PART II. FOREIGN COUNTRIES

I. BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

By Theodor H. Gaster*

Let the sharp ball of fire be hurled at me;
Let heaven be alive with lightning flash
And scourge of angry winds; O let the earth
Ail from her prime foundation tempest-tost!
Crash forth, ye mighty breakers of the sea;
Stars in your courses, clash and run together!
Let the swift eddies of relentless Fate
Sweep this poor body into darkest hell;
Yet still shall life endure.


Great Britain

British Jewry was mainly occupied during the past year with the twin problems of air raids and evacuation, both of which brought profound changes in its structure and complexion. Wholesale destruction on the one hand and the readjustment of life on the other confronted the community with a host of new problems and anxieties.

It is the object of the following pages to offer a rounded picture of these developments. No attempt has been made to produce a day-by-day record. Indeed, in present circumstances this would have been impossible, in view of the rigid censorship to which all news from Britain is subjected. It is, for example, quite impossible, in most cases, to state the precise date on which a building was bombed, nor is it by any means a simple matter to identify in every instance the “well-known structure” or “prominent synagogue” of an official dispatch.

Air Raids

London’s Jewish quarter, where the policemen speak Yiddish and where East meets West in striking defiance of the well-worn proverb, is a sprawling jumble of mean

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sidestreets and alleys spreading, like rivulets from a giant stream, on either side of bustling Whitechapel and the seemingly interminable Mile End Road. Here, in the latter-day babel of Stepney and Bethnal Green, live half the Jews of the metropolis and here, in the combined squalor and magnificence of the ghetto, there has grown up, during the past fifty years, that strange cultural syncretism which marks the evolution of the immigrant masses who fled the pogroms of Russia and Poland in the '80s and '90s of last century.

On the morning of September 7, 1940, a goodly part of this area lay in ruins. A fleet of German aircraft, sweeping in during the night, had marked it out, along with many less humble landmarks, as the target of its attacks. When dawn broke, entire blocks were seen to have been reduced to rubble, and there was scarcely a street which was not roped off for the clearance of debris and the extrication of the dead and wounded. A few days later, the Nazi press gleefully reported that the roads out of London were choked with the limousines of terrified Jews fleeing the havoc. This, however, was an exaggeration. What was really happening was that thousands of homeless and destitute were wandering aimlessly through the streets pushing handcarts and perambulators laden with their few salvaged belongings.

The raid, which was but the prelude to further attacks (especially in December and the following April and May), served to point up once more the gross inadequacy of official provisions, for while air raid wardens, fire-fighters and rescue squads distinguished themselves by their heroic handling of the emergency, it became abundantly clear that Whitehall had no comprehensive plan for dealing with such situations or for succouring the victims of disaster. Tours of inspection conducted both by the Jewish Board of Deputies and by other competent bodies revealed that underground refuges in the East End were dangerously overcrowded and devoid, in most cases, of proper sanitary arrangements; while shortly after the blitz, the Chief Air Raid Officer of Stepney tendered his resignation in protest against the government's stubborn refusal to provide deep shelters. Especially grave was the plight of those
bombed out of their homes, many being obliged, as the result of official muddle and confusion, to trudge for miles in search of accommodation and sustenance. Moreover, a large number of the older generation faced an additional hardship in the fact that they were Yiddish-speaking immigrants with insufficient command of English to seek or understand directions. Mr Basil Henriques, the energetic director of the East End's leading Jewish settlement, reported that it was impossible to walk more than a few yards in the bombed areas without being confronted by some hapless refugee of this type.

Nevertheless, if official quarters were negligent, unofficial agencies strove manfully to bring relief, Jewish communal organizations taking a prominent part in these efforts. Thus, to mention but a few instances, the Brady Girls' Club became a hotel for young women who had been bombed out, while the United Synagogue, in collaboration with the London County Council, established rest and feeding centers in several districts, and set up a special department of its Welfare Committee to assist Jewish victims of the raids. Similarly, the London Jewish Hospital, though itself damaged by enemy action, bravely kept its doors open, while the Jews' Temporary Shelter, well-known refuge of immigrants which had closed down last year, was turned over to Stepney Borough Council as a haven for the homeless.

Nor was it only the Jewish population of the East End that suffered in the aerial siege of London. Along with many of the city's more famous monuments, the premises of Jewish institutions and synagogues were seriously affected. Especially deplorable was the total loss, in the September attacks, of the Mocatta Library and Museum, housed at University College, and of the Great Synagogue. The former, owned by the Jewish Historical Society, included the finest collection of Anglo-Jewish books and manuscripts in the world, while the latter, built in 1722, was regarded as the cathedral synagogue of the Ashkenazim in England. Other Jewish houses of worship which were destroyed were the Central Synagogue, about to celebrate its jubilee, and the independent Western Synagogue, rich in historical associations. Among buildings damaged, but
not demolished, in these and subsequent raids\(^1\) were 10 out of the 22 constituents of the United Synagogue, viz: — Borough, Brixton, Brondesbury, Dalston, East London, Hackney, Hampstead, New, New West End and North London. Bombs also fell on the following 7 affiliates of the Federation of Synagogues, all situated in the East End: — Bethnal Green Great, Commercial Road Great, Great Garden Street, Philpot Street, Sidney Street and Vine Court. Hits were also scored on a large number of communal institutions. Indeed, there were few of any importance which escaped. Among the casualties were: —

The Beth Din (Ecclesiastical Court), B’nai Brith hostel for refugee children, N. W., the Board of Guardians, the *Jewish Chronicle*, the Jewish Institute, the Jewish National Fund, the London Jewish Hospital, the Moses and Solomon Almshouses, the Samuel and Myer Home for Orphan Boys, the Sabbath Observance Bureau, the Spanish and Portuguese Congregational Almshouses (founded, 1703), the West Central Jewish Club, the West Central Jewish Lads’ Club, and Woburn House (communal center, housing the offices of the United Synagogue, the B’nai Brith, the Board of Deputies, the Jewish Memorial Council, etc.).

Even cemeteries were not spared, bombs falling, among others, on the ancient (disused) burial ground of the Sephardim, occupying a plot of land originally given to Marrano refugees by Oliver Cromwell.

Provincial communities also suffered the effects of the Luftwaffe’s onslaughts. In Manchester (33,000 Jews), the Victoria Memorial Jewish Hospital was put out of action for two months, while an unidentified synagogue and some Jewish schools were also hit. In Sheffield (2,175 Jews), the Great Synagogue, erected in 1790, was demolished, while in Birmingham (6,000 Jews), although the Central Synagogue was saved from destruction by the prompt action of “fire-spotters,” the Jewish Social Club and the offices of

\(^1\) The rigors of censorship make it impossible to determine the precise dates of the several attacks.
the Singers Hill Synagogue were damaged. In Hull, (2,000 Jews), bombs fell on the Main Synagogue and on one other, unidentified, and an adjoining beth hamidrash. In the Portsmouth area (600 Jews) a small synagogue was blasted, and in Liverpool (7,500 Jews) it was found necessary to dynamite a Jewish religious building which had become a dangerous structure.

As in London, Jewish communal organizations in the provinces rose magnificently to the new emergency, despite the fact that the exodus of their own supporters on the one hand and the arrival, on the other, of evacuees from the metropolis were already taxing their resources to the utmost. In most centers, relief committees were at once created and hostels opened in safe areas. Thus, the Glasgow community arranged for the evacuation of children to Skelmorlie and Castle Douglas, while the Leeds and District Jewish Children's Convalescent Home was immediately turned over to evacuees. The latter community also organized a main relief center for the local homeless at Brandsby Lodge. Manchester set up an Inquiry Office to assist the destitute, while the Birmingham Jewish communal hall was reported, on January 3, 1941, to have been turned into a feeding center. At Liverpool, the Zionist Central Council converted its Zion House into a refuge for those bombed out, and in the Fylde and neighboring districts, which include Blackpool, Lytham St. Annes, Preston, Southport and Lancaster, an arrangement was made to pool resources in meeting the situation.

Evacuation

The intensity of the air raids in September and the following months stepped up the movement of evacuation from the bombed cities, especially from London. This created a host of new problems. On the one hand, synagogues and communal institutions in the abandoned areas now found themselves bereft of their normal sources of support, while on the other, small provincial centers, with but limited resources, were now confronted with the necessity of organizing synagogal, educational and dietary facilities for overwhelming numbers of evacuees, many of
whom arrived destitute and were therefore unable to make a contribution of their own.

The extent to which communal services were impaired by these developments became apparent, during the course of the year, as the leading institutions issued their annual reports or came before the public with desperate appeals for assistance. Thus, in London, the Home for Aged Jews, obliged to draw upon its capital in order to meet the costs of evacuation, was threatened with the possibility of having to close its doors, while the Home of Rest — last refuge of the indigent dying — was respited only at the last moment by the generosity of a single well-wisher. Provincial synagogues especially were affected by the mass exodus. In Leeds (22,00 Jews), many of the smaller congregations, originally established by refugees from Russia and Poland in the '80s and '90s of last century, were faced with liquidation, while in Hull, the Old Hebrew Congregation (founded, 1826) reported difficulty in balancing its budget, and in Southport, a community of 700 was reduced to the level of a struggling minyan.

Especially serious was the plight of educational institutions, for the withdrawal of normal support now rendered them totally incapable of cooperating effectively in the new emergency. Thus, as early as August, 1940, the Talmud Torah Trust and the Jewish Religious Education Board, prime agencies for Jewish education in London, found themselves at the end of their resources, the latter body having even to consider the curtailment of pensions to retired teachers with over a quarter of a century of service.

Nevertheless, communal bodies did what they could to cope with the situation. The Joint Emergency Committee, set up shortly after the outbreak of war, arranged with the London County Council to have Jewish children evacuated from the metropolis in groups, so that a corporate life might be preserved and religious and educational facilities more easily organized. The Ort-Ose organization laid plans for the establishment of residential nurseries for infants throughout the country, opening the first such center in April, 1941 at Hemel Hempstead. The Order Achei B'rith and Shield of Abraham turned over its convalescent home at Shoyswell Manor, Etchingham, to the use of aged and
infirm evacuees, while at Exmouth (Devon) a hostel for adolescents was established by the Habonim youth movement. The United Synagogue, leading religious organization in London, loaned the services of one of its ministers to act as liaison officer with the Joint Emergency Committee and organize religious and educational life in the reception areas of the North West counties. The same body also devised a scheme whereby evacuees might enjoy its benefits under a system of group membership.

These measures were supplemented also by the efforts of local communities. In most of the larger provincial centers emergency committees sprang up to supervise the evacuation from the city and to make arrangements for refugees who poured in from London and other bombed areas.

Nevertheless, all of these efforts were but drops in the ocean. The plan devised by the United Synagogue failed to reach the majority of the evacuees, nor could it be of any great assistance to the large number of destitute persons unable to pay the required dues. Similarly, the scheme for evacuating Jewish children in groups failed of success, the disruption of family life producing more serious reactions than had been foreseen. Thus, of 10,000 children evacuated from London during the first ten months of the war, some 7,000 had trickled back by September, 1940. In the face of this situation, it became apparent that Jewish life in England could be saved only by a major effort based on a comprehensive and well-considered plan. Accordingly, in December, 1940, the Board of Deputies took the initiative in this direction by launching an appeal for £54,000 (about $220,000) to provide essential services during the coming year. The plan included the religious education of 12,000 evacuated children, the provision of 10 children’s hostels, 40 meeting places and kosher kitchens, and the supply of ministers and social workers in reception areas. The Board pointed out, in support of its appeal, that it was already supervising the education of 7,000 children in some 236 localities, that it was employing no less than 250 teachers and that it had set up 18 welfare centers throughout the country. Nevertheless, the response was disappointing. Despite the fact that the total amount
could readily have been met at a cost of 2 cents per week by head of the entire Jewish population, by the end of May, 1941 less than half the sum had been subscribed. It is difficult to say what was responsible for this apathy, but the fact that an appeal issued contemporaneously by the Jewish National Fund realized no less than £64,950 (about $260,000) within three months suggests, perhaps, that Jewish interest shifted, by the force of events, to the larger world scene, and that the prospect of securing a permanent future for oppressed Jewries in Palestine attracted greater support than the temporary alleviation of a local plight.

Disturbed at the slow progress of the Deputies' appeal and at the consequent threat to the Jewish life of the younger generation, leading educational authorities in the community convened a joint parley at Oxford, on February 2, 1941, to devise new methods for securing the instruction of evacuated children and to discuss means of raising the necessary funds. The general sense of the conference was that the only hope lay in a system of communal taxation, after the continental pattern. A ways and means committee was appointed to explore the practicability of the proposed scheme, but at the time of this writing no definite results have been achieved.

If these major efforts failed of success, there were nevertheless a number of encouraging signs that Anglo-Jewish life was not altogether on the decline. In several of the "evacu-areas" new communities grew up and flourished, while in others moribund congregations were revived by the newcomers. Prominent in this galvanizing movement was the case of Oxford, the bulk of whose Jewish population had previously consisted of under-graduates resident during term-time, but which now became the seat of a thriving community and the virtual capital of "English Jewry-in-Exile," thus regaining something of the status which it had held in pre-Expulsion times. Another of the ancient centers which sprang into new life was High Wycombe, while a similar development was noted also in the university town of Cambridge, and at Aylesbury, Northampton, Buxton, Letchworth, Windsor, Maidenhead, Reading, Stevenage, Torquay and Rhyl (Wales), as well as
in many other places. At Bedford, a special youth synagogue was established, and during the Feast of Tabernacles the first succah to be seen in the city for over 600 years was erected by evacuee children. Tokens such as these provided, perhaps, the single ray of sunlight in a lowering sky.

Religious Life

The upheaval of the war and the constant preoccupation of men and women with the issues of life and death produced a certain stirring of the religious impulse. Spiritual leaders of all denominations sought to give expression and direction to this feeling by issuing a recall to the churches. A similar movement on the Jewish side was inaugurated by the United Synagogue at a London conference on July 25, 1940, when Chief Rabbi Joseph H. Hertz, launching the campaign, described English-speaking Jewry as at present constituting "the mind, memory and heart" of Israel.

The tenacity with which religious observances were maintained, even under the trying conditions created by the air raids, was strikingly in evidence during the season of the high festivals in October. Nothing deterred by the havoc wrought to local synagogues, London rabbis and laymen promptly organized services in underground shelters. Thus, large congregations were said to have attended Yom Kippur devotions in the basement of Dickins and Jones' department store in Regent Street. It was found necessary, however, to modify the traditional order of things in certain cases. Atonement services, for instance, were rigorously curtailed. Children and elderly persons were advised by the Chief Rabbi to keep away from the synagogues in order to avoid added difficulties in the event of a raid, and the devotions ended without the traditional blowing of the shofer, since they were obliged to conclude before the evening's blackout and thus before the legal termination of the fast. At Passover time, the ecclesiastical

1 Cambridge has normally 60 Jews in a population of 76,000; Northampton has 74 in a population of 96,300, and Reading 100 in a population of 100,000. At Letchworth, there was a small synagogue and Talmud Torah; at Buxton there was only an informal minyan, and at Torquay the congregation met in a local hotel. The other places mentioned had little, if any, organized Jewish life.
authorities compromised with the emergency by allowing the consumption of certain canned products normally forbidden, while the government came to the aid of the observant by accommodating the rationing regulations to the needs of the occasion.

**Anti-Jewish Manifestations**

Common emergency and common peril knit together many elements previously remote, or even estranged, from one another. As London and provincial crowds herded together nightly in the densely packed shelters, and as men and women of all classes and races shared the hazards and dangers of the defense services, old-time prejudices and phobias swiftly disappeared and a new spirit of comradeship began to assert itself. Former Jew-baiters, compelled to admiration at the heroism and efficiency of Jewish firefighters, spotters, ambulance-men and shelter marshals, found it impossible to continue in the old groove. The few who did so soon discovered that the public mind was no longer receptive to their efforts. People who were being dug out of ruins by Jewish volunteers, succored by Jewish communal organizations or sharing rooftop vigils with Jewish comrades found the allegations of anti-Semites refuted before their eyes. Moreover, the increasing evidence from abroad, especially from France, that anti-Semitism was none too seldom a concomitant of political betrayal and fifth column activity had duly impressed itself upon the thought of the average Briton, while the wholesale detention, in July, 1940, of Sir Oswald Mosley's fascist minions and others of the same order had served to purge the hustings of Jew-baiting slogans and the atmosphere of a noxious poison.

Nevertheless, anti-Jewish agitation continued on a small scale throughout the period under review. In August, 1940, it was reported that an anti-war pamphlet written by Mosley, and featuring the usual diatribes against "crook politicians and Jew financiers" was still being distributed through the mails to addresses apparently selected at random from the telephone directory while, in September and October, following the blitz raids on London, fascists at-
tempted to exploit the emergency by charging Jews with causing congestion in the subway shelters, and by spreading the scare, naively supported by the presence of Jewish refugees from the East End, that "bombs follow Jews." Efforts were made by these elements to bar Jews from an underground refuge in the Whitechapel area and to stir up sentiment against them at the Morningside Crescent and Warren Street "tube" shelters,—stations which lie on the direct route to the largely Jewish quarters of Stoke Newington and Stamford Hill. Most of these efforts, however, proved abortive, thanks not only to public feeling, but also to the prompt action of air raid marshals and voluntary shelter committees. The same thing happened also in Manchester (33,000 Jews), where the ravages of Field Marshal Goering's air arm were followed by intensified campaigns on the part of local anti-Semites who defaced walls in the Blackley and Ardwick sections with scurrilous slogans. It was observed, significantly enough, that a great deal of this activity emanated from old-time fascists recently released from internment, and when this continued unabated as late as February, 1941, the *Jewish Chronicle* pertinently pointed out (Feb. 7) that Home Office policy might well demand their re-arrest, it being the government's view that intergroup incitement impeded the necessary unity of the war effort.

The scant success which attended the efforts of domestic anti-Semites did not prevent the launching of a similar campaign from an unexpected and particularly shameful quarter. A Polish weekly, which commenced publication in London on August 4, 1940, under the title of *Jestem Polakiem* (I am a Pole), and which professed to speak on behalf of the exiled Polish National Democrats, indulged in a series of vituperative attacks upon the Jews. Three weeks later, it was learned that the Board of Deputies had intervened with the British Government concerning its circulation, and on Nov. 21 the Polish-Government-in-Exile officially requested its suspension, withdrawing recognition when this was refused. Lacking this support, the paper fell upon bad times and announced, on February 9, 1941, that it would cease publication in its present form and yield place to a more moderate organ. A week later, however, to
the consternation of official circles, it re-appeared under the original editorship and with the same anti-Jewish policy. Attacks upon Jewish fellow-internees by Polish National Democrats had also been reported, at a previous date, from the Norwood detention center. A fuller discussion of the attitude of the Polish-Government-in-Exile, is given in the section on Poland, below.

Concern was likewise felt in Jewish and democratic circles by the publication in London, during April, 1941, of a new German emigre daily, entitled Die Zeitung (The Newspaper), for although not overtly anti-Semitic, this journal contained in one of its early issues an article by Ernst Johannsen, once counsel for the Nazi chief, Roehm, who, in 1932, had defended anti-Semitism in Germany on the strange grounds that "when cultured men . . . go so far as to describe the Nazis as a party of homosexuals, the Jews should not be surprised if simple men attribute to every Jew the basest motives."

A case of anti-Semitism from a somewhat higher quarter occurred in a Commons debate on December 5, 1940 when, retorting to a personal jibe hurled at her by Emanuel Shinwell, Laborite member for Seaham, Lady Nancy Astor, of Cliveden fame, tartly observed: "Nobody knows where your family comes from. Why don't they send you back to Poland?"

Toward Interfaith Amity

As an agreeable counterpart to anti-Semitic tendencies, there were, during the course of the year, several notable manifestations of interfaith amity, more truly reflecting the general mood and temper of the public. Thus, it was reported on November 24, 1940 that joint religious services, conducted by a Methodist and a Jewish minister, were being held regularly in a London suburban shelter, while ten days later came the news that the Jewish owners of a large furniture display room in the Kensington section of the capital had placed it at the disposal, for daily and Sunday services, of a Catholic congregation bombed out of its church. Commenting on the latter gesture, the Catholic newspaper Universe remarked significantly that "Jewish
munificence is being exercised not for the first time in London's history in favor of the Catholic community.” A similar spirit of interdenominational goodwill inspired the officers of the Brixton synagogue, itself damaged, to provide regular accommodation in the adjoining hall to a local Unitarian congregation whose church had been bombed, while at Cardiff (Wales), the Jewish Institute was thrown open to all on a non-sectarian basis.

These acts on the part of Jewish bodies were reciprocated in full measure by the Christian community. It was learned, for instance, in December, 1940, that when the Liberal Jewish synagogue was damaged in the raids, accommodation was immediately offered by the Middlesex Cricket Club which owns the famous Lords ground opposite the bombed building. Similarly, at Stokenchurch, near High Wycombe, Jewish New Year services were held in the church schools, at the invitation of the local pastor while, at Birmingham, Jewish child evacuees were housed in the Christadelphian Ecclesia and, at Maidenhead, the arrival of large numbers of Jews from the metropolis inspired the formation of a local interfaith Friendship Committee. Nor should mention be omitted of the noble work performed on behalf of Jewish interned refugees by the Society of Friends. Indeed, it was felt throughout the year that along with the breakdown of ancient prejudices there was emerging the positive achievement of closer rapprochement and better understanding between the various denominations.

War Effort

The contribution of Jews to the war effort, both on the home front and with the forces abroad, continued to be wholehearted and significant. It was revealed on March 14, 1941 by Dayan M. Gollop, Senior Jewish Chaplain, that the number of Jews serving in the army ran into tens of thousands, the exact figure being withheld for official reasons, while the gallantry of Jews in the civilian defense organizations earned continuous admiration throughout the year.

The heroism of Jewish officers in the epic withdrawal from Dunkirk was recognized in the award of the Distin-
guished Service Cross to Lieutenant Martin H. B. Solomon, and of the Military Cross to Captain J. Reynolds, while the courage and skill of Lieut. Raphael de Sola, a well-known member of the Sephardic community, in piloting a small craft across the English Channel in the same perilous evacuation, was rewarded by his subsequent appointment to command of a vessel in the Royal Navy.¹

Several Jews were decorated for gallant service with the R. A. F., the Distinguished Flying Cross being awarded to Pilot Officer Marcus Kramer, of London, and the Distinguished Flying Medal to Sergeant Observer Bernard Bardegga and Sergeant Michael Max Wiseman of London and Sergeant Mark Alfred Niman of Manchester. The Military Cross went to Second Lieutenant Viscount Erleigh, a son of the late Lord Reading, and the Military Medal to Leslie Ginsberg who distinguished himself for gallantry in the Middle East.

On the home front, the coveted George Cross, supreme civilian decoration, was awarded to two Jews in the persons of Harold Reginald Newgass (reported, March 14, 1941) and Raymond Lewin (reported, May 16, 1941), while Sector Warden Joseph Levy of Hampstead, London, received the British Empire Medal for bravery in extricating injured persons from a collapsing building. Other Jews also were decorated for conspicuous courage in air raid duty, and it was learned on Nov. 5, 1940 that five Jewish A. R. P. wardens in the London area had lost their lives while manning their posts during the September and October attacks.²

Refugees released from internment also contributed actively to the war effort. It was reported on January 31, 1941 that some 4,200 of them (not all Jews) had joined the Pioneer Corps.

Efforts, sponsored especially by Zionist circles, to organize a separate Jewish army were consistently discouraged by the government. Thus, when the suggestion was mooted in Commons during a debate on the Armed Forces Bill, on August 21, 1940, the official reply by War Under-secretary Sir Edward Grigg was that since Jews do not

¹ Lieut. de Sola is believed to be the only Jew occupying such a position.
² See also list of Appointments, Honors and Elections, post.
possess a military system, those desiring to play a part in the war must needs do so in some other military organization. Nor did the government abandon this point of view in the face of intensified appeals by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and other Jewish leaders, as well as by liberal sections of the British press. Although it was reported, on November 17, 1940, that important negotiations on the subject were taking place between Prime Minister Churchill and the Zionist spokesmen, nothing definite transpired, and the suspicion was entertained in many quarters that the government was reluctant to furnish Jews with a possible means of backing specific claims after the war.

There was another way also in which Jews participated in the national effort, several communal bodies loaning money to the government free of interest. Among such contributions may be mentioned those of the Order Achei B’rith (reported, August 30, 1940), the Workers Circle (Aug. 2), the Teesdale Street Synagogue, London (Aug. 2), the Hull Hebrew Congregation and a Jewish provident society in Manchester (Sept. 6).

Refugees

The situation of Jewish refugees continued to be acute, despite progressive alleviation during the course of the year. In the panic following the invasion of France, orders had been given, on May 16, 1940, for the detention of all male aliens between the ages of 16 and 60 who belonged to the “B” class, that is, persons permitted restricted freedom, and eleven days later women also were arrested, while on June 10 the age limit for men was raised to 70. Persons in the “C” category of “friendly” and unrestricted foreigners were also rounded up. The results of these measures, inspired mainly by hysteria in military circles, became apparent on July 7 when it was announced in Commons that no less than 21,000 aliens had been interned. This was followed, on August 14, by the further announcement that some 9,120, believed potentially dangerous, had been deported overseas. Meanwhile, however, a storm of protest arose, as it became clear to the public that many of those detained were avowed anti-Nazis and men of
distinction anxious and able to assist in the war effort. In searing letters to the press, prominent personalities in the national life, including Viscount Cecil, Sir Norman Angell and H. G. Wells, scored the shortsightedness and brutality of the official policy, sharply criticizing the logic of a government which professed to be defending human liberty, yet at the same time treated with such harshness the victims of oppression.

In the face of this opposition, the government was obliged to modify its policy toward refugees, and a White Paper of July 31 prescribed 18 categories upon which release from internment might be claimed and exempted. Even these concessions, however, did not allay the popular indignation. On August 22, following further protests, the government was obliged to reduce the age limit to 65 and to order the review of all internees belonging to the "B" category. Yet still the public clamored for radical revision of the entire system, particularly when it was learned on October 10 that under the amended regulations only 4,600 persons had thus far been freed. Accordingly, on October 21 an order was issued providing for the release of professional men whose credentials were approved by committees drawn from representatives of the Royal Academy, the PEN Club and similar bodies, as well as of students endorsed by the chancellors or principals of universities and of all persons resident in the country for 20 years and whose loyalty could be attested. It was announced also, on the same day, that many of the internment camps in which unsatisfactory conditions had led to public outcry, were to be closed, 85% of the internees being transferred to the Isle of Man. Nevertheless, public pressure continued and on November 26 further changes were introduced, all well-known anti-Nazis and aliens long resident in Great Britain being entitled to release. Still, however, the public was not satisfied, nor was its angry mood greatly tempered by the announcement, on January 22, 1941, that with all the concessions, 7,000 men and 3,000 women still remained in the camps, besides some 6,000 sent abroad. Conditions in several centers, especially that at Huyton, near Liverpool, where "Nazis and Ashke-nazis" were indiscriminately herded together, also aroused popular
reaction. On March 7, 1941, the government finally closed the Huyton camp, sending the Nazis to Scotland and the others to the Isle of Man. As of April 16, 1941, some 13,500 internees had been released. The extent to which these releases benefited the British war effort was evidenced in the tribute paid in Commons, on March 27, to the contribution of refugee scientists, the speaker being none other than the Parliamentary Secretary of Aircraft Production. A similar statement was made in the Lords on April 2 by Lord Hankey.

On the other hand, while the government pursued an avowedly narrow policy in the matter of internment, it showed an appreciation of the increased difficulties of the refugee situation under wartime conditions by doubling its monthly grants to the Central Committee for Refugees, an allocation of £375,000 until March, 1941 being made on October 25. The previous amount was £27,000 per month.

The Dominions

Wartime difficulties of communication curtailed and delayed receipt of news from the Dominions and other outlying portions of the British Commonwealth.

Canada*

Dispatches from Canada were concerned mainly with the contribution of Jews to the war effort and with problems arising from the internment of aliens deported from Britain.

It was revealed on November 18, 1940 that a considerable number of Canadian Jews were currently serving with the army. The outstanding Canadian Jewish war hero is the late Flying Officer William Henry Nelson of Montreal, who was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for his exploits at Stavager and Sylt in the Norwegian campaign. He was lost in May, 1941 in a bombing expedition over Germany. A number of other young Canadian Jews have lost their

*With the assistance of Samuel H. Abramson, Executive Secretary, Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Division, Toronto, Ontario.
lives in active service on both the Western and Eastern fronts.

On the civilian front Jewish cooperation was no less significant. Thus, to cite but a few examples, a report of October 1 disclosed that $250,000, or one-fourth of the total amount subscribed, had been donated to the National Research Council for War Inventions, by Samuel Bronfman, President of the Canadian Jewish Congress, while a week later it was announced by the national Hadassah that a hospital for British troops in the Middle East had been established under its auspices at Nahalal, Palestine, and a thirty-bed ward endowed in an institution in England.

Although Canadian Jewry has contributed generously to all patriotic appeals and taken active part in all drives and campaigns, it was felt that the Canadian Jewish community, through its representative organization, the Canadian Jewish Congress, should undertake some specifically Jewish contribution to the national war effort. As a result the Canadian Jewish Congress launched a national program for the furnishing of messes and recreation rooms in the Canadian army with the approval of the Department of National Defense. Since the inauguration of this program most of the units of the Canadian army have been supplied with recreational furniture and equipment. This program has contributed greatly to the comfort and morale of the troops, and has been given high praise by the military authorities. In addition, the National Council of Jewish Women has erected and stocked a library at Camp Borden and has been helpful to the war effort in other directions.

The Canadian Jewish Congress is recognized by the Canadian government as the official Jewish auxiliary war service agency. A large part of the Jewish war effort is stimulated and co-ordinated by this organization, which is compiling a War Diary to record the contributions of Canadian Jewry to the national war effort. Rabbi S. Gershon Levi of Montreal, was appointed first Jewish chaplain to the Canadian armed forces early in 1941, to meet the needs of the growing number of Jews in Canada's armies. Up to that time Jewish services at the various military camps had been arranged by the War Efforts Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress, which looks after
the welfare of the Jewish soldiers and sailors. With the appointment of Captain Levi, welfare work among Jewish soldiers took on broader aspects and the whole program was enlarged.

Resolutions pledging maximum support to the Allied cause were adopted on August 20, 1940 by the second annual convention of the Mizrachi Organization; on October 26, 1940 by the Canadian Jewish Congress, at a regional conference in Toronto; and on January 19, 1941 at the annual gathering of Canadian Zionists, held in Montreal. The Zionists also requested greater assurances to the Jewish national cause in a post-war settlement.

The internment situation has undergone a radical change. After lengthy negotiations by the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies, the status of all internees was changed from that of prisoner of war to that of refugees. Military discipline was removed, welfare officers were appointed, enlarged educational facilities were provided and visitors were allowed. A large group of internees returned to England in June, 1941, to join the Pioneer Corps and enter war industries. Arrangements were made for the release of young men under 21 years of age as students in Canada, and qualified craftsmen were permitted to enter war industries. These arrangements were carried out gradually as sponsors and employment were found.

Although the influx of refugees decreased during the year owing to war conditions and the shortage of transportation, a number of refugees entered the country, a large part of whom settled on farms. In addition a considerable number of British war guests, mothers and children, entered Canada. These are cared for by the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies.

Union of South Africa

From South Africa came news of staunch Jewish support of the war effort. Lists compiled by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies revealed, on January 1, 1941, that 7,000 Jews were currently serving with the colours, and that although Jews constitute but 4.75% of the South
African white population, they had furnished between 9.0% and 10.0% of the total enlistment. The figures for individual cities, made public during 1940, were likewise impressive. Thus, in Durban, where the Jewish percentage is only 0.13%, Jews accounted for 8.0% of the volunteers, and in Capetown, where they constitute 6.4% of the population, they supplied some 9.0% of the recruits. In Johannesburg, a survey of 392 Jewish firms revealed that 53.3% of eligible employees had joined the army. Tribute was paid to the ready response of Jews in a message addressed by Premier Jan C. Smuts, on May 22, 1941, to the South African Zionist Conference. "In the years following the War," he said significantly, "it will be remembered that the Jews neither failed nor faltered in supporting the Allies."

A number of Jews were appointed to important positions with the forces. Colonel F. B. Adler was named Director of Artillery Training; Colonel S. C. Hart was made Second in Command of the 6th Light Infantry Brigade, and Colonel D. Howich became Medical Inspector for Recruits.

South African Jews also figured among those decorated for gallantry on the Western Front. Among those who received the Distinguished Flying Cross for service with the R.A.F. were Sergeant Chaplin, and Flying Officer Brian van Mentz of Johannesburg, while the Distinguished Flying Medal was awarded to Sergeant Jocelyn Friendly.

On the civilian front also Jews distinguished themselves by their unstinted support of the war effort. Thus, to mention but two instances, it was reported on July 18, 1940 that £10,000 (about $45,000) had been donated to the National War Fund by the firm of Landau Brothers, noted philanthropists, of Johannesburg, while a week later it was learned that Durban's small Jewish community of 1,291 souls, had raised £14,000 (about $63,000) toward the same enterprise.

Despite this evidence of Jewish loyalty, however, anti-British elements, in their efforts to make the war unpopular, agitated against Jews, on the alleged ground that they had fomented the war. This agitation was not without effect. Jew-baiting posters, distributed mainly by the Nationalist Party, made their appearance, in July, 1940, at Pretoria,
and two months later the synagogue and Talmud Torah at Paarl, Cape Colony, were defaced by swastikas and the windows of Jewish-owned stores smashed at Bethlehem, Orange Free State. Similar outrages were perpetrated also at Krugersdorp, where the Nazi symbol was painted on Jewish tombstones and, at Vredefort, where business premises of Jews were likewise disfigured. Nor was the agitation confined to such crude excesses. Anti-Semitic observations were a feature of the speeches delivered by Messrs. J. F. T. Naude, J. G. Strydom and E. H. Louwe, — all of them notorious Jew-baiters, — during the Parliamentary debate on peace at the beginning of September, 1940, while the last-named introduced the same note in public addresses throughout the country. Economic discrimination was also attempted, the Ossewa Brandwag group at Paleisheuwel adopting a resolution, in October, forbidding its members to trade with Jews. On December 30, 1940, Jews were barred, at a Transvaal Congress, from the Hevenigde (Reunited Nationalist Party).

On the other hand, anti-Semitism lost two of its principal exponents in the internment (reported, June 13, 1940) of the notorious H. H. Beamish, and in the death, in an automobile accident on December 20, of General Marie Maritz, organizer of the fascist Afrikaner Volk Party.

There were several interesting developments in Jewish communal life. Chief Rabbi Judah L. Landau announced, in August, 1940, his inability to continue in the active pursuit of his duties. In December, a joint appeal for funds was launched by the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Zionist Federation, the former body undertaking to use its share of the receipts for the relief of dependents of Jewish volunteers. A month later, it was announced that a central archive of South African Jewry was to be organized under the auspices of a revived Jewish Historical Society. Sociological surveys, it was learned, had already been conducted in the Cape Province by Messrs. Dwolatzky and Ovedoff, members of the Board of Deputies, and these were to be continued in other areas of the Union.

From Northern Rhodesia came the intriguing report, on January 27, 1941, that a central organization for the scattered Jewish communities in the Copperbelt towns was to
be formed with the cooperation of the Board of Deputies. The nucleus of the organization is at present constituted by the five centers of N'Kana, N'Dola, Mufilira, Luanshya and N'Changa. In the whole of Northern Rhodesia there are, however, only 426 Jews in a total population of 1,367,000.

Australia

There was little news from Australia. Such dispatches as came in told mostly of internment conditions of deported refugees. Complaints were launched by the Agudah organization, on November 12, that Nazis and anti-Nazis were being herded together in the camps, and in February, 1941 the government announced that Major Layton, a Home Office expert, would be despatched to Australia to investigate the situation. A week later, however, the effect of this announcement was largely destroyed by a report that deportees aboard the S. S. Dunera had been unscrupulously robbed by members of the crew.

Local efforts to relieve the plight of internees included provision by the University of Sydney of recognition, for matriculation purposes, of a school organized for young persons in one of the camps, and the organization, in another, of a popular university for students between 14 and 17 years of age. On March 6, 1941, the government ordered the release of all internees holding visas for the United States.

Australian Jewry's participation in the war effort included the presentation by the Sydney Community (11,000 Jews), on December 6, 1940, of an Anzac Buffet and Sir John Monash Recreation Hut for the use of the troops. Some 350,000 free meals were reported to have been served there during the first week of its operation.

Of especial interest was the report, on March 13, 1941, that, during a London interview with Sir Robert Waley Cohen, President of the United Synagogue and prominent communal leader, Federal Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies had endorsed the plan of the Freeland League to develop a tract in the Kimberley area for Jewish settlement.
II. FRANCE

By Martha Jelenko*

“Unoccupied” France

The collapse of France on June 12, 1940, as swift as it was unexpected, will long remain an unsurpassed example of national tragedy and a bitter memory for French Jewry. This classical country of liberalism, whose historic Revolution ushered in a day of deliverance for the oppressed and which, in 1791, was the first European country to grant political, civil, and religious equality to all inhabitants, thus introducing an era of emancipation in other lands, has discarded her traditional motto of “Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.”

The political system of the Third Republic, established in 1870, was liquidated and with it, at least temporarily, its postulates of enlightenment. Since the publication of the terms of the armistice with Germany, it has become clear that besides the clauses which were made public, there were additional terms which remained secret until they were disclosed by overt acts of the Pétain régime. It is probable that among these unpublished provisions was an understanding that the Jews of France were to be reduced to the same inferior status as that which was already the lot of their brethren in Germany, Austria, Bohemia-Moravia, and Nazi Poland. Apparently, this form of “collaboration” with Germany was not entirely distasteful to the new masters of “unoccupied” France, for it was not very long before, by a series of legislative measures, French Jewry, numbering approximately 250,000 souls, as well as 320,000 Jews in the French Colonial Empire (Morocco, 150,000; Algeria, 110,000; Tunisia, 60,000) were relegated to an inferior status. Indeed, this eagerness to demonstrate willingness to “collaborate” with the enemy in an area involving a defenseless minority whose patriotism had never been justly impugned, reached a climax on October 18, 1940, when for the first time in the modern history of France, the Pétain Government placed on the statute book of the

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country two decrees, marking the legal introduction of racism in France.

The signal for an intensive attack upon Jews was given on August 26, when the Council of Ministers repealed the law of April 21, 1939, forbidding press attacks against people because of their race or religion. This law, decreed by the Daladier Government, was designed principally to prevent attacks on Jews by a number of Rightist publications. And two days later, the government decreed full amnesty to all persons convicted under the racial defamation law. Immediately, the French press began editorial attacks on Jews. Declaring that manifestations of a “spontaneous expression of popular indignation” against Jews had taken place in several places, including Nice, Cannes, Marseille, Toulouse and Lyons, the newspaper Le Mémorial, published under State control at St. Etienne, stated that the press “must have liberty to denounce the nefarious action of Jews.” It demanded that “all those who represent peril for the nation must be placed in a position where they cannot harm the State.” Before the war, it charged, Jews “invaded” all walks of French life and agitated for a “holy war against anti-Semitic Germany... Now that defeat has stricken us, the anger of the French people is rising against Israel.” The motives for the abrogation of the law were more disingenuously described by the new French Ambassador, Gaston Henri-Haye, upon his arrival in the United States on September 6, 1940. He averred that the law was cancelled because it gave special privileges to Jews, and now every group was on the same level.

The drive for the elimination of French Jewry from public life reached a peak on October 18, 1940, when the Journal Officiel published the “Statute for Israelites,” designed to “re-group French forces of long hereditary and fixed characteristics.” According to the official commentary, the law endeavors “to prevent the Jews from assuming certain social functions of authority, management and formation of intelligence, experience having proved... that Jews exercise these with individualistic tendency up to a point of anarchy.” Therefore, Jews are absolutely prohibited, without reservations of any kind, to be directors or editors of any newspapers, reviews, news agencies or
periodicals, with the exception of strictly scientific publica-
tions. Nothing is said in the law concerning the book
publishing business, in which French Jews have been par-
ticularly successful.

This complete ban also applies to the posts of directors,
scenario writers and administrators of all enterprises en-
gaged in the motion picture or radio industries.

Access to all public offices except those in the higher
brackets, will be open to Jews who fought in the World
War or who were cited for bravery in the 1939–40 conflict.
Exempt are also Jews with Legion of Honor decorations
received for military reasons and those who wear the
Military Medal. Jewish civil servants affected by the law
will have two months from the time of promulgation of
the law to resign their posts.

The law defines as a Jew any person with three Jewish
grandparents, or persons with two Jewish grandparents,
if they are married to Jews. About 500,000 part-Jewish
citizens will not be affected.

Drastic as this law is, it still falls short of Nazi Germany's
Nuremberg Laws. Jews will retain their citizenship and
will not be reduced to mere “subjects.” It does not deprive
them of their suffrage, nor close the liberal professions
entirely to them.

A hint of the possible introduction of ghettos is con-
tained in a second statute promulgated at the same time.
According to this decree, foreign Jews are liable at any
time to be interned in special concentration camps by
decision of the prefect of the department in which they
reside. The organization and administration of these camps
is entrusted to a committee of three state officials under the
jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior. Foreign Jews may
be assigned “forced residence” by the prefect at any time.

The anti-Jewish legislation was defended by Foreign
Minister Paul Baudoin in an interview with American
newspapermen in Vichy, the Herald Tribune reported on
October 23. His government, he stated, had handled the
Jewish question “not as a race problem but as a problem
of national security,” and France had been forced to remove
Jews from posts of command and from the teaching pro-
profession because they formed "a spiritual community distinct from the community of France."

The law of October 18, 1940, was extended on November 3, banning all Jews without exception from the permanent French army and from the Sûreté Nationale, the State Police Corps.

As a preliminary to the tightening of the enforcement of the anti-Jewish decrees, the establishment of a special General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was decided upon by the Cabinet on March 8. Three weeks later, on March 29, the government appointed Xavier Vallat, a lawyer and member of the extreme Right in the old Parliament, as Commissioner General, assigned with the application of the existing laws and decrees, as well as with drafting and proposing to the Cabinet new legislation. His duties, according to the text of the law, also include "fixing the date of liquidation of Jewish property in cases where such liquidation is prescribed by law," and appointing receivers and controlling their activities.

Vallat, the man entrusted with the fate of the Jews, is an anti-Semite of old standing and notorious since the days of the first Blum government in 1936, when, on June 6 of that year, in a diatribe before the Chamber of Deputies, he attacked the Popular Front leader because of his Jewish origin.

Further discriminations against Jews are contained in a law promulgated on June 14, 1941, which is applicable not only in France, but throughout the Empire, including territories under mandate. It replaces previous legislation which, compared with it, were marked by a measure of liberalism. Vallat, who spent much time in Paris for the purpose of studying the laws regarding Jews in all parts of the "New Europe," declared that he had drafted this law "for the solution of the Jewish problem."

Under this decree, most professions are barred to all Jews, including all public offices and many private ones, — all liberal, commercial or industrial professions, banking, stockbroking, advertising agencies, real estate or money-lending, every branch of newspaper work, from publisher to small-town correspondent except scientific and religious journals — every branch of cinema and theatrical indus-
tries and radio, except actors and announcers. The ratio of Jewish physicians and lawyers permitted to practice is fixed at 2% of the total, with preference given to war veterans. A *numerus clausus* at the institutes of higher learning is also established. The number of Jewish students admitted in each school year must not exceed 3% of the total of non-Jewish students matriculated. Vallat declared that exemptions would be granted only to orphans and widows of Jewish war dead, persons decorated with the Legion of Honor or those otherwise decorated for bravery, and students of high scholastic standing. Neither does the law apply to children of Jewish families who have been in France for five generations and have rendered special service to the nation, thus having "proved their attachment to France."

A comparison of the new statute with the previous law of October 18, 1940, which it annuls, shows that the principal difference is in the list of professions barred to Jews. The old law, for instance, made no mention of "commercial professions" — a category capable of very wide interpretation — nor of banking, advertising, real estate and the like. This law, however, bars Jews from acquiring buildings and business firms, and bans them from "professions based on ideas and speculations which, dishonestly carried out, would permit a rapid increase of fortunes." Heavy penalties are set for violations of the new statutes.

The new measure has yet to be completed by decrees and ordinances, regulating a number of details regarding the "conditions of application." In order to implement all these sweeping decrees, the Cabinet, on June 15, ordered a census of all foreign and native Jews, requiring them to register not later than July 12 and to make a written declaration of their "race," religion, family connections, professions and possessions, including cash. Failure to register will be punished by imprisonment, fine or commitment to a concentration camp.

The execution of this decree resulted in mass dismissals which were especially harmful to the field of higher scientific research. Therefore, the government appointed a special committee to discover Jewish officials with "outstanding merits" to be exempted from discharge under this law, it
was reported on December 26. This measure became necessary because the Jews affected were reluctant to make voluntary applications in which they would be required to stress their own merits.

One of the first distinguished men to whom exemption from the law was offered, was the world famous philosopher and 1927 Nobel prize winner for literature, Henri Bergson, who, however, on December 8 — shortly before his death on January 4 — declined exemption and resigned his honorary chair at the Collège de France, the highest French research institution. Others who did accept were: General Darius Bloch, chief of the armament and technical research section of the General Staff, exempted by special decree issued on December 13; Commander Pierre Salomon Isaac Brisac, described by authorities as “one of the best French officers," whose specialty is chemical warfare, exempted by decree of January 5, 1941 upon intervention of War Minister, General Charles Huntzinger; Jacques Rueff (decree of January 24), vice-governor of the Bank of France who had rendered distinguished services to French political economy and, in addition, had an exceptionally fine record as soldier in the World War; Professor Paul Lévy (decree of March 14) of the Ecole Politechnique and the National School of Mines, who had received two awards from the Academy of Science for his mathematical works; and Raymond Berr (decree of April 19), mining engineer who had rendered outstanding services in the field of agricultural chemistry, especially in connection with artificial fertilizer.

**Economic Destruction**

The legal abolition of equality was accompanied by rapidly developing plans for the swift seizure of everything of value possessed by Jews. On the pretext that they fled abroad at the time of France's collapse, the entire movable and immovable property of fourteen prominent Jews was confiscated by a decree of September 8, 1940. They were Barons Edouard, Robert, Henri, Philippe, and Senator Maurice de Rothschild (the latter's art collection alone was valued at 350,000,000 francs, or about $10,000,000 at pre-war rates); David Weill, philanthropist and art patron;
Deputy Edouard Jonas, art dealer and antiquarian; Maurice and Leon Stern, bankers; Elie J. Bois, former editorial writer of the newspaper *Le Petit Parisien*; Louis Dreyfus, former senator; Louis Rosengart, producer of France’s “baby Ford” automobiles; M. Levitan, the country’s biggest manufacturer of furniture and radios; and M. Solenski, the country’s biggest hat-maker. It was estimated that the confiscations yielded some 825,000,000 francs (about $19,640,000).

Meanwhile it was decided to place a number of administrators in charge of Jewish-owned factories and enterprises, an act which was tantamount to “Aryanization.” The latest list of 256 such enterprises, published in the *Journal Officiel* on May 15, 1941, discloses that a total of 2,560 enterprises have been expropriated.

In a desire to purge all professions of “unworthy elements” even if they are “Frenchmen of ancient stock,” as decided by the Council of Ministers on September 12, 1940, and particularly as a result of the anti-Jewish statute, 77 Jewish officials were dismissed on December 18 from the Ministry of Justice. Among them were 11 public prosecutors, 28 judges, 4 coroners, 30 justices of the peace, 2 colonial judges and 2 other members of the legal staff. However, significant for the real attitude of the French people on the one hand, and for the obvious merit of those discharged on the other, is the fact that sixteen of these men were appointed honorary officials the day following their dismissal. In general, however, the elimination of Jews from French public life went on undiminished. Thus, in December, more than 250 Jews were barred from practicing law, and about 1,500 were discharged from the educational system; on January 27, 1941, the Ministry of Communications dismissed 149 Jewish employes, and 85 high officials in the Treasury Department experienced the same fate on April 8. In addition to the aforementioned, 28 Jewish judges and attorneys-general were retired on March 19 when Minister of Justice Joseph Barthelemy started a far-reaching shake-up of the French judiciary. On May 16, it was announced that licenses to practice in France had been withdrawn from all but 200 of the first 1,000 foreign physicians and druggists whose cases thus far had been
examined by a special technical commission; more than 3,000 additional cases were still to be examined. The 200 who were permitted to continue to practice were those able to show fulfillment of military obligations or contributions to "the renown of French science," in accordance with a decree issued on August 19, 1940, whereunder all aliens, except scientific celebrities and war veterans, were barred from practicing as physicians, dentists, and pharmacists in France and her colonies.

Expatriation

The protection of French citizenship, previously accorded to all the aliens who had joined the army, was formally withdrawn on July 14, 1940. The first group of 500 naturalized citizens, of whom 223 were Jews, were deprived of citizenship by decision of the Commission for Revision of Naturalization, according to an official communique on November 4, which added that those who had good grounds for acquiring French citizenship need not worry about revision of naturalization. The announcement characterized those on the list as persons who had brought over their customs from the ghettos of Central Europe or had changed their nationality three or four times, or owed their naturalization to "special favor." It further asserted that the "racial temperament" of these people was so un-French that they could not be integrated.

Unless their citizenship is restored upon appeal, which is possible under the law, all those affected become stateless, with all the consequences of such status, including liability to internment in camps if they are considered "a burden to the national economy."

Prosecutions

Following the capitulation to Germany, several political leaders were placed under "administrative detention," by order of the Ministry of the Interior. Among them were Georges Mandel, a convert to the Catholic faith, once rated as one of the strongest men in France because of his control of the State police when Interior Minister; Léon Blum, the former Premier and leader of the Popular Front;
Abraham Schrameck, former Governor of Madagascar; and Jean Zay, Radical Socialist Deputy and former National Education Minister. These men are among those charged with a share of the responsibility for the events leading up to France’s entry into the war and the subsequent disaster. The trial against all of those imprisoned is still pending, except in the case of Zay, who was sentenced on October 6 to permanent exile and degradation. A military court found him guilty of desertion in the presence of the enemy, although the defense maintained he had gone to Morocco with other French leaders under official instruction.

Meanwhile some of the internees were released by order of the government. Among them were the following Jews: Paul-Louis Weiller, former head of the Gnome-et-Rhone airplane motor works; Marcel Bloch, foremost airplane construction expert; Jules Moch, Socialist leader and former Secretary-General of the Blum Cabinet; Salomon Grumbach, well-known Socialist deputy. Dr. Julius Brutzkus, 70-year-old head of the world Ose, Jewish health protection society; Solomon Dyk, noted agricultural expert who visited Madagascar three years ago as member of a Polish Government survey commission; and Israel Coralnik, general secretary of the World Ort Union, Jewish vocational retraining society, were also released after a short detention, together with other social workers.

Opposition to Nazi Anti-Semitism

It was almost unanimously assumed that the nascent French Fascism had emerged from a synthesis of external forces and internal tendencies. In the light of the previous records of the personnel of the new regime, this explanation would seem entirely plausible. Vichy, however, is in no sense the source of the new totalitarianism. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that if the German threat and pressure were removed from France, the Pétain Government could not stand. For the spirit in which France has accepted her new government has been one of tragic necessity.

In October, 1940, the Swiss Basler Nachrichten reported that the anti-Jewish laws had been greeted with distaste by the French people generally, who regard it as contrary
to the spirit of the Constitution. The whole French press, it declared, showed its disgust by refraining from comment, the only exception being the anti-Semitic Action Française, which demanded even stronger measures. Moreover, the pro-Fascist policy of Laval and the anti-Jewish legislation produced intense indignation in French labor circles. At a secret Socialist conference, held early in November at a point not disclosed, which was attended by 85 representatives from both occupied and “unoccupied” France, strong resolutions were adopted condemning the Vichy policy and the arrest of Léon Blum and other labor leaders. It was also decided to make every effort to continue the activities of the French Socialist Party. The resolutions were secretly spread among the workers who showed every inclination to answer the call of their leaders to build up a strong organization in opposition to the puppet government.

Noteworthy was the first press comment on the Jewish statute in October, 1940, just ten days prior to its promulgation, by Colonel François de la Rocque, Rightist leader, in the newspaper Le Petit Journal. He scored complaints against the alleged “invasion” of certain professions by Jews and demanded that “fully assimilated” Jews be not treated with discrimination since they belong to “one big family of citizens.” While expressing approval of the recently ordered naturalization revision, de la Rocque added that only those who violated French laws and traditions should lose their citizenship.

Also significant was the suspension for a month, by an order of May 26, 1941, of the important Catholic weekly, Les Temps Nouveaux, because it had published a vigorous protest against the exhibition in France of the Nazi anti-Semitic film “Jew Süß.” The paper termed the picture “stupid, un-Christian and un-French,” demanded its suppression and concluded, “Lord! What stupidity! But stupidity may be contagious!”

Jewish Communal Life

In line with the new orientation given youth education in France, Jewish organizations were asked to collaborate with official bodies in this field of activity, it was reported
on August 19, 1940. Thus, the Jewish scout organization, Eclaireurs Israélites, was entrusted by the Ministry for Youth and Family with the entire work of physical education of young Jews. With the approval of the Ministry, this education will consist of outdoor activities, including agricultural and handicraft training. Also, representatives of Jewish organizations were invited to sit on the Council of Youth Organizations along with representatives of Catholic and Protestant bodies. However, early in September, it was stated that the Ort and the Ose, which had carried on relief and reconstruction work, had been refused permission to continue their activity at Vichy. The Ort officials temporarily moved to Marseille. Other Jewish bodies, including the Consistoire Israélite, also had to leave Vichy.

The Ort drafted plans to aid 20,000 Jews in “unoccupied” France at an estimated cost of $100,000 up to the end of the year. The activities are to lay stress on developing farm work. In addition, credits were to be extended to artisans for the purchase of tools and raw materials, as well as workshops established to train apprentices. Courses were given at the Ort school in Paris, established by Baron Ginsbourg. The Ose was able to evacuate refugee children in settlements in the occupied areas to “unoccupied” France. The organization was in charge of 1,300 children, of whom 300 had come from Germany before the war. It also managed to feed many thousands of other refugee children from the occupied zone. The Vichy Government also sanctioned the reestablishment of the Agudath Israel, with headquarters in Marseille and branches in other important cities, it was learned on June 2, 1941. Matthieu Muller, its chairman, recently collected 5,000 Hebrew books and ritual objects in Switzerland for the distribution in the Gurs and Les Milles internment camps. A conference of rabbis held at Lyons on September 13, with Grand Rabbi Issaye Schwartz presiding, discussed the problems of restoring religious life and reorganizing Jewish communities.

In mid-June, the number of Jews held under arrest in occupied and “unoccupied” France was reported to have been more than 12,000, of whom 5,000 were in internment and labor camps. Besides these, the growing number of
destitute Jews, mostly former officials and teachers ousted from their posts under the anti-Jewish legislation, is causing concern in Jewish circles. To cope with the situation, a special committee was organized to help needy intellectuals. Dr. H. Olmer, a Marseille physician of fame, is chairman of the committee which launched a fund-raising campaign among Jews.

On June 20, it was announced that Georges Leven, the head of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, died at the age of 73.

Colonies and Territories

By the decree of October 8, depriving the 110,000 Jews in Algeria of their French citizenship, the Vichy Government has put the clock back exactly 70 years. It was in October, 1870 that the celebrated Crémieux Decree was published, granting French nationality, including franchise, to the Jews of Algeria as a body and, while abolishing the conception of a Jewish nationality, permitting the existence of Judaism as a religion recognized by the State. Since the promulgation of the Vichy decree, Algerian Jews may acquire French citizenship only by means of individual application, thus reverting to their pre-Crémieux status. The civil rights and duties of the Jews, including marriage and divorce, will be governed by French laws. Exceptions are made in favor of those Algerian Jews who received the Legion of Honor decoration or the Croix de Guerre or Military Medal for military services during the war of 1914–18, or during the present conflict. These shall retain their French citizenship.

As overture to this decree, French Axis agents, under the guise of an Armistice Commission, stirred up serious unrest among natives, starting anti-Jewish demonstrations which, however, became anti-French as well. Heavy rioting in the Jewish quarters and pillaging of Jewish shops in Algeria occurred; the plunderers "acted according to a concerted plan," as claimed by the Paris Figaro of September 15. Jews could not defend themselves because, according to a decree of June 9, Algerian Jews were forbidden to possess arms.
An appeal to the populace to remain calm was broadcast by Admiral Jean Marie Abrial, Governor General of Algeria. He announced that he would maintain order and would not tolerate acts of violence.

The anti-Jewish excesses were encouraged by the Governor General himself when, on October 16, 1940, in compliance with an order of the then Vice-Premier Laval, he lifted the censorship on anti-Jewish articles in the newspapers.

While important French newspapers refrained from comment on the abrogation of the Cremieux Decree, the Catholic La Croix held that the step was intended to appease Moslem claims in North Africa. Le Matin termed the measure an "historic act" and said it "will go far" to solve the Algerian problem by removing the inequality between Jews and Arabs. The Royalist Action Francaise even said that "the scandal which lasted 70 years has ceased." It also suggested the confiscation of Jewish "nomad and anonymous" riches for distribution among the peasants.

The anti-Jewish statute of October 18, decreed in Vichy, was gradually extended to all French colonies, as well as to the mandated territory of Syria. In accordance with its terms, 326 Jews were dismissed from the Algerian postal service, it was officially announced on April 13, 1941.

Jews in French Morocco were gravely concerned at the anti-Semitic agitation conducted among the Arabs by French Quislings and numerous Nazi "tourists." All Jewish stores in Casablanca were wrecked and the police made no attempt to interfere with the looters. French officers, giving cheers for Pétain, attacked the Jews, using weapons in their assault. In addition to all this, the Voix Francaise in Casablanca repeatedly urged labor conscription for, and the expulsion of, Jewish refugees.

In Tunisia, too, Arab-Jewish clashes, instigated by Nazi agents, have taken place, resulting in many casualties among the Jewish population. Jews were accused of cooperation with Britain and the Free French forces of General Charles de Gaulle.
Jews in Syria and the Lebanon, some of them highly placed government and state officials, have been dismissed from their posts, from the press and also from the railways. Most of the persons affected belong to families which have lived in these regions for hundreds of years, and have become almost completely assimilated among the Arabs. It is noteworthy that the dismissals have caused deep resentment among the Moslem and Christian colleagues of these officials. The Mufti of Beirut and Monsignor Arida, the Maronite Patriarch, submitted a memorandum of protest to the French authorities against the discharge of “nos collaborateurs Juifs.”

Admiral Jean Decoux, Governor of French Indo-China, on October 30, ordered the registration of all Jewish commercial undertakings and the dissolution of Jewish “secret organizations.”

Even in the far-away Antilles, in the West Indies, and the Isle of Reunion, situated in the Indian Ocean, Jews were excluded from government and municipal posts under a decree published in the Journal Officiel on January 3, 1941.

Since the Hitler-Darlan rapprochement, the French authorities in the colonies have become still more unfriendly to Jews. The feeling among the Jews is that they can no longer depend on any protection in the event of further menace.

**Occupied France**

The first results of the census, taken on October 20, 1940, by French officials, under German supervision, in the occupied zone revealed that there are still 63,000 Jewish families in the Paris region, who had stayed, braving whatever dangers they thought the new situation would hold for them personally. The vast majority were poor, small shopkeepers and artisans in the Temple and Belleville quarters, but few were industrial workers.

\*They included 17,066 of French origin, 11,785 naturalized families and 34,152 of foreign origin. The total number of foreign Jews over 15 years of age in this region is estimated at 53,898. Russian refugees are the majority, with 7,031. Next come the Heimatslose (without homeland), with 4,295.*
The taking of this census was one of the first steps in the creation of a French totalitarian state to succeed the Third Republic. The registration of Jews was preceded by the beginnings of an anti-Semitic campaign in the newspapers, as prelude to a series of anti-Jewish measures. *La Petite Gironde* published an article attacking Jews, particularly German refugees, as "repaying French hospitality by harming the State." The article asserted that after many years in which they enjoyed all privileges, the Jews were trying to escape with gold and diamonds. France, the papers stated, will never again be so "naive" as to give hospitality to Jews. *Le Journal* and *Paris-Soir*, the latter the largest paper in France, also adopted an anti-Semitic stand. The first of these papers, published in Clermont-Ferrand, declared on July 17, 1940, that France lost the war because of several lies which were "widely circulated by Jewish and international agents present in France at the time." A new Paris paper, *France au Travail* (France at Work) published by the former "Fasciste" leader Henri Coston, agitated against the Jews, declaring that as part of "our new world" there is no place in France for Jews and advocating their isolation on such islands as Madagascar. In its issue of August 4, it opened a campaign to wipe out the Jewish quarter in Paris, asserting "the ghetto must disappear." In addition to this paper, *Les Dernières Nouvelles de Paris* (The Latest News of Paris), was also especially violent in its agitation. It announced, "Advertisements not accepted from firms under Jewish management." The extent of anti-Jewish propaganda in Paris is indicated by an advertisement of the well-known optical firm, Lissac Frères, which stated that "Lissac is not Isaac" and asked customers not to pay attention to rumors to the contrary.

The Nazis in Paris decided to teach the French population anti-Semitism. As a beginning, the Scherl Publishing Company of Berlin printed, in July, large quantities of pamphlets in French describing the effectiveness of the anti-Jewish laws in Germany. Distribution, of course, was free. On September 1, the weekly pro-British publication, *Marianne*, was suspended for three months for having published an article by Bernard Lecache, the well-known
French-Jewish anti-Nazi leader, to whom authorization to publish his *Droit de Vivre* had been refused shortly before. In his article, Lecache not only denounced racism, but also courageously defended foreigners.

Despite violent Nazi-sponsored propaganda, the Paris population still showed indifference to anti-Semitism. Placards reading “Down with the Jews! Smash England!” were posted on walls, and a new anti-Semitic organization, Front Nouveau, sprang up. Its members engaged in slogan writing and fly-posting. But so far in Paris, no major anti-Jewish incident has occurred. Moreover, there are numerous signs manifesting the true spirit of this great nation. For example, an important scientific body in occupied France, the Central Committee for Scientific Scholarship, voted to continue support to Jewish scholars, it was reported on December 29, as Nazi authorities took further action to oust Jews from the fields of science, entertainment and commerce. The Central Committee voted 29 to 1 to maintain all scholarships held by Jews for the next year. This action came as the German authorities forbade Jewish scholars to publish articles in scientific periodicals and books. The periodical *Annales de Physique*, which was suspended for publishing articles signed by Jews, was authorized to resume on the condition that there be no Jewish collaborators. A further instance is the thinly-veiled warning against Nazi racial and anti-religious doctrines sounded by Bishop van Steenberghe of Bayonne on January 17, which said, “Keep your spirit amid the light of truth; beware of the errors of foreign origin which the Pope has condemned many times.”

In order to offset these liberal attempts, the Nazi authorities began circulating widely Jew-baiting publications in French. The anti-Jewish French Popular Party, headed by Jacques Doriot also intensified and widened its already vast campaign. At the beginning of 1941, the pro-German Rassemblement National Populaire was launched in Paris under Nazi patronage. The new Party is headed by Marcel Deat, a well-known anti-Semite, and Jean Goy, an ex-servicemen’s leader who visited Germany before the war. Points in the Party’s program are “free co-operation with Germany,” “the protection of the race,” and the exclusion
of all "international influence." Members of this group are also the Cagoulards, the "hooded men," who plotted revolt in 1937.

In his weekly publication *L'Emancipation Nationale*, of September 15, 1940, Jacques Doriot, the French "Julius Streicher," revealed that he and his friends were praying for a German victory over Great Britain, even though it meant for France the loss of Alsace and Lorraine and probably other provinces. A fortnight earlier he boasted in this periodical that his followers were organizing anti-Jewish demonstrations in French cities and in the North African provinces of Algiers and Morocco for the purpose of forcing the French Government to "settle definitely the Jewish problem."

In order to be more thorough and efficient in the inculcation of the French population with the virus of Jew-hatred, the Nazis created a Center for the Study of the Jewish Question in Paris, in April, 1941, for the avowed purpose of "spreading knowledge about Jewish activity in France and abroad." A Committee for Action and Documentation, which is part of the Center, is to publish "documentary" books, leaflets and posters about the Jews. During the same months, the Paris prefecture of police established a special "Jewish service" to handle all police activities affecting Paris Jews. The new department was put under the control of François, the head of the aliens' division of the prefecture.

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The German occupation authorities in Paris announced an ordinance on October 2, imposing rigid restrictions on the activities of Jews. Described as of a "temporary restrictive nature," the statute ordered all Jews to appear at police headquarters for inscription in a special register in connection with a census of Jews in the occupied zone. The heads of all Jewish families were required to sign a special registry. Heretofore it had been optional with those getting marriage licenses and other public documents to state religious and racial connections. October 20 was set as the deadline for all Jews to declare their race and religion. Failure to do so made them liable to heavy fines and im-
prisonment, and possibly the confiscation of all their possessions. In addition, leaders of Jewish communities were held liable for furnishing information necessary for putting the ordinance into effect, and French authorities in the occupied zone were responsible for its enforcement.

After the Jews, including the foreigners, registered, their passports and other identification papers were stamped with the "Juif" in red-ink capital letters. Jews of French nationality had to bring two witnesses to testify to the truth of their declarations.

Soon after the crushing defeat of France, her Nazi masters began developing plans for the rapid seizure of all valuable objects possessed by Jews. One of their early decisions, implemented in a decree by the German Military Governor, issued on October 24, 1940, was to place a number of commissioners in charge of Jewish factories and businesses in that area. Jewish firms, according to the decree, are all those "whose owners are Jews or with a Jewish manager or which have more than a third of the members of the board of directors who are Jews."

Simultaneously, Jewish merchants were ordered to post signs on their shops in both French and German, reading "Jewish Enterprise." Later, in order to make the signs uniform, Jewish enterprises were obliged to display large yellow signs "Jewish Business" which they were required to buy from the police for 2.50 francs each.

There are about 11,000 Jewish-owned enterprises registered in the Paris region, including 6,000 large concerns, according to the newspaper La Petite Gironde, Bordeaux, of January 15. Indeed, "Aryanization," as this expropriation is called, proceeded rapidly, and the ruin of Jewish trade and industry in occupied France is illustrated by the lengthy lists of "Aryanized" enterprises, published regularly in the Journal Officiel. The number of "Aryanized" enterprises reached 3,093 on June 5, 1941. Occasionally, these lists, filling six pages, include even the smallest trades. They range from the Lazard Bank, the Seligmann Bank, the Louis Dreyfus Corn Dealers, the Galleries Lafayette (department store) and the Penhoet Shipbuilding Company
(which constructed and launched the liner *Normandie*), to "Madame Lévy, who peddles shoestrings in markets." Also, a number of cobblers and junkmen, along with antique dealers, opticians, laundrymen and tailors are mentioned in these lists.

The authorities have already appointed 4,000 "Aryanization" commissioners for small and medium-size businesses and 500 for larger concerns. The "Aryanized" Jewish enterprises are marked with red signs, "Former Jewish Enterprise, Now Aryan." As War Councillor Dr. Blankel stated at a press conference in Paris, "The occupation authorities aim at the definite exclusion of the Jews from French economic life." He added that he hoped the French population would cooperate. To facilitate the procedure, a special office for nominating "Aryanization" commissaries was set up in Paris. Commissaries who must be approved by the occupation authorities, are appointed even for firms in which Jewish participation is less than 30%, since total elimination of Jews is sought.

In some cases, however, too impatient to wait for their commissioners to accomplish the pillaging of businesses, Jewish shopkeepers have been arrested and despoiled of their goods on the pretext that they charged exorbitant prices to the German troops.

Jewish lawyers, with but few exceptions, were barred from membership in the French lawyers' association, Jeune Barreau Francais, at a meeting of the association in Paris, the German radio reported on September 3, 1940. The only Jewish lawyers permitted to retain membership were veterans of the 1914—18 war, and whose grandfathers had been born in France.

Jews were even barred from the occupation of peddler by an order issued by the German authorities on March 5, 1941. The measure hit especially at Jews in the Bordeaux and Belfort districts, hundreds of whom were thus deprived of their means of existence.

The Nazi authorities also decreed that no Jew in the occupied zone was to be permitted to withdraw from banks
more than 1,000 francs of his capital without a special permit.

The drive against Jewish financiers and industrialists was especially strong. A large number of well-known factories, owned by Jews, including those of Rosengart, Levitan, Solenski and Bloch were seized. The Nazis also decreed the liquidation by January 1, 1941, of all Jewish businesses valued at over 25,000 francs. Furthermore, Jews were dismissed wholesale from newspaper offices, banks and large concerns. Moreover, a scheme was devised for the mobilization of large numbers of Jews for forced labor for the reconstruction of war-devastated areas.

It was also reported that Gestapo agents organized gangs consisting mostly of German Nazis and French criminals, to loot Jewish property. When the French police ventured to arrest these gangsters, the Gestapo ordered their immediate release. A further hardship imposed on Jews was that their special ration cards entitled them to only one-third of the "Aryan" ration, although that, too, is far from adequate.

Finally, by the terms of a decree of the German Military Commander which came into force on May 20, 1941, Jews were completely eliminated from economic life. They were specifically barred from wholesale and retail trade, as travelling salesmen, from the restaurant and the hotel businesses, insurance, shipping, forwarding and storage, travel agencies, motorized traffic, banking and money exchange, money-lending, collection agencies, employment agencies, the publishing field, the administration of house or landed property, and as agents or commission workers of any kind. It also prohibits Jews from exercising any profession which brings them into contact with the public. Dismissed Jewish employes were to be replaced by "Aryans," and discharged Jews were to receive no compensation. The decree also stipulates that violations thereof were to be punished by imprisonment, fines and the confiscation of property.

Prussian thoroughness and Nazi hatred did not overlook a single aspect of economic life which perhaps could have
saved a small section of the Jewish population. In the middle of January, 1941, the Nazis had ordered the dismissal from State and municipal posts of all French women married to Jews.

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Not content with destroying the economic position of Jews, Nazi barbarism showed itself in the senseless destruction of cultural institutions and objects so dearly cherished by the Paris Jews. According to a report from Vichy on August 27, 1940, Nazi officials raided a number of Jewish institutions in Paris, including the Rabbinical College. Attempts also were made to set fire to the College Synagogue. The Jewish teachers' seminary of the Ecole Israélite Normale was raided, the library searched and the Scrolls of the Law were desecrated. In Paris, only one synagogue, the Rothschild Synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire, remained open. All other Jewish institutions were closed and the homes of the communal workers who remained in the city were raided.

At the end of August, 1940, a synagogue in Nancy was turned into a fodder storehouse. The local Chief Rabbi, Hagenauer, was forced to leave the synagogue house and live in a porter's lodge. Besides Rabbi Hagenauer, only two other provincial chief rabbis, J. Cohen of Bordeaux and Ginsburg of Bayonne, remained in the occupied zone of France.

From the libraries of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Paris Yeshiva, 60,000 volumes were confiscated by the Nazis. Among them were the original proceedings of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish Council convened by Napoleon in 1907 to formulate the attitude of French Jewry.

In December, 1940, the Germans requested Chief Rabbi Julien Weill to form a "responsible Jewish organization" since the Jews of France, in their opinion, were not a national minority but only a religious community. The Chief Rabbi refused to do as requested, and the Nazi authorities, about three months later, established in Paris a compulsory
Jewish Community, which was to be maintained out of the proceeds of a tax on Paris Jews, equivalent to 10% of the amount of the State income tax paid.

The first Jewish periodical in France since the armistice entitled *Informations Juives*, and devoted exclusively to Jewish communal affairs, was permitted to appear in Paris on April 19.

Owing to the relentless Nazi persecution, many French Jews have committed suicide since the collapse of the country. Among them were famous men like Dr. Berthou, head of the Jewish Hospital in Paris, and Dr. Elias, Zionist leader.

Especially severe were the measures taken against the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine, the two French provinces annexed by Germany. Of the 35,000 Jews who resided there, 15,000 near the Franco-German front had been evacuated at the beginning of the war to other parts of France. In July, a short time after the armistice, all Jewish shops in Strasbourg were taken over by the Nazi police, and, on August 13, the property of Jews who had settled in Alsace after November, 1918 was ordered confiscated by District Commissioner Robert Wagner. Toward the end of 1940, Nazis organized a riot in Mulhouse which resulted in great damage to Jewish property. But Nazi censorship prevented the public from learning the full extent of the destruction. These disorders were then used by the Nazis as an excuse for an order for the expulsion of the remaining 20,000 Jews of Alsace-Lorraine on the ground that the population was opposed to their presence. The maximum amount of capital these Jews were permitted to take with them was 700 francs (about $20) each, and the maximum weight of personal property was set at 300 pounds.

The expulsion of these 20,000 Jews created a grave situation for the French-Jewish organizations. Although these refugees will benefit from the compensation to deportees by the government, allegedly agreed upon among all parties concerned, their permanent settlement will have to be arranged by Jewish organizations.
Free France

In these trying times, the forces of Free France and its leader, General Charles de Gaulle, represent the true spirit of that eternal, invincible France which all the world so deeply loved and admired. Their reaction to the infamous statute of October 18 justifies the hope for a happier future for French Jewry.

Shortly after the promulgation of the law, France, the official organ of Free France, published in London, condemned in strongest terms any form of racial legislation and declared that such decrees place the Pétain Government in the position of recognizing the principle that the Germans are the master race and the French their servants. It is also, the paper declared, in contradiction to Pétain’s declaration of October 11, that the “new order” in France would not be “a servile imitation of foreign regimes.” France added that the law is a repudiation of the principles of the French Revolution and of the Declaration of Human Rights, which were respected by all succeeding governments.

In a message cabled from Libreville, French Equatorial Africa, in November, General de Gaulle repudiated the Vichy anti-Jewish laws and pledged Free France to rectify these injustices. The message was read at a New York rally, organized by the American Jewish Congress to protest against the laws.

As reported on May 6, 1940, French leaders in Britain also denounced the recent intensification of these laws in France and the insulting declaration made by Xavier Vallat, Commissioner for Jewish Affairs. Prof. René Cassin, Permanent Secretary of the Council for the Free French Empire, and Maurice Dejean, de Gaulle’s Political Director, declared that neither the anti-Jewish laws nor any other laws issued by the Vichy Government express the opinion of the French people.

In view of all this, it is no wonder that Admiral Darlan in May ordered an extensive campaign against the Jewish supporters of de Gaulle, both in “unoccupied” France and in French North Africa. In French Morocco, 56 Jews have been imprisoned on charges of active support of the Free France movement.
III. OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

By Martha Jelenko

1. Belgium

On May 10, 1940, for the second time within a quarter of a century, the self-appointed "masters of the world" invaded Belgium. A small, industrious and peaceful nation, whose population included about 75,000 Jews (15,000 of whom were refugees), fell prey to the furor Teutonicus. The advent of the Nazi regime in Germany had affected the union of certain political parties and groups, particularly in the Flemish part of the country, who resorted to anti-Semitism as a means of attaining power. The National Flemish People's Party did not conceal its sympathies for Hitlerism and racism, but a number of liberals belonging to their membership had a strong moderating influence. Real Fascism in Brussels, however, was represented by a group known as the Rexists,1 under the leadership of the youthful Leon Marie Degrelle.2 This group was used by the Nazi authorities to propagate their policy of anti-Semitism, when they discovered that their own agitators who were to teach the blessings of racism, were unsuccessful.

After the German invasion Degrelle, who had been previously arrested and sent to prison in France, was released, his newspaper Le Pays Reel resumed publication in Brussels, and soon anti-Jewish incitement was intensified. Fortunately, however, the Belgian people paid little heed to this vicious propaganda. Moreover, public opinion was outraged at an attempt by the Germans to show their gratitude to these native traitors.

At the end of October, 1940, the judges of an Antwerp court assembled to hear a case, begun before Belgium was invaded, against the publishers of an anti-Nazi newspaper.

1 The name is an abbreviation of "Christus Rex."

2 The outstanding feature in the last parliamentary elections on April 1, 1939, was the crushing defeat of the Fascist and Nazi parties in Belgium. They lost seven of their twelve Senate seats and 17 of their 21 Chamber of Deputies mandates. The Rexists who made sensational gains in the 1936 elections, became the smallest political group in both Houses of Parliament.
German officers in the audience stopped the proceedings and arrested the judges and the public prosecutor without further ado. The documents in the case were seized, and a statement issued later by the Mayor of Antwerp explained that the "German administration could not allow Belgian justice to proceed against men who for the last two years had expressed their sympathy for a brother people and for National Socialism." Emboldened by support of this type, the Rexist storm troopers got into a serious fight with the local police on May 4, 1941 when they attempted to usurp police functions in the enforcement of anti-Jewish regulations issued by the German occupation authorities.

The favored position of these hooligans stimulated other evil elements and led to the formation of several new anti-Semitic organizations. Thus, the establishment of the Volksverwering under the leadership of Advocate Lambrecht was announced on April 28. The object of this group was to unite the Walloons and Flemings in the endeavor to expel all Jews from the country. On May 4, it was learned that the People's Defense Committee was created at Bruges for the purpose of "purging" the coastal area of Jews and Jewish influence. Finally, during the same month, all parties in Flanders merged in a single political organization, the Flemish National Union, as a vehicle for promoting National Socialism for the support of Hitler's "new Europe."

Anti-Jewish Legislation

In spite of the growth of the native Fascist movement, on the one hand, and the pressure exerted by the German military authorities, on the other, the government refused to enact legislation aimed at the elimination of Jews from the life of the country. The German Military Commander for Belgium, Baron Alexander von Falkenhausen, overruling the wishes of the Belgian authorities, therefore determined to force the golden age of Nazism upon the subjugated nation. On November 7, 1940, he issued a series of anti-Jewish measures as "a first step towards the organization of a new political and social structure." The German-controlled Brussels radio, when announcing the
laws, declared that everyone no doubt would rejoice at the "cleansing" of "public morality" by "the elimination of these people." These measures, similar to those taken in Holland and France, were essentially economic and were aimed to oust Jews from the professions and to restrict their commercial and industrial activities. The first order "regulated" the participation of Jews in the professions. They were forbidden to continue their practice in the field of jurisprudence; they were barred as directors and teachers of high schools or universities; they no longer could be managers or editors of newspapers and periodicals, and were excluded from the broadcasting industry; they were also eliminated, as of December 31, 1940, from public office of any kind. In addition, Jews who fled abroad before the approaching Nazi armies, were forbidden to return.

Persons of Jewish origin, or whose descent was doubtful, were to be treated as Jews until the question of their ancestry was definitely settled. The following decree, however, supplementing the first, defined as a Jew any person having at least three Jewish grandparents; any person with at least two Jewish grandparents, if married to a Jew; any person adhering, or having adhered, to the Jewish religion.

Economic Destruction

The regulations for the execution of the first decree gradually deprived Jews of all opportunities to eke out a living. All Jews over fifteen years of age were compelled to register before November 30 and to declare their holdings as of May 1, 1940, and all Jewish enterprises were ordered registered before December 10. The following businesses were classed as Jewish: those from which Jews derived any profit either directly or indirectly; or enterprises which were conducted as commercial enterprises of which at least one of the partners was a Jew; or a business, one of the legal representatives of which was a Jew; or a company where one of the members of the board of directors was a Jew; or a holding company in which a Jew possessed more than a quarter of the capital or of the voting power.
By the end of November, all Jewish-owned hotels, restaurants, cafes and similar establishments were required to display a notice, stating that the proprietor was a Jew. The revocation of licenses of Jewish stall holders in market places and of Jewish peddlers, as of December 31, was a great blow, as few other occupations were any longer open to Jews who, if unemployed, were promptly drafted into forced labor battalions. By a ruling of February 28, all pensions for Jews were cancelled. Another order, issued simultaneously and obviously aimed at humiliating Jews, required Jews with Belgian decorations to return them to the authorities without delay and forbade Jews to display the Belgian flag.

Outraged by these infamous acts, the Belgian Government in London, on November 22, broadcast an appeal to Belgians to help Jews "until this frightful tempest is over," declaring that "Belgian Jews have always done their duty." This appeal was endorsed in a stirring address by Belgian labor and socialist leaders within Belgium. Following up this statement of sympathy with concrete action, the Government-in-Exile, as reported on March 3, issued decrees declaring null and void all confiscations and other illegal measures taken by the Nazi invaders. They also stipulated that all persons who helped to carry out these irregular measures would be punished after the war.

The Attitude of the Population

In spite of the exodus of masses of Jews after the invasion of Belgium, a large number of them still remained, suffering from the consequences of the legislation and from enumerable degrading acts which rendered their lives even more difficult. Only the overt display of solidarity by the Christian population eased their burden to some extent. One interesting example of such manifestations was reported in August when all Jews were ordered by the Nazis to wear armlets with the Magen David (shield of David) after the Lublin model. Thereupon, numerous Belgians, particularly workers, ridiculed the order and many of them took delight in fraternizing in the streets with Jews wearing armlets. Antwerp's people joined them in a silent mass
protest which they made effective by crowding into the streets wearing the same armbands. Finding themselves unable to cope with this demonstration, the Nazis withdrew the order and issued an explanation that it was actually proclaimed by the Rexists, and not by them.

Riots

On the day before Christmas, 1940, large-scale anti-Jewish riots, undoubtedly instigated and carried out by the Fascists, broke out in Antwerp where about half of the Belgian Jews resided. Jewish shops were looted, windows of Jewish-owned homes were broken, and passersby were beaten up.

Some 40,000 Jews from Antwerp and Flanders were rounded up with virtually no warning and interned in concentration camps at Hasselt in the Limbourg province, it was reported on January 29, 1941. Rexist storm troopers also made an unsuccessful attempt to frighten Jewish traders in the market of St. Gilles in Brussels. On May 2, they invaded the market under the pretext that the German decree, obliging Jews to display a distinctive sign, was not complied with. The police, however, broke up the demonstration and confiscated the revolvers of a number of Rexists.

In spite of the repeated checks put on them, the Rexist troopers again committed an outrage. But this time, it had very much more serious consequences than before. According to news received on June 3, 1941, they destroyed or damaged so badly all the synagogues in Antwerp that these are unfit for further use. This attack took place while services were in progress. The Jews who offered strong resistance were joined by hundreds of non-Jews who witnessed this vandalism. Serious street fighting ensued, in which scores of people were hurt. The police who finally came to establish order, arrested a number of persons, including some who had resisted the vandals.

Just before the end of the period under review, Fascist organs in Belgium began clamoring for the introduction of
anti-Jewish laws, modelled after the infamous Nuremberg decrees. Extremists even demanded the death penalty for Jews having relations with Belgian women. Should such legislation be promulgated — and events during the past year indicate that such an eventuality is not at all unlikely — the Belgian Jews who have made important contributions to the country's cultural and, especially, its economic life, will be reduced to the status of the Jews within the Nazi Reich.

2. Luxembourg

Following the Nazi invasion of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, in May, 1940, Gustav Simon, formerly Nazi leader of the Coblenz-Trier district in Germany, was named Chief of the Civil Administration. On August 14, 1940, he decreed the abrogation of the Constitution, the abolition of all political parties, the use of German as the only official language, and the outlawing of the name “Grand Duchy” in official documents. As preliminary to the country's ultimate incorporation into the Reich, a customs union was proclaimed on August 15.

That the Nazis found the population anything but enthusiastic about their newly imposed Germanism is evident from an admission published in the Nazi-controlled Warschauer Zeitung of July 23, 1940: “Although they are almost entirely Germanic, during their 100 years of independence they have withdrawn from the spiritual circle of the German people and have been spiritually assimilated by the French. Luxembourg is more French than German. Francophilism and pacifism led them to believe the present war is Germany's fault.” Nevertheless, at the first public mass meeting of the German Folk Movement of Luxembourg on September 29, Simon proclaimed the advent of a “new order” for this country within the framework of the Greater German Reich and emphasized that “Luxembourg is German.”

Reports coming from Luxembourg indicated that the situation of her 3,000 Jews was appalling. On September 7,
Gustav Simon, in effect, introduced the Nuremberg Laws by issuing two decrees regulating their activities. The first forbids marriage or intimate relations between Jews and Germans or persons of cognate blood.

In accordance with the second decree, all Jewish residents are required to register their property whether within or without Luxembourg. Also, Jewish physicians, dentists, veterinarians, and apothecaries were forbidden to practice their professions. Jewish lawyers were prohibited to represent anyone except Jews. These measures became effective immediately. Jews were also forbidden to enter non-Jewish stores, although only one Jewish shop remained open.

The Jews were ousted from their homes to make room for German families from the Ruhr who were seeking safety from British air raids, and were forced to take shelter in the local synagogue. The Nazis also confiscated the entire property of the Jewish community. The only solace in the tragedy which befell Luxembourg's Jewry was the humane and friendly attitude of the native non-Jews toward their unhappy Jewish fellow-citizens.

Another order aimed at the complete destruction of this small but prosperous community was issued on September 11. It required all Jews to leave the country within two weeks, permitting them to take along a maximum of about $30 in cash and 60 pounds of luggage. However, since they were not admitted to France nor to any other country, three trainloads of these Jewish exiles were escorted by Gestapo agents to the Portuguese frontier, where the Portuguese Government finally granted them temporary right of sojourn to await emigration. One month prior to this expulsion order, Albert Nussbaum, the former president of the Luxembourg Jewish Community, had been permitted by the Gestapo to go to Lisbon in order to study emigration possibilities for his co-religionists.

At a special conference of Nazi district leaders of occupied territories, convoked in Berlin in June, 1941 by Propaganda Minister Goebbels, Gustav Simon reported that the former Duchy was now completely "judenrein," thus supplying the epilogue to a most ruthless uprooting of human beings.
3. The Netherlands

Jewish life in this country, under the iron rule of a ruthless conqueror, proceeded according to the well-known pattern. The treatment of this old and once happy Jewish community of 182,000 persons (including about 25,000 refugees) was the same as that of their brethren in other Nazi-occupied countries. It was not long after the occupation that wholesale arrests, dismissals, expropriations, evictions and suicides became the order of the day. The process of stripping the Jews of all valuables, foodstuffs, and stocks of raw materials was conducted even more thoroughly and mercilessly in The Netherlands than in Poland. Illustrative of the tragic fate still awaiting Dutch Jewry is the furious attack, broadcast in March, 1941, by the Nazi Commissioner Dr. Arthur Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian traitor who delivered his country to the Nazis: "You may take it from me that whenever we meet the Jews we will beat them until they are extinguished." And warning the Dutch people not to interfere in his crusade against the Jews, he continued: "The Jews are our implacable enemies. There can be neither armistice nor peace between them and us. Whoever chooses to go with the Jews will be hurt."

Legal Deprivation

Nevertheless, apart from the prohibition of shehitah which was formally proscribed on August 4, the invaders originally refrained from imposing further restrictions on the Jews in order to avoid irritating the population. Suddenly the Nazis abandoned their considerations of political expediency and, once they had embarked upon their course, they promulgated a number of decrees in rapid succession, which eventually barred the Jews from all walks of life.

This process was introduced by a decree of October 3, 1940, stipulating that from October 20 on, no Jews or half-Jews, nor persons married to Jews or half-Jews, may hold public positions or be appointed or promoted in the civil service or the State-controlled schools except strictly Jewish schools. The ban is also applicable to private institutions
and foundations in which the administration is shared by either the State or provincial governments.

Until a short time before this law was published, Jews, with some exceptions, were permitted to engage in all activities, except law and journalism. On October 21, the registration of all "Jewish enterprises" was prescribed. A week later, it was announced that Jewish children were barred from state schools, and Jewish communities were required to establish schools of their own. Other measures included the ban on redemption of pawned goods, reported on November 11, with the additional provision that non-Jews may not purchase pawn tickets from Jews. Following charges by the League of Cinemas that anti-German demonstrations by movie audiences "were caused mainly by Jews" despite requests to the public to remain silent, Nazi authorities, on January 8, barred all Jews from motion picture houses. Three days later they were also forbidden to enter restaurants, except those with special sections reserved for them. It was, moreover, reported on January 11 that business firms were forced to discharge all Jewish employes. An order of January 14, 1941, described by the Nazi press as "a further step toward the solution of the burning Jewish problem," stipulated that all Jews must register within six weeks; failure to do so would be punishable by fines and by imprisonment up to five years. In contrast to previous decrees, and surpassing even the Nuremberg Laws, persons having only one Jewish grandparent were classified as Jews under this measure.

An additional prohibition was issued by the Reich Commissioner on February 15, restricting the number of Jewish students who were to be admitted to Dutch universities. The proportion of Jews to be permitted was not disclosed, but Jews must obtain permits for matriculation from the Secretary of Education. Under this order, persons having two Jewish grandparents were considered Jews.

Continuing their efforts to eliminate Jews from the economy of the country, the Nazis, in one of their controlled newspapers, foretold on March 3 that "within a fortnight the entire commercial life of Amsterdam will be freed of Jewish domination." In line with this ominous prediction, a report of March 3 announced a new decree by Seyss-
Inquart forbidding the sale or lease of any Jewish establishment without his permission. The right to appoint administrators for Jewish establishments as well as to close them was reserved by the Commissioner. This action was taken for the purpose of preventing fictitious sales of Jewish-owned businesses, thus marking the first step toward the "Aryanization" of business. In June, it was estimated that more than 20,000 Jewish commercial enterprises had passed into "Aryan" hands, the former owners receiving only insignificant compensations.

On April 15, the Netherland Jews were ordered by Commander Rauter of the Elite Guard to surrender their radio receiving sets within two weeks. They were warned not to damage them before turning them in. Six days later it was learned that a decree had barred Jewish actors, technicians and directors from the theater and film industries. Seyss-Inquart, on May 3, banned Jews from the stock exchanges of Rotterdam and The Hague to "eliminate unnecessary speculation harmful to the community." A Göteborg, Sweden, paper reported that Jews were permitted to retain membership in the exchanges, but that their interests were to be represented by "Aryans." Finally, on June 18, it was learned that Jews in all provincial towns of the country were ordered by Nazi authorities to report daily to the local police.

Social Ostracism

In addition to these official measures, aimed at destroying the economic position of Netherland Jews, local Nazi authorities, as well as self-appointed Nazi chiefs contributed to the further aggravation of the situation by carrying on anti-Jewish agitation in the Nazi-inspired press and through government bureaus established for that purpose. In August, 1940, on a trumped-up charge that German internees in the Dutch colonies were being ill-treated, some 300 Netherlanders, including a large number of Jews, who were in Holland on leave from the Dutch East Indies at the time of the German invasion, were transported to concentration camps in Germany, as a "retaliatory" measure. Investigation of the incident by trustworthy neutral
observers showed that there was, of course, no justification for these charges. On October 10, “race defilement trials” were staged in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, in which Jews were accused of dishonoring Christian maids in their employ. A new pretext of extorting money from Jews was revealed in dispatches of October 28. Seyss-Inquart had appointed hordes of spies to report to the Gestapo on all Jewish activities. In their zeal, these spies informed the Gestapo that Jews in The Hague had given shelter to two British airmen forced to land in Holland. Without further inquiry, the Nazi Commissioner imposed a fine of 50,000 guilders (about $10,000) on the entire Hague Jewish Community to be paid within six hours. When the news became public, however, a number of influential non-Jews, in a fine demonstration of human solidarity, formed a committee to raise the money on behalf of the impoverished Jews. In spite of the fact that the collection had to be conducted clandestinely, they were able to obtain the necessary sum within a few days.

One of the Nazis’ principal tasks was to segregate Jews from non-Jews in order to break their spirit of joint resistance to their common oppressor. Using as pretext a street brawl which occurred on February 10, 1941, in which Netherland Nazis clashed with armed opponents from Waterloo Square in Amsterdam, the German authorities closed the district from the rest of the city and ordered all non-Jews to leave this historic Jewish quarter in which 60,000 Jews resided. Yet, about two weeks later, another clash took place when, according to the Nazis, “the ring-leaders of nightly attacks against the police patrols and a secret Jewish organization were uncovered.” Six civilians were killed and several wounded in this encounter. On the same day, Goering’s *Essener National Zeitung* asked when “the Jewish question” in The Netherlands was to receive a “total solution” in order to prevent in the future even a single Jew from being able “to sow hate and dissension in The Netherlands, to beat up Netherlanders and to incite to cowardly machinations.” As a sequel to these disorders, a Jewish citizen was executed by a German firing squad on March 3 and many others were sentenced to prison terms of ten years or more. The man executed was charged
by authorities with having "sprayed acid" on Gestapo agents during the outbreak. An official statement, elaborating the accusation, said that an examination of the living quarters of the executed man disclosed that they had been used as a meeting place for "a band of terrorists" and that a large stock of arms of all descriptions had been concealed there. Another retaliatory measure taken at the same time was the imposition of a fine of fifteen million guilders (about three million dollars) upon the City of Amsterdam. Jews were required to pay one-third of the fine by May 1, while the rest of the population was given six months in which to pay. Three days later, it was learned that the long expected ghettos were finally established in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and that their residents were forbidden to leave their homes between seven o'clock in the evening and sunrise.

That further and even more severe restrictions await the unfortunate Jewish people of Holland is indicated in two additional reports. As a copy of a similar institute in Berlin, an "Office to Investigate Racial Jewish and Dutch Indian Problems" was established in April, which under the leadership of Dr. T. Goedewaagen would study the question of Jews and "half-castes" and which seems to foreshadow the possible introduction of racial laws in this enlightened country, too. On June 16, the Dutch Nazi paper _Folk en Vaderland_ was quoted as announcing that Jewish-owned agricultural land must be surrendered by September 2, 1941.

**Opposition to Nazi Anti-Semitism**

Numerous reports indicate that, after more than a year of Nazi rule, the anti-Semitic agitation failed completely. The attitude of the Christian population towards the Jews is even friendlier than before; evidently anti-Semitism is among the "ideals" Christian Netherlanders still do not care to share with the "victor." Nothing is more characteristic of the profound sense of fairness and humaneness inherent in the Dutch people than the fact that the Nazi masters of this peaceful country were frequently forced to make either outright threats or persuasive appeals to the
people in order to convert them to hatred for their Jewish fellow-citizens.

In defiance of the invader, the Amsterdam police, on September 17, 1940, suspended the anti-Semitic Dutch weekly *De Noodlok*, which had been copying the *Stuermer*'s methods of stirring up the population against the Jews. The police gave as the reason for their action the absence of any popular sympathy with the anti-Semitic movement, and the desire of all authorities to curb all activities which might arouse animosity towards sections of the population. Thereupon, *Deutsche Im Niederlande*, the Nazi organ at The Hague, threateningly informed the Amsterdam police that the German occupation authorities will not tolerate a "pro-Jewish policy." In this connection, it is especially significant that Anton Mussert, the Dutch Nazi leader, was forced, in October, to issue an appeal to the people of his country to refrain from showing friendship to Jews, and warning them that attempts to pursue a "pro-Jewish policy" may lead to serious Nazi reprisals against the entire population.

Particularly noteworthy was the noble and courageous stand taken by the churches in behalf of the Jews. On October 27, clergymen reported from the pulpits of all Protestant churches that Protestant sects were uniting in a protest to Seyss-Inquart against the anti-Jewish decree of October 3. The announcement said the decree excluding Jews from government services was not in harmony with Christian principles.

The university student body of The Netherlands, too, has harassed the German authorities by organizing strikes in protest against the anti-Jewish laws. On November 26, 1940, the Technical University of Delft was closed following demonstrations by the students, protesting the dismissal of a Jewish professor. During the same month, the University of Leyden also was closed for the same reason. There, the students as well as the faculty protested fiercely against the dismissal of Eduard Maurits Meyer, their revered professor of civil and international law. Two other nationwide demonstrations occurred on June 9 and June 17, 1941, respectively, in spite of Nazi threats of severe reprisals. Students carried placards condemning the Nazi
anti-Jewish regulations. Many of them wore on the coat sleeves yellow armbands such as those which Jews had been ordered to don. A large number of the students was arrested, and Seyss-Inquart once more threatened more stringent measures unless the Dutch population "cooperate" with the country's rulers.

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The Jewish community in The Netherlands, formerly one of the most progressive and prosperous in Europe, has been reduced to dire poverty during the fourteen months of Nazi rule. The Amsterdam community was especially hard hit by various measures. As an act of abominable spitefulness, the Nazis converted the principal building of The Hague Jewish Community into a military brothel, on August 4, 1940. A month later, in the face of the approaching winter, the authorities decided to refuse the issuance of cards for clothing to Jews. On November 26, the Nazi authorities in Amsterdam ordered all Jewish relief organizations there to deliver their keys to the Gestapo headquarters every evening and call for them every morning. Following the February riots and the subsequent isolation of the Jewish quarter by the Nazis, responsibility for the behavior of the Jews in Amsterdam was placed by the authorities upon two of the country's most prominent Jewish leaders, Prof. D. Cohen and Mr. A. Asscher, who had been appointed heads of the Jewish Community Council, established on the Polish model. Irreparable losses were suffered by this community by the death of several of its prominent members. Dr. Lewis Visser, President of the Supreme Court of Judicature at The Hague and president of the Palestine Foundation Fund in The Netherlands was assassinated by the Gestapo early in August, 1940. The suicide of Sheriff Boekman of the Amsterdam City Council, Municipal Minister of Art and Education, who was an ardent Zionist, was also reported in August. In February came the death of A. M. S. van de Bergh, former Senator, Zionist and communal leader, and at the end of May, Dr. Leonard Solomon Ornstein, president of the Dutch Zionist Federation and renowned physicist, died in Amsterdam.
Refugees

Evidence of the severe plight of the many German refugees who had sought asylum in Holland after the Nazi revolution in Germany came in various reports from Amsterdam. On July 3, 1940, the Amsterdam police president issued an order requiring all German Jews who had emigrated from Germany between January, 1933, and March, 1938, to register within seven days. It was estimated that about 20,000 Jews were affected by this measure. The correspondent of the London *Times* reported on August 13 that, following this registration, all those refugees who had escaped illegally from Germany were shipped back to the Reich by the Nazis. It was also learned on January 14, 1941, that the occupation authorities dissolved the Jewish refugee agricultural settlement Wieringem Meer Polder in the reclaimed Zuyder Zee area in Holland. The settlers were ruthlessly driven out and their buildings were confiscated.

4. Switzerland

Although surrounded by Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and semi-Fascist France, the Swiss Republic has achieved the distinction of having remained the only genuinely democratic state in continental Europe today, where, in the midst of totalitarian lawlessness and turmoil, the parliamentary system and an enlightened government policy still prevail.

Of course, Switzerland's chief anxiety is the constant threat of Germany's military might. Therefore, as a pacific gesture toward the Nazis, the Federal Government lifted the ban on the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, as reported on September 17, 1940. But fascist-inspired activities were still not tolerated. Following the distribution of a pamphlet, sharply attacking the authorities and the democratic institutions of the country, several members of the secret Swiss Union of Friends of Authoritarian Democracy were arrested on October 27. The author of the pamphlet was Major Ernst Leonhardt, former leader of the violently anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi National Front.

On November 12, the Swiss Nationalist Party, another
subversive group, submitted an ultimatum to President Marcel Pilet-Golaz, demanding the same recognition as that accorded to other political groups. The communication complained that "a slander campaign of lies is fostered by Jews, Freemasons and the legal profession against this movement and its members, who number thousands throughout the country."

During the following week, the government promptly and sharply replied by the dissolution of three of the most active and vocal anti-democratic and anti-Jewish groups. By decree of November 13, the aforementioned Friends of Authoritarian Democracy and the Volksbund N. S. S. A. P. (Nationalist Socialist Swiss Workers Party) were dissolved. These fascist societies were particularly active in Zurich, Basle, Lucerne and St. Gall, where they were busy organizing an anti-Jewish boycott. The third group, the Swiss Nationalist Party, as well as its organ Action Nationale, were outlawed on November 19. The decree also forbids the Party to organize under another name. The decision was based on the law of December 15, 1938, giving the Federal Council extraordinary powers for the defense of the nation, which brings all infractions against the security of the State before military tribunals.

In the course of this action by the government, it was revealed that the police had raided the homes of seven of the arrested Nazi agents, and had found lists of rabbis, Jewish industrialists, and public figures, and details of bank accounts of wealthier Jews.

While the Swiss were trying to clean house, the press in Germany did not remain inactive. Repeated warnings and attacks appeared in various Nazi publications. One of the strongest appeared in the Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten of December 8. It declared that Switzerland once was part of Germany and still comes under the Reich's "field of energy," and that "Switzerland cannot prevent the penetration of the ideas of a new order in Europe."

Yet, shortly after this open threat, Switzerland proved anew in several instances that she refused to be intimidated. On February 28, Col. Arthur Fonjallaz, former Swiss Army officer and head of the Fonjallaz's Fascists, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on a charge of espionage. When
he was arrested by the Swiss police on January 27, 1940, he was accused of attempting to stir up Swiss subjects living in northern Italy to march on Berne. Finally, on May 12, the Swiss army staff announced the suspension for three months of the *Nationale Hefte*, monthly organ of the Frontist movement and, a fortnight later, it was learned that the pro-Nazi anti-Semitic weekly, *Freiheits Blaetter*, Zurich, was also suspended for three months for fomenting pogrom propaganda which may have led to serious consequences.

Above all, the Nazis denounced the Swiss for offering hospitality to refugees, estimated at from 7,000 to 8,000, most of whom are Jews. It may have been in keeping with Switzerland's desire to prove her neutrality that her policy toward the exiles became a little harsher. When, in the middle of 1940, the refugee problem became very acute, the refugee relief societies, upon the suggestion of the government, established special labor camps for those fit for manual labor. They are employed in the construction of new roads, building drainage systems, and similar public works, and receive a franc a day pocket money. Conditions in these camps were said to be satisfactory. During December, 1940, six hundred refugees from Germany were interned as persons who could not be deported to their native country, making the total number of interned Jewish refugees approximately 1,000. Following this incident, the Geneva paper *Le Peuple* charged the Swiss Government with treating as "semi-criminals" those who could not emigrate.

A ruling of the Swiss Federal Council on refugee matters on March 21, 1941, provided that well-to-do immigrants must contribute to the maintenance of their fellow-refugees. This action was taken because Swiss relief organizations had expended large sums of money for those without means, and the Federal Council felt that the burden should be shared by the wealthy exiles.

The government, on its part, was also willing to contribute to the solution of this vexing problem. According to a report from Lisbon on March 25 by the European headquarters of the Hicem, the Swiss authorities, in an effort to encourage the departure of as many refugees as possible, had decided to contribute 400 Swiss francs (about $100) towards the transportation costs of each refugee.
5. Denmark

In April, 1940, this practically defenseless country was overrun by the Nazi juggernaut. Since then, the native Nazis, under the leadership of Fritz Clausen, and the German occupation authorities have tried in vain to win the support of the native populace. Their endeavors to gain adherents to the ideology of racism and anti-Semitism have been fruitless.

Early in January, 1941, it was rumored that the Stauning Government, the greatest obstacle to Nazi progress in the country, would shortly be replaced by a new regime. The immediate reaction to these reports, which so far have proved incorrect, was an announcement by the Danish National Council in London that in such an eventuality a Government-in-Exile would be formed.

In order to have an excuse for the removal of the leaders in power, the Gestapo tried to create incidents which would justify interference by the Nazis. As on many other occasions, anti-Semitism was chosen as the most adequate medium for the attainment of this goal. On July 15, 1940, reports came that anti-Jewish demonstrations, undoubtedly instigated by Nazi agents, occurred in Luna Park, Copenhagen, and in other cities. A delegation of Nazi hirelings called on the Mayor, demanding that Jews be banned from parks and swimming pools and that he issue orders compelling Jewish concerns to display special signs. Under pressure, the municipal authorities were forced to remove memorial plaques from the houses of two outstanding Danish Jews, the late Georg Brandes, world-famous literary historian and critic, and the late Chief Rabbi David Jacob, a distinguished Orientalist.

Nazi propaganda repeatedly forecast, but has not yet realized, the promulgation of anti-Jewish legislation in Denmark. The authorities made some concessions to their unwelcome guests, such as depriving 22 Danish Jews who had emigrated of their citizenship for allegedly spreading anti-Nazi propaganda abroad. The journey of Aage Andersen, the Clausenist leader, to Germany in March, 1941, however, was considered an admission of failure to “solve the Jewish question,” in the Nazi fashion. The purpose
of his trip was to confer with Julius Streicher, the foremost Jew-baiter, on more effective ways of dealing with the Jewish "problem." Anderson's report must have been rather disquieting for immediately upon his return it was announced that Streicher, himself, would direct the anti-Semitic press campaign in Denmark.

The excellent morale of the Danes is an important source of strength to the government, continuously harassed by new Nazi intrigues. Last August, it boldly challenged the invaders by appointing Professor L. S. Fredericia, a well-known Danish-Jewish medical authority, to the Food Control and Supply Board, one of the many emergency commissions which had to be established to cope with the serious food shortage. Outraged by provocative moves of this kind, the rejuvenated propaganda machine once more set to work.

Following the arrest of a number of Jews by the Nazi authorities during an anti-Nazi demonstration in Copenhagen last December, Jews were accused of being the ring-leaders of the opposition movement. This crude lie was, of course, ridiculed by the people. All other efforts at Nazification failed. For example, the exhibition of anti-Semitic books in Copenhagen, opened in February, as well as the showing of imported anti-Semitic films during the spring, were persistently boycotted. Finally, growing impatient with the Danes' complete lack of co-operation, the Bremen radio, in a special broadcast on March 17, uttered a thinly veiled warning of Nazi reprisals: "The Germans know exactly where in Denmark those persons can be found who want to cooperate in Germany's New Europe. It also has been accurately informed where those can be found who attempt to disturb this cooperation."

6. Norway

Of all the countries under German occupation, it is generally agreed that Norway is giving her captors most trouble and is most strongly pervaded by a spirit of defiant independence that will not down. This militant attitude has expressed itself in repeated acts of sabotage for which German reprisals were immediate and severe, as well as
in manifestations of solidarity with the 1,360 Jews in the country who have been especially hard hit by a number of orders, decrees and general attacks.

Shortly after the Nazi authorities assumed power, they decided that the Norwegians needed education in "racial" principles. Accordingly, the controlled press was instructed to preach to them that, as members of the "Nordic race," they should be the first to accept the Nazi theories and be thankful that the Nazis release them from the Jewish "yoke." The process of "liberation" was begun in August, 1940, by the confiscation of the assets above a certain minimum, of all Jews. In a weak attempt to justify this action, the invaders pretended that the loot would be used for the welfare of those Norwegians who "loyally" cooperate with them.

The Nazi program of destruction of Jews, first worked out in Germany and later applied in all annexed and subjugated countries was followed in Norway. First came exclusion from public service and from all professions, on October 3, 1940. Simultaneously, Jewish shops were required to be marked as such. While the practice of the Jewish religion was not banned by decree, all religious meetings were forbidden. Evasion of this legislation was forestalled by a decree of Nazi Governor Terboven two days earlier, forbidding priests to convert Jews and annulling all certificates of baptism of Jews issued since March, 1940. News came on January 10 that Nazi authorities had ordered all Jews to surrender their wireless sets; they were warned not to "listen in" even when visiting non-Jewish homes. Two weeks later, it became known that the Nazis prohibited Jews the use of hotels and boarding houses in Oslo, Bergen, Stavenger and Trondheim. On January 28, 1941, the Handels-Tidningen in Göteborg, Sweden, called attention to the fact that an "Aryan clause" for marriages had been introduced under the new Norwegian regime. Swedish girls wishing to marry Norwegian citizens were required to produce certificates of Swedish descent. On May 18, the Oslo radio announced that the government had introduced the "Aryan paragraph," dismissing all "non-Aryan" employes from state and municipal institutions. "Non-Aryans" were said to be permitted for
the time being to retain their Norwegian citizenship but, in future, applicants in this classification would no longer be granted this privilege. Finally, on May 28, a statement was issued that the Chief Rabbi of Oslo had been officially informed by the German authorities that the Nuremberg Laws were henceforth in force in the country. With it came other prohibitive measures. Jews were no longer permitted to leave the country; Oslo was forced to issue instructions to theaters, prohibiting the production of plays written by Jews. Threats by staffs of the Oslo National Theater and the Oslo symphony orchestra to strike, however, resulted in the withdrawal of an order by the Propaganda Ministry for the dismissal of a Jewish dancer and three Jewish musicians.

Strange as it seemed to the Nazis, the reaction of the Norwegians to this legislation was by no means one of acquiescence. In October, 1940, student organizations throughout the country incurred the displeasure of the Quislingist authorities by removing anti-Jewish notices, demonstratively patronizing shops labelled “Jewish enterprise,” and repairing the damages whenever Jewish stores were plundered. Following landslides in western Norway on November 25, probably the most daring act of sabotage attempted, which wrecked railways and roads, Gestapo officials started an investigation. On December 2, it was learned, they came to the “satisfying” conclusion that the Norwegian Jews were to blame for it. Continuing their propaganda, designed to convince the Norwegians that Jews had involved Norway in the war, the Nazis brought from Germany their anti-Semitic films. On April 21, workers in Trondheim greeted one of these with a riot, forcing the showing to be cancelled. The next day, Gestapo officials arrested a large number of prominent Jews in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim on the charge of having organized the anti-Nazi resistance in the country. The establishment of a special anti-Jewish bureau in the official Propaganda Department was announced one month later. One of the tasks of this new body is to examine all documents seized in the homes of arrested Jews. In all likelihood, it is intended to publish these at an opportune moment, after they will have been suitably “edited.”
The latest dispatch, coming from Norway on June 9, indicates that during months of domination the Nazis have not succeeded in bringing about the social ostracism of Norway’s Jews. Orvar Saether, Chief of Staff of the Rikshird, Quisling’s storm troops, demanded in Fritt Folk, Quislingist organ, that Christians avoid all contact with Jews. The former are urged not to buy from or sell to Jews, consult Jewish physicians or lawyers, work with Jews, or admit them to restaurants, theaters and cinemas.

7. Sweden

This land, one of the very few democracies in Europe not yet completely under Nazi domination, has been putting up very stiff resistance since the outbreak of the war to retain her independence. Neither the eight-year-old German example of totalitarianism, nor the all-too-well-known practice of undermining the morale of Germany’s neighbors, could nullify the five hundred years of Swedish parliamentarian and democratic tradition. However, as is the case in all countries not yet within the German orbit, Sweden too is suffering from Nazi intrigues designed to weaken her courageous will to remain free.

The Third Reich is continuing its support of the Quislingist movements, such as the National Swedish Union, an openly pro-Nazi party formed by a faction of the Conservative Party in 1935. In an announcement made during its convention in Stockholm on October 11, 1940, Party Leader Sandstroem declared that the Union’s “activities” would be increasing. He stated that for some time past the party had to curtail its efforts because of lack of funds, intimating that suddenly a source of revenue had been found. He added that, owing to developments in Norway, the party was now in a position to make a “decisive contribution to Swedish national life.” Shortly thereafter, on November 2, the Göteborg police discovered an organization for fostering closer cooperation between Sweden and totalitarian nations in political and social fields. This clique, intended to gain a nation-wide following, is called the “Society for Cultural and Social Enlightenment.” Its membership cards display a swastika stamp.
In January, 1941, it was reported that the German consulate in Stockholm made unsuccessful attempts to obtain permission for the showing of German anti-Semitic films. The Swedish Government flatly refused to permit such propaganda and the German consul was forced to resort to private showings of such films at the consulate, to which pro-Nazi Swedes were invited. That subversive elements were working with some degree of efficiency in spite of the vigilance of the authorities became evident when, two months later, demands appeared in a number of Swedish anti-Nazi newspapers that the government adopt strong measures to suppress the growing anti-Jewish propaganda by pro-Nazis and German agents in the country. The publications pointed out that this anti-Semitic propaganda is a menace not only to Jews but also to Sweden itself, as experience has shown that Nazi agents begin their campaign of undermining the independence of countries by stirring up hatred of Jews.

The outcome of Nazi efforts to force the government to pursue an anti-Jewish course would affect 6,000 native Jews as well as 3,200 Jewish refugees. The majority of them, it is reported in a dispatch of May, fear internment since it is known that Germany is pressing the government for the internment not only of refugees from the Reich, but also of former Norwegian political prisoners. A certain Mr. Joesten, "a German journalist of note" who recently arrived in the United States goes even further when he states, according to Ludwig Lore in the New York Post of June 16, that "Two internment camps for foreigners were opened up in March, 1940... The government claims that the purpose of these camps is the 'prevention of subversive alien activity'. I have reason to believe that I was held prisoner by the Swedish Government as the result of a demand by the Nazi Minister in Stockholm. I know that the wishes of Hitler’s envoy are commands in democratic Sweden." Mr. Joesten holds that all anti-Nazi refugees who came to Sweden from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and even Norway are in these camps in "protective custody." This report, however, has not been confirmed.

The only news concerning Jewish communal life in Swe-
den was a statement published in Stockholm on July 7, 1940, to the effect that a bequest of approximately $700,000 for Jewish causes was provided in the will of the widow of the Danish Consul-General Simon Elias Warburg. The largest part of this sum was to be used for the establishment of homes for Jews in Palestine, and the remainder was distributed among the Jewish communities of Stockholm and Göteborg.

8. Italy

Obeying Hitler's orders, Italy proclaimed the racial dogma three years ago, thus seriously undermining Jewish life which had flourished in the country even under Mussolini's totalitarian regime. The weaker Axis partner not only modeled the laws within his country to suit the Nazis, but he also permitted his people to be drawn into the present conflict on June 10, 1940. And with the outbreak of the war came an intensification of the persecution of the Jews which later diminished, but which periodically flared up again whenever some sort of distraction from the military defeats was required.

The first sign of a renewed campaign against Italy's 57,000 Jews were mass arrests, reported on July 1, 1940, of those who had lost their nationality as a result of the introduction of the racial laws. One-third of the male Jewish population of Trieste, numbering about 1,600 persons, was incarcerated, in addition to all Jews between the ages of 16 and 60 in Fiume and Abbazzia, some of whom, however, were later released. Two months later, the Italian police began rounding up Jewish street vendors whose licenses had been voided by an administrative measure. Since the occupation of street vendor is looked upon in Italy as a very respectable livelihood, especially in Rome with its internationally famous Campo de' Fiori, a rag market, many Jews had been active in this field. Thus, this action is estimated to have affected approximately 1,200 heads of families. In Rome alone, 800 peddlers, representing 30% of the Jewish population in the capital, lost their livelihood at that time. According to a report of January 28, 1941, these licenses again were temporarily renewed,
in order, as stated by *Il Tevere*, to permit traders to dispose of merchandise on hand. Under the guise of a military precaution in wartime, the Italian War Ministry which had forbidden foreigners to sojourn at mountain and seaside resorts in war or fortified zones, extended this ban, on August 30, to include native Jews. This act was generally interpreted as a result of the anti-Jewish campaign in *Il Tevere* and *Il Regime Fascista*, which deplored as “the great Italian tragedy” the alleged fact that Jews were permitted to enjoy themselves while the rest of the country was fighting for its life. Six days later, a systematic search of the homes of most Italian Jews throughout the country was conducted by the police. Since particular attention was paid to private correspondence and books, it was believed to have been an effort to discover evidence of espionage.

Taking time off the general topic of war, the Italian press, in September, 1940, renewed its attack on the Jews. The assertion of *Il Tevere* that the Jews “are the sworn enemies of Italy,” was seconded by the declaration of Roberto Farinacci’s anti-Semitic sheet, *Il Regime Fascista*, that “the Jewish problem at present occupies first place among all nations.” Reacting to the clamor of these extremist sheets, the government once again imposed a number of economic curbs on the Jews. A decree of September 19 prohibited all Jews, even those classified as “privileged” by the racial laws, from participating in the scrap iron business. Jewish antique dealers were deprived of their operating licenses, it was reported on October 11. A decree of October 15 barred Jews from selling textbooks. Two additional orders, issued on December 11 and 18 respectively, barred Jews from all commercial agencies and from acting as brokers.

The flare-up in Italy between rival factions which are each trying to disclaim responsibility for the country’s setbacks in Albania and Libya, had serious repercussions on the Jews upon whom the blame was finally placed. *Il Regime Fascista* once again was the ringleader in heaping abuse on this innocent minority. Following its demand for a “race charter” on December 8, which would serve as common racial law of the Axis to be eventually extended to
other European States, the paper, on December 16, cited as an example of "Jewish pacifism" the rumored appeal by President Roosevelt to Pope Pius for a joint peace plan. It concluded that there can be no peace "before Israel is thrown to the ground." Simultaneously, anti-Jewish and anti-British demonstrations were staged in Trieste, Milan and Genoa. As punishment for their "sinister role" in the retreat of the Italian armies, further serious measures were enacted against the Jews. On January 11, 1941, the Ministry of the Interior excluded them from all branches of customs administration, and from any activity which may bring them in contact with customs officials. This order affected all Jewish shipping firms, of which there were several prominent ones in Italy. Three days after this, several commercial occupations, such as salesmen, middlemen, appraisers or canvassers for "firms or authorized agencies, including travel, publicity and auction sales bureaus" were closed to Jews. Measures barring them from exporting fruit and vegetables were made public on January 28.

Germany's military aid to Italian bases in the Mediterranean resulted in an order, in January, for the expulsion of Jews from Sicily and Sardinia, on the ground that the islands are important military zones. In connection with the execution of the war, the sequestration of radios of Jews was ordered early in March, evidently as part of the previously announced drive against listeners to "enemy" stations.

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With German domination over Italian policy almost complete, mass arrests and mass evictions of Jews throughout the country took place during May and June, 1941. On May 12, it was reported that a large number of Jews had been driven out of their homes in Milan, Turin and other cities. The Trieste offices of the Jewish community were raided by the police and a number of leaders were arrested. Those evicted were permitted to move to any section of the country but had to leave their household property behind. The justification for this renewed outrage was the allegation that the Jews spread anti-Fascist propaganda among the Italians. About two weeks later, about 1,000
more Italian Jews were taken into "protective custody" and interned in special camps. Although the police refused to divulge the identity of those arrested, it is believed that many prominent Jews were among them.

In addition to these brutalities, additional discriminatory orders were made public. On June 5, it was announced that an order of the Directorate General for Demography and Race forbade Jews to work as estate administrators. At the same time, a decision of the Directorate of State Monopolies excluded them from holding executive posts. Two weeks later, the government banned the listing of Jews in telephone directories, thus further impairing their ability to earn a livelihood.

Toward the end of the period under review, the position of the Jews in Italy had become more uncertain than ever before. Their lot was greatly aggravated by the various economic restrictions which have become unbearable. It is estimated that about 75% of the Jews have lost their positions as direct consequence of the anti-Jewish decrees. In February their allotments of necessities were reduced when special ration cards were issued to them. The only remaining occupation in which quite a large number of Italian Jews are still employed is that of small shopkeepers, especially in the clothing and dry goods lines. The larger businesses, however, were compelled either to sell to "Aryan" interests or to "Aryanize" themselves by incorporating non-Jewish directors. All Jews were eliminated at one blow from the insurance business, which had been almost entirely built up by them. Seventy-five per cent of those in the professions have been barred from practice. In view of the uncivilized treatment to which Italian Jews have been subjected, it is rather ironic that the Italian government felt impelled to ban dictionaries defining "anti-Semites" as "poorly civilized persons."

According to official statistics, issued in January, 1941, 5,424 of these unfortunates have been able to leave the country since 1938, when Italy adopted her anti-Jewish policy. Although the Italian Government today encourages emigration by granting some facilities for this purpose, transportation difficulties make their departure virtually impossible. It is, however, impossible to give credence to
a report of June 10 that the authorities were ready to issue passports to Jews and that they had made an allotment of foreign exchange of about $500 per person for travelling expenses.

Despite its anti-Semitic behavior, the Italian Government in some cases has shown a surprising degree of leniency. Thus, on August 11, it was learned that Italian Jews who incurred losses during air raids were indemnified on the same basis as non-Jews. A ruling of the Italian Court of Cassation is a further example of an enlightened attitude. Sara Gasviner, an Egyptian Jewess, was discharged by her employer several days before the date set by the decree of November 17, 1938, by which foreigners were ordered to leave the country. Reversing a decision handed down by the Rome Court of Appeals, the Court of Cassation ruled that she was to receive full indemnity. Furthermore, on January 3, 1941, reports came that the government had called a number of internationally known Italian Jewish army and naval engineers, including Admiral Umberto Pugliese who designed practically every warship in the Italian Navy, for services as advisors in the armed forces. This, of course, can hardly be considered an altruistic act. Although the racial laws unequivocally stated that “Italian citizens of the Jewish race, except those designated by the Minister of the Interior as ‘privileged’ Jews, cannot lend military service in peace or war,” the government realized that the military services of some Jews may in the future prove indispensable. In order to permit authorities to meet such emergencies without acting contrary to law, two supplementary decrees were promulgated soon after hostilities began. The first stipulates that all Italian Jews of military age in the “privileged” class are obliged to present themselves for examination and recruitment. The second decree dealing with volunteers does not mention the exclusion of Jews which automatically leads to the inference that certain “desirable” Jewish volunteers would be accepted.

Another relaxation of the anti-Jewish law, also motivated by necessity, was an order of the Italian Government, made public on February 9, mobilizing Jewish engineers and also doctors and senior medical students for service in
military hospitals. A most surprising incident was the acquittal of eleven prominent Jewish physicians in April after a brief, dramatic trial, of the charge of violating the Italian racial laws by treating "Aryan" patients; the accused physicians were defended by noted "Aryan" attorneys.

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The Italian Jewish communities were seriously affected by loss of membership due to conversions. As a result of Italy's racial policy, some 5,500 persons, representing 11% of the Jewish population, as listed in 1938, had embraced Christianity by August, 1940. The current legislation favored converted Jews who, by leaving the Jewish community, hoped to be able to send their children to Catholic schools and to simplify emigration, especially to those countries of Latin America which bar Jews. Another method of gaining the status of an "Aryan" is to have oneself declared illegitimate. Thus, the "Aryanization" process in Italy is leading to some extremely curious developments. According to one of the racial decrees, it is possible to obtain a certificate of "Aryanization" proving, in the case of mixed parentage, that the "non-Aryan" father was not the real parent. Since no person is inclined to take an action reflecting on the morality of his mother, the majority of applicants have managed to unearth transgressions on the part of grandmothers, long dead. A surprisingly large number of full-blooded Jews were thus accepted by the State as "Aryans," and a number of families consequently found themselves in the peculiar position of having half "Aryan" and half Jewish members. According to a report of December 12, 1940, Italy's wealthiest Jew, Senator Abraham Isaac Jacob Levi, obtained "Aryanization" in this manner.

The community has also been bereaved by the death of several very well-known Jews during the past year. The most prominent among them were Senator Vito Volterra, one of the two Jewish members of the Pontifical Academy, the father of mathematical biology, and Leo S. Olschki, internationally known publisher and collector of ancient manuscripts and rare books.
The number of Italians who show a "bourgeois spirit" and indulge in demonstrations of sympathy for Jews is not negligible, although they are threatened by the powerful apparatus of the state and party. The heads of the Catholic Church have discountenanced all forms of anti-Semitism. Having strongly condemned racism previously, the Pope, in two broadcasts in November, 1940 and in February, 1941, again denounced the brand of anti-Semitism characteristic of Fascist regimes. On the second occasion, he said, "For the Church there are neither heathens nor Jews, neither slaves nor free men, but only the children of God."

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In spite of restrictions on refugees in Italy, which became more numerous with the intensification of the anti-Jewish drive, their lot is by far lighter than that of their fellow-countrymen who have been unable to leave countries occupied by Hitler. On September 5, 1940, it was reported that the allowance granted by the government to interned refugees for food and rent had been greatly reduced. In October, all alien Jews were ordered to liquidate their businesses; their goods had to be sold to the government only, and compensation was paid in government bonds which will mature one year after the end of the war. Moreover, in a case tried before the Italian Supreme Court in February, 1941, it was ruled that foreign Jews also are affected by the Italian racial decree which curbs the practice of various professions by "Italian citizens of the Jewish faith."

The latest figures on Jewish refugees in Italian internment camps giving their number as 2,000, were published on May 4, 1941. Another 1,400, nearly all women and children, were still at liberty, principally in Milan and Rome. Allegedly due to a misunderstanding, some of these women, however, were expelled to Germany in June despite the fact that their husbands were still interned in Italy. The largest group of those interned, about 1,000, are concentrated in barracks near the village of Cosenza in Southern Italy. Although accommodations are improvised and heating and toilet facilities are inadequate, they are
said to be reasonably comfortable. Most of the 15 other camps throughout the country are not camps in the real sense but small towns to which Jews are confined. The local townspeople, the heads of the camps and the police are in most cases well disposed toward the internees. Life in these camps varies a great deal. The best is Campagna, a small town with 11,000 inhabitants where the 250 internees are free to walk about and have their meals where they please. They must merely attend three roll-calls during the day. The worst of the camps is Fermonte which has wooden huts housing 64 persons each, mostly Poles. Their greatest hardship is that only very few of them have been given permission to live with their wives and families in these camps.

Colonies

The defeat of the Italian Army on the Egyptian frontier was a severe blow to fascist prestige in Libya. Therefore, in order to divert attention from the unfortunate military campaign, a number of local Jews were arrested in December, 1940, on charges of pro-British activity and of spreading the news of the British victory. Several noted Jews were also detained as "hostages." Again, in April, after the re-occupation of the country by Axis forces, Italian officials arrested a further number of Benghazi Jews on similar charges. In May, 1941, however, most of the Jews of Benghazi and Tobruk had managed to reach Egypt where they are being cared for by the Alexandria Jewish community.

In Tripoli, the Italian authorities, thrown into a panic by British victories in North Africa, assigned large numbers of secret police, acting under the guidance of the German Gestapo, to harass and arrest Jews. Reprisals against Jews accused of pro-British activities which were particularly severe, culminated in the arrest of all members of the Tripoli Jewish Community Board.

From Albania came news on October 27, 1940, that the entire Jewish population, consisting of 150 families, had been ordered to leave the country within two months.
News dealing with the Jews in Spain has been extremely scarce during the period under review. The small Jewish community, concentrated in Barcelona and Madrid, which remained after Franco’s victory, consists chiefly of traders and artisans, usually stateless or of Polish nationality, who display little interest in political affairs. They are living in an atmosphere of hostility evoked by the agitation of the Spanish Falangists and German Nazi agents. Reports of October and November, 1940, stated that the Jews interpreted this anti-Jewish campaign as a prelude to the arrival of a German army in Spain which was to compel Franco to join the Axis. In consequence, many of them made strenuous efforts to leave the country, but all borders were closed to them. Only a few succeeded in going to Spanish Morocco and Tangier in the hope that they would be safer there. But indicative of the “hospitality” awaiting them in these countries was a brutal attack on Jewish refugees residing there. News of this was broadcast on November 4, 1940, by the Spanish radio station at Valladolid, in the course of which the announcer expressed regret that Hitler had not exterminated all Jews.

The Jews were seriously affected by a government measure, reported on September 23, 1940, abolishing civil marriage and prescribing that both Christians and non-Christians must be married before a priest. Since Jewish ritual marriages before a rabbi had already been prohibited previously, this measure makes it impossible for Jews in Spain to marry. At the same time, the Falangist Party launched an intensive campaign for the withdrawal of all civil rights granted to minorities under the Republic.

Fleeing persecution in the Nazi-conquered countries, nearly 1,000 European refugees, largely Jewish, found their way into Spain. Most of them had come from France, and some from Holland and Belgium. They arrived without Spanish transit visas and frequently without other valid documents. These and other refugees against whom no
specific charges could be brought were interned. On April 16, 1941, Dr. Augusto d'Esaguy, chairman of the Portuguese Refugee Aid Committee and president of the Portuguese Jewish Community, described the deplorable circumstances under which these unfortunates are living in prisons or in concentration camps. According to this report, their food is entirely inadequate, they have been deprived of their money, and are almost entirely without assistance. Dr. d'Esaguy declared that a stay of but a few months in these prisons is enough to destroy the health of the most robust and to break the spirit of the most dauntless. Jewish relief organizations are not permitted to operate in Spain. The only ray of hope in the situation is the fact that a number of charitable persons render clandestine assistance to these refugees. These altruistic people face imprisonment should their benefactions be discovered.

A part of the $2,500,000 spent by the American Red Cross in Spain during the past six months for food and medicine, was used for assistance to, and for the release of, some of these internees. The resentment caused by these acts of charity was expressed on June 22, 1941, in the Falangist paper Arriba, which denounced the Red Cross as "masonic, Jewish and liberal" and as "a seraphic mass in the service of England."

One of the victims of this hostile attitude of the Spanish Government toward Jews was Professor Walter Benjamin, psychologist, formerly of the University of Vienna and Munich and, during recent years, a member of the faculty of the Sorbonne at Paris, who committed suicide at Port Bou on the Franco-Spanish border, as reported on October 2. He was one of five refugees who, although lacking French exit permits, possessed valid Spanish and Portuguese transit visas. Yet, the Spanish police chief at Port Bou prevented them from continuing their journey. Given a choice between internment in a Spanish concentration camp or a return to France under escort, Professor Benjamin preferred death. His suicide was only one of many which have occurred among refugees in Spain.
10. Portugal

In an attempt to escape the sufferings, hardships and death in Nazi-dominated Europe, refugees from many lands swarmed into Portugal, the last, if temporary, sanctuary on the Continent. Lisbon has become the single exit for the comparatively small number of refugees who are still able to surmount the numerous obstacles in the way of emigration from Europe. During the past year, however, as Nazi pressure on the small neutral nations increased, the native population as well as the various agencies set up for refugee relief work have been laboring under the fear that Portugal too may be forced to yield to Axis pressure. A plausible explanation for this disquietude was a report on July 14, 1940, that Nazi agents in Portugal were attempting to undermine the morale of this hospitable people, by spreading rumors to the effect that the Gestapo had already prepared lists of Portuguese Jews and non-Jews who would later be treated as anti-Nazi elements.

After the German invasion of France and the Low Countries, the Portuguese Government admitted all refugees who could produce some kind of visa, and also others without any possibilities of emigration. Since this refugee tide threatened to swamp the country's limited resources, the tiny Jewish community of about 3,000 mobilized all its strength to aid them. A relief office was opened with the financial assistance of the American Joint Distribution Committee, as well as an emigration aid section supported by the Hicem (Hias-Ica Emigration Association). Representatives of the new office are working in all the provincial centers, to which incoming refugees are ordered by the Portuguese frontier authorities. The visitors, distributed throughout the country, are well treated.

In August, 1940, Captain Agostinho, Chief of Portugal's International Police, who was in charge of most of the refugee arrangements, stated that approximately 15,000 of them were in the country and that the number of those arriving had then diminished. Nevertheless, on September 12, the authorities were obliged to bar further admission of refugees since all facilities for departure had already
been booked for several months ahead. But on October 8, Elie Dijour, general secretary of the Hicem revealed that new arrivals still averaged about 200 to 300 weekly. He also declared that not more than 10,000 refugees were still in the country. In December, according to the *New York Times* correspondent, the number decreased to 8,000. Some people of world fame sought temporary refuge in Lisbon. Among them were the exiled German Jewish authors and playwrights Franz Werfel and Alfred Doeblin; Gustave Kahn, French poet, and Dr. Serge Voronoff, famous originator of surgical rejuvenation techniques.

With the intensification of the European conflict, however, trans-Atlantic transportation has virtually ceased and these thousands of human beings are stranded in Portugal, praying that there may be no repetition of their recent flight.

### IV. GERMANY

**By Martha JeLENKO**

Beset by a host of new war-time restrictions, by strong attacks on the purely ideological front and by other fiendish actions, the 187,000 Jews left in Germany, already deprived of all their rights during the preceding seven and one-half years of Nazi rule, find themselves in an indescribably precarious position.

The following few figures best convey the picture of the systematic annihilation of German Jewry. Of the 25,000 Jews incarcerated in the numerous concentration camps in Germany, 16,000 were reported to have died from exposure, since the fall of 1939. On November 10, 1940, following the Royal Air Force bombing of Munich the day before, twenty-one others were reportedly executed in reprisal for "semitic British warmongers' insolence." According to the *Statistische Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich*, released on August 21, 1940, the number of Jewish pupils shows a staggering decrease, amounting to 80% of the 1938 total. Only 2,008 Jewish pupils were attending public grammar schools in 1939, as against 10,069 in 1938. Including private schools, there were only 8,962 Jewish pupils in 1939, as against 19,913 in the previous year.

In Austria, 4,721 public schools with 657,000 pupils were
counted, while the figures for the Sudeten provinces showed 2,957 schools with 274,000 pupils.

But, paradoxically, the war has to some extent broken down the ostracism bordering on actual ghetto conditions under which these Jews have lived since the savage excesses of November 10, 1938. Owing to the enormous requirements of the Nazi war machine and the consequent shortage of man-power in vital industries at home, Jews of both sexes up to the age of 50 were recruited to fill the gaps left by the exodus of men to the war front. By November, 1940, more than 50,000 German and Austrian Jews, as well as 200,000 shipped to Germany from the occupied territories, had been conscripted into the German labor service where they were assigned to bridge-building, railroad work, hewing wood in the forests, the transport of iron, and labor in chemical factories and other vital industries. They were segregated in special units and were compelled to wear "Jew-badges." Receiving only two-thirds of the nominal wages for German workers, the Jews, in February, were also deprived of holidays by a "masterly verdict" of the Cologne Court, characteristic of the perversion of justice and its administration in the Third Reich, to the effect that such privileges were reserved only for the Gemeinschaft der Schaffenden (creative community). Moreover, a ruling of the Labor Department in April forced them to relinquish 15% of their monthly earnings in excess of thirty-nine marks. Official comment on this levy was that in this manner the "social obligations" of Jews were equalized with those of the German citizens. However, no remuneration at all was given to the Jews who were ordered to remove the debris, caused by air raids last September, and to those who, during the first let-up in the winter, were rounded up to clean the streets of the city. Since the Jews were held responsible for the British Royal Air Force raids on Berlin, this work was considered as "punishment." With the further expansion of the theater of war in 1941, the demand for labor increased continuously. This situation became so acute in June that the German authorities decided to issue a decree closing the Jewish schools for boys over twelve years of age, who were then ordered to work in munition factories.
Jewish professional men and scientists, too, were drafted to aid in the war, designed to destroy their kin. In August, 1940, 1,250 Jewish doctors and 940 dentists were conscripted for service in military hospitals. It was reliably reported also that during March, 1941, several German Jewish scientists were released from concentration camps for consultation with Field Marshal Hermann Goering on matters regarding the prosecution of the war.

Perhaps the most severe wartime hardships imposed on the Jews is the refusal of the authorities to allow them adequate clothing, food and shelter. In December, 1940, authorities stated that they were not entitled to clothing ration cards “because 92% of them formerly were active as merchants, and their former living standards make it appear certain that they already have sufficient clothes”; the authorities in Vienna extended this prohibition even to the dead, by rejecting the pleas of the Jewish Community for burial shrouds. Although Jews received food ration cards, stamped with a “J,” most shops display signs saying “Jews not desired,” while others require them to shop only between four and five o’clock in the afternoon when most of what little provisions the shops had have already been sold. Moreover, Jews cannot purchase milk, fish or poultry, and are barred from occasional distribution to the general public of minute quantities of coffee, tea, candy, fruit and canned foods. Increases in rations, as in January, 1941, when Germans were allowed one additional pound of apples, are usually not for Jews. Refugees who have reached neutral ports assert that many of them would have died of hunger had it not been for clandestine help given them by some Christians.

During the fall and winter months and again in May, 1941, Jews were systematically ejected from their homes in the middle-class Berlin suburbs and advised to move to dilapidated houses and hastily erected huts, without sanitary facilities, located in the slum districts. This measure was allegedly taken in order to relieve Berlin’s increasing housing shortage, brought about by the influx of Germans fleeing from areas bombed by the enemy. According to a report reaching the United States in June, 1941, no less than 1,000 Jewish families in Berlin were
given three days to leave their homes and remove their furniture, to make room for 10,000 people brought to the city after heavy air attacks on Bremen, Hamburg, Kiel, Wilhelmshaven and Hanover.

A glimpse of the treatment of Jews in Berlin during the aerial siege is afforded by various reports. Jews were ordered to enter public shelters immediately after the alarm was given, not out of solicitude for their safety, but in order to humiliate them, because the reason given by the authorities was fear that Jews might signal to the enemy. Segregated from the "Aryans," they were often exposed to provocation by Storm Troopers. Hence most of them preferred either to stay home during a raid or to go to one of the special "ghetto shelters" built by the Jewish community. Those Jews who suffered losses during bombing attacks received no compensation.

The various military campaigns brought with them more violent anti-Semitic propaganda and intimidation. In July and August, 1940, after the occupation of most of the European democracies had been completed, the German press repeatedly warned the Jews of Europe that German might would be used against them, and that another war would mean the "eviction of the Jews to the last man" as Hitler had stated before hostilities began. Indeed, on August 7, 1940, Das Schwarze Korps, organ of the S. S., declared that one of the prerequisites for a "German peace" would be a European continent without Jews. The paper declared that the Jews had cooperated with Britain in an attempt to "convert all Europe into a chaotic, blood-soaked battle-field." Therefore they must pay the bill, the paper said. It warned that Jews everywhere in Europe would be driven from their "hideouts," despite the present observance of "camouflaged restraint." Norway, Denmark, The Netherlands, Belgium, and both occupied and unoccupied France were mentioned. "Jews in these countries," said the paper, "have readily disappeared from public life and withdrawn from civil offices and editorial rooms." A German victory "will secure space far away from European labor and culture where the scum of humanity may try to lead a life of its own toil or die the death it earned."
The article implied that anti-Semitic measures already put into effect in various European countries were too weak, and that a solution on the continental scale was necessary. At the same time, UFA produced "The Rothschilds," another of the infamous propaganda films, depicting their rise to plutocratic powers, according to preconceived Nazi ideas.

In March, 1941, evidently believing that the numerous existing anti-Semitic institutes and bodies were inadequate, the Nazis established in Frankfort on the Main another Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question. To this Institute Frankfort's municipal Judaica library, consisting of 40,000 volumes, was taken two months later. One of the Institute's tasks evidently will be to prepare material for an elaborate "show trial" of Herschel Grynszpan, who fell into the hands of the Germans when France was invaded. The trial is scheduled to be held after the war and is to furnish conclusive proof of "World Jewry's" complicity in its attempt to murder the leaders of the Nazi regime.

In the spring of this year, the finger of blame again was pointed at the Jews for perpetrating the war in the Balkans. At that time, it was considered essential to save Yugoslavia from the "dark forces" which ruled the country. Again on June 22, Hitler held the Jews responsible for the war against Russia, for he argued with a "logic," typical of the Nazis, that the peace offer to the Allied Powers made after the conquest of Poland was refused because of the "efforts of international and Jewish warmongers." It is, of course, self-evident that the tenor of the Führer's addresses on various special occasions, as in his New Year's message to his people, his speech before the Reichstag on July 19, his statement at the Munich beer hall on February 24, and again in his Reichstag speech May 4, 1941, was that not he, but "international Jewry" is answerable for the bloodshed in Europe. On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the founding of the Third Reich on January 30, he promised retaliation against the Jews should the United States, whose leaders have frequently been called either "Jews" or "Jew-serfs," abandon its neutrality. As a matter of fact, the incarceration of prominent German Jews, the arrest of Dr. Otto Hirsch, Director of Reich
Union of Jews in Germany, and the drafting of other Jewish leaders for compulsory labor service, in March, 1941, may have been in retaliation for Congressional approval of the Lease-Lend Bill, which then seemed assured.

The fear that even more drastic action would be taken against them, prompted the Jews to besiege American consulates in an effort to hasten emigration. Stricter immigration regulations by the United States, apprehension of fifth column activities, coupled with various wartime obstacles, however, hindered their departure. In March, two groups of emigrants, affected by a new drastic curb on clothing and other essentials which they were permitted to take with them left for Lisbon on a direct sealed train.

Information received by the United States Government on February 19, 1941, stated that within four weeks from that date only Jews of military age, utilized for slave labor, and those held in concentration camps, would be left in Germany. Toward this end, the Nazis had shipped nearly all of the 9,000 Jews residing in the provinces of Baden and the Palatinate, about a quarter of whom are between the ages of 60 and 104, to unoccupied France on October 22. They were given one day's preparation and were permitted to take with them only 100 pounds of baggage and $40 in currency. The Vichy Government, unable to send them back, placed most of them in the Gurs concentration camp, by all accounts a veritable hell.

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The lot of the Austrian Jews was in no way easier. Those 48,000 who, in December, 1940, were still residing in Vienna, where the entire Jewish population of this first victim of Nazi expansion is concentrated, experienced extreme hardships in the months that followed. In preparation for their expulsion to the Lublin reservation in Poland last February, 10,000 of them were herded into school buildings. The first contingent of 1,100, stripped of their very meagre possessions, was dispatched the same month under conditions described as outrageous. The rest of them were left to follow in several trainloads at short intervals so that Vienna could be "judenrein" at the earliest possible moment. Just as a little farewell gift, Nazis were known
to have destroyed all documents and identification papers of many evacuees. During March there was a lull in this monstrous procedure. In the hope of procuring much coveted foreign exchange, the government informed its prospective victims that those whose relatives in the United States purchased transportation tickets from German travel agencies in New York would be spared. The United States Government benevolently placed no obstacles in the way of these unfortunate people, but lack of transportation facilities prevented the urgently needed increase of emigration. Consequently, expulsions were again resumed at the end of March.

Having had more training in political warfare in the past, Austrian non-Jews are more courageous in displaying their contempt for the Nazi machine than their brethren in Germany. Early this year, they expressed their defiance by throwing very small bombs, reminiscent of weapons used in pre-Nazi days, at "Aryanized" shops. Many Christians make special efforts to be friendly to Jews working beside them in factories. The complete indifference of the impoverished Austrian artisans to Nazi propaganda became evident at the first of what was to be a series of meetings called in Vienna, at which the artisan leader, Gratzenberger, painted a rosy picture of the future with Jews eliminated from economic life. The audience was so small and unresponsive that the remainder of the scheduled meetings had to be cancelled.

V. BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

By Simon Segal*

During the year under review, Bohemia-Moravia was somehow forgotten in the news because of the tremendously important events which occurred elsewhere. The Nazis had succeeded in conquering new territories, and these countries, which were the first non-German areas occupied by the Nazis, were, therefore, no longer in the public eye.

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The German policy in Bohemia and Moravia apparently followed the originally established plan. The anti-Jewish measures taken by German authorities had two purposes in view: first, the complete economic destruction of the once wealthy Jewish community; second, the inculcation of anti-Semitism in the Czech people.

The economic anti-Jewish measures assumed many forms, one of the most important being the expulsion of Jews from various towns and cities. Compelled to evacuate not only their homes but also the cities in which they had lived for many years, the Jews were economically ruined. Having arrived in the city of refuge, they became a burden to the local Jewish population and thus contributed towards its impoverishment.

Why certain cities were singled out no one can explain. The Nazis themselves are at a loss for an answer. The orders issued by the various local Nazi authorities were very often conflicting. The most logical explanation is undoubtedly the peculiar ambition of the local Nazi tyrant to show his superiors that he had succeeded in making the town or area under his administration "judenrein."

On September 5, 1940, it was reported that the entire Jewish population was expelled from the town of Klatov, in order to make room for the Germans who were fleeing from the British airplane bombardments. Again, why the town of Klatov was selected in preference to any other town, remains an enigma. The Nazi chief in Klatov was probably moved by personal ambition.

On November 19, Baron von Neurath, the Nazi Protector, ordered the evacuation of all Jews of Kremzir, Geding, and Ungarisch-Ralitsh, within twenty-four hours. The Jews of these cities were sent to the Government General of Poland. Here too, nothing but Nazi arbitrariness can account for the selection of these three particular cities.

According to a document received from agents of the underground movement by the Czech Government-in-Exile, the Jews were ordered, on January 2, 1941, to evacuate seventeen communes in the Zizkov district, nine in the Blansko district, and ten in the district of Krumlov. The evacuation was to take place not later than the end of the year 1941. Twenty-nine communes in the Elbe Valley, be-
tween Pardubice and Zizelice, Bohemia, were to be evacuated before March 1, 1941.

These expulsions, ordered by the German military authorities, may have had some strategic reasons. Threats of evacuation, were Germany's method of keeping the Jewish communities in perpetual fear. According to reports published on January 12, the Jews of Prague were living in a state of terror because of the rumors which were circulated to the effect that all Prague Jews would be expelled in order to make room for the Germans who were fleeing from the bombed areas of Western Germany. A further wave of expulsions from the Czech cities and towns began in the spring of 1941. Up until May, Jews from eighty-three towns and cities were expelled.

Various decrees throughout the year have in one field or another restricted the economic activities of the Jews. Some of these decrees have real significance and greatly affect the economic life of the Jews. Others are of a rather vexatious nature and aim to humiliate Jews and convince the Czechs that Jews are of an inferior race.

According to the Nuremberg anti-Jewish laws, which were introduced in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, a concern was considered to be Jewish if the management employed even a single Czech of Jewish descent. Since Jewish participation in the Czech industry was widespread, this provision served as a means of taking over most of the Czech industry by the Germans. The so-called Aryanization of Jewish property in Czechoslovakia was realized in such a way that any transfer of Jewish property to a Czech was made practically impossible. At the present time, the Czechoslovakian industry is almost entirely in the hands of Germans. The anti-Jewish law was thus a convenient method for the Germans to get control of the important Czech establishments.

In November, 1940, the Prague newspaper, Neue Tag, published new financial restrictions on the Jews in the Protectorate. Jews and Christians married to Jews were forbidden to retain any ready cash exceeding 3,000 crowns. They were ordered to deposit all excess amounts in savings banks. Jewish enterprises were not permitted to retain
cash exceeding a year's proceeds. All savings bank books had to be turned over to the Ministry of Finance before December 13. Amounts to their credit were to be transferred to blocked accounts to be administered by German-appointed trustees.

The elimination of Jews from various branches of economic life proceeded unabated during the year under review. On November 19, 1940, special ration cards were introduced for the use of Jews in the Protectorate. These cards were stamped with the letter "J" and were to be used for shopping only during certain hours. According to a police decree reported on February 23, these hours were restricted from 3 P.M. to 5 P.M. throughout the Protectorate. New regulations prohibiting the practice of dentistry by Jews were reported on February 5; Jews were also excluded from participation in the state lottery of the Protectorate.

These measures, which eliminated Jews from the economic life of the country, were not sufficient, however, to satisfy the greed of the Nazi authorities. In a statement issued on April 13, 1941, Protector Baron von Neurath, scored the slackness with which Jewish businesses were being "Aryanized," and declared that in order to speed up the process, he would personally take charge of the administration of all anti-Semitic laws. This indication of the reluctance of non-Jews to participate in the ruin of their Jewish co-nationals was corroborated by the Nazi-controlled press which repeatedly stated that the Czechs were not observing the Nuremberg Laws.

Despite these laws, many intermarriages took place. The press complained that the Czechs did not fully accept the Nazi philosophy and that the Nuremberg legislation has not become part of the daily life of the Czech people. In fact, the majority of the Czechs not only did not accept the Nazi anti-Semitic philosophy, but violation of anti-Jewish legislation seemed to have become an integral part of the general national resistance to the Nazi regime. Time and again, Christians displayed their sympathy with the Jews despite warnings of the Nazi leaders. A number of well-known Czechs were denounced by the authorities because of their friendly relations with Jews, and several of them were severely punished. Increased evidence of friend-
ship towards the Jews as a form of Czech national resistance was shown during the year under review. The Nazi press printed a long list of towns and cities where Czechs had refused to obey orders to sever all relations with Jews. Through official regulations, the authorities tried to bring about complete segregation of Jews from their Christian neighbors.

Some of these regulations actually bordered on the ridiculous and only tended to show how unsuccessful the Germans were in their various attempts to make anti-Semitism a part of the Czech psychology. A Nazi regulation, for example, was reported to the effect that when Jews entered shops they were to go only to special counters reserved for them. Czech clerks were permitted to assist the Jews with their purchases, but they were forbidden to converse with Jews on any subject, even one so trite as the weather. Jews were permitted to eat in special rooms in restaurants but were forbidden to engage in conversation with the waiters on any subject save the menu and the price of food. These and similar measures indicate how difficult it was for the Nazis to bring about a boycott of Jews by the Czech population.

On February 28, the German-controlled Prague radio warned the population of the Protectorate that persons “who still maintained friendly relations with Jews must be considered enemies of the country and voluntary agents of England.” The broadcaster warned that “radical measures” would be taken against such persons. This appeal, however, met with very little response, and the Protector himself found it necessary, on April 13, to warn the people of the Protectorate that the anti-Semitic laws must be respected, that the flouting of these decrees was part of a systematic anti-German campaign, and that, therefore, violators would be treated as traitors.

A further measure to segregate Jews was the decree issued by the Ministry of Education forbidding Jewish children to attend Czech schools. At the beginning of the 1940–41 school year, all Jewish students were excluded from the Czech schools, and the Jewish communities of Bohemia and Moravia were ordered to organize and maintain a special Jewish school system. The language in the Jewish
schools was to be either Yiddish or Czech. German was forbidden.

The position of the Jews in the Protectorate, during the year under review, was similar to that of the Jews in other Nazi-occupied countries. They were expelled from the professions and government positions. They were forbidden to attend public schools; nor could they visit cafes, theatres or libraries. Stores which were still in possession of Jews were compelled to display special signs, and a campaign calling upon the population to boycott Jewish establishments was constantly in progress. Jews in the Protectorate suffered the same discrimination in the rationing of food and clothing as the Jews in Germany.

The only redeeming feature in the Bohemian and Moravian Jewish situation was the sympathy shown by the Czechs. All attempts of the Nazis and the Czech Fascist Party to promote anti-Semitism among the Czechs met with failure. The Nazis tried in every possible way to strengthen the Fascist Vlajka Party and weaken the National Solidarity group. This group was considered too passive in its relationships towards the Reich, and an official radio broadcast charged it with insincerity towards the Germans, as well as insufficient firmness towards the Jews. The National Solidarity Party forbade its members to maintain social contacts with Jews. This warning, however, met with no response; instead an ostentatiously friendly attitude existed towards the Jews.

Czechoslovakia-in-Exile

Immediately after the outbreak of the war, a regime was established in London, headed by Dr. Eduard Benes, former Czechoslovakian President. The Government-in-Exile proceeded to organize a Czech State Council which was to substitute for the Parliament of Czechoslovakia. This Council was formally organized at its first meeting on January 14, 1941, in London. Thirty-two deputies were present; eight additional were to be chosen to represent the German and other non-Czech nationalities.

The Czech Government-in-Exile was willing to have two Jewish representatives in the State Council. Difficulties
developed, however, because the Jewish parties could not agree on the persons to represent them. The National Jewish Party (Zionists) which, before the war, had two representatives in the Czech Parliament, asked that these two representatives remain also in the State Council in Exile. The Agudah (Jewish Orthodox Party) and the assimilationists objected and asked for representation for their parties. The result was that President Benes would not appoint any Jewish representative until an agreement was arrived at by the Czech Jews themselves. The decision of the President made a bad impression on Jewish public opinion. Two Jews, however, were included in the Council in a personal capacity, and not as representatives of any Jewish party. They were Dr. Julius Friedman, former head of the economic section of the Czech Foreign Ministry, and Dr. H. J. Stransky.

VI. SLOVAKIA

By Eugene Hevesi*

Ever since the partition of Czechoslovakia by Hitler in March, 1939, "independent" Slovakia has been a German province in everything but name. The pretext under which German domination was extended over the small country was the usual one: Slovakia was presented with a German guarantee of her borders. Although the treaty permitted the influx of German "technicians," and allowed Germany to take the "necessary" military measures within the country, the full meaning of the German favor did not at first become clear. The first occasion for "defending" Slovakia's borders came soon, however, when, in August, 1939, German armies used Slovakian territory for their northward thrust into Poland. Since then, a German military commander has been in discreet control of the government of the country.

A German military colony ever since the outbreak of the Hitler war, Slovakia has also served as an example of virulent anti-Semitism for all other countries of the Danube-Balkan area. Today, it is an academic question which

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faction has played the more decisive role in bringing to power Slovakia's cruel and barbarous anti-Jewish regime — the more moderate and responsible elements, in their naive endeavor to avert complete political submission to German war interests, or the local Nazi adventurers, in their irresponsible craving for power. The fact is that, especially since July 28, 1940, when President Tiso and Premier Tuka were ushered into the "awe-abiding" halls of Berchtesgaden to hear Hitler's commands with respect to Slovakia's role in the "new order" of Southeastern Europe, Slovakia has been the pacemaker for official anti-Semitism in the Danubian region. On that occasion, the policies of Monsignor Tiso towards the Jews, originally intended to be "moderate," were completely reversed overnight, and, within a short time, the internal government was handed over to Sano Mach, Hlinka Guard leader and Nazi agent, formerly Minister of Propaganda, and now Vice Premier and Minister of the Interior.

The immediate task of undermining the security of the country's 88,000 Jews was entrusted, under the supervision of Mach, to a certain Murgas, successor of Mach in the leadership of the Hlinka Guard. A few months before his nomination to the office of executioner of the Jews, Murgas had been removed by Tiso from the chief editorship of the official newspaper for no other reason than "exaggerated Jew-baiting."

On August 2, 1940, Mach's and Murgas' first administrative measure ordered the closing of all Jewish owned coffee-houses, restaurants and saloons throughout the country. A few days later, all Jewish employes, numbering several hundreds, of the grain monopoly, and of the import corporation "Dovus" were put out of office. Within a few weeks, 367 Jewish physicians were excluded from practice. On September 5, the German press announced with satisfaction that, with the exception of primary schooling, education was completely closed to Jews in Slovakia, that Jewish children were to be segregated even in the primary schools, and that schools of the Jewish communities were already closed.

At the same time, conscription of all categories of Jewish property had been decreed, under the penalty of five years'
imprisonment and immediate confiscation of all property for failure to comply, or for false declaration.

The real course of official gangsterism, however, was embarked upon when, on September 7, 1940, as a speed-up measure in the program of eliminating Jews from Slovak economic and social life, Parliament gave the government complete authority to issue "Aryanization" decrees at will. Such authority aimed at the "earliest possible transfer of the greatest possible amount of Jewish-owned property to Christians." In respect of landed estates that had passed from Christian into Jewish hands in previous times through forced sales for unpaid taxes or other debts, it was provided that the previous owner or his Christian heir can regain possession by depositing, with "Aryanization" officials, 25% of the original sales price, and pledging payment of 5% of the price annually for five years. Under this arrangement, if he lived, the Jewish owner was to get only half the value of his property. It is to be noted, however, that this measure was later superseded by a general Land Reform Decree which will be dealt with below. Within a short time, thousands of Jewish-owned houses and landed property were "redeemed" in this simple and convenient way.

In the meantime, confiscation, called "Aryanization" of Jewish-owned shops and industries, provided for in previous laws and decrees, had proceeded rapidly. By January, 1941, 50% of the Jewish retail businesses and small factories had already been "Aryanized."

A decree of September 15 deprived Jews of their passports and drivers' licenses and confiscated all radio sets owned by Jews, the latter under the pretext that Jews had been responsible for disseminating the contents of British broadcasts. Another decree ordered Jews to discharge all non-Jewish female domestic servants under forty years of age.

One of the most pernicious of the new series of restrictions was a decree ordering the re-examination of documents held by Jews claiming Slovak citizenship. The extreme injustice of this measure lay in the well-known fact that most people living in Slovakia were unable to produce the
required documents, many of them having been born in other parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. To procure the necessary papers from other sections of the former empire was very difficult, if not impossible. This inquiry into non-procurable documents proved an ingeniously simple means of expelling or at least denationalizing Jews whose property was coveted by circles close to the Hlinka Guard.

By the middle of November, 1940, all Jewish lawyers and physicians had already been disqualified. Simultaneously, all Jewish actors employed by the National Theater in the capital, were discharged. In February, 1941, the Central Office of Economics has ordered the liquidation of 3,000 additional Jewish firms. To supervise Jewish firms, temporarily permitted to continue doing business, 200 commissioners were appointed.

On February 20, the Land Reform Office announced the plans for redistribution of the landed property of Jews. These were to be sold to small farmers at a rate one-third lower than the current market price, the payments to extend over three years. The money thus realized would go into a Land Reform Fund from which the former Jewish owners would receive 3% interest and $\frac{1}{2}$% amortization annually.

Apart from these measures taken by the central government, anti-Jewish action emanating from local and municipal authorities went on relentlessly throughout the country. In Nitra, for instance, it was announced that no Jews could reside any longer in certain streets. They were also excluded from hotels, public baths and the main boulevards of Bratislava, the capital. Shopping hours were restricted to Jews in many localities, and, in some of them, Jews were not permitted to appear on the streets during certain hours.

Finally, a government decree issued in January, 1941, forced Jews to wear yellow armbands "for purposes of identification," and, in March, it was announced that Jews were to be segregated from "Aryans" and forced to live in ghettos. In many communities, landlords were permitted to oust Jewish tenants upon three months' notice.
A factual account of these measures can, however, hardly give an idea of their tormenting moral and mental effect on the victimized Jewish population, or of the brutal manner in which these measures are applied. Continual raids, thousands of arrests, confinement to internment camps, police searches of Jewish homes, beatings in the streets, third degree methods applied to inmates of prisons and internment camps, and desecrations, demolitions or burning synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, were creating the real atmosphere of "national independence" at its best in Slovakia. In the week before Rosh Hashanah, 1940, six synagogues were set afire in different localities.

The leading perpetrators of this cruel drama were, of course, members of the Hlinka Guard, a semi-official organization built along the lines of the Nazi Storm Troops, and emulating their methods. The common people are often opposed to the methods applied against the Jews, and in some villages the Hlinka groups have been dissolved by the residents, who could not stand for their gangsterism. In the cities, however, these gangs flourish, and the Jews are compelled to pay excess taxes for the upkeep of their tormentors, on the pretext that the Guard is there to protect them.

On March 14, 1941, Slovakia celebrated the second anniversary of her "independence." Sano Mach, the Quisling of Slovakia, delivered a speech expressing gratitude to Hitler for "liberating" the country, and calling upon the Hlinka Guard to help in establishing a National Socialist Slovakia, by crushing Britain's accomplices, the Jews.

But it was Premier Tuka himself who gave the most convincing evidence that no Jew-baiting can save a small country under the Nazi sway from becoming a helpless, unsparingly exploited tool in the hands of its masters. On February 21, 1941, speaking in honor of a powerful guest from Germany, Frederic Fromm, commander of the German Army Behind the Front, Tuka said that although Slovakia was not a belligerent, this did not mean that if "the need arises this country would not put all its forces at the disposal of its great friend." With full knowledge of what this implied, he said that the bread and the blood of the Slovak people belonged to Hitler.
VII. HUNGARY

By Eugene Hevesi

An estimate made by the Budapest Jewish Community in June, 1940 shows that under the provisions of the second "Jew-law" of May 3, 1939, 40% of the Jewish population of Hungary would lose their livelihood within five years from that date. Out of the present Jewish population of 750,000, this would have meant the exclusion of about 300,000 people, breadwinners and their dependents, from any kind of gainful occupation. It may be safely said, however, that because of the effect of subsequent decrees and of the unexpectedly rigorous interpretation of the laws, the number of those affected is closer to 350,000. Moreover, it is generally recognized that instead of requiring five years for its completion, the program laid down in the law has, after two years, been well-nigh completed.

It would be a gross mistake, however, to believe that at present only 40% of the Jewish population of Hungary, or about 350,000 people, are unemployed or unprovided for. In reality, this 40% comprises only that part of the Jewish population which has been deprived of positions already held by them; it does not include the large number of Jews who were out of jobs before the enactment of the law, nor the rising Jewish generation, not individually included as "dependents" of those deprived of their occupations by the law.

For it must be borne in mind that one of the most pernicious provisions of the law is that no Jews can be admitted to any occupation so long as natural decrease (death, retirement, etc.) does not reduce the number of Jews engaged in those occupations below 6% of the total number so employed. Thus, Jewish youth is barred for decades from admission to any gainful occupation in Hungary.

In spite of these conditions, it is generally recognized that the situation of Jews in Hungary is somewhat more bearable than that of their brethren in other Nazi-dominated countries. If we examine the "Jew-law" itself, we notice that the great toll of Jewish social victims is taken
only from certain fields of occupation, in which their num-
ber is restricted to from 6% to 12% of the total, (private
employes, salespeople, journalists, actors, holders of li-
censes in monopolized trade lines, etc.). Jews in other
lines (all liberal professions, and employers in commerce
and industry, unless engaged in a line falling under the
license system, or in an industry working mainly for the
government, etc.) remained unaffected by the law, if they
were previously admitted to those occupations.

A further important positive feature of the Hungarian
law is that, in contrast to all other similar regimes, it
does not affect, with the sole exception of Jewish-owned
landed property, any category of property rights.

In general, the whole system is a "compromise" be-
tween the endeavor to counteract the danger of subversive
Nazi influences by draining social dissatisfaction into a
large pool of jobs taken away from Jews and put at the
disposal of Christian applicants, and the hopelessly naive
proposition of still maintaining a sort of common material
basis of survival for all Jews, to be provided from the
earnings of those remaining employed.

How utterly and fantastically wrong this whole chimera
is becomes clear if we realize that the ruin of one half
of a socially and economically interdependent community
cannot fail seriously to affect the income of the other half,
especially if that income is already badly curtailed by an
officially created anti-Jewish atmosphere prompting at least
part of the Gentile clientele to renounce the services of
their former Jewish connections. Under such circumstances,
the maximum that can be hoped for is that individuals
comprising the working half of the Jewish population re-
main in position to earn enough to support themselves and
their dependents. To expect them to be able to provide
for two families instead of one is an illusion.

Furthermore the impracticability of the suggestion that
property of individual Jews be publicly administered for
the maintenance of the jobless Jewish masses becomes
apparent when it is noted that the bulk of such property
is not liquid and cannot be made liquid without adversely
affecting the country's economy. For that reason, the
law does not even hint at a way of making the income or
property of the working or propertied Jews available to those affected by the law, probably on the assumption that, under the pressure of circumstances, such adjustment would ensue automatically within the Jewish community itself.

As mentioned before, the effect of the law has been considerably increased, notably during the second half of 1940, by additional decrees. While some of these (the revocation of licenses of Jewish tobacconists, the cancellation of all Jewish-held liquor licenses, etc.) dealt with the execution of measures provided by the law itself, others inflicted heavy additional damage upon Jews by invading occupational domains which, according to the law, were to have been left untouched. These restrictions include the elimination of all 4,000 Jewish grain merchants from their trade, the exclusion of 5,000 Jews from the firewood industry and trade, and, above all, a decree ordering Hungary's giant agricultural cooperative organization to cease buying from Jews. If we consider that the aforementioned lines of business, and notably the cooperative organization, were largely engaged in supplying Germany, the inner motive of these new, and certainly illegal, encroachments upon the rights of Jews becomes clear.

There were, however, also a few new anti-Jewish measures which were prompted by domestic considerations. The bulk of them did not emanate from the government, but from prefects of counties where the strength of the local Nazi movement required stronger doses of official Jew-baiting than elsewhere. Foremost among these local persecutors of Jews was the prefect of Pest county, whose administrative measures included the eviction of Jewish market vendors, the exclusion of Jews from summer resorts within the county, and a decree ordering non-Jewish shopkeepers to mark their shops with signs showing they were Christians. On the other hand, it was the government which cancelled the official representation of the Jewish community in the Upper House of Parliament, and which, immediately upon the return of Premier Count Teleki from a visit to Berlin, issued a decree ordering about 70,000 Jews to compulsory labor service, — both measures lacking legal foundation.
As we have seen, the new steps against Jews were partly the result of direct pressure from Berlin, and partly due to the incessant agitation of the Nazi movement at home. This agitation reached its climax on July 3, 1940, when Deputy Hubay, parliamentary leader of the Nazi party, introduced a drastic anti-Jewish bill going so far as to demand special street-cars for Jews, the prohibition of their using any other language than Hebrew or Yiddish, and the restriction of the right of marriage to eldest sons and daughters of Jewish families, etc. The bill was rejected by the government and, a few days later, Hubay and one of his lieutenants were expelled from Parliament for having introduced, together with their "Jew-bill," a minority bill advocating, in order to please Hitler, the transformation of Hungary's German minority into an almost autonomous State within the State. By that time, the influence of the Nazi party was on the decline, partly owing to the disillusionment of the voters who, only two years before, had made it second in strength to the big government party; partly owing to the blunders and grievous offenses of the Nazi faction, such as an attempt at the life of the minister of the interior, and a conspiracy to kidnap Regent Horthy himself; but owing mainly to the fact that, by that time, Berlin realized that the further services of an internal Nazi movement were not essential for bringing Hungary under Hitler's domination.

By now it is clear that the creation of Nazi parties in the countries earmarked for "peaceful" subjugation by Germany, and their infiltration with anti-Semitism, were not ends in themselves but only tools serving an ulterior purpose. Hitler did not and does not wish to place the local Nazis in power; he utilizes them to make the legal governments tractable and submissive to his will because insofar as this is possible he wishes his "new order" to appear like a system spontaneously accepted by the existing legal governments.

Thus, in Hungary, when circumstances so demanded, Hitler did not hesitate to deal the Nazi party that first heavy blow which started their decline in popularity. This happened when, immediately after the outbreak of the war, he vetoed land reform in Hungary, aiming at the
division of the large estates among the landless peasantry, and thus deprived the local Nazis of their most attractive slogan. His motive was to prevent interference with the flow of Hungary's large agricultural supplies to Germany.

In 1938 and 1939, however, it was universally believed that Hitler wished to place the country into the hands of the local Nazis, and this was one of the chief reasons why anti-Semitism was so hurriedly adopted by the government anxious to take the wind out of the Nazi sails. It was not a popular movement for the great majority of Hungarians of all social strata, with the sole exception of the urban middle-class, commercial element dominated by German Swabians, relentlessly persevered in the traditional distrust of anything coming from Germany. After the outbreak of the war, this distrust slowly developed into an invisible but powerful force repelling anything connected with Hitler, including of course local Nazis, and, to a certain extent, also the anti-Jewish policy. This was broadly recognized by more intelligent elements as a perilous breach in the wall of national political and economic independence.

This is the explanation of the manifold manifestations of sympathy toward Jews emanating from high-standing political leaders, aristocrats, important organizations, such as that of the war veterans, and notably, of a new group of patriots called the "Hungarian Family," devoted solely to the task of holding together in spiritual unity "the Hungarian family of all those who, without difference of race or creed, are, in their souls, true children of the nation."

This sympathetic attitude of millions of Hungarians has undoubtedly proved not only a moral, but, to a certain extent, also a material help to the Jews. Discreet gifts by Christians to the Jewish Self-Help Movement, and heavy fines imposed upon Gentile employers for having refused to discharge Jewish employes were symptomatic of this popular trend. This does not mean, of course, that there was any open, determined national resistance to manifestations of Hitler's influence and desires, including the anti-Jewish policy. Such a movement was out of question in a country which, apart from being already a
signatory of the anti-Comintern pact, was a prisoner of irredentism, a victim of a popular craving for the return of lost territories, the restoration of which had been promised only by Mussolini and Hitler. This irredentist passion proved stronger than any distrust or dislike of Hitler, or any anxiety over the possible consequences of accepting gifts from his hands.

For the government itself, until the middle of 1940, two factors were of paramount importance, first, the recognition of Germany’s irresistible military power which made imperative a policy of appeasing Hitler by any concession short only of the complete surrender of national self-determination; and second, the desire of avoiding involvement in war. Concessions at the expense of the Jews were regarded as one of the means of keeping these two exigencies in balance.

The unexpected occupation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukowina brought this temporary and spurious balance to a sudden end. The bold action of Russia made the whole problem of territorial revision in Southeastern Europe an acute, revolutionary actuality.

The first to bring forward the issue of revision in Hungary were, interestingly enough, the Arrow Cross faction, the local Nazis, at least 75% of whose leadership and 60% of whose following were Germans. Quite suddenly, these pseudo-Hungarians became the loudest advocates of seizing Transylvania, “if need be by armed force.” They began recruiting volunteers for the “undertaking.” Whether this was done at Hitler’s bidding, or spontaneously in order to re-establish the lost popularity of the local party itself, is unknown; important is only that the agitation exploiting the indomitable popular yearning for the “redemption of the suffering brethren across the border,” rendered unthinkable any other governmental policy than meeting the issue of revision. And that meant the necessity of invoking Hitler’s support, and, consequently, putting the matter of territorial organization of Southeastern Europe into his hands.

Hitler’s first answer was, cleverly enough, unfavorable. No, the matter could not be taken up before the end of the war. Thus the Hungarians had to insist, to beg, and to
submit in matters interesting Hitler. What conditions were demanded by the Führer for his support of Hungary's territorial claims, could only be guessed at that time from the fact that on September 4, 1940, in announcing to the Hungarian parliament the accomplished return of the lost land, Premier Teleki declared that further funds would soon be spent on the development of the army, "since our armed forces are required by Europe here on this spot." On the same occasion, Foreign Minister Count Csaky said that "Hungary may have to prepare for a blood sacrifice in the near future." There was considerable speculation about the meaning of these remarks, but only the few directly concerned knew that they meant that the price paid for the reannexation of Transylvania was nothing less than the surrender of Hungary's national independence in foreign policies. But, it soon became evident to all that also the country's internal policies were to be profoundly influenced by the "arbitration" of Vienna. In this domain, the following concessions had to be made:

Large-scale political amnesty for Nazi offenders, including Major Szalassy, the half-German, half-Armenian leader of the local Nazi movement; legalization of all Nazi political groups, some of which had been suppressed; withdrawal of an earlier order prohibiting government officials from joining the Nazi party. At the same time, the pro-democratic press was curbed and censorship introduced, thus transforming the whole Hungarian press into a mouthpiece of German political maneuvers. Furthermore the Gestapo was permitted to establish agencies all over the country, and the railways were placed under German command.

At the same time, the German minority living in Hungary received a sweeping bill of rights exactly along the lines recommended in the Nazi bill of July, for the introduction of which Representative Hubay (previously Huber) had been ousted from parliament a short time ago. The new statute transformed the minority into a "corpus separatum" within the state, under National Socialist Germany's direct protection. Hungarian public opinion was stunned when it became known that instead of only the 600,000 as indicated by official Hungarian population statistics to be the total
German population of the country, the number of applicants for admission into the new German Bund exceeded 1,400,000 people, including scores of high government officials.

On November 20, 1940, Hitler's bill was presented to Hungary for collection. As the first instalment, Hungary was to be the first of the smaller states of Europe to join the Tripartite Pact of the Axis. Early in April, 1941, the second payment became due, and Hungary had to join in the Axis attack on democratic Yugoslavia, with the ink scarcely dry on the treaty of friendship concluded between the two neighbors. The return of part of Transylvania lowered Hungary's esteem in the eyes of the civilized world, and cost the life of Premier Count Paul Teleki who could not survive his nation's complete subjection to Hitler. In June, as the third instalment, Hungary, without any cause or interest of her own had to become an unwilling ally in the war against Soviet Russia.

There is no doubt also that Hitler's price for the Vienna award included warnings that Hungary's anti-Jewish policy must at last be adapted to the desires of the Führer. The striking fact in this connection is, however, that Count Teleki, the rigorous executor of the second "Jew-law," did not comply with this demand of National Socialist Germany. It was really surprising to note his mute resistance at this point, certainly a minor issue for Hungary after all the fundamental sacrifices extorted from her.

From September, 1940, on, until Teleki's suicide the following April, not only were there no further governmental measures undertaken against Jews, not only did Teleki repeatedly declare that there would be no third "Jew-law" in Hungary, and not only had his minister of finance made the unheard-of statement that the Jews of Hungary were entitled to a decent, though modest, livelihood, but there were also actual, considerable relaxations in the execution of the law itself. Thus, in February, 1941, the confiscation of Jewish-owned landed property was indefinitely postponed; hundreds of Jewish physicians were re-employed by the state health insurance service; the expected wholesale removal of Jewish municipal representatives of Budapest greatly reduced; and Teleki himself
declared that the forced labor camps for Jews would not be reopened. Finally, on March 10, hardly a month before Teleki's death, Remenyi, the minister of finance, boldly declared again that in solving the Jewish problem, Hungary could not copy methods of Germany.

Though surprising in its suddenness, the change in the attitude of the last premier of independent Hungary is comprehensible. He used the weapon of anti-Semitism as long as he labored under the delusion that it might appease Hitler and thus help to preserve the sovereignty and security of his nation. But after the tragedy of surrender, which was also his own personal tragedy, there was no sense in, and no excuse for, persisting in torturing hundreds of thousands of innocent victims, men and women, children and old people, of whom he had once written himself that they were faithful and useful to their country. He knew that in the new situation of Hungary, further Jew-baiting would not mean anything but an abject tribute to the whim of the tyrant whom he hated and despised more than he loved his life.

Immediately after his death, Ladislaus de Bardossy, his successor, declared in his maiden speech that the third "Jew-law" would soon be enacted. As this Review goes to press, however, (August, 1941), there is no news of such a law, but only of a bill prohibiting intermarriage. This bill was voted on July 2 by the House of Deputies but rejected on July 19 by the Upper House, owing largely to the objections of the Catholic Church.

**VIII. POLAND**

*By Simon Segal*

**German-Occupied Area**

Jewish history knows nothing comparable to the tragedy of Polish Jews under the Nazi regime. It would be futile to attempt to describe the martyrdom of Polish Jews. Words cannot adequately disclose the story of daily sufferings, humiliation, and degradation to which the Jews have been subjected.

The following pages do not attempt to give a compre-
hensive picture of the situation in Poland. Only the high-
lights are mentioned. The social and psychological impli-
cations of these events, their influence on the daily life of
individual Jews, their impact on the internal relations
within the Jewish community, and the change in social out-
look which they produce, must of necessity, be omitted here.

The effects that the Nazi regime will have on the moral
and physical health of Polish Jews, especially on the younger
generation, can at present be only a matter of conjecture.
The behavior of the great majority of Jews, however, who
have nothing but contempt for their prosecutor, and who
bear their tragic fate with grim determination and courage, is
an inspiring evidence of the moral fortitude of Polish Jewry.

Expulsions

During the year under review, there was a continuous
stream of expulsions from cities and towns. Some of these
population transfers are inexplainable. On the one hand,
Jews were expelled from several of the large cities; on the
other hand, they were barred from small towns and sent
to larger cities. Never in the history of the Jews in Poland
was there such a mass migration. Hundreds of thousands
have changed their dwelling places. Most of the cities from
which the Jews have been excluded were either well-known
resorts like Zakopane and Krynica, or in the industrial
triangle which was established during the last few years of
the Polish Republic. To this compulsory emigration, a quasi-
voluntary emigration was added. Jews left small towns for
larger cities where there was a promise of greater security.

The problem of refugees was one of the most troublesome
of the Jewish communities, especially that of the city of
Warsaw. Jewish landsmannschaften were established in War-
saw and other cities for the first time in the history of
Polish Jewry. These landsmannschaften were modelled after
those operating in America, where Jews who came from
the same city in Europe have been organized for mutual
benefit and assistance to their native towns.

The most important expulsion occurred in Krakow, the
capital city of the Government General. It was the ambi-
tion of the Germans, according to several officials, to make
the capital "judenrein" (free of Jews). The Jewish population in Krakow, approximately 30,000 before the war, had considerably increased at the beginning of the war, by tens of thousands who fled from the Nazi incorporated areas or from the small provincial towns. It was estimated that by the middle of 1940, Krakow's Jewish population was about 65,000.

At the end of July, 1940, an ordinance was issued ordering all Jews to leave town by August 15. Those leaving prior to that date, would be permitted to take with them all their possessions, but those remaining after August 15 would be forcibly expelled. Before the end of August, approximately 30,000 Jews left the city. The deadline for voluntary departures from Krakow was several times postponed because the Germans themselves realized that a mass exodus of Jews would destroy the economic life of the city. Thus, while on the one hand, some Jews were expelled, on the other hand, the Nazis forbade Jewish artisans, skilled workers and professionals from leaving. Special permits were necessary in order to leave the city, and they were not issued to those whom the Nazis considered indispensable to the economic life.

Then suddenly the expulsions ceased, and it appeared as if the Jews who were still in Krakow would be permitted to remain there. But in December, expulsion orders were renewed. Jews were permitted to take with them only twenty-five kilograms (62½ lbs.) of belongings, per person. A new decree forbade Jews to enter Krakow, and those who remained in the city were compelled to secure special monthly residence permits. On March 15, 1941, the German authorities terminated the expulsions and a few thousand Jews were definitely permitted to remain in the city. Those Jews who were considered "particularly valuable to the interests and well-being of the city" were segregated from the rest of the population and placed in a ghetto. Among them were included highly skilled technicians and workers, who could not be replaced and were absolutely essential to the economic life of the city.

Great shifts in population occurred in the annexed parts of Poland. Gauleiter Foerster, in an address delivered in October, 1940, on the occasion of the celebration of the
first anniversary of the German regime, boasted that Pomerania, the province under his administration, was entirely free of Jews. In the German incorporated part of Poland, were 300,000 Jews, approximately 120,000 of whom lived in Silesia, and 180,000 in the Warthegau district, including 160,000 in Lodz. All the Jews from the town of Sierpce were deported in a single day. Many Jews were deported from Lodz. The Germans finally realized, however, that they would not be able to expel all Jews from Lodz, because many were important for the economic life of the city, and so decided to segregate the remainder in a ghetto. This ghetto was the first established, and is the only one now in existence, within the limits of Greater Germany.

Despite the various measures expelling Jews from larger cities, and permitting them to settle in smaller ones, the general tendency of the Germans seems to have been to concentrate the bulk of Jews in a few large cities. Tens of thousands of Jews have settled in Warsaw, and at present, the Warsaw ghetto is inhabited by more than 450,000 Jews, about one-third of the Jewish population of the Government General.

Forced Labor

The decree on forced labor for Jews was promulgated on the very day of the establishment of the Government General. In the year under review, the situation was somewhat stabilized. The Jewish Community Councils were made responsible for the provision of forced labor, and raids in the streets ceased almost completely. The number of Jews in labor camps varied throughout the year; on the average, about 30,000 were so employed. The situation in these camps was beyond human endurance. During the winter, the lack of food and inadequate shelter brought about a very high degree of mortality. Insufficient clothing and the spread of disease, prompted the Warsaw Jewish community and other Jewish communities throughout the country to organize a special relief campaign for the camps, and to dispatch doctors and medical supplies to them.

By the end of 1940, more than 30,000 Jews were working in forty-three labor camps, the majority of which were in
the Lublin district along the Russian frontier. Of the 30,000, fully 26,000 worked in the Lublin camps; while the others were concentrated in the Warsaw district. In some of the camps, the quantity and type of food served to each individual depended on his efficiency. Obviously, the older people suffered as a result of this system. In March 1941, the Warsaw Jewish Community Council was notified that within the next few weeks 25,000 Jews would be sent to labor camps from that city.

In addition to sending Jews to labor camps, the Jewish communities were compelled to provide workers for the labor battalions, whose members had to be paid by the Jewish communities which were thus compelled to bear a considerable financial burden. The number of workers in the labor battalions varied. In some instances, the Warsaw Jewish community alone provided as many as 8,000 workers a day. Before the expulsion of the great majority of Jews from Krakow, the Jewish Community Council provided about 3,000 workers a day. Even such relatively small communities as Radom provided thousands of workers daily.

After the outbreak of the German-Russian war, it was reported that Jewish labor camps were dissolved and all the Jews sent home. The reasons for this action were not clearly indicated.

Ghettos

After the Germans abandoned the plan of a Jewish reservation in Lublin, they conceived the idea of segregating Jews in ghettos. In the spring of 1940, the Nazis began the construction of a wall around the Jewish quarter in Warsaw. The authorities declared that this wall was not built as an anti-Jewish measure, but simply to protect the Gentile population from the spread of typhoid, of which Jews were somehow the exclusive carriers.

Ghetto walls were built in Warsaw throughout the spring and summer of 1940. On August 7, the Warsaw German authorities issued an ordinance forbidding all Jews who arrived in Warsaw to settle outside of the sections surrounded by the wall; Jews in Warsaw were forbidden to
move elsewhere, and non-Jews were ordered not to move into the walled district. On October 17, 1940, the final decree definitely setting up a ghetto in Warsaw was issued by the Nazi officials. The decree divided the city into three parts. The choicest section was reserved for Germans; it comprised the whole of the southeastern quarter, with its parks and avenues, its promenade along the Vistula, its large modern houses and many palaces belonging to Polish nobles, built at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

The Jewish zone was set up in the northwest between the main railway station, Saxon Gardens, and the Danzig station. The limits of the ghetto were changed three times, so as finally to provide for the inclusion of the Jewish cemetery which was originally outside of the ghetto, and also to eliminate some streets near the Saxon Gardens. The rest of the city was reserved for the Poles. The decree ordered all Jews living outside of the Jewish district to move into it by the end of October, but after that day, Jews remaining in non-Jewish districts would be forcibly expelled. The time limit was subsequently advanced to November 15. On the following day, all the entrances to the ghetto were closed and no Jew was permitted to leave, and no Gentile to enter it without special permission.

About 140,000 Jews living outside of the ghetto were forced to move in, while about 100,000 Gentiles, who had their residences within, were compelled to leave the ghetto. The ghetto covered an area of about 1,000 acres, or about 100 square city blocks. Those forced into the ghetto included not only persons of Jewish faith, but also converts and Christians of Jewish descent. The same order applied to German, Bohemian and Moravian Jews living in Warsaw. Only Jews of foreign nationality were permitted to remain in their previous domiciles.

The ghetto has twenty-two entrances. On the outside of the wall German and Polish policemen and on the inside Jewish militia controlled entrance into, and exit from, the ghetto. Only Jews who could prove urgent need received permits from the Jewish Community Council to leave the ghetto. To keep order within the ghetto, a special Jewish militia of more than 1,000 men was organized; it was com-
posed of young Jews with college educations and some military training. They were armed with rubber truncheons and wore special insignia on their caps and arms. The militia was a civilian body which had no right to act without special instructions from the Nazis. Its main task was to keep order and to see that the instructions of the authorities were properly carried out by the Jewish population. It also regulated traffic and supervised demolition and construction work under the supervision of the Jewish Community Council.

A decree of April 28, 1941, set up a special commissar for the Jewish ghetto, to supervise the Jewish authorities in the ghetto, and transmit Nazi orders to the Jewish Community Council, whose jurisdiction was considerably enlarged to embrace practically all fields of Jewish economic, social, and political life.

A rather interesting consequence of the establishment of the Warsaw ghetto was the revival of the Yiddish language among the Polish Jewish intelligentsia. Yiddish was made one of the "official languages" in the ghetto, and only candidates who were able to speak and write Yiddish were employed by the Jewish community, or made members of the Jewish militia. In order to obtain work, Polish Jews, who had never before used the Yiddish language had to learn it. The Jewish community in Warsaw has become, at present, the largest single Jewish employer in the country.

The ghetto experiment in Lodz and in Warsaw seems to have pleased the Nazi authorities, who proceeded to establish similar areas throughout the country. In November, 1940, a ghetto was established in Radom. At first, 2,000 Jews were expelled from Radom in order to make room for Germans, and it seemed as if Radom would also be made free of Jews. Apparently the German plans did not materialize and a ghetto was set up. According to most reliable information, about 30,000 Jews live in Radom. As the Jews of Radom lived in widely separated areas of the city, two Jewish ghettos, instead of one, were established. To what absurdities the Germans were reduced in their efforts to segregate Jews is indicated by the example of Otwock, the well-known Warsaw suburban resort. Here,
no less than three separate ghettos were established, each including only a few buildings which were restricted to Jews.

A ghetto was also established in Lublin, which, like Warsaw, was divided into three districts, one for Germans, one for Poles and another for Jews. The non-Jews were ordered to leave the ghetto area by April 10, 1941, and all Lublin Jews, as well as those who had come from Krakow and settled in Lublin, were ordered to move into the district by April 15. The non-Jewish shops and enterprises in the ghetto were ordered to leave by May 3.

After the expulsion of the great majority of the Jews from Krakow, and after being compelled to permit the economically-useful Jews to remain in the city, the Nazi authorities introduced a ghetto. The site selected was the Kazimierz district which was the Jewish ghetto in the Middle Ages. All non-Jews living in the ghetto and all Jews outside of it were forced to change their residences before March 20, 1941. The Jews were permitted to take only twenty-five kilograms (62 1/2 lbs.) of personal effects. The remainder had to be left to the Treuhandstelle (Nazi economic authorities) for sale.

In April another ghetto was set up, this time in Kielce. The 20,000 Jews of Kielce were ordered to move into the ghetto before April 5.

Thus, during the year under review, the Germans seem to have definitely accepted the ghetto plan as the solution to the Jewish problem in Poland. Ghettos were established in Lodz, Warsaw, Krakow, Lublin, Radom, Kielce, and in scores of smaller cities and towns. The size of the ghettos varies from the enormous concentration of 450,000 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto to a few scores of Jews in a ghetto in a small town.

The Nazis called the ghetto system an "autonomous Jewish regime." It is true that, to a certain extent, the Jews within the ghetto were autonomous. Superficially, the ghetto formed a municipal unit, having its own administration, police force, transportation and postal facilities, social welfare institutions, and even its own courts.

In point of fact, however, the ghetto is an instrument of humiliation, and the so-called autonomy is merely a con-
venient device for control of the Jewish population. The Jewish community, in fact, is merely an instrument in the hands of the Nazi authorities, compelled to carry out their every whim.

The ghettos were concentration camps into which hundreds of thousands of Jews were dumped. Economically, the ghettos could not be self-sufficient and one shudders at the thought of what might become of the Jews there within a year or two, when such resources as they still possess will be exhausted. The ghetto plan is the most barbarous yet devised by the pernicious minds of Nazi leaders.

Anti-Jewish Legislation

While from the first day of their occupation the Germans issued special legislation for Jews, the term “Jew” was not officially defined until the decree of July 24, 1940, which was modelled, with one exception, on the Nuremberg Laws. The exception concerns Jewish “half-breeds.” According to the new legislation, mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews were automatically dissolved and children of such marriages were declared illegitimate. In the Government General, however, such marriages are in principle still valid.

A decree of February 20, 1941, forbade Jews to use inter-city transportation facilities, except with special permits. This was an extension of the previous decree which prohibited Jews the use of railways only. The new restrictions made it impossible for Jews to move from one city to another. Such slavery seems to have been reserved for Polish Jews; in Germany and other German-occupied countries, Jews have not yet been forbidden to use public transportation facilities or to move from one town to another.

The use of local transportation by Jews is regulated by the local authorities. Before the introduction of the ghettos, special sections were set aside for Jews in Warsaw street-cars. Other cities followed suit. After the introduction of the ghettos, the situation changed considerably. At present there is only one street-car line which functions in the Warsaw ghetto. Transportation in the ghetto, an area of one hundred square city blocks, has become extremely diffi-
cult and as a result, conveyances similar to rickshas have made their appearance.

Special sections in cars have been introduced for Jews in the German incorporated areas, in which the situation, for the time being at least, is better than in the Government General because the general German legislation is applied.

Jewish Schools

Since the outbreak of the war, all Jewish schools have been closed. For one reason or another, the Germans did not permit the reopening of the schools after the occupation. Despite the continuous efforts of the Jewish Community Councils, no schools were opened during the first year of occupation. At the same time, Jews were forbidden to attend any other schools. It was not until August 31, 1940, that the Jewish Community Councils in every community were permitted to open Jewish schools and were entrusted with their supervision, under the control, of course, of the Nazi authorities. The decree establishing a segregated school system to be maintained by the Jewish Community Council, provided for only elementary and trade schools. The secondary Jewish schools which existed prior to the war were not to be reopened and no Jew could attend either a secondary school or a university.

However, while the decree gave the Jewish Community Councils the right to reopen Jewish schools, it failed to provide the necessary conditions to permit the schools to function. It was not until May, 1941 that the Warsaw Nazi authorities actually gave the Jewish Community Council permission to reopen the schools. In some small communities, Jewish schools functioned for some time.

The one redeeming feature in the generally depressing Jewish situation was the improved relations between the Poles and the Jews. During the year under review, reports from Poland mentioned time and again the assistance which Poles were ready to offer Jews, very often at great risk to themselves. Several court decisions were reported condemning Poles to several years imprisonment either for providing Jews in the ghetto with food, or otherwise aiding them.
This was especially true of the peasant and labor masses. Polish and Jewish workers, and particularly members of the Polish Socialist Party and of the Jewish Socialist Party, Bund, developed a considerable underground movement for the purpose of maintaining the morale and spirit of the population.

**Russian-Occupied Area**

The Soviet authorities did not immediately attempt to bring about a radical change in the social structure of the country. There was a definite desire to effectuate the transition from the capitalistic to the Soviet economic system, as smoothly as possible. According to various reports, the behavior of the Russian army of occupation was not incorrect. While hundreds of intellectuals and wealthy people were imprisoned and sent to the Interior of Russia, others were tolerated by the authorities and were frequently given high positions in the new regime.

The nationality problem in the Russian-occupied provinces of Poland was more complicated than elsewhere. In Eastern Galicia, the Russians had to contend with a majority of Ukrainians, a large minority of Poles and a considerable number of Jews. At first, the Russians showed partiality to the Ukrainian element and attempted the Ukrainianization of Eastern Galicia. It seems, however, that because of the strong nationalistic sentiment among the Galician Ukrainians, the Soviets soon abandoned their policy and most of the high positions were given to people who came from the interior of Russia.

Many Poles, as well as Jews, found it advisable to cooperate with the Soviet authorities. There is no doubt that a large section of Jewish youth tried to adjust themselves to the new situation. Former Polish political leaders like Professor Casimir Bartel, four times Prime Minister of Poland, and well-known writers like Boy-Zelenski, Wasiilewska and others, expressed their willingness to cooperate with the Soviet authorities. A similar situation existed in the Eastern provinces of Poland which, under the new regime, became the White Russian Soviet Republic. Here the Polish minority was much smaller, but the White Russians did not have sufficient personnel to assume the
responsibility for the administration of the country. From the beginning of the Soviet occupation of the Eastern Polish provinces, a great anti-religious campaign was developed by the Jewish Communists. On January 3, the London Jewish Chronicle reported that a school had been opened in Kamieniec-Podolski, for training “red rabbis” whose task it would be to preach to Jews in the new Soviet territories loyalty to the Soviet regime. They were to endeavor to “harmonize Soviet doctrines with the principles of the Jewish religion.” An effort was made to recruit students for the new school among Yeshivah students in the annexed territories.

Furthermore, the Soviet authorities imposed heavy taxes on rabbis and synagogues. Synagogue taxes were graded according to the Jewish population. Thus, synagogues in towns having a population of 5,000 were assessed an annual tax of 5,000 rubles; those towns with 10,000 Jews, 10,000 rubles; those in cities with a Jewish population up to 50,000, 25,000 rubles a year. Synagogues in large cities were subjected to still heavier taxes. Rabbis were compelled to pay taxes amounting to from 1,000 to 5,000 rubles annually. Obviously, the purpose of the imposition of such heavy taxes on the synagogues was to compel them to close; this was easily achieved as the synagogues could not possibly meet these taxes.

It seems, however, that the anti-religious campaign met with very little success. Soviet newspapers published in Lemberg and in the eastern provinces of former Poland, complained that Bezbozniki, the Atheist Society, made very little progress. Courses for anti-religious education were organized in Lemberg and other cities by the Society. A total of 21,360 students participated in these courses in the Tarnopol district and 4,162 in the Luck district; but, in Lemberg, where the Society was particularly active, only 1,725 students registered. The Soviet press considered the results thoroughly disappointing, and new, more subtle methods were employed to fight religion.

Eastern Galicia and other eastern provinces of Poland, incorporated within the Soviet Union, formerly had a large Hebrew and Yiddish school system. The Soviet authorities maintained, and even increased the number of Yiddish
schools. On the other hand, all Hebrew schools, including those belonging to the Tarbuth Hebrew Educational Organization were ordered to dissolve or change their language of instruction. In order to train teachers for the Jewish schools in the new spirit, the Education Commissariat of the White Russian Soviet Republic decided to open a Yiddish section in the Bialystok Institute of Pedagogy.

While the Tageblatt, the only Yiddish daily in Galicia was closed, a Communist Yiddish weekly called Arbeiter Kampf began its publication in Lemberg. It was reported that efforts were being made to publish another Yiddish daily in the same city.

When the war between Poland and Germany broke out, hundreds of thousands of refugees, most of them Jews, fled before the German army to the East, and concentrated mainly in the big cities. When the Russians occupied the Eastern part of Poland, they welcomed the refugees and freely permitted them to cross the German-Russian frontier. Later, however, the Russians changed their policy and closed the border to all refugees from the German-occupied area. The refugees settled in Russia and organized their lives as well as they could. Most of them had relatives in the area and were aided by them. The refugees came to the big cities because they thought it would be easier to find work there. Because of the over-crowded conditions in the big cities, however, the situation became very difficult. The city of Lemberg, for example, more than doubled its normal population because of the influx of refugees from German-occupied territories.

The refugees were called upon by the Russian authorities either to accept Soviet citizenship or to go back. Many of them chose the latter alternative because acceptance of Russian citizenship meant that the refugees would never be in a position to return to their homes.

In the bigger cities, special offices were created for the registration of refugees, in the administration of which representatives of refugees participated. There was one delegate for every thousand refugees, elected by them to provide the authorities with the necessary information on the situation of each refugee.
When a German commission came to Lemberg to negotiate the transfer of Germans from the Russian-occupied territory to the German area, several Polish and Ukrainian refugees were permitted to leave. The Germans, however, refused to allow any Jewish refugees to return to Nazi-occupied Poland. At the end of June, 1940, the refugees who had not accepted Russian nationality, were rounded up, first individually, and then in groups, and sent to the interior of Russia. The city of Lemberg was raided, and all the refugees were picked up and sent to the station in lorries. Special trains met them and brought them to Siberia and other distant provinces of Russia.

Months passed before information reached the outside world on the situation of the refugees in Siberia and other far Eastern provinces. Persons who had never before done any manual work were forced to build roads and perform the most difficult manual labor, while deprived of adequate food and shelter. In addition to these great discomforts, the refugees suffered from the severity of the climate of Siberia, to which they were not accustomed. The great number of women and children in the refugee population sent to Siberia suffered even more from these hardships. The wages paid them were extremely low and entirely out of proportion to the cost of living. No outside help was permitted to reach them and, during the winter of 1940-1941, and the following spring, their situation was desperate.

While it is true that some measures to distribute the refugees were absolutely necessary because the cities in the Eastern part of Poland were overcrowded, there was no justification for treating the refugees like criminals and not like people who sought refuge from Nazi barbarism. The Russian Government seemed to consider these people as enemies of the state because they refused to accept Soviet citizenship. The government did not take into consideration the fact that most of these people could not relinquish the hope of ever joining their relatives on the other side of the Russian-German frontier. The treatment of the refugees by the Soviet authorities is probably the greatest blot on the nearly two-year record of Russian occupation of the Eastern provinces of Poland.
Immediately after the outbreak of the Russian-German war, the Germans began their anti-Russian campaign, which had been suspended after the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty in August, 1939. The Jews were again identified with the Bolsheviks. The Nazis organized a special White-Russian Committee, with the well-known pogromist Gempner, at its head. This committee promoted an active anti-Jewish campaign in White Russia. Radio stations in Nazi-occupied Poland immediately began to broadcast anti-Semitic speeches to the Ukrainians and Poles under Russian domination.

The entire Jewish and non-Jewish population in parts of Soviet-occupied Galicia, bordering the Nazi frontiers, and in the Soviet territory bordering on the Lublin district was ordered to evacuate into the interior of the U.S.S.R.

At the end of the year under review, tens of thousands of Jews of Russian-occupied Poland moved eastward in order to evade the Nazi army. Within a few days, the Nazis succeeded in occupying the former Eastern Polish provinces and the Jews were faced with the prospect of a Nazi regime and a "free Ukrainian government" established by the Nazis and composed of well-known anti-Semites who had had an important part in the pogroms of 1920.

**Poland-in-Exile**

After the collapse of France, the Polish Government-in-Exile, whose headquarters had been at Angers was transferred to London. Owing to the cooperation between Prime Minister Churchill and General Sikorski, a large section of the Polish army was saved and succeeded in escaping to Great Britain. The National Council, which served as a kind of Parliament-in-exile, and included one Jewish member, Dr. Ignacy Schwartzbart, was reconstituted in Great Britain.

In an official declaration made in the name of the government, Mr. S. Stanczyk, Minister of Social Welfare, promised equality to Jews of Poland. "I wish to assure you once again," declared the Polish Minister, "that nothing will deter us from the democratic principles which will secure
for all citizens in future Poland equal political and social rights. Jews as Polish citizens will, in liberated Poland, have equal rights and obligations with other Polish citizens. They will be able to develop their culture, religion and customs. This will be guaranteed to them not only by the laws of the country, but by the common sacrifices brought in its liberation and common sufferings in this most tragic time of oppression. Polish Jewish citizens, fighting side by side with their Polish comrades, are by that action also earning the undeniable rights of peaceful work, well-being and happiness in liberated Poland.”

While the declaration in itself did not represent anything new, since the same rights, were formerly guaranteed to Jews by the pre-war Polish constitution, yet it was of value, because it was made in the name of a government which included representatives of all political parties. This did not imply that the various political parties now constituting the exiled government of Poland wholeheartedly agreed to grant equal rights to Jews in a future Poland. In the discussion of the Stanczyk declaration which took place in the National Council, the principle of equal rights was approved without reservation by the Socialists, the Peasant Party and the Christian Democrats only. Little enthusiasm for it was shown by the parties of the Right wing. In order not to embarrass the government of which they were a part, the National Democrats accepted the declaration in silence, without making any positive declaration of support. General Zeligowski openly attacked the Jews and declared that “the Jews were inspired by the idea of dominating Poland.” Other Polish leaders went so far as to suggest Eritrea as the potential country of immigration for Polish Jews.

Several officially-sponsored books were published, advocating Jewish mass emigration and representing Jewish participation in the war against Hitler in a very unfavorable and erroneous light. Jabotinsky, the late Revisionist leader, and the evacuationist program of the Revisionist Party were extremely popular among the Poles in London. A book published in December, 1940, by Joseph Hieronim Retinger, secretary to General Sikorski, entitled “All about Poland,” advocated Jewish mass emigration from Poland,
supporting his position by citing the opinions of Jabotinsky, ignoring the fact that the overwhelming majority of Polish Jewry had been opposed to the evacuationist policy of the Revisionist Party.

In general, the emigration policy of the pre-war government seemed to be very popular with the Polish leaders in London. Most of the Polish political leaders still believed that there were too many Jews in Poland and that after the war a Jewish mass emigration from Poland would be necessary. While, of course, there was a difference in emphasis on the emigration need between the various Polish leaders, practically all the political parties now represented in the Government-in-Exile believed that some emigration would be necessary.

Conditions in the Polish army were considerably improved for the Jews. Owing to a special army command issued by General Sikorski, which reminded the officers of the army that all the soldiers were to be treated equally, discrimination against Jewish soldiers decreased during the year under review.

Like the party leaders, the Polish press similarly was either indifferent or inactive towards the Jews. Even the semi-official newspaper Dziennik Polski, from time to time showed some anti-Jewish inclination. On January 9, 1941, for example, the newspaper printed a letter allegedly from Warsaw, in which the tragedy of the Poles of Jewish descent who were placed in the ghetto, was described. They were said to be ill-treated by the Jewish authorities in the ghetto and by the Jewish militia. Considerable commotion was also created by the publication of the anti-Semitic paper, Jestem Polakiem. The importance of the paper was exaggerated but the fact that such a pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic paper was printed in London, proved to be significant. The government, officially condemned Jestem Polakiem and declared that its publication was a harmful breach of national discipline. The subject came up before the House of Commons where the British Government was asked to suspend the publication of Jestem Polakiem. The spokesman for the government rejected this demand, and the Polish Government again emphasized its position with respect to the publication of this paper.
All the Jewish political parties supported the government-in-Exile and repeatedly expressed their willingness to cooperate in the fight against Hitlerism. Jews of democratic countries also expressed their sympathy towards the Polish Government-in-Exile and asked the government definitely to dissociate itself from the anti-Jewish policies of the pre-war regime. The Board of Deputies of British Jews adopted a declaration to the effect that it was up to the Polish Government to make clear that it had broken with the anti-Semitic policies of previous governments, and expressing the hope that Poland, at present an ally of the democracies against totalitarianism, would establish a sincere democratic regime after the war. The representatives of various Jewish organizations in the United States met with General Sikorski during his visit to America, and reaffirmed their willingness to cooperate, if the government of Sikorski would take definite measures which would show its complete break with the totalitarian and anti-Semitic tendencies of pre-war Poland.

On June 12, after General Sikorski's return to London, the Polish Government issued an official unanimous declaration stating that "the Polish Government, in accordance with the democratic policy of future Poland, promises equal treatment of all citizens without regard to nationality, race or religion. This policy is based on the principle of equal rights and equal obligations. The Polish Government condemns all anti-Semitic activities as harmful to the Polish cause."

This declaration was extremely important. A unanimous vote of the government in favor of equality of all citizens was, for the first time, being officially recorded. Especially significant was the last sentence of this declaration, in which the Polish Government officially condemned all anti-Semitic activities as being harmful to the Polish cause. To our knowledge, this is the first time that such a condemnation was officially made by any government of Poland.

The Polish Government-in-Exile did not discriminate as between Jewish and non-Jewish refugees in London. The Jewish refugees were being aided by the government on an equal basis with the Polish refugees. Eighteen hundred Polish Jewish refugees in Southern France were also granted
relief by the Polish Ministry of Social Welfare, and were placed in homes provided by the Polish Red Cross in France. The Polish Government supported, in addition, Polish Jewish refugees in Portugal who were not receiving relief from Jewish organizations, and granted £2,000 to the Jewish refugees in Palestine, as well as a permanent allowance of £6 per person, per month, for an entire year for two hundred Polish Jewish refugees. The Polish Consulates granted aid and assistance to the Polish Jewish refugees wherever they were able to do so, and helped them emigrate to other countries or adjust themselves to conditions within the countries of their refuge.

During the past few months, and especially since the visit of General Sikorski to the United States, a better understanding of the Jewish problem seemed to prevail in Polish circles in London. The declaration condemning anti-Semitism as being harmful to the Polish cause may well be an auspicious beginning for a real policy of equality for all Polish citizens in a future democratic Poland, resurrected after the victory of the democratic forces.

IX. BALTIC COUNTRIES

By Simon Segal

1. Latvia and Estonia

The disappearance of the Baltic states as independent units after some twenty-odd years, marks the cessation of the last free Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, as well as the extinction of vestiges of the old Russian Jewry which continued, more or less freely, to live within the framework of these states.

All sections of opinion in Jewish life had their adherents in the Baltic states where Jewish culture, protected by the Minorities Treaties, enjoyed free development. Although at no period were these countries entirely free from anti-Semitism, this anti-Semitism was usually of a political or
economic nature, as, for example, prohibiting Jews from practicing in certain fields, occupying high government positions, etc. This, however, did not deeply affect the course of Jewish life as it did in other countries, where discrimination was more widely practiced. These small communities became the islands of a free Jewish cultural and communal development, and assumed an importance in Jewish life far beyond the numerical strength. With the absorption of the Baltic countries by the Soviet Union in June, 1940, this period of relative freedom of cultural development ceased.

When the Baltic Germans were repatriated to the Third Reich, it was reported that Jews had improved their economic positions by taking over a large number of business establishments previously belonging to the Germans. After the incorporation of Latvia into Soviet Russia, this favorable condition was greatly changed. The most important banking, industrial and commercial enterprises were confiscated by the Soviets, and while this was by no means an anti-Semitic measure, it affected the Jews more than the other nationalities because large sections of the Jewish population were earning their livelihoods in these economic fields. Before the war, 24% of all industrial and 30% of all commercial enterprises in Latvia were owned by Jews.

The Soviets tried to prevent the deterioration of the economic situation of the Jews by creating four strictly Jewish cooperatives among the People's Cooperatives. They were: a cooperative for the timber trade; a cooperative for the herring trade; two cooperatives for the needle trade. Altogether, 3,000 Latvian Jews were employed in these cooperatives.

Before the annexation of Latvia by Soviet Russia, there were many Yiddish and Hebrew schools in Riga, and throughout the country. The Yiddish schools were permitted to continue functioning. The Hebrew schools were converted into Yiddish schools. The Communist press of Riga reported that the Riga Jewish city schools were extended in order to accommodate two thousand Jewish children. Appeals were made by the Communist Jewish press to the Jews of Latvia to send their children to Yiddish schools. It was reported on August 22, 1940, that the
Yiddish theatre in Riga was transformed into a state theatre under the direction of Hertz Leibovitch, well-known Latvian Communist.

Anti-religious activities seemed to meet with very little success. After a tour of the Baltic countries, Mr. Jaroslavski, head of the Atheist Society, Bezbozniki, returned with many complaints about the existing state of affairs. The Communist newspapers revealed that after 90% of the Jewish and non-Jewish workers recognized that the Liebauer Synagogue could serve a more useful purpose, it was converted into a workers club.

A vigorous campaign against anti-Semitism was developed by the Jewish and non-Jewish Communists in Latvia. Huge meetings were held in Riga and other towns at which anti-Semitism was condemned as a device to divert attention from the real social class struggle against capitalism.

As in other Soviet-annexed territories, the property of the Jewish community, as well as of the Zionist and Socialist organizations, was confiscated. Several prominent Jews were reported to have been arrested by the Soviet authorities, amongst them Mordecai Dubin, an orthodox Jew, extremely influential in Latvian Government circles, and well-known for his charitable activities.

At the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, thousands of Jews left Riga and other Latvian cities for the interior of Russia. The Germans also started a campaign to incite the Latvians against the "Jewish Communists of Riga."

Developments in Estonia followed along similar lines as those in Latvia. The Council of Peoples Commissars of Estonia, it was reported on September 30, 1940, had undertaken the nationalization of large commercial enterprises, many of which belonged to Jews.

The Estonian Jews were permitted to maintain their Yiddish schools, but were ordered to close all Hebrew schools and Zionist institutions. Simultaneously, an anti-religious campaign was initiated while an officially-inspired propaganda campaign against anti-Semitism was carried on. Hundreds of Jews fled from Estonia before the onslaught of the German army at the outbreak of the German-Soviet war.
2. Lithuania

The Jewish community in Lithuania occupies a special place in Eastern European Jewry. Especially since the establishment of the Lithuanian Republic approximately twenty years ago, the Jews have enjoyed cultural autonomy and have been permitted to develop their social and communal institutions. Vilna, known as the "Jerusalem of Lithuania," became one of the most important Jewish cultural centers in the world. The Yiddish Scientific Institute, established headquarters in Vilna, as did many other important Jewish institutions. The Jewish population in Vilna continued to use Yiddish almost exclusively as its conversational language. The Jews comprised about 30% of the city residents. A comprehensive Yiddish and Hebrew school system existed in Vilna, Kaunas and other Lithuanian cities, which gave instruction to practically all the Jewish children in the country.

In October, 1939, the Lithuanian Jewish community of 160,000 was increased by 55,000 Jews from the city of Vilna, and approximately 15,000 Jewish refugees from other sections of Poland.

On June 15, 1940, the Lithuanian Government was forced to accept an ultimatum from the Soviets and to permit the occupation of the country by the Red Army. Two days later, a government headed by Justas Palecki, 41 year-old journalist and left-wing Socialist, was formed. This government held elections for a new Parliament which, in effect, was a referendum on the incorporation of Lithuania in the Soviet Union. As anticipated, on August 25, the newly elected Parliament unanimously agreed to adopt a Soviet constitution, and Lithuania became a Soviet Socialist Republic. This agreement only countersigned the decision of the Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. which, on August 7, had granted the demands for incorporation as presented by the Lithuanian delegation. The action of the Parliament on August 25, marked the disappearance, for the time being at least, of the Lithuanian Republic which was established after the World War. The expectation that the Lithuanian Jewish community would be permitted to continue its
cultural and communal development without interference came to naught.

Having obtained power in Lithuania, the Communists, proceeded with their campaign of assimilating the newly-acquired territory to the Soviet Union. Lithuanian farms which exceeded thirty hectares (75 acres) were expropriated. Large estates and church properties were taken over for partitioning among the peasants who owned little or no land.

The introduction of the Communist regime greatly affected the economic situation of the Jewish population. The position of the Jewish middleman, who constituted a major part of Lithuanian Jewry, became very precarious after the Russian occupation. Small shops were permitted to function but only until such time as they were able to liquidate their businesses, since further supplies of merchandise were unobtainable.

A flood of anti-religious propaganda was unloosed on the newly occupied countries. The Jewish Communists of Lithuania and other annexed territories were particularly vociferous in their anti-religious campaign, while Lithuanian Communists made an effort not to offend Catholic peasants.

At first it was the purpose of the campaign to persuade the Jews to work on Saturdays. While the majority of the younger generation yielded, scores of thousands of older Jews refused to work on the Sabbath. It should be pointed out that the emphasis in the campaign was not so much on religion as on the effects that the Sabbath rest would have on the economic life of the country.

The famous Lithuanian and Polish Yeshivahs which had sought refuge in Vilna at the outbreak of the war in 1939, were permitted to carry on their activities on a reduced scale. In the beginning of 1941, rabbis were still to be found in approximately one hundred and fifty cities and towns in Lithuania. They were not persecuted and, despite the official anti-religious campaign, important Communist Party members contributed towards their maintenance.

Most of the Yeshivah students were permitted to emigrate to Palestine and other overseas countries. The
Executive of the Agudath Israel (Orthodox organization) helped to pay the cost of the removal of the rabbis and Yeshivah students. The Agudath Harabonim of America (association of rabbis) also guaranteed the sum of $75,000 for the maintenance of rabbis and Yeshivah students who were permitted to emigrate to Palestine.

According to a dispatch of June 9, 1941 the Soviet authorities have authorized the transfer of the Slobodka Yeshivah with its entire staff and student body to the United States. Pending arrangements for their departure, lectures were also permitted. A general affidavit from New York was received for the Yeshivah, but this was considered insufficient by the American authorities in Moscow, who demanded individual affidavits.

When the transfer plan became known in Lithuania, many young Jews tried to join the Yeshivah, but the Soviet authorities recognized as members only those who were teachers or students when the country was incorporated in the Soviet Union.

It was reported in February that, although the practice of shehita (ritual slaughter) was not forbidden in Lithuania, kosher meat had become unobtainable in Kaunas, because the majority of the Jewish ritual butchers had joined the official Butchers' Cooperative, which was given the monopoly of meat distribution. Those few Jewish butchers who did not join the Cooperative received no cattle for slaughter.

It soon became apparent that the Russian authorities would, on the one hand, suppress all Zionist, Nationalist and Hebrew activities, but on the other hand, permit the development of Yiddish cultural institutions, provided they would accept the Communist ideology. In February, 1941, sixty-nine elementary schools in Vilna gave instruction to 20,943 pupils. Of these schools, 46 were Polish; 18 Jewish; 3 Russian; and two Lithuanian. The division of the school population according to nationalities was as follows: 13,760 Polish children; 4,636 Jewish; 1,826 Lithuanian; 643 Russian; 34 White Russian; and 42, other nationalities. Of the 560 employd teachers, 150 were Jewish. There were 14 secondary schools with approximately 10,000 pupils. Four of these schools were Polish,
three, Yiddish; two, Lithuanian; one, White Russian, and four, mixed, where instruction was given both in Lithuanian and in Polish. There were Jewish pupils in all of these secondary schools. Nine technical schools gave instruction to 7,362 students, 2,000 of whom were Jews.

The famous Jewish technical institute established by Ort over twenty years ago in the city of Kaunas, was permitted to resume its activities under its former director, Mr. Oleisky. On the other hand, the Hebrew schools and institutions soon disappeared, some as a result of official orders, others by decision of teachers and parents who realized that voluntary dissolution of the schools, or their transformation into Yiddish institutions, was imperative. The majority of the Hebrew teachers tried to adjust themselves to the new conditions and have been able to find employment as teachers of Yiddish and Yiddish literature.

The Commissariat of Education has introduced Sunday instead of Saturday as the day of rest in schools. This step was taken following several student meetings at which, it was alleged, the students voluntarily voted for the change.

The three Yiddish secondary schools continued their activities, but their programs were changed to conform with the new regime, and included a five-hour-a-week anti-religious course.

While a number of Jews have been appointed to leading positions, the entire property of Jewish cultural institutions was confiscated for the benefit of the Communist organizations. The property of the Jewish community, as well as of the Zionist Party and the Lithuanian Tarbuth (Hebrew Education Association) was confiscated by the authorities. The possessions of the Jewish Doctors' Union were taken away and allotted to the professional organization of Medical Workers in Lithuania. The famous Abraham Mapu Library in Kaunas, which existed for nearly a century and contained rare Hebrew and Yiddish editions, was turned over to the Komsomol, Communist Youth Organization, and renamed after the Communist Greifenburg, who was executed in 1926. Books viewed as undesirable by the regime were removed and replaced by Soviet Yiddish literature. Of the old stock only the works
of Mendele Moicher Seforim, J. L. Peretz, and Sholem Aleichem were retained.

On April 28, it was reported that Jewish libraries in Soviet Lithuania were to be altogether discontinued. Jewish books were to be lent to the public by the general public libraries, each of which would have a Jewish librarian who would have control over the issuance of Jewish books. The same rule was applied to the libraries of all other nationalities in Lithuania.

Attempts to transport the archives of the Yiddish Scientific Institute from Vilna to America failed, and they were taken over by Communists who appointed a Mr. Lehrer as Commissar of the Institute. In a press interview, Lehrer stated that the Institute would continue to work under its former name, but that the scope of its activities would be completely altered. The organization would no longer be concerned with historical and statistical research but would be engaged in preparing a list of textbooks for the Soviet Jewish schools, and organizing classes in Marxism for teachers who were spreading the knowledge of Soviet Yiddish literature among the masses.

On November 16, a chair in Jewish language and literature was inaugurated at the University of Vilna. The inauguration had a very solemn character. Noah Prilutzki, the newly-appointed professor, delivered his first lecture to an over-flowing audience which congregated in the great hall of the Vilna University. Prilutzki is the former editor of Moment, a Yiddish newspaper in Warsaw, and a former Jewish deputy to the Polish Parliament. Prilutzki's first lecture was on the origin of the Yiddish language which, he said, was more than one thousand years old.

The greatly developed Yiddish and Hebrew press, primarily Zionistic and Nationalistic in tendency, was liquidated by the new Soviet authorities. Two Yiddish dailies were established, one in Kaunas and the other in Vilna.

Reuben Rubinstein, former editor of the Yiddishe Stimme of Kaunas, and prominent Zionist leader and Jewish representative in the City Council, was imprisoned by the
Soviet authorities. The Stimme, which was founded in 1922, had been the largest Yiddish daily in the Baltics and was published daily in two editions. Immediately after the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, its plant was confiscated and turned over to the Folksblatt, former Bundist daily which has since become a Communist newspaper.

While, on the one hand, suppression of Jewish newspapers continued, on the other hand, Jews were appointed to important positions in the Lithuanian press. L. Shaus, former staff member of Das Wort, Labor Zionist newspaper, was appointed director of the Soviet Lithuanian Telegraphic Agency, and Jacob Ziman was made editor-in-chief of Tiesa, the most widely circulated Lithuanian daily, the official organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party. For fifteen years before 1933, Ziman had been the Lithuanian correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt. With the advent of the Hitler regime in Germany, he remained in Lithuania, became naturalized, and was appointed editor of a pro-Lithuanian paper in Memel.

It is significant that although, from the beginning of the Soviet occupation, a campaign against anti-Semitism was initiated, the former Fascist and anti-Semitic groups were temporarily permitted to function. On July 30, 1940, serious anti-Jewish disorders were organized by the followers of former Prime Minister Waldemaras, leader of the Lithuanian Fascist movement. The Waldemaras followers held the Jews responsible for the loss of Lithuanian independence and for the developments leading to the country’s incorporation into the Soviet Union.

Anti-Jewish manifestations were also reported at an All-Lithuanian Conference of teachers, held in Kovno in August, 1940. The discussion revolved principally around the problem of how best to maintain the Lithuanian spirit in the schools and how to guard the children against “Jewish influence.” Anti-Semitic addresses were delivered despite the presence of government representatives, who did not intervene.

Furthermore, the German pro-Nazi organizations in the country were not molested and were allowed to carry on their anti-Semitic activities. The German newspaper,
Deutsche Nachrichten, was permitted to continue its anti-Jewish campaign. German schools were allowed to continue to teach the Nazi philosophy. The German business establishments and banks were not nationalized. In general, for several months after the Soviet incorporation of Lithuania, the Germans seemed to enjoy special rights and privileges, while a campaign against the Zionist Organization and other Jewish as well as Socialist organizations proceeded. The Jewish Workers' Organization, Bund, was immediately closed and some of its leaders imprisoned.

While in the first few months several anti-Semitic movements were still permitted to propagate their ideas, and the Germans had almost complete freedom of action before their repatriation, the Soviet authorities instituted a campaign for equality of all citizens.

The Jewish community was reorganized by the new government and put under Communist control. The new officials were forbidden to pay wages to religious functionaries or to incur any expenses for religious purposes.

Because of their Zionist or Nationalist leanings, a number of prominent Jewish lawyers have been taken off the registry and forbidden to continue local practice.

The new Kaunas City Council did not include a single Jewish member, although the Jews formed about 35% of the population of the city. Some commentators abroad attributed this fact to continued anti-Semitism. This interpretation, however, seems to be erroneous in view of the fact that Jews have been appointed to very important state as well as municipal positions. In the city of Kaunas, the municipality's legal advisor was a Mr. Lowenstein, a Jew; J. Maimun was appointed Vice-Minister of Industry for Soviet Lithuania. The latter was formerly chief accountant at the Central Bank, which was financed by the American Joint Foundation for the support of Jewish credit cooperatives in Lithuania. According to a dispatch of June 17, 1941, B. Vit, a Jew, was elected Chairman of the City Executive Committee of Vilna. This position corresponds to that of Mayor. Jacob Epstein, a Jew, was appointed Mayor of the town of Janova, in the Kaunas district, an important center of the Lithuanian timber trade.
One of the major problems especially affecting the Jews was that of refugees. After the collapse of Poland, thousands of refugees, most of them Jews, fled to Vilna and other Lithuanian cities. With the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union, the emigration of refugees temporarily ceased, because all foreign consulates were closed and their services to applicants for emigration or transit visas were discontinued. However, when consideration of the cases that were pending was resumed by the various consulates which were transferred to Moscow and Stockholm, the movement of emigrants and refugees again started.

All applications for emigration visas to the United States were being handled by the American Consulate in Moscow, while applications for Palestine visas were being considered by the British Consulate in Moscow. The Chinese Consulate in Stockholm was granted authority to issue visas to refugees going to or through China.

Through the efforts of the Hicem (Hias-Ica Emigration Association) in Vilna, the local Lithuanian authorities paved the way for the issuance of documents and transit visas by the U.S.S.R. for those refugees and emigrants who had their emigration visas and steamship tickets. The refugees travelled through Siberia and Japan, with Tokio as the principal transit port. It was reported on January 4, 1941, that the Soviet authorities were willing to issue exit visas to Palestine to all Polish-Jewish refugees in Lithuania. At the same time, it was stated that the Soviet Government had issued an order that all refugees who refused to accept Soviet citizenship were to leave the Baltic countries by January 12. From December 1, 1940, the Joint Distribution Committee focussed its activities on assisting refugees to leave the country. According to a statement of Moses Beckelman, the American representative of the Joint Distribution Committee in the Baltics, more than two thousand Jewish refugees in Lithuania were assisted to leave the country between December 1, 1940 and February 21, 1941, the day of Mr. Beckelman's departure from Vilna. The policy of permitting emigration was
adopted by the Soviet authorities following decrees pro-
mulgated by Moscow and the Lithuanian Soviet Republic
at the end of 1940, making eligible for Soviet citizenship
all persons residing in the territories of any of the former
Baltic Republics on September 1, 1940. All persons not
wishing such citizenship were permitted to file applications
for exit permits.

Simultaneously with the publication of the decrees
offering citizenship to all refugees, the Soviet authorities
declared that all aged, ill or otherwise unemployable persons
would be provided for by the Social Welfare Institutions
of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic, and requested the
foreign relief organizations then functioning in Lithuania
to cease their activities. The emigration process was still
strong by the end of February, though the number of visas
issued daily sharply decreased because of the difficulties
involved in obtaining Japanese transit visas. This was the
chief difficulty being encountered by would-be emigrants
at the close of the year under review. Because of the great
number of refugees concentrated in the Japanese cities,
especially in Kobe, who were unable to obtain visas for
other countries, the Japanese authorities refused the is-
suance of further transit visas until the number of refugees
in Japan substantially decreased.

The situation changed radically with the outbreak of the
German-Soviet hostilities. It was reported on June 25,
three days after the German invasion, that the Nazi-
controlled Kaunas radio accused the Jews of sniping at
German soldiers. To support these charges the German
Ministry of Propaganda ordered Lithuanian newspapers
in the invaded territory to publish pictures of ruined
buildings, the captions on which stated that it was from
these buildings that Jews allegedly fired on the Nazi
“liberators” of Lithuania. While it was reported on June
29 by the Kaunas radio that virtually the entire Jewish
population had left Lithuania, it was also announced that
a Lithuanian puppet government was being organized,
one of whose first acts would be to expel all Jews from
Lithuania.
By July, 1940, Rumania, with her large minorities saturated with separatist leanings, stood isolated in the world. The Little Entente was nothing but a memory, the Balkan Entente existed only on paper, and the collapse of France had already rendered valueless Anglo-French guarantee of Rumania’s territorial integrity.

Furthermore, the precipitate annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukowina by Stalin led to two immediate results, first, to an irreparable breach between Russia and Rumania, and second, to the most violent flare-up of irredentism, especially in Hungary and Bulgaria clamoring for the immediate return respectively of Transylvania and Southern Dobruja.

It is evident that Rumania, and especially the regime of King Carol II, already badly shaken by the loss of Bessarabia, was in an extremely dangerous situation. It was imperative to forestall, by any means, further territorial losses bound to shatter the prestige of the dynasty. This paramount necessity, together with the fact of Rumania’s complete isolation prompted King Carol to throw his country, overnight and rather demonstratively, upon the mercy of the Führer. The idea was to keep or win him away, at any price, from the program of territorial revision, on the erroneous assumption that Hitler wanted peace and stability, i.e., no change in the Balkans. It was thought that abundant demonstrative evidence of Rumania’s repentant allegiance to the Axis in foreign policies, and to Hitler’s ideas and methods in internal politics, would help.

This was why King Carol had formally announced as early as June 30, 1940, before the occupation of the eastern provinces by Russia was completed, that Rumania had cut loose from defeated France and beleaguered Britain; and also why he had discreetly informed Berlin that Rumania was willing to tie her fortunes irrevocably to dominating Germany. To give evidence of his submission, Carol also immediately replaced his former “personal”
government with a cabinet composed exclusively of ele-
ments notoriously submissive to Hitler and prominent in
Jew-baiting.

The new government was headed by Ion Gigurtu, chair-
man of the Mica Company exploiting a great part of
Rumania’s mineral wealth; he was also the private business
advisor of the King. The other trusted person was Foreign
Minister Mihail Manolescu, a highly talented and versatile
politician and money-maker, who made himself eligible
by good connections in Berlin, acquired without active
opposition on the part of the king. The government in-
cluded also six Iron Guardists, hitherto arch-enemies of the
King, and five adherents of the anti-Semitic Goga-Cuza
group; Horia Sima, the leader of the Guard, was made
Minister of Public Education. The new dictatorial govern-
ment pledged itself to pursue a policy of “integral nation-
alism” which, according to a New York Times dispatch of
July 5, “could only mean vigorous restrictions on Jewish
elements in Rumanian life.”

That anti-Semitism was to become the key-note of the
new regime, was equally warranted by Carol’s paramount
desire to appease Hitler in the hope of preventing losses of
territory, and by the composition of the government itself.
For an introduction, however, popular sentiment was to
be made receptive to the new trend by the combined
Guardist-Cuzist anti-British and anti-Jewish propaganda
machine bearing the semi-official stamp, and having access
to the facilities of the Axis propaganda centers. The anti-
Jewish campaign in Rumania was mainly based on the
“documentary value” of German and Italian accounts
of the Russian occupation of Bessarabia, telling invented
stories of “Jewish treason,” and on communiqués devoted
by the Axis press to the “unmasking of Jewish criminality
in Rumania,” which were passed for publication in all
papers by the King’s censor. Thus, in unison with the Axis
press, the Rumanian newspapers alleged that the Jews and
only the Jews were responsible for the loss of the two east-
ern provinces. Popular indignation over territorial losses
was given its scapegoat, and cruel outbursts of “popular
vengeance” followed. As reported by the whole interna-
tional press, all over the country, but especially in and
around the area occupied by Russia, hundreds of cases of mass brutality and many cases of outright murder occurred. Near the Pruth river, numbers of Jewish refugees on their way by rail to or from the area of occupation — men, women and children — were hurled beneath the wheels of moving trains or shot in the darkness as the trains sped through tunnels. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported on July 8, 1940 that in Dorohoi 40 Jews were killed and about 100 wounded; in Arad 6 killed and 20 wounded. Among others, Botosani and Husi were also centers of major anti-Jewish outbursts.

Nobody can tell how much further things would have gone had not an official Soviet intervention, on the ground that it wished no “troubles” on its frontiers, (New York Times, July 2) warned Rumania of the risks of further excesses. Since Hitler's blessing manifestly was not yet assured, the Russian step had to be taken seriously, as continued “troubles” might have been utilized by Stalin as a pretext for further military moves against Rumania. Therefore, the anti-Semitic press was silenced, and the outbursts of “popular vengeance” stopped overnight for the time being. The terrible agonies and sufferings of the Jewish population were, however, by far not over. The government made haste to fill the temporary gap with a semi-official statement promising that anti-Jewish legislation similar to that of Italy was already under preparation.

The lull in Jew-baiting did not last long. On July 6, hardly one week after the hush-up resulting from the reported Russian intervention, Premier Gigurtu made an official declaration to the effect that the “offenses and insults of the Jews would not be forgotten.” Although he failed to be specific about the insults and offenses, that declaration was promptly followed by anti-Jewish agitation by the press, which, in turn, was the signal for new riots in many parts of the country; at the same time a series of anti-Semitic government measures was inaugurated.

The outstanding fact about the new wave of mob excesses, — abounding in such “episodes” as the mutilation and killing of seven Jews on the railway line between Bucharest and Lespezile, — was that not one single case
was even perfunctorily investigated by the authorities. As for the official anti-Jewish measures, it was only natural that their direction should have been placed in the hands of Horia Sima, the new minister of education and head of the Iron Guard. His ambition to "solve the Jewish question" was boundless, his eagerness to ruin the Jews insatiable. But, after only one week in office, he surprised his Iron Guardist colleagues in the cabinet by tendering his resignation without giving any motivation. He had not had enough time to do more than forbid Jewish actors and musicians to perform in public, and prohibit the production of plays or compositions of Jewish authors. Sima's sudden resignation becomes less mysterious if we consider that thanks to his close contacts with Berlin he knew about coming developments of which even his King could not have been certain, of developments bound to taint his political record if he remained a member of King Carol's government. The ambitious young national leader knew already in July that territorial cessions to Hungary and Bulgaria were inevitable. He resigned in order to have the "moral right" of disclaiming any responsibility for the national misfortune.

The anti-Jewish policies of the new government, however, went on unabated after Sima's resignation. The first restrictions imposed upon Jews were exclusion from all journalistic connections, government positions and other public offices; dismissal of Jewish physicians in government services; prohibition against Jews selling their real estate, securities and other property, without government permission. Ritual killing of cattle was also prohibited. Since Jews were excluded from membership of the new Party of the Nation, a declaration of the party leadership to the effect that non-members would be prohibited to act as executives in commerce and industry, spelled doom for a large number of Jews. Within two weeks from the formation of the new government, i.e., by July 16, all these measures were already in effect. By that time, however, territorial losses were regarded as at least probable and, for that reason, it was deemed necessary to speed up the establishment of an anti-Jewish regime agreeable to Hitler.

On August 6, an all-embracing decree regulating the
status of the entire Jewish population was issued. It established three categories of Jews: first, those in the Old Rumanian Kingdom who had obtained Rumanian nationality prior to 1918, fought in the front line, or were descendants of Jewish soldiers killed in action in the World War. Their number did not exceed some five to six thousand persons out of a total of almost 490,000 left over after the loss of Bessarabia and Northern Bukowina. Jews in this category were accorded the rights of the Christian population, except ownership of rural property and the holding of government office. The second category comprised all Jews who entered the country before December 31, 1918. These were barred from the legal and publishing professions, from business boards, the armed forces, and the civil service; they were also forbidden to serve as notaries public, to own shops in rural districts, to own coffee houses, cafés, tobacco shops and cinemas in any part of the country. Into the third category were placed all Jews who came under Rumanian sovereignty after the aforementioned term, thus comprising the bulk of those declared to be Rumanian nationals by the peace treaties guaranteeing them full equality of rights. These were now deprived of citizenship, and since citizenship was the preliminary condition of being admitted, or of continuing in most professions and trades, the measure meant the summary deprivation of their livelihood. This flouting of a treaty with Germany's enemies was probably meant as another special tribute to Hitler.

The first actual measures undertaken in execution of the decree were the immediate dismissal of all Jewish consular officials, and the ouster of 600 Jewish lawyers from their profession.

At the same time, a military tax convertible to compulsory labor service, was inaugurated, as a substitute for regular military service from which all Jews were excluded.

It is needless to say that all this desperate clutching at straws did not affect the vital issue of territorial revision. About the middle of August, the new ruler of Europe declared his “willingness” to act, if necessary as arbitrator of Hungary’s and Bulgaria’s territorial claims on Rumania, and gave the latter until September 15 to settle the issue
of Transylvania by direct negotiations with Hungary. (The Dobruja issue was easily and quickly settled in direct negotiations with Bulgaria.)

The Rumanian government had no choice but to accept the "invitation," and at once started preparing the public for concessions by emphasizing the need for "peace" in Eastern Europe, and stressing the new anti-Jewish decree to divert attention. Further, to impress the Jew-baiting patriots, a new decree regulating the schooling of Jews was issued, prohibiting Jewish children, with the exception of those belonging to the first Jewish category, from attending even elementary schools with other children, but authorizing Jewish communities to maintain, at their own expense, primary and secondary schools, whose teachers had to be "Rumanians" and whose certificates would not be recognized by the Rumanian state.

Because the negotiations between Rumania and Hungary were lagging, and probably also because Hitler's plans for an early Axis attack on the Balkans made the territorial readjustment urgent, he did not wait until September 15, the date set by himself, but, on August 30, announced his decision dividing historic Transylvania, and shifting its smaller northeastern portion to Hungary.

Rumania was permitted to find consolation in having retained the more valuable portion, and being "recompensed" for her loss by Hitler's public guarantee of her remaining territory. Both winner and loser were, however, brought simultaneously under final Axis military control by the simple stipulation that Rumania was to open her territory for German troops "for guarding the oil wells and other military objectives and for training Rumanian army units in modern warfare."

On September 1, foreign minister Manoilescu declared the following: "By the guarantees we tie ourselves indissolubly to the Axis powers. Henceforth our politics will not know other policies than that of the Axis, in which we put all our hopes."

He was right. Since then, in Rumania, as in Hungary, there has been no other policy than that of Hitler, now undisputed lord over the Danube. The presence of his irresistible troops in Rumania meant the automatic capitu-
lation of Bulgaria, the total elimination of Russian influence from the Balkans, the inevitable doom of valiant Greece and Yugoslavia, the dislodgement of British forces from the European continent, and finally, the setting of the stage for the all-out attack on Soviet Russia.

* * *

The following developments in Rumania cannot be sufficiently understood unless we realize that the Iron Guard was, in substance, nothing more than a local executive organ of Hitler himself, and that its leaders would not have undertaken any significant political move without being certain of the approval of Berlin.

On September 3, three days after the announcement of the Vienna decision regarding Transylvania, Iron Guard demonstrations were launched in several cities, among them also in the capital. The demonstrations were noisy and insolent, and in several localities, handbills demanding the King's abdication were distributed by Guardist demonstrators. Serious disorders occurred, however, only in Constanta where forty-five persons were killed, but order was restored within twenty-four hours even there. In the capital, large masses of demonstrators crowded the vicinity of the royal palace, and handbills urging Carol's abdication flooded the streets, but, within a few hours, the demonstration was dispersed, most of the ringleaders and instigators were under arrest, and the police and military in full command of the situation. The coup, which was reliably reported to have been headed by Horia Sima, failed completely. Police and army units proved absolutely reliable.

Nevertheless, two days later, on September 5, General Ion Antonescu, Carol's most relentless antagonist, the trusted man of Hitler and of the Iron Guard, who had been liberated only three days before from prison to which he had been sentenced for "prohibited political activity," was appointed premier with absolute dictatorial power, and the King became a mere figurehead. It is quite clear that this historic change was not brought about by an irresistible patriotic popular uprising against King Carol. Neither was the King's subsequent final abdication the result of
a victorious popular upheaval. It was to a single man, a single general of his own army to whom the King, still in full potential control of the internal situation, had to give up all in one night, because that man represented that supreme continental power to which there could be no resistance, the power of Adolf Hitler.

As soon as the news of Carol’s abdication and Antonescu’s accession to full power reached the public, the traditional “heroism” of the Iron Guard attained immediately its full splendor. Now there was no longer any risk in roaming the streets in armed hordes, in demolishing and pillaging Jewish-owned shops, and in beating and torturing thousands of innocent Jewish people the country over. These acts, however, were only the prelude to the most bestial massacres known in modern history.

William Fildermann, the valiant representative of Rumanian Jewry, did not hesitate to draw Antonescu’s attention to the danger and to ask for protection. Antonescu’s reply is highly interesting. It reveals that in contrast to King Carol, and notwithstanding the fact that his regime was an outright Legionary (Iron Guard) State, run by Iron Guardist extremists, the new Conducatorul (Führer), still nurtured the belief that he would be able to manage without excessive Jew-baiting. The sincerity of this incredibly naive attitude seems to be warranted by the fact that his reply was permitted publication in the Rumanian press:

“Will Mr. Fildermann please explain to his co-religionists that General Antonescu could not possibly accomplish miracles in one week. He found the country in a state of chaos. It was also a week of romantic enthusiasm. A generation that had been tortured, tracked down and killed had the right to burst out when freed. In ten days it had again become orderly and would daily be increasingly disciplined. I assure Mr. Fildermann that this will be so and assure him also that if his co-religionists will not sabotage the regime either politically or economically, the Jewish population will suffer nothing. And remember that General Antonescu is a man of his word.”

This naive, if not disingenuous statement, inevitably took no account of the fact that Rumania was in the grip
of a pro-Nazi Iron Guard whose program for “solving the Jewish question” had been clearly stated on September 8 by Vice-Premier Sima, the leader of the Guard, as consisting in the “total annihilation of Jewish and Masonic powers and influence.” Tragically it soon turned out that the word of the vice-premier had considerably more weight and validity than that of the chief of state.

On October 5, all Jewish-owned rural land was confiscated to be distributed among Rumanian refugees from the ceded provinces. By October 15, the occupation of the country by strong German military forces was completed. At about the same time, in many places, Iron Guard sentries were posted outside each Jewish-owned shop, preventing customers from entering; in other localities, Jewish merchants were compelled to put up signs identifying their stores as Jewish-owned. On October 21, a Mr. Freeman, an American citizen and an employee of the Standard Oil Company was kidnapped and brutally beaten by Iron Guardists. He was later liberated by the intervention of the American Minister. Throughout the entire incident no other accusation was made against him than that he was a Jew. By the end of October, a widespread network of German Gestapo agencies was set up in Rumania. On November 13, a decree appeared increasing penalties for persons engaged in subversive activities against the regime, and ordering double sentences for Jewish offenders. On November 15, the Ministry of Labor decreed that all Jews employed by private enterprises, regardless of category, be discharged not later than December 31.

A week later, on November 23, General Antonescu formally pledged Rumania’s full allegiance as a political, economic and military ally to the Tripartite Pact, declaring that he was certain of the victory of the Axis.

Only four days later, on November 26, eighty-six former high officials, — premiers, ministers and generals under exiled King Carol, — were executed without trial by members of the Iron Guard, most of the executions taking place before the open tomb of Zelea Codreanu, “martyred” Iron Guard leader. That the mass murder had direct ties with Antonescu’s joining the Axis, is proved by the fact that, even before his signing of the pact, a coup d’état was at-
tempted by a group of "original" Iron Guard leaders, who wished to prevent Antonescu, the "interloper and usurper" to sign the pact which the Guard considered as its own achievement. That first attempt had failed, however, and had cost the lives of about ten Legion leaders, among them Zelea Codreanu's own brother. The blood bath before the tomb of Codreanu was intended as a prelude for a new, final attack on the Antonescu regime, a signal for civil war.

The first phase of this "war" lasted throughout a whole week, when it was reported that, with the support of the army, Antonescu had restored order. The estimates of deaths varied widely, and even at this time no reliable information is obtainable. The Jewish death toll of that first phase of the Iron Guard uprising was said to be over 600; it was reported also that in Ploesti alone 200 Jews were killed.

In spite of Antonescu's and the army command's severe measures, the anarchy had only subsided for a short time. After a few days, as if let loose by a mysterious hand, the disturbances flared up again with unprecedented ruthlessness all over the country. Daily there were instances of Iron Guard mass disturbances and gory cruelty, mainly against Jews. This time, the Guardists behaved as if there was no longer any government in the country. Jewish shops were simply seized and pillaged by Guardist detachments all over the country. They contended that Jewish homes belonged to their organization and seized and ransacked them en masse, even if they were rented to neutral diplomats. The Guard was already swelled to a force of several hundred thousand members and included the whole underworld. The atmosphere was saturated with the forebodings of approaching disaster.

In the face of this threat all that the Antonescu Government did was to issue a decree on December 28, stipulating that trading certificates issued to Jewish artisans would not be renewed and that agreements between masters and Jewish apprentices would be cancelled!

During the last week of January, 1941, the second phase of the Iron Guard revolt attained its climactic stage. During that one week, between 4,000 and 6,000 persons were
killed in Bucharest alone, while the death toll for the whole country was estimated at 10,000. Of the victims killed in the capital, about 2,000 were rebel Guardists, 60 soldiers and 1,400 civilians, among them at least 1,000 Jews.

According to reliable reports of reputable American newspaper correspondents who were eye-witnesses of the gory events, Jewish women and children as well as men, caught in large groups, were literally burned alive in the streets or in cellars of apartment houses, after being sadistically mutilated, their eyes gouged out, their throats cut. The report that about 200 Jews were beheaded with axes and knives in one group at the Jewish slaughterhouse alone, was confirmed by accounts of absolutely reliable American, Hungarian and Bulgarian sources. The only consoling factor in the horrifying picture was that instead of infecting the civilian populace, the action of the Guardists caused a revulsion among the people, and that many Christians risked their lives seeking to protect the potential victims.

By the end of January, contrary to expectations, Antonescu succeeded in suppressing the revolt, and only then did it become known that the "general staff" of the uprising was headed, from beginning to end, by no other than the excellent vice-premier and Iron Guard leader Horia Sima himself. It was characteristic of Fascism and Nazism that tens of thousands of human beings had to die, and the moral standing of a nation had to be ruined, just because a young political fanatic could not put up with being only second in command of a nation's betrayal and prostitution. It is also probable that the revolt was made "to order," because Antonescu, at the beginning, did not show himself subservient enough to Hitler's plans towards Russia and the Balkans.

In any case, the Iron Guard revolt is in itself a symbolic revelation of the inner, real sense of contemporary anti-Semitism and a clear answer to the question why, since the advent of Adolf Hitler, model for all Simas and Codreanus, the Jewish people has to suffer so unspeakably.

The revolt was finally beaten down; Sima disappeared, probably to the common Axis haven of all unsuccessful Nazi plotters of the world, and, after a short while, the customary totalitarian "brilliant plebiscite" gave General
Antonescu one hundred percent "popular approval." If he ever balked at Hitler’s orders, he had his lesson, and he certainly would not repeat the offense. Hitler’s cruel and cunning conquest of Rumania was consummated.

With his position sufficiently consolidated and the vicious influence of the Iron Guard largely eliminated, it could have been expected that General Antonescu would finally redeem his given word and give Rumania’s Jewish population, after all the horrors through which it had suffered, bearable living conditions. It is possible that if he had been his own master he may have kept his pledge but what he has actually done since the stabilization of his rule, was in flagrant violation of his word. Since then, in slavish subservience to Nazi principles and methods, economic "Rumanization" in the form of transfer without compensation of Jewish commercial firms to "ethnical Rumanian" ownership, the expropriation of all Jewish-owned real estate, the confiscation of incomes and benefits from Jewish-held insurance policies, and the collection of heavy military taxes to be paid by all male Jews between 18 and 50, have been relentlessly carried on. Amidst an exploited and starving population, the Jews of Rumania, numbering about 490,000 souls, today are in the process of economic and, consequently, physical annihilation.

XI. OTHER BALKAN COUNTRIES

By Eugene Hevesi

1. Bulgaria

In the summer of 1940, owing to her great strategic importance as the key to the Balkans, Bulgaria was the most wooed country in Europe. For a time she successfully maintained a precarious balance in her relations with Soviet Russia, Great Britain, and the Axis Powers. During the course of the year, however, Bulgaria was drawn more and more into the Nazi camp until, in March, 1941, it was completely occupied by Germany and used as a base for Nazi
military operations against Greece and Yugoslavia. The process of Germany's encroachments upon that unhappy Balkan nation followed the usual Nazi pattern of military intimidation and political and economic infiltration. It was greatly facilitated by Bulgaria's irredentism and opportunist-istic territorial ambitions, which Germany found it profitable to encourage and support. Thus, during the period under review, Bulgaria, with Nazi assistance, regained her former territory of Dobruja and, after the Nazi conquest of Yugoslavia and Greece, was allowed by the victor to step in and occupy Yugoslav Macedonia, parts of western Thrace and Greek Macedonia, and two Greek islands off the south coast of Thrace.

Close rapprochement with Nazi Germany was followed almost immediately by an official anti-Jewish policy. There are about 50,000 Jews in Bulgaria, or seven-tenths of one percent of the population. Most of them are small traders and very poor. Nevertheless, in October, 1940, six weeks after the Dobruja settlement, it was found necessary by the government to submit a bill euphemistically described as a measure "for the protection of the nation," which aimed at the elimination of Jews from civic, and, to a great extent, from economic life. This bill contained three sections, the first of which provided for the dissolution of organizations or societies of an international character, such as Masonic lodges, Rotary clubs and similar groups. Like Free Masonry in other countries, the lodges had counted among their membership leaders in all walks of life, including the heads of the government, Premier Philoff and Foreign Minister Popoff. Realizing, however, that the government, under German pressure, would soon have to take drastic measures against them, the Masonic lodges had as early as July 26 voluntarily announced their dissolution.

The second and third sections of the bill were directed specifically against Jews. According to its provisions Jews were barred from Bulgarian citizenship. They were also forbidden to occupy state, municipal, or public positions; serve in the army, own rural property, publish or edit newspapers, magazines or books, produce films for public enter-
tainment, engage domestic servants of non-Jewish origin. Since there were no Jews in the Bulgarian army, or in public office, these provisions did not in themselves seriously affect the position of the Jewish population.

More serious, however, were the provisions “regulating” Jewish participation in commerce and in the liberal professions. These limited the participation of Jews in commerce, industry and the professions to their proportion to the population in a particular locality, the exact ratio to be fixed by ministerial decree.

The bill met a decidedly unpopular reception, indicating once again that the new anti-Jewish era in Europe runs counter to the feeling of the masses of people. Thus, in a letter published on November 3, 1940, twenty of the most prominent Bulgarian writers and scientists, claiming to speak for the Bulgarian people, told Premier Bogdan Philoff that the law would be “a blot on the face of Bulgaria,” and “contrary to Bulgarian traditions of tolerance.” The best commentary on the source of these bills was the statement in the nationalist press that the measures were a gesture of appreciation to the Axis powers for their aid in regaining Dobruja from Rumania.

The anti-Jewish bills were not adopted until December 20, when the government felt it necessary to show a measure of conformity to Nazi principles, perhaps in an attempt to stave off complete adherence to the Axis. As adopted, the law was more drastic than the original bill. While the bill considered as Jews only those having Jewish fathers, the law as enacted included all half-Jews. It barred Jews from citizenship, from military service, (ordering forced labor in the army instead), and from intermarriage, and limited their attendance at schools to their numerical ratio to the population. Also, Jews could not own or manage banks, cinemas, or newspapers, or own or rent rural properties, or own houses at summer resorts. They were also prohibited from residing in Sofia, the capital. Finally, the law ordered registration of Jewish-owned property.

On January 31, 1941, the government announced that pending determination of restrictions placed on Jews in
the liberal professions, commerce and industry,” no actual steps would be taken for six months in execution of the provisions of the anti-Jewish law, thus exposing the speciousness of the administration’s original statement that such legislation was “urgently” needed.

Since February, Bulgaria has been under German military censorship, in growing isolation from the rest of the world. News from Bulgaria is scant and unreliable. As for the position of Jews, it was reported that a number of measures affecting them were taken, but it seems that most of them were in connection with requirements of the German occupational forces rather than with a continued anti-Jewish policy of the Bulgarian Government itself. The situation is not quite clear, but such measures as the expulsion of the Jews from Philippopolis, temporary headquarters of the German forces operating against Greece, or the reported requisitioning of Jewish-owned stores, furniture, or homes, seem to be prompted by military rather than political requirements. Even the actual introduction of compulsory labor for Jews may have been prompted by purely military considerations.

Thus, at present, there is no clear indication whether or not the anti-Jewish legislation is being carried out. An announcement by the government, on April 7, to the effect that a delegation would be dispatched to Hungary for the purpose of studying that country’s anti-Jewish legislation, can be interpreted either as an indication that the Bulgarian anti-Jewish law is already in force and that the government is planning to inflict an even severer punishment on Jews, along the lines of the Hungarian model, or that it is still biding its time by sending out delegations for study, in order to have an excuse for further postponing the application of existing laws.

The situation is different in Bulgarian-occupied Macedonia, where on April 7, bands of the Macedonian irre-dentist Black Corps were reported having tortured, kidnapped and blackmailed, under Nazi sponsorship, many Jews living in the area, and having, in some cases, levied collective fines on Jewish communities.
2. Greece

During the period under review, Greece joined the list of small European neutrals which have fallen victims to ruthless totalitarian aggression. It fell to the lot of this brave Balkan nation to have to struggle against not one but both of the Axis plunderers of Europe. On November 1, 1940, Greece, which had zealously sought to maintain a strict neutrality, was, without any provocation, invaded by the legions of Mussolini. When, to a surprised world, Greece seemed to be performing a miracle and driving Italy further and further back into Albania, her territory was again invaded, this time on April 6, 1941, by the more powerful armies of Nazi Germany. Such an unequal struggle against overwhelming odds could not last. Greece was overrun by April 24, but only after a magnificent resistance which will serve to inspire free people for generations to come.

With communications disrupted by war in Europe and the nation's own struggle for existence, it was natural that news about the Jewish community should be extremely scarce. The first reaction of Jewish youth to the danger which threatened the nation from the west was mass volunteering for military service. At the same time, the services and assets of the entire Jewish community were mobilized in wholehearted co-operation with the national war effort. By January 21, nearly 9,000,000 drachmas were subscribed to defense funds by the Jewish citizens of Athens alone. The Salonika community trebled this amount. A joint meeting of the rabbinical councils of the latter city decided to donate 50,000 drachmas toward repair of the famous St. Sophia Cathedral, damaged by Italian bombers. On November 5, in a report from Salonika, one-fourth of whose population was Jewish, The New York Times gave a vivid picture of continuous air raids on that city, and of the enthusiasm, determination, and extraordinary bravery manifested by the people in their defense activities. It was officially reported that more than 7,000 Jews from Salonika alone, were fighting on the Albanian front, suffering heavy casualties. These included one of the most celebrated heroes of the campaign, Colonel Mordecai Frizi, who fell on March 2,
“heroically leading his troops to victory,” as announced by an official report of the General Staff. It was reported that the Albanian town of Bessantchi was re-named ‘Frizi’ by the Greek army after this valiant patriot.

German victory brought 75,000 Greek Jews under Axis domination. Since then, Greece has been cut off from the rest of the world, and no reliable news about the situation of the Jewish population is available. The last report received, an Istanbul dispatch of April 17, stated that the entry of the German troops was followed by the usual sequence of events — wholesale arrests of Jews, looting of Jewish shops, especially in Salonika, and confiscation of much Jewish-owned property.

3. Yugoslavia

By the middle of 1940, Axis pressure to bring about Yugoslavia’s political surrender by intimidation was already in high gear, but in her case, the thumb-screw was handled primarily not by Germany but by Italy, since at that time Signor Mussolini still lived under the delusion that Italy had “spheres of influence” and a foreign policy of her own.

The defeat of the Allies in the West, the indecisiveness of Soviet policy at that time, the potential enmity of Hungary and Bulgaria, two important and more or less Axis-dominated neighbors, and, finally, Rumania’s quite recent surrender to the Axis, made Yugoslavia’s political and military situation very precarious; she was a small island in an Axis-dominated ocean. For that reason, everything within the limits of neutrality, a principle taken very seriously by the people and government of the country, was being systematically done by the government to keep Germany and Italy satisfied and mindful of a neutral country’s peace and security. But despite these efforts and the absence of one single charge or reproach of a factual nature, the Italian press carried on a violent and irresponsible semi-official anti-Yugoslav campaign.

Intimidation from without had to be synchronized with disintegration from within, and by the middle of 1940, thanks to long and arduous alien underground activities, and also to the emboldening effect of Hitler’s victories,
the fifth column had already become a powerful influence in Yugoslavia. Its oldest and main branch was the Croat separatist group, Ustasha, organized under Italy's sponsorship about fifteen years ago, and headed by Pavelitch and Karmazin, permanent fugitives in Italy, where they sought protection after participating in the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Premier Barthou of France in 1934.

The most curious effect of the European continent's domination by Hitler was, however, the fact that even in traditionally liberal Serbia, that genuine peasant democracy itself, a near totalitarian movement, called Zbor (Rally) had cropped out, organized and abetted by followers of former pro-Axis premier Stoyadinovitch, and headed by his trusted lieutenant Lyotitch, a rabid Jew-baiter. Though poor in popular support, the machinations of the group grew so menacing in Yugoslavia's harassed situation that in November, 1940, after the outbreak of the Italian-Greek war which rendered the country's position even more delicate, the Cvetkovitch Government felt compelled to dissolve the organization and to arrest its leaders.

In July, 1940, the German press and radio openly joined Italy's campaign of demoralization, concentrating mostly upon Yugoslavia's failure to follow the anti-Jewish pattern of the "new order." It soon transpired that also in Croatia, there was another, evidently German-sponsored movement of disintegration, the National Socialist Party of Croatia, the first political movement in Yugoslavia openly confessing orthodox Nazism without restraint or dissimulation. It was headed by a young Zagreb lawyer, Yuray Veselitch, formerly Georg Froehlich by name, a German, and supported by Croatia's and Slovenia's substantial and rather well-to-do German population. In order to impress the government in Belgrade, and to increase its worries, the program of the movement adopted the "demand of an independent Croatia," but, of course, "with close ties with the German Reich"; furthermore, "submission to the new European order and all-out war on the Jews and the plutocracies." It was a real act of daring when, in the autumn, the government clamped down also on this Hitler-sponsored organization and arrested its ringleaders.
The desperate feeling that Yugoslavia was lost unless she gave in and joined the Axis, started to spread in the country. Both government and people knew, or at least sensed, however, that joining the Axis meant complicity in Hitler's aggression against the world, against Britain and her allies, and that was the one thing in which democratic Yugoslavia's national self-consciousness and pride could not acquiesce.

The situation was desperate and something had to be done, to appease the dictators as quickly as possible. And at this stage, the whole vicious vigor of the combined Italian-German propaganda machine was turned upon Yugoslavia's capital crime of not having done anything to destroy her 70,000 Jewish citizens, even though Hitler's rule over Germany had already passed its seventh year, and the whole of Eastern Europe up to the Russian frontier was infected with the most virulent anti-Jewish plague in history.

The necessity of making up as quickly as possible for the criminal neglect began to be keenly felt in government circles. Already on July 22, 1940, it was announced by the semi-official Vreme that a new era of "more" totalitarian and "populist" (Voelkisch) policies, meaning an anti-Jewish regime, was to come soon. And yet, characteristically enough for the stanch allegiance of that small people to its principles and convictions, from July to the end of September, no anti-Jewish measures were taken.

Even after the downfall of King Carol II of Rumania early in September, Yugoslavia adhered to a desperate strategy of procrastination. But, in the mistaken belief that compliance with Hitler in the Jewish question as a means of appeasing the Axis at least temporarily, was preferable to outright and total submission to the Axis, and the resulting betrayal of fighting democracy, the Yugoslav government made its tragic choice.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that there was agreement even in the government circles on the adoption of anti-Semitism. From the following announcement of the expected change by the government-controlled German press, quoted from Koelnische Zeitung, Reichsausgabe, September 16, 1940, it becomes clear that the Yugoslav
Government was far from unanimity in its attitude on this issue.

"According to certain indications, the long crisis within the Yugoslav Government has finally reached its climax. There are differences of opinion between factions within the government with regard to the introduction of a satisfactory solution of the Jewish problem, a solution which, on the strength of various abuses in almost every field of life in Yugoslavia, has become more than necessary. We understand that Minister of Education Dr. Anton Koroshetz has already prepared, within the jurisdiction of his portfolio, appropriate measures for the solution of the problem, and has put them before the cabinet for approval. It is reported also, however, that his propositions are still encountering considerable opposition within the cabinet itself, as the group around Minister-without-Portfolio Constantinovitch, backed also by Minister of Justice Markovitch, a circle under Masonic influence, has made it their business to bring Dr. Koroshetz's reform program to a fall. It was, allegedly, rejected also by Croat leader and Vice Premier Dr. Matchek. The fight is still on, and it must be of great consequence indeed as, according to our information, Dr. Koroshetz is not willing to make concessions, and would rather resign than give up his propositions."

In early September, however, Italian-instigated Albanian attacks on Greece showed that war in the Balkans was imminent, and the general situation indicated also that a last-minute establishment of a Yugoslav-Greek-Turk defensive bloc was definitely out of question.

Then, and only then, did the Government of Yugoslavia decide actually to adopt anti-Jewish measures. But even then, the steps undertaken, especially when compared with the sweeping anti-Jewish regimes of all other Nazi influenced Eastern European countries, were neither spectacular nor incisive. They meant in principle, to be sure, the end of democratic equality in Yugoslavia, but otherwise they counted just for token concessions to Hitler, and did not affect the life of the Jewish population very much. Thus,
on September 20, the first anti-Jewish decree barred Jewish merchants from trading in food stuffs, but at the same time exempted all those who were citizens prior to December 8, 1918, or were baptized. Besides, the domain to which the measure referred, i.e., the food trade, was rather carefully selected, since trading in food stuffs, at least in the old Kingdom of Serbia, was by no means a specifically Jewish occupation. The second, and last, of the anti-Jewish measures, imposed a *numerus clausus* for Jewish high school and university students, but excluded altogether only the Jewish students of the University of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, next door to Germany. There was no further governmental action against the Jews in Yugoslavia. As compared with the unbridled annihilation of Jewish life in almost all other countries of the area under the Nazi heel, this entire "anti-Jewish regime" of a hardpressed country redounds to the credit of its people and government.

Besides, in the summer of 1940, at a time when the necessity of concession at the expense of the Jews had to be taken for granted, the real inclinations of the leaders were given significant expression in their decision to admit five prominent young Jewish intellectuals engaged in liberal professions, to the Yugoslav foreign service. Although the nominations had to be revoked in September, the gesture clearly reveals the real spirit of the rulers of Yugoslavia.

But Italy's unprovoked assault on Greece, in October, and the glorious resistance of the Greek army made Yugoslavia's position between the two warring fronts one of extreme peril, and it became clear that slow, dilatory methods of feigned submission, like the adoption of anti-Jewish measures, would not do any longer. Perhaps this was the chief reason why the government did not go further along the path of anti-Semitism. Besides, it had long become clear even to the dullest mind that for Hitler, anti-Semitism was primarily not an end in itself, but a means toward the achievement of the real purpose—the subjugation of the country itself by rabble-rousing intimi-
dation and political disintegration. In the case of Yugoslavia, it was evident that even the most harsh and cruel treatment of her Jewish citizens, could not have long delayed her surrender to the Axis.

What followed then to the amazement of the world, the heroic determination of the people of Serbia to prefer certain physical annihilation to moral death, belongs to the most glorious chapters of human history.

The honor conferred upon the Jews of Yugoslavia by Hitler's propaganda machine's assertion that that first rising of a free people against the coercion of Hitler was due to Jewish influence, must be declined with regret. The Jews of Yugoslavia were, of course, heart and soul in the great struggle against Hitler and willing to sacrifice everything for their country; but the Serbian people needed no stimulation in their resolve to die with honor rather than live in ignominy. The Jews of Yugoslavia have to content themselves with the honor of having been true and unflinching partners in their country's fight for liberty, and, perhaps, with the honor that their tribulations came to them as a sacrifice for the cause of democracy.

And, finally, as indicated by the first news received following the country's conquest and occupation, the Jews had also the tragic honor of being treated with even greater cruelty by Hitler's henchmen than the Serbs themselves. Since the occupation, communications with Yugoslavia are well-nigh at a standstill, and almost no news about the situation of the Jews of that country is available. What we know, however, about happenings during and immediately after the occupation, is alarming. In "independent" Croatia, the Pavelitch government reached, in days, standards in Jew-baiting the achievement of which needed years in Nazi Germany itself. The confiscation of all kinds of Jewish property, the withdrawal of citizenship from all Jews, and their ouster from most categories of occupations were decreed by the Croatian helots of Hitler within a few days after the fall of Yugoslavia. An epidemic of suicides among the Jews of Zagreb was reported, and the spirit of the new lords of Croatia was given symbolic expression by the fact
that Jews were ordered to wear not one, but three yellow spots, one on their right arms, a second on their chests, and a third on their backs.

About the fate of the Jews of Serbia proper, we have no information, except that they have been subjected to forced labor service by the German authorities. It is fair, however, to believe that the sympathy of the bereaved Serbian people will be theirs, as the sympathetic admiration of the whole civilized world is with the people of Yugoslavia.

XII. PALESTINE

By Abraham Revusky

The beginning of the period under review (July 1, 1940) found Palestine imperiled by the impending spread of the War to the Middle East. The collapse of France deprived Palestine of the protection of the strong army assembled by the Allies in neighboring Syria. Furthermore, Italy’s entry into the war seemed to presage an immediate invasion of the countries adjacent to the Suez Canal.

In the course of the year the danger of direct involvement in the war seemed to decrease, following upon the British victories over the Italians in Libya. Later, however, the situation again looked extremely menacing, as the Germans succeeded in their thrust in Libya and in driving the British out of Crete. At the end of the year the situation improved again. The suppression of the pro-Nazi revolt in Iraq, the successful Allied campaign in Syria, and the diversion of Nazi military might from the West and Middle East to Soviet Russia temporarily lessens, although it does not eliminate, the danger to the Holy Land.

The Attitude of the Administration

No fundamental changes occurred in the attitude of the British Administration towards matters affecting Jewish interests in Palestine. The policy of the White Paper, proclaimed shortly before the War in April, 1939, continued to be its guide, with modifications necessitated by the requirements of the war. Immigration was rigidly restricted
to the limits established by the White Paper — 75,000 for the next five years, consisting of 10,000 visa immigrants per year, and 25,000 additional refugees for the five-year period. Refugees arriving without proper visas were detained in special camps and 1,659 of them were even deported to St. Mauritius, a tropical island in the Indian Ocean. The restrictions on land-buying, embodied in the Land Regulations issued on February 28, 1940, became an accepted policy. No attempt, however, was made to implement the remaining features of the White Paper by introduction of local self-government which would mean virtually complete Arab control over the country’s continued development. It seems that the British Government is now committed to a policy of *status quo* which would preclude any radical changes in Palestine’s political structure for the duration of the War.

Owing to the lack of any sizeable Arab industry the efforts of the military authorities to use the economic possibilities of Palestine for war purposes naturally brought them into closer cooperation with Jewish industrialists, thereby creating new work opportunities and a stronger demand for larger immigration. The unwillingness of Arabs to volunteer for the British forces in the East forced the civil administration, under the pressure of military authorities, to forego in some cases the rule of parity established by it for Jewish and Arab participation in the War.

With the development of the War in the East the Palestine Government was likewise forced to stop the entirely illogical prosecution of Palestine Jews for possessing defensive arms. No new trials against the *Haganah* (Jewish Self Defense) took place, and the young men, condemned after the outbreak of the war to long prison sentences, were released. Some of them joined the British forces. This at least eliminated some of the Jewish grievances against the British Administration.

**Participation in the War**

After the extension of the War to the Mediterranean Palestine was repeatedly an object of air attacks. The most severe bombardment took place in September, 1940,
when 122 persons, mainly women and children were killed in the all-Jewish city of Tel Aviv, which contained no military objectives. Other attacks, most of them in the region of Haifa, had a much smaller number of civilian victims. After an intermission of several months these attacks were again intensified in June, 1941, at the time of the British march into Syria.

In accordance with the spirit and general purpose of the White Paper, the Palestine Government refused to accept the repeated offers of the Palestinian Jewish community to recruit a sizeable armed force as a separate unit in the British Army of the East. Thus, the participation of the Palestinian Jews in the war was limited to individual volunteers. Even in this field, the Jewish participation was, for obvious political reasons, restricted by the provision that the number of Jewish volunteers from Palestine must not exceed the number of Arabs willing to join the Army. No conscription took place, the official reason being British adherence to the League of Nations provisions which make it illegal to introduce forced military service in mandated territories.

According to a statement of Moshe Shertok, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, 8,900 Jewish volunteers from Palestine were accepted up to the end of May, 1941 by the British Army of the East. Their number has increased considerably since then. Most of them belong to the auxiliary services of the Army, — mechanics, sappers, truck drivers, stevedores, etc. A part of them, about 3,000, were, however, included as separate Jewish companies in fighting regiments. They took part in the campaigns in Libya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Greece and Syria. The first eleven lists of casualties published in Palestine contain more than one thousand Jewish names, most of whom, mainly drivers, were missing in Greece. This does not exhaust the number of Jewish casualties: 1,400 Palestinian soldiers, of whom 1,200 were Jews, according to a British official statement, were captured by the Germans after the retreat of the British forces from Greece.

According to a statement by General Archibald Wavell, the Jewish volunteers distinguished themselves by exceptional valor in Libya. American correspondents described
in glowing colors the bravery of Palestine's Jewish soldiers in the attack on Cheren (Eritrea) and Amba Balagi (Ethiopia). There are also reliable reports concerning the important participation of Jewish volunteers and scouts in the recent Syrian campaign. Jewish scouts from Galilee, for instance, were the first to cut the barbed wire entanglements at the frontier and open the way for the Allied advance: Gen. Maitland Wilson, the chief commander of the Allied forces in Syria later expressed his "deep appreciation of the part of the Jewish community of Palestine in this campaign."

In May, 1941, the government issued an ordinance concerning the creation of a Palestinian Home Guard. No information was given on its numbers and equipment. It is known, however, that the majority of its present members are Jews.

During the year under review, Palestine's Jewish industry delivered to British Army units in the East all kinds of war material valued at £1,500,000 ($6,000,000). The army orders in Palestine called mainly for cement, chemicals, textiles, electrical equipment, iron wire, drugs, shoes and clothing.

**Immigration**

In spite of the War, Palestine continued to do its part in alleviating the refugee situation in Europe. Owing, however, to government restrictions and increasing transportation difficulties, the total number of immigrants arriving in Palestine during the year 1940-1941 was somewhat lower than in the previous year. According to preliminary figures it will amount to 16,000, of whom 14,000 were admitted into the country.

The number of the refugees arriving without visas was about one half of the total. They were usually interned upon arrival in special immigration camps but, after due investigation, released on the responsibility of the Jewish Agency. In two cases, however, following the unfortunate White Paper policy, the Palestine Administration decided to send some of these refugees to outlying British possessions in the Indian Ocean. In one of these cases the S.S. *Patria*, on which 1,771 refugees had been assembled for
deportation to the island of Mauritius, exploded on November 25, 1940, in Haifa harbor. A committee appointed by the Palestine Government to investigate the Patria explosion reached the conclusion that it was caused by extreme nationalists who wished to protest, by this tragic deed, against the policy of deporting Jews from their historic Homeland. Most of the immigrants were rescued, but 241 are missing, and it seems that nearly all of them were drowned at the time of the explosion. A few weeks after the Patria tragedy, 1,659 other refugees were transported to Mauritius. This action gave rise to a protest strike in Palestine and strong condemnation in the United States and in Great Britain; under the pressure of these protests such deportations have apparently been abandoned for the present.

In the spring of 1941, the Palestine Government declared that no new immigration schedule would be issued for the period of April–October, 1941. The decision was motivated by the existence of unemployment in Palestine, and by the fact that many of the previous certificate holders were unable to avail themselves of their opportunity. The Jewish Agency protested against this decision, but to no avail.

Much concern was expressed in the Palestinian press about the fate of 4,000 prospective immigrants, with valid visas, who were unable to leave Russia, whither they had fled after the collapse of Poland. Their inability to leave was entirely due to financial difficulties.

In connection with the war events in Europe, Palestine has in recent months become a haven for a considerable number of non-Jewish refugees,—Poles, Greeks, Serbs, and others. Ardently hoping for the eventual restoration of the independence of their countries, they consider themselves temporary inhabitants of Palestine. Most of them have preferred to settle in Jewish towns and villages which offer them a more civilized mode of life. Thus, the all-Jewish city of Tel-Aviv now has a Polish Roman Catholic Church, a Polish School and even a Polish daily paper, (Gazeta Polska). Perhaps the experiences of a distinguished Polish minority among the Palestinian Jews will ultimately have a good effect on Polish-Jewish relations.
Colonization

No large scale colonization took place during the period under review. On one hand, the colonization work of the Jewish Agency was hampered by the collapse of European Jewry which used to supply most of the capital necessary for this purpose. On the other hand, the war situation resulting in urgent demand for locally produced food made it more advisable to concentrate available funds on the consolidation and enlargement of the existing settlements in order to increase rapidly their productive capacity. In this field the Jewish efforts were supported by government loans for seeds, poultry, etc. The result was a truly remarkable upsurge of farm production. The Jewish crop of cereals was increased in 1940 by 20% above the level of 1939, and a further increase of 15% was achieved, according to preliminary estimates, in 1941. The production of milk amounted to 38 million litres in 1940, compared with 33 million in 1939, and a new monthly record of 3,500,000 litres — 42 million a year — was reached in 1941. The production of eggs reached 52 million in 1940 compared with 48 million in 1939. But the most astonishing progress was achieved in the branch of vegetable cultivation. The vegetable crop of 1941 is expected to be 35,000 tons, compared with 24,000 tons in 1940, and 14,000 tons in 1939.

The increased work on food producing farms has of late helped to counter-balance the devastating results of the citrus crisis. Many of the workers from the impoverished citrus belt of Judea and Sharon were accepted by the collective farms of Galilee, where cereals and vegetables are the main crops.

Among the four new settlements initiated during the last year, one was named Kfar Mack in honor of Federal Judge Julian Mack of New York City. It adjoins the older settlement Ain Hashofet (The Well of the Judge), named in honor of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Another new colony was founded near Beer Tuviah in the southern part of Palestine. The third colony Hamadieh, was started in the Valley of Beisan, and the fourth is taking shape to the north of the Huleh Valley. It was named Kfar Nehemiah in honor of Nehemiah de Lieme, a distinguished Dutch Zionist, who recently died in Amsterdam.
The demand for new colonization continued to be very strong in spite of the enlargement of existing settlements. The Agricultural Department of the Jewish Agency recently published a list of 68 organized groups comprising 6,111 adult individuals whose applications for settlement were approved by competent authorities. Some of them are waiting for their opportunity for as long as seven to eight years. In the meantime, they work as closely-knit groups on various construction projects, and in private industry.

On the eve of the issuance of the Land Ordinance of February, 1940, restricting the sale of land to Jews, the Jewish National Fund contracted for 198,000 dunams of land, on which £976,000 was due. During the year 1940-1941, a sizeable part of this area came formally into Jewish possession. New contracts were limited to small tracts necessary for the establishment of better communication between existing colonies or to enhance their security. According to reliable reports, however, the possibilities of acquiring land in the frame of the new law exceed the means available for this purpose.

**Economic Situation**

The war, especially the campaigns in the Middle East, resulted in a deep economic recession, and made necessary serious readjustments in the nation's economy. The interruption of the regular Mediterranean sea traffic after Italy's entrance in the war completely disrupted the country's foreign trade. Its most important foreign export, citrus fruits, lost its foreign markets, and the importation of raw materials required for essential industries became exceedingly difficult. Palestine's exports in 1940 amounted to only £2,100,000 compared with £5,100,000 in 1939, and the imports totaled £11,000,000, compared with £14,600,000 in the previous year. This does not, however, present the whole picture. The exports of potash and bromine, from the Dead Sea, and the import of military stores are deliberately omitted from current trade statistics.

Another blow to Palestine's economy was the interruption of the tourist traffic which, before the war, was one of its main assets. This loss was offset, however, by the presence
of ever-increasing numbers of British and Anzac troops, whose spending greatly benefitted local business. In the course of the year, the gradually increasing volume of military orders resulted in a strong revival of economic activities. The situation was further improved by the growing demand for local farm products stimulating a large increase in the cultivated area. Unemployment was sharply curtailed and, in June, 1941, in connection with the absorption of 15,000 young Palestinians in the British forces, the villages had to appeal to the cities for volunteer helpers in harvesting the crops.

**Industrial Development**

Palestine's industry is making considerable progress in spite of the difficulty of obtaining machinery and raw materials. In April, 1941, no fewer than 67 new factories were in the process of establishment, and a number of the older shops were greatly enlarged. Some new industries were introduced. An interesting example of this development is the diamond industry previously concentrated in Antwerp and Amsterdam, both now in Nazi hands. This is one of the industries in which Jews have taken a leading part for generations. Before the collapse of the Low Countries some of their diamond cutters established shops in Palestine, where they intend to remain even if Europe shall be restored to its previous status.

Another rapidly growing industry is the production of pharmaceutical goods. Stimulated by war orders and the strong demand from neighboring countries, a number of sizeable laboratories were established in which chemical specialists driven from Germany found a useful field for their knowledge and abilities. Quite recently Messrs. Sieff, Marks Co., in London, began the construction of a two million dollar drug factory in Rehobot. The leaders of this new industry believe that, once established, they will be able to withstand the intense European competition expected after the War. One of the most modern branches of Palestine's new pharmaceutical industry is the production of vitamins. The raw materials are yeast, likewise produced in Palestine, and second-class citrus fruit not suitable for export.
As mentioned before, the revival of industrial activities is to a great extent the result of ever-increasing military orders. A War Supplies Board was established in Palestine for the purpose of increasing these orders and providing Palestine factories with the raw materials needed for their fulfillment. One of the Board's first steps was the opening of a Palestine Exhibition in Cairo to facilitate the contacts of the military units of the East with Palestine's industry.

The lack of food imports stimulated the development of a Jewish fishing trade. Eight Jewish villages on the coast of Palestine are deriving their main income from the sea. Much progress was also made in aviation and airplane mechanics. Palestine has now a regular air-line operated by Jews, and two training schools for gliding and aviation. Very gratifying progress was made by the Palestine Potash Syndicate which holds the concession for the exploitation of the mineral resources of the Dead Sea. Figures on its present production and exports are a closely guarded military secret, but it is a well-known fact that the area of the pans, in which the water of the Dead Sea is being evaporated to obtain its valuable residue (carnalite) has expanded threefold since the start of this War. A dam across the Jordan is being erected to protect these pans, extending for thousands of acres, from sudden winter inundations by the river.

The production of electric power, which is a reliable barometer of industrial progress, continues to increase. According to a report of the Palestine Electric Corporation, which provides 92% of the electric power consumed in Palestine, its sales of electric power to industry amounted to 18,092,000 kilowatt-hours in the first half of 1940, compared with 25,104,000 for the whole year 1939, and 20,180,000 for 1938. The present output of electric power is more than double that before the outbreak of the War.

Education and Culture

The cultural life of Palestine was not interrupted by the War in the East. The Hebrew University recently completed four new buildings and increased the number of its students and teaching staff. During the last school year it was attended by 1,259 students, with 135 faculty mem-
bers. The medical faculty is now able to train physicians in a systematic way by giving them all the courses they need. Its laboratories are now doing a great deal of work for the armies in the East and are providing them with serums and medical preparations. The Technical Institute in Haifa also reports gratifying progress. It added a new school for maritime trades in which maritime mechanics, radio service, navigation and ship building are taught.

The most outstanding theaters, Habima, Ohel and Matateh—all conducted on a cooperative basis—continued their dramatic activities during the year. A new building for the Habima is being completed in Tel Aviv. (British Insurance Companies which are investing mortgage money in the building have recently received from the British Government permission to transfer the money for this purpose from England.)

The Palestine Symphony Orchestra gave its usual number of concerts before crowded audiences, including officers and men of the armies stationed in Palestine. The concerts of this remarkable orchestra in Egypt greatly contributed to mutual sympathy and understanding.

The Jewish school system of Palestine which is under the leadership of the National Council, the autonomous body of Palestine Jewry, had a difficult year. Owing to immigration, establishment of new settlements and natural increase, the number of their pupils reached a new high of 83,000; at the same time the tuition fees and contributions of local communities decreased because of the war depression. The participation of the Palestine Government in the Jewish school budget continued to be negligible, and the grants of the Jewish Agency could not be increased because of financial difficulties. A further problem was presented by the critical situation in which the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle found themselves after the collapse of France. Under such circumstances the maintenance of the highly developed Palestine school system on its previous scale was a strenuous task. Nevertheless, the Jewish leaders of Palestine tenaciously clung to previous achievements. Even in the midst of the War they found ways and means to maintain the high cultural standards established by years of previous work.
Arab-Jewish Relations

Relations between Jews and Arabs improved markedly during the year. This improvement was reflected in joint efforts of the Arab and Jewish citrus growers to insure some measure of government assistance for their struggling industry, and the readiness of the Arab merchants, farmers and workers to cooperate with the respective Jewish bodies for common welfare. The study of Arabic in Hebrew schools was intensified, and in some cases Arabs reciprocated by introducing the study of Hebrew in a few of their schools. The League for Jewish-Arab Relations, an organization devoted to improvement of the inter-group relations in Palestine, opened several Arab-Jewish clubs to cultivate closer social relations. Collective visits of Arab schools and youth organizations to Jewish cities and villages became a frequent occurrence. The tone of the Arab press, previously hostile to the Jews, noticeably improved.

The betterment in the Arab-Jewish relations was mainly caused by the growing conviction among Arabs that they cannot expect any gains from the continuation of the anti-Jewish struggle which reached its culmination in the terror era of 1936–1938. During that protracted period of terror, directed to a large extent by Nazi and Fascist agents, the Arabs of Palestine lost many lives and much of their wealth. Originally directed against Jews, the terror became a weapon for robbing the wealthy Arabs and mercilessly squeezing the Arab villagers. This bitter experience, together with the growing feeling that the Axis is not going to win, and that the most practical course is to reach a friendly and mutually profitable understanding with the Jews, made most of them deaf to the Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda during the past year. Perfect order prevailed in Palestine even during the most critical stages of the Iraq revolt and the Syrian campaign.

Jewish Self-Government

During the past year, Palestine Jewry, however united in its attitude towards the war and the Mandatory Power, offered in its inner life a picture of an embittered strife,
mainly between the conservative groups and the Laborites. This strife was focussed in the Vaad Leumi (National Council), a democratically-elected institution, recognized by the government as the instrument of Jewish autonomy and enjoying, therefore, a considerable measure of influence and authority.

The relations among the parties represented in the Vaad Leumi were temporarily stabilized after the outbreak of the War by the election to the presidency of the Council of a non-political leader, acceptable to all parties, in the person of Pinhas Ruttenberg, the head of the Palestine Electric Corporation. They became, however, sharply antagonistic again after Ruttenberg's resignation in October, 1940. In a public statement, Ruttenberg sharply criticized the party politics in the Council and demanded full powers for a small Governing Committee, composed without regard to the numerical strength of the parties represented in the larger institution. The Labor Party, which is the largest single group in the Council and controls to a certain extent its activities, immediately accused Ruttenberg of "Fascist tendencies," while the conservative groups hailed his proposal as a war-time necessity. This inner struggle continued unabated throughout the year, without any conclusive result. However, in June, 1941, an agreement re-establishing unity in the conduct of self-defense was reached between the contending parties. The representation of the conservative minority parties in the governing bodies was increased, beyond their pro-rata strength in the Vaad Leumi, after they obligated themselves to follow the lead of the Jewish Agency in broad matters of national policy.

During the year under review efforts were made to improve the relations between the Revisionists and the Histadruth (General Labor Federation of Palestine). These efforts became more insistent after the death in the United States of Vladimir Jabotinsky, the recognized leader of the Revisionists (August, 1940). At one time an agreement was reported but it was later denied. At the close of the review period the situation had not changed.
In February, 1941, the Agudath Israel, the Orthodox religious organization which did not enter the Vaad Leumi because of its objections to women's suffrage and similar reforms, held a convention in Petah Tikvah where a more conciliatory attitude towards other Jewish groups was taken. It adopted a policy of limited cooperation with the National Council and the Jewish Agency, and indorsed agricultural training of religious youth in Palestine and in the Diaspora.

Miscellanea

During the review period Palestine celebrated with elaborate ceremonies the fifty year jubilee of two of its most successful colonies—Rehobot and Hedera. Another important anniversary was the twentieth birthday of the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor. With its 115,000 members, the Histadruth is now the largest and most influential public body of Palestine.

In the course of the year Palestine had several distinguished foreign visitors. James Roosevelt and Col. William B. Donovan from the United States were among them. Both visited Tel-Aviv and a few Jewish colonies, and were favorably impressed by everything they saw. The others were Anthony Eden, Great Britain's Foreign Minister, Mr. Robert G. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, and the young King Peter of Yugoslavia.

The most widely celebrated personal jubilee was the 80th birthday of Henrietta Szold, the founder of Hadassah and leader of Palestine's welfare work. In spite of her advanced age she continues to do excellent work as the spiritus rector of the "Youth Aliyah," the Hadassah project which has brought to Palestine 8,000 children from Germany and is training them there to a new life of constructive work.

The most regretted death during the year was that of Dov Hos, the vice-mayor of Tel-Aviv and one of the most influential labor leaders of Palestine. Mr. Hos, along with several other persons, was the victim of an automobile accident.
Under the impact of the Nazi threat to the Americas, which became more immediate when German armies reached the Atlantic in June, 1940, problems of hemispheric relations captured American public interest and also served to focus attention on the Jewish communities below the Rio Grande. For Jews in Latin America, the most important factor in their communal, and perhaps personal lives continued to be the repercussions of the European war on political sentiment in this hemisphere. For, it became evident that not only problems of adjustment but the bare question of Jewish survival in those countries were closely linked with the greater struggle for democratic survival. None could doubt the monstrous efforts, external and internal, being made by Nazis, to capture strategic political and economic positions in those countries. It was also evident that the pro-Nazi campaign, which generally took the form of anti-British and anti-United States manifestations, was invariably coupled with familiar anti-Semitic tactics.

To meet this challenge, most of the Latin American governments adopted a policy of hesitant counter-attack combined with an official show of collaboration with Washington. Despite the expressed declaration of a policy of cooperation among the American republics, adopted at the Havana Pan-American Conference on July 30, 1940, the attitude of governments and of influential political and military circles remained equivocal. Exposes and sporadic measures to counteract Nazi intrigue occurred in Uruguay, Chile, Argentina and, in the summer of 1941, Bolivia. But, intensified Nazi propaganda, which pictured the German armies as invincible, and pandered to different elements in a variety of idioms and to all of them in the language of anti-Semitism, made every effort to divide the continent in the interest of Hitler. Even in those countries which professed strongly anti-totalitarian beliefs, editors took advantage of cheap subscriptions to Transocean News Service, and Nazi newsreels were featured in cinemas. How

*Member of the staff of the American Jewish Committee.
far the Nazi campaign succeeded remained a matter of opinion, but there was no doubt that the continued policy of keeping South American doors tightly shut against refugee immigration could be scored as a fifth column victory.

Returning in April, 1941 from his first trip to South America in two years, Professor Enrique S. de Lozada of Williams College, a former member of the Bolivian Legation in Washington, said that a notable increase in Nazi-phile sentiment followed German victories in the summer of 1940 and that "for the first time in history, a real anti-Semitic feeling has grown up in South America." (Quoted in Louisville Journal, April 6, 1941). This he attributed not only to Nazi propaganda but to the fear of mercantile competition by refugees among local tradesmen. Summing up his impressions, Prof. de Lozada wrote that "the old cry of 'Yankee imperialism' has been streamlined by the Goebbels machine to 'Yankee-Jewish plutocracy.'" How far Nazi penetration into public affairs had gone was not clear, nor did commentators agree as to the relative strength of Falangist sentiment as against Nazi-inspired influences. Duncan Aikman, writing in PM, New York, August 16, 1940, conceded the reality of the fifth column in Latin America but insisted that it was basically home-grown. Most other observers, however, disputed this conclusion.

Nor was the strength of pro-democratic forces fully revealed by the few organized groups such as the Accion Argentina and the Chilean Defense League or by the sporadic anti-Nazi measures taken by governments under popular pressure. Without exception, observers agreed that the overwhelming sentiment of the common people rejected Nazi ideology and was enthusiastically behind a policy of cooperation with North American democracy. Even Goes Monteiro, pro-fascist Brazilian Chief of Staff, was reported to have remarked that 98% of the people were pro-British.

For Jews, the strength of the opposing forces was of vital importance because the systematic provocation of anti-Semitism continued to be an integral part of the Nazi campaign. Instances of anti-Jewish manifestations were not in themselves serious, except as they influenced immigration policies and restrictions on minority groups, but they assumed significance as a reflection of the trend which anti-
democratic expression was taking. Nowhere outside of Bolivia, where a visa scandal was made the occasion for anti-Jewish demonstrations in the Chamber of Deputies during December, 1940, did anti-Semitism become anything approaching a public issue and, in general, it became clear that its only proponents were outright Nazis or politicians on the make. Official pronouncements minimized the extent of anti-Semitism in Latin America and continued to assure all sections of the population of equality of treatment. Except in immigration policy, there was no trace of official anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, a survey of the situation in individual countries emphasized the need for continued vigilance.

Mexico

Despite occasional Naziphile and anti-Jewish manifestations, coupled with agitation against the United States and Great Britain, the situation in Mexico appeared to have settled down and pro-democratic forces strengthened when the tension evoked by the presidential campaign in the summer of 1940 subsided. Assurances that the government had fifth column activities under control and was cooperating with Washington in the spirit of the Havana Conference were given by Interior Secretary Ignacio Garcia Tellez in a New York Times dispatch of August 26, 1940. The same report, however, revealed that Nazi activities were being financed by forced contributions from the German population. At the same time, it was learned that the violently anti-democratic weekly Timon, financed by the press attaché of the German legation, and the Spanish edition of Deutsche Zeitung von Mexico had been suspended. Control of fifth column activities, however, had as its by-product further restrictions on aliens and tightening of immigration regulations.

During the visit of Vice-President Henry Wallace to the inauguration of President Avila Camacho, anti-United States demonstrations on November 28, 1940, were attributed to Nazi agents who exploited statements made by disappointed Almazan partisans charging that the recognition by the United States Government of Avila Camacho was the preface to capture of Mexican markets by "Jewish
merchants. Distribution of subversive handbills and the staging of demonstrations against "Yankees and Jews" by Naziphile elements continued intermittently throughout the period under review and gave the Jewish community some anxious moments. At no time, however, did they assume serious proportions, and the Jewish community was further cheered by the support of many workers organizations and other pro-democratic groups. Reports from Mexico City on September 21 told of clashes between Mexican workers and Nazis who attempted to flood the city with anti-Semitic placards. A week earlier, on September 15, the leading fascist group, Vanguardia Nacionalista held an open-air meeting which set the pattern for similar meetings held the following spring and summer, especially in March and June, 1941. Ruben Moreno Padres, fuhrer of the Vanguardists, trotted out the worn Nazi canards that Jews were responsible for Mexican poverty, and the meeting ended with a march on the Jewish commercial section during which demonstrators shouted anti-democratic and anti-Jewish slogans. Reports on January 5, 1941, of the arrival of a German secret agent and of a shake-up in the leadership of Vanguardia coincided with renewed pro-Nazi demonstrations, while on January 14, police arrested Adolfo Leon Osorio as the leader of a gang which specialized in throwing gas-bombs into cinemas showing anti-totalitarian films. Renewed clashes between anti-Semitic elements and workers who proceeded to cover up anti-Jewish placards which disfigured the walls of Mexico City buildings occurred on January 25.

Following a brief period of calm, similar placards, calling on Mexicans "to get rid of the Jews," again made their appearance in the middle of March with the arrival of German agents posing as "American tourists." Anti-Jewish outbursts at this time were described by the Mexican Yiddish paper Der Weg (March 15) as having assumed a "grave character." These outbursts coincided with the increase in fifth column activities directed against the United States and Great Britain after the passage of the Lease-Lend Act in Washington. As a result of protests by pro-democratic forces including the Jewish Central Committee of Mexico, a meeting scheduled by the agitators Osorio and Padres
was cancelled, according to Der Weg of March 29, but regular open-air meetings were renewed in May and June. Except for the arrest for seventy-two hours of Padres on May 31, police did not interfere with these demonstrations.

On the whole, however, the government appeared to have complete control of fifth column activities and was reported to be cooperating with Washington in their suppression. Naziphile elements had not made any serious inroads on public sentiment. Furthermore, it was learned on May 28 that as an antidote to Nazi propaganda the Minister of Education had instructed teachers to introduce an educational campaign against Nazi racism into the curriculum of elementary and high schools.

Argentina

How far Nazi influences had infected Argentine public life was disputed by observers but most of them agreed that anti-Jewish feeling was not making much headway despite frequent Nazi efforts in that direction. Following amendment by the Argentine Senate on July 8, 1940 of the Public Order Bill providing penalties for anti-democratic agitation, police arrested Enrique Oses, editor of the Naziphile El Pampero, but he was later released. As a result of a governmental investigation of Nazi activities, police, on August 10, rounded up Gestapo operative Karl Arnold and more than twenty-five other Nazi agents engaged in anti-Semitic activities as well as preparations for rebellion. The deportation of Arnold and the arrest of Arnulf Fuhrmann, chief Nazi plotter against Uruguayan independence and prime anti-Semitic agitator in South America, was ordered two days later. Police also seized Nazi membership lists and other documents during a raid on Nazi centers in Misiones on October 27. These were sporadic instances.

Little action was taken later to complete the job of housecleaning. According to various reports, including a New York Times dispatch of June 7, 1941, Nazi penetration in bureaucratic, military and economic circles was spreading. The Nazi propaganda line that (a) German might was invincible and (b) Germany had no designs on South America, which was really threatened by "Yankee imper-
ialism,” appeared to have impressed some military officers and, strangely enough, was known to have infected student circles. The Nazis also exploited the statements of U.S. isolationists about “American imperialism” and quoted Charles A. Lindbergh’s speeches as representing “true American opinion” in contrast to what they chose to call “the Jew Roosevelt.” Among Naziphile groups active during this period were the Argentine Social Party, Nationalist Action, and the Argentine Nationalist Youth Alliance. The Youth Alliance staged a monster May Day parade in Buenos Aires which was openly pro-Nazi and which agitated against “Anglo-Yankee-Jewish imperialism.” The virulence of attacks on the United States and Britain, the manner in which Nazi armed might was extolled, and the tone of anti-Jewish expressions left no doubt as to the source from which the Youth Alliance derives its inspiration. Cries of “Down with Yankee-Jewish imperialism!” were also heard at a demonstration in Buenos Aires on May 21, 1941, led by Gen. Juan Battista Molina. During this period, also, some Argentine newspapers maintained an openly pro-Axis orientation. Added to such pro-Nazi publications as El Pampero and the Stuermer-like review La Clarinada, was the weekly Camila which made its appearance in June.

Pro-democratic forces did not remain silent in the face of these manifestations. Led by the Accion Argentina, the best-organized and most active group of its kind in South America, pro-democratic groups carried on an educational campaign against Nazism and exposed the Nazi tie-ups of certain Argentine political and military leaders. Frequently clashes with pro-Nazis occurred, notably in the predominantly German province of Misiones and in Rosario during the fall of 1940. Democracy in Argentina was particularly strengthened by the vigorous pro-democratic expression of such journals as La Prensa and Critica, which prodded the government into taking some action against Nazi forces. Honorio Pueyrredon, former Ambassador to Washington and leader of the Radical Party, told Dr. Solomon Goldman, on May 12, 1941, that Nazi anti-Jewish atrocities had the effect of weakening anti-Semitism in Argentina, while liberal Catholics led by Bishop d'Andrea voiced similar sentiments.
Undercurrent charges that influential business and military leaders were actively engaged in fostering Nazi interests finally came out into the open during a turbulent Chamber debate on June 15, Deputy Raul Damonte Taborda bringing specific accusations that the Commander of the Fourth Division had spread totalitarian propaganda among the armed forces. As a result, a parliamentary committee to investigate and combat fifth column activities was established on June 20 under the chairmanship of Taborda.

Brazil

The situation in Brazil was even more obscure. Under the undefined dictatorship of Getulio Vargas, the Jewish community of Brazil steered a cautious course between the assimilative policy of "nationalization" favored by the regime and the attacks of Naziphile elements which have by no means entirely subsided since the suppression of the Integralistas in 1938. Behind the scenes, pro-democratic forces, centered in São Paulo and supported according to some accounts by Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha, sparred for advantage with strong totalitarian elements led by Goes Monteiro, Chief of Staff. Vargas blew hot and cold alternately in order not to antagonize either the fascists or the Roosevelt Administration. Authoritative sources disclosed in August, 1940 that the government was alarmed at the increase in totalitarian propaganda. Agitation among the German minority had been intensified and, in Rio Grande do Sul, it was said, had gotten beyond ordinary police control. During the absence of Monteiro abroad, a pro-democratic press prevailed during October and November and current excesses of foreign propaganda and the drive by Transocean News Service were openly denounced by editor J. E. Macedo Soares in Diário Carioca. Owing to this successful counter-propaganda and the benefits of financial aid granted by the United States, a Nazi set-back was reported in October and, on the second of that month, the pro-German Meio Dia was suspended for five days. Nazi propaganda continued, however, to find a ready market in some newspapers, and sporadic press protests against refugee infiltration appeared.
The daily editorial by Wladimir Bernardes in the Gazeta de Noticias continued to betray Nazi inspiration, a sample being that of November 15, 1940, when he wrote: "People must adapt themselves to the new order in Europe which is liberating them from a policy of 100 or 200 families, nearly all Jews, who held Europe in bondage." Though officially discountenanced by the government, anti-Jewish press propaganda began to appear again in a number of newspapers during the spring. A correspondent writing in the New York Jewish Day, May 15, 1941, revealed that a bitter anti-Jewish attack had appeared in the daily Platea apropos of the proposed Pan-American Jewish Conference scheduled for Montevideo in July, 1941, and that the usually liberal Diario Popular of Sao Paulo had called for more stringent alien-control in view of the alleged refugee influx. Officially, however, a policy of assimilation rather than anti-Semitism prevailed and the position of the Jews appeared to be premised on the future course of Brazil's foreign policy. On June 20, 1940, the weekly Hemisphere reported that evidence of closer cooperation with the United States indicated that Nazi elements were losing ground and that recent administrative changes foreshadowed a possible return to parliamentary government. There was no indication, however, that the government was contemplating any change in its exclusionary policy toward refugees.

Chile

With the suspension of immigration, anti-Semitic activity, which had centered largely around the refugee issue (See Vol. 42, pp. 430-431) subsided. Totalitarian elements, however, continued to cause concern to the Popular Front regime which was faced with a serious threat from the Chilean Nazi Party, Vanguardia Popular Socialista, which had taken over the following of the anti-Jewish Movimiento Nacionalista. A well-financed fifth column, directed by the counselor of the German Embassy, had been organized on military and economic lines to bring the country under German domination, according to a correspondent in the New York Times, July 26, 1940. Chilean authorities, however, were reported keeping this movement under strict observation. It was disclosed at that time that Chile had
expelled Hans Voigt who had conducted Nazi operations through the German Railways Bureau, and financed the anti-Jewish weekly *Lunes*. That Nazi attempts to introduce racism into Chile had not entirely failed became evident with the exposure by *Defensa*, on December 6, 1940, of a letter written by the manager of Hotel O’Higgins in Viña del Mar offering a job to an applicant provided he could produce a certificate from the German consulate that he is "of legitimate German nationality, with no admixture of Jewish blood." Another straw in the wind was the appearance of a gratuitous anti-Jewish article in the December 6, 1940, issue of *Topaze*, a humorous paper published in Santiago.

Seriousness of the threat to democratic government by the fascist forces was dramatically exposed with the arrest of more than forty Vanguardists implicated in an attack on the Radical Party convention in Santiago on May 16, 1941, during which one delegate was killed and two others wounded. The attack, police charged, was to have been the signal for a Nazi putsch, and Jorge Gonzalez von Marees, Vanguardia leader, was put under house arrest pending Congressional consideration of his parliamentary immunity. Against this menace Chileans have organized a small pro-democratic group called the Liga de Defensa which has been actively engaged in combating Nazism and exposing Nazi plans. Cooperation in combating totalitarianism and promoting democratic institutions was outlined by delegates from ten countries attending the first congress of South American democratic parties in Santiago on October 7, 1940. Many other evidences of the strength of democratic sentiment among the people cheered the Chileans. For instance, in a letter to the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin, made public August 10, Pablo Neruda, noted Chilean poet, rejected an invitation to present his works to the Institute asking ironically what had happened to the books of Germany’s own literary masters such as Heine and Mann. On October 19, 1940, the newspaper *Civilizacion* protested as "an offense to the national culture and democratic spirit of Chile" publication of a cheap edition of the *Protocols* by the well-known firm of Helffman, Horst & Co.
Uruguay

Uruguay took up the Nazi challenge to its independence and democratic institutions by direct action against Nazi agents and by cooperation with the United States. As the result of a Congressional investigation which revealed a military plot to seize the country and place it under German “protection,” twelve Nazi agitators were arrested, but no attempt was made to prosecute them and, later in the summer, police released them. Charges were made in the press that the government had dropped the matter because several prominent conservative politicos were implicated and, in the Chamber on September 19, 1940, deputies attacked Uruguayan courts for failure to bring the Nazi agents to trial. Moreover, Nazis boasted that they were “going to get” Hugo Artucio, young professor who was chiefly responsible for discovery of the conspiracy, and libel charges were brought against him by the Naziphile editor of El Momento. The government apparently was waiting for more evidence and for the encouragement of other American states, for, on September 20, eight of the twelve plotters were rearrested and indicted for conspiracy. Sensation was caused by the publication of the prosecuting attorney’s eighty-page indictment against the N.S.D.A.P., charging it with an attempt to exercise control over German organizations in Uruguay and with plotting against Uruguayan independence. After five days, the court suspended hearings and no further action was taken. Artucio, however, was vindicated when the court cleared him of libel charges on November 22.

Uruguayan devotion to democratic principles expressed itself in both official and popular action. Interior Minister Manini Rios appealed to all citizens to aid in the defense of Uruguayan integrity against the Nazis and, on November 20, 1940, Hugo Artucio again warned his countrymen that Hitler was using the Falange in order to penetrate Latin American defenses. Previously, Dr. Thomas Brena, Catholic leader in the Chamber and chairman of the Congressional commission which had uncovered the Nazi plot, called for greater vigilance on July 10, 1940, saying that the danger had been only temporarily avoided. In large num-
bers Uruguayans joined a special Citizens Militia organized to defend Uruguay against a fifth column putsch.

On August 13, 1940, President Alfredo Baldomir told a Jewish delegation that he strongly condemned anti-Semitism and promised to legalize the status of illegal immigrants. At the same time, anti-Semitism was also denounced by democratic German groups in Uruguay, the Christian-Democratic Zeit terming it "a cynical violation of the commandment to love one's neighbor as one's self," while the Independent German Club released a manifesto proclaiming their allegiance to anti-fascist forces. The National Education Council decided to remove all teachers who sympathize with totalitarian ideas. Despite this heartening display of the democratic spirit, Nazi activity has not been entirely fruitless and the problem of combating anti-Semitism continued to face the Jewish community. Inauguration of a new Nazi publication, La Libertad, was begun on May 31, 1941, and led to clashes on June 6 between democratic students and distributors of the journal. It was later reported that La Libertad had been suspended.

Bolivia

In Bolivia, German activity and anti-Semitism were reported to be at their height last winter. Behind the sensational trial of former Foreign Minister Eduardo Diez de Medina, charged with participation in an alleged international ring selling illegal Bolivian visas to Jewish refugees, was seen the most successful Nazi effort to spread anti-Semitism in South America. The press of La Paz devoted entire pages to the proceedings before the Chamber of Deputies during the last week in December, 1940, and displayed strong partisanship. As each deputy rose to level new charges, a packed gallery shouted "Down with the Jews!" and acted as a claque for anti-Semitic deputies. During that week, La Paz was placarded with anti-Jewish signs and, on December 19, a meeting which was boldly advertised as an anti-refugee and anti-Jewish demonstration was held in Cochamba. The report released by the Judicial Commission of the Chamber in May, 1941 held
that de Medina was guilty of the charges and his trial before the Senate was planned. The immediate result of this agitation was the closure of Bolivia not only to Jewish immigration but even to Jewish tourists.

That the government was cognizant of the Nazi threat and ready to strike at the opportune moment became dramatically evident with the arrest, on July 19, 1941, of several high-ranking officers and other officials charged with implication in a Nazi conspiracy to seize the country. The German Minister, Ernst Windler, was declared *persona non grata* and forced to leave the country. Four newspapers, including *Calle* and *Inti* which had led the anti-Jewish campaign the previous winter, were suspended and their editors seized, while the government disclosed the existence of three secret radio transmitting stations used by the conspirators. As the regime proceeded to root out other Nazi conspirators, other American republics, including the United States, pledged their full support should Bolivia become involved with Nazi Germany as a consequence of this assertion of its independence.

**Other South American Republics**

That the familiar Nazi pattern of propaganda and penetration was being pursued in other South American countries was evident from reports of investigations and sporadic outbursts of anti-Jewish manifestations. Anti-Jewish violence and discriminatory regulations were causing anxiety to the Jewish population of Bogota, Colombia, according to a letter received on August 22, 1940, which told of anti-Jewish demonstrations earlier that month.

In Ecuador, Senator Col. Filemon Borja, head of a Congressional investigating commission, charged, during November, 1940, that Nazi agents held key positions in the country, while on November 21, *Pan American News* reported the beginning of a systematic anti-Jewish campaign in the Nazi-financed *Voz Obrera* and *Intereses Comerciales*. The poisonous fruits of this campaign ripened on May 24, 1941 when, for the first time in Ecuadorian history, an anti-Jewish demonstration was held in Quito, the capital. Cleansing of the country, however, began with a govern-
ment order of June 5, 1941, calling for the expulsion of Count Heinrich von Matuscha, director of the Deutsche Nachrichten Büro in Ecuador, on the ground of Nazi agitaton.

The governmental drive against the fifth column in Peru unfortunately led to the imposition of greater restrictions on aliens and a press campaign against Jewish refugees, some anti-Jewish elements charging that Jews were sent by Hitler to engage in fifth column activities. The majority of the press, however, was definitely pro-democratic and, in July, 1940, the government suppressed the weekly Los Derechos which had betrayed anti-Semitic leanings and was engaged in a campaign against the Allies.

Immigration and Alien Restrictions

Despite official predictions that the Pan-American Conference at Havana would consider possibilities of reopening South American doors to refugee immigration, no such action was taken and there has been no perceptible development during the period under review to foster hopes that South America intends to relax immigration restrictions which have reduced Jewish immigration to negligible proportions. In fact, except for Ecuador whose immigration laws were liberalized, Latin American countries either maintained the prevalent policy of strict limitation or tightened these restrictions.

Refugee experiences in the Sosua settlement of San Domingo, as well as a brief survey of immigration regulations in force in other countries will be found elsewhere in this Review, in the article “The Refugee Problem.” Here only important internal developments will be considered. What may be regarded as Latin America's most liberal Immigration and Aliens Law went into effect in Ecuador on February 5, 1941. Foreshadowed by the favorable attitude of Foreign Minister Julio Tobar Donoso who told Dr. A. Juris of the Jewish Agency, on December 17, 1940, that Ecuador would welcome Jewish agricultural workers, the law was passed by the National Assembly at the end of December. Besides permitting Ecuadorian consuls abroad to issue visas to eligible immigrants who lack passports,
the law reduced entry deposits from $5,000 to $400 per family plus $100 for each adult member of the family. The deposit will be repaid to immigrants who prove that they are actually engaged in work for which they were admitted, such occupations including not only agriculture and industry but also export trade and medicine. The deposit is also waived for relatives whose support is guaranteed and for specialists sought by industry. The law also granted full civil rights to aliens, except the franchise, and eased the naturalization process.

In Peru, a presidential decree, reported March 11, 1941, provided for payment of 2,000 soles ($800) as entry deposit for each immigrant, the deposit to be repaid after two years of residence and proof that the immigrant can provide for himself and his family.

Elsewhere, prospects for refugees continued to be discouraging. Mexico’s schedule for 1941, made public on October 16, 1940, cut immigration quotas for most European countries from 1,000 to 100, but permitted exceptional entry for some categories. No relaxation of restrictions occurred in Argentina which permits entry only of close relatives and requires specific authorization for each case by the Commission on Immigration. It was reported on July 11, 1940, that Argentina had placed special guards on the border to stop illegal entry of refugees from Bolivia.

Nor was the situation any better in Brazil. Despite a report on August 9, 1940, that immigration authorities had declared their readiness to negotiate with "recognized, responsible Jewish organizations" on refugee immigration, Brazil’s quota system was operating almost exclusively to the advantage of Catholic refugees. Discussions were said to be under way last October between the Vatican and the Brazilian Government regarding the status of "non-Aryan" converts to Catholicism, following a ruling that visas assigned to Catholics could not be granted to those converted since 1935 when the Nuremberg Laws were adopted. That Brazil was discriminating against Jews in applying quotas (80% of which are in any case earmarked for agricultural workers) was evident in a report from Lisbon on June 9, 1941, that the Brazilian consulate there was replying to applications for visas with the blanket statement
that "the quota for the admission of Jews to Brazil has been exhausted." Other sources reported that a policy of complete exclusion of Jewish immigrants had been adopted in December, 1940. Meanwhile, it was learned on May 28 that instructions were issued by the Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs regarding the method of translating temporary into permanent visas; those unable to comply would be expelled or interned. Permanent permission to remain is granted to technicians, artists, and those who have invested $10,000 in Brazilian industry or receive $50 monthly from abroad.

From Chile, where refugee immigration has been suspended since early in 1940 pending adoption of a new immigration law, came reports that the Immigration Bill has remained pending in Congress since January, 1940. The proposed law, including amendments offered in May and September of that year, would exclude merchants, tradesmen, and middlemen and admit only technicians and agriculturists. That Chile would not recognize visas granted since December 5, 1939, was tragically evident when fifteen refugees, of whom eight were Jews, were refused permission to land at Valparaiso in September, 1940, despite possession of such visas. (La Opinion, Chile, Sept. 26, 1940).

Bolivia continued to maintain her arbitrary closed door policy. Jewish immigration is excluded by an order of the Immigration Commissioner of May 3, 1940, suspending "without exception and for an indefinite time the concession of visas for new Semitic elements," and notices were posted to this effect in Bolivian consulates and applied even to United States tourists, according to the accounts of several travellers. On December 8, however, the Senate rejected, by a vote of 15 to 5, previously passed by the Chamber, a bill to restrict Jewish immigration, and the situation continued to be governed on a provisional basis by the immigration order of last May.

In Uruguay, a campaign was started to relax immigration restrictions on the ground that Uruguayan economy would benefit from such a policy. The Chamber of Commerce submitted a memorandum to the Foreign Ministry, in September, 1940, stating that present immigration restrictions hurt Uruguay's industry and asking special
permission for the admission of a large number of industrial specialists, technicians and skilled workers. Editorials to the same effect also appeared in the semi-official *La Mañana* during December.

Added to these immigration limitations were further restrictions on refugees already in South America who were subjected to hardship as a result of anti-alien measures not always directed at them. In Brazil, as an expression of the "nationalization" policy of the regime which aims at complete assimilation, a presidential decree forbidding publication of newspapers in foreign languages went into effect on July 1, 1941. Five Yiddish newspapers were affected. Public meetings conducted in languages other than Portuguese are already prohibited, and Jewish communal endeavor has been seriously curtailed by previous decrees which prohibit fund-raising for non-local purposes, including overseas war relief, Palestine, and even the Red Cross. Zionist work, regarded as political, is banned.

In Chile, under a decree issued on December 8, 1940, by Interior Minister Guillermo Labarca, foreigners are prohibited from engaging in political activities, including dissemination of anti-democratic propaganda, while in October the War Ministry issued a decree providing that only persons of Chilean nationality may obtain civilian pilots' licenses. More immediately affecting refugees was the report of February 26, 1941, that the Interior Ministry had instructed provincial governors to report any refugees who left zones or professions to which they had been assigned as a condition of entry; violators were threatened with expulsion. The Chilean Senate had under consideration a bill, introduced in August, 1940, designed to reserve retail trade to Chileans.

The Jewish community of Uruguay again faced the possibility of becoming the victim of legislation aimed at controlling aliens with the introduction, on July 22, 1940, of bills requiring registration of all aliens and forbidding the publication of newspapers in "foreign and exotic languages which are difficult to control." Discrimination also hit Jews in two other South American countries. On October 24, the Immigration Ministry of Bolivia ordered registration of Jews, including converts to Christianity,
who had entered the country since January 1, 1938. Local Jewish organizations, the Circulo Israelita and the Jewish Relief Committee protested against the marking of Jewish registrants’ identity cards with a “J.” Restrictions on immigrant institutions in Colombia were reported on August 9 to be so stringent as to make it impossible for immigrant Jews to assemble even for ordinary meetings. The same dispatch said that the government planned deportation of all Jews not engaged in occupations specified in their immigration permits. Peru also introduced alien registration in July, 1940, and temporarily forbade foreigners to start new factories or obtain patents.

Jewish Communal Events

Except in Brazil, where government restrictions on overseas fund-raising and non-religious communal activities as well as the continued flight from Judaism through baptism, especially marked among refugees, stifled practically all expressions of Jewish communal life, all of the Jewish communities in Latin America experienced a notable strengthening of religious, cultural, Zionist and social welfare activities during the period under review. To recite in detail the activities of individual organizations would prove tedious. It is sufficient to indicate major trends and to show how the totality of the community responded to the challenge of the times.

To meet the threat of anti-Semitism at home and to organize overseas relief and aid to the democracies, as well as to answer local charitable needs, many of the Latin American communities have in recent years formed central agencies, though none of them except the Union Israelita of Peru resembles a Kehillah. All of these agencies reported marked progress during the period under review, indicating a growing maturity in meeting communal problems.

The report presented to the Jewish Central Committee of Mexico, at its annual election meeting on April 1, 1941, emphasized the growing cooperation between all sections of the community—religious, Zionist, and radical—in efforts for overseas aid and measures to combat anti-
Semitism. With regard to the latter the Committee coordinated its work with that of the Mexican police in order to meet the threat implicit in the anti-Semitic street meetings described in a previous section. Der Weg of April 26 reported marked progress in the campaign for local causes directed by the Committee, including aid to victims of the Mexican earthquake, public hospital for incurables, and the National University of Mexico. The Committee also participated in organizing aid for British war relief, and on May 28 received the formal thanks of the British Government for donating $16,000 toward the purchase of seven kitchens for air-raid victims. Establishment of a Women's Division of the Committee was disclosed on February 15, 1941, while on April 1 it was learned that the Committee had become the official Mexican representation in the World Jewish Congress.

The Assembly of the DAIA (Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentina), formed in 1933 as the representative body coordinating efforts of Argentine Jewish institutions in civic-protective work, met in Buenos Aires on April 20 for its annual deliberations, while on June 3 the conference of the Jewish Committee for Aid to Britain reported that during the six months of its existence 113,000 pesos had been collected, and that sub-committees had been formed in provincial towns.

The campaign for aid to the allied war effort was particularly successful in Uruguay where the Montevideo Jewish Community contributed 10,000 pesos last July, and the Sephardic Jewish Community donated 10,000 sheep to the British army during November. A drive for Jewish war relief funds was launched on January 9 at a large public gathering in Montevideo. Results of this drive were not reported. Expressing its solidarity with the Jewish settlement in Palestine and calling for increased aid to the Jewish Committee of the Red Cross, the General Assembly of the Comunidad Israelita de Montevideo decided, on April 27, to establish a provincial department in order to strengthen ties with communities in the interior and to form a special section for the promotion of Yiddish and Hebrew culture. Campaigns for overseas needs, refugee resettlement and Palestine were also reported from other Jewish communi-
ties, notably Chile where these needs are combined in the United Appeal for 1941, but no details were available. It was generally held, however, that South American Jews had not yet become accustomed to contribute on the scale of their North American coreligionists. It was also learned on June 29, 1941, that the central committee of Jewish organizations in Cuba, Comite Central de las Sociedades Hebreas de Cuba, had decided to affiliate with the World Jewish Congress. Some of the Latin American communities were considerably exercised over the prospects of participation in the Pan-American Jewish Conference, scheduled for Montevideo in July but reported on June 11 to have been postponed with possibilities of transfer to another center.

The visit of Dr. Solomon Goldman, former president of the Zionist Organization of America, to the Jewish communities of South America during April and May, 1941, was made the occasion in many of those communities for an unprecedented campaign on behalf of the Zionist cause. Aside from attendance at special meetings to promote particular activities such as the Keren Kayemeth and the Keren Hayesod, whose twentieth anniversary was observed in Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile during May, Dr. Goldman was the principal speaker at the 17th Congress of the Argentine Zionist Federation in Buenos Aires on April 27, and a Zionist mass meeting in Santiago on May 11. Resolutions adopted by the Argentine Zionist Congress called for closer collaboration between constituent units of the Zionist Federation, support of the Keren Hayesod and the work of the Women's Zionist Organization. Nathan Gesang was elected president. Following the Congress, at an assembly sponsored by the Hebrew Circle, the Hebrew Association for Culture and Education was formed as a branch of the World Hebrew Culture Alliance. Commemorating the 22nd anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, the 22nd Chilean Zionist Congress held in Santiago, November 2–5, 1940, endorsed aid to Britain, denounced Vichy's anti-Jewish laws, and stressed the importance of building up Chilean interest in the Yishuv. Samuel Goren was re-elected president. Considerable enthusiasm was also aroused in Zionist circles by the first Congress of the Feder-
acion WIZO de Chile (Women’s Zionist Federation of Chile) held in Santiago, April 6-8, according to reports in Mundo Judio, April 11. Women’s Zionist activities were also inaugurated in Peru with the formation of a Lima branch of the WIZO on October 31.

Administration of the Foundation for an Argentine Chair in the Hebrew University, formed in May, 1940, was taken over by a new board of directors headed by Ezra Teubal, according to La Luz (Buenos Aires), August, 1940. Cultural activities in general showed marked progress. The vigor of Yiddish culture in Argentina was demonstrated by several noteworthy developments. At the Yiddish Culture Congress held by ICUF (Idishe Cultur Ferband) in Buenos Aires on April 13, the activities of Yiddish culture institutions during the previous three years were under review and it was resolved to form a Federation of such institutions. On June 30, Buenos Aires also celebrated the fortieth anniversary of Yiddish theater in Argentina. Particularly noteworthy was the appearance of the first semi-annual issue of Argentiner Shriften, published by the Argentine Yiddish Scientific Institute in March, 1941. This issue contained the following articles of interest for the study of Jews in Latin America: The Jew in Argentina in the 17th Century; Mortality among Jews of Buenos Aires; Cooperatives in Jewish Colonies of Argentina; and The Sephardim of Buenos Aires. The Spanish-language Zionist weekly of Buenos Aires, Mundo Israelita, celebrated 12 years of publication.

Prominent among welfare activities was the opening of the first Ort vocational training school, especially for the refugee youth of South America, in Buenos Aires on April 6, 1941. The school, whose initial registration totalled 142, planned to give instruction in 13 mechanical trades. In Chile, the first venture in cooperative credit, which is so prevalent in other South American communities particularly Argentina and Uruguay, was undertaken in October 1940 with the formation of the Cooperativo de Credito para la Industria, Agricultura y Comercio to extend loans to Jewish tradesmen, manufacturers and farmers. Jaime Levy, president of the Sephardic Community of Santiago was elected president of the board. Cooperative credit
banks in Montevideo and Buenos Aires also reported continued progress during the year.

To recite in detail the activities of other religious and welfare institutions would serve little purpose except to indicate their continued functioning. Suffice it to remark that the South American communities during this period appeared to take on a more solid character and greater maturity. Synagogues built in provincial towns gave evidence of faith in the future. An example was the inauguration on April 11, 1941, of a synagogue in the small community of Puerto Montt, Chile. Symbolic of the growing self-consciousness of South American Jewry was the plan of the Society for Jewish History in Mexico to undertake a comprehensive study of modern Mexican Jewish history, and a similar survey of the Uruguayan Jewish community was promised by the Volksblatt of Montevideo.

The period under review also saw a remarkable growth of interest on the part of North American Jews in the condition and communal experiences of their South American coreligionists. Articles of interest appeared in a growing number of Anglo-Jewish periodicals, many of them recounting the experiences of North American visitors to those communities. Rabbi J. X. Cohen of New York in his "Jewish Life in South America," based on his trip there as a member of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, touched on a subject which is destined to receive more comprehensive treatment in the future as this interest grows.

XIV. OTHER COUNTRIES

By Simon Segal

1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The outbreak of the Soviet-German war on June 22, 1941, brought to a close an almost unique chapter in Jewish history. For twenty-four years, a large and important Jewish community was almost completely cut off from all contact with Jews in other parts of the world, and forbidden
to manifest its solidarity with them. Furthermore, since
the conclusion of the Russo-German pact in August, 1939,
the Russian Jews were not even informed of the situation
of Jews in Germany and in German-occupied countries.
They knew nothing of the racial decrees and ruthless per-
secutions which existed in the countries dominated by
Hitler who, after 1939, was the virtual ally of Stalin. An
entirely new generation of Russian Jews was reared in the
spirit of the Communist ideology, and the actual truth of
the conditions of Jewish existence in foreign countries was
hidden from them.

As far as we are aware, however, for the first time in
modern history, anti-Semitism was made a crime punish-
able by law. The fears which the Russo-German pact gave
rise to, namely, that the agreement with Germany might
influence Soviet policy toward the Jews, proved unwar-
ranted. While anti-Jewish manifestations may have oc-
curred here and there, the Russian official policy was to
suppress all such outbursts and introduce a genuine equality
among all Russian citizens. Rumors were heard to the
effect that some Russian officials, in their desire to co-
operate closely with Nazi Germany, were ready to dis-
criminate against Jews. It was reported from various
sources that Zdahnoff, the head of the Communist Party
in Leningrad, and the right-hand man of Stalin, sympa-
thized with the Nazi ideology. To substantiate these re-
ports it was pointed out that Zdahnoff, who was considered
the eventual heir of Stalin, was largely responsible for
the removal in 1939 of foreign commissar, Maxim Litvinof.
Zdahnoff was also the arch-enemy of Lazar M. Kagan-
ivitch, who, in July, 1940 was removed as commissar of
the oil industry by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

The removal of Kaganovitch, a friend of Lenin and one
of the oldest and most active Bolsheviks, was interpreted
by several commentators abroad as an attempt to oust
Jews from important positions in order to satisfy Nazi
Germany.

When Litvinof was expelled from the Central Committee
of the Communist Party in February, 1941, this impression
was strengthened. This interpretation, however, is entirely
erroneous. The removal of the two commissars had nothing
to do with their being Jewish. As a matter of fact, several Jews were appointed to important positions during the year under review. Mr. Mechalis, a Jew, for example, became the head of the State Control, a position second in importance only to those of Stalin and Molotov. The duties of the new Ministry of the State Control were to supervise all public expenses and control the management of all state property.

While the policy of equality of all Soviet citizens did not change during the year under review, the process of assimilation of Jews continued unabated. The Leningradski Pravda stated that there were at present 90,000 Jews in Leningrad who were only too eager to become assimilated. The younger Jewish generation did not speak any other language but Russian; Yiddish was not heard in the streets of Leningrad. The newspaper further reported that other nationalities were also being Russified, but not to the same degree as the Jews. Further evidence of the eagerness of Jews to assimilate was shown in the order which the Soviet Government published, forbidding Jews who joined the Communist Party to change their Jewish names to non-Jewish ones. Until recently this was the general practice of Jewish Communists.

While it is not easy to appreciate fully the impact upon Russian Jewry of the incorporation of countries with large and well-organized Jewish communities, it is very likely that the assimilationist tendency has suffered a set-back as a result of this incorporation. The Red Army, which included many Jews, occupied the territories of former Poland, the Baltic countries, and Rumania. This afforded young Jewish soldiers, who knew very little about the life of Jews in the capitalist countries a view of the Jewish communities there.

Reports emanating from persons who recently arrived in the United States indicate the interest with which young Russian Jews became acquainted with the life of the Jewish communities in the countries occupied by the Soviet Army. These occupations were a deterrent factor and resulted, temporarily at least, in a slowing-down of the assimilationist tendencies which existed in Russia. The fact that much greater cultural activities were developed during the last
year, may in part be the result of the incorporation of these large Jewish communities.

There was practically no field in which Jewish books were not published during the year. The circulation of such books in 1940 reached the 5,000,000 mark. The Jewish State Publishing Company in the Ukraine, as well as the State Publishing Company in Moscow each printed an average of one Yiddish book a day. The Jewish State Publishing Company of White Russia and the new Jewish State Publishing Companies of Lithuania, Latvia and Biro-Bidjan also increased their activities. Among the publications were books of great value, such as the second volume of David Bergelson’s “Beim Dnieper;” a novel by Isaac Pfeffer, “Grojse Grenece;” a novel by Eli Schechtman, “Poleser Welder;” in addition to the works of the Jewish classics, Mendele Moicher Seforim, Sholem Aleichem, and J. L. Peretz.

During the year an important book was published by M. Beiner entitled “The History of Jewish Literature in the 19th Century,” as well as by Auslander, “The Jewish Theatre,” which gave a Marxian interpretation of the history of the Jewish theatre in the last thirty years. Several books on Jewish folklore and language and Jewish folk songs also made their appearance. In general, Jewish dramatists and writers have, during the year, produced much more than ever before.

Especially important were the activities of the Jewish Culture Department of the Ukrainian Scientific Academy. The Department developed great activities in the study of the Yiddish language and the style of the Yiddish classics. The Yiddish artistic world celebrated the 30th anniversary of the literary activities of Bergelson, and the 50th anniversary of Mechaelis, the director of the Moscow Jewish State Theatre. The 25th anniversary of the death of J. L. Peretz and the 100th anniversary of Abraham Goldfaden, father of the modern Jewish theatre, were also celebrated throughout the country.

On the other hand, the number of Yiddish schools in Soviet Russia seems to have further decreased. The Soviet system of free universal education ceased to exist on October 3, 1940. Subsequently, students who lived in the cities
and were in the 8th, 9th and 10th grades had to pay 200 rubles yearly, and those who lived in towns and villages, 150 rubles yearly. College students had to pay 400 rubles yearly in the cities and 300 rubles in towns. Art, music and theatre school fees were fixed at 500 rubles a year.

Of interest to Jews was the seemingly increased concern of the Soviet Government in the development of the autonomous Jewish area of Biro-Bidjan. In a special broadcast on Biro-Bidjan in connection with the All-Union Agricultural Exposition held in August, the Moscow wireless spoke in glowing terms of the Jewish collective farmers in Biro-Bidjan. "This Far-Eastern region," the broadcast announced, "is occupied by the Jewish Autonomous Republic. The history of this region is a wonderful tale about transformed men, emigrants from little towns and villages. They clear the forest and cultivate the land. The agricultural achievements are outstanding. At present, these Jewish collective farmers are land-tillers, vegetable growers, stable boys and tractor drivers. Their work is excellently paid and the earnings of the medium family reach 12,000 rubles a year and hundreds of centals of various produce.

"The region also has many industrial undertakings, the number of which is repeatedly growing. There are mills, tanneries, cloth-cutting workshops, etc. Coal mines and gold fields are also exhibited. The region is exceedingly rich and only the first stages of exploitation have been reached.

"The region needs immigrants," the broadcast concluded. "Here, as in the whole of the Far East, work awaits the Soviet patriot. The country is in the reliable hands of the Jewish Autonomous Republic."

On February 2, 1941, it was reported that a thousand Jewish families were to be settled on cooperative farms in the Biro-Bidjan area during the year of 1941. Four new settlements were to be established during that year. The Soviet authorities had opened offices in the newly-acquired provinces of Bessarabia and Northern Bukowina for the recruiting of Jewish settlers for Biro-Bidjan. Similar offices were also opened in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

While hundreds of Jews left for Biro-Bidjan, however, scores of thousands of them were sent to Siberia, Tobolsk,
Archangel and the White Sea regions. According to official Russian statistics, about 600,000 Poles and Jews were seized in Galicia and White Russia and sent to the interior. They were permitted to take with them personal belongings weighing not more than one hundred pounds.

Letters which have reached this country indicate that the fate of the refugees sent to Siberia was truly deplorable. Labor conditions there were primitive, and the most essential necessities were lacking. Three to five rubles a day constituted the average wage, which was thoroughly inadequate, in view of the high cost of living. It was reported that in some regions, a pound of bread cost three to four rubles.

The trend towards the big cities continued. According to Russian press reports, an increasing number of Jews came into the interior. In the beginning of 1941 Moscow had 430,000 Jews, ranking as the third largest Jewish community in the world, preceded only by New York and Warsaw. A great increase was also shown by the city of Kiev, which has 200,000 Jews.

According to the census of 1939, the number of persons who declared themselves to be of Jewish nationality was 3,020,000, or 1.78% of the total population of 170,467,000. Since the 1939 census, new accessions of territory have added approximately 1,500,000 Jews from Poland; 350,000 Jews from Bessarabia and Northern Bukowina; 160,000 from Lithuania; 93,000 from Latvia, and 4,000 from Estonia. A conservative estimate of the Jewish population in the U. S. S. R. is 5,500,000; thus, nearly one-third of the world Jewish population was living in that country. Numerically, the Jews occupied the seventh place among the nationalities of Russia.

The present war between Germany and Russia undoubtedly will have a serious effect on the Russian Jewish situation. At the very outset, the Germans initiated an intensive anti-Jewish campaign, urging Russians and Ukrainians to free themselves from the domination of "the Jewish Bolshevik clique of the Kremlin!" At the end of June, hundreds of thousands of Jews, fearing German
occupation, migrated from the Soviet-Nazi war zone, where 2,000,000 Jews lived.

Hetman Skoropadzki, whom the Germans had made the head of the Ukrainian State during the first World War, marched with the Nazis and took command of a Ukrainian legion allegedly composed of 60,000 men. Skoropadzki again appealed to the Ukrainians to revolt against the "Jewish Bolsheviks." A new Russian daily entitled, *Ruskaja Znamia* made its appearance in Berlin. Printed in the offices of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the newspaper was replete with anti-Semitic propaganda and caricatures of Jewish Communist leaders. Nazi planes threw thousands of copies of this paper into the villages and cities of Russia.

Nazi radio stations in the occupied countries neighboring Russia appealed constantly to the Russian people to overthrow the Soviet regime. These appeals usually concluded with the slogan, "Death to the Jewish Bolshevik Oppressors of Russia!" The Nazis attempted also to convince the German people that Maxim Litvinof, Lazar Kaganovitch, and other Jewish Communists were responsible for the German-Russian war. According to the broadcasts, had the Jews not prevailed upon him to resist, Stalin would have agreed to the German demands and would thus have avoided the war. The Jews were, therefore, responsible for the bloodshed.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, thousands of Russians and Ukrainians departed from France, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania to congregate in Berlin for the purpose of forming a legion which was to aid Hitler in his fight against Soviet Russia. They frequently called upon the Russians and Ukrainians to incite to pogroms against Jews.

A so-called "Free Ukrainian" movement was formed in Berlin, which held the Jews responsible for the destruction of the Ukrainian churches and the teaching of atheism. The slogan of these "Free Ukrainians" was "Beat the Jews and Save Russia!"

The White Russians are, at present, similarly very active in Berlin. The Nazis have organized a great Russian committee under the leadership of Wojtsechowski. The notorious pogromist Gempner heads the White Russian
Committee organized in Krakow. The two leaders speak over the radio frequently, inciting Russians to organize anti-Jewish pogroms.

By the end of the year under review (June 30, 1941), the Nazi army was driving into Russia. The great majority of Russian Jews were concentrated in the Ukraine and in the Russian European region. They faced a regime of Nazi domination and disgruntled Russian and Ukrainian pogromists, who for years had waited for this to occur. The succeeding months will probably be the blackest in the history of Eastern European, and particularly Russian Jewry who, despite the Communist excesses, have enjoyed equality and respect of their human dignity for more than a score of years.

2. Turkey

Throughout the year under review, the Turkish Government underwent a period of uncertainty. While it formed an alliance with Great Britain, the Turkish Government refused to participate in the war, and after the successful German campaign in Yugoslavia and Greece, it concluded a non-aggression treaty with Germany.

The internal policies of the Turkish Government naturally followed the evolution of its foreign policy. Thus, in the fall of 1940 and in the spring of 1941, a strongly pro-democratic and anti-Nazi policy was followed, while in the summer of 1941, much greater tolerance towards Nazi propaganda and activities was shown.

On August 11, 1940, it was reported that the Turkish Government ordered the suppression of Cumhuriyet, the leading anti-Semitic newspaper, because of its pro-German propaganda and its attacks on the Jewish population of Turkey.

The German propaganda attempted to arouse the traditional hostility towards the Turks among the Armenians, who were told that if Turkey fell under German influence, the Jews would be eliminated from all business, which would fall into the hands of Armenians.

In accordance with its liberal policy, a decree was issued by the government facilitating the transit of Jews en route
to Palestine. It was announced in February, 1941, that the government would permit fifty Jews, who had visas to Palestine, to pass through Turkey each week. These Jewish emigrants included refugees from Russia, and the Baltic states, as well as refugees from Rumania.

During the Greek campaign, the German fifth column in Turkey, always very active, worked overtime, using a method called "French shower." This was a well organized "shower" of alternately bad and good news employed for the purpose of increasing the nervous tension throughout the country. Jews figured largely in these news reports. In April, for example, stories were circulated by German agents to the effect that a German ultimatum had been sent to the Turkish Government. This was followed by a tale that Jews were allegedly arrested for spreading these rumors. Of course, both stories of the ultimatum and of the arrests were pure inventions.

In view of the increasingly difficult situation of the Jewish population in Turkey resulting from the Nazi "war of nerves," the Jewish leaders found it necessary to reaffirm their loyalty and devotion to Turkey. On October 8, 1940, the representative body of the Turkish Jewish community adopted a resolution appealing to all Jewish citizens of the Republic to render the greatest possible service to the country. It called upon all Turkish Jews to remember with gratitude the tolerance shown towards them by the Turkish Republic. This resolution was broadcast on the Ankara wireless, as well as in all synagogues in Turkey during the celebration of Rosh Hashanah. Prominent Jews of Turkey also joined with their Turkish, Greek and Armenian fellow-citizens in a committee formed for the purpose of collecting subscriptions for the Greek Red Cross during the Greek campaign.

The German victories in the Balkans, however, have greatly endangered the situation of the Turkish Jewish community. On April 13, 1941, it was reported by the London News Chronicle that many Jews in Istanbul, alarmed by the proximity of the German army, were liquidating their affairs and were seeking to leave the country.

On June 18, a German-Turkish friendship treaty was concluded in Ankara. Following the signing of the pact,
both governments issued a declaration in which they pledged the press and radio of their respective countries to follow a policy that “would correspond to the friendship and mutual trust which characterized the German-Turkish relations.” In practice, this meant that German propaganda would be free to spread the Nazi philosophy and engage in anti-Jewish activities. Espionage activities were developed on a considerable scale by the Nazis in Turkey, and especially in the larger cities where Jews were concentrated. Despite the watchful eye of the Turkish police, reliable dispatches from various sources attested to the fact that Turkey had become the center of Nazi espionage activities for the entire Near East. It was reported that the Germans had already compiled lists of Jewish property and Jewish business establishments. The Turkish police had evidence to prove that the Nazis had already accumulated complete information on the Jews and their fortunes in Turkey.

An indication of the new orientation of the Turkish policy towards the Jews was the reported order issued by the government to its consulates in Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, not to issue visas to Jews. The order stated that Jews should not even receive Turkish transit visas, even though they may be in possession of visas for the United States and other overseas countries.

XV. THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

By Max Gottschalk*

The refugee problem was more tragic in the past year than ever before. After the invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, hundreds of thousands of people fled from these countries to France. From Belgium alone, it was estimated that between two and three million people fled from their homes hoping to find a haven of shelter in France for the duration of the war. After the invasion of the North of France, an additional number of French refugees took the road to the South of France.

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Before the invasion of the Lowlands, about 25,000 Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia had found temporary shelter in Belgium, and 23,000 in Holland. From Holland very few could escape because the roads to Belgium were cut off. Reports coming from Holland indicated that prominent Dutch Jewish intellectuals and several German political refugees, committed suicide.

In Belgium, on the first day of the invasion the authorities interned all male enemy aliens from 17 to 60. Two days later, fearing that these refugees, among whom were many political refugees, would fall into German hands, the Belgian authorities sent them to France. One of the refugee trains was struck by a German bomb and several passengers were killed. In France, those refugees who were sent there for their safety, were placed in camps in which they underwent terrific hardship. Their wives and children, in most cases, remained in Belgium, unable to leave because the French authorities permitted only Belgian, Dutch, Luxembourg and English citizens to cross their borders. Thousands of refugees of all nationalities, especially Polish, Czech, German and stateless women and children, waited and hoped to receive authorization to cross the border. Many escaped into France but were later picked up and also put into camps. Others, unable to come through, remained on the border and were caught between the Allied and German Forces at the terrible battle of Dunkirk. How many civilians fell there is not known.

After the collapse of France in June, 1940, the French authorities, with the approval of the occupying power, made arrangements with the authorities of Belgium and Holland to repatriate to Belgium and Holland their nationals, or those who had lived in those countries. The French authorities, however, did not compel the return of those refugees. On the other hand, the German authorities refused to allow Jewish refugees to return to their former homes in occupied territory.

There remained about 210,000 Jews in the “unoccupied” zone, of whom 145,000 were French nationals and 65,000 of diverse origin. In Marseille alone, there were between 30,000 and 40,000 Jewish refugees.

In November, 1940, the unoccupied area had to absorb
30,000 Jews expelled from Alsace. Later all French nationals were expelled from Lorraine by the Germans and they too were sent to Southern France. In November also, the German authorities in the Reich sent some 10,000 Jews from Baden and the Palatinate to camps in unoccupied France. As a rule, those expelled had been given an hour's notice and were allowed, each, to take only ten marks and one suitcase with them. Among them were a child of six months and one person of one hundred and three. All those people, regardless of their physical condition, were transported in cattle cars without any knowledge of their destination.

At about the same time, the Jews who were still living in the invaded Luxembourg, about 2,000, received orders to leave the country in two weeks. Three trainloads of these refugees, escorted by Gestapo agents, reached Portugal. During last November, the first trainload was permitted to enter Portugal, thanks to the efforts of the Portuguese Jewish Refugee Committee, the Joint Distribution Committee and the Hicem (The Hias-Ica Emigration Association). The other trainloads were refused entry into Portugal and, after waiting for some time on the Spanish-Portuguese border, were sent to unoccupied France, where the people were interned in camps.

At present, it is estimated that about 30,000 Jewish refugees of all nationalities, but primarily Germans, Polish, Czechs, and those without nationality, men, women and children, are in about ten different internment camps in unoccupied France. In the Camp of Gurs, which is the largest, there are about 14,000 people, all Jews. The camps are situated in the most undesirable parts of France — Gurs is on a flat, muddy plain at the foot of the Pyrenees.

The suffering of these refugees cannot be adequately described. They live in crude wooden barracks. Most of the women and children sleep on straw pallets, while many of the men sleep on the bare ground. Almost all are without sufficient covering. The rats, mice, fleas and other vermin make life miserable. Food is inadequate, clothing insufficient and sanitary conditions appalling. Refugee physicians, who are permitted to take care of their comrades,
must fight contagious diseases without the necessary medical supplies, instruments, laboratories, and other necessary facilities. During an epidemic of dysentery, which affected about eighty-five percent of the inmates, neither soap nor drugs were available. It has been reported that more than 700 refugees died during the past winter in Camp de Gurs. The American Joint Distribution Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Unitarian Committee, the International Y. M. C. A., the Ose and other agencies have made efforts to alleviate the sufferings but have not been able to furnish adequate help. Emigration of those unfortunates has been in the hands of the Hicem. Delegates were sent to the camps to investigate the possibility of emigration for every refugee, to compile the necessary records, and to take the necessary steps required to assist the interned refugee to emigrate. The Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons visited the Jewish concentration camps in the Pyrenees, to alleviate the hardships of the refugees.

Of the 140,000 non-interned Jews in unoccupied France, in May, 1941, 16,500 were assisted by the Comité d'Assistance aux Refugiés (French Jewish Refugee Committee). The J. D. C. supplied this committee with ninety-five percent of the funds needed. The J. D. C. also supported the Ose whose interest centers on children, and which still cares for 1,300 evacuees established in various homes throughout France, and looks after children in internment camps, supplying them with milk and other nourishing foods, clothing, and infants' equipment. By May, 1941, the Ose had removed over 300 children from the camps to its various homes. For the non-interned refugee children, it established eight day nurseries where 1,500 children were cared for. A visiting nurse service was instituted to look after about 700 youngsters. The Ose also cared for a thousand Alsatian Jewish children and thousands of adults.

A recent report from occupied France states that in May, 1941, nearly 5,000 alien Jews between the ages of 18 and 40, living in Paris, were suddenly rounded up and sent to two labor camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande near Orleans, in occupied France.
Emigration from France

The events which took place in France during June, 1940 interrupted the work of the Hicem for a short while only. Its Paris office was closed on June 10, 1940, and another opened in Bordeaux two days later, but it was compelled to move. There the office remained open on June 20, after the French Government asked for an Armistice. On June 26, 1940, a Hicem office was established in Lisbon, Portugal, under the direction of Dr. James Bernstein, co-director of the Hicem. The Vichy authorities permitted M. Edouard Oungre, the other co-director, to open Hicem offices at Marseille in August, 1940. In the meantime, the changed situation necessitated the transfer of the headquarters of the Hicem Committee to the United States, whence contact with the different ports of exit may be maintained. The Bureau is composed of Max Gottschalk, president, representing the Jewish Colonization Association (Ica), John L. Bernstein and Abraham Herman, representing the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (Hias).

The Hicem reports that from August, 1940 until the end of May, 1941, it was able to assist 2,834 refugees to emigrate from France to overseas countries, besides furnishing information and advice to additional thousands; the number emigrated is better appreciated when one considers the difficulties in obtaining visas to overseas countries, as well as exit visas from France, transit visas through Spain, and finally transit visas through Portugal.

From March until June, 1941, refugees with valid visas for the United States and South America had an opportunity to leave directly from France via Martinique, to their final destination. This way of escape is now blocked since a ship was seized by an English patrol vessel. The only routes of escape from Europe now are the Spanish and Portuguese ports. The American Export Line has a regular sailing one a week to the United States but these ships have only a capacity of about 200 passengers. As American citizens have priority on this line, few refugees can obtain reservations; space is already booked up to 1942. At the present time, there are several Portuguese lines in
operation to the United States whose ships have capacities from 400 to 800. Portuguese and Spanish ships also sail to Cuba and South America. Altogether, some 2,500 refugees a month are able to leave through Spain and Portugal.

After the collapse of France, thousands of refugees, fearing that all of France would be occupied, crossed the Spanish border to escape to Portugal. In order to obtain the necessary transit visas, the refugees had to possess immigration visas but time was lacking to obtain them. Many came to Portugal, therefore, with invalid visas for Curaçao, China, Siam, Costa Rica, etc. These refugees hoped to obtain regular visas, while in Portugal. The hotels in Lisbon were soon overcrowded and the Portuguese authorities forced the refugees to stay within the confines of small towns inside the country. Authorization to visit Lisbon and Oporto was given only for purposes of emigration. Several refugees came from France in small ships without valid visas. These were arrested and jailed, to be released only in the event of emigration. One of those ships, the S. S. Dora, flying the Panamanian flag, with fifty refugees aboard, left the French port of Sete on July 2, 1940. En route to Casablanca, French Morocco, the captain refused to proceed further, when the refugees could not furnish additional fare over the 2,000,000 Belgian francs (about $67,000) already paid. The refugees aboard were without Portuguese visas and the Dora has been anchored at Lisbon for a month pending an investigation by the Portuguese authorities. Debarkation permits were granted only on August 5. The captain of the ship charged the refugees $150 for each day it spent in port. The refugees were put in prison after their debarkation, remaining there till they were able to emigrate. The Portuguese Refugee Committee, headed by Dr. Augusto d’Esaguy, prominent Portuguese Jewish leader, was able to obtain the release from prison of many such cases.

As Portuguese and Spanish ports were the only ones from which one could leave Europe, emigrants from all over Europe came to these countries. Since January, 1941, sealed trains from Berlin come twice a month to Portugal to deposit emigrants from Germany, Austria and the
Bohemia-Moravia Protectorate. From Italy, refugees come by plane to Lisbon. Before the Balkan countries were invaded, they too provided their quota of emigrants. From June, 1940 through May, 1941, between 30,000 and 40,000 refugees passed through Lisbon.

One of the most tragic cases was the one of the passengers of the *S. S. Eleni*, a Greek ship leaving Piraeus with Hungarian and Rumanian Jews en route for the United States. These passengers, in possession of valid immigration visas, were refused authorization to cross Italy because they were Jews. They chartered, with the help of the Hungarian Jewish community, the *S. S. Eleni* to bring them to Portugal. Many of these emigrants had United States visas which were on the verge of expiration but they were told that if they were on board the boat before the expiration of their visas, they would be considered valid. Their visas expired while waiting in Portugal for the next sailing and the American Consul refused prolongation of their visas. The Hicem office in Lisbon intervened with the American Consul but it was only after three or four months that the renewal of the visas was granted.

The Polish Government-in-Exile has made arrangements with the English and Dutch Governments to admit Polish refugees to Canada, Australia, Burma and the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch Government-in-Exile made arrangements with the French, Spanish and Portuguese Governments to allow its nationals in France to leave through Spain and Portugal for the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch Government paid for the transportation of these refugees and the J. D. C. provided $10,000 for their maintenance. The Belgian Government-in-Exile helped many of her refugee nationals to emigrate to the Belgian Congo.

**Greater Germany**

From 1933 until the beginning of 1940, about 260,000 Jews left Nazi Germany. Another 124,000 escaped from Austria after the German annexation and 43,000 fled from Czechoslovakia. In those three countries there are still 471,000 Jews waiting for release by emigration, the only salvation from their pitiful fate.
The only way to emigrate from these countries to overseas countries now is through Portugal and Spain, although before the German-Russian war, many persons left through Russia via Japan to the United States or South and Central America.

With the further spread of German domination, the situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the Balkans is extremely tragic. There is no possibility whatsoever of their emigration since the German authorities issue no exit permits. Nevertheless, many Polish Jews, and those sent from Greater Germany to Lublin, have escaped to Russia. The Jews in the Balkan countries, numbering about one million, have no way of emigrating in the future.

**Italy**

About 2,000 Jewish refugees were in Italy when the war started. Many of them were confined in internment camps, which during the year were visited by the Papal Nuncio to the Italian Government. Some were released when there was a possibility for them to emigrate. These possibilities disappeared with the departure of the American Consul in the beginning of July, 1941.

**Effects of Russian Expansion**

After the incorporation of the Baltic States into Soviet Russia, the Russian authorities permitted Jews in possession of emigration visas, among whom were many Polish refugees, to leave the country. In this group were more than 1,000 rabbis and Yeshivah students who emigrated to Palestine.

Following the annexation of Bessarabia by Soviet Russia, 65,000 Jews are estimated to have escaped the Iron Guard terrorism by fleeing over the border, with permission of the Soviet authorities. At the end of December, however, Russia closed its borders and thousands of Rumanian Jews were stranded at Galati, Rumanian port on the lower Danube, unable to enter Soviet Bessarabia or return to their former homes. Other Rumanian Jews fled via the Black Sea.
Before leaving Bucharest, the British legation was reported to have made possible the escape from Rumania of 1,200 Jewish refugees who sailed from Constanza to Egypt.

**Great Britain**

At the beginning of the period under review 20,000 aliens, most of them German and Austrian refugees, had been interned by the government in special camps. Repeated public protests, however, over the indiscriminate policy of internment which brought severe hardships to innocent refugees, caused significant changes of policy during the year. (A discussion of government policy with respect to refugees in Britain appears in the section on Great Britain, above.) As a result, by April, 1941, approximately 13,500 aliens were released from internment. Almost 2,000 volunteered for the Pioneer Corps of whom 275 are employed as aircraft experts; 175 have become active fighters against Nazism; 280 are scientists; 450 hold key positions in industries of national importance; and 380 are skilled workers in agriculture and fruit-growing. Approximately six to seven thousand refugees remain in the internment camps in England and leaders of refugee organizations have stated that the conditions in these camps have vastly improved.

In January, 1941, the government admitted 1,400 refugee doctors from Allied countries to serve with the armed forces, hospitals, nursing homes, first aid posts and air raid shelters.

British shipping difficulties seriously limit the possibility for refugee emigration. It is generally admitted that about 6,500 refugees are on the waiting list for passage to the United States.

**Palestine**

In the first sixteen months of the Hitler war, 20,000 Jews immigrated. Of these more than 10,000 entered illegally and 8,700 in various quota categories.

In October, 1940 Colonial Undersecretary George Hall announced in Commons that 5,265 certificates for Jewish
immigrants were issued between April and September. He stated that 1,725 Jews had entered Palestine during that period. The certificates included 1,400 distributed in the United Kingdom; 936 in Rumania; 722 in Lithuania; 610 in Hungary; 326 in Italy; 242 in Switzerland; 221 in Latvia; 186 in Yugoslavia and 126 in France.

It was announced that in June, 1941 more than 4,500 East European Jews, holders of immigration certificates to Palestine were permitted by the Turkish Government to pass through Turkey on their way to Palestine. A substantial number of these emigrants came to Istanbul from Soviet-occupied Lithuania, through the port of Odessa, while approximately 2,000 came from the Balkan countries by way of the Black Sea. Others came through Poland, via Moscow to Yokohama, then by southerly route to Bombay and Basrah, from there to Bagdad and finally to Palestine. Arrangements were made by the Jewish Agency to enable the emigrants to proceed from Istanbul to Palestine. Despite war conditions, 803 children arrived in Palestine between January and May, 1941, from the Balkan countries, Lithuania and Scandinavia, through the efforts of the Youth Aliyah. From Western Europe, refugees have gone from Lisbon to Mozambique, and from there to an Indian port, and then by plane to Palestine.

The limitation of space does not permit more than mention of some of the tragedies which occurred during the past year to refugees from Europe seeking entry into Palestine. The most poignant of these tragedies was the blowing up of the S. S. Patria in the harbor of Haifa; this is described in the article on Palestine.

Ordinarily the voyage from Europe to Palestine by boat takes a few days but many of these boats, loaded with refugees, were at sea for many months. One was afloat for weeks due to an epidemic of meningitis. On the S. S. Preslo, a plague broke out. When the ships arrive outside territorial waters, the refugees are transferred at night to tiny schooners, launches, or low boats. These boats may drift from ten to fifteen hours. One ship carrying 460 persons, upon nearing Palestine, had the passengers ordered on deck by the captain at which time they were told that only those who could pay would be permitted
to land. Two hundred and eighteen gave up everything of value which they possessed and were even then put off the boat. They were found on the following day on a desolate beach. The others have never been heard of.

The captain of *S. S. Les Perlas*, carrying about 400 passengers, finding his supply of food low, turned the boat back to Rumania. That night the younger passengers overpowered the crew and turned the ship back to Palestine. When a British patrol intercepted the vessel, those on board had been without food for four days except for bread and a daily cup of water. The 700 refugees mutinied on the *S. S. Parila*, cast the captain and crew adrift, and then ran the ship onto the beach at Tel-Aviv. The 380 Jewish refugees on board the *S. S. Salvator*, an old Bulgarian sixty-ton sailing vessel, sank in a storm in the Sea of Marmara; 230 persons, among whom were 60 children, lost their lives. Though the ship was overloaded, it appears that the Bulgarian authorities insisted that more refugees be taken aboard.

Another tragedy occurred at Tulcea, Rumanian port in the Danube. In September, 3,000 refugees were held on two old Greek vessels flying the Panama flag, the *S. S. Atlantic* and the *S. S. Pacific*, awaiting voyage to Palestine. Both had been condemned and one was completely unseaworthy. Among the 3,000 passengers who were herded on the decks like cattle, were 500 refugees who had left Vienna in December, 1939 and were held prisoners in Bratislava until August 29, 1940. As was the case with other clandestine refugee groups who were going down the Danube, none of the passengers on these two vessels were in possession of passports or visas. The passengers had paid 1,000 marks each on the promise that they would reach Palestine. They were undergoing great hardship, were exhausted, and disease broke out among the passengers, but the physicians lacked the proper supplies. On December 19, it was reported that the illegal immigrants who reached Palestine on the *S. S. Atlantic* were deported to a British colony. Those on the *S. S. Pacific* were transferred to the ill-fated *S. S. Patria*.
Latin America

Approximately 6,000 refugees arrived during 1940 in Latin American countries, a substantial reduction from the 19,000 odd who arrived in 1939. All of the South American countries restricted entry of refugees. Until December, 1940 it was possible for refugees trying to escape from Europe to obtain Brazilian visas in France, Spain and Portugal. The Brazilian visa is now granted by the Brazilian authorities only from Rio de Janeiro. In December, 1940, the Brazilian Government prohibited all entrance of Jews, with very few exceptions.

Colombia has restricted Jewish entry and Bolivia also has forbidden entry of "Semitic" elements. In December, 1940, Ecuador eased restrictions on the immigration of farmers and industrialists. Relatives of persons living in Ecuador are admitted without special restrictions if it can be proved that the people already in Ecuador are in a position to maintain them. Argentina admits only very close relatives of refugees settled there. The same holds true of Chile, Venezuela, Bolivia and Uruguay. Peru admits refugees on condition that 2,000 soles ($800) is deposited with the government for each immigrant. The deposit is to be repaid to the immigrant after two years of uninterrupted residence, provided he can prove that he is financially well established and able to support himself and his family. During the first five months of this year, the Hicem facilitated the immigration to Brazil of 95 refugees holding Brazilian visas granted before the new immigration laws were issued; 14 to Argentina; 7 to Bolivia; 4 to Chile; 2 to Venezuela; 3 to Ecuador, and 6 to Uruguay. These figures indicate how few refugees were able to obtain refuge in the South American countries.

The Cuban Government authorized the entry, for a period of six months, of those refugees who can obtain a credit of $2,500 for this period. Many refugees have taken advantage of this opportunity to escape from Europe, especially from the occupied territories. Once in Cuba they attempt to emigrate to the United States.

Mexico permits entry in exceptional cases of certain categories of refugees fleeing Europe because of religious or political activities which have endangered their lives.
San Domingo

In August, 1940, Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, vice-president of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, reported that the 50 pioneer settlers in San Domingo had become adjusted to the subtropical conditions and were now earning their bread. The adjustment took place in a period of a little more than three months, during which time the group, augmented from an original 36 settlers, has established a herd of about 300 head of cattle, planted a substantial acreage of food crops, started a banana plantation, laid the foundation for plantations that will produce essential oils from various native grasses, and for fruit, forestation and plant nurseries. Two thousand immigration visas have been issued by the Dominican Government at the Settlement Association's request, and the number may be multiplied many times as the absorptive capacity increases. Dr. Rosen stated that there is room enough in the Republic for 100,000 refugees and that the country needs and wants them. The greatest drawback at the present time is the difficulty in arranging transportation and transit visas for the prospective settlers, trainees and children from their countries of residence. Groups of prospective settlers are waiting in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England and France, for transportation.

In January, 1941, General Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic offered an additional 50,000 acres of land to the Sosua Refugee Settlement in recognition of the excellent achievement of the colonists during the previous year. (The first land grant was made by Trujillo on January 20, 1940.) Most of the settlers, who were originally from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, came from Switzerland, England, and Portugal and one group of 44 Jewish refugees was released from a concentration camp in Italy. About 400 persons have been transplanted to the Sosua Colony. To date, 3,000 acres are under cultivation. The colonization of San Domingo must, nevertheless, still be considered as in the experimental stage.
The Far East

Shanghai, which is an open port requiring no entry visa, harbored 17,000 refugees, in January, 1941, most of them emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. In May, 1941, this number had increased by 3,000. About 15,000 are aided by the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees. The situation of the refugees there is deplorable. It is quite impossible for them to find employment because they have to compete with coolies, whose standard of living is notoriously far below the European standard. Refugees also experience great difficulty in adjusting themselves to the climate. Most of them are there temporarily and are trying to emigrate to another country, but very few succeed. At present, 3,700 of them are in camps maintained by the Shanghai Committee with the help of the J. D. C. Owing to the growing crisis in the Far East the position of these refugees is extremely precarious.

Before the German-Russian war, many refugees from Greater Germany came across Europe and Asia to Vladivostock and thence to Japan. Here they embarked for North and South America. Many of the emigrants had invalid documents for countries of final destination and were not permitted to embark but remained stranded in Tokyo and Kobe. By the end of March, these unfortunates numbered about 2,000. The J. D. C. arranged for the transfer of 500 refugees to Shanghai and gave guarantees to the Governments of Burma, Australia and New Zealand for 100 Polish nationals who received special visas to those countries. Other Polish refugees received authorization to emigrate to Canada, the government of which recently indicated its intention of putting them in camps.

United States

With the Gleichschaltung of France and the expanding domination of Nazism over Europe, the United States remains the only democratic country in the world whose gates are still open, in some measure, to the immigration of refugees. Until July, 1941, when new regulations re-
stricted the immigration of those who had close relatives in Germany or German-occupied territories, the United States Government had done all in its power, within the limits of its laws, to grant haven to refugees who had sought safety from the Nazis in a number of European countries. The President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, with James G. McDonald as chairman and George L. Warren as secretary, acts as a channel to the Department of State for all emergency cases. More than 2,000 persons recommended for visas by this Committee have received them but a sizeable number were not in position to make use of such visas. It is estimated that from July, 1940 to February, 1941, 32,000 immigration visas had been issued. The closing of the United States consulates in Germany and occupied countries is a blow to all those whose only hope of escape from Nazi domination was to emigrate to the United States.

The activities of American agencies in the field of refugee aid in the United States are described in Part I of the Review, dealing with the United States, in the article, "Assistance to Overseas Communities."

At no time in the past years has the solution of the refugee problem seemed so hopeless. Now, more than ever when a place of refuge is so urgently needed, those countries of the world which have been long looked upon as havens of refuge, are closing their doors more and more tightly. Under these conditions, which appear to become more and more critical every day, compassion for the homeless can do little more than to alleviate the immediate problem of comparatively few.