PART II. FOREIGN COUNTRIES

I. THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

1. Great Britain

Before the War

The story of the British Jewish community during the past year is mainly the story of its reaction to the Hitler war and of what, in turn, the war did to it. Most of what happened before September was but a prelude to this major drama. As a matter of fact, very little of importance did happen in those preliminary months, and, as seen in retrospect, their dominant feature was, perhaps, this very absence of effective activity. The chronicle of the period makes sorry reading. While the whole of the kingdom was moving in an atmosphere of anxiety and preparation, of air-raid drills and trial blackouts, and when the shadows of war were growing longer and longer, the leading organizations of the community were absorbing their energies in domestic wrangles. As late as July, 1939, when trenches were being dug in the London parks and the public was being fitted with gas masks, the United Synagogue, principal religious institution, was torn by a dispute over a proposal to hold special Friday night services for German refugees—a dispute raised by the Jewish press to the dignity of a "crisis" and resulting in the resignation of the honorary officers. At the same time, the sister organization, the Federation of Synagogues, was likewise engaged in controversy, involving ecclesiastical intervention, on internal constitutional matters, while in Glasgow, third largest center of provincial Jewry, communal attention was being focused for the most part on a heated quarrel between the Board of Shechitah and the local Jewish butchers.

Preoccupation with issues of this kind held the community back from coming to grips with the real problem before it and from developing any comprehensive scheme for maintaining its structure and services in the event of an emergency. Nevertheless, although coordination was sadly
lacking, several isolated aspects of the situation did begin to receive attention. The Chief Rabbi, almost singly alive to the true issues at stake, set up an emergency committee to deal with matters of a religious character, notably the education of evacuated children and the provision in “safety areas” of due synagogal and dietary facilities, while the Council of Orthodox Jewish Youth Societies, in collaboration with the Senior Chaplain, took steps to secure possibilities for traditional observance among Jewish militiamen. Sporadic conferences also took place in “safe areas” (as they then were), like Brighton and Manchester, concerning the needs of Jewish evacuees.

Meanwhile, the political situation and the nervous state of the public were being shrewdly exploited by anti-Semitic elements in the country, who attempted to instill the idea that any eventual conflict would be the result of Jewish machinations. Especially eloquent in this field was Sir Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists. At a crowded Earl’s Court meeting on July 16, 1939, the “leader” declared that 1,000,000 Fascists would refuse to fight in “a Jewish war,” while a campaign of increasing virulence against Jews, denouncing them as warmongers, was conducted by the Imperial Fascist League and other bodies of similar complexion. The notorious “Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” the spurious character of which has been repeatedly exposed, were again trotted out, on July 14, at a Fascist street meeting in Lincoln Inn Fields, while the cry of “Out the Yids!” became ubiquitous wherever Mosleyites foregathered. Especially disturbing, during this period, was a noticeable infiltration of anti-Jewish doctrine in organizations which had hitherto been free of this taint. A case in point was the Social Credit Party, greenshirt followers of Major Douglas, which had previously proved friendly to Jewish interests and had participated in anti-Fascist demonstrations. The cloven hoof also appeared in the Peace Pledge Union, several members of which betrayed a tendency to bend over backwards in their defence of the pacifist ideal. Miss Ethel Mannin, the novelist, an author who has consistently stood on the left wing of the liberal movement, writing in *Peace News*, the organ of the Union, argued that “the Jew is prepared to plunge the world into
mass-slaughter in the hope of destroying an evil which persecutes his race," while the old cry of "Jewish international finance" was raised at a meeting of the same body by Mr. Theodore Faithful, a political adventurer who has metamorphosed himself, in the the past few years, from the headmaster of an "unfettered" education school to a Harley Street psychiatrist, and thence to a quasi-religious crusader, and thence to a supporter of Lord Tavistock's movement for "Christian settlement." Anti-Semitic propaganda of a less overt character was also conducted by "The Link," an organization whose avowed aim was to promote Anglo-German friendship, but the leaders of which were shown to have connections with Nazi circles and many of whom were later arrested. Jew-baiting screeds were distributed at its meetings and, on at least one occasion, the audience was treated to a violent tirade against Jews. Representative personalities of "The Link" also participated, alongside of well-known Fascists and ex-Fascists, in the parliamentary by-election campaign at Hythe, and were reported to have been entertained at dinner by Mosley.

Fortunately, the Fascist volleys largely misfired. The all too prevalent adulation of Hitler came to disgust the broad masses of the public and to force home the truth that the Fascist attacks on Jews were essentially part of an anti-British, and not only an anti-Semitic, program. The popular attitude was well demonstrated in the dismal defeat of Fascist and quasi-Fascist candidates at parliamentary and municipal elections. At the St. Pancras borough by-election in July the British Union nominees came bottom of the poll with 106 and 83 votes respectively, as against the winners' 2,300 and 1,400, while in the Lower Holloway ward of the Islington division, the Fascist polled 148 as against the Labor candidate's 1,240. H. J. Philby, well-known for pro-Arab and anti-Zionist sympathies, standing for Lord Tavistock's British People's Party at Hythe, and supported by prominent members of "The Link" organization, forfeited his deposit by polling only 576 votes. Another indication of public reaction to Fascist propaganda was the result of a poll conducted by the British Institute of Public Opinion on the subject of the admission of refugees. The figures, released in July, showed that of those canvassed, 70% were
in favor, 26% against, and 4% undecided. At the same time, 84% expressed the view that restrictions should be imposed. A scurrilous attack on Mr. H. M. Davis, president of the Federation of Synagogues, in the East London Black-shirt resulted in a court action, on July 11, and the award of £400 damages. It was later reported that the printers had gone into liquidation.

Counter-propaganda, organized by the London Area Council of the Board of Deputies and the Jewish People's Council against Fascism and anti-Semitism, took the form of leaflet distribution and open air meetings. It was reported, however, that there was a great dearth of workers in this field and that the communal response to unremitting efforts had been disappointing. The death, later in the year, of Mr. Cyril M. Picciotto, K.C., chairman of the London Area Council and one of its most effective speakers, deprived the movement of a beloved and dynamic leader, while the closing down of the Jewish People's Council shortly after the war, when Fascist attacks were still at their height, was universally regretted.

After the Outbreak of the War

The outbreak of war, on September 3, brought several changes in the time-honored structure and routine of the community. In the excitement of the first days, suggestions were made to vest the management of important organizations in their honorary officers. A proposal to this effect was accepted by the Council of the United Synagogue on September 6, 1939. Six days later an unofficial meeting of communal leaders was held at New Court, London, the Rothschild offices, at which the suggestion was made that a special consultative committee, without executive functions, should be set up for the duration of the war. This suggestion, submitted in due course with the President's blessing to the Board of Deputies was, however, viewed with apprehension as possibly opening the door to an encroachment upon the Board's representative character and democratic complexion. It was therefore "laid upon the table," where it continues to lie at the time of this writing.

Foremost among all the changes was the appointment
by the Board of Deputies, on December 17, 1939, on the motion of Professor Selig Brodetsky, of an executive committee to function alongside existent committees in carrying on the Board’s work for the duration of the conflict. The purpose of the new body, it was explained, was to secure a maximum representation of Jewish interests and opinions, both at home and abroad, in the formulation of policies during the emergency and the presentation of claims before an eventual peace conference. To this end, it would include three persons co-opted “from the outside” beside officers and delegates selected from the present membership. At the same time, it was decided to enlarge the existent Joint Foreign Committee by increasing the representation of both the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association and by co-opting three further members. These decisions followed closely the resignation from the Presidency, “on professional grounds,” of Mr. Neville J. Laski, K.C., who had held office for seven years, and his succession by Professor Selig Brodetsky, member of the executive of the Zionist Organization and Vice-President of the English Zionist Federation. The subsequent appointment to the new and enlarged committees of such prominent Zionists as Maurice L. Perlzweig, Lavy Bakstansky, Simon Marks and Barnett Janner caused a certain raising of eyebrows and gave rise, in divers quarters, to the suspicion that the reconstruction was, in fact, a Zionist victory over a body traditionally regarded as unsympathetic to nationalist ideas. This view was, however, strongly discountenanced by Laski in a farewell speech and was further rebutted by a pledge of impartiality given by the new President on taking office.

The war situation also effected significant changes in the religious life of the community. A serious problem was presented by the government’s evacuation of children from the metropolis of London, for it was found that in a large number of cases no facilities were available for the continuance of Jewish education, the supply of kosher meat to the orthodox, or the prosecution of Jewish observances. A special emergency committee, comprising the leading educational institutions, was set up, and the Board of Deputies always kept careful watch on the situation. The
Chief Rabbi issued a pronouncement, early in September, stating that, in face of the emergency, dietary laws would be fulfilled by abstention from the flesh of forbidden animals and from shellfish. A further revolution in religious life was the abandonment of Kol Nidrei services in the synagogues, in order to prevent dangerous concentrations of crowds, and the curtailment of regular services, to end before the black-out. A tradition of English Jewry became toll of the war in the official advice to discard the wearing of "top hats" at synagogue services. The vexed question of the agunah also received ecclesiastical attention. The possibility that wives of Jewish soldiers reported "missing" or failing to return from overseas might be permanently prevented from remarriage, under Jewish law, through failure to establish their husbands' death was viewed by the Beth Din as a remediable hardship, and a form of "Enoch Arden" legislation was devised, whereby a Jewish soldier, on leaving for service, might file a document before accredited authorities permitting his wife to divorce him in the event of his disappearance for four or five years. Following the announcement that meat would be rationed and controlled by the government, the Board of Affairs for Shechitah opened negotiations with the Ministry of Food concerning the provision of kosher viands and, on October 31, it was announced that extra allowances of butter or margarine would be permitted to Jews in lieu of ham and bacon. At the same time, the government's taking over of the meat supplies compelled the closing, after 400 years, of the historic Aldgate market, famous landmark of the kosher trade and of metropolitan Jewish life.

The economic effects of the war, involving as it did shifts of population, curtailment of trade, increased taxation, and the duty of responding to refugee appeals, were reflected in serious fashion in the annual statement of the United Synagogue which reported a deficit of £15,561 (approximately $63,000), or 19% of its income, in the past year. Toll was also taken of the Jews' Temporary Shelter in the East End of London, well-known haven for distressed immigrants for more than three generations. Especially grave in this respect was the situation of thousands of refugees engaged in domestic service, for the mass move-
ment of the population from "danger zones" threw them out of employment. It was estimated that between 10,000 and 15,000 refugees might be affected.

The progress of the war added grist to the anti-Semitic mill. Anti-Jewish slogans, denouncing Jews as responsible for the conflict, were chalked and painted on walls during the blackouts, and window-slashing of Jewish shops was reported. Addressing a meeting at Poole, near Bournemouth, on March 10, 1940, Sir Oswald Mosley advocated the expulsion of the Jews, and in the same month the walls of the Jewish cemetery at Gildersome were defaced with the legend "All Jews, all dead, thank God." Speaking at Leeds on April 3, Mosley described the war as engineered by Jewish financiers to maintain a system of international usury. By this time, however, the public was heartily sick and tired of the Fascist antics, and the identification of Mosleyite anti-Semitism with disloyalty had become apparent, especially in view of the prime need of national unity. Fascist candidates were ignominiously defeated in the Silvertown and N. E. Leeds parliamentary by-elections, in the former case registering 151 votes against the victor's 14,343, and in the other being defeated by a majority of 23,000. Judicial action was also taken against Fascist agitators. On April 7, Alexander Raven Thompson, prominent Fascist speaker, was sentenced to a fine of £25 (about $100) or six weeks' imprisonment for using insulting anti-Semitic language at a street-corner meeting, while on April 25, the secretary of the Hull branch of Mosley's organization was fined £17 (about $65) with an alternative of forty-one days' imprisonment for painting the slogan "Perish Judaea" on Jewish shops. These were but typical instances; there were many others.

Disapproval of the Fascist tactics was also expressed in influential circles of the national life. J. B. Priestly, the author, trounced them roundly in the News Chronicle of July 17, 1939, though pointing out, at the same time, that Jews must make a decisive choice between identification with, or separation from, the larger community. On November 2, 1939, the important Church of England newspaper, The Guardian, also denounced Mosley, while on January 29, 1940, the historian Ramsay Muir, speaking
at Buxton, declared that the Jewish contribution to civilization had been the greatest. Bernard Shaw expressed the view that the ruin of the Jews would be the ruin of Hitler, and decried anti-Semitism, and the National School Union included in its 1940 handbook a special section on “Our Neighbor the Jew.” In April, the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with other Church leaders of all denominations issued a statement condemning the attack on refugees, and this was followed by a letter to the press signed by several members of Parliament. Disturbing, on the other hand, was the attitude of the Catholic newspaper, *The Tablet*, which on January 18, warned the country against Jewish emigres. Charges of this kind were, however, amply rebutted by evidence produced in the House of Commons concerning the extent to which refugees had brought employment to British workers and by the praise bestowed on refugee agriculturalists by the National Farmers’ Union on March 18.

Events in Norway, and the evidence of quisling activity among the native populace, compelled the British Government to re-examine the question of the Fascist organizations and of such pro-Nazi bodies as “The Link.” On May 23, 1940, Sir Oswald Mosley was seized and put in Brixton prison for the duration of the war. Others arrested on the same date were Major Archibald Maule-Ramsay, M.P. (who a few days earlier had asked in Commons that a distinction be drawn between anti-Semites and pro-Nazis); N. Francis Hawkins, director of Mosley’s British Union; John Beckett, ex-aide of Mosley and currently secretary of Lord Tavistock’s quasi-fascist Council for Christian settlement; and Mrs. Dacre-Fox, one-time fascist candidate for Parliament and secretary of the Anti-Vivisection League from whose offices, the government stated, fascist propaganda had been sent out. Later, a round-up of 515 Mosleyites and other fascists took place, including the brothers of William Joyce, allegedly “Lord Haw-Haw” of the German broadcasts, and themselves leaders of an organization which may perhaps be described as the “strength through Joyce” movement. Still later, the government arrested Sir Barry Domville, ex-naval commander and founder of “The Link,” whose connections with prominent
Nazis was notorious and who kept in his study a photograph of Herr Hitler and a statuette of a Nazi storm trooper which he claimed he favored as "a work of art."

As a result of the detention of "Ozzy Mozzy," as the cartoonist Low had dubbed him, and of other prominent members of the Union, the offices of the Fascists were closed and their organ *Action* ceased publication. Finally, the government banned the Union altogether, after having previously excluded its members from service in the anti-parachutist corps. This touched off, with poetic justice, the career of a virulent and pernicious organization which had prided itself on "putting Britain first." The streak of lightning, which was its symbol, had in the end struck it dead. Not inappropriately, a Fascist bookstore in Fetter Lane, London, yielded place to an establishment for the sale of "decontamination outfits."

The response of Jews to the national cause was wholehearted. Typical was the report which came from Leeds, on May 9, 1940, to the effect that, out of 1,000 conscientious objectors examined by the local tribunal, only 3 were Jews. Leading organizations formally pledged their support. The Anglo-Jewish Association, in its annual report, stated that help towards an Allied victory was now its primary aim, while on September 12, 1939, in a special message for the Jewish New Year, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist Organization, urged that support of the Allies was now the foremost consideration and that all questions of national status on the part of Jews must wait in abeyance. The British Zionist Federation expressed support in its official organ *The Zionist Review*. Proposals to launch a separate Jewish military unit were vetoed by the government, who claimed that Jews would do best to serve as ordinary members of the army. Permission for aliens to join the forces was at first withheld, but when it was granted, on October 4, several thousand refugees volunteered in the Auxiliary Pioneer Corps which was sent to France. Most of them were professional men. Their readiness in showing their appreciation of British hospitality and in identifying themselves with the cause of their adopted country earned high praise, as did also their courage under fire. On the other hand, certain local defense
organizations barred aliens, and even British citizens of alien descent, from participation.

Alarm was expressed, on November 10, 1939, when it was learned that regulation identification discs worn by soldiers contained mention of their religion, for it was feared that this would jeopardize Jews, if captured by the enemy. Despite representations, however, the government announced, a fortnight later, that it could not change the existing practise.

Charges that Jews were making profit out of national service were eloquently rebutted when it was learned, on October 15, 1939, that all Jewish Air Raid Precaution officials in the city of Newport had returned their salaries to the mayor. Similarly, the accusation that Jews were entering the war for their own ends was refuted, on October 12, when Sir Archibald Sinclair stated categorically in Commons that Britain's conflict with the Reich was not inspired by any desire to avenge the Jews. The resignation, on January 5, 1940, of Leslie Hore-Belisha from the post of Minister for War led to the suspicion, in certain quarters, that he had been the victim of anti-Jewish feelings, but this charge was flatly denied by Prime Minister Chamberlain in the House of Commons on January 16. The denial, however, with its vague and unspecified allusion to "certain reasons" evoked speculation.

Resignations and retirements deprived British Jewry during the course of the year of several leading public servants. Foremost among these was Mr. Neville Laski who, on December 17, 1939, laid down the Presidency of the Board of Deputies, after a seven years' tenure of that office. Mr. Laski's policies had often encountered criticism, but there was no element of the community which was not ready to acknowledge the selfless devotion with which he had shouldered exceptional burdens during a particularly trying period, and any record of the past year would be incomplete without expression of the debt which British Jewry owes to Mr. Laski.

Two other serious losses to communal service were the partial retirement from active work of Mr. Otto Schiff, reported on December 28, 1939, and the resignation from the presidency of the Anglo-Jewish Association of Mr. Leon-
ard Montefiore. That Mr. Schiff should have been compelled to lay down part of his burden will surprise no one who has knowledge of his untiring labors on behalf of refugees since the very beginning of the Nazi regime. There are thousands of emigrés all over the world who remember with gratitude the private and personal services of Mr. Schiff. Mr. Montefiore's retirement was compensated partially by his acceptance of the office of Treasurer of the Anglo-Jewish Association, but it too, deprived the community of one who, with Mr. Laski, had taken the burden of leadership during critical years. Other retirements were those of Mr. Israel Cohen from the secretariaship of the World Zionist Organization, and of Mr. Morris Duparc, after a lifetime of service, from the same office in the Anglo-Jewish Association.

2. Canada

Anti-Jewish activity continued unabated during the months immediately preceding and following the outbreak of war. The Catholic clergy of St. Agathe, in the Laurentian Mountains area, was especially vocal in attempting to stir up French-Canadian feeling against Jews. Following a call to his parishioners by Father Maisoneuve, urging them to drive the Jews out of town, anti-Jewish activities were endorsed, in July, by Canon J. B. Charland, who informed his flock that "we must keep the district French-Canadian, and must remain masters in our own community." This pronouncement was preceded by the display of posters advising the Jews to "scram while the going's good." The attack was pursued from another angle by Father Archambault, head of the Ecole Sociale Populaire, who strengthened the hands of the Achat Chez Nous economic boycott movement by declaring that anyone who bought from a Protestant or a Jew was "a traitor to his race." Following the line of fascists in other countries, the National Unity Party, under Adrien Arcand, made repeated efforts, before September, to convince the public that any war against Germany would be the result of Jewish machinations, but, with the actual outbreak of hostilities, this form of propaganda began to fall somewhat flat. Appre-
hensive of official action against them, Arcand and some of
the other leaders closed their halls in all towns except
Montreal and went into hiding in the Laurentian Moun-
tains. Later, however, when it became apparent that these
fears would not be realized immediately, renewed activity
ensued in the form of press propaganda and the drilling of
supporters under Major Maurice Scott. At a party meeting
on March 27, 1940, Father Fabian voiced high praise of
Hitler and bitterly attacked Jews. Anti-Semitic literature,
including Coughlin material, was also being circulated at
this time among Canadian officials and civil servants.

The government at length woke up to the danger. Father
Coughlin's Social Justice was banned by the Department
of National Revenue on October 31, 1939, while on January
12, 1940, changes introduced into the Defence of Canada
Regulations imposed curbs upon fascist and other subver-
sive organizations. Later, on May 30, the National Unity
Party was formally proscribed and its leaders, including
Arcand and Scott, arrested. Arcand was brought to trial
on June 19, when his close connection with foreign powers
was demonstrated but, before the trial was completed,
Minister of Justice Lapointe intervened and ordered the
accused detained for the duration of the war. Technocracy,
Inc., suspected as a quasi-fascist organization, was also
closed by police on June 21.

Other earlier developments in the counter-attack upon
anti-Jewish activities were the banning of Father Coughlin
from the CKLW radio broadcasting station, on September
2, 1939, on the grounds of pro-German sympathies, and the
issuance, on December 20, of an official disclaimer by the
CKAC station in respect of anti-Semitic statements made
by Francis Laroche, its new director.

The response of Jews to the national emergency was
significant. A national organization for war work was
launched, on October 20, 1939, under Samuel Bronfman,
president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and on January
7, 1940, at the fifth annual meeting of that body, a com-
mmittee was set up to aid Jewish factory owners in placing
their plants at the service of the government. Figures
released in February showed that some 300 Jews, including
high officers and physicians, were with the Canadian force
in England, and on June 4, W. H. Nelson, 22, a Canadian Jew, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for gallant service.

Apprehension was expressed over the fact that Canadian Jewish soldiers, like all others, were obliged to register their religion on their official identity discs, for it was felt that this would place them in especial jeopardy, if captured by the enemy. Contrary to the decision of the English authorities in the same matter, the Canadian Government announced on January 12, following representations, that it would modify the existing practise to avert this danger.

3. Australia

The principal event of Jewish interest during the past twelve months was the project of establishing a large-scale settlement of refugees in the Kimberley area. The project, submitted to the government by Dr. I. N. Steinberg on behalf of the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization, was warmly supported in influential circles. It was endorsed, among others, by the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Perth, the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, the Catholic Archbishop Mannex, the Lord Mayor of Sydney, the former Premier and Agent-General of New South Wales, and a number of judges, university professors, industrialists and labor leaders. The West Australian Government was reported on August 29, 1939, to have favored the plan in principle, but less than a week later it was announced that it had been rejected by the Federal authorities.

Although the government decided, in the very first days of the war, not to intern refugees, drastic curbs were imposed upon emigré physicians. The New South Wales Cabinet resolved, on December 7, 1939, to bar them from registering for practice in that state, while reports of May 14, 1940, announced that, by the terms of a new order, refugee doctors in Australia would be excluded from the right of signing death certificates or administering certain drugs. Permits would be granted to them, however, to list themselves as unregistered practitioners, and a few Austrian and Hungarian physicians would be accorded full licenses.
More serious still was the government's decision, announced on April 29, 1940, to bar the admission of all refugees coming from Nazi-occupied territories, on the grounds that they were now "enemy aliens." This decision dashed at one stroke the hopes raised last year by the official statement that 15,000 exiles would be received into the country.

Despite these adverse measures, however, Australian Jews responded nobly to the refugee situation. It was reported, in July 1940, that as much as £25,000 had been raised for relief, from a Jewish population of only 27,000.

**4. Union of South Africa**

South African Jews were much perturbed, during the past year, by attempts to introduce anti-Semitic planks into political platforms. The most significant of these was the tie-up in January, 1940, of the parliamentary group led by ex-premier General J. B. M. Herzog, with the Malanite Nationalist Republicans, a notoriously anti-Jewish organization. The two units amalgamated into a single party under the name of Herengide Nasionale Volkspartei. This new association represented a complete *volte-face* on the part of the ex-premier who, on September 14, 1939, had categorically denounced anti-Semitism and, on September 26, disavowed the racist policy of the Malanites. The purely expedient character of the alliance was apparent from the fact that, the very day before the new party was formed, General Herzog had suffered a crushing parliamentary defeat over a proposal to negotiate a separate South African peace with Germany.

Previous to this tie-up, other new anti-Jewish movements were also launched. On May 23, 1939, a Christian Republican Movement was inaugurated by Dr. C. J. H. de Wet, professing as one of its aims the expulsion of Jews to Palestine, while, in August, General Manie Maritz, a rabid Jew-baiter, announced the creation of a new Afrikaner Volk Party, which distributed as part of its propaganda a new edition of the notorious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Later in the same month, however, General Maritz was fined £75 (about $300) for anti-racial incitement con-
tained in his book "My Life and Struggle." This work, which nevertheless continued to circulate in Johannesburg, was condemned by Judge Hoexter as an example of "filthy, venomous, contemptible, racial propaganda."

Nor was the creation of new parties the only form of anti-Semitism. On July 2, 1939, the Malanites charged undue Jewish self-interest in the national economic recovery program, and, on August 4, they demanded a ban on Jewish immigration to the Union. The latter was, however, rejected by the government on May 24. Its baseless character was amply demonstrated by statistics. On March 9, it was revealed by Minister of the Interior H. G. Lawrence that between September 1, 1939 and February 29, 1940 only 103 Jews entered the country for permanent settlement, while official figures published in Die Volksblad on April 20 showed that in the first quarter of the current year, only 168 Jews had immigrated. These figures, covering months of intensified persecution abroad, may be taken as representative of the small number of Jews seeking admission to the Union. Efforts were also made, as in other parts of the world, to saddle the responsibility for the war upon the Jews. These inspired a strong protest in a report of the South African Board of Deputies on September 24, 1939. The Malanites also charged the Jews, on February 2, with having secured the imprisonment of Nico Frick and other Blackshirt leaders, but these charges were refuted in the House of Assembly on February 12 by Dr. Colyn Steyn, Minister of Justice, who cleared the Board of Deputies and declared that the imprisonments had resulted from incontrovertible evidence of Nazi activity.

Measures to combat the increasing anti-Jewish propaganda were not lacking. On August 14, 1939, the South African Board of Deputies set up a special Public Relations Committee to deal with this issue, and in November it was reported that two new non-Jewish bodies had been formed for the same purpose. These were the German South African Party and the Knights of Truth organized by the Union Unity Fund, with the premier, Gen. Jan Christian Smuts as commander-in-chief.

The national emergency evoked a wholehearted response from South African Jewry. Although the Board of Deputies
rejected a proposal submitted by the New Zionists (Revisionists) to create a distinct Jewish unit, Jews rallied enthusiastically to the colors. On October 30, the London Daily Telegraph's correspondent in Cape Town reported that 40% of the troops in one South African regiment were Jews. The first South African Jew to fall in the conflict was Harold Rosofsky of Johannesburg who met his death in a Royal Air Force engagement on September 24.

Aliens were barred from the regular services by a government order of September 18, 1939, but their support of the Allied Cause was much in evidence. The Committee for German Refugees in Bulawayo, Rhodesia, for instance, offered its support immediately upon the outbreak of war, and on June 2, 1940 the South African Jewish Board of Deputies formally pledged the full aid of all South African Jews.

The war situation put an end to plans for opening up areas of the Union to refugee settlement. It had been reported on August 20, 1939, that a conference of African powers was to be held for the consideration of this project, and that the offer of colonization in Uganda, made by the British Government to Theodor Herzl in 1903, might perhaps be renewed. These hopes were dashed, however, when it was announced on November 20, that immigrants from Nazi-occupied areas would be banned in accordance with general British policy.

5. India

There is little to report from India. Following the visit of Hjalmar Schacht, German finance expert, a violently anti-Semitic journal, modeled after Julius Streicher's Stuermer, began to make its appearance in the country. The paper was financed from Nazi sources and distributed gratis. Its publication evoked a protest to the government on the part of the Bombay Jewish Community.

Special provision for Jewish ritual needs was made in the regulations governing the introduction of prohibition into the province of Bombay. It was announced, on August 8, 1939, that local Jews would be permitted a
weekly allowance of twelve ounces of wine per person for the purposes of the sabbath ceremony of Kiddush, and that concessions would also be granted in respect of other religious occasions, such as marriages and circumcisions, when the drinking of wine was required by Jewish practise.

II. OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

1. Belgium

The tense political situation in Europe, and the consequent need for national unity, directed attention, in the summer of 1939, to the menace of disruptive racist elements in Belgium. Press, clergy, and civic authorities united in a clamor for their suppression. The principal offender was the quasi-fascist Volksverwering (Defense of the People), a movement founded by Baron d'Oloneel de Heerdrinck with a rabid anti-Jewish program. On July 30, 1939, the Baron wrote to the Catholic paper L'Avant Garde of Brussels, boasting of the foreign associations of that body and stating as its aim the alignment of all elements everywhere in a common front against the Jews. L'Avant Garde replied to this diatribe by reproducing side by side the front page of Volksverwering's organ and that of Julius Streicher's Stuermer. Such rebuffs, however, in no way dampened the enthusiasm of the country's internal enemies. On August 8, Jew-baiting inscriptions appeared at Coque, drawing protests from the mayor and clergy and, two weeks later, the Rexist journal Le Pays Réel (The Real Country) issued a special anti-Jewish number. Nor was this activity confined to Belgian nationals. It was reported that, throughout this period, Gestapo agents from Germany had been touring the country, harassing and threatening refugees who had entered illegally, while on September 1, Nazi-inspired agitation in Brussels and Antwerp provoked a warning from the mayor of the latter city and occasioned special police vigilance.

At last, as events abroad moved to their grim climax, and apprehension at home increased, the government swung into action. In the middle of August 1939, Volksver-
wering was suppressed and, towards the end of the same month, the further infiltration of foreign agents was prevented by a closing of the frontiers against all aliens. As for those already in the country, legislation was introduced, on October 8, empowering the Minister of Justice to revoke their permits or order their arrest at his complete discretion. These measures aroused alarm in Jewish circles, for it was feared that the interests of refugees might be imperiled, but, two days later, the government made it clear that *bona fide* exiles would not be victimized and that there was no intention of repatriating political émigrés to belligerent countries. The gratitude of Jewish aliens for this consideration was expressed in striking fashion. On the same day as the government's declaration was issued, 8,321 persons in this category, 25% of them exiles from the Reich, were reported to have volunteered for service in Belgium's cause. Their offer, however, was formally rejected, some four months later, on February 6, 1940, when the march of events had necessitated more stringent curbs.

With the increasing imminence of a national emergency, as the military stalemate on the Western Front increased the fear of a Nazi coup, Belgium strengthened her home defense by intensified measures against racist disrupters. On November 12, 1939, *Le Pays Réel* was officially banned, together with Streicher's Jew-baiting *Stuermer*. At the same time, the government gave further token of its intention not to victimize genuine refugees by announcing, on November 17, that it proposed to allocate 8,000,000 francs for their relief during the coming year, this representing an increase of 2,000,000 francs over the sum voted for 1939.

The suppression of the nationalist groups, however, did not put an end to the racist agitation, for Nazi propaganda along the same lines increased its pressure. It was reported on December 15 that anti-Jewish publications, printed at Antwerp, were being circulated by German agents among Belgian intellectuals and, later in the same month, during the course of a debate on the budget, Mayor Huysmans of Antwerp informed the Chamber of Deputies that the anti-Semitic campaign was keeping Jewish merchants away from the city and seriously affecting the diamond trade. In the
face of this and similar complaints, Foreign Minister Spaak took occasion, during the foreign budget debate of December 28, to declare officially that the government policy was opposed to anti-Semitism.

In March 1940, when the German eagle was poised to swoop, Belgium increased still further her measures of internal protection. A debate was held on the 13th of the month on the defense of national institutions and the suppression of foreign propaganda, and former Minister of Justice Victor la Lavalege demanded action against anti-Semitic agitation. The demand did not go unheeded. Within a week, three more anti-Jewish journals were proscribed, including the sheet *Volksverwering* which continued to disseminate the views of the suppressed organization of the same name, while, in the following month, a ban was imposed on the anti-Semitic *National Socialiste Volk en Vaderland*, a sheet published in Holland but enjoying circulation in the Flemish-speaking districts of Belgium. Simultaneously, the government decided to tighten the control of aliens. During the period of national mobilization, supervision of them was placed in the hands of the Ministry of National Defense and a concentration camp for suspects was set up at Ruysselede, in Flanders. Moreover, all foreigners who were found to have entered the country after March 1 were ordered expelled.

By the beginning of May, the alarm which had prevailed throughout the year had turned to panic. Despite her outward professions that she believed in the German assurance of non-aggression, Belgium knew in her heart that the experience of 1914 was likely to be repeated, and at no far distant date. The turn of events demanded maximum precautions, and all male refugees were forthwith interned, their dependants being tended by the Belgian Red Cross. A week later, however, on May 10, the government came to realize that, in the event of a successful invasion by the Nazis, the concentration of refugees in internment camps would expose them to especial peril. An order of release was therefore issued, and the exiles despatched across the frontier into France. There, however, the very fate which they had escaped again awaited them. Jews especially suffered, for in accordance with French policy, all refugees
possessing German passports marked "J" (Jude, i.e. Jew) were promptly interned.

What happened after the invasion, and more particularly after the surrender of Belgium, can be told only from secondary sources. Nobody yet knows the full tale of the horror inflicted on that country, and on those who were left of its 60,000 Jews. Many joined the long trek to Paris and the south of France. More than 3,000 were reported to have reached the French capital, but even 3,000 is a small proportion of the total. The Jewish leaders Gottschalk, Liber and Kubowitzki were reported, on May 27, to be safe in Allied territory, while Chief Rabbi Sagalowitch of Brussels managed to find his way to Toulouse. Of the rest, some escaped to England, but "some there be that have no memorial."

2. Luxemburg

The conquest of Luxemburg by Nazi forces on May 14, 1940, affected the destinies of 3,144 resident Jews, according to the latest census of 1935. To these must doubtless be added a number of refugees who had entered the country at a later date. Their fate is unknown at this writing, but Paris despatches of May 31 reported that all Jews in the Duchy had been listed by the Nazis prior to the invasion, and that looting of their property had ensued. During the few days immediately preceding the irruption, Jews were said to be making a practice of crossing into Belgium every night, so as not to be caught unawares.

In the last year of her independence, Luxemburg made a determined effort to stamp out anti-Semitism and racist doctrine, which were being introduced from Germany. On July 14, 1939, the police confiscated the first issue of the Nazi newspaper Luxemburger Freiheit, on the grounds that it endangered public order. The paper was printed by a German press at St. Vith in Eupen-Malmedy, no Luxemburg printing plant being willing to handle it. A month later it was announced that a bill was to be introduced during the forthcoming session of the Chamber of Deputies outlawing defamation of race and religion. All political parties in the Duchy, as well as the entire government, were said to be opposed to anti-Semitism.
3. France

All news from France, during the past year, is dominated by the surrender of that country before the force of German arms on June 22, 1940. For French Jewry this was an especial calamity. The communal structure collapsed overnight. Plans laid by relief organizations, which had hired offices in Bordeaux on June 4, had to be abandoned. A stampede began in the direction of the North African colonies, neutral Spain and Portugal. The road between French Hendaye and Spanish Irun was choked with fugitives. How many people were involved it is impossible to say, but there can be no doubt that this was one of the greatest exoduses of our time. It can hardly be doubted that, as the invasion progressed, all Jews physically able to do so tried to flee from before domination by a government that had adopted a policy of extermination of Jews. To add to their plight, the government of General Franco closed the doors of Spain in their faces, and although the American Red Cross worked heroically to relieve the distress, thousands of exiles were forced to camp out on the roadsides exposed to the elements and to starvation, and with nothing before them but stark ruin. A few managed to reach Lisbon and to emigrate thence to the United States, for the Franco government did, on occasion, permit transit to Portugal. These, however, were a fortunate minority. For the great bulk of the populace, the fall of France was the bitter end. A few ships, it is true, crowded beyond capacity, managed to make the perilous crossing to England, but such escapes were few and far between. Especially distressing was the fate of refugees from Nazi-dominated countries. By the terms of what Marshal Pétain was pleased to call an "honorable peace," all political refugees from Germany were ordered returned to the Reich authorities and, within a week of the fall of Paris, the Nazi-controlled radio was already crying for their blood. Many prominent liberals, Jews and non-Jews, were said to have fallen into enemy hands, and many others disappeared without trace. The funds of the Alliance Israélite Universelle were reported confiscated, thus depriving many Jewish educational and charitable institutions in the French colonies of
their main source of support. Especial concern was expressed over the fate of Herschel Grynszpan, 17-year old assailant of the German embassy official vom Rath in November 1938. Grynszpan, detained in a French prison, had pleaded with the authorities, on September 7, 1939, to allow him to join the French army, but the plea had been rejected by the courts a month later. Later, on December 26, he had asked that his impending trial be speeded, but this petition, too, had gone unheeded. Now it was reported that he had fallen into Nazi hands.

Anti-Jewish excesses, stimulated already before the surrender, broke out at once. Demonstrations took place around the Rivoli in Paris, and also in Toulouse, where refugees had congregated, and in Lyon, while the Berlin radio threatened "German justice" on surrendered refugees, in its broadcasts of June 28, 1940.

Events preceding the fall now possess but historic interest. In the months before the war, anti-Semitic propaganda was intensified, but the government took firm steps to suppress it. Luis Darquier de Pellepoix, publisher of the anti-Jewish France Enchainée was sentenced to three months imprisonment and the payment of a fine for anti-racist propaganda. Others charged on similar grounds were Pierre Clementi, editor of Le Porcepic, François Etienne, director of Pays Libre, and Jean Boissel, editor of Reveil du Peuple. The last-named was known to have been associated with Roger Cazy, detained for anti-French activities, and to have addressed a meeting at Nuremberg, Germany, under the chairmanship of Julius Streicher. At the same time, anti-Semitic literature from Germany was reported to be flooding Alsace-Lorraine, and posters of anti-Jewish character were displayed in Paris. On August 3, 1939, the French Government drafted measures to curb anti-Semitic and anti-French propaganda and, when this was still continuing in April 1940, Premier Reynaud took occasion to denounce racialism in a radio broadcast on the third of that month. In the same month, Eduard Herriot, President of the Chamber, and Minister Sarraut honored the centenary celebrations for Emile Zola by their presence, and two months earlier the government used the nine-hundredth anniversary of the French-Jewish scholar Rashi as an op-
portunity to distribute literature showing that Jews were no newcomers to France, but had lived there since the fourth century.

The war service of French Jews constitutes an impressive record. Three days before the outbreak of hostilities, the Federation of Associations of Jewish War Veterans opened a recruiting office, and it was announced that 6,000 volunteers had registered within the first week. The Association of Jewish Youth Organizations immediately mobilized boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen for work on the harvest, while the leading Jewish women's organizations opened joint bureaus for the recruitment of helpers in the auxiliary services, and the Federation of Polish Jews started first-aid classes. It was announced, on January 28, 1940, that there were, at that date, at least 60,000 Jews, half of them refugees, serving with the armed forces. Refugees flocked to the foreign legions. As early as October 8, 1939, some 9,000 Jewish aliens were reported serving in this way, 8,000 having enlisted in the Polish and 1,000 in the Czech legion. Jewish soldiers won many distinctions. On December 24, the Paris Haint reported that the Croix de Guerre had been awarded to Captain Georges Lévy and to Sergeant Maurice Stern, former employee of the Jewish National Fund, for valor under fire, while on February 16, Lieutenant Weissman, an aviator, received the rare military distinction of being appointed Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

The community was also active in relief work. A few days before the declaration of war, all the Jewish immigration organizations issued a joint statement, pledging themselves to "put all moral and material means which they possess into service for their adopted homeland," while, on December 5, Chief Rabbi Isaac Schwartz issued a call to French Jewry's relief societies to support the Allied troops. When the tide of refugees came pouring in from The Netherlands and Belgium at the end of May and the beginning of June, the Consistoire Israélite appealed to the country's Jews to render maximum assistance to the exiles, and the care of evacuated German refugee children was taken over, prior to the fall of Paris, by the Ose organization.

Individual philanthropy was also in evidence. The house
of Rothschild, whose two representatives, Barons Edouard and Robert, were later forced into exile, made munificent gifts both to the French Red Cross and to the Jewish Ort.

Fears were expressed, after the publication of the armistice terms, that, not only in the areas ceded to the Axis partners, but also in that which nominally remained "free," anti-Semitism would manifest itself in marked degree. These fears were by no means allayed when anti-Jewish utterances came over the French radio, and it gradually became more and more apparent that all Gaul had indeed been divided into three parts among elements by no means friendly to Jewish interests.

4. The Netherlands

The Nazi invasion of Holland, on March 14, entailed a twofold disaster for the Jews. Not only did it visit with virtual extinction an historic Jewish community — associated, incidentally, with the first settlement of Jews in this country*— but it also closed what had been a haven of refuge to exiles from Nazi persecution. It is estimated that some 200,000 Jews, including 23,000 refugees, were involved in the tragedy.

The procedure adopted by the invaders followed the precedent set in Poland. On May 26, 1940, it was announced that a Jewish "reservation" was being planned on the outskirts of Amsterdam and, four days later, Jewish communal organizations throughout the country were reported closed by the Gestapo. Refugee shelters and children's homes were taken over by the Germans on June 5; two weeks later, the famous old age home at Amsterdam was commandeered by the military. The Jewish masses attempted flight into France. Those that arrived there were interned. Others made perilous journeys, in small craft, to England, which agreed to receive all who

*The Jewish community of Amsterdam was established by Marrano exiles from Portugal in 1608, under Joseph Pardo who was its first Haham, or Chief Rabbi. It received its emancipation in 1796. The first Jew to set foot in America, Jacob Barsimson, who arrived on August 22, 1654, hailed from this community.
came, subject to individual examination later. Distinguished Jews disappeared overnight. Abraham Asscher, 80-year old head of the Ashkenazic Jewish Community and of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Holland, was murdered, along with his two sons. The fate of the exiles from Germany was especially grave. It was at first reported that they had all been interned by order of Seyss-Inquart, Nazi commissioner, and were to be sent to Nazi Poland, but later news disclosed that 22,000 of them, who had fallen into Nazi hands, had been repatriated to the Reich where they would be held for trial on charges of evading taxes, indulging in anti-Nazi propaganda, and the like. The fate of the refugee camp for 3,000 German Jews, set up in October 1939, by the Netherlands Government at Westenbock, is unknown at the time of this writing. Its proximity to the German frontier, however, gives grounds for the gravest apprehension. The fate of the other refugee settlement, Camp Sluis in Zeeland, is also unknown.

The Nazis attempted at once to dispossess the Jews. Notice was served upon several Jewish journalists employed by Netherlands newspapers; on June 4, it was reported that Jewish business-men were being compelled to hand over materials against certificates. Three weeks later large numbers of Jewish diamond merchants were arrested and Jewish attorneys were driven from the courts.

Even before the invasion, the Nazis had sought to interfere with Jewish life in Holland. In December 1939, the Dutch police seized copies of an anti-Semitic journal Misthoorn (Foghorn) which was shown to have connections with Weltdienst, the notorious Nazi anti-Semitic press bureau. The editor, Jan Nysse, was arrested on April 29, 1940. In February, it was disclosed that Nazi agents were entering the country in the guise of Jewish refugees, and three months later their part in the Nazi program became apparent when it was learned that many of them had been assisting enemy parachutists. On the other hand, large numbers of genuine refugees who then reached France promptly joined the Foreign Legion.

Fear that Jews would manage to cross the border into
safety induced the Nazis to strengthen the guards on the German-Dutch frontier, in March, and in the same month it was announced that food parcels to German Jews which were being sent through Holland on American mail orders were being confiscated by the Nazi authorities.

5. Switzerland

Nazi agents made several attempts, during the course of the year, to stir up agitation in Switzerland, the so-called "Jewish issue" being invariably introduced as part of their propaganda. Thanks, however, to the energetic action of the Swiss authorities, most of these attempts fell short of their objective.

Interesting light on the German methods, as affecting Jews, was cast, in July 1939, during a political trial at Zurich when eight members of a pro-Nazi organization, "The Faithful Confederates," were charged with plotting the nazification of the country. It transpired in evidence that one of their duties was to spy on Jews who visited foreign consulates, while another was to terrify Swiss citizens, by threat of death, into acting as informers against German refugees. The accused, who were shown to have been in contact with Nazi party officials at Munich, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, ranging from three months to two years.

Reminiscent of the Berne "Protocols" trial of 1935 was the action brought, in February 1940, by the Jewish communities of Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux and Yverdon against the National Front organization, on a charge of disseminating a mass libel by means of scurrilous attacks on the morality of the Talmud. After expert evidence had been called, fines ranging from 20 to 400 Swiss francs were imposed on the accused.

Besides these major actions, a third trial of Jewish interest may be recorded. This was an appeal, brought in September 1939, by H. L. Servettaz, editor of an anti-Semitic periodical, against a decision of the Zurich District Court dismissing his suit for libel against a contributor to the Israelitische Wochenblatt. Not only did the court throw out this appeal, but it also ordered the appellant to defray
the costs of the trial and to pay compensation to the Jewish journalist.

The meeting of the Zionist congress at Zurich, in the month of August, provided a further opportunity for anti-Jewish activity. A demonstration was organized, on the 21st, under Nazi auspices, outside the place of convention, but this was dispersed by police, and the youthful ring-leader arrested.

The outbreak of war in Europe seriously affected the position of Switzerland's refugees. The embroiled state of the continent led the Federal authorities to commence the repatriation of the 300,000 Swiss nationals abroad, and this naturally raised the issue of probable congestion in the homeland. The government therefore instituted measures to reduce the number of refugees, and on October 8, 1939, an order was issued by the chief of police directing the deportation of all who had entered the country after September 6. Later, when war conditions impeded their re-emigration, refugees resident in the country were concentrated in labor camps, set up in March, and given employment on the roads until such time as they might be able to leave. At the same time, as a further token of its opposition to racist agitation, the government, on April 11, banned for three months the circulation of the anti-Semitic sheet *Le Pilori*.

6. Denmark

Most of the news reports concerning the situation of the Jews in the Scandinavian countries date after April 9, 1940, the day of the German invasion of Denmark and Norway. These reports, like most of those emanating from belligerent or occupied countries, came to a large extent from secondary sources and frequently lacked confirmation. The experiences of the Jews in the other territories taken over by Germany before the war when authentic news was available, left little doubt as to the probable fate of the Jewish population in Nazi-occupied Denmark and Norway.

Conflicting reports were received regarding the Nazi policy in Denmark. By failing to offer armed resistance to the German invaders, Denmark has escaped, for the time
being, the tyranny of the Gestapo as well as that of a German civil administration. It was not clear to what extent the Nazi military authorities interfered in local affairs of the country. Reports during the first days following the invasion, spoke of mass arrests of prominent native Jews, as well as of refugees. The latter were said to have been interned in Denmark or sent back to Germany. It was generally assumed that racial legislation would be extended to the newly conquered territories; there have come no reliable reports that this actually happened. Several decrees imposing severe disabilities on Jews and partners of mixed marriages were quoted in an unconfirmed London report of April 30, 1940. Another dispatch, dated May 6, 1940, reported from Oslo that the German authorities had introduced compulsory labor for Jews.

On the other hand, a Hague report to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency on April 15, 1940 quoted Allied diplomats, returned from Denmark, as saying that no action had been taken against the Danish Jews up to the time of their departure. They added, however, that the expected arrival of Gestapo agents to reorganize the country was causing great alarm, especially among the estimated 1,200 refugees, including several hundred Jews. A Stockholm (Sweden) dispatch to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, dated May 19, reported that Jewish life in Denmark was continuing unhindered, and that the Hachsharah farms, which were earlier reported disbanded, were left intact but placed under police surveillance. Towards the close of the period under review, the installation of a Nazi civil administration gave rise to fears of the imminent introduction in Denmark of German racial legislation.

7. Norway

The armed resistance of Norway placed the latter under rigid Nazi control. On April 22, 1940, Berlin announced the appointment of a civil administrator in Oslo which placed the country under a system of government similar to that existing in conquered Poland. Early reports spoke of an anti-Jewish propaganda campaign launched by the Nazi administration to discredit the defenders of Norway's
independence; this was followed by the closing down of all Jewish shops in Oslo. *L'Oeuvre* of Paris reported, on June 6, 1940, that the Nazis were taking severe measures against Jews and other "non-Aryans," stating that "the brutalities of the latest models are being introduced into Norway by the new chief of the Gestapo, Herr Stahlecker, who was transferred from Prague, where his notorious methods of torture, provocations and massacres of Czech students made him one of Himmler's most reliable collaborators." A Stockholm report received in London on May 8, 1940 quoted Jewish refugees who had escaped from Norway into Sweden to the effect that Jewish property to the amount of one billion Norwegian crowns (about $250,000,000) had been confiscated.

8. Sweden

Having escaped invasion, Sweden made every effort to nip in the bud a possible fifth column movement. As early as September 7, 1939 the *Social-Demokraten*, Stockholm daily, demanded that severe measures be taken to curb German propaganda, including Jew-baiting, in Sweden. The events in the neighboring countries caused the government to round up or put under surveillance all known suspects, both foreign and domestic, *The New York Times* correspondent reported on April 27, 1940.

The German occupation of her two sister states made Sweden the last neutral maritime country on the Baltic through which Jewish and other refugees had hoped to emigrate overseas. Sweden's neutrality policy, however, caused her to announce on February 4, 1940, that Swedish ships and airlines would not carry passengers of Polish, German and Czech nationality of military age; these restrictions were made even more stringent in April. This policy, as well as the fear that Sweden may eventually be involved in the war, resulted in a rush on the part of refugees for Soviet transit visas. The situation was further complicated by the influx of refugees from Denmark and Norway, to whom, according to a London report of April 13, 1940, Sweden has generously opened her doors.
The effects of the Nazi persecution of Jews were shown clearly by statistics released during the course of the past year.

The 1939 census revealed that the Jewish population had fallen from 1% in pre-Hitler days to 0.42% of the total, numbering only 330,892 persons. This aggregate, moreover, included all "half-Jews," "quarter-Jews," and those married to Jews, and covered the entire area of the new Greater Germany. In the Old Reich proper, the Jewish population fell from 599,000 in 1933 to 240,000 in December 1939. Approximately ninety per cent of the men and women were registered as being past middle age. Even more marked decreases were noted in the Jewish population of Austria, which was reduced from 185,000 in March 1938 to 55,000 in 1939, according to official estimates by the Vienna Jewish Community.

The extent of the exodus from Nazi lands may be gauged from the fact that in the first three months of 1940 some 4,755 Jews left the Old Reich, and that this, owing to war conditions, represented a decrease of nearly 50% from the figure for the corresponding quarter of 1939. It was reported also that between the date of the Anschluss and December 31, 1939 some 117,000 Jews had emigrated from Austria.

The economic position of the Jews may be judged from the representative instance of the Berlin community. It is estimated that there are 90,000 Jews in the city, but only 20,000 of these manage to eke out a living by employment in the building, trucking and clothing industries. Sixteen per cent only of the total possess capital of more than 5,000 marks (about $1,200). So great, in fact, is the distress that, according to the Judisches Nachrichtenblatt of March 20, 1940, one-fourth of the 1,844 Jewish deaths recorded in Berlin since September 1939 were cases of suicide. In Vienna alone suicides reached, at times, an average of forty a week.

A recent check-up showed, further, that since the Nazis came to power, no less than 463 synagogues in the Old Reich have been destroyed, mostly during the outbreaks
of November 9–10, 1938, following the shooting of the German embassy official, vom Rath, in Paris.

Jews detained in but three of the German concentration camps were estimated by Paris sources, on January 2, 1940, at 35,000. Most of them were reported to be of Polish descent. In Dachau alone there are 860 Jews, of whom only 340 are ex-citizens of the Old Reich, the remainder coming from Austria and other Nazi-dominated countries. Their fate may be realized from the fact that the death-rate at the Buchenwald camp is reckoned as 30% of the inmates, while the Jewish community of Poznan reported, during the course of the year, that it had received no less than 465 urns of ashes from Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald and Dachau.

The war situation caused a certain ambivalence in the Nazi attitude towards the Jews. Consistency and party doctrine, on the one hand, demanded that the catastrophe be blamed upon them and that the conflict be represented as a crusade against them. Expediency, on the other hand, and the need for brains and man-power for the national effort, required that full use be made of their services. The Nazis did not attempt to resolve this paradox but contented themselves with a policy of opportunism, both recruiting and persecuting Jews at one and the same time.

On September 2, all Jews between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five were ordered to report for compulsory labor, especially in connection with civil air defense, while the next day, addressing the German people, Chancellor Hitler blamed the outbreak of hostilities upon the “Jewish, plutocratic and democratic upper crust.” Again, on September 24, it was reported from Budapest that “valuable Jews” were being restored to jobs in the Reich and being served with badges bearing the words *wirtschaftlich wertvoller Jude* (economically valuable Jew), but three months later, in a New Year message, Hitler was still representing the war as a campaign against Jewish machinations. Three weeks after this speech, on January 29, 1940 to be precise, Jewish physicians, previously disbarred, were drafted for attendance upon the German wounded, though eight days later Deputy-Leader Hess was describing the war, in a
Hamburg broadcast, as a British plan to restore Jews to the Reich.

Anti-Semitic propaganda went, indeed, to fantastic lengths. Premier Chamberlain was described on the radio as "an old man led by wily Jews," while postal officials began to stamp letters with the legends "Abraham is the father of the English" and "Great Britain means Israel" (but see Isaiah 63:16!). On March 24, Hitler returned to the attack on "Jewry and Plutocracy," and in June, Robert Ley, head of the Labor Front, announced, with a flourish, that Europe must oust its Jews. Even the Nazi-Soviet tie-up was exploited as an excuse to increase the assault upon Jews, for the Anti-Comintern organization being now impolitic, it was promptly transformed into an anti-Jewish body, and its organ underwent a change of name and tendency in this direction.

Advantage was taken of the opportunity created by the outbreak of war to intensify the privations of Jews. The Kulturbund, the only cultural agency permitted to Jews, was ordered closed, and when plans were devised to distribute cards for rationed food and clothing, arrangements were made whereunder Jews had to call for their cards in person whereas non-Jews received them through the mail. Moreover, the cards were especially marked, so that shopkeepers were given the opportunity to discriminate against Jews. Early curfew was imposed upon Jews and in Berlin and Vienna their hours for shopping were drastically curtailed. Supplies were often exhausted before the stores could be visited. This pernicious combination of forced labor and famine conditions was reported in June 1940 to have caused acute distress among Vienna's 46,000 Jews. In that city attempts were also made to segregate Jews in a few ghetto districts under overcrowded conditions. Jewish bank and safe deposit monies in West Prussia were summarily confiscated and in Austria the historic Rothschild bank and other Jewish properties passed into the hands of the Nazis. Indicative of the complete collapse of Jewish economic life was a report, on February 29, 1940 which revealed that in Austria alone more than 25,000 Jewish businesses had been liquidated, and that 87% of Jewish artisans had been deprived of the right to work.
Nor was economic privation the only hardship visited upon Jews. French newspapers reported in November that more than 9,000 persons, expelled by the Gestapo, were languishing in the Burgenland area on the Austro-Hungarian frontier, while in January, it was learned that several thousand Jews were being held in an open-air sports stadium in Vienna, where many had died of exposure and ill-treatment.

Deportations to the Jewish "reservation" at Lublin, became the order of the day. These usually took the form of packing unfortunate Jews into trains of cattle-trucks and shifting them to and fro over the countryside for weeks on end under indescribable conditions. Particularly tragic was the case of the transport from Stettin, most of whose Jews were rounded up and deported. Conditions on the way, however, became so disorganized that the Nazis in charge of the expedition resolved their difficulties by indiscriminate shooting. At least 230 casualties were reported. The situation in Vienna was even more desperate. Nazi plans envisaged the wholesale transportation of the city's Jews to Lublin. During the last two weeks of October, a start was made by dispatching two contingents numbering some 4,000 persons of all ages. These were forced to give up almost all their possessions before departing. Many Jews sought refuge in flight. Similar deportations took place from Elbing, Marienburg, Schneidemühl, in East Prussia, and from many Rhineland districts. Nine hundred Jews from Königsberg died of cold on the journey. In May 1940, however, after the disorganization had become an open scandal and when typhus, which had broken out in the reservation, was spreading to Nazi ranks, the deportations suddenly ceased on the pretext of insufficient rolling stock.

Jews were also victimized for untoward incidents which occurred either at home or abroad. Four thousand were arrested after the Munich attempt on Hitler's life in September 1939, and over 200 suicides were reported in Berlin and Vienna alone. A pogrom occurred at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Later, following the forced scuttling of the
German cruiser, Graf Spee, near Montevideo, Uruguay, anti-Semitic riots broke out in Vienna in which twelve Jews were killed and 200 wounded.

The Jewish communal structure was also affected. Representative examples included a Himmler order on November 12 which commanded all Jewish communities to register their members at the Gestapo, and the purpose of this became apparent later when mass deportations took place to the Jewish “reservation” in Nazi-conquered Poland. The Jewish hospitals in Leipzig and Breslau were commandeered for military use. The great library of the Berlin Jewish Community was seized on November 5 and handed over to the Institute for Racial Research — a body sponsored by Alfred Rosenberg and Julius Streicher, among others. All Jewish foundations were liquidated on March 6.

The only bright spot in a year of extreme misery was the fact that the Nazi authorities, at the beginning of the war, permitted holders of Palestinian visas to leave the Reich, and that Jewish children were allowed to go to England. Even this concession, however, was later withdrawn.

IV. BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

Nowhere in the world, with the exception of German-occupied Poland, did Jews suffer so gravely, during the past year, as in the “protected” territory of Bohemia-Moravia. Not only were they victims of an official persecution, involving dispossession and expulsion, but they were also exposed to constant physical maltreatment at the hands of Nazi ruffians.

The campaign against Jews falls into two distinct stages. In the months immediately following the German invasion, it took the form of economic liquidation. This meant, in practice, the confiscation of Jewish property, and the ousting of Jews from professional and commercial life. The second stage began when the Nazi government reached an agreement with Russia concerning its minorities in Baltic countries. The agreement was that these should be repatri-
ated, but Berlin was anxious not to have them in the Reich proper and therefore decided to settle them in the newly-acquired Czech territory. In order to make room for them, it was found expedient to expel Jews, and since this chimed chronologically, with the setting up of a Jewish "reservation" in recently-dominated Poland, the Jews of Bohemia-Moravia were forthwith transported en masse to Lublin.

The record of the year possesses all the features of a prolonged nightmare. It opens, not without significance, with the persecution of Jewish children, who were stopped by Nazis, on July 2, 1939, at the park gates in Moravska-Ostrava and Brno and systematically beaten up.

This was followed, later in the same month, by the passing of a decree limiting Jewish children in Czech schools to 4% of the total, and by the dragging of Czech children to an anti-Jewish exhibition organized in an arcade at Praha under the auspices of Julius Streicher's Stuermer. Nor were the parents of the Jewish children spared their share of the persecution. On July 10, 1939, orders were issued by the government that Jewish businesses which had been liquidated were nevertheless to continue paying their staffs until the end of the year. This meant the impoverishment of thousands. The following day, no less than 2,000 Jewish businessmen were reported to have left Moravska-Ostrava. At the same time, Jewish lawyers and doctors were barred from practice, and the general Jewish population was exposed to severe riots at Brno, Moravska-Ostrava and Budiejowice. These occurred during the course of victory-parades arranged by the military authorities.

On July 26, 1939, the first official steps were taken towards forcing Jewish emigration. A bureau for the purpose was set up by the Gestapo in Prague and, five days later, an order was issued directing the expulsion of 70,000 persons (about 50% of the total Jewish population) within a year. Simultaneously, all Jewish property was ordered registered — the inevitable prelude to confiscation. In this case, the property was estimated as worth about $120,000,000. Placards were placed over Jewish stores at Plzen and Praha and six Jewish communities, as well as 50 synagogues, were dissolved in Sudetenland.
The Nazis were careful not to facilitate emigration without a *quid pro quo*. On August 7, it was announced that all emigrants benefiting by the transfer agreement with the British government would be required to deposit 450,000 kronen per £1,000; this amount was previously held the equivalent of £3,240. Capitalist emigrants to Palestine, for their part, were obliged to deposit 300,000 kronen with the National Bank, in addition to 150,000 by way of "flight tax." Restrictions of another kind were placed upon would-be emigrants who belonged to the medical profession, since these might prove valuable to any impending war effort: all Jewish physicians below the age of 45 were forbidden to leave the country, by a special government order.

On August 11, 1939, the mass expulsion of Jews began in earnest. All Jews were ordered to leave the provinces and concentrate in Prague within a year. Between 55,000 and 60,000 persons were believed to be involved, and 8,000 of these were required to move within a month.

The outbreak of the war, and the later development of the Lublin project, gave fresh impetus to this movement of expulsion. On October 17, 1939, all Jews were ousted from Moravska-Ostrava. At the same time, the central Gestapo office demanded the fulfilment of a schedule whereby 200 Jews would leave the country daily. War conditions, however, prevented their emigration. In this dilemma, the Nazis attempted to solve their difficulties by sending the Czech Jews to Poland. A first contingent of 600 persons was transported on October 25, and two days later the entire population of Moravska-Ostrava followed suit. In November, all Jewish employees were ordered dismissed from commercial undertakings. Mass arrests and executions, influenced perhaps by the attempt on Hitler's life at Munich, became the order of the day. Some 45,000 persons were reported sent to Lublin. The following month, consequent on an earlier suggestion by the anti-Semitic Aryan Culture Association, Jewish property in the Sudetenland was seized in "reparation" for government grants to Jewish communities since 1923. An 8 P.M. curfew was imposed in the larger cities.

With the new year came an intensification of the expulsions. On January 9, 1940, Gestapo leader Klein, reputedly
a cousin of Himmler, was brought to Prague to supervise activity, and all Jews were ordered to leave within three weeks. At the expiration of that period, however, the deportations were suddenly halted by the arrest of Klein himself, under the orders of Field Marshal Goering, on a charge of embezzling monies taken from Jews. This dramatic turn of events was, nevertheless, to provide but little respite for the victims of the Nazi drive, for almost immediately it was announced that the clearance of the Jews, albeit delayed, was still to be carried out by the beginning of March. In the meanwhile Jewish accounts were blocked at banks and post offices. The tenseness of the war situation, and the obvious failure of the Lublin project, soon compelled a reduction of speed in the drive for the expulsion of Jews. The transportations to Poland suddenly ceased, on the pretext of insufficient rolling stock. Nevertheless, a campaign of vilification was inaugurated. The Gestapo revived investigation of 258 unsolved murders of women and children in order to work up the age-old charge of ritual murder, and three million books, mostly of Jewish character or authorship, were ordered burned. At the same time, the historic statue of Moses, opposite the Altnau synagogue in Praha, was melted down for munitions, as was also that of the great Rabbi Judah ben Bezalel Loew, hero of the Golem legend, in the City Hall.

A more welcome feature of the year's chronicle was the evidence of Czech sympathy for the Jews. On August 8, 1939, a pro-Jewish demonstration was held by Czech peasants at Iglava, and it was reported on the same day that many cafes in the larger cities were disobeying the Nazi order to bar Jews. On August 9, a Czech audience, watching a performance of Elmer Rice's Street Scene, was said to have applauded the line "After all, Jews are human beings."

On August 14, a Catholic religious assembly of 100,000 persons at Domazlice pledged unflinching allegiance to the old Czech fatherland. While they are themselves the victims of oppression, and therefore unable to do anything practical, the sympathy of the Czechs for their fellow Jewish sufferers has been noteworthy and a source of comfort.
To sum up in a word the effect of Nazi persecution during the past year, it may be stated that while the Jewish population of Bohemia-Moravia was approximately 175,000 at the time of the German invasion, it was given on January 4, 1940, as 90,147. Of these, 51,178 are over 40 years of age, and 10,142 are under 15. Further, on April 14, the Central European Observer estimated the value of property confiscated from Jews as approximately 100 billion kronen.

V. Slovakia

The picture of Jewish life in Slovakia during the past twelve months is one of unrelieved gloom. Not only were the rights of Jews systematically removed by legislation, but their economic position was steadily undermined, and they were exposed to constant terror and acts of violence. The situation was worst in the city of Bratislava. Pogroms, led mainly by Nazis from Vienna and by Hlinka guards, broke out there repeatedly in the month of August 1939, eleven outbreaks being reported in twenty-five days. Three of the local synagogues were pillaged, one being flooded. Jewish stores were ordered to display a distinctive sign, and hundreds of Jews were arrested on November 12 for alleged complicity in an anti-Nazi plot. In May 1940, Jews were excluded from most of the city’s cafes, and the following month an agitation was raised in the local paper Nastup for the demolition of the historic ghetto. This agitation yielded results and, in June, the entire sector of the city, including the ancient synagogue first established in 1399, was razed to the ground. Bratislava, however, was not the only Jewish center to suffer in this way. At Nitra, the synagogue was bombed and the home for indigent Jews wrecked. At Presov, 5,000 Jews were ordered to leave within three days, and in Levoca a number of Jews were arrested, in February, on a charge of forming a cell for subversive propaganda.

A total of 556 Slovakian Jewish lawyers were eliminated from the register in July 1939, only 24 remaining. A law
was passed at the same time restricting Jews to 4% of the total legal profession and permitting them to act only for Jewish clients. In August, further measures were taken to squeeze Jews out of economic life by the decree that all Jewish realty must be registered with the government — the invariable first step to confiscation — while, in January 1940, Jews were compelled to sell out all immovable property on government terms. Parliamentary measures introduced in March still further increased the privation. Jews were barred from holding trade or artisan licenses, and those still unexpired were withdrawn. At the same time, an anti-Semitic numerus clausus was imposed upon all commercial undertakings, and Jews were also forbidden to buy property and lands. Such possessions were declared liable to confiscation for state use. On May 26, it was announced that Jews were to be limited in the professions to 1% by 1941.

Daily life was also rendered increasingly difficult. Typical of the measures introduced were the imposition of a curfew upon Jews in Bratislava and the confining of their shopping opportunities to one hour a day. Shehitah (Jewish slaughter of animals) was placed under the ban in July 1939.

Attempts were made by the government to divert popular feeling at existent hardships by holding the Jews to blame. Propaganda Minister Sano Mach toured the country, delivering speeches to this effect, in December 1939 when an intensification of the anti-Jewish drive was ordered, while at a meeting of Young Peasants which took place in March 1940, Minister of the Interior Ferdinand Dursanski denounced Jews as responsible for the "unfavorable delimitation of the Hungarian-Slovak frontier in 1938." Interest was aroused by the news, released on May 8, that Manfred von Killinger, German consul in San Francisco who had once been linked with the murder of Rathenau, had been sent as a specialist to Slovakia.

Jews were barred, on September 7, 1939, from the Slovakian military draft, but it was announced on October 15 that they would be recruited for compulsory labor on the roads. Later unconfirmed reports related that restrictions upon Jews in industry were being relaxed to permit of their employment in munitions factories.
VI. HUNGARY

When the second anti-Jewish law was passed on May 3, 1939, the Jews in Hungary feared that just as the first “Jew Law” of May 24, 1938 was but a prelude to the second, so the latter might be but a prelude to even more drastic restrictions. The events during the past year justified their fears. Though Premier Teleki’s statement that “no one is considering a third anti-Jewish law,” proved true, the enforcement of the second law appears to have made another one unnecessary. For, as Dr. Bela Fabian, member of the board of the Budapest Jewish Community, declared before the Community Council on June 30, 1940, the situation has become intolerable and the Jews in Hungary “are condemned to a slow but sure death.”

The provisions of the Law to Restrict Jewish Participation in Public and Economic Life—predicated on the “racist,” or as it is termed “alien spirituality” principle—may be summarized as follows: (a) A Jew is defined as a person who, at the time of the enactment of the law, belongs, or one of whose parents, or two of whose grandparents, belonged to the Jewish faith; also one who, prior to the enactment of the law, was a member of the Jewish community—with the exception of those who were baptized before August 31, 1939—as well as any of the descendants of the foregoing who may be born subsequent to the law’s coming into effect. (b) No Jews, within the definition of the law, may acquire citizenship, whether through naturalization, marriage or legitimization. All naturalizations since July 1, 1914, are liable to cancellation. (c) The right of suffrage is restricted to Jews who themselves or whose antecedents were born in Hungary and had lived continuously on Hungarian territory since December 31, 1867 (the date of the establishment of the Dual Monarchy). They are to vote separately for Jewish candidates only, whose number is established by law. (d) Jews are to be removed or demoted either summarily or within a definite period of time, from positions in public employment and from educational institutions, both state and local. (e) A numerus clausus is introduced limiting the proportion of Jews in the liberal professions and allied occupations,
as well as the number of Jewish students in high schools and colleges, to 6% of the total. Until this ratio is reached, no Jewish candidates are to be admitted to such professions and schools. (f) Jews are excluded from executive positions in journalism and the arts, and from positions that may give them an opportunity of determining the intellectual or economic policy of the undertaking. (g) Jews are not to be granted licenses to sell articles under state monopoly nor to engage in such mercantile operations as are dependent on official discretion. Businesses in this category which are operated under joint Jewish-Christian management, are automatically dissolved within one year. Licenses already granted are to be revoked within five years of the enactment of the law. It is, however, within the discretion of the administrative authorities to revoke such licenses sooner, wherever the possession of such licenses may be found to exert influence on general consumption, production or on the working opportunities of Hungarian labor. (h) Contracts for the operation of public conveyances may be awarded to Jews up to 20% of the appropriation in 1939 and 1940, 10% in 1941 and 1942, and 6% in 1943 and thereafter. The law automatically excludes non-Jews bidding for contracts with the purpose of entrusting their execution to Jews, as well as Jews seeking to obtain such contracts through non-Jews. (i) No trade license is to be issued to any Jew until the gross number of such licenses granted to Jews in any given community shall have fallen below 6% of the total. (j) Jews are restricted in their purchase of real property; their farm lands are subject to expropriation. (k) The proportion of Jewish employees (white-collar workers) in private enterprise is to be reduced to 12% of the total. This proportional limit is to be attained by January 1, 1943, reductions to be made semi-annually on the basis of a graded schedule. Dismissals of Jewish employees pursuant to the provisions of this law, are not to be impeded by contractual obligations. No improvement shall be effected in the proportion of Jewish employees or in their remuneration in relations to the numbers and earnings of all employees and salaries prevailing on March 1, 1938. (l) Jews may not be members of executive boards of labor organizations or officers in white
collar employment agencies. (m) Concerns which are governed by a personnel, the majority of which is Jewish, are to accommodate the form of their administration to the provisions of this law. (n) Partial exemption from this law is granted to Jews in certain cases, e.g., war veterans, dependents of military "heroes," etc.

Developments during the period under review revolved mainly around the law. It went into operation on October 1, 1939 and ranks second only to the Nuremberg Laws in Germany in the severity of its provisions and the rigor of its execution. Under this law the Jews of Hungary have been reduced to second class citizens and deprived of political rights. Half of them have lost their livelihoods outright, while the economic opportunities of the others have been mercilessly restricted. According to estimates made by the official organs of the Jewish Community in the summer of 1939, a total of 214,560 Jews, approximately 50% of the Jewish population in Hungary exclusive of the newly annexed province of Carpatho-Ukraine, have been immediately affected by the restrictions of the law. They must renounce their employment and positions in favor of non-Jews, some of them forthwith, others within a definite period of time.

The estimates of the number affected by the law were made on the basis of the text, before the law became operative. Since then, it became clear that the text could not serve as the true measure of the situation. The administrative authorities charged with the execution of the law, showed impatience in carrying out its provisions and went beyond the limits of the restrictions stipulated therein. Very frequently the time limit provided in the law for the progressive elimination of Jews was disregarded and gave way to summary dismissals. Many Jews were compelled to surrender their trade licenses far in advance of the time required by law, while others were forced from their positions even though the ratio of Jews in their branches of commerce or industry was less than the stipulated minima. In some cases, the administrative authorities applied the law to occupations — mostly manual labor — which were entirely outside the law's provisions.

The law, which was to come into effect on May 4, 1939,
was not actually put into force until October 1. The reason for this delay was given by Dr. Nagy Tasnad, Minister of Justice, in a statement to the Hungarian News Agency on August 3. The law, he said, dealing with almost every aspect of national and social activity introduces far-reaching changes in the fields of law, administration, economics and social life. In view of the fact that this involves many interests, the Minister added, the government must proceed with the utmost caution in order to take care that the execution of the law should not interfere with the social and economic life of the country and with the national aims envisaged by it. The delay was, however, virtually nominal; it did not prevent national and local authorities from taking immediate steps. Thus, for example, the Budapest State Opera House and State Theatre announced, on July 7, the dismissal of practically all Jewish artists and employees, including some of the most prominent artists. On September 22, the Theatre and Film Chambers announced that all Jewish applications for membership, which is prerequisite for professional activity, had been rejected. Disregarding the time limit provided in the law, the State Lottery Administration cancelled all licenses held by Jewish managers of lottery offices, it was announced on July 10. Similar actions were reported in other fields. On July 9, fifty Jewish stall keepers in the Budapest second-hand goods market received notices to clear out in order to make place for a corresponding number of non-Jews who had filed applications for space. In the middle of September billboard notices signed by the Mayor of Budapest ordered all Jewish trade license holders to submit detailed information about their businesses preparatory to a large-scale revision process.

After October 1, decrees and regulations multiplied rapidly and initiated the so-called "complete Sabbath for the entire week" for Jews. Thus, for instance, all the 1,600 trade licenses issued by the Budapest Municipality by November 1, were certified "Aryan." An investigation made by a Jewish Telegraphic Agency correspondent, made public on November 5, revealed that, under the cover of the world's pre-occupation with the war, the Hungarian Government was pursuing its anti-Jewish policy ruthlessly
by pushing the Jews out of all economic positions and employment. He found the official anti-Semitic policy, embodied in the so-called "Jew Law," being carried out at a much faster tempo than was provided in the law. Despite the fact that under the law Jews were to be dismissed from commercial, industrial and other enterprises gradually over a period of five years, all Jews had been dismissed from many enterprises, after the authorities had indicated that no trade licenses would be issued to firms having Jews in their employment. As a result of this policy, even Jewish-owned enterprises were compelled to dismiss their Jewish employees, the report disclosed.

The same procedure was applied to the professional and technical fields. Within less than a year's time the ratio of Jews in these fields has been brought down to the statutory 6% or lower, a survey of the situation made in April 1939 revealed. Between 3,000 and 5,000 Jewish professional men, technicians and clerks were removed from their positions, although less than half this number could be replaced immediately. Over half of Budapest's twenty-two newspapers, the survey reported, employed no Jews at all; eight employed one Jew each, and only the semi-official Pester Lloyd because of the lack of qualified German-speaking newspapermen and the liberal Esti Kurir employed a larger number. Az Est, a popular daily owned by baptized Jews, was compelled to dismiss all of its forty Jewish staff members. In the legal profession, which had not yet been completely "Aryanized," the Jewish lawyers find it exceedingly difficult to earn a livelihood because, according to the report of the survey, "it has become axiomatic in the past year that if a person's lawyer is a Jew, that person is sure to lose his case." In commercial enterprises, too, the report goes on to say, Jews are being ruthlessly replaced without regard for either the percentage provision or the clause which allows up to January 1, 1943, for the enforcement of the law. Finally, although the law makes no reference to the armed forces, the survey quotes a decree by the Ministry of War barring Jews, though liable to military service, from any other branch of service but infantry and forbidding their promotion even to the rank of non-commissioned officers.
The rigor and ruthlessness with which the anti-Jewish legislation has been enforced may be seen from the following instance. On February 9 the government announced that henceforth all importation of kosher meat from Carpatho-Ukraine, where the practice of Shehitah was still legal, into other parts of Hungary, was prohibited. The motive given was that Jewish butchers were trying to make a thriving business out of the ban on Jewish ritual slaughter of animals in the rest of Hungary. In another instance, the manager of a manufacturing concern in Budapest was sentenced, on February 29, to fifteen days imprisonment and a fine of 500 pengoes for employing one more Jew than permitted by law. On March 18, the football club “Hungaria” was fined 1,000 pengoes for engaging a Jew to manage the club’s tour to Turkey and Greece. On May 16, a Jewish lawyer was fined 3,000 pengoes for concealing the employment of a Jewish typist. Towards the end of the month, according to the Uj Magyarsag, Budapest daily, seventeen persons were fined a total of 28,000 pengoes within one week for failing to register their Jewish employees or discharging such employees in excess of the legal proportion. Among the persons fined were several Christians of high business standing.

The rapid elimination of Jews from private enterprises may serve as an indication of the extent to which Jews in public employ have been dismissed. On January 18, all Jewish judges were announced to have been retired as of January 1. Throughout the year Jewish teachers were suspended, retired or discharged without compensation. In November, the case of 53 Jewish teachers who had been dismissed from Budapest schools came up before the Municipal Council where, on the motion of the Mayor, they were granted the pensions to which they were entitled. According to an official announcement on May 4, all Jewish post office employees were to be dismissed commencing June 15, and in the future no Jew was to be allowed to fill even the position of letter carrier. On May 27, a total of 275 Jews, most of them war veterans, employed by the Budapest Municipality on its work relief project, were
given notice of their dismissal at the end of the month. On June 1, the Municipal Tramway and Autobus Co. announced the dismissal of all its Jewish employees to take effect June 15, 1940. These instances indicate that the law was being enforced against practically all Jews, whatever their economic status.

A special phase in the process of elimination of Jews from economic life was the question of Jewish landholdings. The law restricts Jews in the purchase of real estate and subjects their farm lands to expropriation. A decree published in the Official Gazette on September 17, 1939, required all Jews, within the meaning of the law, to submit the necessary data requisite for the transfer of rural property. It was estimated that 490,000 acres of agricultural property owned by Jews, exclusive of those in Carpatho-Ukraine, were to be expropriated. When, on October 27, the Lower House passed a drastic agrarian reform bill, it was discovered that, whereas, as a rule, only lands in excess of 300 acres were subject to expropriation, no minimum was set on land holdings for Jews. At the time of writing, it was not yet revealed to what extent Jews had been driven off their farm lands.

From reports it would appear that all the fury of Hungary's anti-Jewish policy was visited upon the close to 90,000 Jews in Carpatho-Ukraine, which Hungary annexed in March 1939. A survey made by representatives of the Budapest Jewish Community early in November 1939 revealed an appalling situation. Reduced to beggary by the anti-Jewish laws, thousands of families were on the brink of starvation. Since November 1, all Jewish professionals, including physicians and lawyers, had been forced to give up their general practice, and but for a few months' grace, trade licenses of Jews had been cancelled. The monopolization by the government of the lumber trade and road-building had thrown many thousands of Jews out of work. Barred by the law from private employment, the majority of the Carpatho-Ukraine Jews had been reduced to beggary. All efforts to induce the government to adopt a more tolerant attitude had failed, the survey
concluded. The stringent application of the law against the Jews in this province was confirmed in a survey made by a Jewish Telegraphic Agency representative in April 1940.

Much more information than is available is required in order to present an accurate account of the devastating effect of the law on the present and future position of the Jews in Hungary. The most competent observers, however, agree that, with the exception of the well-to-do and special categories of persons whose capital or ability are indispensable for the maintenance of Hungary's economy, the Jewish middle and working classes, the bulk of the Jewish population, have been or soon will be totally ruined as a result of a law originally framed "to free Hungary from the clutches of Jewish bankers and industrialists." Another sad commentary on the decline of the Hungarian Jewish Community is provided by the fact that of the close to 600,000 Jews, hardly more than one percent could meet all the requirements for voting in national elections.

The past year has been relatively free of disturbances and other forms of anti-Jewish incidents. Beyond the measures taken in pursuance of the law of May 3, 1939, there was little agitation against Jews and no cases of violence were reported. Towards the end of the period, however, the Nazi agitation in Hungary was revived. On June 24, 1940, all six Nazi groups in the Hungarian Parliament, with an aggregate representation of 60 members in the Chamber of Deputies, decided to amalgamate into one parliamentary bloc. Their principal plank was to be a third anti-Jewish law, going even further than the Nazi laws in Germany, and embracing the strictest control of Jews and their expulsion from all phases of national life and the confiscation of their property. On June 27, a Nazi deputy demanded the registration of all Jews as well as their property as a prelude to their expulsion and the confiscation of their property. This was the first consequence of the debacle of France which swung Hungary even more definitely than ever before into the German camp. These Nazi groups, together with the forty deputies of former Premier Imredi's pro-Nazi bloc of the Government Party, constitute a formidable Nazi opposition, numbering 260, in the Chamber of Deputies.
Jewish Communal Life

To these crushing blows the Jews replied by girding themselves for a new struggle for emancipation. This was the meaning of the words of Dr. Samuel Stern in his presidential address to the Pest Jewish Community on August 2, 1939. "We will fight for a new emancipation," he declared. "We accept the anti-Jewish Law with calm and dignity and proclaim our solemn determination to work for the achievement of a new emancipation with all legally permissible means and with patriotic enthusiasm. We, who have been sacrificed to the strangling provisions of the second anti-Jewish law, must bow our heads under the yoke of the new decree. But, with bowed heads and bleeding hearts, deprived of self-respect and of rights, we proclaim our unwaveringly firm loyalty to our faith and our fatherland."

Thrown upon their own resources, the Jews in Hungary early recognized the urgent need of unifying their scattered efforts. Their task was outlined by Dr. Geza Ribary, vice-president of the Pest Jewish Community, in an interview on November 17, 1939. In view of the present plight of Hungarian Jewry and the dangers that threaten it, Dr. Ribary declared, the Jewish Progressives, Orthodox, Zionists, non-Zionists and the mixed Jewish communities were coming closer together. Cooperation among these different groups, he said, was not only considered as the task of the hour, but also urged by the Jewish relief organizations abroad who demanded from Hungarian Jews at least as many sacrifices as they themselves were ready to make for the alleviation of their plight. The problem which the Jews in Hungary faced, he went on, could be solved only by cooperative efforts in which all elements of the community participated. These problems included (1) support of Hungarian Jews who have lost their livelihoods as a result of the "Jew Law"; (2) expansion of the distribution of free meals and clothing; (3) expansion of relief action on behalf of infants and children, and the support of aged people no longer in a position to be supported by their children or relatives; (4) support of refugees temporarily residing in Hungary; (5) support of the impoverished Jews in Upper
Hungary and Carpatho-Ukraine; and (6) agricultural and industrial training and retraining. The community, he concluded, was making every effort to persuade the government to permit those Jews, who had undergone retraining, to exercise their new trades pending the creation of suitable opportunities for their emigration.

The policy of the government to throw Jews out of employment and to prevent at the same time their rehabilitation in other occupations, aggravated the already intolerable situation of the Jews in Hungary. Many Jews who had been deprived of their jobs tried, for example, to enter hitherto neglected branches of farming, such as the growing of nuts, rare vines and fruits. In view of the fact, however, that the export of such agricultural products is subject to license, their efforts were thwarted, as the cultivation of such products depended mainly on the export market from which Jews were eliminated. Furthermore, the expropriation of Jewish agricultural holdings made all attempts of Jews to enter agriculture futile. The Jews also made attempts to settle declassed Jews on the alkali waste lands in southern Hungary between the Danube and the Tiza rivers—a project which was to be financed by well-to-do members of the community with the aid of the Joint Distribution Committee. Petitions asking permission to do this were submitted to the government, but, at the time of writing no reply had been received.

For the purposes of relieving the poverty-stricken Jews, a campaign for funds was launched, and an appeal for aid was addressed to Jewish relief organizations abroad. On November 6, 1939, Samuel Stern, president of the Pest Jewish Community, announced at a public meeting that the Minister of the Interior had approved the collection of a special fund of 13,000,000 pengoes for the relief of needy Jews, for the promotion of an emigration scheme, and for vocational retraining of prospective emigrants. Thanks were voted to the Joint Distribution Committee for its assistance. Alexander Eppler, the secretary of the Community, announced that, as a result of the activities of the Community, 643 apprentices had found employment and that 2,000 persons trained for new occupations had found jobs. Another thousand, he added, underwent agricultural training.
On December 31, the Paris office of the Ort World Union issued a statement outlining its manifold activities in Hungary. The statement revealed that, at the invitation of the Budapest Jewish Community, the Ort had worked out a plan of activity and had set up technical, educational, and agricultural sub-committees to supplement the various workshops for boys and girls which had been functioning in various parts of Hungary.

The period under review also witnessed a revival of interest in Hebrew and in Zionism. The annual conference of the Zionist Federation decided, on April 10, to expand the network of Hebrew schools in Hungary.

Statistics published by the Jewish Community in December 1939 disclosed that between 1919 and 1938 about 30,000 Jews in Hungary had abandoned Judaism, while 4,211 persons had joined the Jewish community. The largest number of conversions occurred in 1938 after the first anti-Jewish law was introduced in Parliament, when a total of 8,584 Jews embraced Christianity. This approximated the wave of conversions which followed the defeat of the Hungarian Communist Government, when, between 1919 and the end of 1921, a total of 11,146 Jews left the community. The Statistical Yearbook of the Budapest Municipality, published in October, 1939, revealed 4,368 Jewish mixed marriages in 1938 as compared with 4,412 in 1937.

VII. Poland

"A work is done in your days,
    which ye will not believe though it be told."
Habakkuk I:5

The story of the Jews in Poland during the past year is the story of what is probably the greatest tragedy in the entire history of Israel. It is a story which no man can write, still less read, with objective composure. Facts and figures, names and dates, become but inadequate symbols and a shrunken garment. Three million broken lives cannot be set down on paper. The most that can be attempted is to present a bare schematic record. If it cannot represent the reality of events, such record can at least establish
their sequence and thereby reveal the trends and tendencies responsible for the total situation.

The dominant feature of what has happened in Poland is perhaps its complete senselessness. All the measures taken against Jews have solved no problem. On the contrary, they have created one. Moreover, the majority of those measures cannot even claim to have any relation to the solving of a problem. They are mere exhibitions of a ruthless barbarity, useful only for the venting of unsatisfied lusts or the diversion of demands which might become insistent. Nobody, for instance, is any the better when a Jew is buried alive at Zgierz or schoolboys are shot in Bochnia, or Jews of Krakow are ordered to shave off their beards, yet it is actions such as these which characterize so much of the record.

Another feature of the record is the irony of history which underlies it. At the beginning of the year Jews were suffering the full brunt of an anti-Semitic policy pursued by the Republic. Jews in Warsaw were dismissed from industry as a measure of "security." Jewish students were being segregated at universities. Cemeteries and synagogues were being desecrated, and insistent demands were being voiced on all hands for the elimination of Jews from public life. Within three months, however, the Polish General Staff announced that 31,216 Jews had fallen in defense of the country, and 61,000 had been taken prisoner. A national appeal by President Moscicki had been endorsed by Jewish leaders, and within the first days of the Hitler war, no less than 802 Jews from Czechoslovakia had enlisted in a special legion in defense of what had been a Jew-baiting regime. Jews and non-Jews had found common ground against a common aggressor. The non-Jews, for their part, found that anti-Semitism was now outmoded — a striking proof of its purely expedient character in political regimes. The leading anti-Jewish journals, Gazeta Polska and Dzien- niki Narodowy abandoned their attacks and, four days after the German forces had marched in, the Polish Government ordered the arrest of several anti-Semitic leaders.

If, however, there was irony in these events, there was even more of tragedy. Never in the history of the world has so much abject misery been visited by one group of
human beings upon another as was inflicted by the Nazi invaders upon the Jewish population of the conquered area. We are still too close to these events to assess their measure. We can see only that millions of lives have been wrecked and one of the great bastions of Jewry has been stormed to destruction. At the same time, however, just because we are children of the generation we are the better able to appreciate the agony before it recedes from the actuality of experience into the dimmer memories of history.

In the following pages an attempt is made to offer a comprehensive picture of what has occurred. Because it is not a chronicle, but a review, many incidents are left unrecorded. Others, which depend on hearsay or which lack confirmation, have been excluded. It must be remembered, however, that the news which has come through does not cover the entire range of events. If we know from more reliable sources what happened in the larger towns, what happened in smaller villages and hamlets is for the most part unknown except for the reports of refugees. That the tragedy was, in any case, of the first magnitude needs, however, no such testimony as theirs. The fact that the Nazis themselves were compelled to circulate films, taken under force, of Jews rejoicing, is sufficiently eloquent evidence that even they were apprehensive of the world's judgment upon their own deeds. And when the courtyards of apartment houses in Warsaw become graveyards for Jews, no man will desire further proof that the blackest page in all history was written this year in Poland.

**German-Occupied Area**

**Expulsions**

With a ruthlessness unparalleled even in the Spain of the Inquisition, the Nazi invaders proceeded to expel Jews from all the main towns and settlements of the conquered area. It is impossible to compute the number of persons affected, but when figures like 20,000 or 18,000 are quoted from places of only secondary importance some idea of the aggregate disaster may perhaps be formed. In many
cases, the expelled Jews were despatched to the "reservation" in Lublin, but this was by no means the universal rule. Expulsions took place even before the "reservation" was established, and continued after consignments to it had been abandoned, so that in a large number of instances Jews were driven from their homes to wander from pillar to post without known destination. Some managed to escape to Lithuania, or cross the Soviet border, while others, notably those resident in Galicia, fled to Hungarian Carpatho-Ukraine. These, however, were the more fortunate; the bulk of the Jewish population was exposed to the alternatives of starvation or deportation. Within six weeks of the Nazi invasion, 57,000 Jews were reported to have been shifted to Germany for forced labor.

Soviet moves in the Baltic countries gave impetus to this eviction of Jews, for the Nazi authorities now advanced as a pretext the necessity of finding room for nationals repatriated from those countries. The groundless character of this pretext is apparent, however, when the number of repatriated Germans is compared with that of Jews expelled.

A feature of the expulsions, in some cases, was the short notice served upon Jews. On September 18, 1939, it was reported that all Jewish inhabitants of Bogumin, Chrzanow, Orlowa and Oswiecim had been ordered to leave those cities within seven days, while on November 20 it was announced that 200,000 Jews from Lodz were to be transported to Lublin within three months.

By March 1, 1940 mass expulsion of Jews was reported from the following 37 cities, besides many others unnamed:


Moreover, a decree issued on October 25, 1939, ordered all Jews to quit villages in the Nazi-occupied area by the end of December.
In some cases, the expulsions were accompanied by terrorism. Thus, from Hrubieszow it was reported, on January 21, 1940, that of the 400 Jews forcibly driven out, 83 had been shot for not “moving quickly enough,” and in Falenice, near Warsaw, where no formal order had been issued, Nazis chased Jews out of town by pursuing them in automobiles and running many of them down. The town itself was then set afire.

To gauge the extent of these evictions, it is perhaps sufficient to observe that by the middle of November 1939, only half of the 230,000 Jews of Lodz were reported to remain, while in Katowice the normal Jewish population of 13,000 had dwindled by February 1940 to a bare 300.

Depredations

Wholesale annexation of Jewish property became the order of the day. Following the confiscation, in October, of all Jewish-owned textile factories in Lodz, Tomaszow, and Bielsko-Biala, it was announced in November that synagogues throughout the occupied area had been ordered to hand over their ritual ornaments and that the funds of the Lodzki Bank Deposzytowy, the Polish branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, had been impounded. The following month, Jewish possessions in Zgierz, Gdynia and Bielsko-Biala were declared forfeit, and the Zionist training farm was seized.

The imposition of collective fines, upon trivial pretexts, was one of the most common methods employed by Nazis in order to expropriate Jewish resources. Thus, at Wlockawek, the Jewish community was ordered, in October, to pay 10,000 zlotys for allegedly firing its own synagogue, while two months later, when 600 of them were expelled, the Jews of Punska, in the Suwalki district, were mulcted for the same amount. In December, after Jewish bank accounts had been blocked in Warsaw, an excuse was found for confiscating the deposits by imposing a collective fine of a million zlotys (about $200,000) for the alleged shooting of a Polish policeman by a Jew, while in January, Nazi
methods of extortion reached a peak of diabolical ingenuity in the device of ordering Jews to set fire to a synagogue and then fining them 50,000 zlotys for the damage.

The old principle of *danegeld* was also introduced. Jews were compelled to buy off expulsion with enormous sums. In Lodz, where 50,000 persons had been ordered to leave before the end of December, a two-month respite cost the community no less than 9,000,000 zlotys, while in Sosnowice, Bedzin and Dabrowa banishment was stayed for 1,000,000 zlotys. In Warsaw, according to Polish Government sources, establishment of the threatened ghetto was postponed, toward the close of 1939, at the price of $2,400,000.

A slight variation in this method was represented by the action of Nazi leaders in Tomaszow, Skarzisk and Wodrizlaw in forcing Jews to pay special taxes for permission to perform the rite of circumcision.

To legalize previous depredations, the confiscation of all immovable property owned by Poles and Jews in the western provinces was ordered by Nazi authorities in February, according to reports from the Polish Government-in-Exile, while in the previous month a special tax was imposed on all Jews owning more than 2,000 zlotys in property, including clothing and furniture. Jewish property throughout the General Gouvernement was ordered registered by a decree of January 24, 1940.

Jewish stores and commercial enterprises were either liquidated or "Aryanized." In Warsaw almost all such concerns had suffered this fate by the beginning of March 1940, and in Krakow it was reported on April 15 all remaining Jewish businesses had been placed under "Aryan" supervision. An enforced contribution of 400,000 zlotys had also been levied on the community. Some idea of the extent to which these measures were carried out may be obtained from figures published, on December 17, by Marshal Göring's *Essener National Zeitung*. It was there revealed that by that date no less than 87% of Jewish-owned shops and 83% of Jewish-owned businesses had been liquidated.
Massacres and Executions

In the whole tale of Nazi atrocity in Poland two incidents stand out in the sharpest relief — supreme examples, so long as history shall be written, of "man's inhumanity to man." The first took place in early September, and was revealed on the 25th of that month by the secret German anti-Nazi radio. Twenty-two Jewish nurses serving with the Polish Red Cross were condemned to death by Nazi military authorities after the fall of the fortress of Modlin. The second occurred at Bochnia, near Warsaw, and was reported by the Morning Journal (N.Y.C.) on December 25. Twenty Jewish schoolboys, between the ages of 6 and 14, were shot by Nazis for allegedly concealing weapons and thus supporting Polish resistance.

These, however, though perhaps the most striking, were by no means the only instances of a persecution rooted solely in brutality. On Jan. 6, 1940, it was reported that 1,400 typhoid patients had been summarily evicted from a Jewish hospital in Warsaw, and two days earlier it was learned that Jews had been publicly flogged at Sieradz and Kolo.

Indiscriminate shooting of Jews became a popular pastime of the invaders. Occasionally, a certain "system" was introduced by selecting every tenth Jew in an arrested group as a target for the German rifles. This was the case at Warka, near Warsaw, (reported, Dec. 26, 1939) and at Sosnowiec (reported, January 1940). As a rule, however, no such "finesse" was employed, Jewish communities being massacred on a wholesale scale. During the first three months of the occupation, such massacres were reported from Chelmnik, Konskie, Kutno,LOWicz, Lukow, Zdunskawola, and many other places. The most terrible of all such outbreaks occurred at Przemsyl in September and at Chelm in November. In the former case, 800 Jews were shot out of hand; in the latter, some 1900 males, between the ages of 16 and 60, were rounded up in the market-square and marched off in the direction of Hrubieszow. On the way, after subjecting them to incredible humilia-
tions and tortures, Nazi guards proceeded to shoot them in batches. The event was described in the official press as the suppression of a revolt.

Pogroms took place in Lask and Sieradz during the month of December, as also in Czestochowa. In January, Jewish inhabitants of Nowe Miasto, in the Radom district, were picked out at random and shot, without pretext, while during Easter Week a five-day attack on Jews was launched in Lodz, where 200 persons were reported wounded in addition to a number killed. In Prztyk, the anti-Semitic Naras took revenge, in May, for the frustration of an attempted pogrom as far back as 1936. Under the eyes of Nazi guards, they brutally assaulted Jews and inflicted several casualties.

Sadism was mixed with brutality in a pogrom at Ostrowe, reported on December 7. All male Jews in the town were shot after being forced to dig their own graves. In the same month, a Jew named Zissman was buried alive at Zgierz on a charge of resisting the German forces, and in January it was learned that 150 Jews had been shot in Tzcebinow for allegedly concealing firearms in their homes.

Jewish communal leaders and other distinguished personalities in Jewish life were especially singled out for victimization. In October 1939, it was reported that many officials of the Bund and members of the Board of the Jewish Community had been murdered in Krakow, while the following month Jewish leaders were killed at Lodz, Tarnow, Kielce, Busk, Chielnik and Stopnik. Among literary celebrities who thus met their death were Urke Nachalnik, Yiddish author, Avigdor Friedman and Lippe Kestin, of the Yiddish daily Moment.

Nor were rifle and bayonet the only weapons that came to the Nazi hands. Fire also was made to play its part. The burning of synagogues, when they were not transformed into barracks, became an almost daily occurrence. By January 1940, no less than 200 such houses of worship had been set afire in Kielce, Ostrowiec and Radom alone. The Great Synagogue at Lodz was burned down in November, as were also those of Katowice and Zelechow. At Grojec, in the Warsaw district, Jews were forced themselves to consign the synagogue to the flames, and at Posen, accord-
ing to newspaper reports of December 3, 1939, the burning was filmed by official Nazi cameramen. In January, the Nazi sheet *Volksdeutsche* of Krakow announced the formation of a special "fire brigade" devoted to the burning of Jewish books and of synagogues, and it was reported that many young Poles were joining.

Jewish dwellings were also set afire. A notable example of this occurred in January when the whole of the Zachodnia Street in Bendzin, near Katowice, was burned down.

**Mass Arrests and Forced Labor**

Mass arrest of Jews began with the entry of the Nazi troops and continued without remission. On September 4, three days after the invasion, it was reported that all Jews in Bogumin were being held as hostages, while a fortnight later arrests in Lodz were estimated at 6,000. Any pretext was found sufficient to justify these measures. In the first days of the occupation, the most favored excuse was that Jews were concealing arms or otherwise resisting the Nazi forces. Later, the charge was raised that Jews were violating currency regulations. Finally, no explanation whatsoever was offered, and Jews were rounded up for subsequent transportation either to the Lublin "reservation" or else to forced labor in Germany. All Jews in Gdynia were reported interned on September 25, but the report was not confirmed. The following month, mass arrests reached enormous proportions. On October 25, students were stated to have been conscripted for compulsory labor, and two days later extensive round-ups were reported from the Suwalki district, where 3,000 Jews were detained, and from Warsaw. Refugees who fled from the Zbaszyn internment camp, which was in any case to be liquidated on September 3, were arrested by Nazi authorities. On October 30, large numbers of Jews were held in Lublin, Piotrkow and Radom. In the latter city, 3,600 Jews were charged with resistance to the invaders, and subsequently sent to concentration camps, where many died. On December 11, it was learned from London that 12,000 Jews had thus far been arrested in Lodz and that the ash remains of 600 previously detained had been received by their relatives there. In March 1940
the wave of arrests again rose alarmingly. The assassination of a Nazi official and his wife brought a mass round-up of Jews in Zeran, while on the 23rd of the month it was revealed that some 2,000 intellectuals had been detained within a fortnight. Youths between the ages of 18 and 25 were said to have been ordered to forced work in Germany, the number affected being computed at 10,000. Jewish socialists and Poale Zionists were hunted down and imprisoned throughout the period under review.

Concentration camps were established at Krakow, Lodz, Warsaw, Wegrow and several other places. By April 1, 1940, the number of Jews interned in them was put at 1,604,321. So great was the congestion of prisoners at the Lodz center, according to a Copenhagen report of March 22, that some 30–40 persons were being shot every Thursday, to make room for newcomers.

By a measure first announced in January 1940, all Jews in the occupied area were rendered liable to two years' forced labor. At Krakow, Radom, Czestochowa, and other centers they were obliged to work for twelve hours a day clearing debris caused by bombardment. An offer by the Jewish Community officials at Warsaw to supply 500 persons daily for this purpose was rejected, and Jews were rounded up indiscriminately for the work. It was reported on March 17, 1940, that a group arrested in this way had been forced to undress and were then beaten with iron bars.

Fate of Jewish Women

Jewish women and girls were not spared humiliation at the hands of the Nazi invaders. Numerous cases of rape were reported, usually accompanied, according to the official Black Book, by orgiastic bestiality. An affidavit sworn in January by Dr. Henryk Szoszkes, former member of the executive of the Warsaw Jewish Community Council, gave details of a Nazi demand, made in November 1939, that Jewish girls be supplied for the establishment of two military brothels in that city.* The order was unequivocally

* The affidavit was published in the Contemporary Jewish Record, March-April 1940, p. 202.
rejected by the Jewish leaders, but on January 14, 1940 it was reported that 40 Jewesses between the ages of 18 and 20 had been seized on the streets for immoral purposes. Similar action had been taken, two months earlier, in Lodz, where 100 Jewish women were rounded up, and incidents of the same type were also noted at Nowy Sacz, Rzeszow, Tarnow and other localities.

The Lublin "Reservation"

The project of a special "reservation" for Jews was first reported in the Belgrade newspaper *Vreme* on September 19, 1939. Within a month its realization had commenced. An area approximately 60 miles long and 50 miles wide southeast of Warsaw, between the Vistula and the San rivers, was selected, and Jews were transported thither not only from Poland but also from all parts of the Reich. A contingent of 2,000 were said to have left Vienna in mid-October and, by December 6, Paris estimates put the number of deportees as high as 50,000. Jews destined for the reservation, which covered the Lublin and Lubartow districts, were shifted in trains of cattle-trucks, in indescribable conditions.

On January 1, 1940, Copenhagen reported that the reservation then contained more than 30,000 Jews, including 12,000 from the Reich, 3,000 from Austria and 4,000 from Bohemia-Moravia. As soon as the project had been launched, the German authorities saw in it a comprehensive solution of the "Jewish problem." Whole communities were ordered to pack up and leave for it. Thousands were transported from Lodz alone, and early in the new year it was revealed that 1,340 Jews of Konin had been told to be ready to go on 15 minutes' notice. On January 3, all Jews from Otwock were instructed to leave for Lublin in order to make room for 5,000 Germans repatriated from Baltic lands, and on January 10 it was reported that the last 800 Jews of the Olza region had been ordered to the same destination by the end of the month. Jews waiting at Hamburg to embark for America were also seized and sent to the reservation.

At length it became apparent that Nazi zeal had overshot
the mark. The wholesale deportations seriously interfered with railroad traffic, while conditions in the settlement caused an epidemic of typhus which began to spread to Nazi ranks. This finally evoked protests to Berlin, and a halt was called upon further transports under the pretext of insufficient rolling-stock. Nevertheless, the condition of those now held in the reservation is pitiable in the extreme, and the death rate is abnormally high.

Orders and Decrees

Apart from the orders and decrees underlying the measures described above, Nazi authorities visited upon Jews a number of other regulations, many of which were designed for the sole purpose of humiliation. Ghettos were instituted at Warsaw, Kielce, Krakow and other cities, while in Lodz the slum district of Balut was selected for this purpose. Shehitah was proscribed by an order of October 26, 1939. Jews were forbidden to write letters in Yiddish, and in many towns, including Ciechanow, Bielok, Krakow, Lodz, Lublin, Plock, Pultusk and Wloclawek, they were compelled to wear yellow or other distinctive arm-bands, or patches. Jewish bank accounts and credits were blocked on November 15. They were excluded from mail deliveries, and forbidden to sell medical supplies, tobacco, and several other kinds of goods. All Jews in Krakow were ordered to shave off their beards, by a decree of April 19, and on May 1 it was reported that those of Tomaszow were being compelled to wear caps instead of hats. Travel in inter-city buses was prohibited, nor were Jews allowed to visit parks or market-places. All Jewish Bibles in court houses were reported on June 24, 1940 to have been burned, and goods handed over by Lodz Jews in exchange for food were ordered disinfected. Jim-Crow cars for Jews were established in many cities.

Some idea of the extent of the tragedy that has befallen the Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland may be obtained by figures published by the World Jewish Congress, December 17, 1939. It was there stated that by that date approximately 250,000 Jews had met their deaths through shootings, starvation or disease. Warsaw alone counted
30,000 victims in addition to 40,000 mown down while fleeing the bombardment. By the same date, 2,500 suicides were recorded, including 1,300 in Warsaw and 600 in Lodz. A wave of suicides was also reported from Krakow, and it was stated furthermore that conditions in the capital were responsible for 500 deaths daily.

**Russian-Occupied Area**

The Soviet army marched into Poland on September 17, 1939, and twelve days later agreement was reached with Germany concerning the division of the country between the two powers. Russia received the eastern half and certain other specified areas, containing about one million Jews, or about one-third of Poland's former Jewish population. An additional quarter of a million Jews, it was estimated, fled over the new border into the Soviet area, in their precipitous rush from before the advance of the conquering Nazi hordes. Whilst it was realized that the imposition of Soviet rule would bring its hardships, this was felt to be certainly the lesser of two evils.

The Sovietization of the conquered area proceeded rapidly. The government's policy toward the Jews accorded with that which prevails in Russia itself. Anti-Semitic excesses were suppressed by military force, and a number of Endek leaders and other anti-Jewish agitators were arrested. At the same time an intensive drive was made against religious and Jewish nationalist institutions. The main synagogue at Lwow was reported, on October 10, to have been converted into a communist club, and two days previously all Zionist and Bund groups were liquidated. Hebrew instruction was forbidden in the Wilno area (later ceded to Lithuania, but later still incorporated into the Soviet), but Yiddish schools were established, and the Lwow Coliseum turned into a Yiddish theater. Zionists and Hasidim were especially attacked in Soviet propaganda, often sponsored by the "Godless League."

The Sovietization of the country also affected living conditions. While 55,000 hectares of land were reported, in January, to have been given to Jewish collective farms in Wolynia and Eastern Galicia, it was also reported that
Soviet authorities had been forced to solve the problem of inflowing refugees by consigning 10,000 Jews from Lwow to forced work in mines in the Don area. Again, 500 Jewish firms were reported nationalized in Bialystok alone, and a long stream of refugees poured out of that city. Free loan societies established by the American J.D.C. were said to have been closed in February, and projects for sending Jews from the occupied area to Biro-Bidjan became the subject of persistent rumors. The Jewish poets Jacob Imber and Ber Horowitz were killed during the first days of the occupation, while attempting flight to Hungary.

On the whole, however, despite these privations and hardships, it was felt by Jews that the Soviet occupation had afforded the one ray of consolation in an otherwise bleak tragedy. While it had not turned the land into a heaven, it had at least prevented it from becoming a hell.

**Poland-in-Exile**

The attitude of the Polish Government-in-Exile towards Jews was not altogether free from ambiguity, for side by side with professions and gestures of friendliness went indications that anti-Semitic remnants of the pre-war regime had not entirely disappeared. Failure to state a definite policy also tended to increase misgivings.

Complete equality of Jews in a reconstituted Poland was declared to be part of the Government's aim in a press interview accorded by Foreign Minister Zaleski on October 9, 1939, and this was endorsed, some ten days later, in a radio broadcast by Premier Sikorski. On December 19, in an official proclamation, the Government announced its intention of granting equal rights to all minorities, and as comparatively late as May 9, 1940, Minister of Labor Jan Stanciz voiced the hope that in the new Poland Jews and Gentiles would cooperate freely.

Besides these professions of friendliness, the Government also took practical steps to show its good will towards Jews. One of its first acts, on October 13, 1939, was to restore political rights to the exiled Jewish Socialist leader, Herman Lieberman, who subsequently became a vice-president of the National Council. Other Jews also were invited to
serve on that body, including Ignacy Schwartzbart, Zionist leader and former Sejm deputy, and Arthur Ziegelbaum, head of the Bund, or Jewish Workers' Alliance. Jews were appointed as consuls at Tel Aviv and Jerusalem in the persons of Dr. Henryk Szozkes and Dr. Henry Rosmarin respectively. The Government also took official cognizance of anti-Jewish excesses committed by Nazi invaders in Poland, and assisted in calling world attention to them by the publication, in March 1940, of a special 16-page document on the subject.

On the other hand, there were occasions during the year when manifestations of possible anti-Jewish tendencies were detected.

In December 1939, protests were evoked by an article published in the Government organ Glos Polski (Voice of Poland) in which, amid other allegedly derogatory remarks, Jews were characterized as "Asiatics." Furthermore, on April 9, at a session of the National Council in Angers, France, a virulent attack on the American Jewish Congress was delivered by Vice-Chairman Taducz Bielecki, former leader of the anti-Semitic Endek party, in a speech subsequently published in the official Glos Polski. Although disavowed some two weeks later by the Polish Embassy at Washington, which pointed out that the sentiments expressed were Bielecki's own, and not those of the Government, the incident created uneasiness in Jewish circles.

Rumors became persistent in May that the Government-in-Exile was still entertaining the idea of compulsory Jewish emigration as part of its program for the eventual reconstruction of Poland. These rumors were categorically denied by Count Jerzy Potocki, Polish Ambassador to the United States, on May 9, but reports from London on the following day asserted that the Government was anxious to sound out Jewish organizations on this project and on other aspects of "the Jewish problem" in Poland. The representation of Jewish interests in the framing of Polish policy was a question previously ventilated in March when a project was launched for setting up a commission consisting of exiled Jewish deputies, senators and other public figures, pending negotiations for the establishment of a governmental Department of Jewish Affairs.
VIII. ITALY

Anti-Jewish Measures

Matching the *passo Romano* ever more closely to the Nazi goose-step, fascist Italy forged ahead with her racist and anti-Jewish policy, her intention being, according to a spokesman on March 22, 1940, to eliminate all Jews from the national life within the space of eleven years. Among legislative measures introduced on this basis the following were the more important:

1. A ruling by the Ministry of the Interior, on July 8, 1939, prohibited firms dealing with the government from employing Jews or doing business with them.

2. A decree of the Ministry of Education, on July 16, 1939, ordered Jewish students segregated from their Gentile classmates at university examinations.

3. A decree, declared effective as from February 1, 1940, barred Jews, except in certain “privileged” cases, from acting as notaries or journalists.

4. A decree ordered expulsion of all foreign Jews, numbering some 3,000. “Stragglers,” who remained despite the order, were summarily expelled on August 9.

5. An order of August 15, 1939, prohibited Jews from employing non-Jewish servants, under penalty of fines ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 lire.

6. Compulsory “Aryanization” of Jewish firms was enjoined on August 22, 1939. One of the concerns affected had a personnel of 2,125 employees.

7. A statement issued in March 1940 revealed that 75 Jewish lawyers, 131 physicians, and 44 auditors had been dropped from the official registers in Rome.

8. Refusal of the renewal of licenses for coffee-stands and tobacco-shops owned by Jews, according to reports of March 29, 1940.

Among the reactions of Italian Jewry to the new racist drive was a tendency to seek protection within the fold of the Catholic Church. Two especial advantages were sought
in this step. The first was to secure facilities for emigration to those Latin American countries which bar the immigration of Jews, but admit proselytes. The second was to secure the education of children in Catholic schools. It was reported in the official estimates, issued on July 6, 1939, that 4,500 of Italy's 40,000 Jews (more than 10%) had undergone baptism during the course of the year. The purely expedient nature of such conversions became apparent, however, later in the year, when it was learned, on December 10, that, following a lull in anti-Jewish measures, many of the baptized were seeking re-entry into the Jewish community.

Control by the government of internal Jewish affairs was manifested, in July 1939, by the levying of an official head-tax of 200 lire, over and above the ordinary schools tax, for the maintenance of the Jewish high school in Rome. This was designed as part of the drive to exclude Jewish children from the normal forms of state education. In the four government schools in the capital to which they are still admitted, Jewish pupils are compelled to attend in the afternoons, while "Aryan" children go in the mornings. The unreasoning nature of the drive may be gauged, however, by the fact that, early in 1940, the government also closed down one of the two Jewish agricultural school camps near Pisa, and by the fact that a fund of five million lire (about $250,000) left by the late David Almagia to Jewish charities in Rome, and constituting a source whence the costs of Jewish education and welfare might well have been drawn, was ordered confiscated, according to reports of January 25, 1940.

Significant was the fact that during the government's flirtation with Britain, in the concluding months of 1939, anti-Jewish measures appeared to be relaxed. This gave rise to the belief that a change of policy had taken place following the cabinet shake-up, but statements to this effect by W. L. White of the New York Post (Nov. 29) and Madame Tabouis of the Paris Oeuvre (Jan. 1, 1940) were rebutted with ridicule by the representative Giornale d'Italia on January 10, 1940.

That the new racist tendencies, lacking economic reason and designed solely to ingratiate the friend across the
Brenner, did not command the universal sympathy of the Italian people was made plain in a revealing letter from Marshal Balbo to an American friend, published in October 1939 by the Boston Jewish Advocate. This document may be read, perhaps, against the background of the well-known discord between the Marshal and il Duce — a discord which reached its height some years ago when Balbo, then at the pinnacle of his popularity, was summarily despatched to Africa in order to prevent his shadow from falling across the Palazza Venezia.

Anti-Jewish Propaganda

The first anniversary of the introduction of racism into Italian policy was celebrated in the newspapers on July 14, 1939. A significant feature of the many articles which appeared on the subject was a concerted tendency to disclaim German influence and to represent the new line as an indigenous product designed to meet a specific Italian problem. Thus, the Rhodes journal Messagero, which may be taken as typical, declared simply that the country must be protected from the Semitic mentality. The cloven hoof appeared, however, in the statement of Roberto Farinacci, Italy’s No. 1 Jew-baiter, published in his Cremona newspaper Regime Fascista, freely admitting the influence of the Axis and of “other anti-Semitic peoples.”

An official report, tendered in August 1939 by Achille Starace, then secretary-general of the Fascist Party, revealed that of 20,000 lectures delivered during the year under the auspices of the National Institute of Fascist Culture, leading propaganda body, the largest proportion had been devoted to racist doctrines.

The outbreak of the European war intensified the virus of anti-Jewish propaganda in Italy. On September 24, 1939, some twenty days after Hitler’s corresponding utterance, Premier Mussolini, in a speech to a group of fascist chiefs, denounced the “remaining Freemasons, Jews and friends of foreign lands,” while on November 27, when the pressure of the Anglo-French blockade was beginning to be felt, attempts were made in Italian newspapers, including il
Duce's *Popolo d'Italia*, to saddle responsibility for this measure on the Jews. As the war progressed, Farinacci's *Regime Fascista* became more and more violent. On February 17, 1940, Governor Lehman of New York was vigorously attacked for his adherence to democracy and religion and, on April 30, the Vatican journal *Osservatore Romano* was denounced as the "mouthpiece of the Jews." The effect of such inflammatory propaganda became evident when anti-Jewish riots broke out at Rome and other parts in the month of May. Nazi officers were reported to have been brought into the country to advise on the campaign.

**Refugees**

The entry of Italy into the war seriously affected the position of refugees. Until then, the country had served as the leading "exit point" for East European exiles seeking emigration to the Americas and other parts. In August 1939 it was reported that Italy had been admitting up to 700 refugees per month, and that even stateless "transients" had been received on six-month permits, provided only that they could prove maintenance resources of $50 per month. All of this was brought to an end with the declaration of war. Alien Jews were interned at Salerno and Cosenza and all transit facilities denied to refugees. The internees included especially some 1,000 young foreign Jews removed from the military zones of Naples, Rome, Genoa, Trieste and Milan. It was reported that the treatment of them in the concentration camps was essentially humane and that they were allowed the complete freedom of the town during the day. Emigration was encouraged, police guards escorting the emigrants to the frontiers when they were ready to leave.

Measures to curb the increasing influx of refugees were taken already before Italy's entry into the war. The Refugee Committee headquarters in Milan were closed by government order in August 1939, but reorganized three months later under the leadership of Dante Almanzi, friend of Marshal Emilio de Bono who had assisted him when charged with the murder of the trade union leader Matteoti. Passports of Italian Jews were recalled in February 1940,
and migrants were served only with one-way permits. Polish refugees were subjected to special Polish supervision.

Perhaps the most absurd of all anti-Jewish measures to date was the order, issued in June 1939, that all Jews should quit Albania. Considering that there are little more than 200 Jews in the country (less than .02% of the population), it is easy to appreciate the ludicrous character of the local Italian press insistence that Albania should get rid of her "unwanted Jewish element."

Jews and War Service

Despite the government's avowed policy to eliminate Jews from national life, exemption from racist legislation was granted, upon application, to 2,801 persons, on the grounds that they or their relatives had served the Fascist cause in the Libyan, Ethiopian or Spanish wars, had served in the World War, or otherwise deserved well of the fascist movement. It was estimated that at least half of Italian Jewry actually falls into these categories, but a considerable proportion refrained from applying for the exemption.

A distinction of the highest order was awarded in November 1939, to a Jewish lieutenant, Bruno Jesi, for distinguished service in the Ethiopian War. This was the gold medal brevet, held only by 100 persons and entitling its recipient to special privileges in the country and to ready access to the King and the Duce. It was announced that Jesi had approached Mussolini with a plan, to cost 5,000,000 lire, for developing Ethiopian oil-fields by means of Jewish colonization.

It was announced on June 21, 1940, that Jews had been included in the general mobilization order, and that many dismissed Jewish doctors had been redrafted for military service.

With 220 million Catholics in Europe (more than 66% of the world's total), it was natural that the trend of events should arouse the anxiety of the Holy See. In the first encyclical of his pontificate, issued in October 1939, Pope Pius XII, inveighed strongly against the doctrines of totalitarianism, racism and materialism. This was followed, less
than a month later, by another encyclical, this time addressed to the American Catholic hierarchy on its 150th anniversary, condemning current abuse of the radio for the dissemination of false teachings. Although couched in general terms, this condemnation was interpreted by observers as a reprimand to Father Coughlin.

Nazi atrocities in Poland and elsewhere also excited Papal indignation. The former, including especially the project of a Jewish reservation, were scored by the Vatican radio on January 22, 1940, and a secret Yellow Book issued some weeks earlier revealed that the Pope had assisted in the settlement of some 3,000 “non-Aryans” in Brazil. It was reported in The New York Times of March 14 that the Pontiff had severely denounced religious and racial persecution to German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, during the latter’s audience with him. Papal protest against the introduction of racial legislation by Italy took the form of appointing a Jewish geographer, Roberto Almagia, to a position in the Vatican library and of naming other Jews for positions in the pontifical academy of sciences. The Papal Nuncio in Berlin was despatched to German-occupied Poland to study the situation there, in March, and on April 18 Cardinal Hlond of that country was reported to have submitted to Rome further evidence of Nazi outrages.

The opposition of the Pope evoked the ire of Roberto Farinacci, Italy’s leading exponent of racist doctrines. On April 30 he denounced the Vatican newspaper, Osservatore Romano as the “mouthpiece of the Jews,” and stated, three days later, that the Jews had financed it to the extent of 5,000,000 lire.

The entry of Italy into the war brought a noticeable change in Vatican policy. Denunciations of the fascist ideology ceased and Osservatore Romano curbed altogether its criticism of the regime.

An echo of Papal history was heard on April 17 with the death at Liége, Belgium, at the age of 89, of Edgar Mortara, central figure in the famous forced baptism case of 1858. At the age of six, Mortara, a Jew, was seized by Papal guards and converted to the Catholic faith. He subsequently became a priest.
IX. BALTIC COUNTRIES

1. Latvia and Estonia

In October 1939, Latvia and Estonia, along with Lithuania, were brought within the orbit of Soviet influence, only to come under complete Russian domination in June 1940. The repatriation of Baltic Germans to the Third Reich was reported to have had certain repercussions on the economic position of Jews in the two countries, but no further accounts followed.

On August 13, 1939 the Zionist Organization in Riga, Latvia, announced that a total of 19,525 shekalim had been sold, an increase of 5,000 over the previous Zionist Congress year. In the absence of elections, an electoral board apportioned delegates to represent the various Zionist factions at the World Zionist Congress at Geneva. Towards the end of March, 1940, the Riga Jewish Community was reported to have prepared the shipment of 15,000 kilograms of matzoth to the Polish occupied areas. The Latvian Government adopted severe measures against the admission of war refugees. Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, who were classed as illegal entrants, or whose residence permits expired, were reported, on September 12, 1939, to have been subjected to compulsory labor on public projects, including road building.

In February 1940, Tallin (Estonia) reports spoke of projected changes in the status of minorities. On March 24, however, it was learned that the projected changes had been withdrawn and that all national minorities would continue to enjoy full cultural autonomy. The refusal of the Estonian Government to grant the request of the Jewish Cultural Board for inclusion of Yiddish among the languages permitted for correspondence abroad, as reported on March 29, would appear to contradict the Estonian minorities policy and remains to be clarified.

2. Lithuania

Events in Lithuania during the review period developed through three stages. The first stage, which began with the Nazi occupation of Memel, in March 1939 continued up to
the outbreak of the Hitler War in Europe. The second commenced on September 1, 1939, the date of the German invasion of Poland, and came to an end with the Soviet occupation of the Baltic countries in the middle of June 1940. The last stage, perhaps the most fateful, is of too recent development to admit of discussion.

At the opening of the period under review, July 1, 1939, the effects of the German-Lithuanian Non-Agression Pact which was concluded after the Memel crisis and which had stimulated anti-Jewish movements in the country, appeared to have worn off. Several cases of suspected incendiaryism occurred in Jewish villages near Memel during the month of July, but suspicion was directed against Memel Nazis. The efforts of the latter to harass the Jewish population in neighboring villages were foiled by Lithuanian border guards. A report to this effect was made known on July 19 in Kaunas. Anti-Jewish excesses were also reported from Leipalingis on the Polish border where twenty-seven persons, including two Jews, were fined up to 1000 lits each.

On the whole, however, the government's decision to suppress attempts to stir up anti-Jewish manifestations, as expressed in assurances made by General Kazys Skucas, the Minister of Interior, in June 1939, was strongly felt throughout the country. Its effect was especially noticeable at the Congress of the Werslininkai Traders and Artisans Association which opened on July 12 in the resort town of Polangen. Although the resolutions were hostile to Jews, the usual anti-Semitic tone at these conventions was considerably dampened. Domas Micutas, director of the Ministry of Economics, warned the Congress to abandon its Jew-baiting activities, in the economic interests of Lithuania. A message was also reported to have been received from Lithuanian groups in the United States stating that the Association's projected delegation to America was doomed to fail in its objective unless they discontinued their anti-Jewish propaganda. Another characteristic event was the resignation, on July 6, of Mayor Sliupas of Polangen after the municipal council rejected, with only one dissenting vote, his resolution to appeal to the Supreme Court against the government's action in invalidating the Municipality's ban on Shehitah (see Vol. 41, p. 313). On July 21,
a number of Lithuanian clergymen, university professors, including the rector of the University of Kaunas, and political and civic leaders, issued a public protest against an advertisement of a hotel in this summer resort that “Jews are not admitted,” and warned newspapers publishing such notices that they would be boycotted by Lithuanian society.

The absorption of Memel by Germany gave rise to the question as to the status of the refugees who fled the district. Germany was interested in claiming those refugees who had left their property behind as German subjects in order to provide legal grounds for the confiscation of their property without compensation. This question, which affected several thousand Jews, was the subject of negotiations between the German and the Lithuanian Governments. These negotiations continued into the spring of 1940. On July 7 it was reported that former German citizens would be regarded German subjects although they may have opted for Lithuanian citizenship. It would seem that an agreement along these lines was reached by the two governments, for, on December 6, it was reported from Kaunas that 110 Memel Jewish families had petitioned the Lithuanian Government to submit their citizenship status to the decision of the Hague Tribunal.

In most cases, however, the refugees were admitted into Lithuanian citizenship and they could therefore profit from the German-Lithuanian agreement to supervise the liquidation of their property in Memel without interference by the German authorities. On August 3, it was officially announced in Kaunas that Memel Jews would be permitted to return in order to dispose of their property, including houses, factories and goods, either in person or through specially authorized representatives, by August 21, 1939. The money realized from the sale of these properties, it was added, was to be placed in a special account to be transferred to Lithuania through the usual clearing process in the form of goods and machinery. On August 6 the time limit was extended from August 21 to October 1. Nazi Commissars who were placed in charge of Jewish business firms were reported to have been recalled and confiscations of property cancelled. The first payment, in the amount of 8,000,000 lits, was revealed on January 26, 1940 to have
been paid into the German Reichsbank on account of the Lithuanian National Bank by purchasers of Jewish property in Memel. To speed up the liquidation process, the German Government agreed to permit six Jewish attorneys from East Prussia to proceed to Memel to aid in winding up the affairs of the Memel Jews.

On October 10, 1939 Lithuania and Russia ratified a Mutual Assistance Pact under the terms of which the city and region of Wilno were transferred to Lithuania, which in exchange, permitted Soviet garrisons to be stationed within the country. In spite of the serious implications of this bargain, the re-incorporation of Wilno was hailed as one of the most notable events in the history of Lithuanian independence. The event was also of great significance to Jews. It meant that this ancient city of Jewish learning had escaped the fate of other cultural centers in defeated Poland, whether under German or Russian occupation. Altogether, Lithuania appeared to have been fated to become the last citadel of free Jewish life and culture in eastern and central Europe. The appreciation of these facts appears to have charted the course of subsequent Lithuanian-Jewish relations. On November 7, 1939, President Antanas Smetona assured Dr. Jacob Wigodsky, president of the Wilno Jewish Community, that the government was resolved to treat questions affecting Jews in a positive manner. Formal recognition of the Community was granted on January 31, 1940, and as a sign of appreciation of the place of Wilno in Jewish cultural life, the Senate of the University of Wilno agreed, in principle, to the establishment of a chair in Yiddish. On December 1, the Lithuanian Writers Association issued a special volume in honor of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Mendele Mocher Seforim, known as the "grand old man" of Yiddish literature. On February 9, 1940, the Wilno radio station, for the first time, broadcast a Yiddish program. Such broadcasts, it was announced, were to be given regularly every Thursday. On May 8, Yiddish speeches were delivered at the University of Wilno, perhaps for the first time in its centuries-old history, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of the famous Yiddish writer, Judah Leib Peretz, in whose honor the
municipality named a street. Towards the end of the month, the municipal council approved the naming of three other streets after native sons of the city, Mendele Mocher Seforim, Meyer Isaac Dick, nineteenth century Jewish leader, and Dr. Zemach Schabad, one of the founders of the Yiddish Scientific Institute. Assurances that the University of Wilno would facilitate the activities of the Jewish students were given by Rector Birziska. On May 29, Zionist committees gained a majority in elections held by the Jewish Students Association.

Following the cession of Wilno City and District to Lithuania, efforts were made to transplant Jewish institutions from Poland to Lithuanian soil. In November 1939, refugee Zionist leaders established what they called Polish Zionism-in-exile, by reopening the Warsaw Palestine Office and other Zionist institutions, in Wilno. In the same month, twenty-two exiled Polish rabbis established a Union of Polish Rabbis. In February 1940, the Agudath Israel decided to set up an East-European executive office in Wilno, where, too, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency made its headquarters to serve the neighboring countries. The yeshiboth of Mir, Wolozyn, Baranowicze, Grodno and Lublin, famous Polish-Jewish institutions, were removed to different towns in Lithuania. The organization of a Baltic Religious Federation was announced on December 21. On April 28, the women's international Zionist organization, announced that it had opened a branch in Wilno. The Yiddish Scientific Institute resumed its activities, a new Yiddish theatre was opened, and new publications were planned. Towards the end of April, the government legalized the Union Hebrew Teachers Seminary, Hamoreh. The presence of many prominent Polish-Jewish refugee scholars, writers, publicists, and civic, religious and cultural leaders, promised to make Lithuania, especially the city of Wilno, the capital of Jewish culture in Europe.

In the meantime, the government was confronted by three urgent problems. The first problem was to restore order in the incorporated area; the second was the vexing question of the war refugees, and the third, that of economic reconstruction.

The period intervening between the withdrawal of Soviet
troops and the occupation by Lithuanian troops, appears to have been exploited by Polish Nationalist youths in the Wilno area to revert to their pre-war practices of blaming every misfortune upon the Jews. At the end of October, reports from Wilno revealed that one Jew was killed and several seriously wounded in anti-Jewish rioting staged by Endek youths. The rioting continued through November 1 when one Lithuanian policeman was reported killed. The proportions of these riots can be deduced from reports that troops and tanks had to be called into action in order to quell them. A survey conducted by representatives of the J.D.C. revealed that several hundred Jewish shops were damaged during the anti-Jewish demonstrations and riots.

On November 2, the Lithuanian Government issued an official statement declaring that the police had re-established order and that it had arrested a number of suspects who would be brought to trial. The disorders, the statement added, were due to "long standing fanatic hatred between Polish and Jewish youths." On the same day, Premier Cernius and General Kazys Skucas, Minister of the Interior, assured a Jewish delegation that further anti-Jewish disorders in Wilno would be firmly suppressed and perpetrators courtmartialed. On the following day it was announced that 200 Jewish supernumeraries would be added to the Wilno police to prevent the recurrence of rioting. On November 4, one of the ringleaders in the October excesses was sentenced to death and executed, and another sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. This was the first in a series of trials which took place during the remainder of the year.

As a more permanent precaution, General Skucas announced, on November 6, that he had called all rectors and principals of Polish schools in Wilno into conference to enlist their cooperation in disciplining the students and to help maintain calm and order. Rioting, however, broke out again early in December. But the appointment, on January 26, of a Polish and a Jewish vice-mayor in Wilno, gave rise to hopes that the representatives of the two sections of the population would assure harmony and cooperation. The government and leading Lithuanian personalities, on their part, have frequently repeated their
determination to cooperate with the several minorities. During the trial, early in March, of five ringleaders in the late disorders, the prosecutor demanded severe punishment as a warning that "the period of unjust treatment of minorities has ended and that all citizens are equal before the law."

The second major problem was that of the refugees. On November 1, 1939, the Lithuanian Parliament approved a bill providing that all residents in the district of Wilno were to be considered Lithuanian citizens if they could prove residence between 1904 and 1913 and, or, from August 6, 1920, the date of ratification of the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty of Peace, to October 27, 1939, the date of Lithuanian occupation of Wilno. This law automatically put an undetermined number of persons who settled in the district subsequent to August 20, 1920 into the category of foreigners. In addition, there were over 50,000 persons, military and civilian, who had crossed into Lithuania during and following the German and Russian military operations in Poland. Included in this number were an estimated 11,000 Jews. The desperate plight of these refugees was aggravated by the uncertainty of their status and the frequent threats of their repatriation to the German or Soviet-occupied areas of Poland.

The burden of relief fell largely and mainly upon Jewish relief organizations and frequent appeals for urgent assistance were addressed to the J.D.C. Although the government's attempt to alleviate the situation of the refugees was fully recognized, the Lithuanian authorities made it clear that the problem would eventually have to be solved by repatriation or emigration. Meanwhile, early in December, 1939, the government introduced a bill in Parliament providing for the creation of a Refugee Commissariat to administer relief, grant residence permits, and watch over illegal entrants who were to be deported. Heavy fines were provided against people harboring illegal refugees, while "dangerous" refugees were to be interned in special camps. The bill further provided for compulsory labor by aliens who could not be deported. The bill was passed with rigorous amendments. On January 21, 1940, the Refugee Commissioner announced sweeping restrictions against refu-
The latter were to be distributed throughout Lithuania, were prohibited from becoming members of political parties, and other organizations, addressing public meetings, collaborating with the local or foreign press, owning typewriters and engaging in commerce or accepting employment. The Commissioner further announced that relief would be concentrated in the Lithuanian Red Cross to which all private agencies were ordered to deliver their funds together with their documents. The private relief agencies were assigned specific tasks. Although subsequently some of the minor measures, like the ban on owning typewriters, or employment in the press, were revoked, the more important measures were rigorously enforced. On May 16, General Skucas, Minister of the Interior, announced that he had ordered the establishment of concentration camps for refugees violating the regulations.

The question regarding repatriation of refugees has not been fully clarified. On November 2, the German and Lithuanian Governments were reported to have reached an agreement whereunder part of the more than 1,000 Jews of Suwalki, who had been expelled into no-man's-land on the German-Lithuanian border, were to be admitted to Lithuania, and the rest returned to German-occupied areas. Later in the month, a mixed Lithuanian-Soviet Commission was reported about to be created to examine the question of migration over the Soviet-Lithuanian frontier, which, it was announced, was closed pending a final settlement of the question. This Commission, it was further reported, was to reach an agreement providing for the exchange of Jews and White Russians for Lithuanians in Soviet territories. A Soviet delegation charged with settling the exchange of population problem arrived in Kaunas on November 21, and it was said that 100,000 persons were involved. Early in January, M. Alekna, Refugee Commissioner, declared that negotiations regarding the repatriation of refugees were being carried on not only with Soviet Russia but also with Germany.

Throughout this period there were persistent rumors that Lithuania was under strong pressure from both Soviet Russia and Germany to expel or deliver up "undesirable" refugees. These rumors were denied, on December 19, by
the Chief Commissioner of the Wilno District; and, on January 30, the official Telegraphic Agency denied that Lithuania was deporting refugees to Nazi-occupied Poland. Still these rumors continued. The situation was partly cleared up on February 12, when the Lithuanian Telegraphic Agency admitted that only new refugees were being deported over the Russian border, because Lithuania was physically unable to absorb them. The Agency also admitted that measures had been taken against illegal refugees. On March 28, the Lithuanian Legation in London, while denying that its government was deporting refugees to the places of their origin in Poland, added that an understanding was being sought to provide for the repatriation of refugees who wished to return.

On the other hand, Lithuania was reported to have negotiated for the return of Lithuanian citizens seized by the Soviet army during its occupation of Wilno. Among them were a number of prominent Jewish leaders, writers, financiers, socialists and others considered "hostile" to the Soviet regime. Several of the seized persons, including the noted Jewish writer Zalman Reizen, were reported on March 1 to have been released.

In these circumstances, Jewish organizations endeavored to expedite the emigration overseas of refugees. As early as November 1939 a Committee was set up in Wilno for this purpose. A number of refugees, estimated at several hundred, were reported to have left for Palestine. Such emigration, however, proved increasingly difficult. On January 23, 1940, the Hias-Ica office in Paris announced that it had received reports from Lithuania that the travel agencies in Kaunas and Wilno had been forced to discontinue the sale of steamship tickets to prospective emigrants to Palestine on account of the difficulty of procuring their transit to Mediterranean or Black Sea ports. The extension of the war area into Denmark and Norway in April, barred emigration via these countries, leaving transit through Soviet territory as the only means of exit. The Soviet Government, it was reported in Washington on April 12, agreed to permit the transit of emigrants on condition only that they prove that they had a definite destination; but in the middle of May, it was reported that Soviet consulates
were still awaiting instructions as to the conditions under which transit visas were to be issued.

Only fragmentary reports are available as to how the third major problem, that of economic reconstruction, was being met. The economic difficulties resulting from dislocations produced by the war, were aggravated by the Soviet and Lithuanian troop movements, the devaluation of the Polish currency, the lack of raw material for the local industries, the damage caused by the military operations and the subsequent rioting, as well as by the influx of poverty stricken refugees. It should be added that the influence of the anti-Jewish Verslininkai, the Merchants and Artisans Association, was still strongly felt in the country. At a conference of regional committees of the association, held in Kaunas on March 14, resolutions were adopted calling upon the government to restrict Jewish participation in economic life and introduce a *numerus clausus* in industrial and commercial undertakings. Although the Vice Minister of Finance warned that the government would not tolerate any militant anti-Semitism on the part of the association, and Lithuanian clergymen were acknowledged to be opposed to its anti-Jewish activities, the Speaker of the Lithuanian Parliament, Kazys Sakenis, gave assurances of both the Parliament’s and government’s support of the Verslininkai, at the tenth anniversary celebration of March 31. On the other hand, the Minister of Finance, Ernests Galvanauskas, stressed the necessity of mobilizing all economic forces in the country to meet the critical situation in Lithuania.

On January 16, 1940, the annual conference of the Lithuanian Ose (Jewish Health Society) opened in Kaunas; it was attended by a special delegation representing the Polish-Jewish Health Society, Toz.

On June 15, 1940 Soviet Russian troops once again marched into the Baltic lands, this time to complete the occupation which they had begun in October 1939. Thenceforth, the Baltic countries, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, became, to all intents and purposes, Soviet provinces. The hopes pinned on Lithuania as the last citadel in Europe where Jewish life and Jewish traditions could go on without interference, were completely shattered.
X. ROUMANIA

The year under review ended unhappily for Roumania. At the time of writing, Bessarabia and the northern part of Bukovina were lost to Russia and the entire country was under the threat of war and dissolution. For the Jews, as for their brethren all over Europe, the last year was one of the most tragic periods in their history. Although they had escaped war and invasion, yet internal and foreign political developments which culminated in June 1940, militated against the few remaining vestiges of their peace and security.

It will be recalled that the suppression of the Iron Guard in November 1938 and the attempted stabilization of internal policy by the establishment of an authoritarian regime in the following month, brought only momentary relief to the harassed Jewish population. The economic, legal and social discrimination against Jews continued in full force, long after the anti-Semitic legislation initiated by the Goga regime had been officially disavowed. Yet, Jews were encouraged to persevere in their hopes that their situation would eventually change for the better. "The critical stage in the anti-Jewish policy of Roumania is over and the Jews can expect only improvement in their position," declared Professor Silviu Dragomir, Minister for National Minorities, to the correspondent of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency on November 13, 1939, and, two days later, to the President of the Union of Jewish Communities. Although the Minister admitted that the anti-Jewish measures continued in full force, he argued that no relaxation was possible so long as the government had not completed the thorough purge of the Iron Guard, since any pro-Jewish step by the government would place it on the defensive against its opponents. As a matter of fact, the purge of the Iron Guard was pressed forward with increasing rigor, following the assassination of Premier Armand Calinescu on September 2.

Hope for an improvement in the situation of the Jews was also pinned on the need for national unity in the face of the gravity of the international situation, as well as on the Anglo-French guarantee of Roumania's independence.
which, at least nominally, placed the latter country in the
democratic camp. On November 12, Premier Constantin
Argetoianu, in an address before the National Renascence
Front, called upon all minorities to cooperate with Rou-
manians and added that the slogan of the Front was "more
justice, more peace, more humanity." The Front, he said,
was open to the minorities and it was now their turn to
accept the invitation. Although Jews were generally ex-
cluded from the benefits which accrued to the national
minorities and were barred from the Renascence Front, the
Premier's appeal at that particular time was held to be
addressed also to Jews, whose generous contributions to
the National Defense Loan elicited official praise and
recognition.

There were other signs which could be or were construed
as manifestations of a more cordial attitude towards Jews.
One of these was the military funeral accorded to Chief
Rabbi and Senator, Dr. Jacob Isaac Niemirower on Novem-
ber 17, 1939, in which Cabinet Ministers and a large
number of Senators participated. On January 14, seven
Jewish leaders were appointed members of an advisory
committee composed of representatives of trade and indus-
try to supervise the grant of endowments to the Roumanian
Army. The election of Dr. Alexander Safran on February 4,
to succeed the late Dr. Niemirower, was the occasion for
the mutual exchange of compliments and good wishes be-
tween the Jewish Community and Roumanian officialdom
and people. Practically the entire Roumanian press wel-
comed the election of Dr. Safran, while the non too friendly
*Currentul* of Bucharest declared that his election "promises
many and better things and those responsible for it can
truly congratulate themselves upon their choice." This
paper as well as others stressed the fact that the new Chief
Rabbi, who is also ex-officio Senator, is a native of Old
Roumania and belongs to that part of the Jewish population
"which had shown their loyalty to their country by many
sacrifices."

Of more immediate and practical importance were the
steps taken by the government to restrain the local
authorities and private organizations from overstepping the
limits of the restrictions against Jews, especially in the case
of those whose citizenship status was still pending. A decree of the Ministry of Labor issued at the end of October, forbade local authorities to revoke licenses from Jews before their citizenship status has been determined by the courts. As a result of a complaint filed by the Union of Clerical Workers, the Ministry decided in favor of Jewish employees who were dismissed, upon losing their citizenship, without compensation. Early in November, the government ordered the rescinding of an earlier order to strike Jewish firms from the official registers of the Chamber of Commerce. In other instances, the courts overruled the actions of local Bar Associations. These decisions, however, carried little weight as the Bar Association refused admission of expelled Jews pending the publication of a new law providing for the drawing up of new lists of lawyers. In an apparent effort to prevent the further suspension of Jewish lawyers, Dr. Istrate Micescu, Minister of Justice, was reported on December 13 to have requested the Bar Associations to suspend the revision of the lists of excluded Jewish lawyers until a new law to regulate the position of Jewish lawyers is issued.

It was wishful thinking that gave these isolated instances of a more correct attitude toward Jews, prominence and publicity. They could neither arrest the progressive economic and social disintegration of the Jewish community nor vouchsafe any promise for the future. The pro-Allied sentiments and interests of Roumania were too shortlived to have had a decisive influence upon the internal affairs of the country, which were fomented by Nazi agents with the help of domestic "fifth columnists." Secondly, the drift of internal events inexorably went against the Jews.

Professor Dragomir had, as mentioned above, condoned the retention of the anti-Jewish measures on the ground that, should they be abrogated, the Iron Guard could embarrass the government by denouncing it as pro-Jewish. But hope for improvement based on the collapse of the Iron Guard was illusory because many other groups, even within the government camp itself no less anti-Jewish than the Iron Guard, would have opposed any relaxation of the anti-Jewish decrees. On June 30, 1939, Senator Braescu declared that all those who fought at the side of
the late Premier Octavian Goga regarded the Front of National Renascence "as offering a splendid opportunity of continuing their patriotic activities." Before long, this promise was made good. On November 3, the Union of National Conscience, composed of the leading anti-Semitic intellectuals, joined en bloc the Front of National Renascence, thus strengthening the anti-Semitic forces within the only legal political party in Roumania. The communiqué issued by the Front on this occasion contained a list of prominent members of the Union, headed by the notorious veteran of the Roumanian anti-Semitic movement, Professor Alexander C. Cuza, and former members of the Goga cabinet and officialdom. The Currentul emphasized that the merger of Union with the Front was all the more important as it "coincides with the beginning of the action for the promotion of the autochthonic element in the country."

That no improvement in the Jewish situation was to be expected was indicated also by other events. On November 24, 1939, within two weeks after the promise of Professor Dragomir that "the Jews can expect only improvement in their position," the government announced the results of the revision of citizenship which, overnight, turned over one-third of Roumanian Jews into aliens in their own country. A total of 203,424 applications for the validation of citizenship, involving 617,396 Jews, over 80% of the total Jewish population, had been reviewed. Of this total, 126,284 or 63.3% involving a total of 225,222 persons had been rejected, while 3,887 applications had been left pending. In addition, 44,848 Jews, whose names did not appear on the citizenship rolls, were declared aliens. Thus, a total of 270,070 persons, or approximately 35.5% of the Jewish population have become aliens in their native or adopted land. The constitutionality of the government's action was affirmed by the Supreme Court on February 27, 1940, and reaffirmed on April 14. The tragedy of these "alien" Jews is so much greater since simultaneously with this loss of citizenship they also lost the right to work. The stipulations of the Labor Law of 1934 which limit the employment of aliens to twenty per cent of the total number of employees, were enforced with the utmost severity.
As aliens, the denationalized Jews were subjected to a special tax from which neither war veterans nor war widows and orphans are exempt. Reports from Botashan and other towns, in November, revealed mass arrests of denationalized Jews who were unable to pay the tax. Such Jews, the report disclosed, are frequently transported to other towns as punishment. These arrests affected families who had members in the Army or army reserve units. It must be added that in spite of their loss of citizenship, the denationalized Jews were not freed from liability to military service and many of them were called to the colours in the periodic mobilizations.

The publication of the results of the revision of citizenship immediately put into operation a series of laws against the denationalized Jews which obscured many other events which normally would attract attention. A number of additional anti-Jewish measures were reported, but it was not always clear whether they applied to denationalized Jews alone or to Jews in general. Many cases were reported in which Jews were ousted from the boards of Bar Associations or their admission to different trade organizations made increasingly difficult. A London report dated January 10 disclosed that the Roumanian Telephone Company, an American-controlled concern, was requested by the government to discharge its 200 Jewish employees. Three bills, one for the establishment of a medical association, another for industrial training and a third for the creation of an artisans' chamber, which were pending in Parliament and foreshadowed further administrative restrictions against Jews, occupied the attention of Jewish leaders. A serious situation threatened to develop at the end of April when the Greek Orthodox Church launched a campaign for the prohibition of Shehitah. On April 28 it was reported from Bucharest that the government had been about to issue a decree to this effect but was stayed, thanks to the energetic intervention of Dr. Filderman, Chief Rabbi Safran and the Ministers of Public Worship and Agriculture. Last, but not least, a large number of Jewish university graduates, including physicians, lawyers and technicians, were denied admission to qualifying examinations for army reserve officers, in spite of the fact that they had spent several
months in preparatory courses, it was learned on June 5. The same sources revealed that, in order to avoid the embarrassment of placing "pure" Roumanians under this command, a number of Jewish reserve officers had not been called to active service.

The threatened invasion of Bessarabia, the imminence of which had been felt ever since the outbreak of the war, disrupted the economic life of the province and resulted in great hardships. The hurried liquidation of businesses, which was reported as early as November 14, caused widespread unemployment among Jews, while the uncertainty of the political situation and the lack of credits, as a direct result of it, left Jewish artisans without work. Following upon the heel of "Roumanization" policy, the new development reduced whole sections of Bessarabian Jews to abject poverty. The subjugation of Poland had dire effects upon the Jews in Bukovina where economic life came to a standstill. The economic position of Jews throughout Roumania was also affected by the activities of Nazi commercial agents. Utilizing the German-Roumanian commercial relations, Nazi agents have made every effort to undermine the Jewish position. Roumanian enterprises with commercial connections with the Reich were requested to break off trade relations with Jewish firms or at least to deny credits to them, as well as to dismiss their Jewish employees.

Meanwhile the war in the West threatened to engulf the Balkans. Pressed by Germany for economic aid on the one hand and under obligation towards England and France, who guaranteed Roumainia's independence on the other, the government realized the necessity of marshalling the nation's political groups, especially the Iron Guard, to its support. But as Roumania's foreign policy was pro-Ally, the government could effect a compromise only in the field of domestic policy which, naturally, involved the Jewish question. The appointment of the pro-French George Tătărescu as Premier on November 24, and the inclusion of Istrate Micescu and Ion Gigurtu, both former members of the Goga regime, as Minister of Justice and Minister of Communications, respectively, was a clear indication that, while Roumania was eager to continue a pro-Ally foreign policy, the internal policy would remain pro-Nazi and anti-
Thus was created a wedge which ultimately led to the restoration of the legal status of the Iron Guard. On March 16, 1940, Premier Tătărescu disclosed that all but fourteen of the eight hundred imprisoned Iron Guardists had been released. At the same time it was disclosed that Alexander Vaida-Voevod, former premier and royal councillor and noted Jew-baiter, was responsible for the idea of reconciliation and that an appeal was addressed to Iron Guard leaders by Minister of Justice Micescu. On April 25, King Carol signed a sweeping amnesty releasing about one thousand political prisoners including Iron Guardists and Communists in a further move to pacify the country. Iron Guardists who had fled abroad, were permitted to return.

These developments, particularly the restoration to a legal standing of the Iron Guard, prompted the question whether Roumania has capitulated to Germany. It was agreed at the time that the developments were only of domestic importance since they tended to transform the Front of National Renascence into a de facto coalition party made necessary by the war. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the Tătărescu Government, which resulted in the dismissal of pro-German Ministers and their replacement by Francophiles, was, it was pointed out, an assurance of Roumania's continued pro-Ally foreign policy.

The collapse of French resistance signalled a definite change in Roumania's foreign policy from pro-Ally to pro-German. This change sealed the fate of the Roumanian Jewish Community. Events moved rapidly. On June 1, Ion Gigurtu, former member of the Goga cabinet, replaced Grigori Gafencu as Minister for Foreign Affairs. On June 21, King Carol issued a decree transforming Roumania into a totalitarian state. A new totalitarian Party of the Nation with the King as supreme head replaced the Front of National Renascence, and all non-members of the Party had to resign positions in political and economic life by August 1. The royal decree was followed by an announcement that officials responsible for the killing of Iron Guardists would
be punished and that their victims would be honored. The long-awaited hour of the Iron Guard had arrived.

Amidst this sweeping victory, Horia Sima, Iron Guard leader, issued a command to his comrades to join the Party of the Nation. The first to join was Ion Codreanu, brother of the late leader, and fifty of the more prominent members of the Iron Guard, several of whom were appointed to the Cabinet. On June 24, a royal decree barred Jews from joining the Party of the Nation, a step which consigned the Jews in Roumania to the same fate as that of their brethren in neighboring lands.

On June 17, 1940, Soviet troops began to march into Bessarabia and the northern part of Bukovina. It is estimated that at least 300,000 Jews, more than one third of the Jewish population in Roumania, have been affected by these territorial changes. At the time of writing, there were reports of a flight of Jews from many parts of the Kingdom into the Russian-occupied territories, to escape the consequences of the institution of totalitarianism on June 21 and the wave of persecutions which followed the Russian occupation of the above territories. The new Roumanian masters were quick to throw the responsibility for the national misfortune upon the Jews, accusing them of activities they never dreamed of. The Deutsches Nachrichten Bureau, official German news agency, reported on July 1, that six hundred persons had been killed and wounded in Galati on June 30, when the Roumanian Army put down "armed Jewish uprisings." The violence against Jews apparently assumed such proportions that, according to reports, the Roumanian Government was compelled to call a halt in the interest of public peace and order. But the pogroms have only been a prelude to what is fore-shadowed to come, namely the total disfranchisement of the Jews along Nazi lines.

Jewish Communal Life

For a number of years the Jews in Roumania felt the need of a central organization to direct the spiritual life of the Jewish population and to coordinate the activities of the local communities. They were unable to do so under
the existing legislation which deprived the Jewish religious communities of that autonomy which was enjoyed by other religious communities in Roumania and which prevented them from supervising their own administration. Furthermore, the Jewish communities were organized according to provinces without a unified national organization. While the question of autonomy for the communities was, after many interventions, still pending at the close of the period under review, a first step was taken in the direction of organizing a unified national religious body. At the end of May 1939, a nation-wide Congress of Roumanian Jewry was convened in Bucharest in which delegates of the Unions of Jewish communities in the Old Kingdom, Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina, as well as representatives of the Union of Sephardic Jews and of the separatist Orthodox communities in Transylvania, participated. Recognizing the need of Jewish solidarity and the creation of a united religious body to coordinate the activities of the local communities, the Congress decided upon the establishment of such a body. Dr. Safran, the Chief Rabbi, and Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, president of the Union in the Old Kingdom, appealed for maximum contributions to maintain religious and cultural institutions. One of the direct results of the Congress was the establishment, on June 3, by the Bucharest Council of Rabbis, of a communal office to register all Jewish births, marriages, divorces and deaths. All synagogues were ordered to cooperate.

Refugees

Like so many other Jewish communities in the world, the Jews in Roumania were called upon to deal with the problem of refugees. These were of two kinds: refugees who sought to enter Palestine via Roumanian ports and refugees who fled during the Nazi invasion of Poland. The latter, estimated early in October to number about 2,000, were granted temporary residence permits which were periodically renewed. A Provisional Relief Committee, composed of representatives of Jewish organizations, took care of their wants. On October 8, it was announced that the Minister of Public Security had been placed in charge of
Polish refugees and, on November 2, it was reported that the government contributed 100 lei a day for the maintenance of each adult refugee and 50 lei for every child. This payment was made to Jewish and non-Jewish refugees alike, as the government counted on deducting its advances from the Polish gold fund in Roumania. A contribution of 1,000,000 lei for the relief of Polish-Jewish refugees by the the Roumanian section of the YMCA was announced on October 26. On January 12, 1940, Paul Super, Bucharest representative of the Polish Commission for Refugees, informed Dr. Filderman that additional funds and clothes for the refugees had been allocated.

In spite of these contributions, the chief burden fell upon the impoverished Jewish communities, which were hardly in a position to finance the relief activities. The work of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the other organizations will be discussed in another section of this review.

It was obvious from the beginning that eventually these refugees would have to leave Roumania. The residence permits were renewed from month to month, and from time to time the refugees were given notice to leave the country within a definite period of time. The Jewish organizations were, in the meantime, making efforts to obtain overseas visas for the refugees, and appeals went out to the Zionist headquarters to intervene in their behalf with the Palestine authorities. To encourage their re-emigration, the Roumanian Government announced, early in October, that it would allow these refugees to take with them whatever possessions they had brought from Poland. Further pressure was brought to bear upon the refugees when, on May 29, all Polish refugees and other foreigners were ordered to report to the police within four days to produce proof of an opportunity for immediate emigration; those unable to comply with these conditions, would be interned, it was announced.

A particularly painful problem was presented by the stranded refugees, released from Nazi concentration camps, who tried to make their way to Palestine. On December 15, four ships loaded with 2,041 hungry and destitute refugees arrived at the port of Sulina. Their plight became worse
as a result of unfavorable weather. The funds which these refugees paid to the several private emigration societies had disappeared without trace and they were reduced to the greatest despair. All efforts of the Roumanian Jewish organizations as well as of the Joint Distribution Committee to facilitate their departure were unsuccessful. The government, fearing to set a precedent, refused to permit their landing. On February 4, the marooned refugees left Sulina for the Bulgarian port of Varna. How many of them succeeded in entering Palestine was not disclosed. One ship, the Turkish steamer *Sakary*, returned to Sulina in the evening of May 28, after months of unsuccessful attempts to land its passengers in Palestine. Authoritative sources maintained that only Hungarian nationals were returned from Palestine.

To discourage illicit traffic in immigrants, the Roumanian consulates in Germany were ordered, early in October, to refuse transit visas to Jews. On February 1, the Ministry of the Interior banned all Zionist activities and closed down all Zionist offices. It was later disclosed that action was based on charges of their alleged complicity in the illegal emigration to Palestine. The ban was conditionally rescinded on February 20.

**XI. OTHER BALKAN COUNTRIES**

1. Bulgaria

As was recorded in review of the preceding year, the situation of the Jewish community in Bulgaria was frequently disturbed by the activities of small but well organized anti-Semitic factions. The strong measures taken by the government did not prevent the recurrence of anti-Jewish excesses. Such excesses perpetrated by the outlawed Ratnizi were reported, on July 26, 1939, to have taken place in the town of Pazardjik. A dispatch from Sofia on September 20, reported that serious excesses, in which a large number of Jewish shops were plundered and destroyed, occurred in the capital. On the same day, the Sofia chief of police announced that the perpetrators of the excesses,
members of the Ratnizi, had been arrested, and issued a warning that renewed riotings would be firmly suppressed as a crime against the safety of the state. On September 27, the government issued an official statement in which it reaffirmed its determination to suppress every and all anti-Jewish disorders and to put an end to the subversive activities of the outlawed Ratnizi and National Legionnaires. It decreed that persons taking part in the activities of the two organizations would be declared guilty of political acts prohibited by law, that state and municipal employees as well as employees of state or private banks supporting these organizations would be dismissed, and that students guilty of such acts would be expelled from secondary schools and colleges as well as from universities. All other persons found supporting the outlawed organizations, the statement concluded, would be sent to concentration camps.

Particularly active in the anti-Jewish demonstrations were the National Legionnaires. On July 9, it was reported that the Bulgarian Reserve Officers Association, which is to be distinguished from the official organization, was preparing an anti-Jewish plank which was to be submitted to the annual congress. The plank included demands for the dissolution of all "alien" organizations, like the Maccabbees, the Ort, and the organization of Jewish ex-service men; the prohibition of Jews from erecting war memorials; as well as the elimination of Jews from commercial life. General Velizar Lazaroff was attacked by the Association's organ, Roden Straj, as a friend of Jews because of his public recognition of the heroism of the Bulgarian Jewish soldiers. It should be noted that, on October 16, out of six Bulgarian ex-service men in Samokov who were decorated for their parts in the Balkan and World Wars, four were Jews. Apparently the honors bestowed upon Jewish soldiers aroused the ire of anti-Semitic groups. On January 21, it was disclosed that members of the Ratnizi had desecrated the tomb of Dr. Dzersassi, a Jewish reserve officer, in resentment over the military honors rendered to him at his funeral.

The Bulgarian Government, as hitherto, reaffirmed its determination to prevent the injection of a Jewish issue into
national life. On February 4, 1940, following an interview between the Prime Minister and the members of the Central Jewish Consistory, the government issued an official statement in which, after paying tribute to the loyalty and usefulness of the Jewish elements of the Bulgarian population, the Prime Minister, Dr. Kiosseivanoff, affirmed that neither he nor his government was conducting an anti-Jewish policy, that the government made no distinction between Jews and other Bulgarian law-abiding citizens, that the government strongly condemned the recent anti-Jewish excesses, and, finally, that the government would give every consideration to points raised by the Consistory in connection with the proposed bill for the revision of Bulgarian nationality. The replacement of Dr. Kiosseivanoff by Professor Bogdan Philoff on February 16, appeared to have brought about no changes in the government’s position.

On April 18, the Bulgarian War Ministry issued a decree granting leave to all Jewish soldiers on Jewish festivals, namely all eight days of Passover, two days of Pentecost, New Year, Day of Atonement, and the last two days of the Feast of Tabernacles. The Ministry of Labor issued a similar decree providing for leave of Jewish civil service employees on these Jewish holidays. Another decree was issued by the Ministry of Justice excusing Jews from appearing in courts on these holidays, whether as litigants or as jurors.

While the government defined its position with respect to the native Jewish population, certain events made it clear that Bulgaria intended to pursue its course against foreign Jews. On March 4, the Central Jewish Consistory was informed that the government had decided in the future not to issue permits to engaged rabbis of foreign nationality and that all foreign rabbis in the country would not have their residence permits renewed. On May 3, the situation of 400 Jewish refugees, of whom 300 were Bulgarian Jews of Turkish nationality, and the rest Hungarian emigrants and some Sephardic Jews, who were waiting for embarkation facilities in the port of Varga, was reported desperate.

The latest statistics of Sofia disclosed that the Jewish population in the capital had decreased from 19,330 in 1927 to 17,038 at the end of 1939.
2. Greece

The Jewish community in Greece continued to develop peacefully. The benevolent attitude of the Metaxas regime toward the Jewish population was affirmed and reaffirmed on a number of occasions. On the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Greek National Youth Organization on November 21, 1939, Dr. Georges Kyrimis, Governor-General of Macedonia, declared in an address before pupils of the Jewish communal school, Cazes, in Salonika that "you may rest assured that the Jews of this country are enjoying and always will enjoy complete equality of civil, moral and other rights." Tributes of esteem and gratitude for the useful part played by Jews in the life of the country were paid by representatives of the government and high Greek dignitaries, including cabinet ministers, army officers, university professors and others at services in the Beth Saul Synagogue in Salonika on the occasion of Greek Independence Day in April 1940. Similarly, in the middle of March, T. H. Nicoloudis, Minister of Press and Tourism, assured a delegation of Greek Jews in Cairo that the Jewish population of Greece has always been an object of the government's solicitude and that Jews lived in perfect harmony with their fellow citizens of other faiths. Public recognition of the initiative of Jews in opening a subscription campaign for national aviation was voiced on March 28 by Premier Metaxas through the Governor-General of Macedonia.

The government displayed great interest in the development of Jewish culture and philanthropic institutions. On December 1, 1939, it was announced that the government had approved a subsidy of 550,000 drachmas for Jewish philanthropic institutions. On January 26, 1940, it was announced that 5,000 copies of 12 new textbooks had been distributed to Jewish community schools without charge. These texts, which had been approved for all schools, had passages dealing with the Christian religion replaced by passages referring to the Jewish religion. Indeed, on December 20, the Minister of Education and Public Worship had informed the Jewish community of Salonika that the law for the compulsory teaching of Jewish religion in state
secondary schools by Jewish teachers would shortly be put into effect following the publication of a decree laying down the academic qualifications for such teachers. At the same time, it was announced that meals served to Jewish pupils in secondary schools would be prepared in accordance with Jewish dietary laws. In line with its policy with respect to religious denominations, the government, on April 2, 1940, published a law forbidding inter-marriage of members of different religious communities and maintaining in force the religious sacrament of marriage. In general, a religious trend has been noticed in Greece. Thus, a Rome dispatch of January 23, 1940 disclosed that negotiations were being carried on for the return of the Jesuit Order which had been banned in Greece since the seventeenth century.

The Jewish community endeavored to come to the assistance of refugees. On January 22, 1940, it was reported in Athens that the Jewish Refugee Committee had raised over £4,000 for this purpose. The Hachnasat Orehin Society in Salonika, a report of February 13 revealed, was maintaining 75 refugees from Central Europe, involving the expense of about $1,000 per month. The J.D.C. was reported to have promised to give regular assistance to this society, while the Hias-ica Emigration Association assured it that it would cover all expenses in connection with emigration of refugees in Greece.

An interesting decision was rendered by the court in Kavalla on March 29, 1940 when it ordered the Italian Lloyd Adriatica Steamship Line to pay 420,000 drachmas as compensation to a Jewish employee in Greece who, after thirty-eight years service, had been dismissed under Italy's anti-Semitic legislation. The court ruled that the Greek constitution and legislation did not permit any racial or religious discrimination. This decision followed a similar one in Yugoslavia.

3. Yugoslavia

The past year was a critical period for Yugoslavia. The Croat-Serbian dissensions, which reached a new height in the month preceding the outbreak of the Hitler war, threatened to plunge the country into civil war and invite
foreign intervention. The signing of the Croat-Serbian Agreement on August 24, 1939, whereunder Croatia received her long desired autonomy was therefore hailed as promising peace and order. German and Italian propaganda, however, was at work to disturb that peace. Rioting instigated by the enemies of democracy from within and without, as charged by Dr. Vladimir Matchek, vice Premier and Croat leader, on March 7, 1940, occurred throughout the months of November and December. But the most serious threat to the independence of the country was revealed in an official announcement, on April 19, that the Yugoslav authorities had discovered a plot to overthrow the government and thus to facilitate the inroads of the Axis powers. Raids made by the police disclosed a German "Trojan Horse plan" and laid bare Nazi arms caches. In consequence of these revelations, former Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch and former Minister of the Interior Milan Achimovitch, were taken into custody and drastic curtailments of the freedom of foreigners were promulgated.

The events following the defeat of France, naturally abandoned Yugoslavia to the mercy of the Axis-Russian designs. It was in the midst of these events that, on June 24, 1940, Yugoslavia and Russia entered into diplomatic relations.

There has been little to indicate that the status of the Jewish population in Yugoslavia has in any way been affected by these developments. On the contrary, on April 10, 1940, it was announced that the Municipality of Belgrade had decided to name two streets in the capital after Chaim Davoco, late Serbian Jewish writer, and the brothers Amars, world war heroes. Curiously enough, the Nazi paper of Novysod, Volksruf, is quoted by the correspondent of the Cleveland Jewish World of April 16, 1940, as having warned its readers not to be surprised if they find Jewish advertisements in this paper. "In view of the fact that the State is not pursuing any anti-Semitic course, and the population is friendly towards Jews," the Volksruf added, "the Yugoslav Germans see no point in carrying on a boycott against them."

The attitude of the authorities was reflected in two court decisions. On December 5, 1939, the District Court of
Spalato ruled that Yugoslav debtors to Jewish firms which had been expropriated by the Reich, must pay their debts to the Jewish owners who may be refugees abroad. In deciding against the claimant, a Nazi commissar in Vienna, the court stated that it could not recognize the institution of a commissar appointed on racial grounds, since such a recognition would contradict the Yugoslav Constitution which guarantees equal rights to Jews. In the case of the Erwache, German anti-Semitic newspaper, against whose editor the Union of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia brought action in 1938 for libeling Jews by publishing forged quotations from the Talmud, a Belgrade Court decided, on February 4, 1940, against the editor, who was fined. The quotations were condemned by experts of the theological faculty of the University of Belgrade. Earlier, Die Donau, official organ of German Catholics in Yugoslavia, severely condemned the spread of racial propaganda and called upon Germans outside the Reich to help combat it.

An unfavorable trend, however, was noted in the situation of the refugees. Their number was swelled by new mass expulsions of Jews from Austria and Prague at the end of November 1939. On November 28, a Zagreb dispatch stated that, under cover of night, a number of refugees, counted in thousands, had been chased over the Yugoslavian border and that the measures of the government to halt their influx had been only partly successful. On February 23, the Croatian authorities announced that all refugees would henceforth be barred from residing in the cities of the Province and their freedom of movement would be curtailed. They were to be interned in special camps and left to their own resources. In actuality, the burden was placed on the Jewish community.

The action of the Croat authorities was followed, on March 3, by the announcement that the Belgrade Government had ordered a census of all refugees in Yugoslavia; this step was believed to foreshadow the extension of the Croat measures to the rest of the country. By the end of the month, approximately 700 Jewish refugees were in ten concentration points throughout the country. Towards the end of the period under review it became clear that the
general anti-alien trend in neutral countries was also affecting the refugees in Yugoslavia.

A notable increase in Zionist activities was recorded in July 1939, when it was announced that over 10,000 shekelsim, a considerable increase over the previous Zionist Congress year, had been sold, entitling the Zionist Organization to send six delegates to the World Zionist Congress in August 1939.

XII. PALESTINE

Two events conspired to make the year especially memorable. The first was the outbreak of the Hitler war, on September 3, 1939, and the consequent curtailment of Jewish immigration; the second was the issuance, on February 28, 1940, of the British Government's White Paper restricting the purchase of land from Arabs. The latter was the more important for specifically Palestinian history, and may therefore be considered first.

Land Restrictions

The White Paper implemented an earlier statement of policy issued on May 18, 1938, and was made retroactive to that date. It took its stand on Article 6 of the Mandate. This provides that Jewish settlement in Palestine shall not prejudice the rights or position of non-Jewish inhabitants. The government contended that if Jewish land-purchases were allowed to go on unrestricted, this provision would be violated since the Lebensraum of the Arabs would shrink unduly. It therefore decided to prescribe two zones in which further acquisitions would be respectively forbidden and curtailed. The first of these, called Zone "A," included the whole of the hill country and certain areas in the Gaza and Beersheba sub-districts. In these regions, no land could be sold by an Arab to a Jew, save in exceptional cases. The second, called Zone "B," comprised the Plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel, Eastern Galilee, the Maritime Plain between Haifa and Tantura and between the southern boundary of the Ramleh sub-district and Beer Tuviyah,
and the southern portion of the Beersheba sub-district. In these regions, Jews could purchase land only for purposes of irrigation, consolidation of holdings in contiguous territory, parcellation of soil held jointly by seller and purchaser or the furtherance of development schemes in the joint interest of Arabs and Jews and previously approved by the government.

Jews throughout the world saw in the new regulations a serious threat to Zionist aspirations and an attempt to whittle away the real intention of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. Coming on top of its half-hearted efforts to deal with recent disorders, it was felt that the British Government was giving way to the demands of Arab extremists. Color was given to this view when it was recalled that the promulgation of the new order had been preceded, on July 2, 1939 by a revision of existent district boundaries, calculated in such a way as to place the center of administration in each case in an Arab town. A storm of indignation broke out. The Jewish Agency, in an official statement, denounced the restrictions as a "mockery of the Mandate forbidding racial and religious discrimination," while the Vaad Leumi declared in a formal protest that "what the order amounts to is the closing of the land of the Bible to the people of the Bible." On February 29, Jews in Palestine stopped all work as a sign of protest. The Chief Rabbinate issued a call to prayer on the same date, services being held in all synagogues and the traditional ceremony observed of sounding the Shofar as a signal of distress. In Tel Aviv, labor leaders and prominent communal figures headed an impressive silent march to the Town Hall, while at Haifa a self-imposed curfew was observed by all Jews from 2 P.M. until midnight. The following week, a number of demonstrations, often accompanied by complete stoppage of work, took place in Jewish settlements throughout the country. Several of these were repressed by police in brutal fashion, some 400 Jews being injured and 3 killed, according to a statement in Commons on March 13. As a result of the disorders, curfew was imposed in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and several Jewish notables were arrested for taking part in demonstrations. The Sons of the Yishuv, a national
association of pre-war settlers and native Palestinians, addressed a memorandum of protest to the High Commissioner, and a delegation of prominent women, including Miss Henrietta Szold, waited upon him in the first week of March.

Outside of Palestine, Jewish opinion was no less vocal. In the United States, resolutions of protest were adopted immediately by Hadassah, the American Jewish Congress, the American Friends of a Jewish Palestine and other bodies. The Jewish National Fund of America instantly cabled to Jerusalem $250,000 for purchase of land, and in other parts of the world impressive signs of indignation were registered. The English Zionist Federation condemned the new order as rendering "further tenure of the Mandate by Great Britain unjustifiable both morally and in international law," while the New Zionist Organization (Revisionists) denounced "the whole regime and system of which it is but a symptom." Similar resolutions were passed by the British Board of Jewish Deputies, the British Mizrahists and the French section of the Jewish National Fund.

Nor was the feeling against the White Paper by any means confined to Jewish circles. Practically the whole of the British press united in condemning it, and on April 15, it was severely criticized in a joint letter from Lords Cecil, Meston, Lytton and Snell published in the London Times. In France, Senator Justin Godard addressed a personal letter to Secretary MacDonald, on March 19, condemning the regulations as being out of accord with the avowed war aims of the Allies, and in Italy, the Vatican daily, Osservatore Romano, interpreted them as "favoring the demands of those Arabs who refuse to cooperate with the Jews."

A Commons debate on the subject was held on March 6, when a motion of censure introduced by the Labor Party was defeated by a majority of 163 votes, 129 M.P's voting for it and 292 (including 6 Jews) against it, and on August 17, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, by a 4 to 3 decision, ruled that the new measures were inconsistent with the provisions of the Mandate.
In the Arab world, the regulations received a mixed response. While they were hailed in most circles, there were nevertheless some in which they were condemned. But the condemnation was not based on any pro-Jewish sympathies. On the contrary, the contention advanced was that the new restriction upon land-sales would place an unwarranted curb upon Arab commercial enterprise. This, for instance, was the line adopted by the two Arab dailies *Palestin* (Palestine) and *Al Mizri* (Egypt), while on March 15 it was reported that two Arab notables had appealed to the Emir Abdullah to intercede for a repeal.

To the storm of protest aroused by the White Paper the British Government replied in truculent fashion. As previously recorded, demonstrations were brutally suppressed, and the Palestinian Jewish newspapers were forbidden to publish the condemnatory statement of the Vaad Leumi. Editors who flouted the ban, including Berl Katzenelson of the *Davar* and Nathan Alterman of *Haaretz*, were placed under arrest. On the other hand, the government did, in one case, show its willingness to adopt a more liberal attitude, for on April 24, High Commissioner MacMichael permitted the transfer to non-Arabs of some 58 villages in a zone previously defined as "Arab." These included the Christian German settlements of Waldheim and Wilhelma.

**The War**

The outbreak of war effected significant changes in government policy. The necessity of rallying all elements of the Yishuv now became paramount, and the official attitude towards Jews veered towards compromise. Revisionist leaders who had been held in prison on charges of subversive activity, were released, and charges against Jewish editors, arrested for publishing the Vaad Leumi's protest, were tacitly dropped. On May 14, 1940, when the Cabinet was reshuffled and Winston Churchill became Premier, it was noticed that several leading critics of the White Paper were given appointments. These included Leopold Amery, Alfred Duff-Cooper and Herbert Morrison. At the same time, Secretary MacDonald, in whom Jews had seen a ruthless opponent of Zionist claims, relinquished his position. His
succession, however, by Lord Lloyd, credited with marked pro-Arab sympathies, evoked speculation, but on the whole it was felt that welcome changes might be impending.

The response of Palestinian Jewry to the war situation was instantaneous and whole-hearted. At the very outbreak of hostilities, Dr. Chaim Weizmann wrote to Premier Chamberlain pledging the fullest cooperation of Palestine’s Jews in the Allied cause, and it was tacitly agreed that political controversy must now become subservient to the necessity of waging successful war against Nazism. On September 24 it was announced that 135,000 Jews (or 85% of the adult Jewish population) had volunteered for national service in response to an appeal made by the Jewish Agency, and on March 20, some 1,709 Palestinian Jews were said to have enlisted in the armed forces. An Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps, sent to France, included 742 Jews. The government rejected a Jewish Agency proposal to form a distinctive Jewish army, on the grounds that Palestinian Jews who wished to fight in the Allied ranks could do so by normal enlistment. A number of Czech Jewish refugees joined the Czech Legion, two contingents leaving for France. On June 21, 1940, the Colonial Defense Act was officially amended to subject all men and resources to the call of the British Government, but it was announced a week later that conscription was not contemplated.

Palestine also took energetic measures for home defense. Daily blackouts between 9 P.M. and 4 A.M. were ordered throughout the country on June 3, 1940, when it became apparent that Italy was about to enter the war, and on the same day radio broadcasts were prohibited in cafes and other public places. On July 4, 1940 Tel Aviv voted £76,000 for municipal defense and decided to construct air raid shelters for 15,000 of the city’s 200,000 inhabitants. A special constabulary of 1,000 volunteers was also enlisted. Haifa adopted precautionary measures on June 9, 1940 when the fear of Italian action became daily more acute. Seventy-three buildings were listed as official shelters. The Jewish Agency took a distinctive share in the country’s defense program, and sent advisers “from Dan to Beer-sheba” to arrange first-aid, fire-fighting and other services.
Colonization

Despite adverse political conditions, a number of new Jewish colonies were established during the year. The principal of these were the following:

July 12, 1939. Beitafa, south of Beer Tuvia, S. Palestine. 400 acres.

July 13. Netter Settlement, near Mikveh Israel, south of Jaffa. To be colonized by boys from the Agricultural School at Mikveh Israel, founded in 1870 by Karl Netter.

August 22. Emek Hefer, near Natania.


October 22. Near Yaarot Hacarmel. 1400 dunams. 120 workers.

November 1. 80 Laborite Zionists established settlement on 2,500 acre tract of JNF land near northern boundary of Huleh.

November 20. Feuering Settlement. 2,000 dunams near Natania. 60 German refugee families. Mainly financed by contribution of £10,000 from the Isaac Feuering Endowment. Sponsored by the Palestine Rural and Suburban Settlement Company.

January 17. Meshek Shitufi, near Dofnow.


April 14. Beth Yizhak, near Natania. 65 German professional men.

April 19. Daphneh, N. Palestine.

It was reported June 30, 1940 that Jewish National Fund investments in Palestine had reached the gross figure of £5,200,000. Of this amount, £4,720,000 has been spent on land, irrigation, afforestation, etc. and £235,000 on settlement expenses. Interesting purchases during the year include one of 25,000 dunams of land in Upper Galilee and another of soil for a 250-family settlement near Beisan. On May 26 it was announced that the historic site of the
ancient Jewish academy of Yavneh had been acquired, and that a Talmudical college was to be erected there with funds bequeathed by Solomon Gotz, a refugee from the Bolshevist revolution, who had died en route to the Holy Land.

The report of the Jewish National Fund for the Jewish year 5699 disclosed that the present holdings of that body amount to 471,000 dunams, or 35% of the total 1,356,000 dunams (about 340,000 acres) in Jewish hands. The income of the Fund for 1939 reached a record high, contributions from the United States accounting for £361,000, or 64% of the gross £560,00. Land purchases also touched a high at 51,892 dunams during the twelve months.

**Immigration**

Jewish immigration suffered a number of setbacks. The first came on July 12, 1939 when the government proclaimed a stoppage of all entry of Jews into Palestine for the six months beginning October 1. On April 25, 1940 this was followed by the announcement that between April and September only 9,000 certificates would be issued, and that these would be distributed by means of bi-monthly quotas, to facilitate making deductions for "illegal" immigrants. The quota of 2,500 for the first two months was allocated as follows: capitalists, 600; rabbis, 30; youth, 1,000; labor, 60; parents of residents, 200. A similar quota, less the number of "illegal" immigrants, was issued for June-July, but of the 2,050 certificates granted, only 370 were allocated to the Jewish Agency.

The second setback to Jewish immigration occurred on January 5, when the government decided that holders of German or Austrian passports could not now be admitted to Palestine, on the grounds that they were technically "enemy aliens." This restriction seriously curtailed the number of would-be immigrants able to make use of visas granted on the bi-monthly quotas, but despite representations to this effect made by the Jewish Agency, the government refused to amend its policy.

Figures for the year 1939 reveal that 27,193 Jews entered the country. After the outbreak of war, there was con-
siderable reduction in the rate of immigration. Thus, while 8,050 persons came in between September 3 and December 31, only 3,042 of them arrived after October 1, while during the first quarter of 1940, only 1,911 persons immigrated, as against 7,788 for the same period in 1939. The distribution of these latter according to countries was as follows: Germany and Austria, 510; Czechoslovakia, 389; Poland, 153; Great Britain, 129, and the balance from other countries. In April-May of the current year, no more than 300 refugees entered Palestine. This drastic reduction was due not only to restrictions upon so-called "enemy aliens," but also to the difficulty of transit through war zones—a difficulty which was considerably increased when Italy's entry into the war blocked one of the few remaining avenues of exit from Europe.

"Illegal" immigration continued throughout the year, the desperate situation of Jews in Europe forcing thousands to seek any means of escape. According to a statement by Secretary MacDonald in Commons, on October 4, no less than 4,892 "illegal" immigrants entered the country from August 1 to September 30. Harrowing stories of refugees seeking such means of admission filled the news throughout the year. The government adopted a strong attitude towards these immigrants, almost invariably visiting them with internment and subsequently releasing them against deduction from the Jewish quota. Eri Jabotinsky, son of the late Revisionist leader, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for assisting "extra-quota" immigration.

Interesting figures concerning Jewish migration to Palestine were published in the *Statistical Bulletin* of the Jewish Agency on March 20 and April 11. These showed that Jews now make up about 31% of the total population, and that between 1919 and 1939 some 330,000 Jews entered the country. Refugees from Nazi-controlled countries between 1933 and 1939 amounted to 63,500.

Population figures, to the end of 1939, were released by the same source on May 3. Residents in Palestine were given as 1,501,698. Of these, 927,439 were Moslems, 445,150 Jews, 116,959 Christians and 12,150 of other faiths.
Arab-Jewish Relations

The war brought about a welcome improvement in Arab-Jewish relations. At the beginning of the year, a state of tension prevailed. The laying of land mines was a frequent occurrence, and three-cornered encounters between Arabs, Jews, and British troops took place on countless occasions. Jewish and Arab leaders were arrested and sentenced, and the principal figures in the Arab nationalist movement, including the ex-Mufti, were banished. On July 4, collective fines were imposed upon Jewish quarters of Jerusalem, and on August 21, Dr. Bukspann, a Revisionist, was sentenced to imprisonment. The Palestine Broadcasting station was twice bombed, and the Iraq pipe-line damaged. Outrages were also perpetrated at the synagogue attached to the home for aged Jews in Lifta and at the Bikkur Holim Hospital at Jerusalem. On the Jewish side, responsibility for disorders devolved mainly, according to the government viewpoint, on members of the New Zionist Organization, large numbers of whom were arrested and detained. A sensation was caused in May 1940 by the trial of the director and other officers of the Ben Shemen Children’s Colony on a charge of concealing arms in the schoolhouse. Heavy sentences, in one case of seven years’ imprisonment, were imposed.

The turn of the tide came, however, with the outbreak of war. Jews and Arabs saw at once that the primary necessity now was unity in the face of a common foe. Mussolini’s conquest of Albania, especially, had created a bad effect on the Arab mind and dispelled once for all his claims to be the defender of Islam. Joint concern over the precarious state of the citrus industry was also a factor in bringing about this rapprochement. Acts of terrorism ceased, and evidence began to accumulate of more friendly relations between the two factions. It was felt on all hands that, with good will and tactful handling, the long feud might at last be composed, though this will depend upon the outcome of the war and the attitude of Great Britain in the event of an Allied victory.
Industry and Economic Conditions

Despite the war, Palestinian industry showed steady progress. Authoritative figures revealed that during 1939 capital amounting to $65,000,000 had been invested, and 61 enterprises started. Plants had been established, during the same period, for the manufacture of 70 new products, including a beverage made from citrus juice and buttons made from camel bone. Many of the new industries were introduced by immigrants from war-racked Europe, who brought their techniques with them. Especially encouraging were the figures in respect of exports, for it was disclosed that during the first half of 1939 the value of these amounted to £4,061,000, as against £5,020,000 for the whole of 1938. The United Kingdom imported 47% of these goods, other countries falling far behind.

Trade with Switzerland was especially good. Exports for 1939 totaled £1,225,000, as against £1,114,000 in the previous year, while imports reached a high of £2,742,000, as against £1,944,000 in 1938. Business with Egypt also increased, especially after the outbreak of war, while a noticeable feature of the year's industry was a growth in the number of orders from abroad.

Marked improvement was shown in the field of farm produce. The milk output stepped up from 32,500,000 litres in 1938 to 34,500,000 and the production of eggs was raised from 48,000,000 in that year to 58,000,000.

On the other hand, there were a few serious setbacks. The citrus industry suffered a slump which was only partially removed by government assistance, and the orange industry was notably affected by the withdrawal of orders, owing to difficulty of transport, from Scandinavian countries. Syria also was compelled, in the interests of its own native trade, to cease its usual purchase of oranges from Palestine. These difficulties were, however, to some extent remedied by the discovery, at the Rehoboth Agricultural Center, of fresh uses for oranges. One of these was in the production of acetone, much needed in wartime.

The collapse of the Low Countries also had an adverse effect on Palestinian industry. Average imports from Belgium amounted, in previous years, to £361,000, and exports
to £314,000, while the figures for Holland were £287,000 for imports and £452,000 for exports. The whole of this trade was cut off.

In the first two months of the war, considerable sums of money were withdrawn from Palestinian banks, but when it became apparent that the Near East was not to be involved immediately, this preliminary panic subsided, and in December 1939, deposits rose to £16,190,000, as against £15,590,000 in October.

Shipping also was affected by the war. In 1938, some 818 vessels had called at the harbor of Tel Aviv, but in 1939 there was an increase of only 27. This was due, of course, to the precarious situation on the high seas.

Various important development schemes were announced during the year. A £53,000 irrigation project was reported on June 5, and it was made known earlier that Palestine was to share in the British Government's annual allocation of £5,000,000 for the development of colonial and mandated territories. The Tel Aviv Municipality received a government grant of £250,000 for the execution of works projects in the city.

In spite, however, of this marked improvement in industry, living conditions in the Holy Land were rendered more difficult by the war. Reliable estimates indicated that the cost of food had increased by 12.4% and that of clothing and footwear by as much as 28.6%, while unemployment figures had risen from 30,000 to 40,000.

Education

Considerable progress was registered, during the year, in the field of education. The Hebrew University announced, in August 1939, that a new education department was to be opened, under the direction of Nissim Trurrow, and three months later came the news that the faculty of humanities was to be housed in a new building to be erected with funds bequeathed by the late Sol Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh philanthropist. The addition of a gymnasium was also announced. A new wing, accommodating 50,000 volumes, was added to the Jewish National Library at Jerusalem, and an agricultural college was established
at Rehoboth. Hebrew University alumni, with aid from the university itself, set up a laboratory for the production of pure chemicals, largely intended to meet the requirements of the Hadassah organization.

The death of S. Klein, noted Palestinian historian and geographer, and Asher Gulak, foremost authority on Hebrew law, deprived the university faculty and Jewish scholarship in general of two outstanding savants, while the departure for the United States of Dr. Alexander Dushkin was held a serious loss to Palestinian education. Professor Leon Roth was appointed rector of the university for a period of two years.

Archaeology

Jewish participation in archaeological work in Palestine continued. A Bronze Age settlement was excavated by Dr. E. L. Sukenik near Tel Aviv, and Dr. B. Maisler, on behalf of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, pursued his work at Beth Shearim, the so-called "Jewish Pompeii." An interesting archaeological discovery made during the year was that the celebrated Tower of David in Jerusalem was really the Tower of Phasael built by King Herod in the first century A.D. and mentioned by the historian Josephus.

Zionism

Zionist activity throughout the world was concentrated for the most part on protesting the British Government's restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine and on the purchase of land from Arabs. This was the major issue before the Twenty-first Zionist Congress which met in Geneva on August 17. The proceedings which lasted for several days were on the whole uneventful, distinguished more by oratory than by action. An outspoken denunciation of government policy was a feature of the opening address by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the chairman. This note was sounded also by other speakers of all parties. Resolutions condemning the government's attitude were passed, but it was emphasized on all sides that criticism of cabinet
policy and censure of Colonial Secretary MacDonald in no way implied any lessening of Jewish allegiance to the general causes of Great Britain, and that a sharp distinction was drawn in Zionist minds between the action of a particular administration and the essential spirit of the people. Congress also took occasion to express its desire for closer rapprochement between Jews and Arabs and appointed a special committee to investigate possibilities in this direction. Some measure of excitement was introduced into the sessions by a decision of the central court of the Congress to curtail the representation of certain parties on the grounds that the votes which had procured the mandates of their delegates were in fact irregular. This decision evoked sharp criticism from the Mizrachi group, the Jewish State Party, and the “B” Group of General Zionists who were the bodies affected. Charges of political manoeuvering were freely leveled and threats of withdrawal were made. Later, however, perhaps in accordance with Congress tradition, a compromise was arranged and delegates proceeded to the further business of the convention with minds comparatively unruffled except by anxiety over the increasing tension in Europe. Finally, however, this tension grew to such proportions that Congress decided to close earlier than had been arranged in order to facilitate the return of delegates to their several countries before the outbreak of an obviously impending war.

XIII. LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Introduction

The impact of international developments during the year was keenly felt throughout Latin America. Repeated German and Italian attempts, aided, of late, by Nationalist Spain, to bring this part of the Western Hemisphere within the Nazi-Fascist sphere of influence, have assumed increasingly grave proportions. Recent revelations of “fifth column” activities have shown that German-Italian political and economic penetration threatened the very independence of Latin American states. These disclosures gave strong
impetus to the growing awareness of the danger to which they were exposed. This danger received official cognizance in the declaration of the second consultative meeting of American Foreign Ministers, which closed in Havana on July 30, 1940. These developments have been of supreme importance to the welfare and existence of the Jewish communities, whose security has been threatened by the very fact that anti-Semitism has invariably been an integral part if not the spearhead of fifth column activity. The exposure of the latter has increased the hope that the realization of the true intents and purposes of German and Italian propaganda would have a sobering effect on many who had been drawn into the anti-Jewish campaign.

Measures to combat Nazi-Fascist penetration were adopted by an ever increasing number of states in Latin America. These measures varied in quantity and character in the different countries, ranging from the intensification of the “nationalization” policy in Brazil, to the incorporation in the new Cuban Constitution of a clause outlawing political parties opposed to the democratic form of government or attacking national sovereignty. In Argentina, for example, a decree restricting the publication of “opinionated” articles, was issued on June 11, 1940. The decree was motivated by the reason that “it is impossible to remain passive in a campaign in which our republican institutions are attacked,” and that the government “must take a lesson from others.” In Brazil, a series of decrees were enacted curbing still further foreign influence on domestic affairs. A new press law, promulgated early in January 1940, prohibited foreign news agencies from handling domestic news for domestic distribution. In Uruguay, the Chamber of Deputies passed a bill on June 13, 1940, providing for the dissolution of all parties and organizations taking instruction from abroad, and prohibiting dissemination of propaganda of an inciting character. Legislation outlawing foreign subsidized militarized and semi-militarized organizations, was foreshadowed in Mexico in an announcement by the Minister of the Interior on July 5, 1940 regarding Italian propaganda activities. In other countries, the governments were under vigorous public pressure to take strong steps against German and Italian inroads, and
investigations of fifth column activities were launched in almost all the countries of Latin America.

These curbs on foreign propaganda put an end to the intensive anti-Semitic agitation, which, for a time, threatened to make serious inroads. Such anti-Jewish agitation as has been recorded during the period under review, was more sporadic in character than in past years. On the other hand, the marks of the campaign which had been carried on against Jews during these years have been left on the immigration policies pursued by the several states as well as in the economic field. With one exception, the doors of Latin America have been shut tighter than ever against Jewish immigrants, while attempts were made to curb the economic activities of Jews in the different fields.

1. Mexico

Renewed anti-Jewish agitation in Mexico was reported early in October, 1939, following the reopening of the central headquarters in Mexico City of the Gold Shirts, who had been proscribed in 1937, and the amnestying of their exiled leader, Nicolas Rodriguez. The reversal of the government's position with respect to this group caused considerable surprise, especially in view of the fact that on July 6, 1939, the government shut down the headquarters of the Party of National Salvation, successor to the anti-Semitic Committee for Revolutionary Unification, on the ground that it was a "public nuisance." On February 27, 1940 anti-Jewish agitation in the form of a widespread leaflet campaign carried on jointly by the Gold Shirts and the Vanguardia Nacionalista, compelled Leon Bacher, president of the Central Jewish Committee, to make representations to the authorities of the Federal District, charging that the police frequently abetted in the distribution of the anti-Jewish leaflets.

On the whole, however, the situation was comparatively quiet. The fears that the presidential election campaign would occasion outrages against Jews did not materialize. These fears were based on the experience of January 1939, when anti-Jewish riots were staged to embarrass the Cardenas regime. Apprehension was also caused by the attitude
of Communists, who seemed to have found in anti-Semitism a handy weapon for attacking their opponents. A report, dated October 31, 1939, told of a vicious attack on Jews by La Voz de Mexico, the official organ of the Communist Party, in retaliation for a protest meeting staged by the Jewish Youth Society against the Soviet-Nazi pact and its terrible consequences for the Jews in Poland. Under a heading “Jews, Trotzkyites, support Almazán,” the Communist organ wrote: “Let the Mexican people know who the new friends and followers of Almazán are. They are the Jew capitalists, exploiters of the Mexican workers, rich businessmen who hide their merchandise in order later to demand higher prices, and persons who wish to starve the Mexican people.” Although anti-Semitic groups tended to support his candidacy, General Juan Andreu Almazán, the candidate of the Opposition, publicly denounced anti-Semitism in an interview on May 12, 1940 and repudiated the anti-Semitic agitators who claimed to support him.

2. Cuba

In Cuba, legislative action tended to increase the difficulties of entry of Jewish immigrants as well as to curb further the freedom and economic activities of those already in the country. On July 3, 1939, Representative Tirso Dominguez Fumero introduced in the House of Representatives a bill providing for a census of Jews who had entered Cuba since January 1, 1937, the suspension of all naturalization proceedings affecting any one of them, as well as for their deportation within six months after the bill had been enacted into a law. In the middle of the month, the Department of Labor was reported considering recommendations for legislation further tightening the conditions of entry into Cuba, including the prohibition of immigrants from establishing businesses or trades in competition with native-owned enterprises. The anti-alien tendencies, with their manifold implications, were responsible for a bill introduced in the Cuban Senate on December 6, 1939, calling for the forfeiture of 75% of the bonds posted by immigrants who overstayed the time limit of six months, which, however, has failed to pass. These efforts, admittedly directed
against Jews, exerted a strong influence on the Constituent Assembly which was engaged in drafting a new Constitution. A constitutional clause, approved by the Assembly on June 5, 1940, prohibited the immigration of common laborers and provided for the deportation of all aliens who entered the country in contravention of existing immigration laws. Another clause voted by the Assembly, stipulated that only native or naturalized Cuban citizens may practice the professions. The new Constitution was signed on July 1, 1940, to become effective on September 15 of the same year.

3. Argentina

In an interview with Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress, on March 7, 1940, Jose Maria Cantilo, Argentinian Foreign Minister, declared that, with the exception of some merchants and professionals, who were “envious” of Jewish abilities, there was no anti-Semitism in Argentina. This attitude was officially expressed by a Buenos Aires court towards the end of July 1939, when it rejected a petition of a Jewish parent to legalize the change of his son’s name from Isaac to Inazio in order to avoid his being exposed to anti-Jewish prejudice; the rejection was on the ground that the granting of the petition could be construed as an implied admission that Argentine society was anti-Semitic. Instead, the court recommended that the petition be turned over to the educational authorities for investigation of the charges contained therein.

4. Chile

The Foreign Minister’s remarks to Dr. Goldmann expressed a truism which was largely behind the anti-Jewish agitation in Mexico and in Cuba, and which applied to many other countries in Latin America. In Chile, for example, the arrival of 500 Jewish refugees toward the end of 1939 resulted in the staging of protest meetings by Chilean merchants and industrialists. In Temuco, they
organized themselves for the purpose of defending their interests against their new "competitors." On July 15, 1939, the correspondent of the Chicago Tribune reported from Santiago de Chile that the admission of refugees was causing opposition to the government, which has extended to the ranks of professional and industrial workers. He reported, for example, protests of representatives of 20,000 workers in the leather and tannery trades against the establishment by refugees of a synthetic leather factory at Penaflor, near Santiago, as well as alarm among professionals and retailers over the continued arrival of Jews, who are looked upon as competitors. The situation was aggravated as a result of announcements that arrangements had been made to bring Spanish refugees into the country. In this connection, it may be noted that in August 1939, a considerable section of the Railroad Workers' Union in Mexico broke away from the Confederation of Workers because of opposition to the latter's policy with regard to the admission of Spanish refugees as well as of Jews.

As a result of this pressure, Abraham Ortega, the Chilean Foreign Minister, declared to a representative of the Diario Ilustrado, on June 7, 1939, that the government was preparing to restrict Jewish immigration in order to "prevent ruinous competition against our businessmen." On August 1, the government was reported to have decided upon legislation to exclude foreigners from setting themselves up in the future as retailers or shopkeepers in any line of business, and on October 10, an official announcement declared that no further admission of European political refugees would be allowed. On March 6, 1940, all persons with tourist visas were ordered to leave the country and on April 11, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry declared that under no circumstances would Jews be given immigration visas.

Meanwhile, alleged charges of illegal traffic in refugees, involving high government officials, led to the appointment of a Government Commission of Inquiry. In the middle of January 1940, the Commission made public a preliminary report, in which it charged that only 5,767 of the ten to twenty thousand refugees who had entered the country during 1939 were registered. The publication of the report
led to the resignation of several members of the Cabinet and provided the Rightist press with a springboard for anti-Jewish attacks. Simultaneously, the government introduced several bills in Parliament providing for further restrictions on immigration of refugees and curbing their economic activities, especially in retail trade. A bill introduced by the Opposition to curb illegal entry of refugees was passed in the Chamber of Deputies on May 9.

In this atmosphere, El Movimiento Nacionalista de Chile, a new anti-Jewish group, was organized, headed by General Ariosto Herrera Ramirez, exiled leader of an unsuccessful rebellion against the Popular Front Government, and I. Araya, notorious Jew-baiter. In consequence of the organization of this group, La Patria, anti-Jewish weekly, which had ceased publication in November 1939, made its reappearance. A painful impression was also produced by the publication on March 8, 1940, of a book entitled "The Mystery of Freemasonry," by Archbishop Jose M. Caro, in which the highest prelate of Chile attacked world Jewry as "using Freemasonry to dominate the world."

Jewish leaders protested that the refugee issue was the fabrication of the German colony in Chile and pointed out the fact that the issue has been raised in such places as Temuco and Penaflor, which have large German settlements. They also charged that the Commission's report was biased, and that it served only the Rightists as a springboard for anti-Jewish agitation. In their protest, the Jews were encouraged by the liberal press. The government, too, was eager to emphasize that its anti-immigration policy had nothing in common with anti-Semitism. On April 16, Cristobal Saenz, the new Foreign Minister, declared to a Jewish delegation that the then pending bill barring the entry of refugees did not constitute racial discrimination, that the suspension of immigration was only temporary, and that the government looked upon anti-Semitism as a demoralizing force. Following protests against repeated anti-Jewish demonstrations by the Movimiento Nacionalista in Valparaiso, Oskar Schnake, Minister of Economics, declared on June 8 that anti-Semitism was an artificial product which aimed at undermining the Popular Front Government.
5. Peru

In Peru a bill urging registration and control of all Jewish residents, as a "precautionary measure" against war profiteering, was defeated in the Chamber of Deputies on December 28, 1939 by a vote of 55 to 24. The debate on this bill was reported to have been the first in which Jews were the issue. Many deputies warmly defended the Jews and pointed out that the accusation that they were profiteering in victuals was unfounded since Germans and Italians were dominant in the food industry.

6. Bolivia

An increase in anti-Jewish agitation was reported from Bolivia, in a letter to the Jewish Record of St. Louis, Mo., of March 15, 1940. A particularly painful impression was produced by the anti-Jewish attacks in El Diario, oldest Bolivian newspaper, which had formerly warmly defended Jewish immigrants. The correspondent revealed, also, that, at the request of the German Legation, the government had shut down the Judische Rundschau in La Paz. The recurrent anti-Jewish agitation had caused La Nacion, pro-government newspaper, to warn, early in August, 1939 that the police take severe steps to put an end to anti-Jewish incitement by anti-Semitic youths, branding it an insult to the country. A raid by the secret police on September 9, 1939, on the Jewish Center in La Paz, in which a number of Jews were detained, was denounced by the newspaper La Calle as a pogrom, while La Noche demanded clarification of the incident. A Jewish Telegraphic Agency report of August 9, 1939, stated that the Bolivian Government granted the application of the Jewish Community to permit the kosher slaughtering of animals.

Like Chile, Bolivia also had a refugee scandal, which also resulted in the appointment of a special board to investigate charges against high officials of complicity in the illegal traffic in refugees. A communiqué issued by the board on July 21, 1939, stated that a number of Jewish refugees had
entered the country illegally and that pending their presumptive deportation, they would be confined to internment colonies. The letter to the *Jewish Record* quoted above, disclosed that a head tax of 500 Bolivianos annually had been imposed on every immigrant. On May 3, 1940, Carlos Johnson, Commissioner of Immigration, issued regulations prohibiting further Jewish immigration and indefinitely suspending the issuance of immigration permits to Jews. He announced that visas not used within ninety days would become invalid.

Stringent measures against immigration were also adopted by Brazil and other Latin American countries.

**Jewish Communal Life**

Latin American Jewry, which has long since desired to take its place among the important Jewish communities in the world, has, since the outbreak of the war, striven to take on the responsibilities commensurate with its stature. On December 25, 1939, a conference attended by 260 delegates representing all major Jewish organizations opened in Buenos Aires and launched a 5,000,000 peso campaign for overseas needs, the amount raised to be divided equally for Palestine projects and for refugees and war victims. A campaign to help refugees from various countries to enter Palestine, by providing them with steamship tickets, was launched by Jewish communal leaders and welfare workers in Mexico, towards the end of February 1940. A movement for convening a Pan American Jewish Congress was launched simultaneously in Argentina and Chile. On April 7, 1940, the newly organized Chilean Jewish Congress voted to affiliate with the World Jewish Congress and adopted a resolution to support the Pan American Jewish Congress movement. On May 7, 1940, a commission to prepare for such a congress was appointed at the annual meeting of the DAIA, (Delegations of Argentine Jewish Associations). Formation of a Central Committee for Chilean Jews, representing major Jewish religious and communal organizations of the country, was announced on
June 12, 1940. The incorporation of the "Foundation for an Argentine Chair in the Hebrew University," supported by outstanding personalities in Argentine political and cultural life, was reported on June 1, by the Mundo Israelita of Buenos Aires. On May 28, the formation of a Women's Zionist Organization was announced in Mexico City.

On August 23, 1939, the Tres Arboles, the first Jewish agricultural colony in Uruguay held its annual meeting. The press took occasion to publish articles in praise of the colony's purposes. El Plato, of Montevideo, declared that the settlement provided "an illuminating example of what should be done in our own national economy," adding that the colony's success "must have a favorable influence on the immigration of Jews into Uruguay." El Imparcial remarked that the colony was "a living refutation of anti-Semitic allegations that Jews did not make good agricultural workers." The first Congress of Jewish Farm Youths opened in Moisesville, Argentina, on October 19, 1939, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Jewish colonization in Argentina.

Because the lack of clarity in the decree banning connections between local alien groups and foreign countries frequently led to arbitrary police action, the Zionist Organization in Argentina, decided at a meeting on July 5, 1939, to abandon elections of delegates to the World Zionist Congress, which was to take place in Geneva in August. Instead, a single slate comprising three delegates of the Zionist Federation and two of the Poale Zion were named. In Brazil, Zionist activities were even more hampered. On October 31, 1939, the Ministry of Justice rejected an appeal to revoke the ban on the Zionist Federation, which, as reported last year, was proscribed along with other groups conducting "foreign" political activities, (see Vol. 41, p. 365) and also rejected proposed amendments to the charter of the Federation which would have adapted it to the existing legislation.
XIV. OTHER COUNTRIES

1. Spain

The situation of the Jews in Spain during the period became increasingly serious. Although there was no formal curtailment of citizenship and no evidence of physical attacks, all the institutions of the Jewish religion were proscribed and a violent propaganda campaign was launched.

Disabilities under which Jews were suffering, according to reports of March 22, 1940, included the prohibition of Jewish marriages and burials and of the rite of circumcision. Jewish babes could not be registered without baptism, and Jewish children were compelled to attend Catholic religious instruction in the public schools or go without education. The small Jewish synagogue at Barcelona was closed on government orders, and the Jewish cemetery was demolished. A Jew who died in the neighboring townlet of St. Andes was ordered buried in the dogs' graveyard. Social clubs in the leading cities were reported to be barring Jews from membership.

In consequence of these measures a neo-Marrano movement is said to be growing in the country, many Jews having accepted nominal conversion. Yom Kippur services in Barcelona were conducted in secret in a private house.

The position of refugees was especially distressing. Rumors were circulated in March 1939 that all refugees were to be expelled within six months unless they held visas for other countries. On the other hand, a report that Jews who had entered the country after April 1931 were to be expelled, was denied by government spokesmen on April 14, and fourteen Jewish families who left Spain during the civil war were permitted to return.

The fall of France brought a long line of refugees to the frontiers of Spain, but except for a single trainload of 600 Poles and Jews, none were admitted. Spanish consulates abroad were also reported to be inquiring the religion of applicants for visas, and denying them to Jews.
A new edition of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published in December 1939 and, five months later, in a volume put out by the Falangists, the allegation was advanced that a council of Spanish rabbis had plotted world destruction, but been frustrated by General Franco. This, of course, was merely a native re-hash of the familiar story of a subversive "conclave of rabbis" which has been an invariable concomitant of the *Protocols* propaganda since its first dissemination in Russia some thirty-five years ago. Attacks on Jews and Freemasons, coupled with a defense of Nazi expulsions, also formed a leading theme in the New Year's address of General Franco, and the campaign of hatred was taken up generally by press and radio.

2. Finland

Finland's two thousand Jews supported wholeheartedly the national struggle against Soviet Russia earlier in the current year. A Jewish committee in Helsinki raised a fund of 500,000 Finnish markkas (about $2,500) towards the cost of the country's defense, and this amount was subsequently increased by further contributions from leading Jewish firms. Numerous Jews volunteered for front-line service and, on January 22, 1940, the entire press published a message from Chief Rabbi Federbusch, addressed to Jewish soldiers, stating that the fight was based on the ideals of the Hebrew prophets, and quoting Psalm 27:1-3.

Simultaneously, an appeal to Jews abroad to aid Finland in her struggle was issued by a group of Scandinavian Jews and despatched to this country by Mayor Santeri Jacobsen of Lauritala. The document, which stressed the equality of rights enjoyed by Finnish Jews, was published in translation in the March-April issue of the *Contemporary Jewish Record*.

Following the conclusion of peace, it was learned on April 8, that fifteen Finnish Jews had fallen in action and that a large number, including women and children, had been wounded. Many Jewish-owned shops had been bombed
in Helsinki, but no synagogues had been damaged. It was also revealed that not a single Finnish Jew remained in the areas ceded to Russia, the 300 Jews of Viborg and the few who lived in smaller centers having moved, with the rest of the population, to other parts.

On May 10, 1940, it was reported that Finland was opening her doors to Jewish refugees from Norway and Denmark, according an especial welcome to physicians, dentists, engineers and skilled artisans; in the same month news was received that the government was allowing refugees in Lithuania and Sweden who possessed visas for America to sail from the port of Petsamo, thus avoiding the necessity of proceeding from Baltic and Scandinavian countries via the Far East.

3. Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

The conclusion of the Russo-German pact, in September 1939, gave rise to fears that this might influence Soviet policy towards Jews. Such fears, however, proved groundless. Soviet spokesmen made it clear that the political tie-up implied no alignment on the score of anti-Semitic and racist doctrines. This was especially emphasized in the month of October, when Poles and White Russians were being invited to vote on the question of annexation to the Soviet Union. Articles stressing racial equality appeared in the Yiddish press, from the pens of such well-known writers as I. Fefer, P. Markish, and L. Resnik, while as practical evidence of cultural freedom the Jewish State Theatre of Kiev was sent on a tour through the country. Later in the year, radio and press again issued pronouncements attacking racist ideas. A writer in Izvestia of April 30 summed up the official position in the following words: "We cannot tolerate the spirit which oppresses men and denies them freedom and liberty because they happen to be born Jews, negroes, or some other so-called inferior race. Nations in which the barbarous spirit prevails are subhuman, since they deny humanity to others."
In line with this attitude, Julius Streicher's Stuermer and Das Schwarze Korps, organ of Hitler's Elite Guards, were banned from circulation in the Soviet Union. This proscription, however, had also a strictly political angle, for, according to a release of the Evangelical Press Service (Berne) on May 27, it was largely a retaliation for the barring of the Communist paper Bolsheviki from Germany. It was pointed out that the writings of the Nazi ideologist Alfred Rosenberg were admitted into Russia in return for the circulation in the Reich of the Soviet atheistic journal Bezbozhnik (The Atheist).

Although Jews thus remained immune from racial or civil persecution, Judaism was exposed to attack in the renewed drive against religion. A specific target was found in Hassidism which was bitterly assailed, together with its founder Israel Baal-Shem, in an article appearing in Bezbozhnik, on September 29, 1939. In this field of activity, ideological alignment with the Nazis was freely admitted. On May 5, following a visit to Germany, the Soviet writer Boris Deborin declared that the Nazi attack upon the Jewish religion was the principal achievement of the Third Reich, and that it was now the duty of Soviet atheists to come to the aid of their new political allies in the fight against religion. On the same day, Bezbozhnik stated that Hitler and Stalin were alike combating both capitalism and religion and waging the fight for socialism. The paper urged cooperation in this struggle. Nevertheless, even in the face of this onslaught upon Jewish doctrines, it was made quite plain that no racial issues were involved, so far as the Soviet Union was concerned. Representative of this position was the statement of H. H. Mikhailov, secretary of Komsomol, the Young Communist League, on January 26. “Our cooperation with Germany,” he said, “on the anti-religious front will have its limitations. The Soviets conduct their fight against religion on the basis of material principles only, and not on a racial basis. We reject the racial principle, and this automatically excludes the possibility of coordination of our activities with those of the Reich in questions concerning the Jews.” That the anti-religious movement was not making headway was revealed in the 1939 report of the Union of Militant Jewish Atheists,
issued in February 1940. Failure was reported after twenty-two years of activity, and the piquant fact was recorded that the former secretary of the organization had arranged for the traditional religious ceremony at the circumcision of his son! As early as October 1939, the Moscow radio had urged Jewish communists to lessen their attacks on Jewish religion and Hassidism, while in April 1940, following reports of a trend back to religion on the part of both Jews and Christians, the propaganda department of the atheist organization itself advised an easing of administrative pressure against religion, saying that the battle must be fought "on the economic front," and that any other approach was anti-Leninist.

Zionism also continued to come under fire. It was formally attacked by the Soviet Polish newspaper in December 1939, when Vladimir Jabotinsky, Revisionist leader, was condemned as a former agent of Petlura. Zionist bodies were also closed down by the Soviet when the territories of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were taken over in June 1940.

Of interest to Jews was the inclusion in the third Five Year Plan of an elaborate project to develop the autonomous area of Biro-Bidjan. Provision was made for the mining of peat reserves and for the establishment, in 1941, of a graphite factory to exploit the graphite resources of the Biro and Stalinisk districts. Leather, textile, and bread plants were also to be opened. An iron bridge was to be thrown across the River Bira, a new theater to be founded, and a central electric station, together with water and drainage works, to be installed. Sixty-four collective farms (18 Jewish) were to be developed, and the first vegetable farm, of 18,000 hectares, would commence operations in 1940. The capital expended on schools was to be increased from 5,600,000 roubles in the second Five Year Plan to 17,600,000 roubles.

Yet, while thus determined to preserve the principle of equality in respect of its own Jews, Soviet Russia showed itself unwilling to jeopardize relations with its new ally in seeking alleviation for those oppressed in the Nazi-occupied area of Poland. On December 21, 1939, the Moscow correspondent of a Brussels newspaper reported that demon-
strations in the U. S. S. R. seeking Soviet intervention in behalf of Jews in German Poland had resulted in many arrests, followed by exile of a large number of Jews to Siberia.

At least sixteen Jewish officers were cited for valor in the Finnish campaign by the official Red Army journal, Krasnaia Zoezda (Red Star), and on January 29, the New York Morning Journal recorded that Soviet Jewish scientists had been singled out for special praise in Pravda.

Figures issued on January 1 revealed an increase in the Jewish population of Russia from 2,600,000 in 1920 to 3,100,000 at the end of 1939. To this number must now be added 250,000 Jews in annexed Bessarabia, 50,000 in Northern Bukovina, 170,000 in Lithuania, 93,000 in Latvia, and about 4,500 in Estonia, bringing the total to 3,568,000.

4. Turkey

News from Turkey, during the review period, has been exceedingly scarce. A London report of November 10, 1939, revealed that the authorities at the town of Brusa have revived an order requiring Jews to speak only Turkish in public places, under pain of expulsion from the town. This would only confirm the assimilationist policy of the Turkish Republic, discussed in last year’s review. On January 21, 1940, it was reported from Istanbul that the local Ashkenazic Community had decided to dissolve and merge with the Sephardic Community, the only officially recognized juridical Jewish body in Turkey.

Attempts to vilify the Jewish population evoked sharp remonstrances. The accusation by the Djumhuriyet, anti-Jewish daily in Istanbul, alleging that Jews had remained unmoved in the face of the earthquake disaster in Turkey and had failed to contribute sufficiently to the appeal for relief, was denounced by both government spokesmen and leading newspapers. An Istanbul dispatch of January 21, quoted Dr. Lufti Kirdar, Governor-General of Istanbul, as follows: “Our Jewish fellow citizens have contributed generously and spontaneously to the relief of the population in the distressed areas. I consider it to be my duty to give them full credit for their contributions.” The leading
Istanbul dailies *Tan* and *Aksham* sharply denounced the *Djumhuriyet*, showing that Jews topped the lists of individual contributors to the relief fund. It will be noted, in this connection, that the Palestine community was especially active in organizing relief and that supplies for 15,000 quake victims were shipped by Hadassah on January 11.

In the month of August 1939, several boats with hundreds of refugees aboard made attempts to land their passengers at Turkish ports, but were barred from doing so by port authorities. The most pathetic case was that of the Panama steamer *Parita* with 500 to 600 refugees aboard, whose attempts to land its passengers in Smyrna, early in August 1939, resulted in mutiny.

5. Egypt

Little of Jewish interest occurred in Egypt during the period under review. The most important news from that country was the exemption of Jewish refugees from wartime internment. On September 8, 1939, five days after the outbreak of hostilities, it was announced that measures adopted against Germans would not be applied to Jewish exiles, and on June 17, 1940, following Italy's entry into the war, a similar declaration was made in respect of the 5,000 Jewish fugitives from fascism. The former announcement brought an instant response from those affected. On the very day of its publication, a project was launched for the raising of a Jewish legion to fight in the Allied cause, and it was only the subsequent decision of the British Government that such a distinctive legion was inadvisable that prevented the realization of this plan.

At the same time, however, while granting full liberty to *bona fide* refugees, the Egyptian Government decided to tighten control of aliens whose permits of residence were not in order, and on June 5, 1940, it was reported that a number of Jews were among those in this category who had been ordered to leave the country within a fortnight under penalty of internment.

The only other reports of Jewish interest concern the reaction in Egypt to the British Government's White Paper
on Palestine. Following the declaration of Premier Mohammed Mahmud Pasha, on May 18, 1939, that all the Arab states were opposed to the new policy, Egypt joined Iraq, on November 1, in demanding an amnesty for all Arabs held detained in the Holy Land, but agreed at the same time to postpone discussion of the general issue until after the war. An indication of popular feeling on the subject was provided earlier, on July 7, 1939, by the laying of a bomb, accompanied by an Arabic warning to Zionists, in a synagogue at Cairo. Fortunately, the bomb had no fuse.

6. Other Near Eastern Countries

Little of specifically Jewish interest occurred in Syria during the period under review. Arab terrorists perpetrated bomb outrages at Beirut on July 24, 1939, and two weeks later 80 Arabs were arrested for complicity in a plot against the French administration. It was therefore not clear whether the outrages were part of an anti-Jewish or a Syrian nationalist campaign. In all likelihood, the latter was the case. The Syrian and Lebanese press dissociated themselves from these activities.

Prayers for Allied victory in the current war were offered in all mosques throughout the Near East, soon after hostilities commenced, and on September 7, 1939, the ex-Mufti, currently an exile at Baghdad, declared his support of Poland's cause and denounced Nazi aggression.

It was reported by the New York Forward, on June 16, 1940, that some 12,000 Jews were affected by the Spanish annexation of Tangier. Exact details of their fate, however, are unknown at this writing.

Previously, the refugee situation gave cause for anxiety. On August 4, 1939, their numbers were given as 800. Of these, 285 were receiving support from the local relief committee. Their national distribution was as follows: 220 Poles (from Italy), 165 Orientals from the isle of Rhodes, 150 Italians and Hungarians, 75 Austrians, 30 Germans and 20 Czechs, in addition to 140 non-Jews mostly from Romania and Russia. In consequence of the strain thus im-
posed upon local resources, it was found necessary, early in August, to refuse application for aid made by 200–300 Jewish families ousted from Rhodes. Later in the month, however, it was announced that a committee of prominent Frenchmen, Englishmen and others was to be set up, with official approval, to study possibilities of establishing new industries for some 1,000 emigrés. At the same time, six refugee physicians were licensed to practise in the international zone.

An attempt was made, in September 1939, to circulate Nazi propaganda in Algiers, through agents imported from Spanish Morocco. These, however, were arrested by local authorities, and at the same time Moslem leaders expressed their determination to live on good terms with Jews. In the early months of the war, it was reported that 1,500 French Jews were serving with the Foreign Legion in Algiers.

The principal events in the Jewish life of Tunis were the death, in December, of Chief Rabbi David Ktorza, and his succession, in February 1940, by Ressi Haim Bellaiche. Chief Rabbi Ktorza's funeral, on December 3, was attended by consular, military, and civil representatives.

Indignation was aroused in Jewish circles by police action in Aden, on July 25, 1939, when a number of Yemenite Jews were arrested while attending Ninth of Ab fast-day services in a temporary synagogue. The arrests were stated to be part of a general drive against vagrants, whom the authorities were anxious to deport, but subsequent investigation showed that all were employed and that many had been resident in Aden for years. Protest by the Jewish Community Council resulted in the release of the prisoners and a promise of inquiry by the police commissioner.

A month earlier, interest was evoked by a visit to London of Prince Halib, ex-chancellor of the Hedjaz, on a mission to lay before the British Government a project for the development of Arabia for the joint benefit of Jews, Mohammedans and Christians. Prince Halib stated that such a movement would be welcomed in the country, where 18,000,000 were living in poverty in an area once inhabited by a thriving population of 120,000,000.
XV. THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Long steps toward the solution of the German refugee problem might have been taken during the period under review had not war broken out in Europe in September. It began as a year of promise. It quickly turned to one of utter despair. For, as the conflict spread from land to land bringing hardship and terror to the native populations, thousands of refugees who had believed themselves safe from German persecution, became once more enmeshed in the Nazi toils.

Refugees from Greater Germany found themselves in double jeopardy. They came to be looked upon with suspicion as aliens — even enemy aliens — in the countries of asylum. Then, as one after another of these lands — Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France — fell before Germany’s armed might, the refugees once more were delivered into the hands of their oppressors.

As the war spread, the number of refugees of all types grew by the millions. Most of these were refugees from the battle areas. For the purposes of this review, however, a refugee is defined as one who had been forced to leave his native land prior to the war, or if he left after the outbreak of hostilities, did so for other than war reasons. Essentially, this limits the definition to refugees from Greater Germany.

Similar classification of the two major groups of refugees was made by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in an address on October 17, 1939 delivered at the White House to the members of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees who met in Washington at his invitation six weeks after the beginning of the war. President Roosevelt saw a double refugee problem facing the world. The first he designated a short term problem involving an estimated 300,000 political refugees from Germany, not permanently settled in other countries and the second, a vaster problem embracing the fate of many millions of people who would be uprooted by war. He called for the resettlement of the refugees in the first category “during the actual course of the war without confusing their lot with the lot of those who in increasing numbers will suffer as a result of the war itself.” The war itself, he predicted, would create ten to
twenty million new refugees of "many races and many religions" whose roots will literally have been torn up and who will be "compelled to start life anew in other lands." This problem of the future he declared must be approached with realistic foresight, and he urged the Committee "to survey and study definitely and scientifically this geographical and economic problem of resettling several million people in new areas of the earth's surface."

While the President's remarks served to clarify several phases of the problem, they created an unexpected stir in diplomatic circles. The British and French Governments expressed concern over the implications of preparations for large scale refugee work in the post war period. They contended that one of the objectives of their war against Germany was to eliminate the doctrine of racial and religious bigotry, and that victory for the Allies would eliminate the need for any large emigration program.

The divergent views were reconciled at subsequent meetings of the Executive Group of the Intergovernmental Committee. It was agreed on October 26, 1939, that surveys should be proceeded with for possible use after the war, but that there should be no admission that such a problem would arise. Furthermore, the Committee declared that it was not competent to expand its mandate beyond the terms of dealing with the refugee question of Greater Germany.

The sessions of the Intergovernmental Committee, all of which had been held in camera at the Department of State, heard a report from Sir Herbert Emerson, director of the Committee; discussed methods of meeting the refugee problems under war conditions; and discussed the "short range problem," especially the fate of refugees in lands of temporary asylum. In a State Department communique issued following the third session, it was pointed out that "this problem could be solved partly by infiltration, that is individual immigration, and partly by an initiation of settlement projects." The meeting took note, "with particular satisfaction, of the fact that the Dominican Government, with great foresight and generosity, had responded to the appeal of the Intergovernmental Committee for opportunities of settlement."
In his report to the Intergovernmental Committee and in subsequent public statements, Sir Herbert Emerson stressed the contribution that private philanthropy had made toward the solution of the refugee problem, and the contribution that refugees were making to the countries that had admitted them for permanent residence. Sir Herbert's remarks were borne out by reports from various sources recounted below. Had not the war broken out, he declared, the refugee problem might have been solved within a few years. Up to that time, 400,000 persons had left German territory, of whom 240,000 had found permanent homes and new means of livelihood. The coming of the war, however, he pointed out, revealed some of the tragic shortcomings of the efforts in behalf of the refugees. Many thousands of potential refugees still remained within Germany, while 160,000 refugees resided temporarily in European countries of asylum and were likely to come again under Nazi domination. Sir Herbert estimated that from 1933 to the closing months of 1939, private philanthropy in all parts of the world had subscribed $50,000,000 in cash for aid to the refugees, and that at least another $25,000,000 had been provided in the form of hospitality and other means of assistance.

The most important of the colonization plans, touched upon by President Roosevelt, and discussed more fully by other leaders in refugee work was the Dominican Republic project. The proposal for settlement of refugees from Central Europe in the Dominican Republic was first broached at the Evian Conference of 1938 when the Intergovernmental Committee was formed. Representatives of General Rafael L. Trujillo, then President of the Republic, told the Conference that the Republic would consider the settlement of 100,000 refugees in their country. When the S.S. St. Louis incident took place, early in 1939, (see Vol. 41, pp. 387–89) the Dominican Republic was again suggested as a possible haven, but was not accepted owing to the emergency conditions. The project, however, was then taken under consideration by refugee organizations as a possibility for long-term development.

The Dominican offer was investigated by the Refugee Economic Corporation and a commission sent by it, in col-
laboration with the President's Advisory Committee on Refugees, to the Republic in the spring of 1939 returned a favorable report. As a result of this investigation, interest was taken in the project by the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation, (Agro-Joint), an affiliate of the Joint Distribution Committee, which had been concerned with the settlement of Jews on farmland in Russia and which had since liquidated its work in that country. James N. Rosenberg, chairman of the Agro-Joint, became a leading figure in the investigation and development of the project. It also received the support of President Roosevelt; Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee; Sir Herbert Emerson; and other leaders in refugee work. With the Refugee Economic Corporation unable to invest any large sums in the project because of prior commitments, the Agro-Joint Board agreed to provide funds for its initiation.

In December, steps were taken to form the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, to which the Agro-Joint subscribed $200,000. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, president of the Agro-Joint and a noted agronomist, went to the Dominican Republic with a technical staff to determine the best site for the establishment of an agricultural colony. Dr. Rosen chose a 26,000 acre tract of land, known as Sosua, for the first settlement. This tract, situated on the North Shore and owned personally by General Trujillo, had once been used as a banana plantation by the United Fruit Company. General Trujillo offered the tract as a gift to the Dominican Republic Settlement Association. Officials of the Association offered Trujillo stock in the company, in return for the land.

On January 30, a contract was signed between the Association and the Dominican Republic and on January 20 and 21, enabling legislation was passed by the Dominican Congress. The contract provides for citizenship in conformity with the Constitution of the Republic, guarantees settlers full opportunity to continue their lives and occupations free from molestation, discrimination or persecution, and grants them all civil and economic rights. The initial colony was to consist of 500 people. Experts were sent to Europe to select suitable settlers. About fifty
of these arrived in Sosua in the spring of 1940. The entry of Italy into the war, however, drastically cut means of transportation from Europe, and many of those selected were left stranded. However, efforts to expedite the emigration of these people and to select additional settlers from points that were not cut off from transportation continued.

But despite the progress made in the Dominican Republic project, and the efforts to initiate similar projects, such as those proposed for Alaska and the Philippines, the primary attention of organizations engaged in refugee work was focused upon refugees caught in the path of war in Europe. In the spring of 1940, it was estimated that 175,000 of the 407,000 Jewish refugees from Germany (287,000) and Austria (120,000) were temporarily domiciled in other European lands.* Of these, upwards of 50,000 were being maintained by refugee aid organizations.

Of the refugees in these lands during 1939, some 10,000 were assisted, by refugee aid organizations, to emigrate overseas for permanent settlement. With the spread of the war in the west, however, the means of emigration rapidly dwindled as ports closed and shipping facilities shrank. As a result, the relief burden upon refugee committees in European countries mounted, while their income dwindled with increased taxation and drastic rises in the cost of living. Besides, a number of governments which, just prior to the war, had begun to provide subsidies for refugee work, were unable to continue their subventions after they had been drawn into the conflict. The refugee committees had no recourse but to look to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for larger subsidies, but the J.D.C. found it increasingly difficult to meet all demands.

When France was finally overwhelmed by the Hitler army, there were between 38,000 and 40,000 German refugees in the country, about 12,000 having arrived in France during the preceding year. Most of these refugees were receiving assistance from committees that had been banded together during the year as the Groupement Israélite de Coordination; about 12,000 received daily relief.

In the seven years between the spring of 1933 and the

*Including refugees from Danzig, Bohemia-Moravia, etc., the total numbers 432,000.
outbreak of the war, France had followed no consistent policy in respect of refugees. Although efforts were made to restrict their admission and to restrict their activities, especially in regard to employment in competition with French labor, yet generally a liberal attitude was taken, and it is a matter of record that France admitted millions of aliens of a great variety of origins during the past twenty years.

With the outbreak of the war, however, it was natural for France to adopt a more severe attitude toward aliens, and especially toward those of German origin. Here for the first time, the refugees from Nazi persecution became aware of their double jeopardy. In this land of asylum they suddenly found themselves open to the suspicion of being enemies of the very same stripe as those they themselves were seeking to escape. Within a few days after the opening of hostilities between France and Germany, all men of German nationality, between the ages of 17 and 66, including refugees, were ordered to be interned.

The number of those interned totalled approximately 18,000. They were placed in sixty camps established under military supervision, camps which suffered from lack of preparation and inadequate facilities. Sanitary equipment, means of shelter, clothing and even food and medical attention were woefully poor. The problem was further complicated by the fact that the government was also engaged in evacuating large numbers of French families from the areas near the Maginot line. Nevertheless, the government maintained a sympathetic attitude toward the interned refugees and attempted to segregate Germans from Austrians, and refugees from members of the German colony.

The internment of all male refugees, furthermore, threw an additional heavy burden on the refugee relief organizations, since a large number of additional women and children became wholly dependent upon these relief agencies. Nevertheless, the refugee aid groups organized to assume this increased burden, and took further steps, with the permission of the authorities, to improve the conditions among the internees. The initiative in these measures was taken by the Joint Distribution Committee, which maintained its chief European office in Paris. Additional food and shelter were provided for the internees, and efforts were
made to find emigration opportunities for as many as possible. Some 2,000 of those interned, who held visas for overseas countries, were permitted to depart on French and British boats. Those married to French women and those who had French born children were also released after a brief period. Within a few months, the internment camps were practically liquidated as the government released all those over 48 years of age and permitted those under 48 to enlist for labor or military service. A coordinating committee of both Jewish and non-Jewish agencies had in the meantime been organized to deal more effectively with the new refugee problems.

The improvement in the situation was not of long duration, for the progress of German arms in the spring of 1940 brought new restrictions against the refugees and ultimately delivered them again into the hands of the Nazis. With the invasion of Holland and Belgium, the French Government once more ordered the internment, on May 15, not only of all German and Austrian male refugees, but also of all childless women. A week later, 10,000 Jews who had entered France with the stream of war refugees from Belgium and Holland were also interned. When Paris fell, a month later, and France capitulated on June 22, the relief organizations, too, had to shut down. As Morris C. Troper, European director of the Joint Distribution Committee, reported, the heads of the refugee committees themselves became refugees.

On June 27 it was reported that 400,000 Jews, including 40,000 German Jewish refugees, were trying to cross the Spanish frontier, but only those with visas permitting them to proceed beyond Spain were allowed to enter the country. However exaggerated the figures concerning the number of Jews in flight may be, the meager accounts emanating from France, as the period under review came to a close, presaged a dark fate for those who found themselves again in Nazi hands. While little could be learned as to the measures taken against refugees as a group, numerous rumors told of the killing or imprisonment of men of international renown who had found refuge in France.

Great Britain also took steps to protect herself against possible enemies among her German population. England’s
measures were much less drastic, for England had the advantage of having investigated every refugee prior to his admission to the country. Nevertheless, all refugees were required to register with the police authorities, and alien tribunals were established to decide which of the aliens were to be interned.

Periodic announcements were made on the progress of these investigations and, by April 7, it was revealed that of the 73,560 persons examined by the alien tribunals, only 560 were interned, 7,000 were permitted to remain at restricted liberty, while 64,000 were granted complete liberty of movement. The sympathetic attitude of the government was further evidenced by a decision granting citizenship to 4,000 refugees who had made application before the outbreak of the war.

Assistance rendered to refugees in Great Britain during 1939 was provided almost entirely with funds raised locally. Jewish refugees were helped by the Central Council for Jewish Refugees through service agencies which it supported. The Central Council, furthermore, contributed for refugee work in other countries, and for the Jews in Germany. After the outbreak of war, however, its assistance became limited to Palestine and to Great Britain.

The war almost immediately affected the income of the Central Council as well as of other refugee aid groups. In order to meet the situation, the Central Council and the Christian Council for Refugees established a coordinating committee, with Sir Herbert Emerson as chairman. It applied for assistance to the government, which established a grant of £27,000 monthly. In addition, a retroactive grant of £100,000 was made to cover the deficits of the last four months of 1939. Up to the close of the period under review, the government grants totalled £207,000.

The activities of the refugee committees and the government in aid of the refugees were vigorously maintained despite the fact that defense of the nation was absorbing most of the energies of its leaders. Commons voted funds for Czech and Polish refugees. On February 6, the Central Council for Jewish Refugees opened its campaign for £400,000, disclosing that Christian organizations had made loans to it so that the work would not be interrupted. The British
Movement for the Care of Children from Germany reported that 9,354 refugee children, of whom 7,690 were Jewish, had been brought into the country. In March, at a memorial meeting in honor of Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk and Dr. Moses Gaster, a campaign was begun to raise £10,000 for the emigration of Czech refugees to Palestine, and in April the government announced that a first contingent of 500 refugees would be settled in British Guiana in June. (See Vol. 41, pp. 379–381). The government offered land for a settlement also in British Honduras.

The refugees, themselves, were in turn making contributions to Britain, more than 1,000 of them working as farmers, helping to provide much needed foodstuffs. A survey by the Home Office, furthermore, revealed that 120 enterprises established by refugees were giving employment to 6,000 Britons.

The success of German arms, however, brought its inevitable pressures upon the refugees. It was only natural that as the threat of invasion of Great Britain grew, precautionary measures should be taken by the government. On May 13, about 3,000 German and Austrian men were ordered interned on the Isle of Man. On May 16, all alien men between the ages of 16 and 60 whose movements had previously been restricted, the so-called “B” category, were detained. On May 27, women in this category were included in the order and subsequently the age limit for men was raised to 70. A month later, internment action was taken against aliens whose movements had been restricted before, but on June 21, Home Secretary Sir John Anderson announced that 52,000 Jewish refugees would be exempted. Aliens were also made subject to curfews and barred from certain defense activities. The government insisted, however, that these measures were acts of precaution and not of hostility.

Among the most hospitable of European countries had been Holland and Belgium, which, despite their small size, offered asylum to large numbers of refugees, insisting, however, that their domicile must be considered as temporary. During 1939, there was an estimated average number of 30,000 refugees in Holland of whom 5,000 were completely dependent upon the Netherlands refugee committees for
assistance. Retraining, emigration and other services were also maintained by the committees. The government took a direct interest in refugee work, establishing eight camps, the cost of whose upkeep was defrayed by the refugee committee. A special charge upon the committee was the care of 1,300 children who had been brought out of Germany and established in four homes. The war had an immediate effect upon refugee work. Local contributions fell off almost immediately as taxes rose, and the cost of living skyrocketed. Nevertheless, the committees continued to operate up to the invasion of the country by Germany.

Threatened with invasion, Holland turned the camp for illegal entrants at Hook-of-Holland into an internment center and took other anti-alien measures which restricted the movements of refugees. Those refugees who volunteered for the army were registered but not taken into the service. The blitzkrieg on May 10, abruptly cut communications with Holland and no definite news as to the fate of the refugees in the country could thereafter be obtained. Undoubtedly a number were able to escape to England by boat and others joined the stream of those fleeing into Belgium and France. On May 20, it was reported that the German authorities had ordered all refugees interned, and various other restrictive and discriminatory measures were reported from time to time, as the period came to a close.

Equally liberal in the treatment of the refugees was Belgium. Throughout 1939, until the beginning of the war in September, Belgium permitted refugees to enter the country at the rate of about a thousand a month. Many of them did not even possess proper papers. At the close of the year, there were 30,000 German refugees in the country of whom half were being maintained by the refugee committees. Five refugee camps were established by the government, which voted 8,000,000 Belgian francs toward their upkeep during the latter half of 1939.

On February 6, the central Jewish organizations presented to the War Ministry a collective offer by 8,321 Jewish refugees to serve in the Belgian army, but this was temporarily rejected. Refugees were made subject to measures designed as protection against Nazi agents, and many were interned. As in Holland, the invasion by the German army,
on May 10, cut off further news. It is known that the re-
ugee organizations were shut down almost immediately,
but little was known, as the period under review came to
a close, as to the fate of those refugees who failed to escape
into France.

The fate of refugees in other European countries varied
in accordance with the relation of those countries to the war.
The Swiss government and the refugees in that country
made every effort to liquidate the refugee problem by
emigration. Italy continued its restrictive policy of previous
years and, upon its entry into the war, closed the last
remaining major ports of embarkation for overseas settle-
ment. In a dozen other small countries refugees received
temporary asylum and assistance from refugee committees.
A major factor in the operation of all these refugee com-
mittees in European countries was the American Jewish
Joint Distribution Committee which, during the course of
the calendar year of 1939, contributed $2,859,300 toward
their activities.

Epitomizing the tragedy of the situation were the frantic
efforts of refugees to escape the European trap. Compared
to the number seeking to emigrate, the emigration op-
portunities even before the war were pitifully small. Thou-
sands gained admission to Palestine, the United States and
Latin America, but many more could not meet the im-
migration requirements of these countries or obtain the
proper documents. Nevertheless, thousands preferred the
hard fate of wanderers without legal status to remaining
in German-held territory. As a result, there were numerous
instances during the year of ships loaded with refugees
unable to land their passengers in Mediterranean, Danu-
bian and Black Sea ports. Most of them sought to reach
Palestine, despite the restrictions on immigration. Such
groups, suffering bitterly, were to be found during the year
at Sulina in Roumania, Kladova in Yugoslavia, in Slovakia,
in the Greek islands and in Beyrouth, Syria. Only the
action of relief groups saved many of them from death.

When the war closed down all normal means of emigra-
tion from Europe, the refugee aid committees and the re-
ugees sought frantically for new routes of escape. Some
refugees leaving from Germany and Austria attempted to
make the trip to Palestine overland through the Balkans and Syria; a few in Western Europe sailed by boat around Africa and came to Palestine via Mozambique, a voyage of 45 days. A means of egress for a limited number with visas for Latin America and the United States was obtained via Russia and Siberia to Japan, whence they took ship to the Americas, traveling three quarters of the way around the globe.

In April, the Jewish Agency for Palestine published figures to show that 63,500 refugees from German-controlled territory had entered Palestine in the period from 1933 through 1939. Altogether 27,193 Jews had entered the country during 1939, of whom 8,050 arrived after the outbreak of the war. Only 3,042 of the latter number, however, came in after October 1. Figures for the first quarter of 1940, published in June, showed that 1,911 entered the country in that period. The number of "illegal" entries is not known, but the government threatened to deduct these from the immigration schedule. (See also section on Palestine).

While the United States accepted emigrés almost up to the limit of the German quota, the Latin American countries grew in importance during the year as places of permanent settlement for refugees, despite the fact that new restrictions were imposed by a number of governments. Most noteworthy of the favorable developments, of course, was the establishment of the Dominican Republic settlement project.

Estimates placed the number of refugees in Latin American countries at the end of 1938 at approximately 40,000. By the end of 1939, this number had grown to 85,000 and, at the close of the period under review, the number who had been admitted to these lands were reported as high as 120,000. During 1939, some 14,000 immigrants entered Bolivia and Chile alone.

Marked progress was made by the Jewish communities in these lands in organizing efforts for the adjustment of the refugees entering their countries. An important figure in this organization work was the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee which contributed $465,000 toward the work of 21 local committees in Latin America during
1939. These groups provided economic aid, medical care and adjustment services for the newcomers.

At the close of 1939, Argentina harbored the largest number of immigrants. Those admitted for permanent residence numbered about 30,000, while others, admitted for temporary stays, raised this figure to about 55,000. Bolivia, with practically no native Jews, permitted 6,000 refugees to enter during the year, bringing the total to 10,000, but closed its gates in May 1940. In Brazil, the refugees numbered 15,000 and in Uruguay about 6,000, only half of whom were permitted to enter for permanent settlement.

Chile harbored about 12,000, two thirds of whom came during the year. This rapid influx had caused Chile, in May of 1939, to close its gates for the calendar year. Nevertheless, 1,500 additional refugees, 650 on one ship, were permitted to enter after the ban because they had already received permission to immigrate. The government predicted their admission on a guarantee by the Jewish community that the refugees would settle in the southern part of the country. Early in 1940, a presidential investigating committee charged fraud in the admission of some Jewish refugees and, as a result, six radical members of the Popular Front Cabinet resigned in protest on February 8. Immigration was again temporarily halted and, in March, it was announced that a new immigration bill would set up quotas favoring immigrants who were farmers.

While they harbored comparatively few refugees, the Central American countries nevertheless had far more refugees than native Jews. In Cuba, which had the largest group, the situation remained uncertain, a condition which the previous year had caused the S. S. St. Louis incident. There were approximately 3,000 refugees in Cuba, when in May of 1940 the government announced that it would no longer admit political or religious refugees. On June 13, Mexico, which had throughout maintained a restrictive policy, likewise suspended its immigrant quotas.

One of the continuing strange phenomena of the year was the large concentration of refugees in Shanghai, war-torn and turbulent, but nevertheless a haven because there were no visa requirements or other restrictions. In August
of 1939, the Japanese authorities — the refugees are concentrated largely in the Japanese controlled area — served notice that any further influx would be drastically curtailed, and that only relatives of people already residing in Shanghai or refugees with means would be permitted to enter in the future. Although this served to slow down the flow of immigration, it was estimated, at the close of the period under review, that there were between 18,000 and 19,000 refugees in the city, an increase of 3,000 to 4,000 since the previous August. The entire European population of Shanghai, aside from the refugees, is only 37,000.

The condition of the refugees was depressing indeed. Employment opportunities were practically non-existent, housing facilities were of the poorest because of the destruction wreaked by the Sino-Japanese war. The European war also served to depress economic conditions, and, furthermore, to cut off the flow of relief funds from England. The deficit thus created had to be covered from limited local resources and by increased contributions from the Joint Distribution Committee. On April 1, 1940, the Shanghai refugee aid committee reported that nearly 14,000 of the refugees were receiving relief in the form of food and shelter, while only 4,000 to 4,500 were self-sustaining. Yet, so great was the pressure of emigration from Europe during the year that even Shanghai was looked upon as a haven.