in 1936 there were 10,200 Lithuanian enterprises and 12,000 Jewish concerns. The beginning of the war saw a further reduction of Jewish business. These figures themselves, because they do not reveal aggregate income nor the nature of the Jewish "enterprises" in Lithuania, are not as impressive as they might seem on the surface. As a matter of fact, many Jewish shopkeepers earned so little that they had to depend largely upon relatives abroad for support.

The decline of Jewish economic life was hastened by the Lithuanization policy, which took the form of promoting cooperatives that were granted special taxation and credit privileges; and by the union of all private Lithuanian enterprises in the powerful national organization *Verslas*, with the slogan, "Lithuania for Lithuanians." The government also created or promoted monopolies for the production, export and import of the essential commodities (meat and dairy products, fertilizer, flax, etc.) and this also adversely affected the Jews. Despite this, on the eve of the second World War the Jewish situation was still more or less tolerable. Because of the increased purchasing power of the peasantry and the raised standard of living of the entire population, Jewish businessmen and shopkeepers managed to get along. Turning from the fields which were closed to them, they created many small new enterprises, some of which, particularly the textile industry, soon expanded. For Jewish farmers, artisans, workers and professionals, the situation remained fairly constant. Though the number of non-Jews continued to increase in these fields, the demand was also growing, and Jews were still able to earn a livelihood. In 1936, 37% (5,300) of the craft and industrial factories were run by Jews and 40% (17,700) of the Jews were gainfully em-

ployed in these industries.

When Memel was ceded to Germany on March 19, 1939, 4,500 Jews were left homeless and destitute. The destruction in a few short weeks of a prosperous Jewish community, served as fuel for those factions of Lithuanian society which were affected by the ill winds of Germany, Poland and Latvia and were anxious to see the Jews ousted. Indeed, during the six months preceding the war the pressure against Jews in economic life increased. At first the war spared Lithuania. Disregarding Berlin's hints, she did not attack Poland, and instead proclaimed her neutrality. Like her Baltic neighbors, Lithuania signed a treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union, and in October 1939 received back the long contested city of Vilno and the Vilno region. In return, the Soviet Union was permitted to establish military bases at strategic points in Lithuania. Meanwhile, thousands of refugees fleeing the flames of Poland turned to Lithuania. Among them were 15,000 Jews including the cream of Polish Jewry, and the entire Jewish population of Suwalki, driven from the city at the point of German machine guns on a night in November 1939. The Lithuanian government authorized adjacent townships to give them shelter. Again, as at the end of the last war, Lithuanian Jews were called upon to help save great numbers of the Jewish intelligentsia.

The annexation of the Vilno district presented the Jewish population as well as the government with a difficult problem. During twenty years of separation many elements of disparity had developed, linguistic, political and psychological. Problems of nationality, education, and the readjustment of economic life, presented great difficulties. The government made the knowledge of the Lithuanian language compulsory, for both the Jewish and Polish elements, and embarked on a policy of Lithuanization. Before this process of absorbing the new community had advanced very far, all of Lithuania was absorbed by the Soviet Union.

II. Soviet Rule

On May 28, 1940 came the Molotov note, presenting the Lithuanian government with a new series of demands and on June 15th the country was occupied by the Red Army. In July Lithuania was proclaimed a Soviet Republic, and was incorporated into the

U.S.S.R. While there was no thought of discrimination against Jews, this meant a complete change in the status of property. The bigger Jewish and non-Jewish private property, were expropriated and the enterprises nationalized. Furthermore the Jewish school system, along with the educational system of the Republic, was Sovietized according to the pattern of the U.S.S.R. schools. Communist dailies were established in Kaunas and Vilno. All religious observance was discouraged. The number of positions lost by Jews cannot be estimated precisely. Part of those dispossessed may have found jobs in the economic branches of the government service. Two Jews were members of the first Soviet Cabinet. Of the 85 members of the Seimas 5 were Jews. In the municipal councils as in the civil service, Jewish participation was slight, because the number of local Jewish Communists was insignificant. Some leading members of the Jewish Community were imprisoned along with a number of prominent Lithuanian public figures.

A by-product of the period of Soviet rule was a deterioration in relations between Lithuanians and Jews. Fascists, both of the German and Lithuanian brand, used the weapon of anti-Semitism for all it was worth, representing Soviet occupation as the outcome of a "Judeo-Bolshevist" conspiracy. In the year that elapsed between Soviet occupation and German invasion Berlin was a hotbed of Lithuanian anti-Soviet plotting and a Fascist Free Corps was organized inside Lithuania under the very nose of the Soviet officials. Ten days before the outbreak of hostilities, mass arrests and deportations took place in Lithuania. Some 4,000 to 5,000 Jews along with at least 18,246 Lithuanians were deported to the Soviet Union. In the first days of Russo-German hostilities, several hundred others were evacuated together with Soviet officials. A few thousand fled. About 5,000 Polish-Jewish refugees had succeeded earlier in leaving for the United States, Palestine and Shanghai. The German advance in the Baltic area was so swift that there was no time for any substantial exodus of refugees to the Russian interior.

Only a small part of the Jewish evacuees enjoy freedom of movement in the Soviet Union. The majority live in forced residence in Asia, mainly in the distant regions of Altai and Uzbekistan. Many were confined in concentration camps. But the vast

majority of Lithuania's Jews were trapped on the spot when the German army came. They were the first victims of both the Germans and the Lithuanian fascists, who at once killed many thousands, and pillaged such property as they still owned.

III. German Occupation

From the fragmentary information in the local German or German-controlled press, it appears that the greatest part of the Jewish population was concentrated in the ghettos of Kaunas, Vilno and Siauliai. As late as February 1942, however, there were still about 3,000 Jews living in small towns in the Paneviezys district.

The first order for the Baltic issued by *Reichskommissar* Heinrich Lohse was directed against the Jews. It directed them to wear the Star of David, forbade them to use sidewalks, benches or communication facilities. By October 1941, Jews were interned in closely guarded ghettos which were surrounded by barbed wire. Any one who attempted to communicate with the Jews through the barbed wire was instantly shot. There were cases of Lithuanians smuggling food into the ghetto. But after eight persons were executed, no one would take the risk any longer. In January 1942, of Vilno's two ghettos, the one on Dominican and German Streets was liquidated, while the ghetto of Viliampole near Kaunas was reduced. The *Kauener Zeitung* of May 5, 1942 stated that "many streets are now again free for the non-Jewish population." It explained that the reduction in the size of the ghetto was not due to the drop in the number of inmates but because their living space had been reduced.

The usual Jewish Council functions in the Kaunas ghetto. It is headed by Kopelmanas and Chazan. The chief of the Viliampole ghetto in Kaunas, *Obersturmfuehrer* Jordan of Danzig was removed from his position and received a severe sentence for accepting bribes. His successor Koslowsky, also of Danzig, was assisted by a Lithuanian named Kacinskas.

Apparently for a time there was an 'exchange' of inmates between the Vilno and Kaunas ghettos. This was given as the reason for the sudden disappearance of ghetto inmates. But soon evacuation for 'exchange' was to serve as the camouflage for massacre.

Although the majority of the inmates of the ghettos were organized into labor gangs for work on road repairs Jewish specialists were hired by private enterprises for a time. From January 1942, Jews could no longer be employed as specialists unless a special permit was issued by the labor office. Persons so engaged were not paid directly; the remuneration had to pass through the German labor office. The exclusion of Jews from commerce was intimated by an item in the controlled press which announced that special training courses would be given for Lithuanian salesmen, because of the shortage of persons with business experience.

The problem of restoring private property nationalized by the Soviet regime was one of the stumbling blocks of collaboration between the Germans and certain Lithuanian groups. The issue of Jewish property, however, was solved by the Germans in the usual way. All that remained of Jewish property, or had belonged to Jews before nationalization, had to be registered by August 9, 1941. On October 13th, Lohse issued an ordinance expropriating such holdings. The confiscated assets were to be reserved for German merchants from East Prussia. But in the second half of 1942, when groups of Lithuanian Germans returned to the country, the Jewish property was promised to them.

The German confiscation of Jewish property for their own purposes produced a serious conflict with the first Lithuanian *Beirat* in October 1941. Three members resigned in protest, disappointed that the Jewish-owned enterprises had not been handed over to Lithuanians. Under the confiscation edicts, Jews were permitted to keep only those household belongings that were urgently necessary for personal use, and no more than 100 marks in cash and securities. What happened to Jewish bank deposits and valuables in vaults is not known, beyond the fact that Yurgutis, a member of the *Beirat,* refused to turn them over to the Gestapo.

As some people had apparently "expropriated" Jewish property for themselves, *Reichskommissar* Lohse issued a special order, followed by ordinances of the local commissars, providing that all Jewish-owned property taken over or mortgaged after June 20, 1941, had to be re-registered. The public was warned that persons keeping unregistered Jewish property were subject to severe penalties, even death. That this was no idle threat was proved on

October 13, 1941, when a Lithuanian who failed to comply with the German edict was publicly hanged in the Cathedral Square in Vilno. Subsequently the deadline for registration was extended to November 30, 1941.

All Jewish lawyers were disbarred and Jewish physicians denied the right to practice. They had to obtain special certificates even to treat Jewish patients only. Books by Jewish authors were removed from the libraries in Kaunas. An ordinance in November 1941, on the organization of German courts in Lithuania, denied the Jews the right to appeal against German verdicts.

The collaborationist Lithuanian Directorate, headed by General Kubiliunas faithfully follows the German anti-Semitic line. General Kubiliunas took the occasion of Kommissar Lohse's first reception to express thanks to Hitler for freeing Lithuania from the Jews and the Bolshevik terror. In November 1941, he ordered the establishment of a bureau for "research on the struggle of the Lithuanian nation against the perils of Judaism and Bolshevism." The office is directed by a journalist, Juosas Senkus, who has two assistants, Anatanas Bauza and Aleksandras Merkelis. They advertised for three Lithuanian experts with a knowledge of Hebrew and Yiddish. The actions of Lithuanian collaborationists with regard to the Jews and Poles were publicly condemned by Bishop Brizgys.

Since May 1942, there has been little mention of Jews in the local press, but one of the last brief items to appear spoke volumes. Listing the rations for the Lithuanian population, it concluded tersely with: "Jews receive half." As elsewhere in occupied Europe rations for Jews are at the starvation level.

A March 1943 decree on total mobilization in Lithuania stated that separate regulations would be issued for Jews, thus implying that there were still Jews in the country. However, according to a late report from Sweden, Jews who had previously been publicly employed in the most filthy menial work were no longer to be seen. Those who still survive are forced to work for German defense.

Last May, the world was shocked by information reaching Stockholm to the effect that 60,000 Jews were killed in Vilno. While it was impossible to obtain clear cut confirmation of this figure, the Geneva office of the World Jewish Congress heard that in June

1942, there were only 10,000 left of the 40,000 Jews in Vilno. In the spring of 1943, a German paper admitted the "evacuation" of the Jewish ghetto in Vilno. The same frightful reports come from Kaunas, where there is said to be a *Vernichtungsstelle* (extermination center), in which Jews deported from Central and Western Europe are methodically murdered. A recent Stockholm report claimed that there remained by this summer no more than 30,000 Jews in Lithuania.

SOVIET UNION (OCCUPIED)

I. Uneasy Peace (August 23, 1939-June 22, 1941)

Since the Revolution of March 1917, the Jews of Russia have enjoyed the status of full equality granted by the Democratic Provisional Government. Under the Soviet regime, this equality has become deeply rooted. Having adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the Soviet economy, Russian Jews were undergoing a process of rapid assimilation in the interval between the two world wars.

Until September 1939 and June 1940, when former Polish and Rumanian areas as well as Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were incorporated into the Soviet Union, there were 3,020,000 Jews in Russia. The newly acquired territories, which were soon to be occupied by the German and Rumanian armies, increased the number of Jews by 1,950,000, thus making a total of nearly 5,000,000 Jews living under the Soviet flag.

The Non-Aggression Pact concluded between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union on August 23, 1939, caused grave concern for the future of Soviet Jewry. However, no change occurred in the policy of the Soviet Union towards its Jewish citizens. Throughout Russia's months of peace with the Reich, the legal status of the Jewish population remained undisturbed.

On the other hand, the Soviet Jewish press was forced to follow the "general line" laid down by the Kremlin for that period. It had to carry Hitler's speeches, but was not permitted to comment on the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Nor was any Jewish newspaper permitted to discuss the situation of the great mass of Jewish refugees who streamed from German-conquered Poland into the U.S.S.R. When the Eastern Polish provinces, the Baltic States, Bessarabia, and Northern Bukovina were about to be annexed, there were few Jews among the delegations sent to Moscow to ask for admission into the Soviet Union. As a matter

of fact, there was only one Jew in the Ukrainian delegation of 43 members and one Jew in the White Russian delegation of 40 members. Likewise, the Bessarabian-Bukovinian delegation of 32 members included only two Jews, despite the large Jewish population in the area. At the meetings of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. on November 1, 1939, in which the incorporation of the new Republics into the Soviet Union was voted, speeches were delivered in Ukrainian, White Russian and Polish, but there was not a single Jew among the speakers. The same was true at the meeting of the Supreme Council of August 14, 1940, when the admission of both Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina was on the agenda. Nor were there Jews in the delegations of the "Peoples' Assemblies" of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Changes were also made in the personnel of the Foreign Office and the Foreign Trade Commissariat during the period of Soviet-German peace, presumably because Hitler's political and commercial representatives in Moscow found it rather embarrassing to carry on negotiations with them. But this represented an outward aspect of the Soviet phase of unsuccessful appeasement, rather than a changed policy toward Soviet Jewry as such.

II. Blitzkrieg and Evacuation

When war came on June 22, 1941, the German armies swiftly conquered the border provinces, which had one of the densest Jewish populations in Europe. Grodno was occupied on June 23rd, Brest-Litovsk the following day, and Minsk, Borisov, Bobruisk and Vitebsk fell in rapid succession. Simultaneously the former Baltic States were invaded. By the end of July, the Axis armies were in possession of practically all the buffer territory of Eastern Poland, Bessarabia, and the Baltic. The farthest German advances had penetrated 350 miles into the interior. By the end of October, 1941, 26.6 percent of European Russia, incuding all of White Russia and almost the entire Ukraine, was occupied by Axis troops. In this vast area was concentrated 40 percent of Russia's population and two-thirds, or over two million of its Jews. The 1,907,951 Jews of the Ukraine and White Russia constituted 63.2 percent of the entire Jewish population of the Soviet Union within the boundaries of 1939 (3,020,171). Jews constituted 4.9 percent

of the total population of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and 6.7 percent of the White Russian population.

The social structure of the 2,092,951 Jews in Axis-occupied territory was as follows:

TABLE I

Occupation	*Number*	*Percentage*
Industrial Workers	701,140	33.5
Artisans	481,380	23.0
Government employees and white collar workers	420,678	20.1
Liberal professions	280,457	13.4
Farmers	146,506	7.0
Unspecified	62,790	3.0
	2,092,951	100.0

What was the fate of this vast number of Russian Jews as the German horde spread over Russia? How many succeeded in fleeing or were evacuated? How many were trapped by the swift advance of the German armies?

In October 1941, Nazi propaganda claimed that German troops had seized territory with a population of 75,000,000. Chief of the Soviet Information Bureau, S. A. Losovsky, flatly denying this, stated:

> "In fact, the Germans never did occupy any territory with a population of 75,000,000. Well aware of the wolfish proclivities of the Nazi plunderers, ravishers and murderers, the mass of the Soviet population departed beforehand for the Eastern districts of the Soviet Union."

Estimates of the number of the population evacuated from Axis-occupied Soviet areas vary greatly. In September 1942, Edward G. Carter, President of the Russian War Relief, placed the figure at 37,000,000. Earlier, in November 1941, a writer in the *Far Eastern Survey* spoke of 19,000,000 evacuees. There is no official Soviet data available on the subject. German sources have been more revealing in this respect. Dr. Rachner, Chief of the War Economy Department of the German Economic Administration of the East, declared in the official *Reichsarbeitsblatt* of

March 5, 1942, that the *rural* area of the German-occupied Soviet territory "retained its human stock." Assuming that the entire population of the occupied territory was 75 million before the war started, of which number 50 million "may have belonged to the countryside" thus leaving "25 million for the urban population," Rachner estimated that, on the average, *half* of the population at most would have remained in the cities and towns. Accordingly, 12,500,000 would be about the number who left occupied territory. This estimate would also coincide with the available data concerning the difference between the population of several larger Soviet cities and towns before the war and after occupation.

TABLE II

City	Prewar Population	Population After Evacuation	Source of Information
Kiev	846,293	304,570	*Izvestia,* October 14, 1942
Odessa	604,000	300,000	*Novoye Slovo,* Berlin, July 22, 1942
Dniepropetrovsk	500,622	151,923	*Novoye Slovo,* January 7, 1942
Kherson	97,000	61,000	*Deutsche Ukraine Zeitung,* July 10, 1942
Nikolaev	167,000	100,000	*New York Herald Tribune,* October 26, 1941
Mariupol	270,000	178,358	*Novoye Slovo,* January 7, 1942
Vinnitsa	93,000	40,000	*Deutsche Ukraine Zeitung,* October 7, 1942
Smolensk	156,000	20,000	*Soviet War News,* Sept. 7, 1942
Poltava	130,305	75,000	*Koelnische Zeitung,* June 6, 1943

The Jews formed a considerable section of the evacuated people. In 1939, 85.5 percent of the Jewish population of the Ukraine and 87.8 percent in White Russia lived in the cities and towns. The Jews comprised 23.9 percent of the urban inhabitants in White Russia and 11.7 percent in the Ukraine. Because of their social structure, the number evacuated must have been considerably higher than their percentage in the population. All available indications show that those who were evacuated or fled from the cities were mainly Soviet officials, workers and employees.

Out of the 2,092,000 Jews who lived in the German-occupied Soviet territory, some 1,200,000 belonged to these categories. They were, accordingly, largely represented among those who left. The Soviet authorities also realized fully that the Jews were the most seriously endangered part of the population. For this reason, despite the Army's urgent need for transportation, thousands of trains were provided for evacuation. Thus, not only were hundreds of thousands of human lives saved, but military highways were quickly cleared of millions of refugees.

After the first Blitz period, particularly in the larger cities, there was time enough to evacuate the civilian population. The gates of Kiev, for instance, were reached by the German armies on August 8, 1941, but the city was not taken until September 20th; Odessa was assaulted on August 13th and occupied on October 16th; the Smolensk outskirts were reached on July 17th, but the city was not entirely in German hands until August 13th. In each case there was a delay during which time it was possible to carry out the evacuation of civilians.

In numerous cities and towns, particularly in the Ukraine and White Russia, Jews were among the first to be evacuated. A correspondent of the Budapest *Pester Lloyd,* who in the fall of 1941 visited Baranowicze and Novograd-Volynsk, two towns which before the German invasion were largely inhabited by Jews, stated that 90 percent of the local inhabitants had escaped with the retreating Soviet forces. The German-controlled Ukrainian *Krakivski Visti* asserted that in October 1941 in Zhitomir, of a former Jewish population of 50,000, some 44,000 (88 percent) had gone with the Russian troops, and that a similar exodus of Jews had taken place in many other German-occupied towns of the Ukraine. In Kiev, practically the entire Jewish youth left the city together with the Soviet Army. Only elderly people remained behind. According to Kube, German General Commissar for White Russia, all but a few thousand of the 80,000 Jews in the Minsk area fled to the interior of Soviet Russia at the time of the German invasion. The Soviet authorities were also able to evacuate 76,000 from the Vitebsk area. Particular care was given to the evacuation of Jewish collective agricultural settlements. It was reported that Jewish colonists in the Crimea were evacuated in sufficient time

to enable them to take along all of their cattle and farming implements.

Nevertheless, the assertion of the Soviet Jewish writer, David Bergelson, that 80 percent of the Jews in German-held Soviet cities were evacuated in good time is considerably exaggerated. In many menaced regions the Soviets were unable to move out considerable portions of the population. Despite Kube's statement, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* gloated that in the Minsk area many Jews had been unable to make good their escape with the retreating Soviet troops. There were similar reports from numerous other places which had fallen early victims to the German invasion. In most cases, it was only the younger people who were able to escape. Older people who were more difficult to transplant, and those who would not be of use in defense work, or answer Soviet military needs, were usually left behind.

It is difficult to ascertain how many Jews remained in the German-occupied area of the Soviet Union proper. The percentage of evacuated among the 2,093,000 Jews who lived in this area was higher than the general urban average of 50 percent, so that perhaps 60 to 70 percent of the Jews escaped. Even so, however, no less than 650,000 to 850,000 Russian Jews remained trapped in the Axis-conquered regions. This number does not include Jews later deported into this region by the Germans and the Rumanians.

Little accurate data is available on the resettlement of the evacuated Jews. The bits of information that appear from time to time in Soviet and Jewish publications are contradictory. It is known that in the spring of 1942 a number of Jewish colonists from the Ukraine were established in the Saratov district on the Volga in collective settlements of their own. Some of these new Jewish colonies, ironically enough, were created on land previously held by the 400,000 German inhabitants of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. By a Soviet decree of August 28, 1941, these Germans had been removed to Asiatic regions beyond the Ural Mountains. Other thousands of Jews, among them many elderly people (the younger men were in the army), evacuated from Vitebsk, Kiev, Riga, Nikolaev, Bobruisk, have found employment in the Saratov district where,

according to the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee in Kuibyshev, they work mainly in the factories, and textile mills which operate on a 24-hour basis.

The majority of the Jews evacuated from the German-occupied areas seem to be concentrated in the Republic of Uzbekistan. According to a report of April 1942, this area "has become the new home of tens of thousands of Jews evacuated from German-occupied areas and of thousands of Polish-Jewish refugees now en route from other regions."

Many thousands of Jewish families evacuated from the Ukraine and the Minsk district were absorbed by the Ural Republic of Bashkir. Abdul Achmetoff, Bashkir Vice-Commissar for Agriculture, stated that "masses of evacuated Jews are engaged in helping the collective settlements throughout Bashkir, working in the fields side by side with Bashkirs, and doing excellent work."

Despite the fact that the majority of able-bodied evacuees not in the Red Army have found employment, the general situation is very difficult. They have lost most of what they possessed. Families have been scattered, fathers, mothers, and children separated. Their new homes were usually many months' journey away. After a seemingly endless trek without adequate food and clothing, they arrived at their destination only to find it overcrowded. Sufficient shelter was lacking, and the food shortage resulting from wartime transportation difficulties made itself especially felt among the evacuees. Undernourishment and disease were widespread. Those who suffered most were the older people and the weak who could not work for a livelihood.

III. The Germans Take Over

The entire buffer and Soviet area occupied by the Axis armies was divided into three sections:

(1) Eastern Galicia (to the east of the River San) was, on August 1, 1941, incorporated into the Polish General Government.

(2) A part of the Southern Ukraine, from Nikolaev on the Black Sea along the Bug River via Vosnesensk–Konstantinovka–Gaïyvoron and Bar to Mohilev on the Dniester with Odessa as the capital, was allotted to Rumania as the province of Transnistria.

(3) The remaining region was, by Hitler's order of November 17, 1941, placed under the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, with Alfred Rosenberg as Reich Minister. This vast area, reaching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, has been divided into two great districts: Ostland and the Ukraine.

Ostland comprises Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and the White Russian Soviet Republic. It also includes small parts of the Ukraine. According to official German sources, Ostland comprises about 500,000 square kilometers with a population of about 18 million. It is administered by the former Gauleiter of Schleswig-Holstein, Reich Commissar Heinrich Lohse. His headquarters are in Riga. Within Ostland, certain strategic areas are entirely under military rule. This is true of the territory around Smolensk and the *Generalbezirk* of White Russia. Erich Koch, former Gauleiter of East Prussia, is the Reich Commissar for the Ukraine. Districts still under purely military administration include Chernigov and the Kharkov area.

Despite much confused and misleading information concerning the Jews in the Axis-held Soviet area, it is clear that the German forces came armed with detailed instructions as to how the local civilian population was to be handled. In a note made public in Kuibyshev on January 7, 1942, Molotov stated:

> "Irrefutable facts prove that the regime of plunder and bloody terrorism against the non-combatant population of occupied villages and towns represents a definite system, devised beforehand and encouraged by the German Government and German Command, who consciously let loose among the officers and soldiers of their army the basest beastial instincts, and that it is not a matter of excesses by isolated, undisciplined military units nor by individual German officers and soldiers."

It need hardly be said that these planned excesses were particularly directed against the Jews. An article in the official German publication *Die Deutsche Polizei* spoke of Russian Jewry as "a virus which can only be destroyed through extirpation." In the latter part of 1941 the Gauleiter of Stettin told an assembly of the Hitler Youth that it was the duty of each member to kill "at

least one Jewish Bolshevik." This, he said, would make of a Hitler Youth a fit German soldier. The Soviet press published excerpts from the diary of a Nazi prisoner in which he wrote that, in line with the "wish of the Fuehrer," he had killed 250 Jews in Russia with his own hands. Lieutenant Paul Mildkraus, a prisoner of war, when asked what he knew of German massacres, replied as follows:

> "All I know is that we consciously carried out the orders of our Fuehrer. We were preparing the ground for the rule of the German Reich."
>
> "But you killed innocent people."
>
> "We killed Jews," Mildkraus replied.

The German policy towards the Jews seemed to differ from one locality to another. Unlike other occupied countries, where the elimination of the Jews was divided into distinct periods, beginning with legal restrictions, ghettoization, and forced labor, and climaxed by deportations and extermination, in Russia from the start these devices were interplayed. They varied according to district and often even to a single town. They were applied through various combinations and at different periods. The German anti-Jewish policy for the occupied Soviet territories lacked uniformity of design, but not of purpose, and thus despite the apparent lack of system, its characteristic forms emerged.

IV. Forced Labor

Violating the age-old laws and customs of warfare, the German Command made "prisoners" of practically all the male civilian population and, in many localities, of the women and children as well. In this manner hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants became "prisoners of war," interned in camps under inhuman conditions. They were subjected to forced labor under the so-called *Todt* system. They repaired roads, bridges, cleared rubble after air raids, erected new fortifications and did other heavy physical tasks. A huge camp for "war prisoners" was established near Minsk. There 100,000 persons were kept in the open and every day hundreds died of disease or torture. Other barbed

wire camps, into which the internees were crowded like cattle, and where they were exposed to snow and storms without shelter or clothing, sprang up in Chernigov, Uman and other places.

According to a report published in the Stockholm press in October 1941, about 200,000 Soviet Jewish citizens were drafted into forced labor battalions, and set to work repairing the war damage in occupied Soviet territory. Under the supervision of German soldiers, who were quick to use their whips and rifles, the laborers worked seven days a week, 14 and 16 hours a day. Rations were scarcely sufficient to keep them alive. Despite the freezing weather, they were forced to sleep in open fields or in the forests. The dead were cremated and quickly replaced.

Skilled workers, technicians and engineers toiled under the same conditions as unskilled laborers. According to an eyewitness account published by the *Flensburger Nachrichten,* only in rare cases "in the easternmost districts, where skilled artisans are scarce, were Jews permitted to work at their respective trades, producing goods needed by the German army." Some 150,000 Jews captured in White Russia and the Vilno region were forced to work from sunrise to sunset on the rebuilding of the Vilno-Minsk railway, adjusting the tracks to the narrower German gauge.

How the starved laborers were treated may be seen in the following public notice issued by the German Commandant of Kaluga, Major Portacius, on November 20, 1941:

> "Citizens who are lazy at this work or those who will not work the prescribed number of hours will be sentenced to pay a fine in cash or subjected to corporal punishment and will not receive food assistance from the city."

Doubtless, similar methods were applied in the Ukrainian and White Russian districts, where almost the entire Jewish population was impressed into labor battalions.

On January 20, 1942, the Germans published a decree regarding the treatment of *Ostarbeiter.* An order issued by the Command of the 3rd Group of the German Tank Corps, later found by Red Army Units, provided that the entire population of occupied regions was to be mobilized for forced labor and that such labor was to receive no pay. The order continued:

"By unpaid labor the population will redeem its guilt for acts of sabotage already committed as well as for such acts of sabotage as may be committed in the future."

In the rare cases when wages were paid, they amounted, according to the Soviet government, to half a mark a day and "existence at such rates of pay is tantamount to a slow death from starvation." On June 30th, the *Verordnung ueber die Einsatzbedingungen der Ostarbeiter* appeared. By September 1942, Reich-Commissioner for the Ukraine, Koch, introduced compulsory labor service for all able-bodied persons, to work on farms, the construction of roads, dams and locks, and the repairing of war damages. The period of service was to be fixed by the German Labor Office and wages were to be calculated "according to the wage regulation in force." Those refusing to register were arrested as criminals and thrown into prisons and concentration camps.

Documents of the German Command which fell into the hands of the Red Army bear witness to the fact that the German instructions were to use the local population for particularly dangerous military work. An order-of-the-day dated October 11, 1941, issued by the 76th German Infantry Division, Article 6, said:

"Prisoners of war and individuals from the local populations should be used for work entailing danger to life."

•

In a diary found on a dead German sergeant, Erich Funk, the following entry appeared under June 13, 1942:

"Jewish men and women who work in the town are driven in the evening to penal labor yards where they work from seven o'clock until midnight. They often receive severe floggings and their hands are covered with bleeding wounds."

Early in 1942, the Moscow radio reported that the naked bodies of hundreds of Jews who had died at forced labor were found in the territories re-occupied by Soviet troops during their successful winter offensive of 1941-1942.

By the summer of 1942, the devastated and scorched earth areas along the shifting Russo-German front had become the destination

for tens of thousands of Jews deported from the ghettos of Poland and other German-occupied countries, as well as from the satellite states.

At the end of 1942, some 10,000 Hungarian Jews were working in labor battalions on the Soviet front. The presence of these Jewish forced labor battalions was officially confirmed by the Soviet military authorities early in 1943. The *Information Bulletin* issued by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, reported on February 16, 1943:

> "Among the crowds of Hungarian soldiers plodding eastward through the open steppes of Voronezh, hoping to be taken prisoners and thus saved from death by cold and hunger, go the most miserable men in the Axis armies—the Hungarian Jews mobilized for labor battalions. They were sent to the front to dig trenches under fire, in whatever they were wearing when seized, and many are in summer clothes or light coats. All were forced to wear the yellow arm band. Their food ration was only 250 grams of bread per day. Bullets, famine and disease are rapidly decimating them."

According to an eyewitness who succeeded in escaping to Switzerland, the Jews brought to the Soviet-German front area were asked by the German authorities whether they felt able to work. Those who declared that they could not were separated from the rest, and, according to information received from a German officer, they were all put to death. The men fit for work were brought to a region not very far from the Stalingrad battleline. There they were quartered in barracks and given overalls in the style and color of the Todt organization, but without the Swastika ringlet. Cots in the crowded barracks were arranged in tiers of three.

Ten hours a day the men carried heavy bags of cement weighing more than a hundred pounds. Only one Sunday in five was a day of rest. Workers received one-half pound of bread per day, and in the morning a dark liquid sweetened with saccharine called coffee. At noon and in the evening they were given some hot soup. After a few days under these conditions many were unable to continue. Nevertheless, they were hard driven by the overseers and forced to complete their quota of work. Those who

could not continue were put to death, according to the testimony of a Bavarian officer.

V. Ghettos and Extermination

The number of Jews who have perished in the German-occupied area cannot be stated precisely. Figures published by the various newspapers and news agencies, as well as Soviet reports, are at wide variance with one another. German sources, usually so voluble on the activities of the New Order in the East, have remained strangely close-mouthed concerning the fate of Russian Jewry.

During the first weeks of occupation, the Germans followed no clear-cut plan of extermination. In Vitebsk, on July 13, 1942, 200 Jews were slain with the usual pretext; reprisals for guerrilla activities. A week later, 600 more Jews were massacred on the same ground. Slaughter on a large scale started several weeks later according to the Soviet report on the "giant massacre of Vitebsk." Kuzma Chornych, noted White Russian novelist and playwright, reported that immediately after Minsk was occupied by the Germans, between July 5th and 10th, a pogrom took place. It was carried out unofficially by the local "criminals and riff-raff led by the German soldiers. . . . Then for twelve days it was comparatively quiet. The Jews who had remained alive were compelled to remove and bury their dead. . . . The next step was the registration of the survivors. After that the Germans began to introduce a civil administration. Kube, the General Commissar for White Russia, came to Minsk."

Kube immediately established a ghetto and introduced forced labor. A site was selected in the Storozhevsky district, fenced off with barbed wire, and the Jews were driven into it. They were forced to erect a brick wall and a high gate along Gorki Street.

A year later, Russian guerrillas returning from the Minsk region, where they had operated in the rear of the German armies, related a dramatic incident. In the manner of the Pharaohs of old, who had forced the Jews of Egypt to build pyramids without supplying them straw for bricks, the Germans addressed the Jews erecting the walls of the ghetto as follows:

"We have no intention of furnishing you with the materials for the construction of the walls. We shall compel you to follow the example of your ancestors in Egypt by immuring your children if you get no other material."

The Jews were forced to wreck some of their own houses to secure sufficient material to build the walls. This ghetto existed only three months. Each day thousands of its inhabitants were forced to clean up the debris left by bombardment. According to Kuzma Chornych, "not more than half of those who left the ghetto in the morning returned at night." In the autumn of 1941, Kube ordered that the Jews be transferred to another ghetto in the Komarnovsky district on the outskirts of the city. During this transfer "several thousand people were killed," Chornych reported.

A Jewish ghetto was also established in the suburbs of Smolensk, near the cemetery. Soviet reports of November 1941 indicate that thousands of women, left behind by the retreating population, were driven from the smaller towns into the barbed-wire ghettos of the larger cities. By day they cleared debris and worked on the roads. They spent the night under rain and snow.

A few days after the occupation of Kiev on September 22, 1941, the Germans initiated the wholesale expulsion of the Jews. As described by the German-controlled Ukrainian newspaper *Krakivski Visti,* all Jews, men, women, and children were taken from their homes and herded into barbed wire enclosures on the city's outskirts. Once there, they were separated into groups and sent on foot to an unknown destination.

Molotov's note of January 7, 1942, on German atrocities in occupied Soviet territories, states that in Kiev:

"Within a few days the Germans killed and tortured to death 52,000 Ukrainians, Russians and Jews."

The same note described the Kiev massacre as follows:

"A large number of Jews, including women and children of all ages, was gathered in the Jewish cemetery of Kiev. Before they were shot, all were stripped naked and beaten. The first persons selected for shooting were forced to lie face down at the bottom of a ditch and were shot with automatic rifles.

Then the Germans threw a little earth over them. The next group of people awaiting execution was forced to lie on top of them, and shot, and so on."

When Kharkov, the third largest city of the Soviet Union, was taken on October 26, 1941, Count Helldorf, former Berlin police chief and organizer of the Berlin pogrom of November 10, 1938, was named Commissar. All Kharkov Jews were ordered to move within 24 hours into concentration camps in the outskirts of the city. These camps consisted of demolished and dilapidated buildings, without light or water. Half-dressed Jews were dragged from their homes and driven along the streets prodded by German whips and rifle butts. Old people and children, exhausted, fell and died on the road. Molotov's note of April 26, 1942 estimates that 14,000 persons were slain during the first days following occupation.

Several Soviet cities which normally had large Jewish populations were soon without Jews. As early as September 29, 1941, the *Krakivski Visti* declared that the Germans had removed "the last Jew" from Kiev. In the spring of 1942, the same paper announced that Kamenetz-Podolsk was *judenrein*. Of the 12,047 remaining inhabitants, 10,561 were Ukrainians, 802 were Poles, and the rest Russians. Not a single Jew remained. In 1926 Kamenetz-Podolsk had a Jewish population of 12,800. The same occurred in Odessa which, before the war, had 175,000 Jews. In other cities the Jewish population was drastically reduced. According to the Russian Fascist *Novoye Slovo* of Berlin, a census taken by the Germans in May 1942 showed that of the 100,000 Jews of Dniepropetrovsk, only 377 remained. In October 1941 it was reported that of Zhitomir's former Jewish population of 50,000 only six to seven thousand were left.

The German extermination drive reached its full frenzy during the two great Soviet counter-offensives, when the Nazis were forced to evacuate many cities and towns. In the first counter-offensive, which began on December 6, 1941, and lasted until March 1942, the Russians regained over 100,000 square miles of territory. The Red Army penetrated into White Russia and advanced to within 72 miles of the Polish border. Soviet troops recaptured Yeletz, Klin, Kalinin, Kaluga, Mozhaisk, on the Cen-

tral front, thus retaking all that the Germans had seized during their September and October offensives. In the Crimea, Theodosia, Mariupol and Kerch were reconquered; on the Southern front, Lozovaya was taken and Marshal Timoshenko's troops reached the suburbs of Kharkov. Until March 1942, the Germans were in retreat everywhere.

The German army marked its three months' retreat by the systematic devastation and destruction of the evacuated localities, in accordance with the specific orders of the High Command. An order-of-the-day to the 512th German Infantry Regiment, found by the Soviet troops, stated:

> "The zone which, depending on circumstances, should be evacuated, must be a desert after the withdrawal of our troops. In places where full destruction is to be effected, all houses must be burned. Measures for the creation of a devastated zone should be prepared and carried out ruthlessly and in full."

In Berdichev, Zhitomir, Gomel, Mogilev, Minsk, Pskov, Orsha, Kremenchug, Nicolaev and other occupied cities, all Jews were evicted from their homes to make room for retreating German troops falling back to their new winter line. Before their departure from a town the Germans almost always executed a number of Jews on the charge that they had aided the advancing Russian forces by signaling valuable information. A warning was issued by the German occupation command to the effect that ruthless reprisals were in store for all Jews who betrayed Quislings to the Soviet authorities. The warning alleged that in Theodosia, taken by the Germans on October 17th and recaptured by Soviet troops on December 30, 1941, the Jews had denounced local Nazi accomplices to the victorious Soviet military forces, and therefore the Jews in other occupied towns must be made to pay. When in May 1942 Theodosia was retaken by the Germans, they massacred over a thousand of its citizens, mothers with their babies, pregnant women, old men, and youths. A large proportion of them were Jews. The official Soviet note which revealed the Theodosia massacre also reported that after the liberation of Kerch by Soviet forces on December 30, 1941, "there came to light the shocking

details of one of the most fiendish crimes that the German army perpetrated on Soviet territory—the shooting of over 7,000 civilians." The German commandant's office posted an order directing all citizens to appear in the square. By this ruse the people were assembled. They were immediately seized, driven to the outskirts of the city and mowed down by machine guns. According to an eyewitness who succeeded in escaping, there were some 5,000 Jews among those exterminated.

Before they retreated from Rostov, the Germans were reported to have murdered 600 Jews in the city and hundreds more in the surrounding towns. On one of the main thoroughfares of Rostov 60 persons were shot. Molotov's note of January 12, 1942 emphasized that "even after they were driven from Rostov by Soviet troops on November 28, 1941, the German generals and officers publicly boasted that they would return for the specific purpose of taking a bloody revenge on Rostov civilians who had actively helped to oust them from the city."

Later they kept this promise.

Besides the Jews who died at the hands of the Germans in Rostov, thousands were sent behind the lines for forced labor. This form of abduction of peaceful citizens, which had been widely practised by the Germans during the period of their advance, now assumed an even more cruel aspect in places nearest the rear of the retreating German army. An order of the German High Command to the 37th Infantry Regiment dated December 2, 1941, stated in paragraph 7 that:

> "Necessary harshness in the execution of this order is unavoidable. From the moment the order for removal is made public to the population, strict vigilance must be exercised that no one shall leave the inhabited localities."

The abducted civilian population, including women and children, was forced while in transit to serve the retreating German units. They cleared roads, carried shells, brought food to pillboxes and trenches under fire and performed all other work ordered by their German supervisors. The pursuing Soviet troops found large numbers of Jewish corpses all along the line of the German retreat. Reports received in Moscow from guerrilla fighters also revealed

countless atrocities committed by the retreating German troops against the Jewish population.

The second Russian offensive, in November 1942, forced the Axis troops to retreat on the entire front. This retreat, just as the one of December 1941–March 1942, was accompanied by the mass execution of Jews in the towns evacuated by the Wehrmacht. When the Germans evacuated Kislovodsk, they were reported to have murdered 3000 Jews. About 1000 were machine-gunned near the slaughter house; the rest were killed near a glass factory in the outskirts of the town. On February 22nd, the Moscow radio broadcast a letter from the people of liberated Rostov, describing some of the crimes perpetrated by the Germans during their occupation of the city:

> "Over 20,000 civilians of Rostov were tortured to death, burned, buried alive or otherwise slaughtered by the Germans. Thousands of Jews were butchered. Trainloads of civilians were sent to slave labor in Germany."

According to Soviet estimates, 70,000 persons, among them a very high percentage of Jews, died of starvation and disease during the sixteen months of the first German occupation of Kharkov. Executions accounted for 14,000 more. In one day alone 250 persons were publicly hanged.

Alfred Halmut, a captured private of the 23rd German Tank Division, gave this testimony:

> "I myself saw how 13,000 Jews, old men, women and children, were herded together in the yard of the Kharkov tractor plant and were there mowed down by machine-gun and tommy-gun fire. When I asked why it was done, my officer said, 'A German soldier is not supposed to know the reason; the Fuehrer knows why'."

Appalling details of the massacres have been reported in the Soviet and neutral press. In Minsk, Jews were compelled to dig their own graves and were buried alive. In Vitebsk, more than 15,000 Jews were herded into a labor club, where they were kept without food behind barbed wire. German photographers were sent to take pictures of the Jews as they died. In Smolensk Jewish women were violated and murdered. According to the diary found

on the body of a dead German soldier, 715 Jews were shot in the White Russian town of Urechi on May 9th and another 40 on May 11, 1942. An entry in the diary read:

> "The young Jewish girls pleaded: 'Don't kill us, we want to live.' Many of them did not want to be shot but jumped into the pit in front of them and were buried alive."

"Twenty-five Jewish women were lashed to death by the Nazi police authorities in the village of Kharitonovsk, because, driven by hunger, they picked wild mushrooms without first securing permission," it was revealed in the Moscow press on the basis of reports brought by Russian guerrillas. In the village of Zaitsevo, guerrillas reported, the Nazis had killed all the Jews, burning forty of them alive. In other small villages in the Orlov district, Jews were also massacred, some were hanged, others shot or burned. "In Starobin 700 Jews were crowded into a slaughter-house which had been drenched with kerosene and were burned alive," according to *Pravda*.

VI. Pillage

Field Marshal von Reichenau told the invading German army that "no historic or artistic values in the East possess any importance." Thus the German army was openly invited to commit acts of cultural vandalism, and throughout occupied Soviet territories they destroyed everything from small club libraries, to priceless collections of manuscripts, books, bibliographic treasures, historical monuments and museums. They burned and looted hundreds of churches including irreplaceable monuments of church architecture. They destroyed all the monuments of Jewish culture; in Odessa it was the Jewish museum dedicated to the memory of Mendele Mocher Sforim; in Kiev and Pereyaslav, the museum and library named in honor of Sholem Aleichem; in Zamostye they burned the manuscripts of J. L. Perez.

German soldiers indiscriminately pillaged the population. Molotov's note of January 12, 1942, describes how German soldiers in Rostov "ransacked all shops, stripped passers-by in the streets of their clothing, footwear, watches and valuables, pillaged houses wholesale."

A correspondent at the front related that, when on August 13th, Smolensk fell to the Germans, and the entire population was ordered to assemble at a public place, the soldiers ransacked the empty houses.

This was in addition to the legal plundering which took the usual form of confiscation. Russian troops seized an order of the German commandant of the city of Staritza dated December 11, 1941. It called upon the population to turn over all property under penalty of being shot, enumerating the following articles: "cloth, underwear, bathrobes, furniture, clothing, boots, shoes, soap, iron pots, various instruments and all household and other materials."

Among the first to suffer from this organized policy of pillage were the Jews. The economic situation of those who remained alive very soon became desperate. Molotov stated in his note of April 27, 1942, that "in the Ukraine and in White Russia the entire commercial network has been practically liquidated."

The *Deutsche Ukraine Zeitung* of September 29, 1942, reported that "in order to solve the war economic tasks, 4,000 German merchants have arrived in the Ukraine, whose private initiative has greatly contributed to the success already achieved in decentralizing the former economy; these merchants are being helped by 40,000 to 50,000 local inhabitants."

It is needless to add that the Jews were not among the above mentioned thousands of "local inhabitants," and were thus completely ousted from commercial activity. In effect, Molotov's note stressed that these activities were very limited. For only once in a great while were articles of personal use, requisitioned from the local population, placed on the market. The few stores opened in Dniepropetrovsk, Kiev and Poltava, displayed signs *"For Germans Only."* In Kiev, purchasing time for Jews at the food stores was limited to certain hours.

There is little information concerning the "legal" restrictions imposed on the Jews in the conquered Soviet districts. As early as October, 1941, when Kube decreed compulsory education for children from 7 to 14, he ordered the reopening of all excepting the Jewish schools. In Kiev all Jews over six were forced to wear a blue and white armband, and a badge of the same design on their backs. They were forbidden to appear on the streets

between 5 P.M. and 7 A.M. In Minsk all Jewish children were barred from the schools. In Kiev all Jewish members of the staff of the Ukrainian Academy of Science were removed, and soon thereafter all Jewish students were barred from the Medical Institute. A decree of the Reich Commissar for the Ukraine, dated July 11, 1942, introduced the Nuremberg laws for the entire territory. Marriages between Jews and Ukrainians were forbidden and those which had taken place prior to the German invasion were annulled.

As for White Russia, "legal" confiscation was undertaken early. On October 13, 1941, a decree of the Reich Commissar regarding the disposition of Jewish property in Ostland provided for the wholesale confiscation of Jewish belongings including outstanding debts owed to Jews. It ordered the registration of all Jewish-owned property, including the assets of individuals or corporate bodies. It also applied to those who had come into the possession of Jewish property after confiscation, regardless of whether they were still in possession of it. Directives issued in connection with these decrees provided that any property acquired after June 20, 1941, was to be considered as an originally Jewish property unless proved otherwise. These decrees indicate the extent to which Jewish property had been looted by the local population after the retreat of the Soviet troops.

VII. Transnistria

The fate of the Jewish population in that part of the Southern Ukraine, with Odessa as center, which was taken over by the Rumanians, is as harrowing as anywhere in Axis-held Europe.

Odessa was occupied by the Axis troops on October 16, 1941. Its pre-war Jewish population of 175,000 was probably increased during the weeks preceding occupation by the influx of refugees from neighboring towns. On August 31st, six weeks before the surrender of the city, Soviet reports asserted that women and children were being evacuated, and later a statement was issued to the effect that "the entire population left Odessa prior to the city's occupation." The facts seem to contradict this statement. German newspapers received in Geneva on October 26, 1941, wrote that

"despite the occupation, Odessa's population is still offering serious resistance." It ascribed to the Jews a leading role in this last stand "directed from the largest synagogue in Odessa which has been converted into headquarters of the defiant Russians . . . All over Odessa Jews are still struggling with German-Rumanian forces."

The Axis command claimed that the Jews in Odessa acted as snipers and committed deeds of sabotage. The Germans asserted that after the Rumanians had entered the city a Jewish woman was caught attempting to blow up the market hall. The newspaper *Odesskaya Gazeta,* edited by Arkady Grinchenko and subsidized by the German-Rumanian occupational forces, offered rewards of 25 and 50 rubles to persons helping to trace "Jewish agents of the Soviet Government hidden in the city."

On October 27, 1941, the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Dagens Nyeter* cabled his paper that the Axis planned to establish a ghetto in the vicinity of the Jewish cemetery "in retaliation for Jewish sabotage;" that 12,000 Jews had already been sent to concentration camps, and that "thousands of Jews were being added daily to this number."

Jews were immediately set to demolishing sandbag barricades in the center of the city and destroying road blocks. All Odessa Jews were ordered to register. When 220 Rumanian soldiers were killed by a delayed action bomb, thousands of Jews, men, women and children were, on October 23rd herded into military barracks and machine-gunned. The barracks were then set on fire and the survivors burned alive. According to an eyewitness, S. Klebanov, who had succeeded in fleeing to the Soviet front, 25,000 Jews perished in the Odessa massacres. By the end of 1942 there was scarcely a Jew left in Odessa. The German *Donauzeitung* reported that of the population of 340,000 (before the war Odessa had 604,000 inhabitants), more than half were Russians, one-eighth were Ukrainians, one-eighth Rumanians, as well as 10,000 Germans, and many Greeks, Tartars and others. Jews were not even mentioned.

But Odessa was only the capital of the part of the Ukraine which was proclaimed the Rumanian province of "Transnistria" (the land beyond the Dniester). At the outbreak of the war there were about 300,000 Jews, including some 55,000 farmers, living

in this zone. No precise figures are available on the number successfully evacuated before the Axis armies enveloped the territory. However, it is known that the local Jewish population was swelled by some 185,000 Rumanian Jews who had been deported to Transnistria in the fall of 1941. The Rumanian Government converted this entire sector into a gigantic penal labor colony for "all Jews from the battle zones of the Transnitrian front, as well as those who have been transferred to certain areas of concentration for similar reasons." The Inspector of Police of Transnistria decided upon the locality to which Jews were to be sent. They were to be quartered in homes vacated by Russian and Jewish refugees. No Jew was allowed to leave his forced residence without the permission of the prefect. Any Jew found in a place other than the one assigned to him was to be treated as a spy and put to death.

By the middle of 1942, reports from Transnistria showed that death through starvation was taking a heavy toll among the interned Jews. The Rumanian command made no attempt to check the epidemics raging in Mohilev and in the Tiraspol section.

VIII. Organized Hatred

From the moment they crossed the frontiers of Russia, the Germans set in motion a gigantic propaganda machine for the purpose of inciting the Soviet population against the Jews. Through the radio, the films, the press, leaflets and other publications, the Russians and Ukrainians were systematically bombarded with pogrom propaganda. The Nazi-controlled Minsk Radio repeatedly appealed to the Cossacks to capture and kill the Jews in the Caucasus. Russian and Ukrainian versions of such notorious anti-Semitic films as *Jud Suess, Grenadierstrasse,* and *The Rothschilds,* were produced in Berlin for occupied territories. A "victory" film on the invasion of Soviet Russia, showing the torture of the Jews in captured cities, explained that the victims were guilty of Communist sabotage and were only getting what was coming to them.

By early summer of 1942, the propaganda department of Alfred Rosenberg's Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories was turning out 140 newspapers published in 9 languages in occupied Soviet districts. However, only 7 of these were printed in the

German language for the benefit of German troops and the local *Volksdeutsche*. Of the rest, 60 were published in Ukrainian, 18 in Russian, 21 in Lettish, 15 in Estonian, 11 in Lithuanian, 6 in White Russian, and one each in Polish and Tartar. At the same time, 50 more newspapers were added to this barrage of propaganda, according to the Berlin *Novoye Slovo*.

Nazi-inspired "ideological centers" spout forth a steady stream of anti-Jewish pamphlets and books. Two typical pamphlets entitled *The Jews and Bolshevism* and *Is This War a Patriotic War for the Peoples of Russia?* were published by Michael Oktan, quisling editor of the Nazi-controlled *Retch* in Orel. In January, 1942, it was reported that the son of the former liberal Czarist Minister Sviatopolk-Mirski, was touring occupied Soviet regions for the purpose of inciting the population against the Jews.

During the Christmas season of 1941, the Nazis in the Ukraine and White Russia perhaps for the first time posed as "avengers of Christianity." They displayed posters calling upon Christians to assist Germany in overthrowing the yoke of the Jews "who crucified Christ," and of the Jewish Bolsheviks "who desecrated churches," in this way "helping Hitler to rebuild in Russia all that the Jews had destroyed."

The Russians were told that the Reich had occupied their country "only with a view of liberating them from Jewish rulers." In the Leningrad area the population was deluged with leaflets calling upon them to "cease resistance to the German Army as only the Jews and the Bolsheviks want to continue the war."

From Germany to the Ukraine came some 7,000 young agricultural leaders (*Landwirtschaftsfuehrer*) to enlighten and instruct the local population. Among the duties of these leaders as defined by the *Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland* of August 30, 1942, were to:

> ". . . initiate a wide propaganda movement and to this end use every possible means. Most important of all, he must awaken the Ukrainian peasant to the Jewish peril. He must show the peasant that every misfortune that has befallen his country is the result of the work of Jewish commissars."

The newspaper urged the instructors to read a new pamphlet *Jews Behind the Words and Deeds of Stalin*. It was to be translated

and distributed among the peasants. They were to organize "Jewish meetings" each week so that "the peasants would understand without any doubt how great the Jewish menace is."

The Ukrainians were expected to act as Germany's lieutenants in the anti-Semitic campaign. *Der Stuermer,* in an article devoted to the Ukrainian people, not only included them in the "Nordic-Dinaric" racial type, but gave them particular credit for their anti-Semitic record. *Der Stuermer* enthusiastically recalled the slaughter of 400,000 Jews during the Chmelnicki upheaval in 1648 and the 70,000 Jews killed by Petliura's forces and other Ukrainian bands in 1918 and 1919. The article concluded with the "confident hope that the Ukrainians will again rise to the occasion and take vengeance on the Jews."

A violent anti-Jewish campaign is being carried on incessantly by all 60 Ukrainian papers published in the German occupied Soviet Ukraine. Propaganda material is for the most part supplied by Berlin, and often papers such as the *Ukrainske Slovo* reprint articles from *Der Stuermer.*

The Germans inaugurated 1942 with a broadcast urging the Ukrainians to avenge the death of Petliura, who had been killed in Paris in 1926 by a Jew named Schwarzbard. Simultaneously a German-sponsored conference of former officers and men who over two decades before had fought in Petliura's pogrom bands was convened in Warsaw. At the conference, a pledge was made to assist Nazi Germany to destroy Soviet rule and the Jews in the Ukraine. Hetman Skoropadsky, Petliura's rival in 1918, toured the Ukraine and White Russia to rouse the people against the Jews.

Ukrainian prisoners of war taken on the Russian front were segregated into separate camps, were treated better than other prisoners, and nursed on carefully prepared anti-Russian and anti-Jewish lectures. They were given a Jew-baiting course and those willing to work for the Germans were promised high positions in the "Nazi Ukraine." Large numbers of Berlin-trained Ukrainians swarmed into the occupied regions together with German troops and the Gestapo. They are entrusted with the formation of the local militia, and to their lot falls the task of arresting Jews on charges of assisting the Russians and their guerrilla fighters.

The Germans tried to make grist for their propaganda mill out

of the fact that many Jews were fighting with the guerrilla units operating in the German rear. During the winter campaign of 1941-1942 a Berlin broadcast complained of "Jewish guerrilla units" in the vicinity of Minsk who had attacked German soldiers. It went on to say that "Jewish units from Biro-Bidjan and the Crimea ignore the rules of civilized warfare and kill wounded German soldiers."

At first they also tried to make capital by pointing out the high percentage of Jews among the population evacuated from the occupied region. This propaganda failed, however, because large numbers of Jews could be seen fighting and working in the danger zones and actively participating in the guerrilla warfare. So German propaganda turned turtle and now concentrated its efforts on defaming guerrilla warfare as a "Jewish business." The *Soviet War News* published the following leaflet, written in bad Russian by the German punitive detachment in the region of M:

Order to Population

I know the Bolshevik bandit guerrillas headed by Commissar Jew G. operating in this region. Three days – come, plead guilty, otherwise will be shot as dogs.

Ober-Leutnant,
Ewald Spann.

A similar appeal was published a year later by the SS and Police Fuehrers in the areas of Volhynia, Podolia and Zhitomir. It called upon guerrilla fighters "who joined bands under the pressure of elements standing behind guerrilla detachments, namely Jews, to discontinue the useless murderous practice of hindering the peaceful work of the country's reconstruction."

This propaganda also met with little success, for in the eyes of the Russian people the guerrilla fighters are held in the highest esteem as national heroes. It was again necessary to change the line of propaganda. The Germans were not at a loss. This time, though still attributing to Jews an important role in the partisan bands of occupied countries, particularly in Serbia, the Ukraine and White Russia, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 1942, insinuated that they do not usually take part in the actual dangerous fighting, but are mainly the "strategists, political leaders, and or-

ganizers of these treacherous attacks against German military transports."

The Jewish civilian population in German-occupied areas has been made to pay a high price for all guerrilla activities. The German Command sent to the occupation authorities in White Russia the following instructions:

> "Any hostile conduct on the part of the population toward the German armed forces and their organizations is punishable by death. Whoever harbors Red Army men or guerrillas, is to be punished by death. If the guerrilla is not found, hostages are to be taken from the population. These hostages must be hanged if the culprits or their accomplices are not surrendered within 24 hours."

The German military forces have systematically attributed almost every act of sabotage to Jews, seizing and killing thousands of them for allegedly helping or harboring guerrilla fighters.

The Soviet authorities and the press have fought against the German attempts to implant racial hatred in the population. As early as October 1941, *Pravda* wrote:

> "Fascist agents are trying to spread every sort of lie and to create race conflicts by poisoning the air with the vilest radio inventions and by spreading leaflets giving faked documents and pictures."

When Nazi fliers dropped pogrom-inciting leaflets over Leningrad the Soviet command issued a statement declaring that the Leningrad population had turned away in disgust at the leaflets. At the same time it praised the achievements of Jews in the army and industry, and cited the names of Jewish heroes on the battlefield and in the war industries.

In an order-of-the-day to the Red Army, on its 24th anniversary, Stalin declared:

> "The Red Army is free of the feeling of racial hatred. It is free of such a degrading feeling because it has been brought up in the spirit of racial equality and respect for the rights of other people. Also one should not forget that in our country any manifestation of racial hatred is punished by law."

In March 1942, when the Russian Army stood at the gates of Kharkov, the Soviet authorities were said to have completed preparations for the arrest and punishment of those in the city who were responsible for the campaign of terror against the Jews during the months of German occupation. The Moscow radio in a broadcast to the German troops, in their own language, promised that they would be subjected to court martial by Soviet military courts for the atrocities they had committed in Kharkov and other parts of the occupied Ukraine. Over Kharkov, leaflets were dropped urging the people "to keep an eye on those responsible for the atrocities committed upon the population and to prevent their escape."

IX. Soviet Jews Fight Back

The Russo-German war broke the ring of isolation which had separated the Jews as well as the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. from the western world since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. For 24 years the Jews of Russia had had little contact with their brethren in Western Europe, the United States and Palestine. For almost a generation they had lost the thread of the cultural and political trends within the Jewish people. Divorced from their past and isolated from the present, they had begun to forget their heritage. But when the German armies poured across the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the isolation of Soviet Jewry came to a dramatic end. Less than two months after the German invasion a group of outstanding Soviet Jewish writers, actors, scientists and soldiers called upon the Jews throughout the world to fight the Third Reich as "the enemy of the Jewish people," reminding them that "the Hitlerites have put Jewish men and women to cruel deaths." This belated awakening of Soviet Jewry was greeted with sympathy by Jews throughout the world.

The present stress on Jewish solidarity in the face of Hitlerite aggression does not represent an isolated move in Soviet policy. It finds its parallel in Alexei Tolstoy's appeal, in August 1941, for All-Slav unity against Nazi Germany.

Despite the new policy, the attempts of various Jewish organizations abroad to establish direct contact with Soviet Jewry

have failed. In February 1943, it was announced that the Soviet Embassy in Washington had refused to allow even Jewish relief organizations to enter the Soviet Union.

The war has also brought change in the religious life of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The traditional anti-religious policy has been somewhat modified and the sufferings of war have sent millions into churches, mosques and synagogues. During the Jewish High Holidays of 1941, the synagogues of Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov were filled to capacity, not only with elderly people, but with fighting Jewish soldiers of the Red Army. During the feast of the 1942 Passover, large public *seders* were held in Russia for the first time since the October Revolution.

Together with the revival of religious feeling, the Soviet government has encouraged the evocation of national traditions and the ancient heroes of all its peoples. Such figures out of Russia's past as Alexander Nevski, Minin and Pozharski, have taken on renewed meaning in this war. Ancient Jewish heroes have also been resurrected. One such is Bar Kochba, champion of the Jewish people in their revolutionary war against Rome. The Jewish State Theatre of White Russia now playing in Southern Siberia opened its 1942 season with a play commemorating Bar Kochba's struggle against the Romans. The play is also being performed by the Kiev Jewish Theatre, now in Djambul and by the Biro-Bidjan State Theatre.

A broadcast over Radio Moscow in the Polish language on December 20, 1941, which was repeated five times in German the following day compared the successful Russian winter offensive to the miracle of the Maccabees. The broadcast taunted the German people with the reminder that the 134th German division of Nuremberg, birthplace of the Nazi racial laws, was wiped out during the week of Hanukkah when Jews celebrate the victory of the Macabbees over their ancient oppressors.

But Soviet Jews have not contented themselves with the heroes of their past. They have been fighting valorously for two years in the ranks of the Red Army. Early in 1942 the number of Jewish soldiers was estimated at 250,000; the mobilization of additional reserves probably raised this number to 400,000. During the first 15 months of fighting 5,163 Jews were decorated for bravery in

battle; Jews are also active among Soviet guerrilla detachments. Eleven Jewish guerrillas have won the order of Hero of the Soviet Union. The Soviet press is replete with accounts of heroic deeds by Jewish officers and soldiers. The Soviet Union, where so many divergent nationalities retain their identity, is the only allied power which does not hesitate to credit Jews as such for their military exploits.

Northern Europe

NORWAY

In Oslo stands a statue of the celebrated Norwegian poet, Henrik Wergeland. The monument was erected in his honor by the Jews of Norway, for it was largely through Wergeland's efforts that in 1851 the constitution was amended and Jews were allowed to settle in the country. In 1897 there were only 300 Jews in Norway. At the start of the first World War, including newcomers from Poland and the Baltic countries, the Jewish population still did not exceed 2,000 of Norway's 2,900,000 inhabitants.

Anti-Semitism was practically non-existent, until Hitler's advent to power bred a homespun Nazi movement called the *Nasjonal Samling* (National Union), and led by one Vidkun Quisling. In the Storting election of 1933 the National Union obtained only 2 percent of the votes. In local elections a year later it received more than 6 percent of the rural vote, but still could not muster 3 percent of the city ballots. By 1937, when Norwegians had become more familiar with the practical workings of Nazi rule in Germany, the *Nasjonal Samling* vote was down to a microscopic 0.15 percent and the party seemed to be extinct. But on April 9, 1940, while German troops were landing at Oslo and von Ribbentrop announced that the Reich was assuming protection of the country, Vidkun Quisling was hastily summoned to assume the German-made mantle of *Foerer* of Norway.

Persecution of the Jews commenced at once. Their radios were confiscated, they were forbidden to change their names to those of Norwegian origin, and a comprehensive anti-Jewish program was prepared. The Quislingites, however, had to face a difficult problem: 2,000 Jews were hardly a large enough target. Here the myth of "spiritual Jews," adopted by Quisling back in 1933, proved very useful. It brought within shooting range not only "racial" and half-Jews, but Freemasons, and the members of all other organizations whose outlook was incompatible with fascism. Speaking at the inauguration of the Institute for the Investigation

of the Jewish Problem in March 1941, Quisling said:

> "It is not the number of Jews which is of main importance for the Jewish problem in Norway. Above all, the destructive ideas of the Jews had a fatal influence on the inner development in our country, since the Jews had secured certain key positions and also found several very eager and willing Norwegian pupils. More than ten thousand Norwegians of great influence through Freemasonry became 'artificial Jews' (*Kunstjoeder*)."

It was hard to make people believe in the invisible Jewish power over Norway. Anti-Jewish measures, however, continued along the usual path. On May 18, 1941, all Jewish employees were dismissed from state and municipal institutions. Ten days later an order was issued prohibiting Jews from leaving the country. On the other hand, a threatened strike by the members of the National Theatre and the Symphony Orchestra in Oslo resulted in the withdrawal of an order dismissing Jewish members. At the same time, the Chief Rabbi of Oslo was informed that henceforth anti-Jewish legislation would be based on Nazi criteria. For the moment, Jews were to retain their citizenship, but no new applications would be accepted. An anti-Jewish Bureau was established in the Ministry of Propaganda.

The familiar Nazi technique of confiscation was soon put into practice. In November 1941, the police were ordered to register all Jewish-owned property. Later the Racial Department (*Rassenkontor*), headed by Fugelsand, completed the registration of all Jews, half-Jews and quarter-Jews, but the statistical results were not published. In January 1942, the *Rassenkontor* began to frame racial legislation. In February all Norwegian Jews were threatened with exile to a destination somewhere south of the equator. During the same month came the first strong attack on the persecution of the Jews. The Bishops of Norway issued a circular letter denouncing the anti-Jewish policy of the Quisling regime as contrary to the precepts of the Christian faith. Not only the Lutheran Church proper, but the Norwegian Free Church, the Methodist Mission Society, the Sunday School Society, the Christian Student Society, the Christian Doctors Society, the Deveons Society and the Salvation Army, all joined in opposition to the puppet gov-

ernment's policy. But the drive continued.

Beginning with March 1942, new identity cards and passports were stamped with the word "Jew." In an edict prohibiting Jews to enter the country, Quisling's fictitious figure of 10,000 Jews was officially accepted, with the statement that the decree was "necessitated by the fact that there are 10,000 Jews in Norway today as compared with 3,000 in 1930." Precisely one year later, the theory of "artificial Jew" served as the basis for the dissolution of 50 non-Jewish organizations on the charge that they were "infected with the Jewish spirit."

In June 1942, all Jewish-owned concerns were placed under commissars who were hand-picked from the ranks of the *Hird,* the Quisling Storm Troop organization. All Jews with Aryan-sounding surnames were ordered to change them. In the latter part of 1942, the position of the Jews rapidly deteriorated. The establishment of concentration camps inaugurated a period of increased economic pressure, terror, and deportation. On September 16, 1942, ten prominent Jews, including Chief Rabbi Samuel, were arrested by the Gestapo on charges of espionage. In Oslo and other cities many Jews were arrested and their homes and property confiscated.

The alleged killing by two Jews, William Sherman of Oslo and Herman Feldman of Trondjhem, of a frontier police officer on October 22, 1942, provided the excuse for intensified persecution of the Jews. The slaying took place in a train near the Skjeberg station, close to the Swedish border. On October 26, 1942, a Quisling-signed decree ordered the confiscation of all Jewish-owned property in Norway by the end of December. The following day, the party newspaper, *Fritt Folk,* in an editorial on the confiscation of Jewish-owned property, frankly admitted:

> "The murder of the Norwegian policeman committed by Jews may be considered as an outward occasion for the measure of confiscation now taken. But this measure should not be regarded as a revenge for murder. After the positively hostile attitude adopted by Jews towards the New Order in Norway, the Jewish power must be broken. The measure would have come irrespective of the act which made an immediate interference absolutely necessary."

Beginning with the last week of October and ending with the middle of November, more than 2,300 Jews, half-Jews and quarter-Jews over 15 years of age, and in Oslo 14-year-old boys as well, were arrested. A ghetto was established in Narvik for those condemned to forced labor in the Arctic. Two other camps, in Toensberg and Bredtwedt, were to serve as temporary stations for those awaiting deportation to Poland and other unknown destinations. Most of the internes in these two camps were women and children, dependents of the men who had already been deported. Accounts of the terrible conditions in the camps circulated throughout Norway. Internees suffered acutely from frostbite and malnutrition. Although the camps are financed out of confiscated Jewish funds, the inmates had to pay for their board. Practically every Jewish male was arrested. Even the Jewish and half-Jewish professors of Oslo University were interned. In cases when the police were unable to find the parents, the children were seized as hostages. Despite the fact that the Norwegian press was forbidden to mention the deportations, the news spread and demonstrations of protest took place. One of them was staged outside the camp in Toensberg.

On December 12th and 13th, *Fritt Folk* published the names of 310 Jews whose entire property had been confiscated. On December 26th the State Police closed the Nansen Office in Oslo, which had done a great deal to help Jewish refugees in Norway.

The church continued its fight, despite Quislingite attacks and threats. Prayers and pastoral letters glorifying the Jews were irately quoted by the pro-Nazi press. The church was warned that it would be considered and dealt with as an enemy of the state. Nevertheless, in a New Year's message for 1943, which was read from the pulpits throughout the country, the Provisional Church Council boldly declared that it would continue to fight Nazism to the end. The Council called upon congregations to "stand firm" and urged prayers for imprisoned clergymen and for persecuted Jews. In a protest addressed to Quisling, the Council wrote:

> "By keeping silent while this legalized injustice against Jews continues, we ourselves become a responsible accessory to its continuance."

On January 25, 1943, a decree provided that apartments owned by Jews were to be taken over by the liquidation board in charge of confiscated Jewish property. Ironically enough, it became known on that same day that two high Quisling officials had embezzled confiscated funds. Five state policemen were also arrested on charges of stealing articles from Jewish homes. In the beginning of February, six state police officers were arrested for embezzlement or theft from confiscated estates. One of them had 18,000 kronen on his person when apprehended.

The present situation of the tragic remnants of Norwegian Jewry is not known. There may be some highly qualified experts for whom exceptions were made because of their usefulness. Among them is Professor V. Goldschmidt, world famous expert on mineralogy and geology, who was arrested but was subsequently released.

By February 1943, according to Stockholm, only some 200 Jews remained in Norway as inmates of concentration camps. All were subjected to forced labor under terrible conditions. According to the *Dagens Nyheter* of February 26, 1943, there were only about 50 Jews left in the country, most of whom were married to Aryan Norwegians. On March 12, 1943, it was reported that Norwegians who refused to divorce Jewish spouses would be subjected to all discriminatory laws applied to Jews, including the confiscation of property. During the same month, 500 Jewish deportees reached Silesia. On April 18, 1943, the Nazis and the Quisling "authorities" turned down an offer by Prince Karl of Sweden, chairman of the Swedish Red Cross, to provide haven for the few remaining Norwegian Jewish families.

DENMARK

It is told that in the eighth century, the Chazars who had become converted to Judaism, left the shores of the Black Sea to trade with the warriors of lands that are today Denmark, Norway and Sweden. There were no Jews in the Denmark of the Middle Ages, the first record of their appearance dating to the reign of Christian IV (1588-1648). In a letter of November 25, 1622, King Christian invited the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam to settle in Glueckstadt, in the territory of Schleswig-Holstein, and promised them religious freedom. During the 18th century, German as well as Sephardic Jews began coming to Denmark.

On March 29, 1814, by Royal ordinance, Jews were granted full civil equality, and the Constitution of 1849 lifted from them all remaining restrictions. This Constitution incorporated civil and political rights for all persons regardless of religion into the fundamental laws of the land.

From 1860-1870 some 2,500 of Denmark's 6,000 Jews (excluding those in Schleswig, the northern part of which did not revert back to Denmark until after World War I) lived in Copenhagen. The turn of the century saw their number in the country dwindle to 3,476, but with immigration after World War I, their total again rose to some 6,000. By 1921 about 97 percent of the Jews lived in Copenhagen.

Danish Jewry, particularly before the first World War, was becoming rapidly assimilated. Between 1900 and 1905 intermarriages comprised nearly half (48.2%) of the total number of Jewish marriages. Jews were quite prominent in Danish public life, in science and in the arts. Trier was president of the Copenhagen municipality and later was Chairman of Parliament. In 1909 Zolle was appointed Prime Minister. There was a notable list of Jewish professors, especially in the Copenhagen medical school. Professors Salomonsson and Meyer were elected rectors of the University. Danish Jewry produced the great literary critic Georg Brandes (1842-1927).

With its long tradition of freedom and religious tolerance, Denmark proved to be virtually immune to the virus of Nazism. The Germans invaded Denmark on April 9, 1940, but concluded an agreement not to meddle in Denmark's internal affairs. Thus, despite invasion, formal authority still remained in the hands of the Social Democratic Government, and Nazi-inspired laws of discrimination were not introduced.

The Danish people, from palace to peasant, have systematically frustrated the anti-Jewish schemes of the Germans. After more than three years of occupation, the small pro-Nazi movement headed by Fritz Clausen has made little headway and the Germans have found it impossible to impose anti-Jewish legislation on Denmark.

Though the Nazi-subsidized *Faedrelandet* declared that "racial" certificates for use in commerce, travel and marriage would be issued, and in June 1941 a mass meeting of Clausen's followers heralded the appearance of a new anti-Semitic weekly, Danish authorities have kept Clausen's organization within bounds.

The actions, resolute pride and moral dignity of 71-year-old King Christian in the face of German occupation have become legendary. Repeatedly he has been able to check the Germans and by holding them to the agreement of April 1940 under the threat of abdication, he has staved off some of the worst features of Nazi occupation. Of King Christian it is related that one day, when the swastika was hoisted over the royal palace, he demanded its immediate removal. When the German officer refused, the King threatened to send a soldier to remove it. The officer retorted that the soldier would be shot. "I am the soldier," said King Christian, and the German flag came down.

The people, the church and the press have followed their ruler, and the Germans have made little headway in their efforts to foist anti-Jewish propaganda to the Danes. The Skydebjerg-Aavup Church Gazette, comparing the present anti-Jewish drive to that of medieval times, wrote:

> "Our Danish minds will not let themselves become infected by this disease. . . . Anti-Jewish legislation is tantamount to lawlessness, and if we forsake justice, then we will be submitted to a degradation worse than war and suppression."

On September 3, 1942, the Senate of the University of Copenhagen defied the Germans by nominating for the post of rector, Professor Niels Bohr, half-Jewish physicist and Nobel Prize winner. In that same month, in the town of Gjerlev, Danish youths thumbed their noses at the Germans by inviting Jewish students to the local student festival. Blue and white caps were worn for the ceremony and the students sang *Hatikvah,* the Jewish anthem, to honor the Jewish national colors.

Early in October 1942 the Danish Government rejected new German demands for anti-Jewish legislation. King Christian's gesture was typical. When he learned that anti-Jewish measures were threatened, he sent word to the Chief Rabbi that he would attend the Copenhagen synagogue. It was the time of the Jewish High Holidays. The king arrived with his escort, in full dress uniform, and sat through the long services. The Germans could but grind their teeth.

It was reported that on December 18, 1942, Denmark's entire Jewish population, then more than 6,000 persons, requested King Christian to intern them in a Danish concentration camp to prevent possible deportation by the German military forces. King Christian refused, on the ground that the action would be incompatible with Denmark's tradition of religious freedom.

The success of the Danish struggle against German anti-Semitism was evidenced by an article entitled *The Jewish Question,* which appeared in the *Faedrelandet* of December 9, 1942. In the past a staunch advocate of the Nuremberg laws for Denmark, the newspaper now hemmed and hawed, and concluded that extreme measures were unwise because the Jews would be looked upon as martyrs.

On January 3, 1943, the *Faedrelandet,* commenting bitterly on the "pro-Jewish attitude of the Danish church," complained that "no other organizations fight with the same fanaticism for the liberty and peace of Jews."

A leading Danish theologian, Dr. Eduard O. Geisman of Copenhagen University, said on the occasion of the rousing Nazi defeat in the March 1943 elections:

> "We condemn the tyrant who rules by blood and iron. Such tyrants will themselves perish by blood and iron. Only he who has God at heart is fit to rule."

The elections showed how little progress the Germans had made. About 95 percent of the population voted anti-Nazi; the Social Democrats elected 66 deputies, as compared to only three seats for the Nazi Party; and, despite German occupation, three Jews were elected to parliament.

FINLAND

A Russian imperial decree of March 29, 1858 granted to Jews, who were veteran Russian soldiers and sailors as well as their widows and descendants, the right of permanent residence in Finland. At the time there was already a small Jewish population in the country, despite the fact that a law of 1782, dating from Swedish rule, had prohibited permanent residence for Jews. In 1894 the Finnish Diet petitioned the Emperor to confirm a law granting to native and domiciled Jews the right of citizenship. By 1895 there were about 1,000 Jews in Finland, most of whom were descendants of the soldiers of Czar Nicholas I.

On December 22, 1917 the parliament of independent Finland voted unanimously to annul all restrictions against Jews. Since then, nearly all the Jews residing in Finland have been Finnish citizens. In 1918 a Jewish high school was established in Helsinki and a journal in Swedish, *Judisk Kronika,* appeared.

By 1930, of a total population of about 3,500,000, only 1,765 were Jews, and their number had not reached 2,000 when the Soviet-Finnish War began in 1939.

During the first decades of the twentieth century a Jewish intelligentsia began to emerge. Jews who lived in Helsinki adapted themselves more closely to the Swedish environment and language, while those in Viborg (Viipuri) affiliated themselves with Finnish culture. About 97 percent of the Jews in Finland were occupied in industry and commerce.

Finnish Jews proved their loyalty to their country. On January 25, 1940, when an appeal to Jews in the United States for aid to fighting Finland was published, the first signature was that of Santari Jacobsson, the Jewish mayor of Laodicala. It read:

> "Finland has deserved it of us that we come to her aid in the hour of need. The Finnish Republic has, from the first, accorded to Jews full civil and political rights. Several of its government spokesmen have before now expressed their sym-

pathy with the upbuilding of a Jewish Palestine. The splendid stand on this question taken by the Finnish Foreign Minister Procope at the League of Nations meeting in 1929 is well known."

Many Jews were killed or wounded in action during the Russo-Finnish War. Some 280 German-Jewish refugees enlisted in the Finnish army. On April 8, 1940, it was reported that all Jews living in the area ceded to Russia, including about 300 in Viipuri, chose to leave and suffer the loss of their property rather than give up their Finnish citizenship.

In June 1941, Finland entered the war as an ally of Germany. Shortly afterwards, obviously under German pressure, some measures were taken against the Jews. According to a Swedish report of July 7, 1941, the Finnish Ministry of War ordered all Jewish officers and soldiers to be placed on the inactive list. Later it was reported that the government, upon the insistence of the German military command, had secretly ordered Viipuri authorities to bar Jews from returning to areas retaken from Russia.

Nevertheless, German pressure and propaganda via the Finnish pro-Nazi press did not have great influence on the bulk of the Finnish people. In Helsinki, on May 1, 1942, Finnish Socialists held protest meetings against local attempts to introduce anti-Jewish legislation. In July 1942, when three pro-Nazi members of the Helsinki Municipal Council proposed that Jewish shopkeepers be forced to display signs indicating that their stores were Jewish-owned, the proposal was immediately rejected by the rest of the Council. That same month a pro-Nazi newspaper was still vainly clamoring for racial legislation similar to that of Germany.

On December 5, 1942 Stockholm reported that the Finnish Minister of Social Affairs, Karl August Fagerholm, had resigned his post. Only two weeks before he had proclaimed Finland's devotion to the ideals of democracy. And so when the cabinet decided to turn over to the Gestapo foreign Jews who were being held in the concentration camps of Hogland Island in the Gulf of Finland, Fagerholm resigned in protest. The Finnish people stood behind him. A storm of indignation arose in the Finnish and Swedo-Finnish press. The Ministry of Interior was condemned

for having surrendered to German pressure the right of asylum which Finland had always honored.

On December 19, 1942, the following assurance was given by the Finnish charge d'affaires in the United States to Dr. Simon Federbush, former Chief Rabbi of Helsinki:

> "No change in the status of the Jews has taken place nor been contemplated since the adoption of the present Constitution in 1919."

The proposed deportation of some 50 Jews by the Finnish police, acting under the advice of the Gestapo, caused a split in the Finnish Cabinet at the end of 1942. Although the majority was for the expulsion of the Jews, Field Marshal Mannerheim vetoed the idea. As a result, no new deportations from Finland have taken place.

Public opinion has remained opposed to any new anti-Jewish measures. On December 12, 1942, the newspaper *Vasabladet* wrote sarcastically:

> "If our situation is so bad, even though we have been able to resist Russia and maintain our position, that we must be summoned by the New Europe to fight against these Jews, of whom many have fallen for the country in the struggle against the hereditary enemy, there must be some deficiency in our self-reliance, which alone can sustain a nation fighting for its very existence. . . . We ought instead to keep the banners of humanity flying."

Western Europe

HOLLAND

I. Heritage

When on May 10, 1940 the Germans invaded Holland, they set about the destruction of a Jewish community that had, from its birth in the fourteenth century, enjoyed complete freedom. It was in Holland that the tortured Jews of Spain and Portugal had been able to find true haven and in their flowering gave birth to Baruch Spinoza, Uriel d'Acosta, and Menasse ben Israel. As far back as 1582, in accordance with the Union of Utrecht, William of Orange had guaranteed religious liberty to all citizens, a pledge which today has not been forgotten by the gallant Dutch people who, under the penalty of severe punishment, do all in their power to combat the persecution of the Jews.

The first German and Polish Jews came to Holland in the middle of the seventeenth century, by the end of which they had built large Jewish communities in Amsterdam, the Hague, Middleburg and Rotterdam. In 1796, inspired by the French Revolution, the National Convention announced that:

> "No Jews of the Batavian Republic shall ever be denied the rights and privileges of citizenship."

In 1810 there were 21,454 Jews in Amsterdam alone. In 1930, the Jewish populaton of the country was 111,917 (1.4%), with 65,523 in Amsterdam constituting over 8 percent of the city's total population. During the years between 1933-1940 some 25,000 to 30,000 refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia swelled these figures. In 1930, about 40% of the Jews were employed in industry, 45% in commerce and 15% in miscellaneous occupations.

In modern Holland the Jews occupied an important place in political, economic and cultural life. Complete equality of political rights brought a number of Jews to parliament and important

public office. To cite but one prominent example, Tobias M. C. Asser, the outstanding jurist, was a member of the Dutch Council of State (the highest administrative body of the nation) and Dutch delegate to the Peace Conference. In the economic sphere, they held a foremost position in the diamond industry, where some 80% of the employers and a majority of the workers were Jewish. Jews were also prominent in the cattle and tobacco trade. Jewish participation in building up Dutch finance and banking was marked ever since the 17th century. The banking firm of Lippman, Rosenthal & Co. (later Aryanized by the Germans) was one of the most important in Holland. In the cultural field, there were many prominent Jewish figures to mention only the jurists (Jacques Oppenheim, Edward M. Meyers), writers (Herman Heyermans, Israel Querido), artists (Isaac Israels), actors (Esther de Baer van Rijh), and musicians. In Amsterdam there were two great Jewish libraries, *Bibliotheka Rosenthaliana* and the *Rivrara de Montesinos,* while the Society for Advancement of Jewish Studies made significant contributions to Jewish scholarship.

II. The German Order

Only a small number of Jews succeeded, on the eve of the Nazi invasion, in escaping to England and France. Those who remained behind were granted respite for a few short weeks. The Germans were then in a cajoling mood and carefully avoided stepping on Dutch toes. Nor did they choose to provoke the resentment of the Hollanders by the usual anti-Jewish campaign. Nevertheless, they failed miserably in their efforts to win over the people who have, from the very first day, conducted a strong and insistent underground fight against the German aggressor.

There were two negligible groups of home-grown Nazis in Holland ready to spread the plush carpet for Hitler on his arrival: the NSB (National Socialist Movement) headed by Alfred Mussert, and another faction led by Molenbroek and Nijsse, which rallied around the anti-Semitic weekly, *De Misthoorn.* The Germans had occasion to be dissatisfied with Mussert and in their *"Mitteilungen ueber die Judenfrage"* of September 1, 1939 accused him of being inclined to compromises. On the other hand,

the *De Misthoorn* clique went all out and demanded, "the regulation of the Jewish problem by law, according to which Jews would be forbidden to occupy such positions where they could exercise any influence upon the course of events in economic, social, political or cultural life. They should be considered foreigners and treated as such. There certainly are Dutch Jews but there are no Jewish Dutchmen." Furthermore they demanded legislation which would forbid Hollanders to marry Jews.

But public opinion expressed itself very differently. In December 1939, the University of Amsterdam launched a widespread protest against the persecution of Jews in Germany. It was perhaps the last open demonstration against Nazism in Holland. After invasion it was the kow-towing Dutch quislings who could speak openly, and in a broadcast a Dutch Nazi heralded his new freedom:

> "In Holland it was against the law to insult any definite group of the population. This law made the fight for the liberation of the Teutonic man almost impossible. All the obstacles we found in our path when we were marching towards the national way of living were of Jewish origin. It is the task of the SS to solve the Jewish question. That this task is being accomplished successfully is proved by the latest developments."

As the Dutch people continued to feel nothing but hatred and contempt for the invaders, and showed no signs that they would ever play ball with Hitler, the Germans soon fell into their usual pattern. For the elimination of Jews from Dutch life, they introduced three separate definitions of Jew. For purposes of registration of property a Jew was defined as such if descended from three Jewish grandparents, or when descended from two Jewish grandparents, if said person professed the Jewish faith or was married to a Jew as of May 9, 1940. In the decree on education a Jew was so defined if he had two Jewish grandparents, or if he belonged to the Jewish religion. Both these definitions combined "racial" as well as religious criteria. On the other hand, the definition for purposes of personal registration was based purely on so-called "racial" grounds and embraced as Jewish or partly Jewish all those having but one Jewish grandparent. The registration of

these was ordered early in 1941. Identification cards of "full" Jews were stamped with the letter *J*. The cards of those designated as partly Jewish, or descended from two Jewish grandparents, if they did not belong to the Jewish community and were not married to a person of Jewish faith, were stamped *B I* (B for bastard) or *BII* if descended from only one Jewish grandparent. Apparently the Dutch people showed more than proper indignation at such terminology, for in less than three weeks the classifications were changed to *G I* and *G II* (G for *Gemengde* or persons with mixed blood).

Within a few months, Jews were subjected to an 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew, traveling was rigidly restricted, and they were barred from the use of telephones and radios. They were also ordered to wear the Star of David on all their clothing. The German controlled radio commented:

> "As God has created barriers among races and peoples, so man has no right to tresspass these barriers."

If the Germans had hoped to stigmatize the Jew by the emblem of David, they succeeded instead in making of the six-pointed star a symbol of common resistance to German oppression. Gentile Dutchmen doffed their hats to Jews, and gave up their seats to them in busses and trolleys. Many non-Jews appeared on the streets wearing the Star of David on their coats, with the word "Dutchman" written across the emblem in large letters. Netherland youths paraded the streets of various cities wearing the Star of David. The futile rage of the Nazis vented itself in an order that those guilty be subjected, for a time, to all regulations in force against Jews.

The anti-Jewish regulations soon reached full swing. Jews were forbidden to wear medals and other military decorations. They were barred from the main streets of The Hague, from markets, libraries, museums, entertainment centers; in public parks they were forced to sit on special benches marked "not forbidden." They could no longer visit offices or barber shops run by Gentiles, or call on their non-Jewish friends. Shopping hours were restricted to from 3 to 5 p. m. or later, by which time stocks would be depleted. Hotels, boarding houses and boulevards in summer

resorts were closed to Jews. Aryans were not permitted to accept or continue employment in Jewish households and welfare workers were not allowed to call on needy Jewish families. Mixed marriages were forbidden. And the death penalty was introduced for Jews who were discovered smuggling letters out of the country.

Again the Hollanders showed their mettle. The Dutch publication, *De Storm,* admitted that anti-Semitic measures had been all but stultified by the population. It complained that in the resorts, non-Jews moved into the hotels and boarding houses and turned their homes over to Jews; that Hollanders shopped for Jews during the prohibited hours and helped them "in a dozen other ways;" that shopkeepers and non-Jewish customers cooperated to make certain that merchandise was left for Jewish buyers. Furthermore, the Dutch boycotted movies, theatres and cafes to which Jews were not admitted.

In the cultural sphere, during the early months of German occupation, Jews were barred from teaching and other jobs in public and private educational institutions, with the exception of those attended exclusively by Jewish students. When the segregation of Jewish school children got under way, some time elapsed before the establishment of "ghetto" schools. During this period, Dutch teachers organized secret classes for Jewish pupils. In the Hilversum Classical High School, non-Jewish students sent letters of sympathy to their Jewish classmates who had been barred from school. Naturally the teacher who had suggested this form of protest was dismissed, and even the children who had taken part were expelled from school for a whole year. In the village of Blaricum, a German order barred Jewish children from attending the annual high school festival. Not a single Dutch child showed up at the festivities.

In an open letter the principal of one school declared:

> "I cannot suppress the thought that by applying the racial test as demanded, I participate in un-Christian and heretical acts against the Jews, thus marking my first steps on the path that leads to disaster. Before it is too late: resistance to these anti-Jewish regulations is therefore necessary."

Jewish schools were established by many municipalities under the auspices of the Department of Education and the Amsterdam

Central Committee for Jewish education. Jewish teachers dismissed by the state were given priority in appointment. The Hague had three Jewish preparatory schools, one lyceum and a domestic science school for girls, and Amsterdam had a Jewish school for applied arts. According to German decree, Jews had to bear the cost of their schools. Thus, when the Amsterdam City Council allocated 282,000 guilders for Jewish schools for the first half of 1942, the Jewish Council was ordered to refund that sum. Again the Dutch braved the wrath of the Germans, and the anti-Semitic weekly, *De Misthoorn,* raged at the Burgomaster of Amsterdam for having "succeeded in getting a subsidy of 145,000 guilders for a Jewish school for applied arts."

The ousting of Jewish professors and students from universities brought continued and fearless protests from Dutch intellectuals. When the internationally noted lawyer, Professor Edward Moritz Meyers, was dismissed from Leyden University, Professor Rudolf Cleveringa, his pupil and colleague, declared publicly:

"However I seek to qualify this act, I know I cannot adequately express the sense of pain and bitterness which I and my colleagues together feel. . . . Indeed, if I wished to express our common feeling, I could not do better than stop here and now, leaving the terrifying silence to speak for us all. But I do not wish to guide your thoughts toward those who ordered this dismissal. Their action qualifies itself. . . . We have hoped to be spared this injustice. The Netherlands constitution knows no distinction of race or creed and, according to international law, is obliged to respect this principle. Now, however, we cannot but bow before superior force. Meanwhile we shall bide our time in confidence and hope. The figure of Meyers will abide in our thoughts, for we cannot cease to believe that his place is in our midst and that, if Fate will, he shall return."

The following day Cleveringa was sent to a German concentration camp, but the students revolted and the University of Leyden had to be closed. Shortly thereafter, Benjamin M. Telders of the University's law faculty held a speech in defense of Cleveringa and promptly shared his fate. Another Leyden scholar, Hendrik Kremer, professor of theology, could not be prevented from speaking his mind; for officially condemning the persecution

of Jews, he suffered the same fate as his colleagues.

When the Jews were barred from libraries and a "Jews forbidden" sign appeared on a Catholic library in a small town, the church authorities had the sign removed. The library's annual municipal subsidy was thereupon cancelled.

The Germans established the Netherlands *Kulturkammer* which comprised all artists' guilds. Jews or persons married to Jews were barred from membership in such guilds. As a result, nineteen Jewish artists' agencies were deprived of their licenses and Jews were prohibited from taking part in any performances. On one occasion, when the conductor of a famous symphonic orchestra fell ill, and a Jewish conductor, Van den Berg, was chosen to replace him, the tremendous ovation tendered him was demonstrative of the people's feeling.

The Germans also went to work censoring the Bible. A new translation deleted all references of "a purely Jewish character." It is not known specifically which parts were left. In the same spirit, the study of Hebrew, heretofore obligatory in junior theological colleges, was prohibited. The streets which were named after such great Dutch Jews as d'Acosta, Capallose, Bless, Spinoza, Tobias Asser, Joseph Israels, received new designations.

A broad decree in October 1941 placed all activities concerned with the earning of a livelihood under direct German authority. At the same time it invalidated labor contracts with Jews and limited their claims for severance pay. At a later date, when regulations were issued concerning compensation to workers of establishments which were shut down, it was provided that Jews were to receive none. Serving as a basis for the complete elimination of Jews from certain occupations, the decree of October 1941 restricted the practice of Jewish doctors, dentists, chemists, pharmacists and lawyers to Jewish clients only. Non-Jewish professionals reacted immediately, doctors and lawyers voluntarily passing on the fees received from their newly acquired patients and clients to their Jewish colleagues. Jews were, of course, excluded from public office. They were also barred from the following occupations: photographer, barber, guide, physical training instructor, marriagebroker, pawnbroker, auctioneer, employment agent, auditor, business agent. They were ousted from Aryan firms. Dutch

concerns which were forced to discharge their Jewish employees, sent their customers circular letters saying:

> "We regret to announce that Mr. so and so, through circumstances beyond his and our will, shall no longer be in our midst after next Friday."

A fair sample of the tortured logic employed to cause suffering to Jews may be seen from the following, which appeared in the Swiss press early in 1942:

> "The Hilversum Burgomaster ordered that Jewish butchers shall no longer receive meat. As a result, those formerly buying meat at Jewish butchers will have to go to other shops. This will produce difficulties for the latter which will also be the case when such regulations will be enforced upon other Jewish shops. Therefore, Jews may shop ony between 5 and 6 P.M."

The Dutch interpreted this order in their own way. A few weeks later, a Nazi weekly published a letter which bemoaned the fact that Jewish butchers whose shops had been closed were hired by Gentile butchers and that the latter had found their business greatly increased through the addition of the Jewish meat dealers' former customers. "The Star of David still seems good publicity," the letter concluded. Nevertheless, Jews were barred from public markets, auctions, the produce exchanges and slaughter houses. They were ousted from the cattle trade in which, particularly in the province of Overijssel, they had been engaged for generations, as well as from the steel, diamond and clothing industries.

It sometimes happened that Dutch shrewdness got the better of German decrees and goaded *De Misthoorn* into impotent rage. For instance, there is the story of the Dutch Nazi Storm Troopers who dutifully sought to drive Jewish fish dealers from a leading market in Amsterdam. Despite all prohibitions, Jews continued to trade there with the connivance of the local authorities. The Storm Troopers, losing patience, forcibly removed the Jews. But apparently under the insistent pressure of the population, the Mayor of Amsterdam, who was a Dutch Nazi, announced the next day that Jews were to be re-admitted. Said *De Misthoorn*:

"Thus, the existing evil remained, the Jews were protected by a party member and the Storm Troopers were made ridiculous."

The Germans continued the systematic elimination of Jews from Dutch economic life. Jewish members of the stock exchange at first were only forbidden to appear there, but soon after they were deprived of their membership. All this was only a prelude to the actual confiscation, by all sorts of devious means, of Jewish property in Holland. Funds of Jewish institutions were seized first, long before the confiscation of other Jewish property. Seized assets were taken over by H. W. Muller-Lehning, a member of Mussert's staff. Registration was ordered of all enterprises whose owners were Jewish, or where a Jew was a member of the administration or board, or in which Jews had decisive influence (more than one-fourth of the capital or one-half of the votes), as well as enterprises which were under "Jewish influence." Thenceforth all transactions affecting such concerns were subject to German control. German occupational forces were to appoint trustees with the right to conduct all business activities including the selling of the enterprise. The way for Aryanization was paved. On June 9, 1942, The *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote quite openly:

"Of the 21,000 Jewish enterprises 10,000 must disappear. Of the remaining 11,000, 8,000 Jewish enterprises voluntarily undertook Aryanization and the remaining 3,000 will be transferred by the authorities."

The newspaper placed the value of Jewish concerns Aryanized by the Germans at 150,000,000 guilders (or about $81,000,000). As the Netherlands took little part in this Aryanization, the small group of Dutch Nazis were confronted with a dilemma. Their weekly, *De Waag*, upset by the fact that Dutch financial institutions were keeping aloof from these transactions, wondered "whether it is desirable to leave these highly important Netherlands assets exclusively in German hands." Desirable or not, the weekly, *Die Niederlande*, quoted by the *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung* of March 21, 1943, had this to say:

"At present a considerable part of Dutch industry and trade is in the hands of German businessmen and it is clearly shown

that a definite and important structural change has taken place during the last two years."

At the same time the German Chamber of Commerce issued a report showing that all Jewish clothing enterprises had been taken over by Germans.

Jewish farmers were dealt with even more drastically. The same decree which provided for the registration of property ordered the sale of all Jewish-owned farmland. The Germans set the price, the buyer, and the mode of payment. Specifically, they could order a delay in payment even though they had set the price. This resulted in virtual robbery. The contracts of Jewish leaseholders or usufructuaries were annulled, and it was forbidden to sell livestock or equipment belonging to the property. Jews were ordered to register all their real estate (other than farmland) and mortgages. The Netherland Land Registry Office was empowered to take over the administration of all such Jewish property with the right of sale. Any purchase, sale, or lease of Jewish-owned real estate required German authorization. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* valued the real estate "taken over" from the Jews at 200,000,000 guilders (or some $108,000,000).

German real estate agents offered Jewish houses for sale without the knowledge of the owners. When a buyer was found, he was directed to a special office set up by the Germans, where an order was issued to the Jewish owner to sell his property at a fixed price. From this price the self-appointed "agent" deducted his fee and the rest had to be deposited with the banking house designated as the "depository" for Jewish capital. If the Jewish owner desired to continue residing in his house, he was forced to pay rent. This was a typical form of so-called "voluntary Aryanization."

The Aryanized banking firm of Lippman, Rosenthal & Co. in Amsterdam was made a central depository for all Jewish capital. At first, Jews were ordered to deposit with that firm all their cash and checks, with the exception of 1,000 guilders per depositor. Later the maximum which could be withheld was placed at 250 guilders. After a few months all Jewish assets and property, including rented safes deposited with Lippman, Rosenthal & Co., "legally" passed into the bank's hands. *The total value of Jewish-*

owned real estate, enterprises, and capital confiscated by the Germans were set by the Frankfurter Zeitung *at half a billion guilders.* That figure does not take into consideration the fact that a maximum salary income of 250 guilders a month per entire family, regardless of how many members were employed, was fixed for Jews. All sums in excess of this amount were to be deposited by the employer with the central bank in Amsterdam, as well as all collections, objects of art, precious metals and precious and semi-precious stones. Jews were permitted to keep only teeth fillings of precious metals, wedding rings, watches in personal use, and four pieces of table silver per person. Bicycles, including any spare parts, were confiscated, and the registration of any Jewish-owned horses or carriages was ordered. The capital of German-Jewish refugees was frozen and any property belonging to them which was still in Germany could be disposed of only through the authorization of the German Foreign Exchange Department.

The insecurity of Jewish life in Holland was given sardonic proof in the decree which ordered the surrender of all insurance policies. As everywhere in Nazi-dominated Europe, the Jewish life span was running out and Aryan insurance companies had to be protected.

The first attempt of Dutch Nazis to stage a pogrom in the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam brought masses of longshoremen to the rescue and the quislings were put to flight. In the Hague, when they attacked a synagogue and set about destroying scrolls and prayerbooks, Jews and non-Jews alike rushed into the fight and forced them to retreat. The Germans found it necessary to take matters into their own hands. Mass arrests of Jews started. As actual or potential "enemies of the German Reich," they were taken at night from their homes by agents of the Gestapo. Accused of underground activities, of listening to foreign broadcasts, of securing food without their ration cards, or simply as hostages, they were arrested and executed. In the summer of 1941 Jewish youths began to disappear from Holland; within a short time their number reached some 1,200. It became known that they had been sent to the concentration camp of Manthausen in Upper Austria where they were forced to work in sulphur mines without protection against the deadly fumes. According to an official state-

ment of the Dutch government-in-exile, 740 of these young men died during the first four months of labor. At first, obituary notices appeared in the Dutch press; soon, however, such announcements were prohibited. Parents were called to Gestapo headquarters to receive news. Appointments were deliberately made days in advance so as to keep them in suspense. Usually their children had been dead for weeks. The ashes could be obtained upon remittance of 75 guilders.

Other Dutch Jews were sent to the ill-famed German concentration camp of Buchenwald to be used for the most degrading tasks. But even there Dutch sympathy lights the darkness. A report smuggled out to the Netherlands government-in-exile includes the following: When the usual command: *"All Jews one step forward"* was given to a group of new arrivals, the entire line, Dutch Christians and Jews alike, stepped forward. This scene was repeated three mornings in succession. The precise number of Jews arrested and sent to concentration camps is not known, but well over 2,000 (not including 1,000 children reportedly seized as hostages) would be a conservative estimate.

A much larger number was subjected to forced labor. As a preliminary step, Dutch Jews between the ages of 18 and 45 were forbidden to emigrate from the country. They were then set to work in coastal fortifications. Others were concentrated in the forced labor camp at Westerbork, and many were sent to Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne and Munich where they were herded into factories or forced to clear away wreckage left by air raids. They had to labor under inhuman conditions, segregated from other workers, and forbidden to communicate with their families. They had to take the little food obtainable without using eating utensils. Supplementary rations for heavy workers were rescinded after a month. On the island of Ameland, north of Groningen province, a penitentiary was established for Jews who tried to escape slave labor. Dutch physicians often tried to shield Jews from forced labor by furnishing them with certificates of disability. Dr. N. H. van Muyden was denounced by *De Misthoorn* as a "saboteur" because he furnished such certificates to a number of Jews between the ages of 40 and 50.

The general policy was to deport the able-bodied younger

Jews to the East, while those over 40 were used for forced labor in Holland and Germany. In the Summer of 1942, Deputy Reich Commissar Schmidt, in answer to a petition of Protestant and Catholic churches for the better treatment of the Jews in Holland, replied:

> "The Jews cannot stay in Holland and within a short time one of their strongest bastions will have been cleared away. They will return to the place they came from, just as poor as when they left. . . . Those sympathizing with them will be treated the same way."

At the same time the Dutch Storm Troop paper, *De Storm*, announced that *"henceforth transports will move east at such speed that not a single Jew will be in Holland by June 1, 1943."*

III. Deportation

Into Amsterdam were crowded most of Holland's Jews. The entire Jewish population of Amsterdam, as well as those streaming in from the provinces for future deportation, were packed into the three ghettos established for this purpose. Large signs were placed at the entrance to the ghettos, temporarily marking off the places inhabited by those doomed to deportation to the East.

Mass deportations commenced on July 23, 1942. The official goal was set at 17,000 persons a month, with the deportations to be completed by the end of May 1943. Thus Dutch Jewry was thrown into a constant state of alarm. The Jewish Council had to urge all to be ready for deportation "at any moment" with "the knapsack or suitcase packed."

The Germans were less than a month late in their announced schedule. The first five months of 1943 saw them go about their task with great energy. On February 12, 1943, Herr Rauter, Chief of the German Security Police in The Hague, ordered all Jews of the coastal area, including The Hague, removed to Amsterdam by February 16th. An order of March 29, 1943, forbade the Jews of eight Dutch provinces to remain there and ordered them to the camp of Vught.

A month later, "to combat growing sabotage," the Germans

ordered all Jews of the remaining provinces, with the exception of those in Amsterdam or married to Gentiles, to be interned in concentration camps known to be at Westerbork, Vught, Barneveld, Doetichem. At that stage the *Bruesseler Zeitung* declared:

> "The solution of the Jewish question in Holland is now no more than a problem of transport."

Of the remnants of Dutch Jewry, a part were enclosed in the ghettos of Amsterdam and the rest locked up in various concentration camps. The condemned of Amsterdam were asked to help the condemned of the camps by sending them parcels. These were forwarded by the Jewish Council, which repeatedly warned the senders not to include any letters or matches in the packages. Those shipped to camps were warned to look after themselves and to keep with them at all times one blanket and a bread bag in view of the possibility that their other luggage would not arrive in time. They were also warned not to sell their furniture or leave it with Christian neighbors. Instead, they were to ask the police to lock up their homes, undoubtedly to make certain that the Germans obtained the spoils in good order.

On May 14, 1943, the deportation order was extended to the Jews of Amsterdam as well.

Simultaneously, the Germans removed all Jewish patients from hospitals, including the blind and mental cases. Particularly horrible was the case of the Jewish insane asylum at Apeldoorn, from which patients and nurses together were crowded into cattle trucks to make room for the Ministry of Education that was evacuated from The Hague. Some 1,000 patients of the Joodsche Invaliden Sanitarium were deported, as well as 400 Jewish children torn from their parents.

The horrible conditions of transport similar to those applied elsewhere are proof enough that extermination rather than labor is the real goal. Packed into cattle trains, stripped of all belongings with the exception of a tiny bundle of indispensable articles, Jews are shipped somewhere to the East. Thousands die on the way, victims of inhuman conditions, no air, no space, no food. On reaching the German frontier, many older men and women are shot because they are considered useless. But many transports

do arrive in Poland. Fears concerning their fate were recently confirmed by Netherlands and Polish sources in London which disclosed that the Germans had launched mass executions of Dutch Jews in Poland: at Tursk, 150 Dutch Jews were mowed down by machine-gun fire and the village itself burned to the ground. Similar massacres were said to be staged in Sochy, Potok and a number of other Polish localities.

According to Reich Commissar Schmidt, the Dutch are at fault in regarding deportation through "spectacles of silly humanitarianism." When the Jews were expelled from the small town of Weesp, *De Misthoorn* reported indignantly:

> "The Weespenaars who are for the greater part believing Christians, degraded themselves by carrying the Jews' luggage [to the station]. . . . On the tunnel wall was a large sign 'Till we meet again' and we even saw a Christian teacher weep like a child."

Soon thereafter the Burgomaster of Weesp was dismissed from his post. According to a *New York Times* dispatch of September 23, 1942, the Germans were forced to schedule the departure of trains carrying deportees for some hour after midnight in order to avoid demonstrations. The same dispatch quoted a joint message of the Catholic and Protestant Congregations in the Netherlands to Seyss-Inquart, protesting against the deportation of Jews:

> "The sufferings which the execution of this measure will inflict on thousands of men, women and children and entire families, and the realization that it contravenes the profound moral and ethical feelings of the people of Holland, compel us urgently to request that this measure should not become effective."

In reply to this message, the Germans ordered the deportation of Jewish converts to Christianity.

The remaining vestiges of Jewish life during the period of deportation centered around the Jewish Council of Amsterdam, which during the early period of German occupation had handled problems of emigration, as well as the support of impoverished Dutch Jews and German refugees. In 1940 the latter numbered 24,000; by the end of 1941 the number had dwindled to 6,000.

Some of them were sent back to Germany and the rest were deported along with the Dutch Jews. In 1941 the Council's budget totalled 2,400,000 guilders (close to $1,300,000). The former sources of this money (collected through contributions from neutral countries and a tax on local Jews) were obviously closed. In the end the Jewish Council must have drawn funds for services rendered as well as from secret contributions of the Dutch.

With the concentration of remaining Jews in Amsterdam, the activities of the Jewish Council took a different course. The Council furnished necessary information "in connection with the measures advisable to take prior to leaving the country."

From announcements in *Het Joodsche Weekblad,* the official gazette of the community, it is known that the Jewish Council set up a Central Postal Bureau with branches in provincial councils which, for a time, accepted mail for Jews in labor camps. Another section of the Jewish Council dealt with assistance to prospective deportees, while a committee was created for matters connected with payments of frozen Jewish funds, and a housing office looked after the thousands of Jews evacuated to Amsterdam from other parts of the country.

After having decreed the deportation of practically the entire Jewish population of Holland, the Germans started an intensive man-hunt for those who had gone into hiding. All Jews subject to deportation had their ration cards cancelled.

Exempt from deportation were employees of the Jewish Council and such Jews "who have done good service for Holland and whose value is still recognized." The latter were interned at the Schaffelaans Estate in Barneveld. Until the beginning of 1943, Jewish spouses of mixed marriages were also exempt. Later, however, they were permitted to remain only if they agreed to undergo sterilization.

Apart from the small exempt class and the few thousand believed to be in hiding, the Jews of Holland who are still alive are either in the East or in camps awaiting deportation.

IV. Resistance

The Dutch people have shown the world how courage finds expression even under the most brutal tyranny. No punishment

has succeeded in staying Dutch sympathy for their Jewish compatriots. Neither have the Germans been able to crush Dutch resistance to anti-Jewish laws. As soon as the first of these measures was introduced, the Protestant Church sent this protest to Reich Commissar Seyss-Inquart:

> "We are profoundly moved by the meaning of these measures touching, as they do, upon important spiritual interests and being against Christian mercy."

On another occasion the following pastoral letter from the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church was read in all the churches:

> "According to God's Providence, the Jews have lived among us for centuries and are bound up with us in a common history and a common responsibility. The Commandment of the Saviour to love our neighbors as ourselves applies to them as it does to any other neighbor."

In April 1942, letters were read before both Catholic and Protestant congregations. The opening words were identical:

> "The Church feels great concern at the course of events in our country, namely, at the way in which three basic principles of our national life—justice, charity, and freedom of conscience and conviction, which are anchored in the Christian faith—are being, and have been violated. The Church has already given evidence of her attitude to lawlessness, to the merciless treatment of the Jewish section of the population, and to the imposition of a National-Socialist conception of life and of world order, which is directly contrary to the teaching of the Gospel."

The joint stand taken by the Protestant and Catholic churches infuriated the Germans and the home-grown Nazis. The paper, *Volk en Vaderland,* wrote:

> "What God has been unable to achieve for centuries, the Jewish Star achieved. Churches which were never able to unite for greater glory of God, now conduct a united action. . . ."

When mockery proved useless, the Germans adopted other measures. Subsidies to Catholic churches, which had been paid

for more than 100 years, were cancelled. When this too failed, the Germans struck up another tune. "Why do the churches pray for Jews when hundreds of thousands of Germans are being killed?" asked Reich Commissar Schmidt at a meeting in Utrecht. But the Dutch churches, Protestant and Catholic alike, answered by exhorting their flock to further resistance:

> "We know what conflicts of conscience result for those concerned. In order, therefore, to eliminate all doubts and uncertainty that you may have in this respect, we hereby declare most explicitly that no compromise in this domain of conscience is allowed, and should refusal of collaboration cause sacrifice to you, then remain steadfast in the certainty that you are fulfilling your duty towards God and man."

The people have stood behind the clergy. A general strike called in February 1941, in protest against anti-Jewish laws, lasted for two days and tied up a number of large industries in Amsterdam and other cities. The town of Amsterdam was fined 15,000,000 guilders and those who failed to return to work were threatened with the death penalty.

The *New York Times* of October 3, 1942 reported the deportation of a number of Dutch gentiles as punishment for helping Jews. In February 1943 it was reported that 41 Dutchmen were hanged for harboring Jews and helping them to flee the country. In March, the Dutch poet, Jan Campert, who had been arrested for helping Jews to escape deportation, was reported, by a Nazi-controlled source, to be dead in a concentration camp at the age of forty. The *Bruesseler Zeitung* of March 30, 1943 listed ten Hollanders who were sent to a concentration camp by reason of their "unduly exaggerated ideas of hospitality" towards the Jews. In April 1943, a German paper in Holland again reported that a number of Dutchmen were deported for interfering with the expulsion of Jews. But these repressive measures have not accomplished their purpose. Point 1 of the seven-point program published by the Dutch underground press reads as follows:

> "It is a duty of each Dutchman to help morally and materially his compatriots, old or young, male or female, Jew or non-Jew, who are suffering as a result of German persecution."

The Netherlands government-in-exile has taken a strong stand against the persecution of Jews. Queen Wilhelmina, in her broadcast to the Netherlands on November 28, 1941, declared:

> "With sorrow and indignation I hear how they . . . persecute the Jews in an abominable way."

When news of the mass deportations reached London, Dutch Prime Minister Pieter S. Gerbrandy in a long radio speech to the Netherlands, paid tribute to the Dutch Jews who, he said, since time immemorial have lived in the Netherlands "on an equal footing with other Netherlanders and, absorbed in the nation, were enabled to give their contribution to the greatness of our country in every sphere."

In praising the stand taken by the Dutch people, he continued:

> "Because we know that you have retained what you were, we trust that you in the meantime have thought of means for helping those innocent people as much as lies in your power in this, their darkest hour. . . . I will only tell you: listen to your conscience, act in Christian mercifulness. . . ."

On September 11, 1942, on the eve of the Jewish New Year, the Prime Minister, again broadcasting to his country, said:

> "Besides compassion with the oppressed we feel deep gratitude when we hear that the flower of charity blooms more beautifully than ever. . . . The time has not yet come to speak publicly of the way in which the Dutch people resist this barbarism, risking their lives and safety to frustrate the satanic Nazi plan. But when finally everything that has been done by the courageous Dutch to assist those unfortunates reaches the full light of day, the world will see how Holland has served her historic traditions of religious liberty and tolerance with unshaken loyalty. . . . Bitter experience has taught us that the existence of a 'Jewish question' in any country may act as fuel for demagogic agitation, ultimately endangering the peace and safety of the world. The Netherlands therefore, though it knew no 'Jewish question' and will not know one after the war, will eagerly cooperate if called upon to assist in ending forever the wanderings of so many hundreds of thousands across the face of the earth."

BELGIUM

I. Background

As early as the fourth century Jews lived in the Belgian provinces. Although during the later Middle Ages, several communities managed to grow up and flourish, from about 1360 until the eighteenth century, permanent Jewish settlement was made impossible by constant persecution and expulsions and, for a time, by the reign of the Spanish Inquisition.

In 1830, when Belgium achieved independence, there were only 3,000 Jews in the entire country. Two waves of immigration, the first coming from Russia and Galicia during the 1890's, and the second from Poland after the first World War, formed the basis for the Jewish community in modern Belgium. By 1940 Belgium numbered 85,000 permanent Jewish residents and about 25,000 refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Owing to the severity of the naturalization laws, a considerable number were forced to retain their status as aliens.

Jews found their place in Belgian life, and until the eve of the German invasion, Belgium continued to hold to the pledge of equal rights for all which she had made to her people in 1831. The number of Jews who attained official posts was small but noteworthy. There were Jewish cabinet members (Paul Hymans, among others), and senators (Sam Wiener, Paul Errera and Herbert Speyer) as well as an ambassador (Paul May), judges, professors (Leon, Paul and Jacques Errera, Robert Goldschmidt, Niko Gunzburg, Oscar Weill, Herbert Speyer) and high functionaries (such as Max Gottschalk). Jews distinguished themselves in the army. In both world wars Jewish generals won special commendation: General Bernheim in World War I, and General Ernest Wiener, acting chairman of the Jewish consistory, and now a prisoner of war in Germany.

Jews in industry and finance, particularly the banking houses of Cassel, Lambert and Philippson, played an important part in

the initial stages of the economic growth of the nation. During the postwar period, Jews dominated the diamond and leather goods industries which they had developed. There were thousands of Jewish diamond workers and at least 1,500 purse makers. They also had a considerable share in the textile and fur trades.

In the last decade, however, a tendency developed to stem the tide of Jewish immigration, and recent immigrants were ousted from the economic field by the introduction of anti-alien legislation. The first victims were the stallholders in the markets, who consisted mainly of former miners and labors hit by the depression of 1930, and new arrivals to the country. Later, as the right to work became dependent upon the holding of labor permits, all foreign wage earners were affected. The days immediately preceding the German invasion did not bode well for the foreign Jews, as there was well-founded apprehension that the continuous pressure of the middle class might result in the spread of discrimination to other branches.

The Jewish population, concentrated mainly in the cities of Antwerp and Brussels, was keenly aware of its Jewish affiliations. The Zionist movement was strong; the Jewish religion enjoyed official status, and a representative number of rabbis and cantors were paid by the state. The communities, which were of a purely religious character, had central representation in the Jewish Consistory. The Jewish educational system comprised two types of schools: religious day schools subsidized by the state (there were two in Antwerp) and institutions like the rabbinical seminary in Heyde, as well as a number of religious and secular extension schools.

The press was represented by three weeklies in Yiddish and one in French, as well as a number of minor publications issued by various Jewish bodies in a number of languages.

Welfare and relief were organized on a fairly extensive scale. In Antwerp they were grouped around the *Centrale*. In recent years, the movement towards coordination in Jewish affairs led to the establishment of the Councils of Jewish Associations which in Antwerp embraced all, and in Brussels almost all, of the political, religious, philanthropic, cultural, economic, and athletic organizations and institutions. Belgian Jewry was represented at the 1936

sessions of the World Jewish Congress by a number of elected delegates.

Belgium was one of the most hospitable havens for refugees from Germany. It is estimated that between 1933 and 1940 some 40,000 exiles were in the country for longer or shorter periods. At the time of invasion, 25,000 of them were still in Belgium, and of these 16,000 were receiving aid from the community. In 1939 the total expenditure of Belgian refugee committees ran to 20,000,000 Belgian francs (about $700,000). These committees were supported through subsidies voted by the parliament, to the extent of 6,000,000 Belgian francs in 1939 and 8,000,000 in 1940, and by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

The rise of Nazism in Germany did not affect the Belgian people as a whole, but it struck an answering chord in some elements of the Flemish population. As a matter of fact, on November 22, 1938, the Belgian people proved that they had the courage of their convictions, when a special session of the Chamber of Deputies condemned the pogroms launched in Germany following the vom Rath assassination. This action, taken on the heels of Munich, by a small state which knew only too well the meaning of German aggression, required considerable fortitude.

The two groups particularly instrumental in the spread of anti-Semitism in Flanders were the military-inspired *Verdinaso* and *Volkserwering*. Through their party newspapers, both systematically kept up a rabid Jew-baiting campaign. Significantly enough, two of their weeklies, the French *Ami du Peuple* and the Flemish *Volksche Aanval,* recently ceased publication. They were joined by the Flemish National Party *(Vlaamsch National Verbond)* which had considerable representation in Parliament. The movement spread to the Walloons in 1936 when Rexist leader Léon Degrelle, having failed to gain power, decided to make another bid by playing Hitler's game. Degrelle's political expectations were not realized through his anti-Semitic activities. As a matter of fact, in the elections of April, 1939, Rexist representation in the Chamber of Deputies was reduced from 21 to 4 seats. An ally, or perhaps a rival, in these efforts to disunite Belgium was the anti-Jewish National Legion (*Légion Nationale*). The majority of the Belgian people remained immune to this propaganda. The

government, for its part, intervened in March 1940 by suspending a number of anti-Semitic periodicals.

II. German Occupation

On May 10, 1940 the German army again entered Belgium. Memories of German occupation during the last war, visions of what was happening in Poland, and the Nazi strategy of terror, generated a state of panic which resulted in the chaotic flight of millions over the choked highways leading into France. Among them was a large part of the Jewish population. Many were trapped between the pincers movement of the advancing German divisions and were forced to return home. Others returned even after having reached unoccupied zones. It was not long, however, before a second Jewish exodus began, this time mainly of an illegal nature.

Especially tragic was the fate of the thousands of German refugees living in Belgium at the time of the invasion. On the day of invasion, the Belgian authorities arrested some 5,000 men between the ages of 17 and 60, as enemy aliens and deported them to France, where they were interned. In June the French authorities arrested German women refugees who had fled from Belgium. The story of their sufferings was first connected with the concentration camps of St. Cyprien, Gurs and Rivesaltes, and more recently, with the inhuman deportations from France. In the latter part of 1940 a number of them were shipped to forced labor camps in Algeria and Morocco. About 10,000 were said to have been in France under internment or in compulsory residence.

The first few months of occupation were such that a number of refugees who had originally fled to unoccupied France stole back across the frontier. Hitler was courting a quisling government and no discriminatory measures were introduced. In fact, for a short time the economic situation improved, as Germany with an eye to mobilizing Belgium's economy for the Reich war machine, made every effort to restore normal conditions.

On October 23, 1940 the first anti-Jewish decree was enacted. It prohibited the ritual slaughter of animals; it was followed five days later by two decrees which comprised a series of curbs against

the Jews. The anti-Jewish Law (*Judenverordnung*) defined a Jew as such if descended from three "racial Jewish" grandparents, irrespective of his faith, or two Jewish grandparents and professing the Jewish faith. The decree introduced a separate register for the Jewish population, required that all firms under Jewish control be registered, and forbade them to dispose of their holdings. Jews who had fled the country were forbidden to return. Jewish hotels were ordered to display signs to that effect. The second decree excluded Jews from public positions, the school system, as well as the press and radio.

These provisions still touched upon only a small number of Jews, and with the exception of the ban on ritual slaughter, scarcey affected the routine of daily life. Most Belgians did their utmost either to cushion the impact of these decrees or to systematically sabotage them. The Bar Association, for example, refused to strike Jewish members from its rolls.

But on November 19, 1940 several hundred Jewish aliens, mainly those possessing white identity cards (provisional residence permits) were expelled from Antwerp to various points in the Hasselt district of Northern Belgium. This created a panic which resulted in a wave of emigration. By the spring of 1941 the situation had grown appreciably worse. In February the Germans stopped the issuance of exit permits to Jews. Meanwhile, the Flemish Nationalists headed by Staf de Clerq, had adopted an all-out anti-Jewish program, and the German-controlled Brussels radio was delivering incessant tirades against the Jews. The following month, at a performance of the anti-Semitic film, *The Wandering Jew,* René Lambrichts, a lawyer and leader of the *Volksverwering,* told the audience that, "the last Jew must be driven out of Flanders and the Walloons." Egged on by such propaganda, on Easter Monday, April 14th, gangs broke into the two large synagogues on Oostenstraat in Antwerp and set fire to the Holy Scrolls.

On June 10, 1941 two new decrees dated May 31st appeared. The first supplemented the anti-Jewish law of October 28th, the second was entitled *Decree Concerning Economic Measures against the Jews* (*Third Anti-Jewish Law*). According to these decrees, all Jewish firms (any concern having one or more Jewish directors)

were to be registered, and the stationary, signs and entrances of all such firms were to bear the words "Jewish business" in the German, Flemish and French languages. Jews were forbidden to dispose of their property without the consent of the German military commander. They were ordered to deposit their securities with a *Devisenbank* (bank authorized to carry out foreign currency transactions) and were forbidden to maintain accounts in other banks. The *Koelnische Zeitung* of July 16, 1941 clearly defined the purpose of these measures: "To eliminate Jews from all important economic positions."

Nine months were to pass before the ousting of the Jews became a reality. During the month of March 1942, a circular letter was sent to all Jewish merchants ordering them to close their firms and have their commercial assets liquidated by the 31st of March. Liquidation was again delayed because it was necessary to provide indemnities for non-Jewish employees who would lose their jobs by the closing of Jewish concerns. It was not until May 20, 1942 that such a decree was enacted. (The total value of Aryanized Jewish property was estimated in March, 1943, at 18,327,000,000 francs.)

On June 1st Jews were prohibited from exercising the professions of physician, dental surgeon, dentist, veterinary surgeon, medical practitioner, midwife, dietitian, or technical medical assistant. They were forbidden to give curative gymnastics or massage, or from acting as pharmacists and druggists.

In the meantime, a series of decrees accomplished the complete segregation of the Jews and paved the way to deportation. In July 1941 the Jews were forced to turn in their radios. In September they were required to have their identity cards re-stamped. On August 29th, a curfew was imposed from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m., effective from September 5th. Freedom of residence was restricted to the cities of Brussels, Antwerp, Liége, and Charleroi. Ten months later, a supplement to this decree ordered Jews to remain in their "normal residence" (residence indicated in the Jewish Register) during curfew time. This edict was in preparation of conscription for forced labor.

A decree dated November 25, 1941 created the Union of Jews in Belgium in which membership was compulsory. The Union,

which took nearly four months to organize, was to promote Jewish emigration and was in charge of the educational and welfare systems. The statutes of the *Association Des Juifs En Belgique* published in the *Moniteur* on March 21, 1942, provided for a Board of Directors composed of a chairman, three representatives from Antwerp, and one each from Brussels, Charleroi and Liége. There were also local Jewish councils, some of whose members were later reported arrested for failing to expedite emigration.

Jewish pupils were required to leave public educational institutions and to enter the segregated schools. Pupils beyond compulsory school-age were required to leave non-Jewish institutions of high learning by December 31, 1941, while school-age children were to leave their present schools as soon as special Jewish classes were established by the Union.

It appears, however, that the Union has not been able to organize a sufficient number of schools of its own. The *Volk en Staat* of July 19-20th reported that the Burgomaster of Antwerp had placed at the disposal of the Union of Jews, three classrooms at the music school in Schoenstraat, eight classrooms at the kindergarten in Lamorinièrestraat and the girls' orphanage in the Albert Grisarstraat. The paper commented:

> "This is how the Jews continue to live on the taxes we pay."

Other proof that there were still Jewish pupils in the Belgian schools appears from the complaint of the Rexis daily *Pays Réel* that Belgian primary grade teachers were not explaining to the Jewish children the proper significance of the Star of David that they are compelled to wear.

The yellow Star of David was introduced into Belgium by a decree of May 27, 1942. Instead of creating a feeling of separation, it gave rise to a display of sympathy. *Volk en Staat* found it necessary to warn those who were siding with the Jews, that they would be confined to the Antwerp Ghetto together with them. *Pays Réel* reported the conversation of a schoolmistress when taking her class for an outing. The teacher was overheard telling a little girl:

> "Nita, stand up straight. Show how proud you are to wear the pretty Star."

Such demonstrations provoked new restrictions. On July 15, 1942, in the province of Antwerp, Jews were forbidden to enter theatres or cinemas, to attend concerts or lectures, or to frequent any other public establishments. In street cars they were only permitted to ride on the platform of the trailers.

Starting with a decree on January 17, 1942, which prohibited Jews from leaving Belgian territory without a military permit, the usual orders surrounding forced labor were promulgated. Thus, on March 11th, it was decreed that "the employment condition of Jews who are engaged in work is of a special kind." A decree of May 8th stated that "Jews have to accept the occupations which are assigned to them by the employment service." At this work, Jews were segregated into gangs, and were kept in separate quarters.

On August 24th and 25th, according to reports from London and Zuerich all foreign Jews were conscripted for work in Germany and German occupied countries.

The last chapter in Belgium, as elsewhere, is deportation to "unknown destination." In March 1942 several reports referred to a transport including 10,000 Belgian Jews which had arrived in Lodz, where they were to work in textile factories turning out uniforms for the German army. Later there were reports that among the victims of massacres in the Baltic States, were hundreds of deported Belgian Jews. Towards the end of July, information filtered through concerning 100 Jews who, after having been confined in the prison of St. Gilles-lez-Brussels, were deported to Eastern Europe. In August, the arrival in Cracow of freight trains with somewhere between 600 and 1850 Jews from Brussels or Antwerp was reported. In October, any bearer of the Jewish star was in danger of being rounded up by the Gestapo and sent to a sorting camp in the Dossin barracks, Mechelen, pending deportation.

These expulsions have been confirmed by many sources and by accounts of popular demonstrations of protest which were staged at the railway stations. By April 10, 1943, the *Bruesseler Zeitung* boasted that eight Belgian provinces were *judenrein.* In June 1943, the Belgian government-in-exile stated that the Germans have removed nearly all Jews from Belgium.

A partial roster of Germans responsible for the crimes committed against Jews in Belgium includes: Hauptmann Asche, Chief of the Jewish Section of the Gestapo; Hauptmann Duntze, Chief of the Rosenberg Office in Belgium; SS leader Dr. Delius; Oberfeldkommandant Hammerstein (in charge of the Breendonck and Huy camps).

The Germans have received little support from the Belgian population. The Rexists, the Flemish Nationalists, and others of their ilk inspire only hatred and contempt in the majority of the Belgian people. The quisling papers have often complained of the manifestations of solidarity by Christians with their Jewish fellow countrymen. February 28, 1943 was announced in the Parish of Liége as the "Day for the Jewish People." Collections for destitute Jews were taken up at the Catholic services.

In recent months Gestapo agents have been scouring towns, villages, and farms, and questioning passengers on trains and street cars in the search for Jews.

Jews have played their part in resistance to German occupation. The pro-Nazi newspaper, *La Légion,* has spoken of "Jewish saboteurs imprisoned in St. Gilles-lez-Brussels." Two Jewish lawyers, Abraham Fogelbaum and Adelin Hartveld, and a stateless Jew, Meyer Leiseroff, were among the executed Belgian patriots. In March, 1943, Michael Loewenwirt was sentenced to death for belonging to an anti-Nazi terrorist organization, and in July the Germans executed Isaiah Schiff, leader of a Belgian guerrilla band. A Polish Jew, Hersz Dobrzynski, was among the nine Belgian hostages executed in the summer of 1943 for alleged attacks on German occupation forces. There are great numbers of Jews among the inmates of the camps for political prisoners at Breendonck and Huy. Resistance by the Jewish population was encouraged by an underground periodical in Yiddish. Furthermore, many Jews have managed to escape and join the Belgian army in Great Britain.

The attitude of the Belgian government-in-exile toward the anti-Jewish legislation introduced by Germany was formally expressed in two decrees of January 10, 1942, holding that the measures were illegal because they contradicted "the principles of the

Belgian Constitution of equality without distinction of creed, race, or language." It was furthermore provided that any Belgian who assisted the German forces of occupation in acts of expropriation of property would be subject to fine, imprisonment and loss of civil rights.

On June 6, 1942, former Prime Minister George Theunis, Belgian extraordinary envoy to the United States, publicly read before a conference of the World Jewish Congress, a statement issued by Prime Minister Hubert Pierlot, which said:

> "The laws and customs of our country have never allowed any distinction between its citizens according to the race to which they belong or in which they claim to be placed. All Belgians are equal before the law. Those are the principles under the protection of which the Jews of Belgium had lived peaceably until the German invasion. These principles are of permanent character. They are the very foundation of Belgian legislation, and reestablishment of them and respect for them are among our war aims."

LUXEMBOURG

The first record of a Jew domiciled in Luxembourg appears in a document dated 1276. During the middle ages, the Jews lived in a ghetto and when the Spaniards came (middle of the sixteenth century) they were all expelled. Thereafter, with the exception of a few Marranos, there were probably no Jews in Luxembourg again until the end of the eighteenth century. Under laws enacted in 1790 and 1791 the Jews were granted equal civil rights with other citizens. A Jewish community was organized under a law of March 17, 1808. By 1939, about 5,000 Jews lived in the Grand Duchy (about 1.7% of the total population of 285,524, according to the census of 1927). They were engaged mainly in industry and commerce.

On May 10, 1940, came the German occupation. Part of the Jewish population fled before the invaders into France. Anti-Jewish legislation began with two decrees of September 5, 1940, forbidding intermarriage and intimate relations with Aryans, and requiring the registration of all property of Luxembourg Jews in the country and abroad. The term "Jew" is defined in accordance with the Nuremberg laws.

The provisions regarding the registration of Jewish property were supplemented by decrees of December 19, 1940, February 7, and February 18, 1941, the two last providing that the property of Jews who fled or emigrated from Luxembourg could be declared forfeit. The Jews were also excluded from the state subsidies granted to children of large families (decrees of December 23, 1940, and January 15, 1941). On December 3, 1940, the slaughter of livestock in accordance with Jewish ritual requirements was prohibited. In August, 1941, it was announced that Jews still living in Luxembourg would be treated in accordance with regulations in effect in Germany.

In the meantime the Germans had begun the expulsion of the small Jewish population. On September 18, 1940, the Gestapo

transmitted to Dr. Serebrinic, the Chief Rabbi, an order that all Jews leave the country within two weeks, taking with them no more than 1,500 francs (about $30) and about sixty pounds of personal luggage. It was impossible to comply with the Gestapo order. When the time limit had expired, the Gestapo herded hundreds of Jews in freight trains and sent them by way of occupied France and Spain to the Portuguese border. The Portuguese authorities refused to admit them and they remained for weeks in a No Man's Land between Spain and Portugal, living in freight cars. Thanks to the combined efforts of the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg and Jewish relief organizations, some of them succeeded in obtaining ship passage.

FRANCE

I. Background

There were always Jews in France. In the first century A. D. when the Jews were still rulers of their own state, the two sons of King Herod I were exiled to Gaul on the shores of the Mediterranean. In the second century the Jews founded a settlement in Avignon. From that time onwards, they established trading colonies on the southern coast and along the principal waterways. In the fourth century it was Lyon; the fifth, Arles, Narbonnes and Paris; the sixth, Bordeaux, Orléans, Marseille and Tours. The settlement at Toulouse dates from the eighth century and at Montpellier, from the eleventh.

Gradually Jewish communities appeared in Southern France and with them, the spring of a new culture. In the eleventh century lived the great scholar Gershon Ben Judah, called the "Light of the Exile." The eleventh century also saw the illustrious Rashi, Rabbi Solomon Isaaci of Troyes, foremost commentator on the Bible and Talmud, who wielded great influence on Jewish learning everywhere.

The Middle Ages marked a time of persecution and oppression for the Jews of France as it did for their brothers in other European countries. Pope Innocent III branded them with distinctive clothing. They were banished from several cities and provinces. Charles VI, in 1394, finally expelled them from the country and confiscated their property. Only those Jews were permitted to remain who lived in a part of Provence and the Avignon district, which was a papal city, as these territories were not under the jurisdiction of the king. Thus, the first Jewish culture was practically extinguished, not to be revived until two centuries later.

The French Jewry of the 16th and 17th centuries comprised three groups: The descendants of the old papal lands of Avignon, whose economic and cultural level was not very high. They lived

in a crowded ghetto, and spoke a Jewish French dialect, with Hebrew as the language of prayers. The second group consisted of those Portuguese Marranos, the so-called *nouveaux chrétiens,* who had found refuge in France and established small communities in Bordeaux, Bayonne and other cities of the southwest. They received special privileges from the French king and later openly professed Judaism.

The acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought under the flag of France a group of Jews who spoke a German-Jewish dialect, and represented a different world from that of their brethren of Portuguese extraction who were already fully assimilated to French culture. It was not until the nineteenth century that these groups, emerging as a cohesive whole, formed modern French Jewry.

The great Revolution of 1789 brought a new life for French Jews. Equal rights were granted to them within a short time after the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. On January 28, 1790, "Portuguese" Jews became citizens of France and on September 27, 1791, citizenship was granted to all French Jews. A turning point had been reached. As the social, political and economic position of the Jews improved, assimilation spread rapidly. At the same time, the liberties granted by the revolution made of France a haven of refuge. A great number of Jews living in the ghettos of various German states swarmed into the country. Some settled in Alsace-Lorraine, and many came to Paris.

The Napoleonic era marked a new phase. At Napoleon's request a Jewish Sanhedrin was convened on February 9, 1807. It consisted of 46 Rabbis and 25 laymen and was presided over by Rabbi David Sinzheim of Alsace. After a month of deliberation, it proclaimed that Jews were to be considered as a religious community only, and drew up a set of rules concerning mixed marriage, divorce and the duties of Jewish soldiers. On March 17, 1808, however, the so-called *décret infame* placed restrictions on the economic activities of the Jews. They regained full equality of rights after the fall of Napoleon. The process of assimilation gained such impetus that Jews entered every phase of French life and contributed notably to France's culture, science, and industry.

Here are some of the Jewish names which made France of the nineteenth and early twentieth century so memorable. In philosophy and sociology there were Emil Durkheim and Henri Bergson, Jacques Hadamard and Maurice Levy stand out in mathematics; Gabriel Lippman, Nobel Prize winner in physics; Salomon Reinach in archeology; Hippolyte Bernheim, Fernand Vidal, and Georges Hayem in medicine; Béddarides and Lyon Cahen in jurisprudence; and Lucien Levy-Bruhl in anthropology. Literature and drama claim Catulle Mendès, Bernard Lazare, Gustave Kahn, André Spire, Henri Bernstein, Georges de Porto-Riche, Edmond Fleg, Tristan Bernard, Jean Richard Bloch, and André Maurois. In music, Jews were represented by Jacques Halevy, Darius Milhaud, Jacques Offenbach, Georges Bizet, and Maurice Ravel. Rachel Elizabeth Felix and Sarah Bernhardt were France's two most celebrated actresses. In painting there were Camille Pissarro and Rosa Bonheur; and in politics, Isaac Adolphe Crémieux, Achille Fould, Georges Mandel, Léon Blum, and Jean Zay.

The 19th century saw some important scholars in the science of Judaism: Joseph Salvador, Professor Adolphe Franc, Solomon Munck, Zadoc Kahn, and James Darmsteter. In 1880 the *Société des Etudes Juives* was founded. It issued a quarterly, *La Revue des Etudes Juives* (over 100 volumes), and also maintained a rich library. French Jewry of the 19th century also created the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1860. Its original purpose was to strengthen solidarity among Jews and to defend their rights wherever they were threatened. While Crémieux was its president (1863-1880), the *Alliance* built up an impressive record by its fight against the oppression of the Jews in Rumania; its defense of Jewish rights in the new Balkan states at the Congress of Berlin. After Crémieux's death, the *Alliance* became largely a body for the diffusion of the French language, spirit and culture, through the great number of schools it founded in North Africa and the Near East.

The position of French Jewry was shaken towards the end of the 19th century by the rapid progress of anti-Semitism among reactionary and monarchist elements. In 1866, Edouard Drumont, a journalist and ex-Deputy, published his famous book, *La France*

Juive, and became the spiritual father of modern French anti-Semitism. Six years later he founded the anti-Jewish *La Parole Libre* and capped his career as the chief promoter of the Dreyfus affair. Over a period of twelve years (1894-1906) the Dreyfus case divided French public opinion into two camps, with Clemenceau and Zola as Dreyfus's chief champions. Even his partial exoneration in 1899 served to provoke the formation of such anti-Jewish groups as *La Ligue de la Patrie Française* led by François Coppée and the royalist league, *L'Action Française,* headed by Leon Daudet and Charles Maurras. Dreyfus was completely vindicated in 1906 and of all these groups only *L'Action Française* survived. For a time, the Jews of France felt renewed security. But the aftermath of the first World War fanned the embers of anti-Semitism. *L'Action Française* took a new lease on life, and was joined by many new anti-Jewish publications, such as *La France Enchaînée* and *Je Suis Partout.* The already established *Gringoire* manifested increasing anti-Semitic tendencies, until under the Vichy regime it was to become the oracle of anti-Semitism. In 1924 *Les Jeunesses Patriotes,* an anti-Semitic youth movement, was organized by Pierre Taittinger, a reactionary Paris deputy.

After Hitler's rise to power in 1933, the Paris Brown House became a center of propaganda and undoubtedly of Nazi espionage as well. A host of new groups appeared, among them the *Centre de Documentation et de Propagande* which was the central source of anti-Jewish propaganda in France; the National Socialist Party under the leadership of Henry Coston and Pierre Clémenti; *Francisme* headed by Marcel Bucard; *Solidarité Française* of François Coty; and the *Rassemblement Anti-Juif de France* led by Darquier de Pellepoix, later Vichy's Commissar for Jewish Affairs. The *Cagoulards* under *Eugène Deloncle* (subsequently one of the promoters of the *Légion antibolchévique* rechristened *La Légion Tricolore*) planned an armed insurrection to overthrow the Republican regime. And last but not least, Jacques Doriot founded the *Parti Populaire Français* (PPF) which was to emerge as the French counterpart of the German Nazi Party.

The triumph of the Popular Front in the 1936 elections, Leon Blum's rise to power, and the promulgation of a series of social

reforms called forth increasing anti-Jewish agitation. In September, 1937, anti-Jewish disturbances broke out in Paris. The following April the Nazified *La France Enchaînée* proclaimed that "the Jewish invasion is a thousand times worse than the German invasion of 1914." On April 21, 1939, the Daladier government finally prohibited all propaganda emanating from a foreign source, as well as all racial and religious incitement, but it was too late.

Besides these openly anti-Semitic organizations, there were other French elements, particularly in high finance and industry, who found Nazism compatible with their interests. The Banque of Worms clique had Nazi contacts going back further than 1933. Their emissary to the Nazi leaders was Fernand de Brinon, who turned up in German-occupied Paris after the French defeat as representative of the Vichy government. These circles, intrigued by the economic opportunities which Nazi cartels offered, and hostile to the democratic parliamentary regime, chose to regard Hitler as "the last bulwark of western civilization." Their political spokesmen were such "big business politicians" as Pierre Laval and Pierre-Etienne Flandin. Their motto was: "Rather Hitler than Stalin."

Many of the men who aided the moral and political disintegration of France, thus paving the road for military defeat, were not anti-Semitic by conviction. But nevertheless, together with the openly anti-Jewish groups, they pointed the way for the planting of Nazi racial ideas in France. The desire to appease Germany went so far that when a reception was held at the Quai d'Orsay in February, 1939, in honor of von Ribbentrop, the Jewish members of the Daladier Cabinet were not invited, lest the sensitive Nazis be offended.

When Germany invaded France, there were some 320,000 Jews (0.7% of the total population) in the country. According to the most reliable sources, there were about 250,000 Jews in France in 1933. Included in this number were some 50,000 Jewish emigrants from the east. France had opened her gates, in the forties of the last century, to German Jews who came principally from Posen, Bavaria and the Rhine area. An immigration of Russian Jews started after the pogroms of the eighties and the anti-Jewish

decrees. After the first World War, particularly in the years 1923-1925, the influx from the east increased. The newcomers did much to stimulate such branches of industry as clothing, furs, leather, and motion pictures. Although they adapted themselves in a short time to French language and culture, they continued for the most part to maintain ties with their cultural and historical heritage, and with Jewry throughout the world. Following the rise of Hitler, it is estimated that about 50,000 refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, as well as several thousand Polish Jews, entered France. Some 25,000 more poured in during the general flight from the Low Countries in May - June, 1940.

Normally about 70% of the French Jews lived in Paris. Unofficial sources estimate the occupational distribution of Jews employed in that city as follows:

TABLE I

Occupation	*French Born*	*Eastern European*
	Percent	
Commerce	55.0	35.0
Industry and Handicrafts	15.0	50.0
Liberal Professions	15.0	5.0
Miscellaneous	15.0	10.0

These figures may be taken as representative of French Jewry as a whole.

During the first tragic days of the collapse of France in June, 1940, thousands of Jews fled from Paris to the seeming refuge of the "free" area. The statistics on Jewish heads of families in the department of the Seine (Paris and environs), compiled in the middle of 1941, showed the following categories:

TABLE II

Aliens	34,152
Naturalized	11,795
French citizens by marriage	966
French citizens by declaration	480
	47,393
French born	17,066
	64,459

With three persons for the average family, the number of Jews in the Paris district may be placed at about 180,000 in the summer of 1941. As in normal times there were few Jews in the rest of the occupied zone, and as Jews were expelled from Alsace-Lorraine, there were in the fall of 1941 some 185,000 in the German-controlled area, and about 145,000 in the unoccupied zone. Of this aggregate, more than half were of foreign birth, and 40% of those possessing French citizenship were naturalized.

Beginning with the spring of 1941, many thousands of Jews again fled from the occupied zone to the former free zone, to escape Nazi persecution. The *Chemnitzer Tageblatt* of June 12, 1942, commenting on the fact that only 78,501 Stars of David were distributed in Paris and suburbs to Jews over six years of age, wrote:

> "The Jewish population is reduced, first, because a number of Jews changed their residence and moved to unoccupied France and, secondly, because many Jews were transported to concentration camps."

By August, 1943, the number of Jews in both zones was greatly decreased. About 30,000 succeeded in emigrating; about 6,000 died in concentration camps or committed suicide; from July, 1942, until June, 1943, about 70,000 foreign Jews in both zones may be assumed to have been deported to the East; many fled to Spain, Switzerland and even Italy to escape deportation, particularly when the Germans occupied the former free zone; about 15,000 Jews had fallen on the battlefield or were taken prisoners during the battle of France. Thus there remain today some 200,000 Jews in France.

II. Occupied Zone (1940 - July, 1942)

Paris had not been occupied for a month under the Compiègne armistice of June 22, 1940, when *Au Pilori,* the French counterpart of *Der Stuermer,* went on sale in the streets. Within a week of its appearance, store windows were plastered with signs reading: "No Jews admitted," and shortly afterwards, Jews were barred from the theatres, the Paris Salon and the Conservatoire. Other publications, such as *La France au Travail, La Vie Nationale*

and *Le Paris,* vied with one another in a campaign of invective. Even such established newspapers as *Le Matin* and the *Paris-Soir* now served as vehicles for Nazi propaganda.

An anti-Semitic exhibition entitled "Jews in France" opened in Paris on September 25, 1940, for the purpose of proving the evil influence of Jews on France. With the same view in mind, an Institute for Studies on Jewish Problems was established in the spring of 1941, under the chairmanship of Clement Serpeille de Gobineau, a descendant of Count de Gobineau, father of the modern racial theory. René Gerard was appointed director. By November the Institute had launched its official organ, *The Yellow Magazine.* The first French anti-Semitic propaganda film, entitled *Les Corrupteurs,* purported to depict the Jewish control of the press, the stock exchange and other national institutions. Such publishing houses as *Les Nouvelles Editions Françaises, Les Editions de France* and *Edition Jean Renard* flooded the market with anti-Semitic books and pamphlets. Two young French authors, André Chaumet and H. R. Bellanger, writing in *Les Juifs et Nous,* argued that the Jews were responsible for the first World War and the Versaille Treaty. Oddly enough they also "blamed" the Jews for the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France!

During the first months of occupation, despite the barrage of Nazi propaganda, Paris remained comparatively quiet. On July 30, 1940, some Parisian lawyers protested against Jewish and Masonic competition. On August 20th and September 5th, demonstrations against the Jews were held on the Champs Elyseés and other boulevards. In August Gestapo agents made the rounds of the leading Jewish organizations in Paris including the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish National Fund, ORT, OSE, and the *Ecole Rabbinique.* On September 13th the ORT homes for children in St. Denis and Tournelle were closed down. Several weeks later, the offices of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency were raided. Their files, as well as 60,000 books from the libraries of the *Alliance* and the *Ecole Rabbinique,* were removed to the Frankfort Institute for Research on the Jewish Problem. In Paris all the synagogues with but one exception, the Rothschild Synagogue on the Rue de la Victoire, were closed for the time.

By a German ordinance of September 27, 1940, the occupied zone was closed to Jews. All persons adhering at any time to the Jewish faith or having more than two Jewish grandparents, who had fled during the Battle of France, were forbidden to return to their homes in the occupied zone. This was the first application in France of the racial criterion.

All Jews within the occupied zone were ordered to register before October 20, 1940. The time limit was later extended to May 20, 1941, by a German decree of April 26, 1941. The economic pogrom followed the usual pattern. Jews could not dispose of their capital or securities without a license, thus freezing practically all Jewish-owned property. They were forbidden to engage in wholesale and retail trade, banking, advertising, real estate and mortgage transactions, or to maintain employment agencies. They could no longer hold executive positions in any establishment or accept jobs which would bring them into direct contact with customers or clients. In October, 1940, the registration of all Jewish-owned concerns was ordered. On December 12th Aryan commissars were appointed over them.

On March 13, 1941, nearly all Jews living in the northern coastal district were expelled from their homes, to be interned in two camps in the departments of Yonne and Aube. Two weeks later, 5,000 Parisian Jews between the ages of 18 and 40, mainly Czechoslovak, Austrian and Polish nationals, were sent to a camp near Orléans. In August 6,000 more Jews were arrested in mass raids. The same month radios were confiscated. In December an ordinance ordered all Jews arriving in Paris to report at once to the police, and directed all persons housing Jews to notify the authorities. Travel for Jews was restricted and permits granted only in exceptional cases.

With the rise of patriotic resistance to the forces of occupation, the Germans began to shoot hostages. Thousands of Frenchmen, Christians as well as Jews, were rounded up. From 50 to 100 were shot in reprisal for every German ambushed. The following order was issued in December, 1941, by Von Stuelpnagel, Commander of the Troops of Occupation in France:

> "During the last few weeks attacks by dynamite and revolver have been carried out against the members of the Ger-

man Army. The authors of these acts, sometimes youths, are in the pay of the Anglo-Saxons, Jews and Bolshevists and obey the infamous orders of these elements. The attacked German soldiers were wounded or killed from behind, and in no case has the assassin been apprehended.

"To strike at the real authors of these cowardly attacks I have ordered the immediate carrying out of the following order:

"1. A fine of 1,000,000,000 francs to be imposed on the Jews inhabiting the occupied territory.

"2. A large number of criminal Judeo-Bolshevik elements will be deported to hard labor in the eastern territories. Other deportations of still greater numbers will follow immediately should there be any further attacks, and this independently of other measures which may be taken.

"3. One hundred Jews, Communists and anarchists who have definite relations with the authors of these previous attacks will be immediately executed.

"These measures do not strike at France but merely at those individuals who, in the pay of the enemies of the Reich, wish to precipitate France's decline and sabotage the reconciliation of France and Germany.

"Signed: von Stuelpnagel, Commandant of the Occupation Troops in France."

To complement this order, the secretary general of Vice-Premier Admiral Darlan published the following communique:

"The attempts against the officers and soldiers of the occupation army are a national danger for France. The measures taken by the Government are as follows:

"1. The foreigners caught inciting these crimes will be court-martialed and shot.

"2. All Jews who entered France after January , 1936, will be put in working formations or in camps.

"3. 1,859 arrests of Communists were effected. These mass arrests have enlarged the total of all arrested to 11,000. Further action is in progress."

On February 11, 1942, a curfew from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. was introduced, and Jews were forbidden to change their places of residence. Starting June 7, 1942, all Jews over six years of age were ordered to wear a yellow Star of David with the word, *"Juif,"* inscribed on its face. Jews were barred from all public gathering places, restaurants, cafes, bars, theatres, movies, concert halls,

museums, libraries and athletic exhibitions. In the Paris subway they were compelled to ride in segregated cars. They were forbidden to use public telephones. A decree of July 19th designated one shopping hour, between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, as the time when they could buy food. But far graver tribulations were still to come.

III. Alsace-Lorraine

Frenchmen and Jews alike were reduced to an inferior status by German decrees for "annexed" Alsace-Lorraine. Immediately after occupation, the provinces were given the full taste of Nazi rule. The great Strasbourg synagogue was at once razed to the ground. In August, 1940, both in Metz and Strasbourg, *auto-da-fés* of books by Jewish authors were staged. At Mulhouse a pogrom took place. Property of both Frenchmen and Jews was confiscated as belonging to "enemies of the Reich and the German people." German commissars were appointed in such industries and enterprises in which Jews and Frenchmen were prominently represented. A decree of April, 1941, prohibited the ritual slaughter of animals. On September 29, 1941, the wearing of the Star of David was made compulsory in Alsace, and Jews were forbidden to change their domicile without special permission. In Lorraine, a decree of February 14, 1941, provided that elementary education was obligatory only for children of German or "cognate" blood. Finally, the Jewish population was deported to unoccupied France.

IV. Vichy Apes Berlin

The surrender of all legislative power to Marshal Petain by the National Assembly at Vichy in July, 1940, committed France and its Jews to a group of men who had long favored collaboration with Hitler. Raphael Alibert, Petain's first Minister of Justice and fervent member of the *Action Française,* was the expert behind the early camouflaged anti-Jewish laws. Alibert was followed by Joseph Barthélemy, notoriously pro-German pro-

fessor of law, who demonstrated the obsolescence of France's treaty obligations to Czechoslovakia in order to justify Munich. Pierre Pucheu, Minister of the Interior, was a veteran of the Doriot group and an ardent admirer of the Nazi system. Nevertheless, anti-Jewish legislation was, as compared to the German-occupied zone, rather slow to hit full stride. At first it was disguised, affecting Jews through general anti-alien provisions.

On July 16, 1940, new conditions were laid down for the revocation of citizenship. This was followed six days later by an order for the revision of all naturalizations granted on the basis of the law of August 10, 1927. Thus some 50,000 to 60,000 Jews were potentially affected.

Within a month after the armistice, German pressure was brought to bear on Vichy for the purpose of depriving the Jews of their civil and political rights. Exceptions for the benefit of Jews whose ancestors had lived in France since 1789, were summarily rejected by the Germans, and on October 3, 1940, Vichy promulgated a comprehensive Jewish Statute. It laid down the racial criterion, barred Jews from all higher administrative posts, and provided that they might practise liberal professions or engage in commerce, industry or handicrafts only within the limits of future decrees, thus paving the way for the introduction of the *numerus clausus*. After the publication of this statute, Chief Rabbi Issaye Schwartz speaking in the name of French Jewry, declared in a letter to Marshal Petain:

> "We protest solemnly against the principles and provisions of this statute . . . French Jewry has taken as its watchword: Creed and Country. Faithful as ever to this ideal, we shall draw our courage and our hope from the love of God and from the lessons of Holy Writ – the twin sources of France's spiritual life."

The protest went unheeded. Following the example set by the ordinances of the German forces of occupation in Paris, the Vichy government launched a full-fledged drive to uproot French Jews from their place in the economic life of the country.

On March 29, 1941, the Commissariat of Jewish Affairs was set

up for the purpose of coordinating anti-Jewish activities, supervising the liquidation of Jewish properties, laying down police regulations concerning Jews, and framing further anti-Jewish laws. Xavier Vallat, a rightist deputy long known for his anti-Semitic viewpoint, was named the first Commissar for Jewish Affairs. Upon his appointment, Vallat declared that he considered the Jews as an ethnic minority seeking to dominate the French people. The Jewish Statute, he explained, was merely an instrument of "national defense." The same opinion was voiced by Minister of Justice Joseph Barthélemy, who in an Algerian publication of June, 1941, described the statute as "cruel but necessary."

The growing severity of the anti-Jewish measures and the supplementing of the Jewish Statute on June 2, 1941, drew the following declaration from Vallat:

> "The new law is a complete reorganization of the statute. It completes the provisions of the law of October 3rd, and extends to the whole of French legislation, which until now was unequal in the two zones. . . ."

Under the Jewish Statutes of October 3, 1940, and June 2, 1941, a Jew was defined as any person descending from at least three Jewish grandparents, or from two if said person was a member of a Jewish congregation, or belonged to a Jewish congregation prior to June 25, 1940. The statute barred Jews from the presidency of the state, the *Conseil d'Etat* (Council of State), membership in the Council of the Legion of Honor, all elected assemblies, and from court offices.

After the second Jewish Statute new curbs followed in rapid succession. Jews were forbidden to serve in the police, they were banned from technological schools, from the theatrical profession. They could no longer act as accountants or public notaries, and were excluded from city and state councils. An academic *numerus clausus* restricted Jews to 3 percent of the total registration. With certain exceptions, a 2 percent maximum was set for the professions of law, medicine, pharmacy, midwifery, dentistry, and architecture.

When certain exemptions were granted to Jews who had fought for France, the Association of Jewish War Veterans addressed the

following protest to Xavier Vallat:

> "We declare solemnly that we renounce all exceptions which may possibly be established in favor of war Veterans.
>
> "The French Israelites who died for France and whom we represent, and those who have fought for France, do not want to beg for the humiliating alms given by a measure, which, as you said yourself, does not allow the Jews in general and consequently their families, to escape the importunities which may result from their legal character as Jews."

In November, 1941, twelve members of the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies lost their parliamentary mandate because they were of Jewish blood. During the same month, under German pressure, the *Union Générale des Israélites de France* was organized, as the French model of the compulsory central Jewish offices set up in Germany and elsewhere in Axis Europe. It was headed by an administrative board of 18 appointed by the Commissar of Jewish Affairs. Albert Levy was named president with André Baur as vice-president. All existing Jewish organizations were compelled to merge in the *Union.*

By a law of November 17, 1941, which was to go into effect on January 15, 1942, all positions except those entailing only menial duties, were closed to Jews in the following fields: banking, insurance and the stock exchange; the munitions industry; advertising and real estate brokerage; the grain and livestock trade; forestry and game concessions; the publishing business. All real estate owned by Jews, with the exception of their own dwellings, was to be liquidated.

According to an earlier Vichy law of July 22, 1941, the liquidation of all Jewish-owned property (with the exception of state bonds and residential property) was to be carried out in the following manner: Provisional managers were to be appointed with authority to sell the property, the proceeds to be deposited in a government fund in the name of the owner. Enterprises which could not be sold were to be "legally" liquidated. A ten percent deduction was made to cover the costs of the various operations involved and to provide a relief fund for destitute Jews. An advisory commission, composed of nine members under the presidency of M. Camille Borione, was appointed to supervise the

confiscation of properties owned by Jews. Regional offices known as "Bureaus of Economic Aryanization" were established for this purpose in Nice, Marseille, Lyon, Limoges and Clermont-Ferrand.

The results were soon apparent. The first anti-Jewish measures had affected only some 800 to 900 families, university professors, high officials, judges, teachers and army officers. The introduction of the *numerus clausus* had dealt a harsh blow to thousands of Jews engaged in the liberal professions. The property measures resulted in final pauperization for the majority of French Jews. The effects of Aryanization may be seen from the following figures: In the occupied zone, by the early part of 1942, provisional managers had been appointed for 31,699 Jewish enterprises (24,914 in Paris and 6,785 in the provinces). There remained only about 2,158 small concerns to which managers were being appointed. By July, 1942, 4,053 Jewish firms and 298 estate holdings were sold and 2,792 enterprises were liquidated. In the unoccupied zone, during the same period, about 1,500 Jewish enterprises were placed under provisional managers prior to Aryanization.

Despite the flood of anti-Jewish laws enacted under Xavier Vallat, he was considered too moderate by those who really determined France's course. His theory that the final "solution" of the Jewish problem should be postponed until after the war was unacceptable. On May 8, 1942, he was removed and Louis Darquier de Pellepoix became Commissar of Jewish Affairs. Back in July, 1939, Pellepoix had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for inciting race hatred; later he spent two more months in jail. His appointment as Commissar was hailed by the *Rheinisch Westfaelische Zeitung* in the following words:

> "Small, farsighted, but not very influential anti-Jewish groups under the leadership of Darquier de Pellepoix, are trying to make understandable to the French people the danger and the guilt of Jewry. Their task is today not easy, because democratic ideas are still alive in the masses and the new ideology is still not ready."

In an interview a few days after his appointment, the new Commissar declared:

> "The Jewish problem is neither recent nor transitory. The measures planned, severe as they may be, will be taken with

one purpose in view – to put France in a position to develop according to her national bent and free her from the Jewish spirit. We must first annihilate the permanent Jewish plot that continues on our territory under the protection of various kinds of camouflage.

"I propose first, therefore, to take measures to put an end to trafficking of all sorts in which Jews are engaged, notably in connection with supplies. Later, measures will be taken to define precisely the status of Jews and to effect the economic Aryanization of France. Finally I propose measures of propaganda and publicity to inform the public on the Jewish question."

V. Internment and Deportation

In the so-called "free" zone the Jews came to know concentration camps and forced labor some eight months before the German forces of occupation in Paris filled their first concentration camp. On July 7, 1940, the Vichy government ordered the internment of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria. In August all aliens living on relief from the government or welfare agencies were interned. A law of September 27th decreed that aliens "superfluous" (*"en surnombre"*) to the national economy were to be confined to labor camps. Six days later, a decree published simultaneously with the first Jewish Statute empowered local prefects to intern alien Jews in camps or to designate compulsory residence for them.

Intermittent raids rounded up victims in the streets or from their apartments. On May 6th and 7th, 1941, mass arrests occurred in Marseille; on one occasion over 1,500 persons were herded aboard the *S.S. Massilia* to be transported to North Africa. In unoccupied France in the course of the first year of Petain rule, 25,000 Jews were imprisoned in camps. In the latter part of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 this number dropped to between 10,000 and 12,000. In the meantime, however, the North African camps were being filled to capacity, and some 4,000 Jews, many of whom had fought for France in the Foreign Legion, were engaged in slave labor on the Trans-Sahara railway.

Camps such as Argelès, Gurs, Rivesaltes, Les Milles, in unoc-

cupied France, and Colomb-Béchar, Saida, Boghar, Khenchela, Sidi El Ayachi, in North Africa became symbols of indescribable misery. Ragged internees were herded into dark, airless wooden barracks under abominable hygienic conditions. Food consisted of a daily pittance of less than a quarter pound of bread, a lukewarm watery brew called coffee and some boiled vegetables. No fat entered into the diet. Once a week only prisoners received a small piece of meat. Internees were so weak that they could not walk. Cold, squalor, and vermin, added to hunger, created epidemics. There were many suicides.

In December, 1941, it was announced that all Jews who had entered France since January, 1936, were to be incorporated in labor battalions or confined to internment camps. On January 2, 1942, Minister of Interior Pierre Pucheu ordered the prefects to prepare lists of foreign or naturalized Jews who had come to France since January 1, 1936. It later became evident that these lists were a preliminary to deportation.

Meanwhile the Germans were doing their share. By the middle of 1942, about 25,000 Jews were imprisoned in German-run concentration camps. Most notorious of these is Drancy, about 12 miles from Paris. Run by a Reichswehr officer named Danneker, with the assistance of a follower of Doriot, Drancy has earned the ill-famed title of the Dachau of France.

Internment camps and forced labor were only the prelude. The most terrible chapter for the Jews in France began in Paris on the night of July 12, 1942, after the Jewish curfew hour, when police, accompanied by Doriot men, staged a mass round-up of Parisian Jews. Proceeding according to lists, they had instructions to make no exceptions. Families were torn apart. Many were dragged from hospital sickbeds. Among those routed out of the Rothschild Hospital, was a cancer patient who had been operated on 12 hours before, and a woman who gave birth in the presence of the police. Jewish women were seen to throw their babies out of windows. Hundreds of suicides were recorded. Men and childless women from the district of Greater Paris were sent to Parc des Princes and Drancy. The others were sent to the Velodrome d'Hiver.

Conditions at the camps were indescribable. Velodrome

d'Hiver had to accommodate 12,000 people during the first days, although not the slightest preparations had been made. On the third day only 70 grams of bread were issued per person. There was no water for either drinking or washing purposes. For the 12,000 persons, there were only twelve toilets. The internees were not allowed to receive anything from outside, neither food, clothing, nor medicine.

After a stay of many days at Velodrome d'Hiver, about 10,000 of those arrested, for the most part entire families and women with children, were sent to the concentration camps of Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande. Groups of 200 internees were crammed into one vermin-ridden barrack where they slept on straw. Rations consisted of one loaf of bread for seven persons, a cup of black coffee in the morning, and a plate of beans twice a day. The sick, pregnant women, and the small children received the same; no milk was allowed for the infants. At the camp of Pithiviers, diphtheria raged. In the course of two weeks, six women had to be transferred to the insane asylum. The internees were subjected to rigid discipline and cut off from all contact with the outside world. Letters could neither be received nor sent.

From these camps the internees were deported to the East in trains bearing the inscription: "Material for the German Army" (*Wehrmachtsgut*). The deportation transports set out from Drancy, Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande.

Late in July, 1942, mass arrests of Jews spread to the former unoccupied zone. The earlier Jewish inmates of the concentration camps at Gurs, Les Milles and Rivesaltes were the first to be deported. Laval had agreed to surrender, during the summer of 1942, all Jews of foreign origin in occupied France, and many thousands of Jews from the unoccupied zone. The various departments of the unoccupied zone were ordered to deliver their quota of Jews. The same fearful scenes were again repeated here, families torn asunder, children lost, suicides. Mobile guards were ordered to patrol the frontiers vigilantly to prevent Jews from escaping to Switzerland or Spain. The Vichy government cancelled all exit permits for foreign Jews, thereby deliberately condemning them to extermination.

The fate of the small children left behind in internment camps by the deportees has been tragic beyond words. Given numbers instead of names, left without care to sleep on straw amid the vermin and filth, they have died in great numbers. By the end of 1942 there were 5,000 children at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande. Thousands of children from other camps increased their ranks. They were then transferred to Drancy in battalions of 1,000 each. There these unfortunates met conditions that were worse than in Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande. After a short while, they, too, were transported to the east, never to be heard from again.

There was a brief lull in October, but following the total occupation of France on November 11, 1942, the Gestapo and the Vichy police launched an intensified drive for the total liquidation of all foreign Jews in France. Early in January, 1943, the Vichy Minister of the Interior sent instructions to all prefects ordering the internment in labor camps of all unmarried foreigners between the ages of 18 and 55 who had entered France after 1933. Jews were to be separated from the others. Since that time, a continuous manhunt has been in progress.

When the Germans demolished a section of the old port of Marseille for military reasons, many Jews were seized and sent to concentration camps. In March, 1943, there was a fresh hunt for Jews in Marseille. The offices of the Jewish Community were raided, and those found on the premises were arrested and interned together with the communal employees. Similar raids took place at Toulouse, Limoges and Lyon.

During March, too, more than 3,000 Jews, including many girls between 18 and 25 years of age, were removed from camps in the former unoccupied zone and sent to "destinations unknown" in the East. In April and May the Gestapo conducted an intensive search in Paris for "missing" Jews.

On June 27, 1943, a Laval decree went into effect which revoked the citizenship of all Jews naturalized after August 10, 1927. A German source remarked cynically that this measure "is expected to result in a mass exodus of Jews from France." Exodus meant deportation in the death trains bound for Poland.

VI. Reaction of the French People

As long as a considerable section of the French population continued to cling to Marshal Petain as a last straw in the despair of defeat, the Vichy anti-Jewish policy did not provoke real resistance in the "free" zone. However, even in the early months after the catastrophe, a number of outstanding French statesmen and leaders refused to desecrate the principles which for so long had been synonymous with France. Outstanding among these men was Edouard Herriot, last president of the French Chamber of Deputies, who rejected Marshal Petain's demand that he furnish a list of deputies who were of Jewish extraction. Paul Claudel's letter to the Chief Rabbi of France strongly condemning the persecution of the Jews was widely circulated inside France.

Not until deportation began, however, did the voice of whole France finally make itself heard. Previously, opposition had been confined largely to the underground movement and its clandestine press. As a sign of solidarity towards their Jewish comrades, students organized a demonstration in the Paris Latin Quarter. They wore yellow stars and mocked the Germans. Many of them were seized and sent to concentration camps. Innumerable stories are told of Frenchmen openly greeting total strangers wearing the Star of David. Gentiles informed their Jewish neighbors of impending raids and in many cases gave them secret shelter.

In Lyon protesting crowds snatched Jews from the hands of the police and hid them. In Marseille and Nice demonstrations against deportation broke out. In Paris many police officials were arrested on the charge that they had helped Jews to avoid deportations. General de St. Vincent, military governor of Lyon, was dismissed because he refused to place his troops at the disposal of the authorities making mass arrests of Jews. On August 5, 1942, the German *Tagesanzeiger* was forced to admit that despite two years of Nazi effort "racial anti-Semitism of the Central or Eastern European design has not won the French people."

The church, including both Catholic and Protestant leaders, has been in the front ranks of the fight against the deportations. In August, 1942, Emanuel Celestine Cardinal Suhard, Archbishop of Paris, and Pierre Gerlier, Archbishop of Lyon, sent a

joint protest against racial and religious persecution to Petain. The bishop of Montauban sent a pastoral letter to be read from all pulpits in his diocese on August 30, 1942. The bishop's letter said in part:

> "Hereby I make known to the world the indignant protest of Christian conscience, and I proclaim that all men, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, are brothers because they were created by the same God, and that all men, whatever their race or religion, have a right to respect from individuals as well as from States. Present anti-Semitic measures defy the dignity of the human individual and violate the most sacred rights of that individual and his family. May God comfort and fortify those who are unworthily persecuted."

The Archbishop of Toulouse, Jules Geraud Suliege, issued the following pastoral letter whose publication was forbidden by Pierre Laval:

> "There is a Christian morality, there is a human morality, that impose duties and confer rights. These duties and these rights derive from the very nature of man. They may be violated. No mortal has power to suppress them.
>
> "That children, women, men, fathers, mothers should be treated as a wretched herd, that members of the same family should be separated from one another and embarked for unknown destinations, was a sad spectacle reserved for our times to see! Why does the right of asylum no longer exist in our churches?
>
> "Why are we a vanquished people?
>
> "Lord have pity upon us!"

Cardinal Gerlier ordered clergymen of his archdiocese to look after Jewish children whose parents had been deported. The latter were forced to sign declarations stating that they had left their children willingly and renouncing all parental rights. In the concentration camps near Lyon distraught parents complied in the hope of saving their children. On August 29th parents were sent to the occupied zone en route to the East. Children who remained behind were sheltered by Catholic organizations. Two days later, Vichy ordered the children deported as well. Cardinal Gerlier refused to obey and the children were not surrendered. In retaliation Father Charillet, a member of the Cardinal's staff, was confined to forced residence and six other

priests were arrested.

Speaking for the French Protestant Federation, the Reverend Marc Boegner told Marshal Petain on August 20, 1942:

> "No Frenchman can remain insensible to what has occurred in internment camps since August 2nd. It will be argued, I know, that France is merely returning to Germany the Jews who came here in the Autumn, 1940. The truth is that there have been delivered up, and there are about to be delivered up, to Germany men and women who sought refuge in France for political or religious motives, several of whom are aware of the terrible fate awaiting them."

In response to the unanimous voice of the leading churchmen of France, Pierre Laval replied:

> "No man and nothing can sway me from my determination to rid France of foreign Jews. . . . I will take no lessons in humanitarianism from any country. The Catholic Cardinals and Bishops have intervened, but every one is master of his own trade. They handle religion. I will handle government affairs."

As far back as November 1, 1940, speaking in the name of Free France, General Charles de Gaulle addressed the following declaration to the World Jewish Congress:

> "Be assured that since we have repudiated everything which has been falsely perpetrated in the name of France since June 23rd, the cruel decrees directed against French Jews can and will have no validity in Free France. These measures are not less a blow to the honor of France than they are an injustice to her Jewish citizens.
>
> "When we have achieved victory, not only will the wrongs done in France itself be righted, but she will again resume her traditional place as the champion of freedom and justice for all men, irrespective of race or creed, in a new Europe."

VII. French North Africa

Prior to the landing of Allied troops in French North Africa on November 7, 1942, some 330,000 Jews of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia had been subjected to most of the Vichy restrictions imposed in metropolitan France. In Algeria Jews had, for

70 years previously, enjoyed the status of French citizens under the Crémieux Decree of 1870. In Morocco and Tunisia they were subjects of the local rulers. The Crémieux decree was revoked by Vichy on October 7, 1940, thereby depriving Algerian Jews of their political rights. In Morocco, the status of Jews was changed by a law of October 31, 1940, along the lines of the Vichy Jewish Statute of October 3rd, and revised again on August 5, 1941, in accordance with the second Jewish Statute in Vichy France. In Tunisia, too, the Jewish Statute was introduced by a decree of the Bey on December 4, 1940.

On the basis of the Vichy "superfluous" aliens law of September, 1940, a Moroccan decree of February 17, 1941, established labor camps in North Africa, mainly for use in the construction of the Trans-Sahara railroad. In August, 1941, Jews in Morocco who had settled in the European residential areas since September 1, 1939, were ordered to return to the native quarters.

A succession of decrees expelled Jews of French North Africa from most occupations, and the *numerus clausus* was introduced in the professions and schools. In Algeria Aryanization of Jewish enterprises commenced in earnest in the Spring of 1942. In September it was announced that 477 enterprises, owned in whole or in part by Jews, had been placed under the control of provisional commissars.

On November 17, 1942, ten days after the first Allied landings, President Roosevelt declared that he had "asked for the abrogation of all laws and decrees inspired by Nazi governments or Nazi ideologists." The expectations of liberation from all the effects of Vichy rule were not immediately borne out. After several months had passed, many dictatorial and discriminatory decrees were still in operation. Vichy-minded officials who continued to hold important posts were in no hurry to return to the laws of the Third Republic. On December 9, 1942, an order signed in the name of General Prioux, directed that commissioned and non-commissioned Jewish officers who had been stricken from the rolls, were not to be reinstated unless they had been wounded or cited for gallantry, and were favorably recommended by the staff. Jewish enlisted men were to be attached to labor camps or pioneer corps rather than active mili-

tary service. A later order, dated January 30, 1943, explained quite frankly:

> "This measure has seemed necessary in order to avoid the possibility of the whole of the Jewish population acquiring the position of veterans, and in order not to commit ourselves with regard to the future status of these persons after the war."

In his declaration of December 17, 1942, Admiral Darlan had said that "measures have been taken to stop immediately whatever persecution of Jews may have resulted from laws passed in France under German pressure." Nevertheless, on December 31st, the Chief Rabbi of Algiers was compelled to remind General Giraud that "since November 8th no decree has been forthcoming abrogating the laws inspired by Hitler; they have actually been intensified by military laws, mobilizing Jews in separate units as workers. . . ."

On March 7, 1943, General Giraud finally declared that "a decree signed in Vichy is not effective in North Africa." A week later he announced the promulgation of an order "declaring the law of June 2, 1941, and the decrees connected with it, null and void." But in the same breath he announced the abrogation of the Crémieux decree, thereby stripping about 44,000 Algerian Jews of their French nationality. The validity of Giraud's act was quickly challenged on the ground that it was not in his power, as High Commissioner, to abrogate laws of the Third Republic, but only to enforce them.

Giraud's later actions held out more promise for the Jews of North Africa. On May 15, 1943, he issued an order to the staffs of the French land, sea and air forces that all racial discrimination in army promotions and assignments be discontinued at once.

The establishment in June, 1943, of the French Committee of National Liberation, with Generals de Gaulle and Giraud as co-presidents, gave further cause for hope. For 44,000 Algerian Jews, however, the North African chapter of the Axis story does not end until their rights as French citizens under the Crémieux decree are fully restored.

ITALY

I. Ancient Roots

Standing before his Chamber of Deputies on May 14, 1929, Mussolini declared:

> "The Jews have lived in Rome since the days of the Kings. Perhaps they furnished the clothing after the rape of the Sabines. . . . They asked permission to weep on the bier of dead Caesar. They shall remain undisturbed—as shall remain those of other faiths."

On another occasion, at the Fifth Levantine Fair in Bari, September 6, 1934, he announced:

> "Thirty centuries of history allow us to look with supreme pity on certain doctrines which are preached beyond the Alps by the descendants of those who were illiterate when Rome had Caesar, Virgil and Augustus."

Some time passed, and Mussolini stood politely by as Hitler walked into Austria. Il Duce had changed his tune and the Italian fiddle has been scraping ever since. A few months after Anschluss, the Italian Fascist Manifesto had this to say:

> "The population of Italy in its majority is of Aryan origin and its civilization is Aryan. . . . The Jews do not belong to the Italian race. The Jews are the sole ethnic group which has never become assimilated in Italy because it consists of non-European racial elements wholly distinct from the elements out of which the Italians developed."

As a matter of fact, Italian Jews trace their domicile in Italy as far back as the second century B.C. In 212 A.D. they were granted Roman citizenship by the *Lex Antonina de civitate* passed under Caracalla. With the coming of Christianity they suffered great hardship, but in the seventh century they were afforded some protection by Pope Gregory I's bull *Sicut Judaeis*

Non. During the Renaissance, despite some religious hostility, Italy became a haven for Jews who were persecuted in other parts of Europe.

In 1416 the Jewish communities of Rome, Northern, and Central Italy began to feel the need for union. To this end a conference of rabbis and elders was convened in Bologna for the purpose of coordinating action in defense of Jewish rights. A second conclave two years later at Forli resulted in the election of a group of representatives to speak for Italian Jewry, which was able to successfully intervene with Pope Martin V.

This comparatively happy era was succeeded by a period of darkness in which Jews suffered anguish on the perennial rack of religious hatred and intolerance. It was not until under the influence of the French Revolution that the one-day-old Roman Republic gave full-fledged citizenship to the Jews on February 15, 1798. General emancipation for Italian Jewry did not come until much later.

Italian Jews have contributed notably to the development of almost every branch of Italian life. Caecilius, one of the most learned Greek rhetoriticians, added much to the literature of ancient Rome. In the Middle Ages there were Donnolo, friend of Dante; Immanuel Ben Solomon, and the satirist Kalonymus Ben Kalonymus. The philosophers Elijah Delmedigo and Leone Ebreo, as well as Azaria Del Rossi of Mantua, Simha Luzatto, Rabbi Leo Da Modena and Isaac Cardoso of Verona graced the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In that same period lived the two Italian Jewish poetesses, Debora Ascarelli and Sara Copia Sullam. To modern Italy, the Jews gave the celebrated Venetian historian Samuel Romanin and the famous poet of Florence, Solomon Miorentini. In the fine arts, there was the Renaissance painter, Moise Del Castellazzo of Venice, the composers, Franchetti, Rieti, Solomon De Rossi (father of modern synagogue music), among the most prominent. The foremost modern Italian dramatist is Luigi Pirandello. Modern sculpture is represented by Enrico Glicenstein.

Since the Renaissance, when they were first admitted to Italian universities, Jews have excelled in the sciences. Among a host of names, it is well to mention the architect Abraham Colorni and

the mathematician Mordecai Finzi, both of sixteenth century Mantua; the 17th century mathematician Joseph Solomon Delmedigo. Dr. Alessandro Artom, an associate of Marconi, and Professor Tullio Levi-Civita, considered the greatest mathematician of Italy (removed from the university as a result of the anti-Jewish laws) represent modern times. In medicine, Italian Jews have been prominent since the early Middle Ages. Among them were Isaac Ben Mordecai (Maestro Gajo) in the 13th century; Manuel and his son Angelo (14th century), who were granted exemption from taxes by the Roman Senate because "*as great masters of their art, they are of important service to the citizens of Rome and therefore of greatest advantage to the city*"; Amato Lusitano, court physician of Pope Julius III, and Joseph Hakohen, physician to Andrea Dorea, the Doge of Venice. In recent times, Bellan Pescarolo and Dr. Erwin Stuckgold were royal physicians. The latter was recently tried for violating Fascist racial laws by treating Christian patients. Valerio Artom, professor of gynecology, and Dr. Eugene Morelli, authority on tuberculosis, are two of many famous medical men who were removed from the universities because they were Jewish. In law, the names of Gino Avia, authority on constitutional law; Mortara, President of the Italian High Court of Appeals; the legal philosopher Giorgio de Vecchio (removed from Rome university), and Gino Arias stand out. The press had such figures as Salvatore Barzilai, former president of the Association of the Italian Press, Baron Castelnuovo, Margarita Sarfati, and many others.

As far back as the Middle Ages the Jews occupied an important position in the economic life of the Italian peninsula. The first to establish trade with the Levant, they brought prosperity to many cities. It was Magino di Gabriele of Venice who first introduced silk to Italy in the 16th century. In the 19th century, David Lubin was instrumental in organizing the conference which created the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome. Italy's leading automobile manufacturer was Fiat. Angelo Sacerdoti was exempted from the anti-Jewish laws as the designer of the *Conte di Savoia,* the pride of the Italian merchant fleet.

"Italian Jews have always been good citizens, and they have fought bravely as soldiers," said Mussolini in 1932. They did fight

bravely in many battles for Italy's freedom. Isaac Artom played an active role in the revolution of 1848. Colonel Enrico Guastella was a close friend and comrade of Garibaldi. Giacomo Venezian of Trieste fought with Garibaldi and met a hero's death. Colonel Cesare Rovighi was aide-de-camp to Victor Emmanuel II. Italian Jews won over 1,000 citations for gallantry in World War I. Before the Fascist purge, Italy had 11 Jewish generals. Admiral Aldo Ascoli was Commander of the Italian naval base at Rhodes. Admiral Paolo Maroni commanded the Italian fleet in the Balearic area. Admiral Umberto Pugliese designed most of the warships of the Italian Navy. His first vessel, which he designed at the age of 27, revolutionized naval construction. He was called not long ago to salvage the battleships *Julius Caesar* and *Conte di Cavour.*

Since, the Risorgimento Jews have also played an important part in Italian political life. Isaac Artom, the first Jew to sit in Parliament, was secretary and close friend of Cavour. After Cavour's death, he helped shape the political course of Italy. Isaac Pesaro Marogenato was Minister of Finance of the Venetian Republic in 1848, Sansone d'Ancona held the same post in Tuscany in 1859. Luigi Luzatti, who was Minister of the Treasury five times, became Premier of Italy in 1911. Sydney Sonnino, founder of *Il Gornale d'Italia,* was twice Prime Minister (1906, 1909), as well as Foreign Secretary from 1914 to 1919, and one of the signers of the Versaille Treaty. Piazza Sonnino was named in his honor. (Early in 1942 the name of the square was changed to Piazza Orso degli Anguillara.) General Guiseppe Ottolenghi was Minister of War in 1902-1903, while Ernesto Nathan held the post of Lord Mayor of Rome from 1907-1913. Among many other Italian Jews who held important political posts we find Leone Wollemberg, Minister of Finance; Francesco Tedesco, Minister of Labor and Finance; Giacomo Malvano, Under Secretary of State and Minister to Tokyo; Gabriele Pincherle, chairman of the Council of State; Ludovico Mortara, Minister of State, Justice and Education; Leopold Franchetti, governor of Italian Eritrea, together with a score of Senators.

II. Imported Racialism

In Italy proper there were 57,000 Jews in 1939, with the great-

est concentration in Rome (13,700), Milan (7,500), Trieste (4,500), Turin (3,786), Florence (2,800), Genoa (2,700), and Venice (2,000). Their occupational distribution showed that over 50 percent belonged to the middle classes, while the rest were made up of white collar employees and laborers.

Not until open collaboration with Hitler did the Italian government officially launch the anti-Semitic policy which became a cornerstone of the Axis structure. Mussolini's "race-consciousness" has been traced to the very beginnings of his Fascist career via a speech to the Party Congress in Rome in November 1921:

> "I wish to say that Fascism is preoccupied with the solution of race. Fascists should concern themselves with the salvation of the race through which history is made."

Later, however, his violent denials of racist or anti-Semitic tendencies rang loud throughout the world. The absence of official anti-Semitism in Italy was loudly trumpeted in *Regime Fascista* and guaranteed, in the language of the Fascist press, by "the outstanding and truly humane personality of Mussolini himself." The first definite symptoms of a new policy appeared in 1936, in connection with the creation of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, when *Regime Fascista, Corriere della Sera* and other Fascist papers violently attacked the Italian delegation to the Congress. Roberto Farinacci wrote:

> *"International Jewry is anti-Fascist. Never has a Jew uttered a word of admiration or gratitude for Fascism."*

Jews were blamed for the sanctions imposed upon Italy by the League of Nations during the Ethiopian war. Maurizio Rothschild of Florence was branded *"this French Jew who has financed all the anti-Fascist movements and offered magnificent aid to the brigand Haile Selassie."* The Zionist movement also came under heavy attack. It was called "a myth not only contrary to, but diametrically opposed to the developments and postulates of Italian policy in the Mediterranean and the East." It was also said to be "an instrument of British domination in the Eastern Mediterranean" and "a challenge to the Arabs and Islam, with whom Italy, especially after the conquest of Abyssinia and the deliver-

ance of Ethiopian Moslems from the yoke of the Negus, is on cordial terms." The Moslem policy, based on Mussolini's imperialist ambitions, may have helped appreciably to kindle the flames of official anti-Semitism in Italy.

If the anti-Semitic press campaign in 1936 was intended as a feeler, the wave of protests it produced should have discouraged Il Duce. For a short time it did look as though he were backing down. In 1937 a government spokesman declared that "the articles which have appeared in the newspapers are the personal opinions of their editors and do not have government support in any way." At about the same time Fulvio Suvich, the Italian Ambassador to the United States, assured Dr. Stephen S. Wise that there would be "no change in the attitude of the Government towards the Jews in Italy. . . . The Jews of Italy, though few in number, occupy a high and distinguished place in Italy, and that place will remain secure and undisturbed."

When anti-Semitism became, in Mussolini's own words, "a matter of political strategy," these declarations and denials were thrown overboard, and Italian officialdom, though perhaps a little gingerly, rolled up its sleeves and set to work. On the government's orders, a manifesto was drawn up by ten Italian professors which prepared the "ideological" ground for anti-Jewish legislation. On the basis of this document, the Fascist Grand Council on October 6, 1938 drew a blueprint for the anti-Jewish laws.

The groundwork had been prepared a few weeks earlier and concerned at the outset foreign Jews only. By order of the Italian Minister of Education on August 3, 1938, foreign Jewish students were barred from all Italian schools. On September 7th, foreign Jews who had settled in Italy after January 1, 1919 were ordered to leave the country and their settlement in Italy and the Dodecanese Islands was henceforth forbidden. For purposes of this law, a Jew was defined as such if he descended from two Jewish parents regardless of the religion which he professed. By the same act, Jews who were naturalized after January 1, 1919 were deprived of their Italian citizenship and designated as aliens.

The first blow was thus dealt at the expense of Italy's 7,773 foreign Jews, the majority of whom (some 6,000) were refugees

from Germany. Many of these were not able to emigrate legally and found haven in France or Switzerland only after a hazardous trip across the Alps. By the end of 1941, according to the Stefani news agency, there were still 3,674 foreign Jews in Italy. This number may be explained by a provision in the law for the Defense of the Italian Race (issued on November 17, 1938), according to which foreign Jews over 65 years of age, and those married to Italian citizens before October 1, 1938, could apply to be exempted from expulsion.

Soon after the first blow, Italian Jews were eliminated from important positions in almost all branches of Italian life. The Defense of the Italian Race law defined the following persons as Jews:

1. Those with two parents of Jewish race even if the person himself belongs to another religion;
2. Those with parents of whom one is of Jewish race and the other a foreigner;
3. Those with a mother of Jewish race, while the father is unknown;
4. Those of Italian parents one of whom is of Jewish race, if the person himself belongs to the Jewish religion, or is enrolled in the Jewish community where he has in some way manifested Judaism; in this last category a person is not considered a Jew if he belonged to another religion on October 1, 1938.

At the same time, all persons of Jewish faith were ordered to register as Jews, and all official papers had to indicate the fact. Punishment for non-compliance was comparatively mild. Violators received a jail sentence of from 8 to 10 days and paid a small fine.

One of the first racial measures to follow, was the prohibition of mixed marriages, despite the opposition of the Pope who regarded it as a violation of the Concordat. Next the armed forces were taken in hand. Jews were eliminated from military service. Jewish officers, non-commissioned officers, and the rank and file in all branches of military service were dismissed. However, discharged officers were granted certain indemnities and could retain their rank and uniform if authorized to do so by the commanding officer.

Soon thereafter, it was announced that Admiral Paolo Maroni

had been replaced by Admiral Aimone di Savoia, the Duke of Spoleto. Rather than face retirement, many a proud Jewish officer sought death. Colonel Segre of the first regiment of artillery in Vercelli, shot himself after having been asked to resign from the army. So did Colonel Ascoli, kinsman of Admiral Aldo Ascoli, who was also dismissed as Commander-in-Chief of the Italian squadron at Rhodes. Colonel Ascoli was permitted to make a farewell speech to his regiment. As he finished speaking, he covered his face with the regimental flag and shot himself dead before the eyes of his men.

A few months after the elimination of Jews from the army, it was reported that many Jewish officers were being called back to the colors. They included mainly doctors, engineers, and a number of infantry officers.

In the cultural sphere, an Italian educational law provided that Jews be excluded from teaching and other positions in any schools or educational institutions attended by non-Jewish students. They could no longer be members of academies and associations of science and art. Jewish students also were banned from schools attended by the newly created Italian Aryans. Exceptions were made for students of Jewish race who were of Catholic faith, but only in elementary and secondary schools under ecclesiastic authority; and temporarily, for Italian and foreign Jewish students already in attendance at an institution of higher learning. Segregated elementary schools for Jewish children were to be opened in localities with not less than 10 children, but secondary schools had to be established by the Jewish communities. A decree forbidding Jews to exercise the function of a guardian or trustee of a non-Jewish minor, also provided that a parent of Jewish race could be deprived of paternal authority over children belonging to another religion "if he should impart to them an education not in harmony with . . . national aims."

Under the Fascist educational laws, some 200 famous professors were ousted. They included: Carlo Foa, professor of physiology at Milan; Guiseppe Levi, anatomy (Turin); Rome lost five of her important scholars: Frederigo Enriques, mathematics; Alessandro della Seta, archaeology; Roberto Almagia, geography; Umberto Cassuto and Mario Donati, surgery. Palermo discharged

Maurizio Ascoli, director of medical clinics; Pisa lost Cesare Sacerdotti in pathology. There were many others. Professor Mauricio Pincherle of the University of Bologna, president of the International School of Pediatrics, committed suicide shortly after the laws went into effect, as did Dr. Angelo F. Formiggini, a leading Roman publisher and editor of the Italian Who's Who, the bibliographical magazine, *L'Italia che Scrive,* and the *Encyclopedia of Encyclopedias.* Formiggini leaped to his death from the Ghirlandina tower in his native city of Modena. A number of ousted scholars found positions and refuge in the Vatican.

In Italian schools, the use of textbooks by authors or co-authors of Jewish descent was prohibited. By September 1942, the Italian government had introduced the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as an obligatory text for all Italian schools. The *Protocols* were adapted for use in the school system by the Italian "race expert," Giovanni Preziosi. By order of the Ministry ot Popular Culture, publishers were forbidden to print Italian translations of foreign books by Jewish authors. At that time (1938), books by Italian Jews could still be published, but booksellers were instructed not to display them prominently. On the other hand, Jewish artists were banned from La Scala Opera and the Italian theatres; Jews were also excluded from participation in all athletic exhibitions. Early in 1942, a ban was imposed on the sale of musical recordings composed, conducted, or performed by Jewish musicians.

In the political field, Jews were declared ineligible for membership in the Fascist party and were ousted from all governmental and administrative posts. Exceptions were made for veteran party comrades or families of those who had died for the Fascist cause. For the rest, there followed elimination from the civil or military administration of the state, provinces and municipalities; from all public institutions and affiliated organizations; also from all city enterprises, quasi-state agencies, public works, agencies acting under public law, and public banks.

In economic life, the law for the Defense of the Italian Race left Jews very little leeway. It banned Jews from the ownership, management or control of city enterprises concerned with the defense of the nation (and later Jews were completely barred from the armament industry), or from employing more than 100 per-

sons. Jews were forbidden to take employment as salesmen, appraisers, canvassers, or to act as middlemen. They were barred from the stock exchange and from the administration of private insurance companies. Jewish firms, even those large concerns in the hands of Aryan trustees, were denied the necessary import licenses. Jews were also barred from wholesale trade. Those still engaged in the few open fields of commerce, were hit by the measure providing that Aryans leaving Jewish enterprises before the end of 1943 were entitled to the full compensation provided by law for dismissed employees. Another measure provided that Italian enterprises could not dismiss any non-Jewish employee as long as they employed a single Jewish worker. Jews were no longer permitted to own land valued at more than 5,000 lire or urban real estate at 20,000 lire. An Institute for the Administration and Liquidation of Immovable Property was established for the acquisition, administration and sale of property in excess of the fixed amounts. Heavy restrictions were also introduced in the professions. Jews were forbidden to act as notaries. In law, medicine, engineering, chemistry and agriculture, those few who belonged to the exempt categories could continue their normal activities, but the rest had to confine their practice exclusively to Jews. All association between Jewish and non-Jewish professionals was strictly forbidden. Jewish journalists could exercise their professions only if they belonged to the exempt categories.

The only measure of actual confiscation in Italy was the requisitioning of all gold, silver, copper and other metal articles in the possession of the synagogues. In August 1942, the Rome radio appealed to Italians in Egypt not to buy any Jewish property, because a victorious Axis would give it to them gratis after the war. Perhaps that is the answer.

On May 6, 1942, forced labor for Jews was introduced. However, the order also applied to Italians unable to bear arms, and was generally regarded as a substitute for military service. All Jews from the ages of 18 to 55 were subject to this "civilian mobilization." Those who failed to comply were subject to trial by military tribunals.

Within three weeks after the publication of the order, 5,000 Jews were mobilized for forced labor on railroads in Brescia and

Perugia, road construction in Central Italy, and waterways in the provinces of Rome, Rovigo, and Verona. A few weeks later, 5,000 more Jews were doing agricultural work in the vicinity of Rome. In the province of Bologna all Jews were drafted and sent to work in industrial plants. Jews from Genoa, Milan, Naples and Turin were employed on Adriatic coastal fortifications. At first the labor camps for Jews were under the supervision of civilian guards. These were soon replaced by Italian soldiers, however, because they had become too friendly with the laborers. Some 400 Jewish doctors and 300 engineers were exempted from forced labor for more urgent service on the home front. This was not entirely gratifying to Fascist zealots who, in a nine-point memorandum dated as late as June 14, 1943, demanded the "severe and universal application of the law of compulsory labor." They also asked that "in applying this legislation more care should be taken to distinguish between such negative elements as Jews and criminals deflected to labor battalions, and those other Italians conscripted under the war effort."

As in Germany, a law concerning surnames was introduced. Jews who had Italianized their names were ordered to resume their original Jewish surnames. Italian citizens with a Jewish father and non-Jewish mother, who professed the mother's faith, were permitted to apply for the substitution of the mother's non-Jewish maiden name in place of the father's. The same law also contained a provision nullifying any condition in a will making an inheritance or legacy dependent upon the heir or legatee adhering to or not abandoning the Jewish faith. An exception was made where the beneficiaries were children of two Jewish parents.

Jews were also prohibited from employing Italian citizens of Aryan race as domestic servants. Shortly after this measure was published, the Italian Ministry of Interior issued the following instruction: "It is advisable to permit the hiring of Aryan nurses by Jewish families in which children are considered Aryan by law so that the children may be entrusted to the Aryan maids or nurses."

Public worship and the activities of the Jewish communities continued under certain restrictions. The Union of Jewish Communities, headed by Dante Alamansi with Aldo Ascoli as vice-

president, and with the active cooperation of the Chief Rabbi of Rome, Professor Ignazio Zolli, faced many difficult problems. One of these was the trend toward conversion. Some 5,000 Jews were said to have embraced Catholicism, counting upon protection from the Vatican. A much greater number (10,000) emigrated overseas. The 47,000 Jews who remained in Italy carried on with at least tacit sympathy from the majority of the Italian people. The Jewish community in Italy even provided a haven for 5,000 Jews who escaped the Pavelitch reign of terror in Croatia. Many were said to have been aided across the border by Italian soldiers. Qualified artisans among them were permitted to work, while those who could not prove that they were able to earn a livelihood were interned in camps. The latter shared the fate of some 1,000 Jewish "enemy aliens" living in three internment camps. But these camps were in no way comparable to their counterparts in Germany or in Laval-ruled France.

III. Defunct Empire

In August 1942, the Italian racial laws, which originally concerned only Italian (metropolitan) Jews in Italy, Libya and other colonies, with the exception of Ethiopia, were extended to native Libyan Jews. Libyan and Italian Jews in Libya were declared subject to forced labor under the civilian mobilization law. Libyan Jews were prohibited to export or import merchandise without special authorization from the governor. During the British offensive in the winter of 1942, because they were "suspected of pro-British activities," Libyan Jews were forbidden to leave their homes between 4 P.M. and 6 A.M. In the summer of that year, a Governor's order introduced public flogging of Jews accused of "anti-state activities," in addition to imprisonment and confiscation of their property. One of the first to be tried under the new decree was a 60 year old Jewish merchant who was sentenced to 25 strokes, three years' imprisonment and a fine of 5,000 lire. Early in 1943, new restrictions were imposed upon the Jews of the vanishing Italian empire. They were forbidden to keep Moslem servants as a parting appeasement gesture of the Italian administration towards the Arabs. The German farewell to her ally's empire consisted in staging a pogrom before evacuating Tripoli. The

Jewish Community elders, along with 162 other Jews, were shot down during the night before General Montgomery took the city. According to the report of the Jewish chaplain of the Eighth Army, the victorious Allied troops which occupied Tripoli found 1,400 Jews of that city employed at forced labor, while another 3,000 Jews of Cyrenaica were locked in a concentration camp at Giado, 100 miles southwest of Tripoli. Of these, 318 had perished from typhus and starvation.

Italy's policy in the European territory which she occupies, has not been the same everywhere. In occupied French territory, the Italian commandant abolished the yellow badge for Jews, probably because it was not provided for by Italian law. At the same time, a curfew from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M. was ordered for the Jews of Nice, while 200 Jews of Corsica were arrested and allegedly deported to the Italian Tyrol for conducting anti-Italian activities. On the other hand, the entire Jewish population of Albania, consisting of 300 families, of whom 100 were refugees from Germany, was ordered into a ghetto in Tirana.

IV. Church and the Italian People

Back in January 1939, Roberto Farinacci complained that he could not understand the attitude of the Catholic Church toward the Jewish problems. What he had in mind were such pronouncements as the following which had appeared in July 1938, in the Vatican organ, *Osservatore Romano:*

> "Toward the Israelites we are not only extremely anti-Christian and anti-civil, but inhuman. . . . Propaganda against Jews assumes, wherever it is organized and led, proportions unworthy of twenty centuries of Christian civilization."

To a group of missionary students, Pope Pius XI said: "We must ask why Italy unfortunately has conceived the need of imitating Germany," and "it is forgotten that all human beings are but one great universal human race." To which Mussolini replied at a meeting in Forli:

> "You must know and let everyone know that in the racial question we shall go straight ahead. To say Fascism has imitated anyone or anything is simply absurd."

Anti-Semitism remained a bone of contention and the Vatican continued the fight. "Racialism," said the Pope, "concerns a great and serious error which reaches the steps of the altar touching Catholic doctrines." When Cardinal Schuster of Milan was bitterly attacked by the Fascist press for denouncing the Axis doctrines as "an international danger," the Pope hastened to declare: "Recently in Milan the Cardinal Archbishop delivered a speech which corresponds exactly to his pastoral duties." Disregarding the Fascist attacks upon his person, Cardinal Schuster continued to speak to both the Italian and German people over the Vatican radio:

> "From a religious point of view and politically as well, Italy has no need to borrow either her creed or her social order from other peoples and civilizations."

The bishops of Rome, Turin, Milan, Trieste, Fiume and Padua joined their voices in protest against the persecution of Jews. This action was branded by the *Regime Fascista,* which lamented that "the Church's obstruction of the practical solution of the Jewish problem constitutes a crime against the new Europe." These threats did not frighten the Archbishop of Rome who, in May 1943, openly protested against seizure of Jewish schools and prayer houses to shelter bombed-out Italians. The Bishop pointed out that there were many other buildings available for that purpose without interfering with the Jewish religion.

Although the Italian government bowed to German pressure by introducing anti-Jewish laws, the people of Italy have never really swallowed the imported concoction. Last summer there were pro-Jewish demonstrations at the railway stations of Rome, Milan and other Italian cities, in connection with the departure of Jews for forced labor. The Fascist press itself was unwittingly the best mirror of the real feelings of the Italian people. *Regime Fascista* accused the Italian aristocracy of pro-Jewish sympathies and demanded that the guilty be treated as Jews. Speaking in Milan, Roberto Farinacci stated that "a true Christian does not need to consult the pseudo-Catholic papers" (meaning *Osservatore Romano*). Fascist functionaries were exhorted to show greater severity in dealing with Jews and to denounce any Italian "who

lacks the courage to break with the Jews." This "lack of courage" was even observed in the armed forces. It was reported that in Albania, 45 Italian officers and soldiers were tried for having freed several hundred Yugoslav Jews from a concentration camp.

In an effort to win over the people to Nazi-inspired racialism, a great propaganda apparatus was set up. In addition to anti-Semitic and racist papers and periodicals, quasi-scientific "Institutes for Study of Anti-Semitism" have been organized at the Universities of Padua, Florence and Trieste. With the active cooperation of the Ministry of Popular Culture, these institutes published a periodical information sheet and organized lectures on Jewish problems. But *Regime Fascista* whined that these "research" centers were not doing so well because "there are few students of this burning question and there is a dearth of anti-Semitic material in Italy."

On July 25, 1943, Mussolini was forced to resign, and the external trappings of the Fascist order were hastily removed. On August 1, 1943, the Berne correspondent of the *New York Times* reported that Marshal Badoglio had "voided the application of the Nuremberg anti-Jewish laws in Italy, and ordered the immediate release of 12,000 persons in concentration camps or jails for the 'crime' of being a Jew or refusing to divorce a Jewish wife." Another decree, according to the same dispatch, "restored Italian citizenship to 'all those who have lost that designation under the racial laws'." This report has not yet been officially confirmed.

Summary

SUMMARY

Some 3,000,000 Jews of Europe have perished since the war began four years ago. In the areas occupied or dominated by the Axis, there now remain a little over 3,300,000 Jews, compared to the former Jewish population of 8,300,000. Some 1,800,000 have been evacuated into the interior of the Soviet Union, and about 180,000 have emigrated. But *3,000,000 are dead.* They have been destroyed by deliberate means: by planned starvation, forced labor, deportation, pogrom and methodical murder in the German-run extermination centers of Eastern Europe.

In Poland, with a pre-war Jewish population of 3,300,000, probably no less than 1,600,000 Jews have been exterminated. About 500,000 escaped or were evacuated into the Soviet Union, leaving no more than 1,200,000 Polish Jews in that country today. In the occupied parts of the Soviet Union, where there were some 2,100,000 Jews in 1939; there are now only about 400,000, of whom a large proportion are deportees from other parts of Europe. In Rumania, which had a Jewish population of about 850,000, some 230,000 have perished. The province of Bessarabia, which formerly had a dense Jewish settlement, now has no Jews; Bukovina has only 15,000 left.

Of 525,000 Jews living in Germany when Hitler came to power, only some 5,000 still remain. About 75,000 perished in the course of deportation; some 25,000 were killed or committed suicide; furthermore, there has been a so-called "natural" surplus of deaths over births amounting to 50,000. Some 75,000 German Jews may yet be alive in the ghettos and labor camps of Poland and occupied Soviet territory, while some 10,000 others are still in France, Belgium and Holland, awaiting deportation to the East. About 285,000 German Jews, or only a little more than half, found refuge by emigration. In Austria, perhaps 8,000 Jews remain of 170,000 who lived there in 1938. About 25,000 have perished.

In Lithuania, there are no more than 30,000 of the 145,000

Jews in the country when the war began; less than 10 percent of the missing 115,000 made good their escape to the Soviet Union; the remainder were slain. The same picture holds for Latvia, where some 65,000 of the 95,000 Jews of 1939 have been exterminated, and only about 15,000 escaped to Russia.

The manner in which 3,000,000 European Jews have lost their lives since the outbreak of the war is indicated in Table III. Some 1,700,000 were victims of organized massacres and pogroms, conducted for the most part under official German supervision, with the aid of satellite police and troops. The "spontaneous" pogroms which came in the immediate wake of German occupation in Eastern and Southern Europe, later gave way to methodical extermination in accordance with official German orders.

Starvation and its consequences have accounted for about 750,000 Jewish lives since the war began. This estimate is conservative, for in Warsaw, during 1941 alone, there perished of "natural" causes no less than 47,000 Jews, or nearly 10 percent of the total Jewish population. Conditions were then considerably better than in the interval that has since passed. Food rations, although small, were far better than now, and food packages were still being received from abroad. Even assuming, however, that the "natural" death rate in Poland has not risen above the 1941 figure, and that in other countries it has been considerably lower, 750,000 Jewish deaths from starvation and its attendant diseases, since September 1, 1939, would seem to be the minimum figure.

Deportations have taken nearly 350,000 additional Jewish lives. A high German official admitted that 30 percent of the deportees died en route to their destination, but since Jews have been repeatedly deported and re-deported from one locality to another, the percentage of casualties would reach at least 50 percent.

Only about 8 percent of the Jewish dead have fallen in actual warfare. *The others died because they were Jews.*

The economic destruction of European Jewry is virtually complete. With a few exceptions, notably in Hungary and Italy, all the property owned by Jews has been confiscated. Homes, personal belongings, small stores and artisan shops alike have been seized, together with larger enterprises whose stockholders were Jewish. The pretense that Jewish owners would be compensated

out of the proceeds of "Aryanization" sales was abandoned long ago. The Jews have been totally pauperized. Some 800,000 commercial enterprises, large and small, and about 500,000 artisan shops, plants and factories have been confiscated. Table IV represents only part of the aggregate property loss suffered by the Jewish population. It does not include the value of Jewish communal property which has been seized or destroyed.

Jews have been driven out of the professions, where they were formerly some 200,000 strong. With the exception of the few Jewish doctors who are still permitted to care for the Jewish sick, the vast majority of Jewish doctors, as well as the educators, engineers, lawyers and other professionals have been assigned to heavy manual labor in work camps managed by the Gestapo and its satellite counterparts. Even the craftsmen who were employed by the Germans during the first two years of war have since, for the most part, been herded together with the others into forced labor gangs. Thus the whole Jewish population, or rather the fraction that is still alive, has been reduced to one shapeless mass of Axis slave labor.

Finally, for the 3,300,000 who may still be alive, even the spiritual consolation of their faith and their way of life has been ruthlessly assaulted. Their schools have been closed down, their libraries, museums and other cultural treasures plundered, their synagogues destroyed or desecrated. And with each day of continuing war, the threat of total extermination, so often voiced by Hitler and his lieutenants, comes closer to fulfillment.

TABLE I.

BALANCE OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN AXIS EUROPE – ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES SEPTEMBER 1939 - SEPTEMBER 1943

Countries.	Number of Jews 1939	1943	Gross Loss
Germany	215,000	5,000	— 210,000
Poland	3,300,000	1,400,000[1]	—1,900,000
U.S.S.R. (occupied areas)	2,100,000	400,000[2]	—1,700,000
Lithuania	145,000	30,000	— 115,000
Latvia	95,000	15,000	— 80,000
Austria	55,000	8,000	— 47,000
Rumania	850,000	430,000[3]	— 420,000
Yugoslavia	75,000	20,000[4]	— 55,000
Greece	75,000	45,000	— 30,000
Belgium	100,000	20,000	— 80,000
Holland	150,000	40,000	— 110,000
France	320,000	200,000[5]	— 120,000
Czechoslovakia	315,000	185,000	— 130,000
(a) Protectorate	(80,000)	(30,000)[6]	(— 50,000)
(b) Slovakia	(135,000)	(55,000)[7]	(— 80,000)
(c) Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia	(100,000)	(100,000)[8]	....
Italy	57,000	47,000	— 10,000
Danzig	500	....	— 500
Estonia	5,000	....	— 5,000
Norway	2,000	....	— 2,000
Denmark	8,000	6,000	— 2,000
Finland	2,000	1,800	— 200
Bulgaria	50,000	50,000	....
Hungary	400,000	400,000[9]	....
Luxembourg	5,000	200	— 4,800
TOTAL	8,324,500	3,303,000	— 5,021,500

NOTES ON TABLE I.

The countries are all considered according to their pre-war boundaries for purposes of comparison. Consequently, the figures for the Jewish population in 1943 are according to the old boundaries. Jews are regarded as such according to their religion.

1. Actually, there remain no more than 1,200,000 Polish Jews, but we have added 200,000 of the surviving deportees from Central and Western Europe.

2. In the occupied Soviet areas only 250,000 local Jews are left, but we have added some 150,000 surviving deportees from Rumania (to Transnistria) and from other European countries.

3. Present-day Rumania has only 270,000 Jews, but we have added 160,000 Jews who live in the Hungarian annexed parts of Transylvania.

4. There are practically no Jews in present-day Yugoslavia, but we have included Jews from the area which was transferred to Hungary (15,000) and those who fled to Italian occupied territories (5,000).

5. Only 175,000 of the pre-war French Jews remain, but the influx in 1940 of 10,000 Belgian and 5,000 Dutch refugees, plus 10,000 deportees from the Palatinate, brings the total to 200,000.

6. Including the Jews in the ghetto-fortress of Terezín.

7. Slovakia is understood as the administrative unit which existed before Munich. Of these 55,000 Jews, only 10,000 are in "independent" Slovakia, but we have added the 45,000 that went, after the cession of Western Slovakia, to Hungary.

8. Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was incorporated in Hungary and the number of Jews there probably remained intact.

9. To the number of Jews in Hungary within its old boundaries must be added some 12,500 refugees. A considerable number of refugees from Slovakia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia fled to Hungary. On the other hand, some 20,000-30,000 were deported, including 10,000 Hungarian citizens. The total Jewish population in the actual frontiers of Hungary is 412,500 plus 100,000 (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) plus 45,000 (Western Slovakia) plus 160,000 (Transylvania) plus 15,000 (Banat), making a total of nearly 750,000.

TABLE II.

ANALYSIS OF DEFICIT BY COUNTRIES

Countries	Gross Loss[1]	Displacement[2] of Survivors: Evacuated[3] or Emigrated	Displacement[2] of Survivors: Deported to Eastern Europe	Balance, Dead
Germany	210,000	25,000	75,000	110,000
Poland	2,100,000	500,000[4]	...	1,000,000
U.S.S.R.	1,850,000	1,200,000[5]	...	650,000
Lithuania	115,000	10,000[6]	...	105,000
Latvia	80,000	15,000[6]	...	65,000
Austria	47,000	17,000	10,500	19,500
Rumania	420,000	100,000[6]	92,500	227,500
Yugoslavia	55,000	8,000	12,000	35,000
Greece	30,000	3,000	8,500	18,500
Belgium	80,000	25,000	25,000	30,000
Holland	110,000	25,000	40,000	45,000
France	120,000	30,000	34,000	56,000
Czechoslovakia	130,000	18,000	47,500	64,500
(a) Protectorate	(50,000)	(8,000)	(15,000)	(27,000)
(b) Slovakia	(80,000)	(10,000)	(32,500)	(37,500)
Italy	10,000	10,000	...	...
Danzig	500	...	250	250
Estonia	5,000	2,000[6]	...	3,000
Norway	2,000	600	600	800
Denmark	2,000	2,000	...	...
Finland	200	200	...	...
Luxembourg	4,800	4,800	...	...
TOTAL	5,371,500	1,995,600	345,850	3,030,050

NOTES ON TABLE II.

1. The apparent difference in gross loss for Poland and the Soviet Union between the figures given in Tables I and II, is due to the inclusion in the 1943 column in Table I, of deportees who arrived there since the outbreak of war.

2. This column does not include the forced displacement of Jewish populations that has taken place *within* the boundaries of the respective states.

3. These figures refer mainly to Jews in former Soviet-controlled areas who were evacuated by the Soviet government into the interior. The total number who succeeded in emigrating overseas or in finding shelter in neutral countries of Europe amounts to some 180,000 since the outbreak of the war.

4. Deported and evacuated from Soviet-occupied territories to the interior of the Soviet Union prior to and since the outbreak of the Russo-German war. From the German-occupied areas, only an insignificant number succeeded in escaping.

5. Evacuated by the Soviet authorities into the Russian interior.

6. Evacuated by the Soviet authorities at the outbreak of the Russo-German war.

TABLE III.

HOW THEY DIED[1]

Countries	Total Number of Dead	By Extermination: Organized Murder	Deportation[2]	Starvation, Epidemics	Killed in Actual Warfare
Germany	110,000	15,000[3]	75,000	20,000	..
Poland	1,600,000	1,000,000[4]	..	500,000	100,000[5]
U.S.S.R.	650,000	375,000	..	150,000	125,000[6]
Lithuania	105,000	100,000	..	5,000	..
Latvia	65,000	62,000	..	3,000	..
Austria	19,500	1,500[3]	10,500	7,500	..
Rumania	227,500	125,000	92,500	10,000	..
Yugoslavia ...	35,000	15,000	12,000	5,000	3,000
Greece	18,500	2,000	8,500	6,000	2,000
Belgium	30,000	..	25,000	5,000	..
Holland	45,000	..	40,000	5,000	..
France	56,000	2,000	34,000	15,000	5,000
Czechoslovakia	64,500	2,000	47,500	15,000	..
(a) Protectorate	(27,000)	(2,000)[3]	(15,000)	(10,000)	..
(b) Slovakia	(37,500)	..	(32,500)	(5,000)	..
Danzig	250	..	250	..	..
Estonia	3,000	3,000	..	..	..
Norway	800	..	600	200	..
TOTAL....	3,030,050	1,702,500	345,850	746,700	235,000

NOTES ON TABLE III.

1. This table deals with the total number of Jews who have perished, while the deficit column of Table I is concerned with the gross decrease in the Jewish population of each country.

2. One-half of all deportees are reckoned as victims. This column lists the victims only. The official German figures admit that up to 30 percent of the deportees die en route (Report of Obersturmfuehrer Hiegs to Himmler). The conditions at the places of destination are deliberately aimed to make survival difficult. Some twenty percent of the deportees who arrive at their destination should be reckoned as victims.

3. Refers to victims in concentration camps, mercy killings, and suicides after 1939.

4. Including victims of internal deportations.

5. Of these, 63,000 Jews perished in air raids and artillery bombardment during the war. Of the 37,000 killed in action, 32,000 were killed on the battlefields during the first three weeks of the war. Some 5,000 have since perished as guerrillas. No attempt is made here to estimate the number killed in the last battles which took place during the liquidation of certain ghettos.

6. Including victims of bombardments.

TABLE IV.

PROPERTY LOSSES OF EUROPEAN JEWRY (EXCLUDING COMMUNAL PROPERTY) IN U. S. GOLD DOLLARS

Countries	Year	Number Jews	Per Capita Loss	Total Loss
Germany	1933	525,000	4,200	1,985,000,000[1]
Danzig	1933	10,000	940	6,270,000[2]
Austria	1938	170,000	2,800	476,000,000
Protectorate	1939	80,000	2,800	212,800,000[3]
Slovakia	1939	135,000	940	126,900,000
Rumania	1939			
Bessarabia & Bukovina		330,000	525	173,250,000[4]
Old Kingdom		360,000	940	169,200,000
Yugoslavia	1940	75,000	940	70,500,000
Greece	1940	75,000	525	39,375,000
Poland	1939	3,300,000	525	1,730,000,000[5]
Estonia	1940-1941	5,000	940	4,700,000[6]
Latvia	1940-1941	95,000	940	89,300,000[6]
Lithuania	1940-1941	145,000	940	136,000,000[6]
Belgium	1940	75,000	1,600	120,000,000[7]
Holland	1940	115,000	3,950	454,000,000[8]
France	1940	260,000[11]	1,755	456,300,000[9]
Luxembourg	1940	3,000[11]	4,200	12,600,000
Norway	1940	2,000	4,200	8,400,000
Bulgaria	1940	50,000	940	47,000,000[10]
Italy	1938	47,000	..	....
TOTAL		5,857,000		6,317,595,000

NOTES ON TABLE IV.

This table does not purport to be mathematically precise. Thus far no official statements on Jewish property have been issued, so that other methods of evaluation are necessary, in addition to the announcements made from time to time by German or German-controlled sources.

Three fundamental types of property in various countries are presumed: the Polish, the German, and the Slovak. For the Polish type, the average wealth was established with a high degree of probability on the basis of a close examination of the income and property of various social strata. With regard to the German type, we used both official and private estimates of the value of Jewish-owned property, as well as a comparison of the taxes paid by German and Polish Jews, which indicates that the *per capita* wealth of the German Jews was at least eight times higher than that of Polish Jewry. For Slovakia, there is the official data of the government on the value of "Aryanized" Jewish property. The Polish type is $525 *per capita;* the German $4,200, the Slovak $940. On this basis, the Jews in Nazi-controlled countries are divided into three types. To the same type as Poland belong the Jews of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Greece. To the German category belong 20 percent of the Belgian Jews, 25 percent of French Jewry, all in Luxembourg, 91 percent of the Dutch, and all of Norway's Jews. To the Slovak type belong Danzig, Bulgaria, Old Rumania, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 80 percent of the Belgian, 9 percent of the Dutch, and 75 percent of the French. The Jews of the Protectorate and Austria have been singled out as a special type with $2,800 as the average wealth. Whenever the data so obtained could be checked against the announcements of German sources, it always proved to be underestimated. (It was possible to do so with regard to Jewish-owned property in Belgium, Holland, France, and Bulgaria.)

The countries of only partial confiscation of Jewish-owned property (Italy, Hungary) are omitted. In all doubtful cases, minimum figures are used.

1. 10 percent deducted, representing the part of property which was probably saved.

2. 33 percent deducted for the same reason.

3. 5 percent deducted as above.

4. The property of the Jews in Bukovina and Bessarabia was completely confiscated, if not previously nationalized by the Soviet authorities, while in the Old Kingdom we assume that to date 50 percent of the property has been confiscated.

5. In the Eastern provinces, under the Soviet regime partly nationalized and later confiscated by the Gestapo.

6. Nationalized under the Soviet regime and later confiscated by the Gestapo.

7. Excluding property of German refugees established in Belgium. A report of March, 1943, in the *Bruesseler Zeitung* put the value of Aryanized property at 18 billion francs.

8. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* on September 6, 1942 quoted a Dutch statement to the effect that *thus far,* the value of certain property to be Aryanized was $250,000,000.

8a. Does not include refugees.

9. On March 15, 1943, Darquier de Pellepoix, the French Commissar on Jewish Affairs, placed the value of Jewish property at 100 billion paper francs, the equivalent of $2,600,000,000 in accordance with the exchange rate of 1939, which has substantially decreased.

10. A Transocean report of November 22, 1942 put the Jewish property in Bulgaria at 8 billion levas or $96,000,000 (in accordance with the table of exchange published in Instructions of the Treasury Department Form 500ter.)

TWENTY YEARS

OF THE

INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS
1941-1961

A Record of Activities

and Achievements

INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
15 EAST 84TH STREET
NEW YORK 28, N. Y.
1961

1. The War Period

On February 1, 1941 the Institute of Jewish Affairs was founded in New York by the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress under the direction of Dr. Jacob Robinson with a staff of scholars and researchers from many Jewish centers of the world. Since 1947 the Institute has been wholly a World Jewish Congress institution.

The object of the Institute, as formulated at the time, was to "conduct a thorough investigation of Jewish life during the past twenty-five years, in order to establish the facts of the present situation, determine its direct and indirect causes, and outline suggestions on the basis of which the Jewish rights may be claimed in a postwar settlement."

Thus the Institute was to be a research body creating the scientific basis for the policies and activities of the Jews, in particular of the World Jewish Congress, for the war and postwar periods, with special emphasis put on a postwar program. In fact, however, the Institute of Jewish Affairs developed into a research and policy-suggesting body beyond the immediate tasks for which it was established.

One of the basic tasks during the war was to pierce the pall enveloping European Jewry in order to ascertain the true facts of the situation. To this end it devised and organized its own means and channels through which it received information. Sifting this intelligence and clearing up contradictory reports became a major task. The material compiled in this way constituted a source of information unavailable in any other place. Mention should be made, *i.a.*, of the collection of anti-Jewish laws and regulations in Europe, of which considerable use was made after the war in the Nuremberg trials of war criminals, and

the files containing information on every country and region over which the Nazis had extended their rule.

[In the postwar period the archives of the Institute were expanded to cover information on the Jewish situation the world over and a large number of general problems of interest to Jews.]

To make the facts known and to bring to the Jewish and non-Jewish world a realization of what the Nazi and Fascist domination meant to the Jewries of the countries involved, the Institute published between 1941 and 1945 a number of studies, the most important of which were *Hitler's Ten Year War on the Jews* and *Starvation over Europe,* which have remained up to this time standard works in this field. They were also used by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in preparation of the case against the top Nazi war criminals.

Parallel with the research on the Jewish situation as of that time, went on the planning for the postwar period. The Institute prepared a vast number of studies on such problems as the effect of Nazi persecution, the methods of Nazi penetration, minority rights, Jewish refugees, restitution and compensation, human rights, war crimes, migration, anti-Semitism, and many other vital questions.. A considerable number of them appeared in book form and were acclaimed by scholars and critics as major contributions in their respective field. Worthy of particular mention are: *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?, Indemnification and Reparations, Relief and Rehabilitation, The Jewish Refugee.* Other studies remained in the files of the Institute and were mostly used for the planning and/or in the preparation of later publications.

There was danger that the world might plan the postwar settlement on the basis of obsolete programs and situation no longer corresponding to the reality. Owing to its research into the actual situation of European Jewry, its determination to face realities, and imbued with the spirit of a crusader for new approaches, the Institute was able to devise plans and policies which corresponded to the new situation in Europe and the world and could be put in operation when the war was ended. This was exemplified, among other things, by the series of resolutions it prepared for the historic War Emergency Conference of the World Jewish Congress of November, 1944 — resolutions forming together a blueprint of Jewish life in the postwar period. It was a comprehensive program of action, embracing rescue, relief and

rehabilitation, restoration of Jewish legal rights, reparations and indemnification, punishment of war criminals, and migration.

The above studies and programs constituted the basis for the activities of the World Jewish Congress alone or in cooperation with other organizations in the postwar world.

In addition to dealing with the Jewish situation and Jewish postwar problems, the Institute dealt with a number of general problems created by Nazism. In this field, the major study was the one devoted to the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, *The Racial State.*

The important part played by the Institute and its Director in the trial and conviction of the major Nazi war criminals, and particularly in preparing the Jewish count against them, was acknowledged by no less an authority than the late Justice Robert H. Jackson of the United States Supreme Court, who was American Chief of Counsel in the prosecution of the top war criminals. Upon the conclusion of the trial, Justice Jackson wrote: "The Nazi persecution of the Jews was one of the major phases of the Prosecution's case, and the successful presentation of that aspect of the case was greatly aided by the contribution made by the Institute of Jewish Affairs. . . I warmly commend the Institute and its Director for the initiative, devotion, industry and service rendered to the cause of justice to war criminals."

2. The Post-War Period

With the end of the war, the activities of the Institute were reoriented toward the problems which the world at large and the Jewish people had to face in the new kind of peace that followed.

In November, 1946, the then Director of the Institute, Dr. Jacob Robinson, was invited by the Secretariat of the United Nations to assist it, in the capacity of Expert-Consultant, in preparing the first session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which met in January, 1947. At that session the first steps were taken toward an International Bill of Rights, a measure long advocated by the World Jewish Congress. Afterwards the Director of the Division of Human Rights of the UN Secretariat wrote to Dr. Robinson that "a large part of the credit for the success of the meeting certainly belongs to you."

During the last 15 years the Institute, since 1948 under the leadership of Nehemiah Robinson, prepared the documentation and drafts

of a large number of memoranda submitted by the World Jewish Congress to the United Nations, other international bodies, governments, and other public authorities, and published a considerable number of works on the activities of the United Nations, including a study on human rights in the UN Charter, and commentaries on the Genocide Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Declaration of Death of Missing Persons, the Convention on the Status of Refugees, and the Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons, which remain to this day the only such commentaries available in any language. The Institute also prepared the Congress' White Paper on The Treatment of Jews in Egypt and Iraq, which was submitted to the United Nations in the case of Jewish persecution in these countries.

Similarly, the Institute prepared and published a large number of studies on anti-Semitism, neo-Nazism and neo-Fascism, war crimes, restitution and compensation in Europe, most of them unique in their scope and nature; on the situation in Germany, Poland, the Soviet Union, Rumania, Hungary, etc., the Arab Countries, Spain, North Africa, Persia and Afghanistan, Latin America, South Africa, China. Particularly important contributions to the knowledge of the Jewish situation in postwar Europe are the Institute's publications, *European Jewry Ten Years After the War, The Jewish Communities of the World,* and *The Dictionary of Jewish Public Affairs and Related Matters.*

In 1954 and 1955, the Institute published annual *Surveys of Events in Jewish Life,* containing detailed information on events of Jewish interest during the year under review as well as statistical information on the Jewish communities the world over. The *Survey* for 1953 was classed, by an impartial reviewer, among the most memorable Jewish publications which appeared in the year 1954. In 1957, the comrehensive 511-page *Institute Annual 1956* was published containing articles on 16 Jewish communities in addition to 7 articles of worldwide scope, such as restitution and compensation, cultural events, migration, war criminals, neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism, the United Nations.

Since 1948, the Institute has been issuing *Current Events in Jewish Life,* a quarterly survey, and since 1959, *Periodic Reports in Jewish Life* containing both separate articles of timely interest and chronicles of events. Other publications included: *Information Series,* dealing with various topics of interest to Jews; a series entitled *Current Information on Restitution and Related Questions;* and, for a time, a monthly called *Information on Germany.*

Widely disseminated publications of the Institute were the series *Lest We Forget,* comprising the pamphlets *Operation Murder* (translated into Italian and Spanish), *From Discrimination to Annihilation,* and *The Jewish Catastrophe: Ten Years After.*

Although the Institute publications are generally issued in English, a considerable number were also published in Yiddish, and some (incl. the *Commentary on the Genocide Convention*) in Spanish. Many have been widely reprinted, sometimes even in full, in Jewish and other papers the world over.

The Institute has also been publishing, for the benefit of the members of its Executive Committee the world over, reports on topical items of every kind.

The publications of the Institute of Jewish Affairs have received many highly complimentary tributes. They are distributed all over the world, including such remote countries as Japan or India. Many of the studies are also disseminated to the various delegations of the United Nations, Governments, intergovernmental organizations, university and other libraries. They are being reviewed in Jewish and non-Jewish periodicals, including well-known journals devoted to international law.

A full list of the Institute publications is given in the appendix. In addition, a considerable number of studies prepared by the Institute appeared in other publications of the World Jewish Congress.

Since 1948, the Institute has also been dealing with a number of practical problems. They include provision of information to private persons and organizations, assistance in war criminal matters, etc. The Institute has been in close touch with the German Central Office for the Prosecution of War Criminals, with a large number of investigating judges and public prosecutors and with witnesses all over the world. It has provided information and valuable evidence on practically all annihilation camps and a large number of forced labor camps and ghettos.

The Institute has also been contributing to the work of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and of the Committee of Claims on Austria and to the enactment of legislation on restitution and compensation in Germany, Austria, and other countries. It also assists large numbers of claimants, through its publications and advice.

The files and library of the Institute are also being used by outside scholars and other interested persons for research and information purposes.

To commemorate the 20th anniversary of its establishment the Institute will publish two volumes containing reviews of the most important events and developments in Jewish life since 1933, as well as surveys on a number of individual countries.

In the twenty years of its existence the Institute of Jewish Affairs has faithfully fulfilled its mission of serving as an impartial and authoritative source of information on Jewish life and needs. In addition, it is hoped, it has enriched Jewish scholarship and contributed to the knowledge of international law. It will continue its work in the future in the same spirit.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

of the

INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS

I. INTERNATIONAL LAW, UNITED NATIONS

1. *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?* by Jacob Robinson, Oscar Karbach, Max Laserson, Nehemiah Robinson and Marc Vichniac, 1943. $2.00
2. *Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in the Charter of the United Nations.* A Commentary by Jacob Robinson, 1946. 1.25
3. *The Three R's of the Genocide Convention* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1949. 0.10
4. *The Genocide Convention: Its Origins, Significance and Interpretation.* A Commentary by Nehemiah Robinson, 1949. 1.25
5. *The Genocide Convention.* A Commentary by Nehemiah Robinson, Second Edition. 1960. 2.00
6. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Its Origins, Significance and Interpretation.* A Commentary by Nehemiah Robinson, 1950.* 1.25
7. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* by Nehemiah Robinson, Second Edition. 1958. 2.00
8. *The Attitude of the American Bar Association Toward the Genocide Convention,* by Nehemiah Robinson, 1950.* 0.25
9. *The United Nations Convention on the Declaration of Death of Missing Person.* A Commentary by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951. 1.25
10. *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees: Its Significance and Main Provisions,* by Nehemiah Robinson, 1952. 0.50
11. *The United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees: Its History, Contents and Interpretation.* A Commentary by Nehemiah Robinson, 1953. 1.50
12. *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons* (English and Yiddish). A survey by Nehemiah Robinson, 1954. 0.25
13. *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons: Its History and Interpretation.* A Commentary by Nehemiah Robinson, 1955. 2.00

14. *The United Nations Draft Covenants on Human Rights: Their Significance, History, and Provisions*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1955. 0.25
15. *The United Nations and the World Jewish Congress*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1956. 3.00
16. *The Draft Code of Offenses Against The Peace and Security of Mankind and The Draft Statute for an International Criminal Court*, 1957. 0.50
17. *The Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the U.N.* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951.* 0.10
18. *The Activities of the U.N. Economic and Social Council*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951.* 0.10
19. *The Import of the Forthcoming Seventh Session of the U. N. General Assembly* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1952.* 0.10
20. *The Seventh Session of the U.N. General Assembly* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1953. 0.10
21. *The Tenth Regular Session of the U.N. General Assembly*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1955. 0.10
22. *What Results Has the Tenth Anniversary Session of the U.N. General Assembly Produced?* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1955. 0.10
23. *Freedom of Information: A Human Right*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951. 0.10
24. *The Task Before the Seventh Session of the Human Rights Commission*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951. 0.10
25. *A New Session of the United Nations General Assembly: Old Problems*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1953. 0.10
26. *San Francisco 1945-1955*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1955. 0.10
27. *The Twelfth Regular Session of the U.N. General Assembly: What will it deal with?* by Nehemiah Robinson, 1957.
28. *The U.N. Secretary General: Secretary or General?* (English and Yiddish) by Nehemiah Robinson, 1957. 0.10
29. *The Tenth Anniverasry of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, by Nehemiah Robinson (English and Yiddish) 1958. 0.20
30. *The Fifteenth Regular Session of the U.N. General Assembly*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1960. 0.10

II. NAZI RULE OVER EUROPE

1. *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 1941. 0.10
2. *Cold Pogrom in Rumania*, 1942. 0.10
3. *Jewish Forced Labor*, 1942. 0.10
4. *Jewish Religion in Axis Europe*, 1942.* 0.10
5. *Starvation Over Europe*, by Boris Shub and Zorach Warhaftig, 1943.* 1.50
6. *Hitler's Ten Year War on the Jews*, by Various Hands, 1943.* 1.50
7. *Racial State*, by Gerhard Jacoby, 1944.* 2.00
8. *Operation Murder*, by Anatole Goldstein, 1949. 0.35
9. *From Discrimination to Annihilation*, by Anatole Goldstein, 1952. 0.50
10. *The Jewish Catastrophe: Ten Years After* (English and Yiddish), 1955. 0.50

11. *January 30th, 1933: Twenty Five Years After* (English and Yiddish), 1958. 0.25
12. *The Swastika Epidemic*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1960.* 0.50
13. *The Case of Adolf Eichmann*, 1961. 1.00

III. POSTWAR PROBLEMS

A. GENERAL

1. *Projects for Jewish Mass Colonization*, 1941. 0.10
2. *Minorities After the War*, 1942.* 0.10
3. *The Jewish Refugee, by* Arieh Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossman, 1944.* 3.00
4. *The Jewish Catastrophe* (Yiddish), by Jacob Lestschinsky, 1944. 0.50
5. *Relief and Rehabilitation*, by Zorach Warhaftig, 1944. 1.00
6. *Uprooted: Jewish Refugees and Displaced Persons After Liberation*, by Zorach Warhaftig, 1946. 1.00
7. *The Story of the Jewish "DP"*, by Gerhard Jacoby, 1948.* 0.15
8. *Crisis, Catastrophe and Survival: A Jewish Balance Sheet, 1918-1948*, by Jacob Lestschinsky, 1948. 1.50
9. *The Jewish DP Problem*, by Kurt R. Grossman, 1951. 0.50

B. RESTITUTION, COMPENSATION AND REPARATIONS

1. *Indemnification and Reparations*, by Nehemiah Robinson (with 3 supplements*), 1944-1946. 2.00
2. *The Working and the Results of the German Reparation Program*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1949.* 0.35
3. *Restitution Legislation in Germany*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1949. 0.35
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5. *West German Reparations and Payments by the Allies*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951. 0.15
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7. *How We Negotiated With the Germans And What We Achieved*, 1952. 0.30
8. *The (West) German Federal Legislation in the Field of Compensation to Victims of Nazi Persecution*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1953. 0.75
9. *English Translation of the Federal (West) German Compensation Law*, 1954. 0.50
10. *The Global Recompense Agreements with Germany*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1954. 0.25
11. *Information Sheet on the BEG*, 1956.
12. *The New Federal Compensation Law*, 1956. 0.20
13. *The (West) German Federal Legislation in the Field of Compensation to Victims of Nazi Persecution*, by Nehemiah Robinson (2nd edition), 1957. 0.50
14. *The (West) German Federal Compensation Law (BEG) And Its Implementary Regulations*, 1957. 1.00
15. *The (West) German Federal Restitution Law (BRUG) In Questions and Answers*. 1957. 0.25

16. *Federal Law on the Discharge of the Restitutory Monetary Obligations of the German Reich and Assimilated Legal Entities (BRUG)*, 1957. 0.50
17. *Compensation to Victims of Nazi Persecution for Property Losses in Expulsion and Similar Areas.* (11th Decree to the Equalization of Burdens Law), 1957. 0.20
18. *Restitution and Compensation Legislation in Austria*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1949. 0.35
19. *The Austrian Emigrants Assistance Fund*, 1956. 0.20
20. *Information Sheet Concerning the Registration of American Property in Poland*, 1957. 0.10
21. *Memorandum Concerning Exchange of Letters Between the U.S.A. and Polish Delegations Dated June 7, 1957, Relating to American Property in Poland and Notice of Foreign Claims Settlement Commission Dated June 14, 1957*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1957. 0.20
22. *Information Sheets on Restitution and Compensation in Various European Countries* (Some also in Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1946-1954. 0.10

C. WAR CRIMES AND DENAZIFICATION

1. *Their Mournful Road*, by Anatole Goldstein, 1948.* 0.10
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8. *The Resurrection of the German Foreign Office*, by Anatole Goldstein, 1951. 0.10
9. *The Burial of Nuremberg*, by Anatole Goldstein, 1951. 0.10

IV. THE JEWS TODAY

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1. *The Jews of South Africa* (English and Yiddish), by Jacob Lestschinsky, 1948.* 0.25
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15. *European Jewry Ten Years After the War* (English and Yiddish), 1955. 3.00
16. *The Institute Annual 1956*, by Various Hands (partly also in Yiddish), 1957. $4.00 paper bound, $5.00 cloth bound.
17. *Dictionary of Jewish Public Affairs and Related Matters*, by Various Hands, 1958. 2.00
18. *The Jewish Communities of the World* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1959. 0.75
19. *The Changed Jewish World*, 1933-1959 (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1959. 0.20
20. *Fifteen Years Since the End of the War* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1960. 0.20
21. *The Jewish People Twenty Years After* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1960. 0.20

B. JEWS IN EASTERN EUROPE

1. *The Jews Under Soviet Rule*, 1941.* 0.15
2. *The Statistical and Economic Evolution of Rumanian Jewry Since Liberation* (English and Yiddish), 1948.* 0.15
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6. *The Prague Trial*, by Nehemiah Robinson, 1952. 0.10
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10. *The Soviet Attitude Toward Territorial Minorities and the Jews* (English and Yiddish), by Anatole Goldstein, 1953. 0.50
11. *Background Paper on the Jewish Position in Poland and Hungary*, 1957. 0.10
12. *Poland After "October."* by Nehemiah Robinson, 1957. 0.25
13. *Jews and Jewishness in the Soviet Union* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1957. 0.25

14. *The Position of the Jewish Communities in Eastern Europe on the Eve of 1958* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1957. 0.25
15. *The Jewish Position in the Soviet Union* (English and Yiddish), by Nehemiah Robinson, 1959. 0.50

C. JEWS IN MOSLEM LANDS

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5. *Libya, Another Moslem State Established,* by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951.* 0.10
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V. GERMANY

1. *German Jews, Past and Present* (English and Yiddish), 1949. 0.20
2. *Anti-Democratic Trends and The Jewish Position in Germany,* by Gerhard Jacoby, 1951. 0.30
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4. *Danger Points in Western Germany,* by Nehemiah Robinson, 1951.* 0.25
5. *Recent Events in Eastern Germany* (English and Yiddish), by Greta Beigel, 1953. 0.25

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *The Problem of a Jewish Army,* 1941. 0.10
2. *Jews in the French Empire,* 1941. 0.10
3. *Jews in the Far East,* 1942. 0.10
4. *Outlawing of Anti-Semitism,* by Anatole Goldstein, 1948. 0.10
5. *Trends in Postwar Anti-Semitism,* by Anatole Goldstein, 1951. 0.10
6. *The Attitude of Recent Russian Emigres Toward the Jewish Question* (English and Yiddish), by Anatole Goldstein, 1952. 0.25
7. *Group Defamation. A Survey of Enactments,* 1960. 0.20

VII. PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

A. *Current Events in Jewish Life* (in English and Yiddish), prepared by Jacob Lestschinsky, a quarterly 1948-. A cumulative index for the first ten years is available. 0.25

B. *Information on Germany* (in English and partly in Spanish). Vol. I to III (1950-1952). 0.25

C. *Facts and Comments*, 1948. 0.10

D. *Current Information on Restitution and Related Matters.* 0.25

E. *Periodic Reports on Jewish Life*, a monthly (English and Yiddish), 1959-. 0.25

* Out of Print.