

The Persecution and Murder of the Jews, 1933–1945

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The Persecution and Murder of the
European Jews by Nazi Germany,
1933–1945

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The Persecution and Murder of the
European Jews by Nazi Germany,
1933–1945

Volume 5

Western and Northern Europe 1940–June 1942

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Foreword to the English Edition

The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933–1945 presents a broad range of primary sources in a scholarly edition. A total of sixteen English-language volumes will be published in this series, organized chronologically and according to region. The series places particular focus on the countries which had the highest Jewish populations before the outbreak of the Second World War, above all Poland and the occupied territories of the Soviet Union. The English-language edition reproduces all the materials in the German edition and has been adapted for an English-speaking readership. Apart from those originally written in English, all documents presented here have been translated from the language of the original source.

This volume, the fifth in the series, covers the persecution of Jews in Western and Northern Europe from the invasion of Norway in April 1940 and of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France in May 1940 up to the start of the major wave of deportations in summer 1942. Volume 12 of the series then documents the persecution of Jews in these countries, as well as in Denmark, from summer 1942 to the end of the war.

The foreword to the first volume of the series details the criteria for the selection of the documents. These criteria can be summarized as follows. First, the sources used are written documents and, occasionally, transcribed audio recordings, dating from the period of Nazi rule between 1933 and 1945. The decision was taken not to include memoirs, reports, and judicial documents produced after 1945; however, the footnotes make extensive reference to such retrospective testimonies and historical accounts. Second, the documents shed light on the actions and reactions of people with differing backgrounds and convictions and in different places, and indicate their intentions as well as the frequently limited options available to them. The volumes include a variety of document types such as official correspondence, private letters, diary entries, legal texts, newspaper articles, and the reports of foreign observers.

The contents of this fifth volume range from the diary entry of a Norwegian pastor on the arrest of the Jews in Trondheim to the farewell speech delivered by a Jewish law professor to his students at the University of Amsterdam, the Statute on Jews issued by France's Vichy government, and Adolf Eichmann's report on the planned deportations from Western Europe. Events and developments are therefore presented from multiple perspectives. The arrangement of the documents by country highlights regional similarities and differences regarding the situation of the Jews at the time. A detailed index makes it possible to locate documents by theme and emphasizes connections between them.

The editors wish to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for its generous funding of the German and English-language projects. The English-language volumes are produced in cooperation with the Yad Vashem International Institute for Holocaust Research. The editors are also grateful to the large number of specialists and private individuals who provided the editors with advice and comments on sources and with information for the annotations, including biographical details for the people featured in the documents.

Kathleen Luft, Todd Brown, Simon Garnett, David Hill, Sage Anderson, and Allen G. Blunden translated the German documents for this fifth volume in the series. Christine

Baycroft, Daria Chernysheva, Carol Sykes, Elizabeth Freeman, and Simon Knight translated the French documents. The Dutch and Flemish documents were translated by David Lee and Hilde ten Hacken. Karine Zbinden and Rivka Baum assisted with the checking of the French, Flemish, and Dutch translations. The Norwegian translations were completed by John Kingmann and checked by Rasmus Rønn. Rona Johnston Gordon, Alissa Jones Nelson, and Merle Read provided proofreading and copy-editing services. Peter Palm created and Giles Bennett advised on the maps, and Frank Ortmann and Martin Z. Schröder designed the book jacket. Nora Huberty, Lea von der Hude, Ashley Kirspel, Priska Komaromi, Benedict Oldfield, Charlie Perris, Aliena Stürzer, Barbara Uchdorf, Lena Werner, and Max Zeterberg contributed to this volume as student assistants. The following people contributed to the original German volume as student assistants: Romina Becker, Giles Bennett, Florian Brandenburg, Florian Danecke, Johannes Gamm, Anna Gaßner, Stefanie Haupt, Anne-Christin Klotz, Bernhard Lück, Miriam Schelp, Remigius Stachowiak, and Barbara Wünnenberg. Ingo Loose, Sonja Schilcher, Gudrun Schroeter, and Maria Wilke worked on the volume in their capacity as research fellows. Bjarte Bruland assisted with the research into Norway and Olav Bogen conducted follow-up research at the Riksarkivet in Oslo.

Despite all the care taken, occasional inaccuracies cannot be entirely avoided in a document collection on this scale. We would be grateful for any notifications to this effect. The address of the editorial board is: Leibniz Institute for Contemporary History, Edition ‘The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933–1945’, Finckensteinallee 85/87, 12205 Berlin, Germany.

Berlin/Munich/Freiburg/Klagenfurt/Jerusalem, November 2021

Editorial Preface

This document collection on the persecution and murder of the European Jews should be cited using the abbreviation PMJ. This citation style is also used in the work itself where there are cross references between the individual volumes. The documents are consecutively numbered, beginning anew with each volume. Accordingly, 'PMJ 1/200' refers to document number 200 in the first volume of this edition. The individual documents are presented as follows: title (in bold type), header, document, footnotes.

The titles have been formulated by the editor(s) of the respective volume and provide information on the date of origin of the document, its core message, author, and recipient(s). The header, placed underneath the title, is part of the document itself. It specifies the type of source (letter, draft law, minutes, and so on), the name of the author, the place of origin, the file reference (where applicable), remarks indicating confidential or classified status, and other special features of the document. The location of the ministries or other central agencies in Berlin at the time, for instance the Reich Security Main Office or the Chancellery of the Führer, is not cited. The header also contains details about the addressee and, where applicable, the date of the receipt stamp, and it concludes with the date of origin and reference to the stage of processing of the source, for instance 'draft', 'carbon copy', or 'copy'.

The header is followed by the document text. Salutations and valedictions are printed, though signatures are only included once, in the header. Instances of emphasis by the author in the original document are retained. Irrespective of the type of emphasis used in the original source (for example, underlined, spaced, bold, capitalized, or italicized), they always appear in italics in the printed version. Where necessary, additional particulars on the document are to be found in the footnotes. In order to enhance readability, letters and words are added in square brackets where they are missing in the original due to obvious mistakes, or where the meaning would otherwise be unclear in the translation.

Abbreviations are explained in the List of Abbreviations. Uncommon abbreviations, primarily from private correspondence, are explained in a footnote at the first mention in a given document.

Handwritten additions in typewritten originals have been adopted by the editors without further indication insofar as they are formal corrections and most probably inserted by the author. If the additions significantly alter the content – either by mitigating or radicalizing it – this is mentioned in the footnotes, and, if known, the author of the addition(s) is given.

As a rule, the documents are reproduced here in full. Documents are only abridged in exceptional cases where the original source was overly long, or where, in the case of the written records of meetings, Nazi policies relating to the persecution of Jews, or reactions to these policies, were only addressed within a single part of the proceedings. Any such abridgements are indicated by an ellipsis in square brackets; the contents of the omitted text are outlined in a footnote.

Documents within each section are presented in chronological order, except for a few cases where they are presented after the date of the event described. A number of descriptive texts written soon after the period covered, but nonetheless retrospectively, are classified according to the date of the events portrayed rather than the date of origin.

Where there is any uncertainty regarding the date of the documents or whether they constitute originals or copies, reference is made in the footnotes. The first footnote for each document, which is linked to the title, contains the location of the source and, insofar as it denotes an archive, the reference number, as well as the folio number(s) if available. Reference to copies of archival documents in research institutions and in the German Federal Archives in Berlin is always made if the original held at the location first mentioned was not consulted there. In the case of printed sources, for instance newspaper articles or legislative texts, this footnote contains standard bibliographical information. The documents in this series have been translated from the original source. If the source has already been published in a document collection on National Socialism or on the persecution of the Jews, reference is made to its first publication, alongside the original location of the source. The next footnote places the document into context and, where appropriate, mentions related discussions, the specific role of authors and recipients, and activities accompanying or immediately following its genesis. Subsequent footnotes provide additional information related to the theme of the document and the persons relevant to the content. They refer to other – published or unpublished – sources that contribute to historical contextualization.

The footnotes also point out individual features of the documents, for instance handwritten notes in the margin, underlining, or deletions, whether by the author or the recipient(s). Annotations and instructions for submission are referred to in the footnotes where the editors consider them to contain significant information. Where possible, the locations of the treaties, laws, and decrees cited in the source text are provided in the footnotes, while other documents are given with their archival reference number. If these details could not be ascertained, this is also noted.

Where biographical information is available on the senders and recipients of the documents, this is provided in the footnotes. The same applies to persons mentioned in the text if they play an active role in the events described. As a general rule, this information is given in the footnote inserted after the first mention of the name in question in the volume. Biographical information on a particular person can thus be retrieved easily via the index.

The short biographies draw on data found in reference works, scholarly literature, or the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names established and run by Yad Vashem. In many cases additional information was retrieved by consulting personnel files and indexes, municipal and company archives, registry offices, restitution and denazification files, or specialists in the field. Indexes and files on persons from the Nazi era held in archives were also used, primarily those of the former Berlin Document Center and the Central Office of the Judicial Authorities of the Federal States for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen) in Ludwigsburg, the latter now stored in the German Federal Archives. National archives and special archives on the Second World War and the persecution of the Jews in the respective countries were also consulted. Despite every effort, it has not always been possible to obtain complete biographical information. In such cases, the footnote in question contains only verified facts such as the year of birth. Where a person could not be identified, there is no footnote reference.

As a rule, in the titles, footnotes, and introduction inverted commas are not placed around terms that were commonplace in Nazi Germany, such as Führer, Jewish Council,

or Aryanization, but German-language terms expressing ideological concepts of race, such as *Mischling*, are placed in italics. In line with the circumstances of the time, the terms 'Jew' and 'Jewish' are used for people who did not consider themselves as Jewish but were defined as such on the basis of racial legislation and thus subjected to persecution. References in the documents to the 'Gestapo', an acronym of the German GEheime STAatsPOLizei, and to the 'State Police' denote one and the same institution: the Secret State Police.

The glossary contains concise descriptions of key terms and concepts that are repeated on multiple occasions or are related to the events and developments described in the volume. All primary and secondary sources consulted are listed in the footnotes and bibliography. Where English-language versions of these sources are available, these are included. If a document has already been published in English translation but has been newly translated for this volume, this is indicated in a footnote.

Note on the translation

British English is used in all translations into English. Where a document was originally written in British or American English, the spelling, grammar, and punctuation of the original have been retained, with silent correction of minor typographical or grammatical errors and insertions in square brackets to clarify the meaning if necessary.

The spelling, grammar, and punctuation of the translated documents broadly conform to the guidelines in *New Hart's Rules: The Oxford Style Guide* (2014). Accordingly, the ending -ize rather than -ise is preferred throughout.

SS, Wehrmacht, and certain other ranks are given in the original German, as are titles where there is no standard equivalent in English or where there may be confusion with contemporary usage. A table of military and police ranks is included as an appendix, along with English-language equivalents of these terms and an indication of their position in the National Socialist hierarchy. Administrative ranks and other terms have been left in the original language where there is no satisfactory equivalent in English. These terms are either explained in a footnote or, if they appear on multiple occasions, in the glossary.

Where the documents contain quotations from the Bible, the King James Version (KJV) has been preferred, especially where the context is religious or ecclesiastical.

In the Netherlands, qualified lawyers use the title 'mr' (*meester der rechten*). To avoid confusion with the English word 'Mr', this term has not been included in the translated documents or footnotes, but the individual's status as a lawyer is noted. In Belgium, physicians and lawyers are awarded the title 'Dr' upon qualifying, but the title is not generally used for those holding a doctorate in another discipline. For this reason, 'Dr' is only used in the biographical footnotes if this is standard practice in the respective country.

All laws and institutions are translated into English in the documents. In the introduction and footnotes, foreign-language terms and expressions are added in brackets after the translation where this is considered important for understanding or context. The original spelling of foreign organizations is retained in the footnotes. The titles of published works not in the English language are not translated unless the work in question is of contextual or substantial relevance. If a foreign-language word or phrase appears in a document, this is retained in the translated text and its meaning explained in a footnote or, if necessary, the glossary.

In order to avoid confusion between British and American English, dates are spelt out in the order day, month, and year. Foreign proper names are not italicized. Thus, names of institutions, organizations, and places are written in roman type in the footnotes, but legislation and conceptual terms are in italics.

In the titles, footnotes, and translated documents, place names are generally written according to the contemporary (English) name or the variant commonly used in scholarly literature on the period. This also applies to places that have since been renamed. The seat of government of the Netherlands is known both as The Hague and 's-Gravenhage. The translated documents follow usage in the original document, while the individual document titles and footnotes refer to The Hague. Belgian place names are given according to the language divisions within the country or standard usage in English (for example Brussels or Liège). The footnotes give place names in Flanders in Flemish with French in brackets, and places in Wallonia are presented in French with the Flemish name in brackets. Many places in Luxembourg have German, French, and/or Luxemburgish equivalents – for example, Esch a. d. Alzette (German); Esch-sur-Alzette (French); Esch-Uelzecht (Luxemburgish). The translated documents follow usage in the original. Alternative place names within each country are given in the index. Regardless of usage in the original, French street names in the documents are spelt with rue, boulevard, and avenue in lower case.

Diacritical marks in languages such as Czech and Polish are retained, with the exception of the names of the extermination camps in Eastern Europe, where they have been removed in order to emphasize that these camps were established by the German National Socialist regime. Language-specific characters such as the German ß (*Eszett*) for ss have also been retained.

Hebrew and Yiddish terms are described in the footnotes or glossary, along with any other words requiring explanation.

After the war the Dutch language underwent a spelling reform to make orthography closer to actual pronunciation. The names of Dutch organizations and periodicals are spelt as they were prior to the spelling reform, for example Joodsche Raad rather than Joodse Raad for 'Jewish Council'.

The term 'Israélite' (in French) as a designation for 'Jew' originated in 1808 in Napoleonic France and spread from there to German- and Dutch-speaking countries ('Israelit' and 'Israëliet' respectively), based on the notion that Jews should be defined as belonging to a faith – 'Mosaic' – rather than an ethnic entity, and intended as a means of integrating Jews into West European societies. In contemporary discourse the term 'Jew' often had a negative overtone. In France the term 'Jew' was reintroduced in official discourse after 1940, though the term 'Israélite' was not entirely abandoned – for instance, in the case of the Union générale des Israélites de France (UGIF). In Belgium, usage of the term 'Israélite'/'Israëliet' ceased with the establishment of the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) in 1941. In the Netherlands too, official usage of the term 'Israëliet' ceased shortly after the occupation but remained in the titles of Jewish organizations. The translated documents use the term 'Israelite' if this is in the original document. The exception is the Union générale des Israélites de France, which has been translated as the General Union of French Jews, as this has become the customary translation in scholarly literature.

Introduction

On 9 April 1940, seven months after the start of the Second World War, German troops invaded Denmark and Norway, launching the assault on Northern Europe. The German command sought to pre-empt an invasion of Scandinavia by Allied troops and to prevent the emergence of an additional front to the north. In view of Germany's military superiority, the Danish leadership decided to offer no resistance. This enabled German troops to occupy the country within a few days, while at the same time the Danish army was demobilized. The Norwegian army, under the command of King Haakon VII, the government, and the parliament, resisted the advancing Wehrmacht troops and, fighting alongside British and French units, managed to push back the Germans to the brink of defeat. However, in the face of ominous developments in France, on 5 June the Western Allies began moving their troops towards the German front. With insufficient back-up, the Norwegians were forced to capitulate five days later. While the Danish leadership remained in the country, the Norwegian government – as well as the king – fled to London, where it established a government in exile.

On 10 May 1940 German troops had begun their offensive in the west and advanced into Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. Neither the Belgian nor the Dutch army was able to offer sustained resistance to the Wehrmacht. Luxembourg capitulated on the day of the German invasion. Grand Duchess Charlotte left the country, along with the Luxembourg government. Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and her cabinet went into exile in London on 13 May and the Dutch troops were forced to surrender two days later. On 28 May, Belgium also capitulated. King Leopold III was held prisoner by the Germans, while the Belgian government under Hubert Pierlot escaped, initially to France. In October 1940 Pierlot formed a government in exile, likewise in London. German troops managed to advance deep into France in just a few days following the invasion. They reached the English Channel on 24 May and entered Paris on 14 June. The Franco-German Armistice was signed on 22 June 1940.¹

With the German occupation of Northern and Western Europe in the spring of 1940, more than half a million Jews came under German control. This volume documents the persecution of the Jews in Western and Northern Europe between April 1940 and the summer of 1942. During these two years the restrictions and requirements already being applied to Jews in Germany were also introduced to a substantial extent in the countries in the north and west of the continent, with the exception of Denmark, where Jews could live on almost undisturbed until 1943. The increasing isolation and deprivation of rights

1 Richard Petrow, *The Bitter Years: The Invasion and Occupation of Denmark and Norway, April 1940–May 1945* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975); Werner Warmbrunn, *The German Occupation of Belgium, 1940–1944* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993); Jennifer L. Foray, *Visions of Empire in the Nazi-Occupied Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 20–56; Hans-Martin Ottmer, 'Weserübung': *Der deutsche Angriff auf Dänemark und Norwegen im April 1940* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994); Dirk Levsen, *Krieg im Norden: Die Kämpfe in Norwegen im Frühjahr 1940* (Hamburg: Mittler, 2000); Julian Jackson, *The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Hanna Diamond, *Fleeing Hitler: France 1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Karl-Heinz Frieser, *The Blitzkrieg Legend: The 1940 Campaign in the West* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2013).

of all Jews in the occupied territories and the treatment of Jewish refugees, as well as the preparations for the deportations, are the focus of this volume. Although the German measures against the Jews in the occupied countries of Western and Northern Europe had similar features, their implementation was dependent upon the circumstances in the respective countries. For this reason, the documents in the present volume are arranged by country. Cross references between the individual countries and reference to documents addressing overarching themes serve to highlight similarities and differences.

Jews in Western and Northern Europe prior to the German Occupation

Prior to the German occupation there were Jewish communities in every country of Western and Northern Europe, albeit of widely varying numbers and sizes. In Northern Europe they had come into being later than in the West, and the percentage of Jews among the overall population was markedly lower than in Belgium, France, and the Netherlands. Patterns of Jewish life and the degree of acceptance of or discrimination against the Jews also differed from country to country.

Norway

There had been no Jewish population in Scandinavia before the early modern era. It was not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that Jews, in scattered instances, were allowed to enter these Lutheran countries, with writs of protection. Norway was governed by a regent, the king of Sweden, from 1814 until it gained independence in 1905. However, the Norwegian constitution largely retained its legal force during the union with Sweden. Article Two not only prohibited the presence of Jesuits and monastic orders in the country, but also denied Jews entry to the kingdom. Only in 1851 did the parliament decide to abolish the 'Jew clause'. Contrary to the fears of some, only a small number of Jews emigrated to Norway in the years that followed. Fifty years after the constitutional amendment, just 642 Jews were living in Norway. The largest centre of Jewish life in Norway developed in the capital, Kristiania (renamed Oslo again in 1925). Norway's first Jewish Community was founded there in 1892, and the first purpose-built synagogue was erected in 1923.

Mass emigration of Jews living in Eastern Europe had begun in the 1870s, reaching a peak in the 1890s and again after the First World War. Despotism and oppression by the tsarist authorities, pogroms, and economic misery, on the one hand, and hope for a better future in highly industrialized America, on the other hand, led more than 3.5 million Jews to leave Eastern Europe during the fifty years prior to 1930. Most of them did go to the United States; only a small minority found their way to Western and Northern Europe.²

² Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983); Heiko Haumann, *A History of East European Jews*, trans. James Patterson (Budapest: Central University Press, 2003 [German edn, 1990]); Lloyd P. Gartner, *History of the*

By 1920 Norway had admitted approximately 1,500 Jews, predominantly from Eastern Europe. Besides Oslo, the immigrants chose Trondheim in particular as their new home. By the time that its new synagogue was consecrated in 1925, Trondheim had around 300 Jewish residents, among them many Orthodox Jews. Some Jews also settled in Narvik in the far north of the country. In 1940 there were around 1,000 Jewish households in Norway and 400 companies, mostly small, run by Jews.

Even though the abolition of Article Two of the Norwegian constitution had made Jewish immigration into Norway possible, this by no means signified full legal equality. Jews continued to be subjected to a great number of restrictions. Many occupations, functions, and public offices were only open to Lutherans, though blatant antisemitic hostility was rare. A radically antisemitic world view on the German model was common only in the small *völkisch* circles, from which Nasjonal Samling (National Union, NS), a fascist party with a National Socialist orientation, emerged in 1933.

After 1933 Jews fled to Norway first from the German Reich and then also from Austria and Czechoslovakia (Doc. 1). Among them were the painter Kurt Schwitters and the psychoanalyst and sociologist Wilhelm Reich. Norway was not usually the exile country of first choice for Jewish refugees. Many of them sought to travel onwards to other countries willing to admit them, as strict laws made it difficult for foreigners to settle in Norway and become established there. Even the Jewish community in Norway and non-Jewish political exiles responded to the arrival of Jewish refugees warily and in some cases rejected them outright.³ One of the conditions for a residence permit was that a refugee could not become a burden on the Norwegian state. Nansen Relief (Nansenhjelpen) and the Jewish Aid Society (Jødiske Hjelpeforening) sought to support refugees in need of welfare. By the spring of 1940 about 2,100 Jews were living in Norway, including 500 immigrants and refugees. This amounted to 0.08 per cent of an overall population of 2.8 million.⁴

The Netherlands

Jews had begun to settle in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century, after the formation of the Union of Utrecht in 1579 marked the end of the Inquisition and the start of religious freedom. Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal, as well as Ashkenazim from Eastern Europe, benefited from the liberal policies in the Dutch Republic. They obtained full civil rights in 1796 after France's revolutionary army had conquered the country the previous year and the Batavian Republic was established as a French

Jews in Modern Times (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Gur Alroey, 'Patterns of Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire in the Early 20th Century', *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe*, no. 57 (Winter 2006), pp. 24–51.

3 Einhard Lorenz, *Exil in Norwegen: Lebensbedingungen und Arbeit deutschsprachiger Flüchtlinge 1933–1943* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992), pp. 282–310.

4 Per Ole Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest: Norge og jødene 1914–1943* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1984); Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødernes historie i Norge gjennom 300 år*, vol. 1: 1660–1940 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1987); Samuel Abrahamsen, *Norway's Response to the Holocaust: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1991), pp. 24–36; Bjarte Bruland and Mats Tangestuen, 'Norway's Role in the Holocaust', in Jonathan C. Friedman (ed.), *The Routledge History of the Holocaust* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 232–247.

satellite state. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the boundaries between the two Jewish groups and between the Jewish and non-Jewish Dutch populations increasingly lost their significance. At the same time, while Dutch Jews were largely integrated into civil society and economic life, they remained a clear subgroup within Dutch society, especially in the capital, Amsterdam, where they constituted about 12 per cent of the population and lived in clearly 'Jewish' neighbourhoods. In the second half of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century, Dutch Jewry underwent a rapid process of secularization. Crucial factors in this process were the increasing urbanization of the Netherlands, industrialization, and the emergence of four sociocultural milieus (*zuilen*, or 'pillars') at the end of the nineteenth century. Catholics, Protestants, socialists, and liberals had their own political parties, trade unions, newspapers, and schools, which governed nearly every aspect of life in this 'pillarized society', divided by confession or ideology. The Jews in the Netherlands usually aligned themselves with the liberals or the socialists and even played leading roles in political life, especially in the Social Democratic movement, but they also maintained a distinct subculture.

On the eve of the German occupation, about 80,000 Jews (60 per cent of the Dutch Jewish community) were living in Amsterdam, while the rest lived in mostly tiny communities all over the country. The major umbrella organizations of Dutch Jewry were the Orthodox Dutch Israelite Religious Community and the Portuguese Israelite Religious Community. Both were set up at the initiative of the state after the establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. A religious reform movement did not emerge until the beginning of the 1930s and it remained very small until after the Second World War. Though limited in size, the nationwide Dutch Union of Zionists, which came into being at the end of the nineteenth century, played a considerable role in public Jewish life.⁵

In contrast to Germany, in the Netherlands there was very little antisemitism after the First World War, yet Jews encountered a 'glass ceiling' in many spheres of life. On the radical right, only the National Socialist Movement (Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, NSB), founded in December 1931 by Anton Mussert and Cees van Geelkerken, succeeded in taking root. It followed the programme of the National Socialist Party in Germany – but without the latter's conspicuously antisemitic orientation. Until 1938 the NSB even accepted Jews as members, but in the second half of the 1930s, after enjoying its biggest electoral successes, it grew incrementally more antisemitic and pro-German, though at the same time advocating 'Dutchness'. There were, in addition, several very minor fringe movements on the extreme right that were both pro-German and antisemitic.⁶

5 Mozes Heiman Gans, *Memorbook: History of Dutch Jewry from the Renaissance to 1940, with 1100 Illustrations* (Baarn: Bosch & Keuning, 1977), pp. 610–613; Jozeph Michman, Hartog Beem, and Dan Michman, *Pinkas: Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland* (Amsterdam/Antwerp: Uitgeverij Contact, 1999), pp. 90–128; J. C. H. Blom and J. J. Cahen, 'Jewish Netherlands, Netherlands Jews, and Jews in the Netherlands, 1870–1940', in J. C. H. Blom, R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, and I. Schöffer (eds.), *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), pp. 230–295, here pp. 271–279.

6 Konrad Kwiet, 'Zur Geschichte der Mussert-Bewegung', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 18 (1970), pp. 164–195; Dan Michman, 'What Distinguishes Fascism from Nazism? Dutch Fascism before and during the Holocaust as a Test Case', in Dan Michman, *Holocaust Historiography: A Jewish Perspective. Conceptualizations, Terminology, Approaches and Fundamental Issues* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003), pp. 129–147.

Following Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor on 30 January 1933, Jews and political opponents of the National Socialists fled the German Reich in large numbers, and many sought refuge in the Netherlands. In the period before the German occupation, some 34,000 Jewish refugees had crossed the border to the Netherlands: of these, about 23,000 stayed for periods longer than two weeks, and about 16,000 were still in the country in May 1940. Many of them continued their journey and sailed from Dutch ports to Britain or other overseas destinations. Those refugees who remained in the Netherlands generally lacked the money to travel onwards or hoped for a swift collapse of the Nazi regime and a speedy return home. If nothing else, the Netherlands, with its language akin to German and a similar culture, offered the refugees a haven that appeared to resemble their old homeland. 'It wasn't such a big step from the Kurfürstendamm in Berlin to Beethovenstraat in Amsterdam,' Werner Cahn later recalled. He came to Amsterdam in 1934.⁷

At first refugees could enter the Netherlands unimpeded, but from 1934 the Dutch government adopted a less welcoming approach. This shift was motivated not only by a fear of being overwhelmed by immigrants but also by the conservative economic policies adopted in response to the international economic crisis. After the elections in February 1938, the new cabinet decided to completely close the borders to refugees. Now only someone who could demonstrate that they were in acute danger was allowed to officially enter the country from Germany. In a circular letter dated 7 May 1938, the new minister of justice, C. M. J. F. Goseling, stated, 'Henceforth, a refugee is to be regarded as an undesirable element for Dutch society and therefore as an unwelcome foreigner' (Doc. 25). As a result, by November 1938, only around 800 additional refugees had been granted an entry permit, on humanitarian grounds. However, the pogroms of November 1938 in Germany and the ensuing public outrage in the Netherlands led the government to admit a further 7,000 refugees. More than two thirds of them lived with friends or relatives or in private accommodation, while the others were housed in refugee camps located throughout the country. In addition, many Jews attempted to cross the border illegally to escape persecution in Germany or were driven out by the Gestapo⁸ and reached the Netherlands despite the increasingly tight controls. In 1939 approximately 120,000 Dutch and 20,000 foreign Jews (who had come mostly from Germany, but also from Austria and Eastern Europe, some of them in the 1920s) were living legally or illegally in the

7 Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands, 1933–1940* (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1986), pp. 20–27; Dan Michman, 'Die jüdische Emigration und die niederländische Reaktion zwischen 1933 und 1940,' in Kathinka Dittrich and Hans Würzner (eds.), *Die Niederlande und das deutsche Exil 1933–1940* (Amsterdam: Athenäum, 1982), pp. 73–89, here p. 74. Quotation cited in Philo Bregstein and Salvador Bloemgarten (eds.), *Remembering Jewish Amsterdam*, trans. Wanda Boecke (New York: Holmes & Meier, 2004 [Dutch edn, 1978]), p. 176. For an overview of the situation of Jewish refugees in the Netherlands before, during, and after the German occupation, see Daan Bronkhorst, *Een tijd van komen: De geschiedenis van vluchtelingen in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Federatie VON, 1990) pp. 2–19.

8 Jacob Toury, 'From Forced Emigration to Expulsion: The Jewish Exodus over the Non-Slavic Borders of the Reich as a Prelude to the "Final Solution"', *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 17 (1986), pp. 51–91.

Netherlands. This equated to around 1.4 per cent of an overall population of approximately 9 million inhabitants.⁹

The Dutch population reacted with ambivalence to the growing number of Jewish refugees. The first boycotts of Jewish shops in Germany in April 1933 had generated interest in what was happening in Germany and a willingness to help those affected. The response was the same after the pogroms of November 1938. At the same time, however, the measures taken by the government to close the borders and to turn away German refugees were met with approval, motivated not least by fears that the economic situation would deteriorate further. According to a member of the Committee for Jewish Refugees (Comité voor Joodsche Vluchtelingen):

These days, if you talk to people from the middle classes, as soon as the conversation turns to the refugees, you'll hear them say: Yes, it's quite sad, but all these Germans who take up residence here are competing in a big way with our own Jewish middle class, which already has to struggle so hard, you know. You'll hear this talk everywhere, among workers, among the middle classes, even among those who are better off.¹⁰

Many Dutch people also criticized the behaviour of the refugees from Germany, as the newspaper *Het Liberale Weekblad* reported on 15 July 1938:

The natural sympathy we have for the Jewish émigrés and our heartfelt willingness to help are diminished in this country by those émigrés whom we find disagreeable not because they are German *Jews* but rather because they are *German* Jews. Their preference for the German language and German customs and their glorification of Germany in contrast to Holland are offensive, not only to our national spirit but also to our philosemitic feelings.¹¹

Many refugees nonetheless found support. German writers and artists such as the painter Heinrich Campendonk gained success in the Netherlands, and some scholars (such as the legal scholar and sociologist Hugo Sinzheimer and the philosopher Helmuth Plessner) were offered professorships at Dutch universities. Socialists and communists who had to flee Germany also came to the Netherlands, where they were supported by local party comrades.¹²

9 According to the census of 31 Dec. 1930 the Netherlands had a population of 8,883,977: Bob G. J. de Graaff, '“Strijdig met de tradities van ons volk”: Het Nederlandse beleid ten aanzien van vluchtelingen in den jaren dertig', in Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, *Jaarboek buitenlandse zaken 1987–1988* (The Hague: SDU-uitgeverij, 2008), pp. 169–187.

10 Letter from R. H. Eitje to Dr A. Wiener, dated 12 Nov. 1933, cited in Dan Michman, 'Die jüdische Emigration und die niederländische Reaktion zwischen 1933 und 1940', in Kathinka Dittrich and Hans Würzner (eds.), *Die Niederlande und das deutsche Exil 1933–1940* (Königstein: Athenäum, 1982), pp. 93–108. See also Michman, 'Die jüdische Emigration', p. 83; Katja Happe, *Viele falsche Hoffnungen: Judenverfolgung in den Niederlanden, 1940–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2017), p. 23.

11 *Het Liberale Weekblad*, 15 July 1938.

12 Dittrich and Würzner, *Die Niederlande und das deutsche Exil*, pp. 91–122, 226–237.

Various relief organizations looked after the Jewish refugees. The Committee for Special Jewish Interests (Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen), founded on 21 March 1933, played a central role in this respect. Initially responsible only for the Jewish immigrants in Amsterdam, it soon expanded its activities to include all of the Netherlands and coordinated the work of other relief organizations. The funds distributed by the relief organizations came from Jewish communities in the Netherlands and from international Jewish organizations.

The Dutch government considered it necessary to tighten control over the refugees, and in February 1939 it ordered the creation of a central camp designated for Jewish refugees. After prolonged discussion, the government decided upon a site at Westerbork in the north-east of the Netherlands. Though the decision to establish a refugee camp and incarcerate illegal refugees there was a governmental one, the costs of construction and maintenance, amounting to more than 1.25 million guilders, were borne by the Jewish relief organizations. The first refugees moved into the camp in October 1939. Its first director reported optimistically that:

The mood was excellent, a hearty soup stood ready, and the barracks made a good impression and awaited the arrivals with decent beds and splendid blankets. That very evening, the first reports went out from the camp, saying that life in the new camp was not so bad after all.¹³

However, the isolated location in a sparsely populated region made it difficult for the inmates to expedite their emigration applications at the various embassies and consulates of countries that were willing to admit them. And yet despite all the restrictions, the adverse attitude of the Dutch government, and everyday difficulties, most German refugees felt they were safe in the Netherlands.¹⁴

Belgium

Jews had settled in the territory that is now Belgium since the Middle Ages. A small group of Jews, living primarily in Antwerp, Mons (Bergen), Brussels, and Ostend, obtained limited civil rights under Austrian rule at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Political and religious equality for the Jews, achieved in 1791 in France during the French Revolution, was also introduced in 1794 in what later became Belgian territory. During the Belgian Revolution of 1831 the predominantly Catholic provinces of Flanders and Wallonia broke away from the Protestant Netherlands and declared independence as the Kingdom of Belgium. The constitution of 1831 granted equal rights to all Belgians, regardless of ancestry or religion, and thus paved the way for the integration and assimilation of the country's Jews. As in France and the newly unified Germany after 1871, the

13 Dirk Mulder and Ben Prinsen, *Uitgeweken: De voorgeschiedenis van kamp Westerbork* (Hooghalen: Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 1989), p. 25.

14 Frank Caestecker and Bob Moore (eds.), *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States* (New York: Berghahn, 2010); Dan Michman, 'The Committee for Jewish Refugees in Holland 1933–1940', *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 14 (1981), pp. 205–232.

antisemitism that spread during the second half of the nineteenth century also found its way into some sections of the population in Belgium.¹⁵

Most Jews who came to Belgium from Eastern Europe from the late nineteenth century onwards continued their journey from Antwerp to countries overseas, but several thousand stayed in Belgium, thereby increasing the number of Jews in Belgium to between 10,000 and 12,000. The long-established Jewish population was largely assimilated, and most of the new arrivals from Eastern Europe were also successful in integrating into Belgian society. Around 80 per cent of the predominantly Francophone Jews lived in Antwerp and Brussels, with smaller communities in cities such as Liège and Charleroi. In these cities separate Jewish quarters developed, in which the residents spoke mainly Yiddish and cultivated the traditions of Eastern European Jewry. The Flemish city of Antwerp became the religious, political, and cultural centre of a multifaceted Jewish life in Belgium. Many Jewish citizens of Antwerp had successful careers in commerce, banking, or finance, and they were particularly prominent in the diamond industry. However, most Jews in Belgium were involved in the retail trade. The East European immigrants had specialized primarily in the processing of textiles, furs, or leather. Many of them lived in relatively humble circumstances. The Jewish community in Brussels was characterized by its political life, much of it left-leaning on the one hand and Zionist on the other. Altogether, some 70,000 Jews were living in Belgium on the eve of the occupation.

In the 1930s antisemitic and xenophobic tendencies had increased markedly in Belgium against the backdrop of the general economic crisis and the rising numbers of refugees. From 1933 onwards, Jews from the Reich – and later, after the Anschluss, from Austria too – also took refuge in Belgium, in spite of the Belgian government's restrictive policy towards refugees. Belgium recognized as refugees only those persons who had been persecuted for political reasons, and not those persecuted on the basis of race. Yet, at the same time, it tolerated Jews who had entered the country illegally. The expropriation of Jewish assets carried out by the Nazi regime meant that most Jews had been forced to leave their German, Austrian, or Czech homelands without funds. They received support from Belgian relief organizations such as the Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugees (CARJ), which were aided by international Jewish relief organizations such as HICEM and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). By 1940 more than 25,000 Jews had fled to Belgium from the territory of the Reich, especially after the November pogroms of 1938. Approximately 4,000 of them were held in specially created 'reception camps' (*Auffanglager*) such as Merksplas, near Antwerp, and Marneffe, near Liège.¹⁶ About 94 per cent of the Jews living in Belgium at the time of the German occupation did not have Belgian citizenship.

15 Ephraim Schmidt, *L'Histoire des Juifs à Anvers (Antwerpen)* (Antwerp: Excelsior, 1969), pp. 3–132; Jean-Philippe Schreiber, *Politique et religion: Le Consistoire central israélite de Belgique au XIXe siècle* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1995); Jean-Philippe Schreiber, *L'Immigration juive en Belgique du Moyen Âge à la Première Guerre mondiale* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1996).

16 Frank Caestecker, *Ongewenste gasten: Joodse vluchtelingen en migranten in de dertiger jaren in België* (Brussels: Vupress, 1993), pp. 162–171; Dan Michman (ed.), *Belgium and the Holocaust: Jews, Belgians, Germans* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1998); Insa Meinen and Ahlrich Meyer, *Verfolgt von Land zu Land: Jüdische Flüchtlinge in Westeuropa 1938–1944* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2013), pp. 42–98.

New, blatantly nationalist organizations pursued antisemitic agendas. The Diets Nationalist Solidarity League (Verdinaso),¹⁷ founded as early as 1931, was explicitly opposed to all immigrants and regarded Jews as ethnically alien. The Flemish National League (Vlaams Nationaal Verbond) followed in 1933. Headed by Staf De Clercq, it campaigned for the independence of Flanders. The Catholic nationalist Rexist Movement, founded in 1936 and led by the Walloon Léon Degrelle, sought the abolition of democracy in Belgium and the introduction of an authoritarian system, and it opposed any form of Jewish influence on politics and the economy. Established parties, such as the Catholic Party, and other organizations incorporated several antisemitic clauses into their manifestos in the mid 1930s.¹⁸

Luxembourg

Jews had lived in the territory of present-day Luxembourg since the high Middle Ages. Its first synagogue was established in 1828, and Jews from Germany and Lorraine emigrated to the Grand Duchy. Most members of the Jewish population belonged to the lower middle classes and earned their living from the retail or livestock trade. In 1927 there were approximately 1,770 Jews in Luxembourg, corresponding to 0.62 per cent of the overall population.¹⁹

Following Hitler's accession to power in January 1933, Jews from the Reich sought refuge in Luxembourg. Many then continued their journey to seek asylum in Belgium, France, or other countries. The reincorporation of the territory of the Saar Basin into the Reich in 1935 led numerous Jews to flee the Saar and seek refuge in nearby Luxembourg. Jews also fled across the border from Trier. A population census in December 1935 revealed that the number of Jewish inhabitants had increased to 3,144. Of that number, however, only 870 held Luxembourg citizenship; 2,274 (about 75 per cent) were foreign or stateless Jews. The estimated number of Jews in Luxembourg on the eve of the occupation was 4,000, less than 25 per cent of whom had citizenship of the country; Jews accounted for just over 1 per cent of Luxembourg's total population of around 300,000.²⁰

Initially, many refugees hoped the political situation in Germany would soon change, but anti-Jewish legislation and the anti-Jewish pogroms of November 1938 diminished the chances of their safe return. In response to the rising numbers of (not only Jewish) refugees, in 1934 the Luxembourg government had introduced a residence permit for aliens, and with it restrictions on conducting business and practising a profession. The

17 'Diets' was the term used to indicate the ethnic group comprising the Dutch, the Flemish, and people in the parts of Germany bordering on the Netherlands.

18 Martin Conway, *Collaboration in Belgium: Léon Degrelle and the Rexist Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

19 Charles and Graziella Lehrmann, *La Communauté juive du Luxembourg dans le passé et le présent* (Esch-sur-Alzette: Imprimerie coopérative luxembourgeoise, 1953); Laurent Moyse, *Du rejet à l'intégration: Histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours* (Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011).

20 Commission spéciale pour l'étude des spoliations des biens juifs au Luxembourg pendant les années de guerre, 1940–1945, *La Spoliation des biens juifs au Luxembourg 1940–1945: Rapport final* (Luxembourg: La Commission, 2009), p. 11.

new government elected in 1937 pursued a more moderate refugee policy. The Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community and ESRA (from the Hebrew *ezra*, meaning aid or relief), an association founded by the Jewish communities, assisted refugees by providing financial support from the JDC. The number of illegal refugees in particular increased markedly, with Luxembourgers frequently serving as accomplices in their escape. In some cases even the German Border Police supported attempts to cross the border illegally into Luxembourg, in order to ensure that Jews were removed from the Reich. The government of Luxembourg expelled some of those who had entered the country in this manner.

In Luxembourg, as in the other countries of Western Europe, an increasing number of far-right groups had emerged since the late 1920s. Nationalism, xenophobia, and antisemitism were propagated in various newspapers, such as the *Volksblatt* or the *National-Echo*, the official newspaper of the Luxembourg National Party. In addition, the NSDAP was able to recruit approximately 600 active members (mainly Germans) in Luxembourg. The first antisemitic attacks took place in March and April 1938, when shops in Luxembourg City were defaced with anti-Jewish slogans. The synagogue was attacked in September of the same year.²¹

France

Jews had lived in the territory that is now France since the fourth century CE. Towards the end of the eleventh century, two separate centres of Jewish life with a rich Jewish culture had developed in the southern part of the country (Provence) and especially in the north. In the centuries that followed, Jews in France, as almost everywhere else in Europe, were frequently threatened with marginalization and persecution. In 1394 they were expelled from the lands of the French crown; only in a few regions of France were small Jewish communities able to survive. The French Revolution brought the 40,000 French Jews recognition as fully fledged citizens for the first time. On 27 September 1791 the National Constituent Assembly passed a decree granting equality to all Jews living in the country. France thus became the first country in Europe in which the Jews obtained full legal emancipation. After the official recognition of the Jews as a religious community, Napoleon I called for the assimilation of the French Jews. Established in 1808, the Central Consistory (along with local consistories at the département level) was the first organization to unite the extremely heterogeneous Jewish community in France – while also placing it under state control. At the same time, Napoleon

21 Paul Cerf, *L'Étoile juive au Luxembourg* (Luxembourg: RTL Edition, 1986), pp. 11–34; Ruth Zarith, 'The Jews of Luxembourg during the Second World War', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1993), pp. 51–66; Serge Hoffmann, 'Luxemburg – Asyl und Gastfreundschaft in einem kleinen Land', in Wolfgang Benz and Juliane Wetzels (eds.), *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit, Regionalstudien*, vol. 1: *Polen, Rumänien, Griechenland, Luxemburg, Norwegen, Schweiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 1996), pp. 187–204; Moysé, *Du rejet à l'intégration*, pp. 175–179; Willard A. Fletcher and Jean T. Fletcher (eds.), *Defiant Diplomat: George Platt Waller, American Consul in Nazi-Occupied Luxembourg, 1939–1941* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012), pp. 101–110; Marc Schoentgen, 'Luxembourg', in Wolf Gruner and Jörg Osterloh (eds.), *The Greater German Reich and the Jews: Nazi Persecution Policies in the Annexed Territories 1935–1945* (New York: Berg-hahn, 2015), pp. 289–315.

restricted the equality obtained during the French Revolution by issuing the so-called Infamous Decree (*décret infâme*). This limited the freedoms of Jews in trade and commerce and in money lending, restricted their freedom of movement, and placed them at a disadvantage during military service. These forms of discrimination remained until the decree was rescinded in 1818 under the Bourbon monarchy, which had been restored to the throne four years previously. In the decades that followed, a Jewish middle class developed and succeeded in integrating into French society without being forced to give up its Jewish identity. Some customs in the synagogues, such as the official dress of the functionaries, were adapted to match official norms existing in the Catholic Church. Jews also changed their common language to French. However, as Pierre Birnbaum writes, 'social assimilation beyond emancipation remained very fragile during the latter part of the nineteenth century'.²² Moreover, there were marked differences between the long-established Alsatian Ashkenazi Jews, the Portuguese Jews in southern France, and the rapidly growing Jewish community in Paris.²³

Since the 1880s Jews had also been emigrating to France from Central and Eastern Europe and from the Ottoman Empire. This development contributed not only to the growth of the Jewish community, but also to the rise of a new Jewish proletariat and to the creation of many Jewish organizations outside the Consistory.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, antisemitic views were embraced by the early 'utopian' socialist thinkers such as Charles Fourier, Pierre Leroux, and Pierre Joseph Proudhon, who adapted the traditional stereotype of the connection between Jews and money to their anti-capitalist world view. In this context, the Rothschild family became the icon of Jewish financial power in the modern economy.²⁴ In French colonial Algeria, where the local Jews were emancipated by the Crémieux Decree of 1870, antisemitism found fertile ground among the French population. Resurgent antisemitism coincided in right-wing circles with criticism of the liberal, secular constitutional structure of the Third Republic (1870–1940), and came to a head with the Dreyfus affair. The Alsatian Jew Alfred Dreyfus, a captain in the army, was accused in 1894 and again in 1899 – unjustly, as it later turned out – of espionage for the German Reich. He was exonerated and rehabilitated in 1906. The affair split the nation for years into liberal supporters and nationalist opponents of Dreyfus, and its after-effects were palpable well into the 1940s.²⁵

22 Pierre Birnbaum, 'Between Social and Political Assimilation: Remarks on the History of Jews in France', in Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson (eds.), *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 110.

23 Paula E. Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 115–135.

24 Edmund Silberner, *Sozialisten zur Judenfrage: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sozialismus vom Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1914* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1962), pp. 23, 57, 99; Léon Poliakov, *Histoire de l'antisémitisme*, vol. 3: *De Voltaire à Wagner* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1968), pp. 351–391.

25 Vincent Duclert, *Die Dreyfus-Affäre: Militärwahn, Republikfeindschaft, Judenhass* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1994); Leslie Derfler, *The Dreyfus Affair* (Westport: Greenwood, 2002); Jean-Denis Bredin, *Dreyfus, un innocent* (Paris: Fayard, 2006); Méhana Mouhou, *Affaire Dreyfus: Conspiration dans la République* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); George R. Whyte, *The Dreyfus Affair: A Chronological History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Ruth Harris, *The Man on Devil's Island: Alfred Dreyfus and the Affair that Divided France* (London: Penguin Books, 2011); Eric Cahm, *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

With the start of the First World War, antisemitism receded into the background, along with religious and social differences. The sacred union (*union sacrée*), the wartime consensus that brought together all groups of society, aimed to unite France in the face of an external threat. In the 1920s, migrant labour was very much welcomed because of the high number of casualties during the First World War. With the influx of approximately 70,000 Jewish immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, the Jewish community in Paris became one of the world's largest, and the number of immigrants soon surpassed the number of native Jews. By the end of the 1920s, France had become the chief destination for emigrating Jews, more important even than the United States.²⁶ Between 1933 and 1939 an additional 55,000 Jewish refugees came to France from German-controlled territory, with many continuing their flight to destinations overseas.²⁷ In 1939 around half of the 300,000 Jews living in France were foreign-born; approximately one third of these held French citizenship. A liberal naturalization law passed in August 1927 had allowed around 50,000 Jewish immigrants to be granted citizenship by 1940.²⁸

France's policy towards immigrants and refugees became appreciably tougher during the 1930s. Access to the medical and legal professions and to the civil service was made more difficult for immigrants.²⁹ In 1931 the global economic crisis also reached France. Frequent changes of government, high unemployment, social tensions, and fear that there could be another war radicalized the political parties and threatened the stability of the Third Republic. Xenophobic tendencies intensified, and many French people increasingly viewed the more than 2 million foreigners living in France as unwelcome competitors. Right-wing extremist groups gained new members, especially after the appointment of Léon Blum, who was Jewish, as prime minister in 1936 and the formation of the left-wing Popular Front coalition government.³⁰

Although the Popular Front initially attempted to pursue a more humane refugee policy, in 1937 France's borders were closed to non-German Jews from the Reich. This meant that many East European Jews living in Germany were denied entry into France. In addition, from May 1938 illegal immigrants could be sent back to their home countries, while stateless refugees were to be assigned a mandatory place of residence (*résidence assignée*). The shooting on 7 November 1938 in Paris of the German diplomat Ernst vom Rath by Herschel Grynszpan, a Polish Jew living illegally in France, which led to vom Rath's death two days later, was used as a pretext to launch the wave of

26 Esther Benbassa, *The Jews of France: A History from Antiquity to the Present*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Princeton University Press, 2001 [French edn, 1997]), pp. 148–153.

27 Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 2.

28 Anne Grynberg, *Les Camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps français 1939–1944* (Paris: La Découverte, 1999), p. 96; Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Paris: Pluriel, 2005), pp. 7–18.

29 Caron, *Uneasy Asylum*, pp. 3–4; Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), pp. 33–34; Vicki Caron, 'Unwilling Refuge: France and the Dilemma of Illegal Immigration, 1933–1939', in Caestecker and Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany*, pp. 57–81.

30 Sean Kennedy, *Reconciling France against Democracy: The Croix de Feu and the Parti Social Français, 1927–1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007); Julian Jackson, *The Popular Front in France: Defending Democracy, 1934–38* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

anti-Jewish pogroms in the German Reich on the night of 9/10 November 1938.³¹ On 12 November the French government enacted an amendment to the naturalization law of 1927, making it possible to revoke the naturalization of immigrants who were deemed to have proved themselves ‘unworthy’ of French citizenship. In addition, illegal refugees could now be sent to purpose-built internment camps. At first, this measure was primarily targeted at the hundreds of thousands of Spaniards and others who had come to France following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, or who had fought on the Republican side and sought refuge in France following the victory of Franco’s troops. Soon, however, foreign Jews were also interned in the camps if it was not possible to deport them.³²

After France’s entry into the war, the French government additionally mandated the internment of male citizens of hostile nations between the ages of 17 and 65. Viewed as enemy aliens and a danger to French security, they were detained in the camps at Gurs, Les Milles, or Le Vernet, regardless of whether they were political or Jewish refugees or, alternatively, supporters of the National Socialist regime.³³

The danger that Jews would face in the event of a military defeat of France was described by Jo Goldenberg, who had arrived in France with his family in 1920:

What would befall us here in France was foreseeable. Those Jewish friends who had fled Nazi Germany strongly advised my father to leave France with the entire family before it was too late. They described the camps in Germany and predicted that others would be set up in France.³⁴

The Context and Development of National Socialist Policies against the Jews, April 1940–June 1942

Between April and June 1940, vast sections of Northern and Western Europe, from the North Cape to the Pyrenees, came under National Socialist control. The organization of German rule in these regions was uncertain at first and varied from one occupied state to the next. The experiences of the First World War had already taught the German

31 Alan E. Steinweis, *Kristallnacht 1938* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 16–35, 41–42.

32 Michael Mayer, *Staaten als Täter: Ministerialbürokratie und ‘Judenpolitik’ in NS-Deutschland und Vichy-Frankreich: Ein Vergleich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010), pp. 25–27.

33 Michael Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), pp. 54–71; Grynberg, *Les Camps de la honte*, pp. 34–36; Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deutschland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002); Fritz Kieffer, *Judenverfolgung in Deutschland – eine innere Angelegenheit? Internationale Reaktionen auf die Flüchtlingsproblematik 1933–1939* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002). See also PMJ 2/59.

34 Jo Goldenberg’s recollection of a conversation that took place just after the outbreak of war, between his father and a Jew who had fled Germany. Cited in Myriam Foss and Lucien Steinberg, *Vie et morts des Juifs sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Plon, 1996), p. 25. His father decided against leaving France with his family. He was deported, along with Jo Goldenberg’s mother, sister, and brothers. Goldenberg managed to secure the release of his two brothers from the Gurs and Pithiviers camps, but did not know where his mother, father, and sister had been deported; they never returned.

leadership that in a prolonged war it would be crucial to utilize the economic resources of the occupied territories. Therefore, in addition to military security concerns and the strategic significance of a country – especially in the war against Britain – economic considerations were at the forefront of occupation policies. Nationality and ethnicity also played a role, particularly because plans circulating among the German leadership proposed the future annexation of parts of Western and Northern Europe to the German Reich or their integration into a ‘Greater Germanic Reich’. Other factors, including resistance movements, the attitude of the population towards the occupiers, and, not least, chance, also influenced the course of German policy.

In light of Germany’s expanding sphere of control, the Germans were dependent upon effective cooperation in the occupied countries. The aim was to control these territories by minimizing the use of German military, financial, and human resources, and at the same time by exploiting the occupied country’s own resources to the maximum. However, that approach required a certain willingness to cooperate on the part of both the administration and population of the occupied country. German occupation policy was neither consistent nor systematic, as political and institutional arrangements varied greatly. The Nazi leadership competed in its attempts to establish which of the various forms of occupation was ‘best’ for Germany’s interests. This competition led to a power struggle between officials within the Reich Foreign Office, the Party Chancellery, the Wehrmacht, and the SS. How the success of the occupation policy was to be judged, however, was unclear – military and domestic security, the volume of economic resources that could be channelled into the Reich, and the political attitude of the population towards National Socialism or ‘Germandom’ were all possible criteria.³⁵

As a result of the swift military successes during the first year of the war, more than 3 million Jews came under German control, including approximately 500,000 Jews in Western and Northern Europe. Their fate was not yet clear to the German leadership in Berlin. Plans to concentrate the Polish Jews in specific regions had been drawn up and debated since the autumn of 1939. Proposals to resettle all Jews, including German Jews, in the newly established General Government were opposed by Hans Frank, the German head of this administration. In a letter dated 24 June 1940, Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Security Police and the SS Security Service (SD), informed the German foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, that ‘*the problem as a whole* – this already involves around 3¼ million Jews in the territories *presently* under German jurisdiction – can no longer be solved *by emigration*’. Rather, he wrote, a ‘territorial final solution’ must now be sought.³⁶

35 Hans Umbreit, ‘Der Kampf um die Vormachtstellung in Westeuropa’, in Klaus A. Maier, Horst Rohde, Bernd Stegemann, and Hans Umbreit (eds.), *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. 2, pp. 235–327; Hans Umbreit, ‘Auf dem Weg zur Kontinentalherrschaft’, in *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. 5/1 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1988), pp. 3–345; Wolfgang Benz, ‘Typologie der Herrschaftsformen in den Gebieten unter deutschem Einfluss’, in Wolfgang Benz, Johannes Houwink ten Cate, and Gerhard Otto (eds.), *Die Bürokratie der Okkupation: Strukturen der Herrschaft und Verwaltung im besetzten Europa* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 22–26; Mark Mazower, *Hitler’s Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (New York: Penguin, 2009).

36 Heydrich to Ribbentrop, 24 June 1940, PA AA, R 100857, fol. 192; PMJ 3/89. See also Christopher R. Browning, ‘The Decision concerning the Final Solution’, in *Fateful Months: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 8–38; Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews* vol. 2, *The Years of Persecution, 1939–1945* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), pp. 30–37; Götz Aly, ‘Final Solution’: *Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of*

With the victory over France, such a territory seemed to have been found: the island of Madagascar, a French colony and now seen as part of the German sphere of influence. Since the end of the nineteenth century, antisemites in several European countries had repeatedly referred to the island when the resettlement of the Jews was under discussion.³⁷ The plans drawn up for this purpose presupposed that the war against Britain would end in German victory and that the estimated 120 ships that were to carry 1 million Jews per year to the Indian Ocean could actually reach their destination unimpeded. After the autumn of 1940, it seemed unlikely that these conditions would be met in the foreseeable future. The German leaders thus abandoned the Madagascar Plan.

As a result of developments in the war against Britain, new attempts were made to find a 'final solution to the Jewish question', an expression which began to gain currency in late 1940. This solution was to consist in deporting all European Jews to an as yet undetermined territory.³⁸ In the meantime, both operational staff and the senior staff at the departments and Party offices in Berlin had gradually come to the conclusion that such a deportation – whatever its destination – would lead to a massive decrease in the Jewish population. But as long as this destination was still unclear, the Jews had to be left in their home countries. As far as practicable, they were concentrated in certain cities or regions. In the ghettos set up in Poland, the living conditions soon deteriorated so drastically that there was a sharp increase in the mortality rate among the Jews confined there.

New prospects for deportation emerged in late 1940 and early 1941, during preparations for war against the Soviet Union. After what was expected to be the certain and speedy defeat of the Red Army, the broad expanses of the East would provide, it seemed, the territory to which the European Jews could be deported after the war. The plans had not been fleshed out at this stage, but, nonetheless, other options were now shelved. On 20 May 1941 the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) announced that 'in view of the undoubtedly imminent final solution to the Jewish question, emigration of Jews from France and Belgium is therefore to be prevented'.³⁹ At the same time, more extensive plans for the German occupation policy in the Soviet Union were formulated during these weeks. These plans reckoned with the death by starvation of a large section of the country's population. This burst of radicalization and brutalization swept aside any legal or moral restraint still prevailing.⁴⁰

After the start of the war against the Soviet Union, the course of Germany's policy in occupied Western and Northern Europe also changed. For one thing, it now seemed a

the European Jews, trans. Alison Brown and Belinda Cooper (London: Arnold, 1999 [German edn, 1998]), pp. 79–80, 113–119; Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010 [German edn, 1998]), pp. 143–176.

37 Leni Yahil, 'Madagascar: Phantom of a Solution for the Jewish Question', in George Mosse and Bela Vago (eds.), *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1974); Magnus Brechtken, 'Madagaskar für die Juden': *Antisemitische Idee und politische Praxis 1885–1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997); see also PMJ 3, pp. 46–48, and PMJ 3/101.

38 See PMJ 3, p. 56, and PMJ 3/125.

39 Letter from the Reich Security Main Office, 20 May 1941, PMJ 3/182.

40 Economic policy guidelines for Economic Organization East, Agriculture Group, 23 May 1941, Doc. 126-EC, IMT, vol. 36, pp. 135–157, BA-MA, RW 31/144. See Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weißrußland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), pp. 45–78.

matter of only a few more months until the Jews could be deported from these countries. Therefore, the German authorities began to concentrate a portion of the Jews in camps, so that they could be deported quickly at a later stage. Moreover, the period after June 1941 also saw a distinct increase in resistance to the German occupying force. The communist parties in particular, which had been politically paralysed up until that point because of the alliance between Hitler and Stalin, now took action against the German occupiers. Hence, in France there was a close correlation between the crackdown on the resistance movement and the efforts of the German occupiers to push ahead with the deportation of Jews.

In the meantime, the military setbacks experienced by the Wehrmacht in the Soviet Union at the end of 1941 made it clear that a swift German victory was unlikely. Preparations for deporting the Jews to the Soviet Union thus came to a standstill. The German leaders responsible for the deportation were still unclear where the Jews should go. At the same time, however, the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the SD at the rear of the Eastern Front had already begun to murder the local Jewish population. By March 1942 the Einsatzgruppen, Waffen SS, police, Wehrmacht, and other units had murdered more than 800,000 Jews in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union.⁴¹

In this situation, during the autumn of 1941 the course of action to be taken by the German leadership assumed a more concrete form. First, the leaders no longer wanted to wait until the end of the war to deport the European Jews; rather, they planned to begin the deportations as soon as possible. Second, the European Jews were now to be deported to Poland after all. Third, only those Jews who were considered fit for work were to be left in Poland; all the others were to be killed, as was already happening in parts of the Soviet Union. This plan, the result of decision making that had already advanced to this point by December 1941, was presented in detail by Heydrich and Adolf Eichmann to representatives of the authorities and departments concerned at the so-called Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942. The participants at this meeting were informed about the practical implementation of the deportations, the scheduled timetable, and the sequence of deportations from individual countries. In the process, Heydrich emphasized that the long-standing strategy of forcing the Jews to emigrate had now been halted 'due to the dangers of an emigration in wartime and due to the possibilities of the East'. A corresponding directive for Western Europe had already been forwarded to the German occupation authorities on 23 October 1941 (Doc. 286). Now, Heydrich continued, the Führer had authorized the process of 'evacuating Jews to the East', with a distinction to be made between smaller anticipatory steps and the 'final solution', which would involve 11 million Jews in total, from every part of Europe.⁴²

41 See the introduction to PMJ 7.

42 Invitation and minutes for the Wannsee Conference, published in Kurt Pätzold and Erika Schwarz (eds.), *Tagesordnung: Judenmord: Die Wannsee-Konferenz am 20. Januar 1942: Eine Dokumentation zur Organisation der 'Endlösung'* (Berlin: Metropol, 1992), pp. 100–112; Mark Roseman, *The Villa, the Lake, the Meeting: Wannsee and the Final Solution* (London: Penguin, 2002), pp. 56–79, 108–118; Elke Gryglewski, Hans-Christian Rasch, and David Zolldan (eds.), *The Meeting at Wannsee and the Murder of the European Jews: Exhibition Catalogue*, trans. Caroline Pearce (Berlin: House of the Wannsee Conference, 2020 [German edn, 2020]). On the Wannsee Conference, see also Peter Klein, *Die 'Wannsee-Konferenz' am 20. Januar 1942: Eine Einführung* (Berlin: Metropol, 2017), and Hans-Christian Jasch and Christoph Kreutzmüller (eds.), *Die Teilnehmer: Die Männer*

In the weeks following the Wannsee Conference, systematic preparations began for the deportation of the Jews from Western Europe to the extermination camps. On 4 March 1942 the officials in charge of Jewish affairs in these countries, under the direction of Eichmann, coordinated the further course of action and agreed that the first transport should leave France on 23 March 1942, with Auschwitz as its destination.⁴³ The technical preparations for the deportation of Jews from France were completed in late March. The first transport, which in fact departed on 27 March 1942, deported 1,112 foreign and stateless Jews from the Drancy and Compiègne camps to Auschwitz (Doc. 318). The deportees were among those who had been arrested back in December 1941. At a further meeting with Eichmann at the RSHA on 11 June 1942, the representatives of the Security Police and the SD in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands decided to speed up the deportation of the Jews from Western Europe. In the following months, 15,000 Jews were to be deported to the East from the Netherlands, 10,000 from Belgium, and a total of 100,000 from France.⁴⁴ A few days later these figures were revised again: now, 40,000 Jews were to be deported from France, an equal number from the Netherlands, and 10,000 from Belgium.⁴⁵

Anti-Jewish Measures in Western and Northern Europe, 1940–1942

From the point of view of the National Socialist regime, the territories of Western and Northern Europe were more ‘civilized’ than Eastern Europe. These were not viewed as a future German Lebensraum and were therefore not included in resettlement or colonization plans. Political and military considerations dictated the nature of the occupation or collaborationist regimes established in these countries, which were left with considerable room for manoeuvre. The National Socialists regarded some of the local populations of these countries as ‘Nordic’ or ‘Germanic’, with potential for integration into a Greater Germanic community; more generally, they saw the peoples of Western and Northern Europe as prospective allies in a new European and world order, from which the Jews would be excluded.

In the countries of Western and Northern Europe – Denmark excepted – the persecution of the Jews began shortly after the occupation by German troops, though it did not proceed with the same speed or intensity in every country until the deportations started in the summer of 1942. The reasons for this lay, on the one hand, in the differently

der Wannsee Konferenz (Berlin: Metropol, 2017). The number of 11 million Jews was incorrect, having resulted from miscalculations: see Dan Michman, ‘Were the Jews of North Africa included in the practical planning for the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question”?’ in Alex J. Kay and David Stahel (eds.), *Mass Violence in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), pp. 59–78.

⁴³ Notes by Zeitschel, 11 March 1942, Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVb-10, published in Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz: Die ‘Endlösung’ der Judenfrage in Frankreich*, trans. Ahlrich Meyer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007 [French edn, 2001]), pp. 402–403.

⁴⁴ Notes by Dannecker, 15 June 1942, IMT, RF-1217; *ibid.*, pp. 410–411. See also Doc. 145.

⁴⁵ See the letter from Eichmann to Rademacher, dated 22 June 1942, in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series E: 1941–1945, vol. 3: 16. Juni bis 30. September 1942 (Baden-Baden: Imprimerie Nationale, 1974), no. 26.

structured occupation regimes that had been installed by the Germans. Wherever the institutions of the RSHA, the Security Police, and the SD had established themselves with their own officials in charge of Jewish affairs, measures against the Jews were generally implemented more swiftly. On the other hand, the development of antisemitic persecution also depended crucially on how closely the local authorities cooperated with the Germans, the level of antisemitism, and, above all, the level of support within the ministries and administration, as well as the population's reaction to anti-Jewish policies.

Despite the differences, the persecution of the Jews in occupied Western Europe comprised many of the measures that had been introduced in Germany after 1933 and some that had been implemented in Poland in 1939 and 1940. In a first phase, the official census and registration of the Jews were followed successively by numerous forms of legislative discrimination and official harassment intended to isolate the Jews from the local population of the occupied country. These included the prohibition of kosher slaughter, the removal of Jews from the state and local bureaucracy and from public positions, the exclusion of Jews from state education and the establishment of a segregated Jewish education system, and the creation of compulsory organizations for Jews under the supervision of the German or local authorities.⁴⁶ In a second phase, the Jews suffered increased economic persecution, their property and assets were expropriated, and from 1942 male Jews in particular were recruited as forced labour. Preparations for the deportations from Western Europe began with the ban on emigration from the German sphere of control in October 1941, at a time when the first transports were already leaving the Reich and Luxembourg, mainly headed towards Poland, but also to destinations in the occupied Soviet territories. Preparations accelerated in the spring of 1942, shortly after the Wannsee Conference. These included restrictions on places of residence and freedom of movement, curtailed shopping hours, and finally the labelling of identity documents and the requirement for the Jews themselves to wear visible identification.

Denmark

Denmark occupied a special status in comparison with all the other German-occupied countries in Europe.⁴⁷ Following the German invasion in April 1940, the German government emphasized that it harboured no hostile intentions towards Denmark, but rather sought close cooperation with the Danish government. The Danish constitution remained in force; the king, the government, and the administration remained in office. The German envoy, Cécil von Renthe-Fink, represented German interests. The German military authorities held no executive authority; rather, their task was limited to safeguarding militarily this strategically important country. This resulted in a unique situ-

46 Dan Michman, 'Re-evaluating the Emergence, Function and Form of the Jewish Councils Phenomenon', in Christopher R. Browning et al., *Ghettos, 1939–1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival* (Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), pp. 67–84.

47 Jørgen Hæstrup et al., *Besættelsen 1940–1945: Politik, modstand, befrielse* (Copenhagen: Politikens Forlag, 1979); Hans Kirchhoff, *Kamp eller tilpasning: Politikerne og modstanden 1940–45* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1987); Robert Bohn (ed.), *Die deutsche Herrschaft in den 'germanischen' Ländern, 1940–1945* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997); Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft, 1903–1989* (Bonn: Dietz, 2001).

ation with respect to international law, in that diplomatic relations existed between the Reich and a country occupied by its troops and were managed by the Reich Foreign Office. German instructions were conveyed to the Danish government through the envoy in Copenhagen, and their implementation was supervised by the same envoy.

The Danish side reacted to the German approach with a mixture of compliance and distance. Initially, this ‘cooperation policy’ proceeded without major conflicts and the Jewish population lived largely undisturbed by the German occupation forces. The marginalization and persecution of the approximately 7,000 Jews in Denmark were not a priority for the German leadership in the first three years, as adopting such a line of action would have jeopardized the willingness of the Danish leaders to cooperate. Discriminatory measures to exclude Jews from society and from economic and professional life – as implemented in the other German-occupied countries – were not introduced. For these reasons, the persecution of the Jews began considerably later in Denmark than in the other countries of Western and Northern Europe. It took hold only in the autumn of 1943, after cooperation with the Danish administration had broken down because of increasing Danish resistance to the German occupiers.⁴⁸

Norway

In Norway the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Norwegian Territories was set up, a German administration requiring considerably more personnel than that in Denmark. In April 1940 Hitler appointed the Gauleiter of Essen, Josef Terboven, as Reich commissioner. After the flight of the Norwegian government and the king, Terboven alone held full governmental power and oversaw the central authorities in the country. After a breakdown in cooperation with the Administrative Council, which consisted of senior Norwegian civil servants, from 25 September 1940 onwards Norwegian acting state councillors took over the running of the individual ministries under the supervision of the Reich commissioner. This phase lasted until 1 February 1942, when Terboven announced the appointment of Vidkun Quisling as prime minister. Quisling’s efforts to head a Norwegian collaborationist government were initially unsuccessful. Quisling, a former Norwegian minister of war, was the leader (*fører*) of the fascist Nasjonal Samling party. Through its idealization of the age of the Vikings and the spirit of the Teutons, it fostered a corporatist, anti-Marxist, and *völkisch*-racist world view and was organized in accordance with the Führer principle.⁴⁹ Although in 1940 Nasjonal Samling had no appreciable backing from the Norwegian populace, following the prohibition of all other parties that September it was proclaimed to be the party that represented the interests of the state and pursued the cause of ‘national revolution’ in Norway.⁵⁰ The RSHA was

⁴⁸ The persecution of the Jews in Denmark under German occupation is dealt with in volume 12 of this series.

⁴⁹ Autocratic method of governmental organization whereby all power – legislative, executive, and judicial – is concentrated in the hands of the leader and extended downward through each level of the hierarchy.

⁵⁰ Hans-Dieter Looch, *Quisling, Rosenberg und Terboven: Zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Revolution in Norwegen* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1970); Paul M. Hayes, *Quisling: The Career and Political Ideas of Vidkun Quisling, 1887–1945* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971); Oddvar K. Høidal, *Quisling: A Study in Treason* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1989); Hans

represented in Norway by a senior commander of the Security Police and the SD. Heinrich Fehlis assumed this role in the autumn of 1940. The head of Section IV B 4 (Jewish affairs) was Wilhelm Wagner. The State Police (Statspoliti) was established on 1 July 1941 under the leadership of Jonas Lie, the head of the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police. Formed to enable close collaboration with the German Security Police, it was modelled on the latter and bound by its instructions. Almost all members of the State Police were also in Nasjonal Samling.⁵¹

In June 1940 Ruth Maier, a young Jewish woman who had fled Vienna for Norway, commented on the Wehrmacht's occupation of Western and Northern Europe: 'I'm very pessimistic. Unless America joins [the war], Germany will win and then ... Oh, I fear the day when we will read: German-English peace treaty signed.'⁵² An increasingly aggressive anti-Jewish propaganda campaign in the Norwegian press framed the 'Jewish question' as also being a Norwegian problem. However, fears that the German occupiers might clamp down on the Jewish population in Norway as rigidly as in Poland were not confirmed. Overall, in comparison to the occupied countries of Western Europe, Norway saw fewer systematic efforts by the German authorities to persecute the Jews during the first two years of the occupation. The Reich Commissariat initially contented itself with acquiring an overview of the exact number of Jews residing in the country and their assets (Doc. 9). The first anti-Jewish measure taken by the German authorities was the confiscation of radio sets belonging to Jews, carried out in May 1940. Between autumn 1940 and June 1941 there were only sporadic arrests of Jews, although Jews were repeatedly assaulted by members of the paramilitary organization Hird.⁵³ Even as late as January 1942 the Reich Commissariat stated that it had no intention of undertaking 'any radical official measures' in order to 'resolve the Jewish question'. It would, however, ensure 'that the Jews are eliminated from the civil service'.⁵⁴

Nonetheless, the Norwegian acting state councillors appointed in the autumn of 1940 did introduce anti-Jewish measures in line with those in Germany. Jewish lawyers and physicians were no longer permitted to practise their professions, and the 'racial' ancestry of employees in the public administration was investigated. Music by Jewish composers could no longer be performed; books by Jews or by opponents of the new system were banned; the landholdings of Jews were to be systematically registered.⁵⁵

Fredrik Dahl, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen: 'Nationalsozialistische Neuordnung' und Kriegswirtschaft* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000).

51 Nils Johan Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden: Politiet under okkupasjonen* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987); Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Beatrice Sandberg, and Volker Dahm (eds.), *Meldungen aus Norwegen 1940–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Norwegen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. xi–xxii.

52 Diary entry by Ruth Maier, dated 14 June 1940, in 'Das Leben könnte gut sein': *Tagebücher 1933 bis 1942*, ed. Jan Erik Vold (Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2008), p. 316.

53 Oskar Mendelsohn, 'Norwegen', in Wolfgang Benz, *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991), pp. 187–197.

54 Memorandum by Rudolf Schiedermaier regarding the meeting of the Main Department for Administration with the department heads on 9 Jan. 1942, in NRA, Reichskommissariat 1940–1945, Serie Eca Allgem. Abt., box L0007 D, p. 2.

55 Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge gjennom 300 år*, vol. 2: 1940–1985 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1987), pp. 15–25.

In April 1941 the synagogue in Trondheim was expropriated, vandalized, and turned into quarters for German troops. In addition, the police requisitioned the homes of Jews. In a conversation with a local pastor, one of the Jews affected said, 'We will gladly endure the suffering that other Norwegians have to endure in these times, but we are outraged at being treated in a special way. We are, after all, also law-abiding Norwegian citizens who pay their taxes' (Doc. 8). Beginning in October 1941 Gerhard Flesch, the commander of the Security Police in Trondheim, took action against the Jewish population on his own initiative. By the summer of 1942 Flesch, in cooperation with local members of Nasjonal Samling, had instigated the expropriation of Jewish businesses, and some of the Jewish owners were imprisoned in Falstad camp near Trondheim (Doc. 16).

The first discriminatory measures concerning Jews in Norway evoked a rather muted response from the public. Nonetheless, there were many instances of support for Jews from non-Jewish circles, from both private individuals and the organized resistance. A number of pastors stood up for Jews (Doc. 8), although the Protestant Church of Norway did not speak out against the treatment of the Jews until 1942. In a pastoral letter from the Norwegian bishops, published in February 1941, the Church expressed opposition to Nasjonal Samling and the Nazification of Norwegian society, but failed to mention the antisemitic measures. The bishop of Oslo and primate of the Church of Norway, Eivind Berggrav, did, however, repeatedly protest behind the scenes against the unequal treatment of Jews, with reference to Christian doctrine (Doc. 13).⁵⁶ For example, Berggrav rejected the proposal by the Norwegian minister of church and education that marriages between Norwegians and Jews or Sami (Laplanders) be prohibited: 'Our people are steeped in this Christian and humane outlook and the Church thus speaks in the name of the Norwegian people when it objects to the proposal to forbid marriages to Jews' (Doc. 13). The Church's protest against the Norwegian collaborationist government culminated in a statement that was read aloud on Easter Sunday 1942 (5 April) in almost every church in Norway. The statement not only opposed Nasjonal Samling's efforts to subject the Church to its influence, but also dared to voice sharp condemnation of National Socialism.⁵⁷

Even before and increasingly after the occupation of Norway by German troops, many Norwegian Jews and Jewish exiles fled to Sweden. Some soon returned to Norway, hoping that the German occupation would pose no threat to them and that no further action would be taken against the small Jewish segment of the population. Before the end of the war approximately 1,100 Jews had managed to escape to neighbouring Sweden, often with the assistance of the Norwegian resistance movement.⁵⁸ Initially, however, Sweden had pursued a restrictive refugee policy towards Jews. While persons subject to political persecution were granted entry, Sweden sent Jewish refugees back

56 Arne Hassing, 'The Churches of Norway and the Jews', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, vol. 3 (1989), pp. 496–522.

57 As a result, 93 per cent of the pastors resigned from their church offices. See Hassing, 'Churches of Norway and the Jews', p. 509.

58 Ragnar Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt* (Oslo: Samlaget, 1995); Bjarte Bruland and Mats Tangestuen, 'The Norwegian Holocaust: Changing Views and Representations', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 5 (2011), pp. 587–604, here p. 594.

across the border (Doc. 17). Some of them were later arrested and deported to Auschwitz. Only with evidence of the deportations from Norway in the autumn of 1942 did Sweden offer asylum to all persecuted Jews.⁵⁹

Two days after the invasion of the Soviet Union (22 June 1941), the German authorities in Norway had instructed the Norwegian State Police to carry out the first targeted arrests of Jews (Doc. 10), whereupon almost all male Jews in the northern part of the country were detained. Some were released again after two to three weeks, but others were later transferred to the Norwegian-run camp at Grini, near Oslo, where they remained until the autumn of 1942, when they were deported to Auschwitz. In the southern part of the country, stateless male Jews were interned shortly after the first wave of arrests.

On 10 October 1941 the Higher SS and Police Leader North, Friedrich Wilhelm Rediess, instructed the Norwegian State Police to prepare for the stamping of Jews' identity documents. A corresponding decree was issued on 10 January 1942 (Doc. 20), and on 22 January 1942 it was announced in the daily press. After receiving the order to have their identity documents stamped, the Jews were required to report to local police stations in February to fill out detailed questionnaires regarding their ancestry, family, and occupation (Doc. 21). This directive was issued on the initiative of the Norwegian Security Police. Not least with the aid of these registrations, Nasjonal Samling's Office for Statistics was able to compile a list of the Jews. From the autumn of 1942, this list served as the basis for arrests and deportations. By that time, approximately 1,400 Jews had been registered in this way.⁶⁰

After Quisling had been appointed prime minister, his Nasjonal Samling government – on the initiative of the Germans – reinstated Article Two of the Norwegian constitution as a token of the government's anti-Jewish policy. Article Two, which had been revoked in 1851, forbade Jews to enter Norway (Doc. 23). The law had no direct effect, admittedly, because at the time it was issued scarcely any Jews had been able to enter Norway or had even attempted to do so. However, the decree and its strident promotion in the press acted as a portent of the subsequent deportations from Norway.⁶¹

Because there were so few Jews in Norway, they were exempted from the deportations for the time being. At the Wannsee Conference the representative of the Reich Foreign Office, Undersecretary Martin Luther, had pointed out 'that in some countries, such as the Nordic states, difficulties will arise if this problem is dealt with thoroughly,

59 Leo Eitinger, 'Als Arzt in Norwegen von 1939–1942, in Auschwitz von 1943 an', autobiographical eyewitness report dated 1959, YIVO RG 1565, box 1, p. 7; Christhard Hoffmann, 'Fluchthilfe als Widerstand: Verfolgung und Rettung der Juden in Norwegen', in Wolfgang Benz and Juliane Wetzel (eds.), *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit, Regionalstudien*, vol. 1: *Polen, Rumänien, Griechenland, Luxemburg, Norwegen, Schweiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 1996), pp. 205–232; Paul A. Levine, *From Indifference to Activism: Swedish Diplomacy and the Holocaust, 1938–1944* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1996); Esben Söbye, *Kathe: Deportiert aus Norwegen* (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2008), p. 73; Pontus Rudberg, *The Swedish Jews and the Victims of Nazi Terror, 1933–1945* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2015); Pontus Rudberg, *The Swedish Jews and the Holocaust* (Basingstoke: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

60 Söbye, *Kathe*, pp. 80–83.

61 Abrahamsen, *Norway's Response to the Holocaust*, pp. 73–74.

and [...] it is therefore advisable to defer action in these countries'.⁶² However, the news of mass murders of Jews in the East spread quickly here too (Doc. 19). Until early 1942 the Jews in Norway continued to live relatively undisturbed, yet the fear of further persecution dominated everyday life. By requiring Jews to register and to have their identity documents stamped, and by making the first arrests of Jews, the Reich Commissariat and the Security Police, with the assistance of the Norwegian institutions, had created conditions that paved the way for the extensive arrests and deportations of Jews from Norway, which began in October 1942. On 26 November 1942 the first main transport left Oslo by ship, bound for Stettin, and arrived at Auschwitz on 1 December 1942.

The Netherlands

Anti-Jewish policies in the Netherlands, Belgium, and France shared common features, but because of the different occupation regimes in the three countries, the pace and intensity of persecution varied during the period up to summer 1942. Some of these differences, as well as the very diverse composition of the Jewish communities, also meant that even in the years after 1942 the fate of the Jews unfolded in various ways.⁶³

In the Netherlands the flight of the queen and the government to London and the occupation of the country evoked consternation. 'Now we feel we have no leadership, like sheep without a shepherd,' Dordrecht lawyer Jaap Burger noted in his diary.⁶⁴ Only later during the occupation period did commitment and loyalty to the House of Orange become an important feature of Dutch national identity. The relatively restrained behaviour of the German soldiers in public made it easier for many Dutch people to adjust to the new situation and return to their usual daily routines.⁶⁵

The Jewish population reacted ambivalently. Many Jews, particularly Dutch Jews, could not imagine that the Germans would take action against the Jews in the Netherlands. As Edith van Hessen, a 15-year-old Jewish girl, noted in her diary on 19 May 1940: 'It could all be worse. The past five days seem like a bad dream. Now everything is business as usual.'⁶⁶ Dutch Jews who had followed the fate of German Jews in the previous years, as well as Jewish refugees from Germany who had already experienced the Nazi regime, feared immediate arrest and incarceration in concentration camps or, at the very least, the deprivation of rights and persecution as had been the case in Germany since 1933.⁶⁷ Many tried to flee at the last minute, but only a few, among them

62 Roseman, *Villa, the Lake, the Meeting*, p. 114; Pätzold and Schwarz, *Tagesordnung*, pp. 102–112, here p. 108.

63 For a comparison of these three countries, see Pim Griffioen and Ron Zeller, *Jodenvervolging in Nederland, Frankrijk en België 1940–1945: Overeenkomsten, verschillen, oorzaken* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011), pp. 999–1011.

64 Jaap Burger, *Oorlogsdagboek* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1995), entry dated 17 May 1940, p. 61. Burger later himself fled to England and held a ministerial position in the queen's cabinet in exile.

65 Gerhard Hirschfeld, *Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration: The Netherlands under German Occupation, 1940–1945* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1988) pp. 15–17; L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, 12 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1969–1986), in particular vol. 3: *Mei 1940* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970).

66 Edith Velmans-van Hessen, *Ich wollte immer glücklich sein: Das Schicksal eines jüdischen Mädchens im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Vienna: Zsolnay, 1999), p. 42.

67 De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 3: *Mei 1940*, p. 103.

seventy-five German-Jewish refugee children, succeeded in escaping, aboard a ship that left for Britain from the port of IJmuiden (Doc. 28). Fear of the German occupation drove more than 100 German and Dutch Jews to take their own lives in the first few days after the German invasion (Doc. 30).⁶⁸

Two weeks after the military victory over the Netherlands, Hitler installed a civil administration and appointed the Austrian National Socialist Arthur Seyss-Inquart, who had previously been instrumental in the Anschluss of Austria (March 1938) and afterwards as Hans Frank's deputy in the General Government (October 1939–May 1940), to serve as Reich commissioner for the occupied Dutch territories.⁶⁹ He had the support of four commissioners general, who were placed in charge of the various Dutch ministries, as well as thirteen representatives (*Beauftragte*) for the provinces and the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The four commissioners general were the Austrians Hanns Albin Rauter, Friedrich Wimmer, and Hans Fischböck and the German Fritz Schmidt. While they were all involved in shaping aspects of anti-Jewish policy, as commissioner general for security Rauter was directly responsible for its planning and implementation. He also held the post of Higher SS and Police Leader North-West in the Netherlands. Until September 1943 the senior commander of the Security Police was Wilhelm Harster. In August 1941 a special office for Jewish affairs, Sonderreferat J, headed by Erich Rajakowitsch, was established in The Hague. In February 1942 it was replaced by Section IV B 4 of the Security Police, headed by Wilhelm Zoepf. The section was in continuous contact with Section IV B 4 of the Reich Security Main Office in Berlin, which was run by Eichmann. The Amsterdam branch of the Security Police, headed first by Carl Ditzes and then by Willy Lages, was of particular significance because most Jews traditionally lived in Amsterdam, and thus most anti-Jewish measures were first carried out there. In addition, the Central Office for Jewish Emigration was established in Amsterdam on 31 March 1941. It had the task of coordinating the persecution of the Jews along the same lines as the Central Offices in Vienna, Prague, and Berlin. In the Netherlands, however, a number of other institutions continued to participate in the planning and execution of anti-Jewish measures. Also involved were the representatives of the provinces and the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, who acted independently of the senior commander of the Security Police and reported directly to Seyss-Inquart. In particular, the representative for Amsterdam, Hans Böhmcker, was responsible for many municipal orders pertaining to the Jews.⁷⁰

68 While Jacques Presser refers to 150 Jewish suicides, Hirschfeld cites a number of around 100. See Jacques Presser, *Ondergang: De vervolging en verdelging van het Nederlandse Jodendom 1940–1945* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1965), p. 14 (abridged English-language edition: *Ashes in the Wind: The Destruction of Dutch Jewry*, trans. Arnold Pomerans [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988]), and Gerhard Hirschfeld, 'Niederlande', in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991), pp. 137–165, here p. 139. See also Wout Ultee, Ruud Luijkx and Frank van Tubergen, 'The Unwholesome Theme of Suicide: Forgotten Statistics of Attempted Suicides in Amsterdam and Jewish Suicides in the Netherlands for 1936–1943', in Chaya Brasz and Yosef Kaplan (eds.), *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 325–354.

69 Johannes Koll, *Arthur Seyß-Inquart und die deutsche Besatzungspolitik in den Niederlanden (1940–1945)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015).

70 Nanno in't Veld, *De SS en Nederland: Documenten uit SS-archieven* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1976); Jozeph Michman, 'Planning for the Final Solution against the Background of Developments in

After capitulation the senior civil servants – known as the secretaries general – in each of the Dutch ministries had remained in the Netherlands, and the cabinet had entrusted them with continuing to run the country's affairs. They assured the German occupiers of their loyal cooperation as long as they were not forced into action that contravened the Dutch constitution. In so doing they created a model for cooperation that was adopted by many Dutch organizations and institutions in the years that followed. The secretaries general and other civil servants voiced very little criticism even as the German occupiers introduced increasingly extensive measures and had long ceased to comply with the Dutch constitution. Some of the secretaries general who were in office at the onset of the occupation period had resigned or been dismissed by mid 1941. The vacant posts were generally filled by Dutch National Socialists. For example, Meinoud M. Rost van Tonningen, one of the most influential leaders of the NSB, took the position of secretary general in the Ministry of Finance in March 1941. As a result, the influence of National Socialist representatives increased at the most senior level of the Dutch administration. The NSB wanted the Netherlands to be incorporated into the new Nazi Europe to an extent that would allow it to retain a certain independence and to preserve Dutch characteristics, while the Germans sought the complete incorporation of the Netherlands and the assimilation of its population into a 'Greater Germanic Reich'. Despite a certain amount of friction between the German occupiers and the Dutch secretaries general, the number of protests against German measures in fact decreased as time went on and related only to isolated cases. Much the same was true for local administration. Up until the end of the occupation period, Dutch National Socialists accounted for around half of all Dutch mayors. These officials implemented the orders of the German occupiers at the local level.⁷¹

The German occupation authorities were initially guided by a directive issued by the military leadership in February 1940, which stated that the so-called race question was not to be tackled, as doing so might stoke fear among the population of an annexation. According to the directive, the mere fact that someone was a Jew provided no grounds for special measures against that person.⁷² In this respect, the commissioner general for administration and justice, Friedrich Wimmer, had assured the Netherlands that the 'German authorities believe there is no Jewish problem'.⁷³ This assurance and the fact that the Germans had not imposed any restrictions on the Jews immediately after the invasion prompted a sense of security in many Dutch Jews. In contrast to Germany, the

Holland in 1941', *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 17 (1986), pp. 145–180; Guus Meershoek, *Dienaren van het gezag: De Amsterdams politie tijdens de bezetting* (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 1999), pp. 124–131; Anna Hájková, 'The Making of a Zentralstelle: Die Eichmann-Männer in Amsterdam', *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, vol. 10 (2003), pp. 353–381.

71 Peter Romijn, *Burgemeesters in oorlogstijd: Besturen onder Duitse bezetting* (Amsterdam: Uitg Balans, 2006), pp. 20–25; Nico Wouters, *Mayoral Collaboration under Nazi Occupation in Belgium, the Netherlands and France, 1938–46* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 96.

72 Directive from the senior general staff officer of the 6th Army, dated 22 Feb. 1940, regulations of the 6th Army/OQu/Qu 2 (signed Pamberg, Oberquartiermeister) for 'Administration and Pacification of the Occupied Areas of Holland and Belgium', NOKW-1515. Cited in Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, vol. 2 (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 636. See also Werner Warmbrunn, *The German Occupation of Belgium, 1940–1944* (New York: Lang, 1993), p. 150.

73 Hirschfeld, 'Niederlande', p. 139.

occupation appeared to have no major adverse effects on everyday life in the Netherlands, and most people saw themselves obliged, as Dutch citizens, to return to their work and not to abandon their country at this difficult time.⁷⁴

In reality, however, the period of relative calm for the Jews in the Netherlands had already come to an end by August 1940. First, Jews were excluded from the Air Raid Protection Service (Doc. 35). In August the introduction of a regulation on the 'prevention of animal torture', which was targeted at kosher slaughter, began to have a significant impact on Jewish life.⁷⁵ The Dutch chief rabbis managed to find a solution to the problem through cooperation with the well-known company Philips, which developed an electronic stunning device that conformed to Jewish religious law.⁷⁶ At the end of August, Commissioner General Wimmer instructed the Dutch secretaries general that Jewish civil servants should no longer be appointed or promoted. The secretaries general implemented this instruction, though under protest. On 5 October, Wimmer went one step further and ordered that all Jewish civil servants should be dismissed. For this purpose, every civil servant had to sign a so-called Aryan Declaration, which was disseminated in a circular letter in mid October and had to be returned by 26 October. The data gathered in this way was used as the basis for the dismissal of all Jews and *Mischlinge* from the civil service. The dismissal directive, which gave an implementation deadline of 1 March 1941, was made public on 21 November 1940 and affected 2,535 people. Wimmer had ordered the measure two and a half weeks earlier in a letter to the secretaries general.⁷⁷ Almost all civil servants complied and completed the declaration, including the eleven queen's commissioners (in charge of the provinces) and all 912 mayors. Only ten civil servants in the entire state and local bureaucracy and the state education system refused, and lost their jobs as a result. The president of the Supreme Court, Lodewijk Ernst Visser, was dismissed on the order of the German authorities. The Supreme Court itself decided, with twelve members voting in favour and five against, to approve the Aryan Declaration, which violated the Dutch constitution, thus assenting to the dismissal of their colleague, Visser.⁷⁸ The secretaries general subsequently declared that while they opposed such a course of action, they would nonetheless implement it as it was merely a 'temporary measure' (Doc. 46).

The secretaries general subsequently raised no objection when, on 22 October 1940, compulsory registration was introduced for Jewish businesses and a first definition of

74 On the history of the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands, see Presser, *Ashes in the Wind*; Bob Moore, *Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands, 1940–1945* (London: Arnold, 1997); Peter Romijn, 'The War, 1940–1945', in J. C. H. Blom, R. G. Fuks Mansfeld, and I. Schöffer (eds.), *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands* (Oxford: Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), pp. 296–335; Happe, *Viele falsche Hoffnungen*.

75 Verordnung des Reichskommissars für die besetzten niederländischen Gebiete zur Vermeidung von Tierquälerei beim Viehschlachten, 31 July 1940, *VOBl-NL*, 80, 1940, 3 August 1940.

76 Dan Michman, 'Problems of Religious Life in the Netherlands during the Holocaust', in Jozeph Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History I* (Jerusalem: Institute for Research on Dutch Jewry, 1984), pp. 382–386.

77 De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 3/2: *Mei '40–maart '41*, pp. 780–781.

78 Corjo Jansen (in cooperation with Derk Venema), *De Hoge Raad en de Tweede Wereldoorlog: Recht- en rechtsbeoefening in de jaren 1930–1950* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011), pp. 155; de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 4/2: *Mei '40–maart '41*, pp. 821–822.

the term 'Jew' was decreed – nor did they protest against the order for the registration of all Jews that was issued on 10 January 1941. Previous censuses (the most recent having been carried out in 1930) and municipal registers provided a substantial amount of information on the Jews, but the German authorities wanted more precise and racial data. Still not expecting the worst, most Jews registered. Some hesitated, as did the Jewish journalist Jo Alexander Polak, who wrote in his diary: 'The Jews have to register soon, but I will take the liberty of waiting until the end to do so. One never knows whether it will still be required then.'⁷⁹ This registration at the beginning of 1941, which was considered by the Germans to be the most thorough census of Jews carried out anywhere in Nazi-controlled Europe,⁸⁰ provided the German occupation authorities with up-to-date information which served as a basis for their next steps against the Jews: at the time, there were 140,245 'full Jews' (*Volljuden*) living in the Netherlands, of whom 118,455 were Dutch citizens, 14,493 were German citizens, and 7,297 were from other countries or stateless. In addition, according to National Socialist categories for defining racial descent, in the Netherlands there were also 14,549 'half-Jews' and 5,719 'quarter-Jews' (Docs. 54, 90).⁸¹

The tightening of the antisemitic measures met with incomprehension and protest from many Dutch people. In particular, a number of representatives of the Christian churches espoused the cause of the Jews. They protested against the dismissal of Jewish civil servants and lent their support above all to the members of their churches who had converted to the Christian faith but were classified as Jews according to National Socialist criteria (Doc. 43).⁸² The protest by the churches reflected a fundamental Christian conviction held by the populace, one that is expressed in many diaries and written sources (Docs. 52, 91, 119). In addition to some professors – for example, the jurist Rudolph Cleveringa gave a prominent speech on 26 November 1940 and was arrested shortly thereafter as a result⁸³ – numerous students also protested against the suspension of their Jewish professors and the barriers to admission for Jewish students. However, after the authorities closed the University of Leiden because of the continuing protests, willingness to take part in further initiatives at other universities declined sharply. Illegal newspapers reported time and again on anti-Jewish measures and appealed for support (Doc. 59). *Het Parool*, one of the largest and best-known illegal newspapers, emphasized: 'In fact, this is not only about the Jews, but about our entire people.'⁸⁴ However, the majority of the population generally adopted a passive wait-and-see approach, not only

⁷⁹ Jo Alexander Polak, diary entry for 10 Feb. 1940, NIOD 244/1131, p. 66.

⁸⁰ This was the view expressed in a letter from the planned Nazi Party Advanced School (Hohe Schule) to the Department of Administration and Justice in the Reich Commissariat, 23 September 1942. See de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 5/1, *Maart '41–juli '42*, p. 533.

⁸¹ The official results, published in 1942 by the Dutch Central Office for Statistics, differed slightly, recording a total of 140,001 full Jews, of whom 117,999 had Dutch nationality, 14,381 had German nationality, and 7,621 had a different nationality or were stateless. See *Statistiek der bevolking van joodschen bloede in Nederland* (The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1942), p. 18.

⁸² See, for example, Martin Bachmann, *Geliebtes Volk Israel – fremde Juden: Die Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk und die 'Judenfrage', 1933–1945* (Münster: Lit, 1997).

⁸³ See J. C. H. Jansen and D. Venema, 'De 26-november rede van prof. mr. R.P. Cleveringa: Wat eraan voorafging en wat volgde', *Nederlandsch Juristenblad* (2006), pp. 984–992.

⁸⁴ *Het Parool* (Nieuwsbrief van Pieter 't Hoen), 30 Nov. 1940, p. 2.

with respect to the Jews. Most Dutch people did not consider the anti-Jewish measures to be of major significance during the first two years of the occupation. One of the expressions of the accommodating tendency was the establishment of the collaborationist Nederlandsche Unie (Netherlands Union) on 24 July 1940, shortly after the occupation; it was dissolved by the German authorities in December 1941. Although it did accept Jews as members, this movement did not actively oppose German anti-Jewish policies.⁸⁵ Until well into 1942 there was no organized resistance movement in the Netherlands that had substantial backing from the population. Only thereafter did various resistance groups slowly begin to develop. Jewish resistance to persecution during the first two years was essentially channelled into organizational, cultural, and educational activities, in order to strengthen cohesion within the community, to nurture a positive Jewish spirit, and to struggle for the rights of Jews as Dutch citizens. This approach was reflected in the founding of the Jewish Coordination Committee (JCC) at the end of 1940 as an organization to represent the interests of Dutch Jews. Organized underground resistance with the aim of escaping and hiding from the German authorities emerged only after the beginning of the deportations in the summer of 1942.⁸⁶

From 1941 anti-Jewish policies became more stringent. In February of that year there had been conflicts and brawls between members of the Weerbaarheidsafdeling (National Socialist Defence Section, WA)⁸⁷ and young Jews in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter, in the course of which a WA man was severely wounded and died three days later. The German authorities reacted swiftly. On 12 February 1941 the representative for the city of Amsterdam, Hans Böhmcker, ordered the chief rabbis of the Ashkenazi and Portuguese Jewish communities and David Cohen, a professor of history at the University of Amsterdam, to set up a representative body for the Jews of Amsterdam. The Jewish Council (Joodsche Raad) was subsequently established on 13 February 1941. It was chaired by Cohen and by Abraham Asscher, who was a diamond merchant, liberal politician, and chairman of the Ashkenazi community. In taking up this position, they aimed to preserve peace and order and to alleviate the situation of the Jewish community, and for these reasons they chose cooperation with the occupiers over refusal and active resistance. Critics who spoke out against cooperation with the German authorities were unable to prevail (Doc. 56). The leading members of the Jewish Council came from the educated, affluent upper classes, while the Jewish working class and foreign Jews were involved in only small numbers in the decisions of the body. The Jewish Council had to implement the orders of the German occupiers and was responsible for enforcing them. However, in order to sustain Jewish life, it also developed activities beyond the edicts of the German authorities in various fields, such as culture. After several months, the authority of the Amsterdam Jewish Council was extended to the entire country, and local representations

85 Wichert ten Have, *De Nederlandse Unie: Aanpassing, vernieuwing en confrontatie in bezettingstijd 1940–1941* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1999).

86 Roni Hershkowitz, 'The Persecution of the Jews, as reflected in Dutch Underground Newspapers', in Chaya Brasz and Yosef Kaplan (eds.), *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 307–322; Moore, *Victims and Survivors*, pp. 168–170; Ben Braber, *This Cannot Happen Here: Integration and Jewish Resistance in the Netherlands, 1940–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013); Michman et al., *Pinkas*, pp. 167–168, 177–180.

87 The 'militia branch' of the NSB, a paramilitary force comparable to the German SA.

were appointed in the main Jewish communities. As a supervisory body with extensive powers over the Jewish population, the council thus made it easier for the German authorities to execute anti-Jewish measures.⁸⁸ The compliant attitude of the Jewish Council not only was criticized by various parties during the occupation, but also gave rise to heated debate in the post-war period.

On 19 February 1941 a German Order Police patrol forced its way into an ice-cream parlour owned by two German-Jewish refugees; according to the German police report, the two defended themselves with ammonia gas. This event was seen as an attack on the patrol, and the two owners were arrested. Rauter, the commissioner general for security, reacted by setting in motion the first roundups of Jews in Amsterdam on 22 and 23 February. The German Order Police arrested 425 young Jewish men, who were taken to Mauthausen in Upper Austria. This brutal course of action against the Jews swiftly induced a general strike (the 'February Strike'), which brought public life to a standstill in Amsterdam and several other cities on 25 and 26 February 1941 (Docs. 55–65). Notary Jan Christiaan Kruisinga described the mood of the Dutch population in his diary: 'law and order are increasingly difficult to maintain. Everywhere patience and the willingness to cooperate seem to be giving way to cold hatred' (Doc. 66). For broad segments of the population, the February Strike provided an outlet for feelings that had been suppressed since the beginning of the occupation. The exploitation of the Dutch economy to benefit Germany's war industry, the loss of national independence, and, not least, the repressive measures directed at Jewish fellow citizens had gnawed away at the self-confidence of the population. The strike gave many the feeling of being able to take direct action against the occupiers. The extent of the protests took the Dutch police and the occupiers by surprise. Not until the second day did Rauter take steps to put an end to the strike. He assumed command of the Amsterdam police and instructed them, together with the German Order Police, to crack down on the strikers and demonstrators. In addition, the German military commander, General Christiansen, imposed martial law in the province of North Holland, which was particularly affected by the strike. This gave the occupying force extensive opportunities to quash the strike, which ended on the evening of 26 February. Owing to a large police presence and the threat of further arrests, it was possible to restore a semblance of normality in the following days.⁸⁹

The strike had manifold repercussions. For one, the Reich Commissioner imposed punitive fines on various cities. The strike caused the German occupying powers to adopt a markedly tougher approach towards the Dutch population. By using force to end the

88 Benjamin Aäron Sijes, 'Enkele opmerkingen over de positie der Joden tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog in bezet Nederland', in *Studies over Jodenvervolgung* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), pp. 136–137; Hirschfeld, 'Niederlande', p. 143.

89 Guus Meershoek, 'Der Widerstand in Amsterdam während der deutschen Besatzung', in *Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 14: *Repression und Kriegsverbrechen: Die Bekämpfung von Widerstands- und Partisanenbewegungen gegen die deutsche Besatzung in West- und Südeuropa* (Berlin/Göttingen: Schwarze Risse, Rote Straße, 1997), pp. 13–125; Guus Meershoek, 'Onder nationaal-socialistisch bewind', in Doeko Bosscher and Piet de Rooy (eds.), *Tweestrijd om de hoofdstad 1900–2000* (Amsterdam: Sun, 2007), pp. 234–321; Friso Roest and Jos Scheren, *Oorlog in de stad: Amsterdam 1939–1941* (Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1998), pp. 247–283; Benjamin Aenja Sijes, *De februari-staking: 25–26 februari 1941* (Amsterdam: H. J. W. Becht, 1978); Annet Mooij, *De strijd om de Februaristaking* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2006).

strike, they made it clear that they would not tolerate further actions against the occupation. This lent new credence to the reports of refugees from Germany, which had previously often been thought to be exaggerated. As a non-Jewish journalist from Amsterdam commented in his diary: 'Now everyone knows that the accounts, which seemed incredible, are true in every respect.'⁹⁰ The principles of the German occupiers were made public in a lengthy programmatic speech by Seyss-Inquart to a specially convened meeting of members of the organizational unit of the German Nazi Party in the Netherlands on 12 March 1941. Seyss-Inquart declared that the strike had been part of a war of annihilation waged by the Jews against the German people, and that it had to be crushed with the most extreme means. Germany, he proclaimed, had come to the Netherlands with a mission to reunite the Dutch, whose path had, since the sixteenth century, diverged from the rest of the Germanic 'tribes', with the Germanic ethnic community. The attitude of the Dutch to the Jews and to the 'Jewish question' was a litmus test for this process:

We do not consider the Jews to be Dutch. They are an enemy with whom it is impossible to reach an armistice or peace. [...] We will smite the Jews wherever we find them, and anyone who goes with them will bear the consequences. The Führer has declared that the role of the Jews in Europe is finished, and consequently their role is finished. The only thing that can be discussed is the institution of a tolerable transition stage that maintains the fundamental attitude that the Jews are enemies, in other words, that takes the caution appropriate for enemies.⁹¹

The Germans considered this speech to be so important that it was immediately translated into Dutch and disseminated in pamphlet form.⁹²

In June 1941 the German authorities reacted to further acts of sabotage by ordering the immediate arrest of 300 Jews. Instead of conducting a roundup and thereby spreading disquiet in Amsterdam once again, the German Security Police now forced the Jewish Council to release a list with the names and addresses of more than 200 residents of the 'work village' (*werkdorp*) at Wieringermeer in the province of North Holland, where young Jews were prepared for emigration to Palestine and elsewhere. The persons included on this list were arrested and, as in the case of those picked up in the February raids, deported to Mauthausen concentration camp. When death notices from this camp began to reach the Netherlands with increasing frequency in the summer of 1941, 'Mauthausen' became synonymous with deportation to certain death. Just one of the approximately 1,700 Jews deported to Mauthausen from the Netherlands survived.⁹³

90 T. M. Sjneitzer-van Leening, *Dagboekfragmenten 1940–1945* (Utrecht: Veen, 1985), p. 71.

91 Reichsminister Seyss-Inquart, *Vier Jahre in den Niederlanden: Gesammelte Reden* (Amsterdam: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1944), pp. 37–66, here pp. 57–58. Cited in Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos during the Holocaust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 101.

92 *Rede van den Rijkscommissaris Rijksminister Dr. Seyss-Inquart gehouden op Woensdag 12 Maart 1941 in het Concertgebouw te Amsterdam voor het Arbeidsbereik der N.S.D.A.P. in de Nederlanden* (n.p., n.d.).

93 Moore, *Victims and Survivors*, pp. 81–82; Hirschfeld, 'Niederlande', p. 161; Hans de Vries, 'Sie starben wie Fliegen im Herbst', in Hans de Vries, Luise Jacobs, and Bertrand Perz (eds.), *Mauthausen 1938–1998* (Westervoort: Van Gruting, 2000), pp. 7–18; Presser, *Ashes in the Wind*, p. 489.

The registration of the Jews in January 1941 was followed by a sharp increase in the number of regulations and orders issued by the Germans. Organized repression took place on an ever-greater scale. As previously in Germany, the main objective was to isolate Dutch Jews from society, deprive them of their rights, and exploit them economically. From January 1941, Jews were forbidden to go to the cinema or to donate blood, the number of Jewish university students was sharply restricted, and the Aryanization of Jewish businesses began. In April 1941 the first signs with the words 'No Jews allowed' began to appear on public buildings, restaurants, and cafés. Jews were no longer permitted to have non-Jewish household helps, and they were forced to hand in their radios. Jewish doctors, pharmacists, and lawyers were no longer allowed to practise their professions (Docs. 73, 78).

In June 1941 Jews were barred from seaside resorts, spa towns, and public swimming pools. They were required to register their property and to transfer their assets to the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank, thereby bringing these assets under German control.⁹⁴ From summer 1941 Jews were also prohibited to visit parks and other public places, and a daily curfew from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. was imposed; they were allowed to shop only between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. Shops owned by Jews had to be marked as such. Jews were also barred from all general organizations and non-Jewish societies. In August 1941 all Jewish children were excluded from state schools and a separate Jewish school system was opened under the auspices of the Jewish Council. The prohibition imposed by the occupation authorities on 15 September 1941, which banned Jews from entering stock exchanges and markets and from engaging in trading there, deprived many of their livelihood.

Within the Jewish Council the German directives were usually passed on under protest but in hope of 'preventing worse things'.⁹⁵ When the council, initially established only for Amsterdam, expanded its operations to the entire country on 25 October 1941 by order of Seyss-Inquart, it became the only institutional link between the Jewish population in the Netherlands and the German occupiers. In accordance with the mandate of the occupiers, its authority extended to every sphere – from healthcare and the disbursement of the monthly living allowance authorized by the Germans, to the organization of cultural and social life, to the processing of emigration applications. The administrative staff of the Jewish Council under the leadership of Asscher and Cohen soon came to include thousands of employees and formed a kind of state within the state, albeit one that could operate only with the consent of the German authorities.⁹⁶

94 In Aug. 1941 the German authorities thereby established a counterpart to an existing Jewish-owned bank under the same name. This counterpart was responsible solely for the management of Jewish assets. The Jewish-owned bank was later liquidated and its assets likewise transferred to the establishment newly set up by the Germans. See Gerard Aalders, *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry during the Second World War* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), pp. 127–145; Happe, *Viele falsche Hoffnungen*, pp. 68–69; and Christoph Kreutzmüller, *Händler und Handlungsgehilfen: Der Finanzplatz Amsterdam und die deutschen Großbanken (1918–1945)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), pp. 149–151.

95 Nanda van der Zee, 'Um Schlimmeres zu verhindern ...': *Die Ermordung der niederländischen Juden. Kollaboration und Widerstand* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1999).

96 Moore, *Victims and Survivors*, p. 106.

In reaction to the increasingly stringent economic restrictions and their social isolation, many Jews sought a way to emigrate legally. Promoting or forcing emigration had been a Nazi policy since the 1930s, and this was officially still the case in 1941. The Jewish Council had set up a special department for emigration headed by Gertrude van Tijn-Cohn, a German-born Dutch Jew who had had close contact with a number of international Jewish organizations, including the JDC, since the 1930s. Van Tijn sought to facilitate emigration from the Netherlands through cooperation with the JDC, but few Jews succeeded in leaving the country.⁹⁷ Many lacked the financial resources for emigration or the foreign contacts to obtain the requisite sponsorship for the period following arrival in a new country (Doc. 75).

The emigration ban imposed on Jews in Europe in October 1941 closed the door on this opportunity once and for all (Doc. 286). Nonetheless, the Jews in the Netherlands, above all stateless and foreign Jews, continued to be urged by the German authorities, through the Jewish Council, to submit emigration applications to make it seem as if this was still an option. Wilhelm Halberstam, a German refugee, wrote the following to his daughter in Chile:

One should surely think less than ever about onward emigration now, but a great desire is often all-consuming and so now all I can think about is addressing a petition to the president of Chile, most humbly asking him to issue visas to me for my wife, for me, and for my son.⁹⁸

Illegal escape from the Netherlands (either across the Channel to England or through other occupied countries to Switzerland or to Spain and Portugal) entailed great risks. Many Jews therefore saw no realistic way of getting out. Most decided to try and survive the occupation period, with all the restrictions and problems experienced thus far, as best they could.

The Dutch government in exile in London learned about the anti-Jewish measures from intelligence reports and from refugees who had made their way to Britain. However, there is scant evidence of any official responses or action to protect the Jews in the Netherlands during the first years of the occupation. The prime objective of the government in exile and Queen Wilhelmina continued to be to stabilize the position of the Netherlands vis-à-vis the Allies.⁹⁹ One of the few government institutions in London to raise the topic of the anti-Jewish measures in the Netherlands was Radio Oranje. From July 1940 onwards, the broadcaster aired daily Dutch-language programmes over the airwaves of the BBC, which could be received secretly in the Netherlands. Anti-Jewish measures were addressed on many occasions, and reference was repeatedly made to the unity of the Dutch people, with one such broadcast stating: 'Fellow countrymen, if we are now

97 Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1939–1945* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), pp. 273–277; Bernard Wasserstein, *The Ambiguity of Virtue: Gertrude van Tijn and the Fate of the Dutch Jews* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

98 Irmtrud Wojak (ed.), 'Geliebte Kinder...' *Briefe aus dem Amsterdamer Exil in die Neue Welt 1939–1943* (Essen: Klartext, 1995), p. 187.

99 De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 3: *Mei 1940*, p. 463.

very worried about our Jewish fellow citizens, this is not because we doubt you, our people, even for a single second.’¹⁰⁰ However, the international community had little interest in the events in the Netherlands and in the persecution of the Jews in this small country. Reports in the international press were usually limited to announcing new measures and restrictions in the Netherlands. Only the riots in Amsterdam’s Jewish quarter in February in 1941 received greater attention (Doc. 55), as did the February Strike.

Persecution intensified during the first half of 1942. On 10 October 1941 Seyss-Inquart had ordered the founding of labour camps for Jews in the eastern provinces of Drenthe and Friesland. The Jews were recruited through the respective Dutch employment offices. The German official in charge of this forced labour (officially known as ‘labour deployment’, *Arbeitseinsatz*) was the rabidly antisemitic commissioner for social affairs, H. Rodegro. At the beginning of January 1942, the Jewish Council was ordered to provide 1,402 ‘unemployed’ people to be sent to Drenthe (Docs. 110, 111). After initially refusing, and under duress, the Jewish Council gave in; Amsterdam’s Municipal Social Service and the local police were also involved in coercing impoverished Jews into attending a medical examination to check fitness for work. The camps set up for forced labour were supervised by the Dutch National Agency for Work Creation (Rijksdienst voor de Werkverruiming). The first transport to the camps in Drenthe consisted of 905 Jews. Additional transports were to follow (Docs. 121, 134). After a few weeks the Germans increased the number of Jews required for labour to more than 5,000. In March 1942, when the quotas for the labour camps could no longer be met by conscripting the unemployed, the Central Office for Jewish Emigration ordered the Jewish Council to change its approach and start conscripting unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 40 for labour service (Doc. 121). A total of around 7,500 male Jews from 85 towns were sent to those labour camps; about 2,500 were released, but the majority were still incarcerated when the deportations to the death camps began. Although the Germans had assured the Jewish Council that conditions in the labour camps for Jews would meet normal Dutch standards, the situation in the camps deteriorated rapidly and the conditions were harsh (Doc. 129). Those who became incapacitated were no longer allowed to return home, food rations were reduced, and earnings were 25 per cent below the average rate otherwise paid in labour camps. An inspector described the camps as being ‘effectively concentration camps under the management of the National Agency for Work Creation’.¹⁰¹

While forced labour was not initially intended as a preparatory step for the rounding up of Jews as part of the ‘final solution’, it did in fact turn out to be so.¹⁰² Several hundred German-Jewish refugees were forced to relocate to Westerbork camp, which had been established for refugees in 1939 by the Dutch government (Doc. 113). On 10 October 1941 Seyss-Inquart ordered that the camp be turned into a ‘reception camp’. Dutch Jews living in a number of smaller towns and villages, mostly in the western parts of the country, were forced to move to Amsterdam. On 12 January 1942 the Jews from the town of Zaandam in the province of North Holland were the first group to be affected. On 14 January 1942

100 Broadcast by Radio Oranje on 17 Sept. 1941 titled ‘Anti-Jewish Measures’, text by M. Sluysers; NIOD, Radio Oranje.

101 Cited in de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 5/2, p. 1060.

102 Ibid., pp. 1053–1059; Presser, *Ashes in the Wind*, pp. 95–111; Michman et al., *Pinkas*, pp. 180–182.

they were told to prepare for relocation, which took place on 17 January. The German Jews were taken directly to Westerbork camp, while the Dutch Jews were forced to settle in Amsterdam. The Dutch police sealed their abandoned apartments and houses, and members of the Rosenberg Task Force subsequently emptied them of their contents. A process of concentrating the Jews had thus begun (Doc. 135).¹⁰³

Although the Nuremberg Laws were not officially promulgated in the Netherlands, on 23 March 1942 Seyss-Inquart decided that they would be applied in practice. On 27 March the Jewish Council proclaimed that Jews were forbidden to marry or have extramarital relationships with non-Jews.¹⁰⁴ Harster instructed all Security Police and Security Service offices to act according to these laws (Doc. 126).

At the beginning of March 1942 the coordination of the 'final solution' in Western Europe was discussed at a meeting of the officials from Eichmann's department in charge of Jewish affairs at the RSHA.¹⁰⁵ From April 1942 Eichmann, his staff in Berlin, and their counterparts in the Netherlands, Belgium, and France began to undertake co-ordinated 'cleansing' measures, including the visible identification of Jews. On 29 April 1942 the Jewish Council was ordered to distribute a yellow 'Jewish star' (*Judenstern*) to all Jews in the country within three days. It disseminated 569,355 stars, which had been produced at a Jewish textile factory in Enschede run by a German administrator.¹⁰⁶ Following the issue of the corresponding directive from the senior commander of the Security Police, David Cohen spoke of a 'terrible day in the history of the Jews in Holland!' (Doc. 130). Reactions to the visible identification varied widely among the Jewish population (Docs. 32, 140). The young Dutchwoman Edith van Hessen noted:

We all wear our stars. It always makes me laugh. What nonsense, this silly fuss with these stars. One hears the funniest things about it, and the jokes do the rounds even faster than the rumours. The people who wear the stars are greeted in the street. The men doff their hats, and one gets all kinds of encouraging comments.¹⁰⁷

By contrast, the Jewish writer Sam Goudsmit considered the star a 'hostile badge of shame', as he wrote in his diary.¹⁰⁸ Three weeks later, on 21 May 1942, it was announced that the Jews were required to hand in all their assets, including works of art, precious stones, and gold, with the exception of a sum of 25 guilders, to the Lippmann, Rosen-

103 Aalders, *Nazi Looting*, pp. 203–210. Presser, *Ashes in the Wind*, pp. 111–114; de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 5/2, pp. 1064–1068. The Rosenberg Task Force for the Occupied Territories (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, ERR) was an agency founded on Hitler's orders in July 1940 and led by Alfred Rosenberg: see BArch, B 323/257. Its purpose was to seize pieces of art and cultural assets, libraries and archives, and furniture and household goods owned by Jews and other 'enemies of the Reich', firstly in Western Europe. Its activities began in France in September 1940 and were subsequently extended to Belgium and the Netherlands and, after the invasion of the Soviet Union, to the occupied Eastern territories.

104 De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 5/2, p. 1071.

105 Yaacov Lozowick, *Hitler's Bureaucrats: The Nazi Security Police and the Banality of Evil* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 151–152.

106 De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, vol. 5/2, pp. 1081–1094.

107 Velmans-van Hessen, *Ich wollte immer glücklich sein*, p. 108.

108 Diary of Sam Goudsmit, entry for 3 May 1942, University Library of Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, HC-ROS-006.

thal & Co. bank in Sarphatistraat (Doc. 136). In view of the massive deportation plans, the expropriation process now reached its peak.

On 11 June 1942 the officials in charge of Jewish affairs in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands met with Eichmann in Berlin and a consensus was reached regarding the number to be deported from each country in the first wave of deportations. Just eleven days after the meeting, the target for the Netherlands increased from 15,000 to 40,000.¹⁰⁹

During the first two years of the occupation, an intensive anti-Jewish campaign had segregated Dutch Jews in legal, occupational, educational, and cultural terms and they were ultimately also marked out visibly. This was accompanied by a rapid process of impoverishment. While no ghetto was established and the Jews could still interact with the non-Jewish population in the streets, they had developed separate cultural and educational activities and managed to maintain religious life.¹¹⁰ Yet at the start of summer 1942 the mood of Dutch Jews had plummeted and pessimism prevailed. At this time, the Jewish Council was informed on 24 June 1942 that the first deportations were imminent and that the deportees would be taken to labour camps in Germany. Three weeks later, on 15 July 1942, the first train left Westerbork camp for Auschwitz, with 1,135 Dutch Jews on board.

Belgium

After the invasion of Belgium on 10 May 1940, between 10,000 and 15,000 of the Jewish refugees living in Belgium fled the advancing Wehrmacht and sought safety in France. The remaining non-Jewish and Jewish German males of military-service age were generally interned by the Belgian authorities, suspected of being enemy aliens. In view of the German advance, between 6,000 and 10,000 of them were transported to France by the Belgian authorities, with the consent of the French government. They were interned in the St Cyprien and Le Vernet camps, located in the south of France, which had not yet been occupied. Only very few Jews were able to return to Belgium after the capitulation on 28 May 1940 (Doc. 156).¹¹¹

In Belgium, King Leopold stayed in the country, which created a more complex situation than in the neighbouring occupied countries of Western and Northern Europe. In contrast to Norway and the Netherlands, on 31 May 1940 a military administration was set up to serve as the occupation authority. In July 1944 the military administration was replaced by a civil one, headed by the Reich commissioner for the occupied Belgian and northern French territories, Josef Grohé, which lasted until the liberation of Belgium in September 1944. The military administration was assigned to the Armed Forces High

109 Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 113.

110 Michman, *Emergence of Jewish Ghettos*, pp. 94–101.

111 Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer*, pp. 64–67; Marcel Bervoets-Tragholz, *La Liste de Saint-Cyprien: L'odyssée de plusieurs milliers de Juifs expulsés le 10 mai 1940 par les autorités belges vers des camps d'internement du Sud de la France, antichambre des camps d'extermination* (Brussels: Alice Éditions, 2006); Rudi van Doorslaer et al. (eds.), *La Belgique docile: Les autorités belges et la persécution des Juifs en Belgique pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Brussels: Ceges, 2007), pp. 223–226 (published in Dutch as *Gewillig België: Overheid en jodenvervolgning tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Brussels: Soma, 2007), pp. 207–209. Subsequent references to this source will cite *La Belgique docile* with the page numbers from *Gewillig België* also given in brackets.

Command and was under the control of General Alexander von Falkenhausen, military commander in Belgium and northern France. While Eupen, Malmedy, and Moresnet had already been annexed by the German Reich on 18 May 1940, for strategic and economic reasons the northern French départements of Nord and Pas-de-Calais were placed under the remit of the military commander in Belgium and northern France. The German occupation administration was divided into two branches. The command staff under Bodo von Harbou was responsible for military duties within the occupation administration. Eggert Reeder headed the administrative staff and also led the Belgian police authorities. As chief of the administrative staff Reeder subsequently had a key function in planning and implementing the persecution and deportation of the Belgian Jews. Between June 1940 and autumn 1941, Max Thomas was the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Belgium and occupied France, and in this capacity was also largely responsible for organizing anti-Jewish measures. He was succeeded by Karl Constantin Canaris and later Ernst Ehlers.¹¹²

Much as in the Netherlands, the secretaries general who remained in Belgium took over the helm of the ministries as the highest-ranking administrative officials. Seeking to continue to wield influence despite the German occupation regime and to represent Belgian interests as far as possible, these officials, with the support of the Belgian institutions, pursued a strategy of the 'lesser evil'. In other words, they approached the occupiers with a certain degree of pragmatism and willingness to cooperate.¹¹³

In Belgium, as in the other countries of Western and Northern Europe, the German occupation authorities abstained from measures against the Jewish population during the first few months after capitulation. In the summer of 1940, Military Commander von Falkenhausen was still assuring the leading socialist politician and intellectual Hendrik de Man that the occupation authorities were not planning to take any measures against the Jews.¹¹⁴ The military administration reported to the leadership in Berlin that steps against the Jews in Belgium were politically inopportune at the time.¹¹⁵ However, an ordinance issued on 23 May 1940 (amended on 2 July) regarding 'enemy assets' (*Feindvermögen*) in the occupied territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France meant that these territories could no longer determine what to do with assets belonging to nationals of countries at war with Germany. The ordinance was later used against Jews in Belgium, most of whom were foreigners.

112 Nanno In 't Veld, 'Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer und Volkstumspolitik: Ein Vergleich zwischen Belgien und den Niederlanden', in Wolfgang Benz, Johannes Houwink ten Cate, and Gerhard Otto (eds.), *Die Bürokratie der Okkupation: Strukturen der Herrschaft und Verwaltung im besetzten Europa* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 121–138; Frank Seberechts, 'Les instances allemandes et la politique antijuive', in van Doorslaer et al. (eds.), *La Belgique docile*, pp. 279–295 (*Gewillig België*, pp. 271–276); Insa Meinen, *Die Shoah in Belgien* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009), pp. 17–20.

113 Wolfram Weber, *Die innere Sicherheit im besetzten Belgien und Nordfrankreich 1940–1944: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Besatzungsverwaltungen* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1978); Peter Klefisch, *Das Dritte Reich und Belgien 1933–1939* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1987); Warmbrunn, *German Occupation of Belgium*.

114 Jan Velaers and Hermann Van Goethem, *Leopold III: De koning, het land, de oorlog* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2001), p. 350.

115 Warmbrunn, *German Occupation of Belgium*, p. 150.

In early October 1940 the secretaries general, as heads of the Belgian administration, were informed that anti-Jewish measures were imminent. On 28 October 1940 the military administration in Belgium issued the first two 'Jew Regulations' on the basis of those issued by the Military Commander in France (Docs. 158, 159).¹¹⁶ Referring to the Belgian constitution, the secretaries general had, however, turned down the request of the German occupation administration that the directives be issued by Belgian authorities (Doc. 157). The military administration therefore issued the directives itself, but ordered the Belgian authorities to implement them. In the 'Jew Regulations' the military administration defined who was to be considered a Jew. These regulations also made it compulsory for Jewish enterprises to be registered and issued occupational bans for Jews in all public service positions; this also affected all levels of the educational system, including universities.¹¹⁷ Similarly, the occupying forces ordered the registration of all Jews as well as the stamping of their identity cards with the words 'Juif – Jood'. No municipality resisted or protested against this instruction.¹¹⁸ In November 1940 all mayors were required to register the Jews in their municipalities. By the end of the occupation period, approximately 56,000 persons had been recorded in the registry of Jews in Belgium. However, the actual number of Jews in Belgium was probably greater, as not all Jews complied with the requirement to register, and children up to the age of 15 did not have to. Of those who did register, only 7 per cent (3,680) were Belgian citizens; 93 per cent were foreigners or stateless, as most Jews who entered the country after 1914 had been denied Belgian citizenship.¹¹⁹ The administration of the city of Antwerp, in particular, made haste to identify and record the Jews. Around 70 per cent of the immigrants living there were registered as Jews.

Between December 1940 and February 1941 the military administration expelled 3,273 Jews from Antwerp, citing military security as the reason. Accompanied by the Antwerp police, the Jews were taken to various municipalities in the neighbouring province of Limburg, where they were required to report to the police on a regular basis (Doc. 163). Because the expellees were only allowed to take luggage weighing up to 25 kilograms with them, they were reliant on aid at their point of arrival. Aid, including housing, food, and medical care, was provided by the population of Limburg and the Christian churches. On 29 August 1941 the military administration decreed that the only authorized places of residence for Jews were to be the cities of Antwerp, Brussels, Charleroi, and Liège. Immediately thereafter, most of the Jews affected by the expulsion order were able to return to Antwerp.¹²⁰ However, several dozen were sent to a labour camp

116 Maxime Steinberg, *L'Étoile et le fusil*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Vie Ouvrière, 1983–1986); Maxime Steinberg, 'The Judenpolitik in Belgium within the West European Context: Comparative Observations', in Michman (ed.), *Belgium and the Holocaust*, pp. 199–221.

117 Barbara Dikschen, *L'École en sursis: La scolarisation des enfants juifs pendant la guerre* (Brussels: Didier Devillez Éditeur, 2006), pp. 57–95.

118 Frank Seberechts, 'Les Autorités belges, et la persécution des Juifs, 1940–1942', in van Doorslaer et al. (eds.), *La Belgique docile*, pp. 250–369 (*Gewillig België*, pp. 253–373).

119 Mark van den Wijngaert, *Het beleid van het comité van de secretarissen-generaal in België tijdens de Duitse bezetting 1940–1944* (Brussels: Paleis der Academien, 1975), pp. 64–65; Maxime Steinberg, *La Persécution des Juifs de Belgique (1940–1945)* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2004), pp. 131–132.

120 Lieven Saerens, *Vreemdelingen in een wereldstad: Een geschiedenis van Antwerpen en zijn joodse bevolking (1880–1944)* (Tiel: Lannoo, 2000), pp. 370–374; Steinberg, *La Persécution des Juifs*, pp. 133–141.

in Overpelt, where they were incarcerated for several months. An interesting aspect of the Limburg expulsions is that in this province the Jews made personal contacts with locals, which were drawn upon during the deportation period when they were looking for hiding places.

The anti-Jewish regulations set in motion the elimination of Jews from Belgian economic life. However, most Belgian Jews were not at all wealthy. Contrary to the belief of the Belgian Right, Jews also had no appreciable influence on the country's economy beyond the traditionally large number of Jews employed in the diamond industry in the Antwerp area. Jews now had to register their businesses with the authorities, and occupational bans were also imposed. Within the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs, the section for enemy nationals and Jewish assets, headed by Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Theodor Pichler, was responsible for the registration of assets. The section worked closely with the newly established Brussels Trust Company and with the Foreign Exchange Protection Commando (Devisenschutzkommando), which was under the authority of both the Reich tax authorities and the military administration.¹²¹ Approximately 8,000 Jewish-owned companies were registered in accordance with the first 'Jew Regulation', which concerned the Aryanization of Jewish businesses (Doc. 158).

By the end of 1942 the Aryanization of the Belgian economy was largely complete and the majority of the Jewish-owned companies had been liquidated. The proceeds went into blocked accounts at the Société française de banque et de dépôts which, under the control of the Brussels Trust Company, was responsible for the centralized administration of all Jewish assets in Belgium. While Jewish business persons found it hard to elude the grasp of the German authorities, the registration and expropriation of goods such as gold, jewellery, securities, and financial assets was less exhaustive. With the help of Belgian banks that refused to pass on information about their Jewish clients, many Jews managed to keep money and valuables out of the clutches of the German authorities.¹²²

Of particular interest to the German leadership was the Belgian diamond industry, more than 90 per cent of which was in the hands of Jewish merchants. Around 80 per cent of the world's trade in cut diamonds was based in Antwerp. The military administration's Department for Economic Affairs decided not to exercise direct control over the diamond industry for the time being, but rather to regulate the trade in diamonds through the usual distribution channels and to siphon off the profits for the German

121 Aalders, *Nazi Looting*, pp. 37–39. On Belgium, see Insa Meinen, 'Die Deportation der Juden aus Belgien und das Devisenschutzkommando', in Johannes Hürter and Jürgen Zarusky (eds.), *Besatzung, Kollaboration, Holocaust: Neue Studien zur Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. 45–79; Insa Meinen, 'Facing Deportation: How Jews Were Arrested in Belgium', *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2008), pp. 39–73.

122 Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 634; Rudi van Doorslaer, 'The Expropriation of Jewish Property and Restitution in Belgium', in Martin Dean, Constantin Goschler, and Philipp Ther (eds.), *Robbery and Restitution: The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 155–170; Jean-Marc Dreyfus, 'The Looting of Jewish Property in Occupied Western Europe: A Comparative Study of Belgium, France, and the Netherlands', *ibid.*, pp. 53–67; Martin Dean, *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Reich (Doc. 178). On 30 January 1941 the Department for Economic Affairs established the Diamond Control Office (Diamantenkontrollstelle) for this purpose.¹²³

Failure to comply with anti-Jewish legislation was punished in hundreds of cases with imprisonment in the so-called reception camp at Breendonk, a military fortification dating from the nineteenth century situated between Brussels and Antwerp. The prisoners lived in primitive conditions, were made to undertake heavy physical labour, and, in many cases, were subjected to mistreatment (Doc. 175). From 1940 to 1942 Jews made up the majority of the inmates, along with political prisoners, primarily communists.¹²⁴

Beginning in the summer of 1941, the anti-Jewish measures implemented by the Germans in Belgium were tightened considerably. According to Reeder, the chief of the military administration, the objective was 'the moral ghettoization of the Jew economy in Belgium, in particular its elimination from social life' (Doc. 176). As already mentioned, the directive of 29 August 1941 prohibited Jews from living anywhere other than Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, and Charleroi. They were allowed to spend the night only in their own homes and had to obtain official approval for every change of residence. A short time later a nightly curfew for Jews was introduced in some cities. These moves heralded a shift in German policy pertaining to the Jews. In October the Reich Security Main Office prohibited the emigration of the Jews to third countries (Doc. 286). Military Commander von Falkenhausen followed suit a few months later.¹²⁵ The objective now was to consolidate the Jews in certain places in order to deport them at a later date.

Another important step was the creation of a mandatory organization for all Jews. As early as November 1940, Ernst Ehlers, representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, had asked the chief rabbi of Belgium, Salomon Ullmann, to establish an organization to represent all Jews. Ullmann had rejected the request on the grounds that religious representatives of the Jews were prohibited from being active in politics by Belgian legislation that remained in effect. In April 1941, however, he declared himself willing to chair a coordination committee in which every Jewish community in Belgium was represented. Ehlers, along with Kurt Asche, the Security Police official in charge of Jewish affairs, planned an organization that, modelled on the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, was to represent the Belgian Jews and Jewish organizations in their entirety. The regulation establishing the Association of Jews in Belgium (Association des Juifs en Belgique/Vereeniging van Joden in België, AJB/VJB) was issued on 25 November 1941; the association was to have its headquarters in Brussels (Doc. 176). The German authorities appointed Salomon Ullmann as chairman. He was assisted by a management board with seven members, who represented the Jewish communities of Antwerp, Brussels, Liège, and Charleroi. Membership was compulsory for Jews, and all Jewish associations

123 Eric Laureys, *Meesters van het diamant: De Belgische diamantsector tijdens het nazibewind* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2005).

124 Markus Meckl, 'Unter zweifacher Hoheit: Das Auffanglager Breendonk zwischen Militärverwaltung und SD', in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (eds.), *Terror im Westen: Nationalsozialistische Lager in den Niederlanden, Belgien und Luxemburg 1940–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2004), pp. 25–38; Patrick Nefors, *Breendonk, 1940–1945: De geschiedenis* (Antwerp: Standaard, 2004); French edn.: Brussels: Racine, *Breendonk, 1940–1945*, trans. Walter Hilgers (Racine: Brussels, 2005); James M. Deem, *The Prisoners of Breendonk: Personal Histories from a World War II Concentration Camp* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015).

125 Regulation on the Emigration of Jews, 17 Jan. 1942, *VOBl-BNF*, 67, no. 2, 2 Feb. 1942, pp. 836–837.

and societies were merged into the association. Formally the AJB/VJB was answerable to the Belgian Ministry of the Interior and Public Health, but the German Security Police was de facto in charge.¹²⁶ The designated objective of the AJB/VJB was to promote emigration. Its tasks also included implementing the anti-Jewish measures ordered by the German authorities and dealing with healthcare provision and social welfare for the Jewish community. From December 1941 the AJB/VJB was also responsible for setting up Jewish schools. The establishment of the AJB/VJB triggered the first resistance from Belgium's Jewish population, in the form of a clandestine Yiddish-language press. The first issue of one of its publications, *Unzer Vort*, called for non-compliance with German orders in general, and with the compulsory association in particular.¹²⁷

A new escalation of anti-Jewish measures occurred in March 1942. On 6 March the German military administration imposed a decree enabling general labour conscription in Belgium to carry out work of 'special importance'. Five days later, on 11 March, a special ordinance for compulsory labour deployment of Jews, who were particularly hard hit by unemployment due to their exclusion from economic and professional life, was enacted. Further details concerning the forced labour of Jews were contained in a subsequent ordinance of 8 May 1942, which was then implemented. All Jewish men between the ages of 18 and 60 and all Jewish women between 20 and 55 were forced to accept any work assigned to them by the employment office.¹²⁸ The conditions of Jewish forced labour as specified in these ordinances were significantly worse than those of non-Jews. The Belgian employment offices received an order from the military administration, requiring them to make preparations for the deployment of Jews in the labour camps of the Wehrmacht's construction force, Organization Todt, in northern France and to coordinate the process.¹²⁹ As a result, the employment offices sent 2,252 Jews, whose personal details they had gathered from the registry of Jews, to ten labour camps between Calais and Abbeville (Docs. 196, 197). The labour force in these camps constructed the Atlantic Wall to prevent an invasion by the Allies. In October 1942 the Jews in these camps were sent directly to the transit camp at Mechelen (French: Malines) and from there to the death camps in the East. Another forced labour camp for Jews was established in Charleville-Mézières in the Ardennes. Several hundred Jews were put to work in factories, such as the well-known weapons factory Fabrique nationale d'armes de Herstal, a mine, and other enterprises in the Liège area.¹³⁰

126 Dan Michman, 'La fondation de l'AJB dans une perspective internationale', in Rudi van Doorslaer and Jean-Philippe Schreiber (eds.), *Les Curateurs du ghetto: L'Association des Juifs en Belgique sous l'Occupation nazie* (Brussels: Labor, 2004), pp. 27–56 [published in Dutch as *De curatoren van het ghetto: De vereniging van de joden in België tijdens de nazi-bezetting* (Tiel: Labor, 2004), pp. 33–45]. Subsequent references to this source cite *Les Curateurs du ghetto* with the page numbers from *De curatoren van het ghetto* also given in brackets.

127 Steinberg, *L'Étoile et le fusil*, vol. 2: 1942: *Les cent jours de la déportation des Juifs de Belgique* (1984), pp. 111–112.

128 Sylvain Brachfeld, *A Gift of Life: The Deportation and Rescue of the Jews in Occupied Belgium (1940–1944)* (Beth Shemesch: Institute for the Research on Belgian Judaism, 2007), pp. 27–29.

129 Frank Seberechts, 'Le travail obligatoire', in van Doorslaer et al. (eds.), *La Belgique docile*, pp. 413–450 (*Gewillig België*, pp. 434–460).

130 Sophie Vandepontseele, 'Le travail obligatoire des Juifs en Belgique et dans le nord de la France', in van Doorslaer and Schreiber (eds.), *Les Curateurs du ghetto*, pp. 189–231 (*De curatoren van het*

During this time, the German authorities also enforced the visible identification of Jews in Belgium. According to an ordinance of 27 May 1942, which was published in the *Verordnungsblatt* on 1 June, all Jews in Belgium over the age of six had to wear a yellow star with a black 'J' in its centre. The Belgian municipalities were initially responsible for issuing the badges. However, the mayors in the Brussels region refused to stigmatize their fellow citizens, with the result that the German authorities forced this task upon the AJB/VJB (Doc. 193). Salomon van den Berg, a board member of the association, noted:

Seeing Jews in Brussels running around with the Star of David sewn onto their clothes, yellow fabric with the letter J in the middle, was the saddest of sights. But the Belgians behaved magnificently, they pretended to see nothing and they showed a good deal of consideration for those who were obliged to wear the badge. (Doc. 196)

The underground newspaper *La Libre Belgique* reacted to the introduction of the yellow star by issuing an appeal: 'Citizens! Out of hatred for the Nazis – and out of self-respect: do what you have not done thus far: greet the Jews!'¹³¹ In Antwerp and Charleroi the local municipalities handed out the star, and in Liège the distribution was carried out by the Feldkommandantur. However, a considerable number of Jews refused to wear it, which caused repeated warnings by both the German authorities and the AJB/VJB (Docs. 192, 193, 194).¹³²

In the first weeks after the occupation of Belgium there had been some acts of resistance against the occupiers, but this soon ceased. In light of the German successes in Europe, many tended towards a form of accommodation, as exemplified by King Leopold remaining in the country and by Hendrik de Man, who became involved in collaboration. The Belgian population's reaction to the anti-Jewish measures during the first two years was divided. Nationalist parties and movements, which had espoused anti-semitic views even before the occupation, welcomed them. Many Belgians, however, disapproved of the German directives. There were significant regional differences in this respect, especially between the cities of Brussels and Antwerp, which had large concentrations of Jews. In Antwerp a predominantly pro-German attitude on the part of the authorities and the police, as well as a relatively large part of the population, fostered a

getto, pp. 149–181); Seberechts, 'Les instances allemandes et la politique antijuive'; Seberechts, 'Le travail obligatoire'; Meinen, *Die Shoah in Belgien*, pp. 31–33; Jean-Émile Andreux, 'Mémorial de déportés du Judenlager des Mazures', *Tsafon: Revue d'études juives du Nord*, no. 3, special issue (October 2007), pp. 9–21; Thierry Rozenblum, *Une cité si ardente: Les Juifs de Liège sous l'Occupation (1940–1944)* (Brussels: Luc Pire, 2010), pp. 92–97; Meinen and Meyer, *Verfolgt von Land zu Land*, pp. 123–124.

¹³¹ Cited in Bernard A. Cook, *Belgium: A History* (New York: Lang, 2002), p. 128.

¹³² Laurence Schram, 'La distribution de l'étoile,' in van Doorslaer and Schreiber (eds.), *Les Curateurs du ghetto*, pp. 263–276 (*De curatoren van het ghetto*, pp. 204–214); Rozenblum, *Une cité si ardente*, pp. 81–85; Lieven Saerens, *Onwillig Brussel: Een verhaal over Jodenvervolging en verzet* (Leuven: Standaard, 2014), pp. 114–116.

climate hostile to the Jews. In April 1941 this motivated a group of Anti-Jewish League¹³³ sympathizers to commit violent assaults against Jews. With the aim of inciting a pogrom against the city's Jews, supporters of extremist groups, including the Volksverweering, the SS Vlaanderen, the Zwarte Brigade, and De Vlag, destroyed two hundred shops belonging to Jews, and two synagogues were set on fire.¹³⁴ In Brussels, by contrast, the majority of the population and of the municipal administration were either neutral towards the Jews or supportive of them, and moderately critical of the German occupation in general and the anti-Jewish measures in particular. The first president and the chief public prosecutor at the Court of Cassation and the president of the Bar Association at Brussels Court of Appeal protested against the occupational ban imposed on Jewish lawyers. In a letter to Military Commander von Falkenhausen, they argued that the measures conflicted with Belgian constitutional law and Belgian legislation. It did not seem, they wrote, 'as if the presence of Jews in the administration of justice would be likely to disrupt public order and public life' (Doc. 161). Other institutions protested too, including the Free University of Brussels and the National Relief Agency for War Veterans.

During the first two years of the occupation there were some major instances of opposition to and protest against anti-Jewish policies, but most of the population was not overly interested in the fate of the Jews and did not participate in the protests. The religious Catholics were largely indifferent, the liberals were individualistic and organizationally inept, and while the socialists expressed a certain interest, their ideology caused them to misunderstand the particular fate of the Jews.¹³⁵ The situation of the Jews in Belgium deteriorated significantly during those years. The introduction of forced labour and the yellow star triggered a change in the attitude of the Jews, and their suspicion regarding the fate awaiting them grew, especially within political organizations comprising foreign Jews.

In accordance with the plans made by the German authorities for the deportation of the Western European Jews, 10,000 foreign Jews were initially to be deported from Belgium (Doc. 145). At the end of July 1942 an order was issued to approximately 12,000 Jews requiring them to report to the Dossin Barracks at Mechelen, in the province of Antwerp, for labour deployment 'in the East'. An SS transit camp had been set up here in July for persons designated for deportation. When many Jews refused to comply with the summons, the German authorities threatened to impose severe penalties on each person summoned, as well as his or her family members and the Jewish community. Roundups of Jews were carried out in July and August. Those arrested were taken to

133 Ligue Anti-Juive Belge: a militant group founded prior to the Second World War. Its membership was small, numbering around 1,000 in 1940. The group was later incorporated into the Flemish SS.

134 Steinberg, *La Persécution des Juifs*, pp. 122–129.

135 Jose Gotovich, 'Resistance Movements and the "Jewish Question"', in Michman (ed.), *Belgium and the Holocaust*, pp. 273–285; Mark van den Wijngaert, 'The Belgian Catholics and the Jews during the German Occupation', *ibid.*, pp. 225–228; Dan Michman, 'Problematic National Identity, Outsiders and Persecution: Impact of the Gentile Population's Attitude in Belgium on the Fate of the Jews in 1940–1944', in David Bankier and Israel Gutman (eds.), *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), pp. 460–464.

Mechelen. On 4 August 1942 the first transport from Belgium left this camp with 998 Jews, destined for Auschwitz.¹³⁶

Luxembourg

The neutral Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was almost completely occupied by the Wehrmacht on 10 May 1940. Because the leadership of Luxembourg had sided with the Allies at the beginning of the war, the Reich now considered Luxembourg a hostile country.¹³⁷ After the flight of Grand Duchess Charlotte and her government, the day-to-day running of the country was initially assigned to an administrative commission made up of Luxembourg civil servants under the supervision of the German military administration. On 2 August 1940 Hitler appointed Gustav Simon, Gauleiter of the neighbouring Gau of Koblenz-Trier, to serve as chief of the German civil administration. There was a de facto annexation of Luxembourg. The administration was restructured along German lines, and Simon filled all the top positions with German civil servants.

The chief of the civil administration also defined the objectives of the policy concerning Jews: Luxembourg's Jews were to be expelled as soon as possible. Measures for their economic exploitation were drawn up by the relevant department within the Office of the Chief of the Civil Administration. Measures against the Jews were also initiated and carried out by the section for Jewish affairs (Department II B 3, later IV B 4) of the Luxembourg Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD, an entity that was subordinate to the Higher SS and Police Leader for the Rhine and established in Luxembourg City in August 1940; Paul Schmidt and Otto Schmalz were the officials in charge of Jewish affairs. The Einsatzkommando was led by the head of the Gestapo in Luxembourg, Wilhelm Nölle, who was succeeded in March 1941 by Fritz Hartmann. Most of the expulsions and deportations were carried out during Hartmann's term in office (until 1943).¹³⁸

The German invasion and the rapid occupation of this tiny country had driven approximately 1,500 Jews, in addition to approximately 40,000 Luxembourgers, to flee from the southern part of the country, mostly to France. The German military authorities initially assured the remaining representative of the Luxembourg government and the chief rabbi of Luxembourg, Dr Robert Serebrenik, that no measures of any kind against Jews were planned.¹³⁹ However, pressure on the Jews began to mount following

136 Nico Wouters, 'La chasse aux Juifs, 1942–1944', in van Doorslaer et al. (eds.), *La Belgique docile*, pp. 547–662 (*Gewillig België*, pp. 434–460).

137 Emile Krier, 'Deutsche Besatzung in Luxemburg 1940–1944', in Wolfgang Benz, Johannes Houwink ten Cate, and Gerhard Otto (eds.), *Die Bürokratie der Okkupation: Strukturen der Herrschaft und Verwaltung im besetzten Europa* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), p. 30.

138 Paul Dostert, *Luxembourg zwischen Selbstbehauptung und nationaler Selbstaufgabe: Die deutsche Besatzungspolitik und die Volksdeutsche Bewegung 1940–1945* (Luxembourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1985), pp. 205–209; Änder Hohengarten, *Die nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik in Luxemburg* (Luxembourg: Saint-Paul Luxembourg, 2004), pp. 13–27; Schoentgen, 'Luxembourg', pp. 296–298.

139 Memorandum by Robert Serebrenik, 'Les Juifs sous l'occupation allemande, 10 mai 1940–26 mai 1941', New York, 3 Nov. 1961, published in Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, pp. 248–254, here p. 249. See also Albert Wehrer, 'La Seconde Guerre mondiale: La mission et l'activité politiques de la Commission administrative: Aide-mémoire sur les événements politiques de mai à octobre 1940' (typescript, 1945), p. 7.

the establishment of the civil administration several weeks after the start of the occupation. Although Hitler had first decided to introduce German law only sparingly in Luxembourg, in August 1940 Gustav Simon was already seeking to draft two regulations that largely transposed the anti-Jewish legislation from the Reich to Luxembourg (Docs. 199, 200). These regulations were the first in the German-occupied regions of Western and Northern Europe to provide for such drastic measures as the introduction of the German racial laws and the official dispossession of the Jews.¹⁴⁰ Parallel to these first anti-Jewish measures, the Einsatzkommando in Luxembourg began to systematically record the Jews in a 'Jew registry' (*Judenkartei*), which later provided the basis for the compilation of deportation lists.¹⁴¹

On 12 September 1940 the Gestapo ordered the approximately 2,000 Jews remaining in Luxembourg to leave the country within two weeks (Doc. 202). Although the Consistory, as the representative of the Jews, successfully opposed this directive, the civil administration and the German police continued to push ahead with the deportation of Jews. Some Jews succeeded in leaving the country on their own initiative. From October 1940 some fifteen transports deported Jews, usually accompanied by Gestapo officials, from Luxembourg to Belgium or, alternatively, through France and Spain to Portugal. From there, some were able to continue their journey to an overseas destination. However, transports were repeatedly stopped at the borders of the transit countries because valid entry permits or visas for one of the few third countries willing to admit the Jews were lacking. The Jews in question were sent from one border to the next until finally being interned in camps in the south of France (Doc. 204). One well-documented such case was a convoy of Luxembourg Jews that arrived at the Portuguese border at Vilar Formoso on 11 November 1940. From 1942 some of them were deported, along with the other inmates, to the extermination camps; others joined resistance movements or managed to flee to the free world.¹⁴²

The situation for the Jews remaining in Luxembourg worsened appreciably. From September 1940 Jewish children were no longer allowed to attend school, and the Consistory was only permitted to set up one Jewish school. Moreover, the Regulation on Jewish Assets in Luxembourg, issued on 5 September 1940, marked the beginning of the elimination of Jews from economic and professional life. Shops and firms belonging to Jews were placed under temporary administration or were liquidated. Assets had to be registered and Jewish accounts were blocked. Only a small amount of money was released for living expenses (Doc. 227). Although Simon was completely in favour of having Luxembourgers profit from Aryanization, their interest in doing so was slight.¹⁴³

140 Regulation on Measures Related to Legislation Pertaining to Jews (5 September 1940), *VOBl-L*, no. 2, 24 Sept. 1940, p. 10, and Regulation on Jewish Assets in Luxembourg (5 September 1940), *ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

141 Hohengarten, *Die nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik*, pp. 29, 34.

142 Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, pp. 53–69; Hoffmann, 'Luxembourg', pp. 196–203; Laurent Moyse, *Du rejet à l'intégration: Histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours* (Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011), pp. 212–216; Schoentgen, 'Luxembourg', p. 299; Margarida de Magalhães Ramalho, *Vilar Formoso – Frontier of Peace/Vilar Formoso – Fronteira de Paz* (Almeida: Almeida Council, 2014), pp. 97–119.

143 Hans-Erich Volkmann, *Luxemburg im Zeichen des Hakenkreuzes: Eine politische Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1933 bis 1944* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010), pp. 228–231.

The confiscation of the Jews' property followed as a result of additional regulations issued on 7 February and 18 April 1941. Department IV A of the civil administration, which was responsible for administering the assets of Jews and emigrants, kept tabs on this property. In November 1941 and January 1942 Jews were required to surrender almost all their personal and household effects, including furniture, pieces of art, household items, pets, and clothing, so that they were left with only basic essentials. The civil administration had the power to have Jews evicted from apartments and houses at will. Jews were also barred from additional occupations, and a directive issued on 5 May 1941 ordered the dismissal of Jews employed by Luxembourg businesses (Doc. 266).¹⁴⁴

Only around 950 Jews still remained in Luxembourg by the spring of 1941, many of them elderly and ill. Here too anti-Jewish measures escalated constantly. Indeed, the assets of Jews in Luxembourg were seized before those of Jews on Reich territory. In February 1941 the chief of the civil administration ordered the seizure of the assets of Jews who had emigrated or fled. He extended the order on 18 April to include the assets of all Jews still remaining in the country, and finally, on 6 July 1941, to include those of deceased Jews. In May 1941 the civil administration ordered the demolition of the synagogues in Luxembourg City and in Esch-sur-Alzette.¹⁴⁵ On 29 July 1941 it banned Jews from public facilities and restaurants and imposed a curfew, requiring Jews to remain indoors after 7 p.m. (Doc. 212). From August 1941 Jews were required to wear a yellow armband 10 centimetres wide, following the example set by the introduction of compulsory identifying badges for Jews in the General Government. This step was initiated by the Luxembourg Einsatzkommando and preceded the introduction of the yellow star in the Reich in September 1941 and in the other countries of Western Europe. On 14 October 1941 the armband was replaced by the yellow star as an identifying badge for Jews in Luxembourg. In contrast, the yellow star was introduced in the Netherlands only on 29 April 1942, in Belgium on 27 May 1942, and in France two days after that.

Along with marginalizing the Jews, the civil administration and Einsatzkommando hastened their removal from Luxembourg. Eichmann had expressly summoned the chief rabbi of Luxembourg, Robert Serebrenik, and the president of the Consistory, Louis Sternberg, to the RSHA in Berlin on 24 April 1941 to work out ways to accelerate the emigration of the Jews remaining in Luxembourg (Doc. 207). Serebrenik later recalled that Eichmann had left no doubt about the fact that emigration from the Reich and the occupied territories would soon cease to be a possibility: 'Luxembourg must be made "Jew-free", and if I was not able to achieve this goal by arranging for emigration to the West, he would see to it that the Jews would be taken to the East (where they would be forced to work).'¹⁴⁶

144 Commission spéciale, *La Spoliation des biens juifs*, pp. 16–35; Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, p. 52; Volkmann, *Luxemburg im Zeichen des Hakenkreuzes*, pp. 221–243.

145 Hohengarten, *Die nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik*, p. 39; Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, p. 75.

146 Memorandum by Serebrenik, 'Les Juifs sous l'occupation allemande', pp. 251–252. In August 1940 Serebrenik, together with members of the Consistory, had already begun arranging the emigration of many Jews from Luxembourg.

When Hitler decided in September 1941 that 'the Old Reich and the Protectorate [are to be] emptied and liberated of Jews from west to east as soon as possible',¹⁴⁷ this applied also to Luxembourg, which was regarded as part of the territory of the Reich. On 5 October 1941 the Consistory had to inform the Luxembourg Jews of the impending deportations to the East (Doc. 214). In the faint hope of being able to avoid the deportations, on 13 October 1941 the Consistory proposed that all Jews still present in the country be brought together in one place (Doc. 217). That suggestion proved highly opportune for the German authorities. As early as the summer of 1941, a Jewish home for the elderly had been set up in the former abbey at Cinqfontaines (Fünfbrunnen), near Troisvierges (Ulflingen), in northern Luxembourg.¹⁴⁸ It now became a compulsory place of residence for most of the remaining Jews and simultaneously an assembly and transit camp for transports to the East.

On 15 October 1941 the last of a total of thirteen transports of Jewish emigrants departed the country westwards, taking 120 Jews to Portugal. Up until then an estimated 1,450 Jews had succeeded in escaping to the free world.¹⁴⁹ However, the following day, a first deportation eastwards would take place; nowhere was the shift in Germany's anti-Jewish policy from forced emigration to deportation towards the East more manifest. This first train carried 331 Jews to the Lodz ghetto. It was combined with a transport of 181 Jews from Trier. The SD was displeased that the transport's departure had not escaped the notice of the Luxembourg public. Recently, it reported, 'a large number of Catholic priests, amid warm handshakes and tears, told the 350 Jews being deported to the Lodz ghetto that they hoped to see them again soon'.¹⁵⁰ Even the *New York Times*, which ordinarily did not address the topic of Luxembourg, mentioned the deportations of Jews from Luxembourg in its edition of 22 October 1941, citing the *Kölnische Zeitung*.¹⁵¹

Many of the Jews who were taken to the Lodz ghetto were subsequently deported, along with the other residents of the ghetto, to Chelmno extermination camp. Only eleven Jews from this first Luxembourg transport survived.¹⁵² Owing to the small number of Jews from Luxembourg, subsequent transports from that country were combined with transports from the Reich. The second transport left Luxembourg on 23 April 1942 (Docs. 223 and 224). It was coupled to a transport from Stuttgart and routed to Izbica in the district of Lublin. From there, the deportees were presumably sent to the Belzec or the Sobibor extermination camp. Not one of the Jews deported to the East on this transport from Luxembourg survived.¹⁵³

147 Letter from Heinrich Himmler to the Gauleiter in the Wartheland, Arthur Greiser, dated 18 Sept. 1941, announcing transports of Jews from the Reich to Litzmannstadt/Lodz, BArch NS 19/2655, fol. 3, cited in Longerich, *Holocaust*, p. 267.

148 Marc Schoentgen, 'Das "Jüdische Altersheim" in Fünfbrunnen', in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (eds.), *Terror im Westen: Nationalsozialistische Lager in den Niederlanden, Belgien und Luxemburg 1940–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 2004), pp. 49–70.

149 Schoentgen, 'Luxembourg', p. 301.

150 Meldungen aus dem Reich, no. 238, 17 Nov. 1941, published in Heinz Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, vol. 8 (Herrsching: Pawlak, 1984), p. 3001.

151 'Anti-Jewish Drive Renewed in Reich', *New York Times*, 22 Oct. 1941, p. 11.

152 Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, p. 101.

153 Ibid., pp. 121–125.

A further aspect of anti-Jewish policy in Luxembourg was an organizational one: the establishment of a Jewish Council. As Luxembourg's Jewish community had diminished, Gustav Simon apparently did not see the need to change the structure and status of the Consistory. However, in October 1941, when the direction of deportations changed from the west to the east, the Gestapo intervened: Alfred Oppenheimer was forcibly appointed head of the Consistory, and several months later, on 15 April 1942, his title was changed to Jewish elder (*Judenältester*), similar to Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski's title in the Lodz ghetto.¹⁵⁴

The reactions of the Luxembourg population to the anti-Jewish measures varied. The Ethnic German Movement (Volksdeutsche Bewegung, VdB) disputed the existence of a separate Luxembourg nation and favoured the incorporation of the country into the German Reich. On 7 September 1940 VdB members pasted notices reading 'Jewish shop' onto display windows, but the public denunciation failed to achieve its purpose. Instead, many Luxembourgers voiced their disapproval or purchased more frequently from Jewish-owned shops.¹⁵⁵ Luxembourgers were generally reluctant to participate in the Aryanization process.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, antisemites did raid the homes of Jews, loot shops, and cause damage to synagogues, and denunciations did occur.¹⁵⁷ The Luxembourgier Alfred Oppenheimer later recalled:

In every case, a simple, even anonymous letter from some malicious neighbour was all the Gestapo needed to proceed to arrest and immediately transport those concerned to a prison camp. Not one of these unfortunates ever returned.¹⁵⁸

France

Nazi Germany established different occupation regimes in the countries of Western and Northern Europe. The situation in France was the most complex. After the armistice agreements between Germany and France signed on 22 June 1940, only the northern part of France and the strategically important Atlantic coast were under German military administration. While the northern French départements of Nord and Pas-de-Calais fell under the jurisdiction of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Alsace and Lorraine were placed under German civil administration. Because the Gauleiter of Baden and the Gauleiter of Saar-Palatinate exercised control over these regions with a joint staff, both regions – like Luxembourg – were in effect annexed and incorporated into the territory of the Reich. After the establishment of the German civil administration, several thousand Jews were expelled from Alsace in July 1940 and from

154 Ludwig Nestler et al., *Die faschistische Okkupationspolitik in Belgien, Luxemburg und den Niederlanden (1940–1945)* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1990), pp. 25–26; memorandum by Serebrenik, 'Les Juifs sous l'occupation allemande'.

155 Dostert, *Luxemburg zwischen Selbstbehauptung und nationaler Selbstaufgabe*, p. 162.

156 Schoentgen, 'Luxembourg', p. 304.

157 Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, pp. 82–84.

158 Affidavit of Mr Alfred Oppenheimer, 2 Nov. 1960, Police d'Israel, 6-ème Bureau, cited in Tōviyyā Friedman (ed.), *Die Deportation der Juden aus Belgien und Luxemburg während der Nazi-Besetzung 1940–1944* (Haifa: Institute of Documentation in Israel for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes, 1999), no pagination.

Lorraine in August of the same year and sent into the unoccupied southern zone of France. The subsequent destruction of the synagogues in Strasbourg and Thionville was intended to emphasize the finality of the expulsion of the Jews from these areas (Doc. 243). In October 1940, shortly after the expulsion of the Jews from Alsace and Lorraine, 6,500 German Jews were also deported from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate to southern France, where they were interned in the camp at Gurs. They were barely able to take any personal possessions with them, and all the belongings they left behind were confiscated (Doc. 250).¹⁵⁹

A military administration was set up in Paris. From October 1940 to February 1942, the military commander was General Otto von Stülpnagel. The chief task of the military administration was to ensure military and political control in the occupied region, as well as the continuation of industrial and agricultural production for the German war economy. This was to be accomplished with relatively sparse resources and only around 1,000 German civil servants. In accordance with the principle of 'supervisory administration' (*Aufsichtsverwaltung*), the German authorities themselves did not govern; rather, they directed and controlled the French administration. This required that French administrative activities continued to run smoothly.¹⁶⁰

In the southern zone of France, which was not occupied until November 1942, a formally independent French government, with its seat at Vichy, was established with the consent of the Germans. On 10 July 1940 the French Chamber of Deputies and the Senate had empowered the new government of Marshal Philippe Pétain to draw up a new constitution (which, however, never materialized).¹⁶¹ Under the terms of the armistice agreement, the new French leadership had explicitly pledged to cooperate with German agencies and authorities. It endorsed political collaboration in the attempt to preserve at least a measure of state sovereignty for France after the defeat, and also in the hope of securing an advantageous place for the country in a 'new Europe' following the seemingly inevitable German victory in the war.

In the occupied region of France, the French administration had to take orders both from the Vichy regime and from the German authorities. In Paris, so-called authorized representatives of the ministries implemented the policies of the Vichy regime for the occupied territory. Most of the civil servants in the ministries had remained in Paris. A stable administrative routine thus soon developed between the French ministries and the

159 The removal of the Jews from Germany gave rise to protests from the French leadership, which, under the armistice agreements, had consented to accept solely the French Jews from Alsace and Lorraine. See Lothar Kettenacker, *Nationalsozialistische Volkstumspolitik im Elsaß* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1973); Freddy Raphael and Robert Weyl, *Juifs en Alsace* (Toulouse: Privat, 1977); Grynberg, *Les Camps de la honte*, pp. 141–144; and PMJ 3, p. 47. On the deportations from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate in October 1940, see Uwe Schellinger, '22. Oktober 1940: Die Deportation der Juden aus Südwestdeutschland nach Gurs', in Andreas Nachama and Klaus Hesse (eds.), *Vor aller Augen: Die Deportation der Juden und die Versteigerung ihres Eigentums: Fotografien aus Lörrach, 1940* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2018), pp. 11–26, and PMJ 3/112 and 113.

160 The term 'supervisory administration' is explained in Werner Best, 'Die deutsche Militärverwaltung in Frankreich', *Reich – Volksordnung – Lebensraum*, vol. 1 (1941), pp. 29–76. See also Herbert, *Best*, pp. 251–254.

161 Jean-Pierre Azéma, *1940, l'année noire* (Paris: Fayard, 2010), pp. 246–256, 268–279.

German occupation regime.¹⁶² The efforts of Pétain's government to have German directives implemented independently by the French administration largely complied with the German desire to control the country with as few civil servants as possible. Hence, the Aryanization of Jewish property in France – which was initiated by the Germans but carried out by the French administration (predominantly to the benefit of the French state coffers) – was overseen by a single civil servant in the military administration.¹⁶³

The German military administration was the occupying force's supreme authority, with responsibilities including the implementation of measures against the Jewish population. In political questions, however, the Reich Foreign Office's branch in Paris, which was declared an embassy in November 1940, also had a say. SS-Sturmbannführer Carl Theo Zeitschel was in charge of 'Jewish and Freemason questions' there as of September 1940. The third, initially still relatively insignificant, instrument of power in the German occupying force was Helmut Knochen, representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, who had been dispatched by the RSHA. At first he had only twenty employees and was responsible for the surveillance of political opponents. Theodor Dannecker, who began working in Paris in September 1940 as Knochen's assistant for Jewish affairs, soon gained considerable influence over anti-Jewish policy. He had previously worked at the RSHA's section for Jewish affairs under Adolf Eichmann, from whom he continued to receive his instructions. In addition, representatives of a wide variety of German agencies were present in the country without an official assignment.¹⁶⁴

From the beginning of the German occupation, the situation for the Jews in France was characterized by uncertainty and fear. Shortly after the Franco-German Armistice, supporters of far-right French groups, mostly youths, moved through Paris, beating up people whom they took to be Jewish, smashing the display windows of Jewish shops and affixing placards featuring antisemitic hate slogans to buildings. Even before the first official anti-Jewish measure was implemented, Jews had experienced blatant discrimination at work and in everyday life. Most members of the public rejected acts of violence against Jews, though not necessarily all anti-Jewish measures.

Both the German military administration in Paris and the government in Vichy began to take action against the Jews shortly after the armistice. In the process, a kind of parallel approach can be identified, whereby the German occupiers and the French government each issued the anti-Jewish directives that they considered to be most pressing, with the French government sometimes acting even more swiftly to impose anti-Jewish measures.

162 Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France*, pp. 25–71; Rita Thalmann, *Gleichschaltung in Frankreich 1940–1944* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1999); Roland Ray, *Annäherung an Frankreich im Dienste Hitlers? Otto Abetz und die deutsche Frankreichpolitik 1930–1942* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000); Barbara Lambauer, *Otto Abetz et les Français, ou l'envers de la collaboration* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), pp. 31–60; Mayer, *Staaten als Täter*, pp. 224–261.

163 Martin Jungius, *Der verwaltete Raub: Die 'Arisierung' der Wirtschaft in Frankreich in den Jahren 1940 bis 1944* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2008), pp. 118–125.

164 Claudia Steur, *Theodor Dannecker: Ein Funktionär der 'Endlösung'* (Essen: Klartext, 1997); Ahlrich Meyer, *Die deutsche Besatzung in Frankreich 1940–1944: Widerstandsbekämpfung und Judenverfolgung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), pp. 19–67; Herbert, *Best*, pp. 251–258; Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 30–31; Peter Lieb, *Konventioneller Krieg oder NS-Weltanschauungskrieg? Kriegführung und Partisanenbekämpfung in Frankreich 1943/44* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), pp. 49–73.

While the German occupiers focused more on economic aspects and policing matters related to security, the attention of the Vichy government was directed primarily towards public administration and the professional sector, with the goal of purging them of foreigners, even those who were naturalized, and limiting them to 'men of French parentage', as Marshal Pétain stated in a decree issued on 13 July 1940.¹⁶⁵

On 17 August 1940 Otto Abetz, the German ambassador, had already suggested to the military administration that it could '(a) order with immediate effect that no more Jews will be allowed to enter the occupied territory; (b) prepare for the removal of all Jews from the occupied territory; (c) determine whether Jewish property in the occupied territory can be expropriated' (Doc. 232). Abetz thereby clearly went beyond the anti-Jewish measures that had thus far been discussed or implemented in the other occupied countries of Western and Northern Europe.

The military administration was sceptical about such plans, partly on grounds of international law, but also because occupation rule in France would have been made more difficult as a result. At the same time, however, the civil servants in the military administration were convinced of the necessity of anti-Jewish measures. On 27 September 1940 the military commander of occupied France, Otto von Stülpnagel, issued the First Regulation on Measures Against Jews, which modified Abetz's proposals to a certain extent (Doc. 238). It forbade Jews to cross over into the occupied region, and therefore Jews who had fled from the German troops into the unoccupied region could no longer return. The Jewish population remaining in the occupied zone was under strict control. All Jews had to register with the local French police authorities, and Jewish businesses were labelled as such. Only three weeks later, on 18 October, von Stülpnagel announced the Second Regulation on Measures Against Jews, specifying which businesses in the occupied zone were to be deemed Jewish. All Jewish-run businesses were required to register (Doc. 246). The military administration had thus issued a comprehensive bundle of measures, as a result of which the Jewish population in the occupied zone was subject to extensive policing measures and economic controls, and preparations were made for their dispossession.

Immediately after the formation of the 'French state' (*État français*), the Vichy government laid the foundations for a discriminatory policy which was initially directed against foreigners living in France in general, but increasingly began to target non-French Jews in particular. From 17 July 1940 the process of 'cleansing' the administration, which had already begun in September 1939 under the republican government, was intensified. It was now possible to dismiss any civil servant or salaried employee who did not meet the expectations of the new state leadership. This measure was aimed at foreigners and political opponents, but it also affected Jews who had been naturalized in the preceding years. Likewise, Jews were the main group affected by the law issued on 22 July 1940,¹⁶⁶ which ushered in a review of all naturalizations performed since 1927.

The discriminatory measures pertaining to foreign Jews culminated in the internment law of 4 October 1940. Henceforth, 'foreign nationals of the Jewish race' could

165 Vicki Caron, 'French Public Opinion and the "Jewish Question", 1930–1942: The Role of Middle-Class Professional Associations', in David Bankier and Israel Gutman (eds.), *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), pp. 384–385.

166 *Journal officiel*, 23 July 1940, p. 4567.

be sent to special internment camps without any reason given (Doc. 242). By the end of October 1941, the French government in the unoccupied zone had already had 20,000 Jews put in camps. In certain instances, internees from the territory of the German Reich and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia were handed over to the military administration.¹⁶⁷

Since July 1940 the French Ministry of Justice and Ministry of the Interior had been working to produce a comprehensive regulation on the position of the French Jews. The Statute on Jews (*Loi portant statut des Juifs*), issued on 3 October 1940, formed the basis for their exclusion from the administration and from certain occupational categories (Doc. 241).¹⁶⁸ The law, the first to be directed exclusively against Jews in 150 years, left the Jews of France, especially those long established in the country, in a state of shock. The equality of citizens, one of the achievements of the French Revolution and one of the principles of the Republic, was hereby abolished – ‘a deed’, the Jewish delegate from the Indre département, Max Hymans, wrote to Marshal Pétain, ‘that can be compared only to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, whose consequences are still evident even three centuries after the fact’.¹⁶⁹

In the French majority population, reactions to the Statute on Jews were muted. The French authorities, however, were able to learn from wire-tapped telephone conversations, opened letters, and the reports of the prefects that many French people approved of the restrictions for Jews, their degradation to second-class citizens, and not least their internment, particularly if the measures targeted foreign Jews (Docs. 296, 313).¹⁷⁰ Indeed, with some notable exceptions, many French people were either indifferent to the wave of anti-Jewish measures or actively involved in the process of social marginalization, and called for the state to take legal action against the Jewish minority.¹⁷¹ The Vichy government also issued another law aimed at Jews on 7 October 1940, revoking

167 Grynberg, *Les Camps de la honte*, pp. 136–141; Jacques Fredj (ed.), *L’Internement des Juifs sous Vichy* (Paris: Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1996), pp. 15–17; Richard H. Weisberg, *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 56–58.

168 André Kaspi, *Les Juifs pendant l’Occupation* (Paris: Seuil, 1997); Marc Olivier Baruch, *Le Régime de Vichy* (Paris: Editions la Découverte, 1996), pp. 22–25; Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Mayer, *Staaten als Täter*, pp. 39–74; Michael Mayer, ‘The French Jewish Statute of October 3, 1940: A Reevaluation of Continuities and Discontinuities of French Antisemitism’, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2019), pp. 4–22; Laurent Joly, *L’Etat contre les Juifs: Vichy, les nazis et la persécution antisémite (1940–1944)* (Paris: Grasset, 2018), pp. 35–39; Laurent Joly, ‘The Genesis of Vichy’s Jewish Statute of October 1940’, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 27 (2013), pp. 276–298.

169 Letter dated 20 Feb. 1941, Alliance israélite universelle, CC-49, cited in Poznanski, *Jews in France*, p. 86. See also Adam Rayski, *Le Choix des Juifs sous Vichy: Entre soumission et résistance* (Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1992). The Edict of Nantes (1598), which granted extensive religious freedoms to France’s Protestant (Huguenot) minority, was one of the first decrees of religious tolerance in Europe. It was revoked by King Louis XIV in 1685, which led to the persecution and emigration of the Huguenots.

170 Stéphane Courtois and Adam Rayski, *Qui savait quoi? L’Extermination des Juifs 1941–1945* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987), pp. 79–102; Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France*, pp. 270–279; Pierre Laborie, *L’Opinion française sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001).

171 John F. Sweets, ‘Jews and Non-Jews in France during the Second World War’, in David Bankier and Israel Gutman (eds.), *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), pp. 361–363; Caron, ‘French Public Opinion’, pp. 384–394.

the Crémieux Decree, according to which the Jews of Algeria had attained French citizenship in 1870 (Doc. 244).¹⁷²

In its anti-Jewish measures, the military administration concentrated primarily on the economic dispossession of the Jews (Doc. 246). For this reason, the French government feared that German firms might buy up formerly Jewish businesses in order to gain economic influence in the country. With the consent of the German military administration, which did not have sufficient personnel of its own for this purpose, the Vichy government established a separate authority to carry out the Aryanizations under French supervision. The German military administration confined itself solely to random checks (Doc. 269). From December 1940 the French Ministry of Economics appointed 'temporary administrators' for expropriated businesses and assets and set up an agency to oversee their work, the Service du contrôle des administrateurs provisoires (SCAP). This agency became the most significant mechanism for Aryanizing the French economy. As of January 1941 the temporary administrators were empowered to purchase or to liquidate enterprises belonging to Jews. From July 1941 the profits were managed by the Caisse des dépôts et consignations, a government-run financial institution. From April 1941 Jews were denied access to business assets and the proceeds of liquidation and, as of that May, also to their private accounts. On 22 July 1941 the Vichy government regulated the Aryanization of the economy in a comprehensive law which also affected the unoccupied zone (Doc. 273). By the end of 1941 the Jews throughout France had by and large been dispossessed.¹⁷³

Jews were also robbed of their possessions in other ways. The Rosenberg Task Force sought out and sifted through large Jewish-owned art collections to secure Jewish cultural holdings. Moreover, in the course of the so-called Furniture Operation (*Möbel-Aktion*), which began in January 1942, the Western Office (Dienststelle Westen) requisitioned furnishings and household items from the vacated homes of Jews. These articles were sent to Germany and were supposed to be allocated to Germans whose homes had

172 Henri Msellati, *Les Juifs d'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy: 10 juillet 1940–3 novembre 1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), pp. 66–68. Vichy's anti-Jewish policies had further consequences for the Jews of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. However, there was no gearing up towards the 'final solution' because at this stage this was limited to the European continent. See Dan Michman, 'Le sort des Juifs d'Afrique du Nord pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale: fait-il partie de la Shoah?', in Haim Saadoun and Dan Michman (eds.), *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord face à l'Allemagne nazie* (Paris: Perrin, Yad Vashem and Ben Zvi Institute, 2018), pp. 13–34; Filippo Petrucci, *Gli ebrei in Algeria e in Tunisia 1940–1943* (Florence: Giuntina, 2011); Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the 20th Century: Jews of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria* (New York: New York University Press, 1994).

173 Philippe Verheyde, 'The Looting of Jewish Property and Franco-German rivalry, 1940–1944', in Gerald D. Feldman and Wolfgang Seibel (eds.), *Networks of Nazi Persecution: Bureaucracy, Business, and the Organization of the Holocaust* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2005), pp. 69–87; Antoine Prost, *Aryanisation économique et restitutions* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2000); Jean Mattéoli, *Rapport général: Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France* (Paris: Documentation française, 2000); Jean-Marc Dreyfus, *Pillages sur ordonnances: Aryanisation et restitution des banques en France 1940–1953* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), pp. 95–101; Götz Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: How the Nazis Bought the German People* (Brooklyn/London: Verso, 2007), pp. 210–223; Jean-Marc Dreyfus, 'The Looting of Property in Occupied Western Europe: A Comparative Study of Belgium, France, and the Netherlands', in Martin Dean, Constantin Goshler, and Philipp Ther (eds.), *Robbery and Restitution: The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 53–67.

suffered damage in bombing raids.¹⁷⁴ On the request of the Army High Command, the Furniture Operation was also extended to Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.¹⁷⁵

In Austria, the Old Reich, the Protectorate, and the annexed and occupied territories of Poland, the officials in charge of Jewish affairs at the SS were the driving force behind the establishment of Jewish councils. In France, too, Theodor Dannecker, from the moment of his arrival in Paris on 5 October 1940, worked to establish a similar structure. However, the situation in France was complicated and the power of the SS at that time was still limited. Dannecker began to collect information about French Jewry and exerted pressure on Jewish leaders in Paris to initiate the establishment of a new Jewish umbrella organization, separate and independent from the Consistory. Since 1933 some Jewish organizations had already been responding to the arrival of refugees from German-controlled territories by augmenting the assistance they offered. The relief organizations created committees in order to cope with the diverse needs of the victims of persecution, especially those interned in camps, and to organize their own work more effectively. Dannecker chose the relief and social aid organizations to achieve his goal of creating a separate Jewish organization. This culminated at the end of January 1941 in the establishment of a Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations in Greater Paris (Comité de coordination des œuvres de bienfaisance du Grand-Paris) (Doc. 272). It was run by prominent Jews and responsible for coordinating aid for Jews. In March 1941 Dannecker brought two Jewish ‘advisors’ from Vienna to instruct the Coordination Committee on how to work with the German supervising authority. As a result of pressure from Dannecker, the chairman of the committee, Rabbi Sachs, acquired far-reaching powers that went beyond those usually held by a rabbi under French law. Yet Dannecker’s strategy to give the German authorities an initial tool for controlling the Jewish population in France failed in the short term, because the members of the committee revolted after a short while and succeeded in July 1941 in neutralizing the influence of the advisors.¹⁷⁶

Meanwhile, in the hope of gaining greater influence over French anti-Jewish measures in general and over the organized Jewish community in particular, at the beginning of 1941 Dannecker and the German embassy had begun to call for the establishment of a single French authority, similar to the supervising authorities in Vienna and

174 Peter M. Manasse, *Verschleppte Archive und Bibliotheken: Die Tätigkeiten des Einsatzstabes Rosenberg während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig, 1997); Anja Heuss, *Kunst- und Kulturgutraub: Studie zur Besatzungspolitik der Nationalsozialisten in Frankreich und der Sowjetunion* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000); Willem de Vries, *Kunstraub im Westen 1940–1945: Alfred Rosenberg und der Sonderstab Musik* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000); Kenneth D. Alford, *Hermann Göring and the Nazi Art Collection: The Looting of Europe’s Art Treasures and Their Dispersal after World War II* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2012), pp. 48–60; Volker Koop, *Alfred Rosenberg: Der Wegbereiter des Holocaust: Eine Biographie* (Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau 2016), pp. 160–163.

175 Aalders, *Nazi Looting*, pp. 203–210; Aly, *Hitler’s Beneficiaries*, pp. 135–152.

176 Joseph Billig, *Le Commissariat général aux questions juives (1941–1944)*, 3 vols. (Paris: Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, 1955–1960), vol. 1, pp. 41–42; Jacques Adler, *Face à la persécution: Les organisations juives à Paris de 1940 à 1944* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1985), pp. 42–44; Richard I. Cohen, *The Burden of Conscience: French Jewry’s Response to the Holocaust* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 26–27.

Berlin, that would be in charge of all questions related to the policy concerning Jews (Doc. 260). While the military administration showed little interest in this proposal, initial attempts to sound out the Vichy government revealed that it was not averse to such a proposition. For one thing, the French were definitely interested in appeasing the German occupation authorities, which were displeased that Prime Minister Pierre Laval, a staunch supporter of collaboration, had been overthrown by the head of state, Marshal Pétain, in December 1940. For another, the French leadership itself had for some time been thinking about establishing a central authority for Jewish affairs in order to coordinate the drafting of further anti-Jewish legislation. On 28 March 1941 the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs (Commissariat général aux questions juives) was created for this purpose. Xavier Vallat was appointed to serve as the first commissioner general for Jewish affairs. Though an antisemite, Vallat was considered an opponent of German–French rapprochement and, during his time in office until May 1942, his efforts to curb German influence on the Commissariat General met with some success (Doc. 264).¹⁷⁷

Up until the spring of 1942 the French government had a large degree of autonomy in implementing its anti-Jewish measures. The Germans only exerted direct influence when it came to the Aryanization of the economy. The Vichy regime used this time to fine-tune the persecution of the Jews and on 2 June 1941 issued a tougher Statute on Jews that expanded the measures taken thus far (Doc. 270). On the same day the government also ordered the registration of all Jews in France (Docs. 271, 275). The data gathered in the process went far beyond the information collected by the Germans in the occupied zone in the autumn of 1940 and provided the German authorities with the statistical basis for the subsequent deportation of the Jewish population, without this having been the actual intention of the French authorities. By the summer of 1941 the Vichy regime had largely excluded the Jews from politics, the state administration, certain professional fields, and economic life, and had subjected them to overarching surveillance by the Security Police.¹⁷⁸ ‘A dark, dark day’, wrote a French Jewish businessman, ‘this morning, a grim announcement in the press: the commentary on the regulation which appeared yesterday, giving notice of the ruthless campaign against Martin [here meaning Jews]. To be precise, there is a desire to chase us off the continent.’¹⁷⁹

The Jewish communities in France, shocked at the introduction of racial legislation by the French government, tried but failed to intervene with the authorities to oppose it.¹⁸⁰ The chairman of the various Protestant groups in France, Marc Boegner, who was keenly aware of the persecution of his own religious community in the past, had also approached the former French foreign minister, Paul Baudouin, asking him to lend his support to the Jewish population. Baudouin considered it necessary to exclude the Jews

177 Billig, *Le Commissariat général aux questions juives*; Laurent Joly, *Xavier Vallat (1891–1972): Du nationalisme chrétien à l’antisémitisme d’Etat* (Paris: Grasset, 2001), pp. 85–93, 153–228; Laurent Joly, *Vichy dans la ‘Solution finale’: Histoire du Commissariat général aux questions juives (1941–1944)* (Paris: Grasset, 2006).

178 Joly, *L’Etat contre les Juifs*, pp. 41–61; Mayer, *Staaten als Täter*, pp. 109–166.

179 Diary of Pierre Lion, entry for 10 May 1941 (original privately owned). The reference is to the Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews (26 April 1941): see Doc. 266.

180 Poznanski, *Jews in France*, pp. 85–101; Michel Laffitte, *Juif dans la France allemande: institutions, dirigeants et communautés au temps de la Shoah* (Paris: Grand Livre du Mois, 2006), pp. 99–116.

from the leadership of the state, but did not feel that this legitimized grave injustice. However, he was of the view that 'our people are so "corrupted" that a revolution is inevitable'.¹⁸¹ Despite his sympathy for the persecuted Jews, Boegner remarked to the chief rabbi of France that 'as a result of the large-scale immigration of foreigners, whether Jews or not, and as a result of overly hasty and unjustified naturalizations', the French state was indeed facing a major problem.¹⁸²

At an early stage the Catholic Church in France had already made known its fundamental support for the enactment of the French Statute on Jews. Hence, on 31 August 1940 the French episcopate declared that it was 'legitimate for a state to contemplate a special legal statute for the Jews (as the papacy in Rome had done)'.¹⁸³ However, Charles de Gaulle spoke on behalf of those who refused to exclude their Jewish fellow citizens. De Gaulle, who had formed the Free France committee in London along with a handful of loyal supporters, announced that the complete legal equality of the Jews would be guaranteed once again after the victory of the Allies (Doc. 235).

Jews reacted to the developments in various ways. The division of France into an occupied and a 'free' zone had an impact on the behaviour and feelings of the Jews in those zones due to the different composition of the authorities and the Jewish population. Refugees from the occupied zone and abroad were a notable presence in the 'free zone'. Most French Jewish organizations relocated their headquarters to Vichy. The division between French *Israélites* and East European Jews was another factor affecting reactions. Many of the French *Israélites* tended to embrace the attitude of most of the non-Jewish population, hoping and believing that the Pétain regime would keep loyal to French traditions and the constitution, including the protection of the Jewish citizens. Though it did not fade entirely, this stance weakened once Vichy started to develop its own anti-Jewish policies. East European Jews, meanwhile, were warier from the outset.¹⁸⁴ Shortly after the armistice, Jews resumed their daily life, and Jewish institutions and organizations were reactivated. Religious life could continue during the first two years without major disruption, but religious leaders had to cope with new challenges, especially with regard to the deteriorating social and economic situation.¹⁸⁵ Jewish political movements and Jews affiliated with non-Jewish political parties and movements even intensified their activities, especially in the 'free zone'. Communists, especially immigrants, became involved in general communist underground activities. The Jewish scout movement found ways to benefit from the Vichy regime's goal of regeneration through agricultural training and attracted a considerable number of young French Jews. A new youth movement, the Jeunesse juive de France, was established in June 1941. Many cultural activities were developed; the number of homes for children, mostly refugees,

181 Philippe Boegner (ed.), *Carnets du pasteur Boegner 1940–1945* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), p. 59.

182 Ibid., pp. 92–93.

183 Cited in François Delpech, *Sur les Juifs: études d'histoire contemporaine* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1983), pp. 286–287; Michèle Cointet, *L'Église sous Vichy, 1940–1945: La repentance en question* (Paris: Perrin, 1998).

184 Asher Cohen, *Persécutions et sauvetages: Juifs et Français sous l'Occupation et sous Vichy* (Paris: Cerf, 1993), pp. 25–30.

185 Anne Grynberg and Catherine Nicault, 'Le culte israélite en France pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale: Droit et réalités d'exercice', *Archives Juives*, vol. 28, no. 2 (1995), pp. 72–88.

grew; special medical services emerged; and assistance for interned Jews in the Vichy camps was organized.¹⁸⁶

Because of their escalating social isolation and economic exclusion, the Jews were increasingly dependent on external aid granted to them by various Jewish or non-Jewish relief organizations. Besides the French Jewish institutions, these included organizations such as the JDC and Christian communities such as the American Quakers. Special assistance was given to Jewish children whose parents were interned or were unable to look after their children themselves on account of the dire living conditions. The children lived in homes set up for them by the Children's Aid Society (*Cœuvre de secours aux enfants*, OSE) (Docs. 231, 284). The OSE had previously managed to secure the release of many of them from internment camps.¹⁸⁷ Camp inmates also received assistance from Jewish and non-Jewish organizations (Doc. 307). In many cases, people were housed in buildings or barracks that had been hastily built or repurposed (Doc. 280). Poor nutrition and disease claimed many lives, especially among older internees. The living conditions were so catastrophic that the French administration soon felt obliged to improve the medical care and sanitary conditions, as well as the rations, in the camps (Docs. 239, 303, 314).

In April 1941 the German military administration indicated to the commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Vallat, that the goal of the German leadership was the 'total de-Jewification of Europe'. To achieve this goal, foreign Jews were to be deported, tougher anti-Jewish legislation was set in motion in France, and 3,000 to 5,000 Jews were placed in custody. Finally, Vallat was to begin the preparations for a subsequent 'emigration' of all Jews, including those with French citizenship.¹⁸⁸

On 14 May 1941, during the first roundup in France carried out with the consent of the Vichy government, 3,733 foreign Jews were arrested and sent to the internment camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande (Doc. 268).¹⁸⁹ However, the Vichy government declined to intern Jews with French nationality if the sole ground for their detention was that they were Jews. Therefore, the German authorities now sought ways that would allow them also to take action against Jews who held French passports.¹⁹⁰

Following the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the German authorities in France anticipated increased activity by communist resistance groups. On 4 August the

186 Léo Hamon and Renée Poznanski, *Avant les premières grandes rafles: Les Juifs à Paris sous l'Occupation (juin 1940–avril 1941)*, Cahiers de l'IHTP 22 (Paris: IHTP, 1992); Cohen, *Persécutions et sauvetages*, pp. 83–84; Alain Michel, *Les Éclaireurs israéliques de France pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–septembre 1944: Action et évolution* (Paris: Éditions des EIF, 1984); Poznanski, *Jews in France*, pp. 137–140; Daniel Lee, *Pétain's Jewish Children: French Jewish Youth and the Vichy Regime, 1940–1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

187 Poznanski, *Jews in France*, pp. 140–143; Bob Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 99–165, 262–275.

188 Diary of Best, dated 4 April 1941, published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 387.

189 David Diamant, *Le Billet vert: La vie et la résistance à Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande, camps pour Juifs, camps pour chrétiens, camps pour patriotes* (Paris: Renouveau, 1977); Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 34–35.

190 Ahlrich Meyer, "Fremde Elemente": Die osteuropäisch-jüdische Immigration, die "Endlösung der Judenfrage" und die Anfänge der Widerstandsbewegung in Frankreich', in Eberhard Jungfer (ed.), *Arbeitsmigration und Flucht: Vertreibung und Arbeitskräfte-regulierung im Zwischenkriegs-europa, Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik 11* (Berlin/Göttingen: Schwarze Risse, Rote Straße, 1993) pp. 82–129.

military administration ordered the French police to respond to anti-German demonstrations by conducting a major wave of arrests. As a result, the city police cordoned off entire streets in Paris and made 4,232 arrests in the course of identity checks and house searches (Doc. 276). Officially the roundup was directed not against Jews, but rather against supporters of the communists. On this pretext the first arrests of Jews with French citizenship now took place. Among them were 200 intellectuals and well-known figures.¹⁹¹ Many of the arrested Jews were taken to a newly created camp in Drancy, a Paris suburb. The camp, in which French and British prisoners of war had previously been interned, was under the control of the Paris Police Prefecture. It had been set up provisionally in half-completed social housing, and the facilities were completely inadequate. The first deaths were reported after just a few weeks. The military administration eventually reacted by releasing around 800 of those arrested and allowed those who remained to receive food parcels (Doc. 280).¹⁹²

As the occupiers had anticipated, the French communists began to intensify their resistance efforts against the German authorities in the summer of 1941. The first assassination of a member of the German armed forces occurred on 21 August. This marked the start of a series of operations carried out by the resistance movement and of heightened repression from the Germans. On the day after this assassination, the Germans declared that all French people who were detained by or on behalf of the German authorities in occupied France were to be regarded collectively as hostages. On 3 September, when a further assassination took place, the German military commander, Otto von Stülpnagel, ordered that three hostages be shot in retribution. Hitler wrote a sharply worded note condemning this as a completely inadequate reaction.¹⁹³ After the field commander of Nantes was shot on 20 October and a German military official was shot in Bordeaux the following day, Hitler ordered that fifty hostages be shot immediately. In the event, ninety-eight hostages were executed on 22 and 24 October 1941, a measure that was met with horror both in France and abroad (Doc. 288).¹⁹⁴

The prerequisites for Germany's occupation policy – the collaboration of the French administration and the pragmatic wait-and-see attitude of the French population – appeared to be in jeopardy. The military administration therefore proposed that instead of hostages being shot in retribution, arrangements be made to deport a larger number of people, specifically foreign Jews and communists, 'to the East for forced labour'. With Jewish resistance fighters among the convicted assassins, politically and ideologically

191 Ulrich Herbert, 'The German Military Command in Paris and the Deportation of the French Jews', in Ulrich Herbert (ed.), *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2004), pp. 128–162; Ahlrich Meyer, *Täter im Verhör: Die "Endlösung der Judenfrage" in Frankreich 1940–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), pp. 67–137.

192 Renée Poznanski, Denis Peschanski, and Benoît Pouvreau, *Drancy, un camp en France* (Paris: Fayard and Ministère de la Défense, 2015), pp. 29–96; Annette Wiewiorka and Michael Lafitte, *À l'intérieur du camp de Drancy* (Paris: Perrin, 2012).

193 'Das Geiselnverfahren im Bereich des Militärbefehlshabers in Frankreich vom August 1941 bis Mai 1942', memorandum, part 1, BArch, RW 35/542, p. 41; Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces (OKH) (Wagner) to the Military Commander (MBF), 7 Sept. 1941, BArch, RW 35/543, p. 18.

194 MBF to OKH, 24 Oct. 1941, cited in Hans Luther, *Der französische Widerstand gegen die deutsche Besatzungsmacht und seine Bekämpfung* (Tübingen: Institut für Besatzungsfragen, 1957), pp. 206–207.

motivated repression could be combined. Following a further assassination on 28 November 1941, von Stülpnagel planned the killing of 'fifty Jews and communists' and the 'imposition of a fine of 1 billion francs upon the Jews of Paris', as well as the 'internment and deportation to the East of Jews who have come to the attention of the authorities because of their criminal or anti-German activities'. Here a figure of up to 1,000 persons was initially envisaged.¹⁹⁵

A total of 742 Jews were arrested in Paris during the third roundup, which took place on 12 December 1941. Most of them were French, and they included many intellectuals, businessmen, and prominent figures. Three days later von Stülpnagel had seventy-five hostages executed at the Mont-Valérien fortress, including 21-year-old Jacques Grinbaum (Docs. 300, 301).

In view of Nazi Germany's seemingly unassailable military position and with the rising power of the SS, from the end of August 1941 Dannecker intensified his pressure on the French authorities to establish a mandatory organization of all Jews.¹⁹⁶ The Germans were in fact interested in a kind of Jewish Council which would be, directly or indirectly, under their control. Negotiations between the Germans, the Vichy authorities, and Vallat lasted around two months. Eventually, Vallat gave in to the idea itself but countered with an organization that had a different form: countrywide, with sections for the occupied and unoccupied zones; anchored in French law and subordinated to the French authorities; and using the French term *Israélites*. On 29 November 1941 the General Union of French Jews (Union générale des Israélites de France, UGIF) was established (Docs. 287, 295). All Jews in France were under the jurisdiction of this state-sanctioned Jewish organization, which incorporated existing organizations and their assets, most importantly the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations. Like developments in Belgium and in the Netherlands, the founding of the UGIF did not entail the dismantling and incorporation of all existing Jewish organizations, and thus the Consistory, and religious associations, continued to function separately.¹⁹⁷

There were heated arguments among prominent French Jews about whether to accept such an umbrella organization. Nonetheless, to avoid the German authorities assuming direct control of the new mandatory association, which seemed all too likely, Albert Lévy, secretary general of the Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR), finally consented to take on the job of running the UGIF. Following his resignation, Raymond-Raoul Lambert became chairman. He sought to come to an arrangement with the Vichy government, in

¹⁹⁵ MBF to OKH, 1 Nov. 1941, in 'Das Geiselfverfahren', p. 77; Regina Delacor, *Attentate und Repressionen: Ausgewählte Dokumente zur zyklischen Eskalation des NS-Terrors im besetzten Frankreich 1941/42* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), pp. 17–45; Meyer, *Die deutsche Besatzung*, pp. 55–72; Christopher Neumaier, 'The Escalation of German Reprisal Policy in Occupied France, 1941–1942', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 41 (2006), pp. 113–131; Julia S. Torrie, *German Soldiers and the Occupation of France, 1940–1944* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 181.

¹⁹⁶ Cohen, *Burdens of Conscience*, pp. 50–52; Billig, *Commissariat*, vol. 1, pp. 210–211; Joly, *Xavier Vallat*, p. 239.

¹⁹⁷ As one example, with the establishment of the UGIF, the Central Commission of Jewish Relief Associations and the Camps Commission were dissolved. The chief rabbi of France, Isaïe Schwartz, then formally established the Aumônerie générale des Israélites de France (Jewish Chaplaincy) on 15 March 1942. The rabbis working for this organization could continue their work within the camps. The organization came under the authority of the Central Consistory and thus was not incorporated into the activities of the UGIF.

order to moderate the latter's anti-Jewish measures wherever possible (Doc. 298).¹⁹⁸ The UGIF effectively commenced operations at the beginning of 1942.

In the wake of the establishment of the UGIF in continental France, Vichy decided to establish a similar institution in Algeria. The Vichy Ministry of the Interior issued a decree ordering the creation of the Union générale des Israélites d'Algérie (UGIA) on 14 February 1942. The UGIA was subordinated to the governor general of Algeria, Yves Châtel, who ordered the chief rabbi of Algeria, M. Eisenbeth, to prepare a list of forty-five candidates from which he would choose the members of the UGIA board. Rabbi Eisenbeth submitted the list on 5 May, but it took the governor four months to make his choice. It was not until 6 November 1942 that the list was published in the *Journal officiel d'Algérie* and thereby sanctioned the appointment. However, two days later the Allies landed in Morocco and Algeria and the UGIA never materialized, even though the Vichy laws and decrees were not annulled until one year after the Allied landing.¹⁹⁹

By the summer of 1941 information and rumours had begun to circulate in France regarding crimes committed in Eastern Europe against the local Jewish population. The editors of the Jewish underground press had known about the actions of the Germans in the Soviet Union since June 1941 and warned the Jewish population of Paris that the Germans were likely to introduce increasingly repressive measures in France.²⁰⁰ At the same time, antisemitic propaganda and attacks on Jews increased considerably, particularly in Paris. The spiral of violence arising from the assassinations and the shooting of hostages affected every French citizen, but the Jewish populace faced particular dangers because it was primarily Jews who were used as hostages in reprisal. Fearful for their family members, a group of Jewish women wrote to the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs on 9 April 1942:

We wives and mothers of the men interned at Drancy and in Compiègne and in the other concentration camps are sending you this letter in order to apprise you of the situation in which we and our husbands find ourselves.

Our husbands and our sons were only going about their everyday business, but now they are being held in horrible conditions. In addition to their severe hunger and unsanitary environment, they live in constant anxiety, not knowing if they will live to see another day or whether they will be shot, as was the case on December 15, 1941, for 43 of them who were sent before a firing squad.²⁰¹

During this phase, disputes between the various German authorities in Paris escalated. The military administration was responsible for anti-Jewish policy as well as all police matters related to security in the occupied zone, and – unlike in the occupied Netherlands, for example – in France insufficient Security Police or Order Police personnel

198 Poznanski, *Jews in France*, pp. 131–135; Michel Laffitte, *Juif dans la France allemande*, pp. 81–88.

199 Msellati, *Les Juifs d'Algérie*, pp. 87–88; Maurice Eisenbeth, *Pages vécues 1940–1943* (Alger: Charra, 1945), pp. 56–57.

200 Rayski, *Le Choix des Juifs*, p. 175; Jacqueline Baldran and Claude Bochorberg, *David Rappaport – 'La mère et l'enfant' – 36 rue Amelot* (Paris: Montorgeuil, 1994), pp. 56–57.

201 Delivered to the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs on 9 April 1942, AN, AJ 38, vol. 76, cited in Poznanski, *Jews in France*, p. 306.

were available to the RSHA. Nonetheless, the military administration turned down the requests of Helmut Knochen, representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, for a large-scale roundup to deport several thousand Jews. Following a series of bomb attacks on Paris synagogues in October 1941, which Knochen had instigated to prompt the French population into committing excesses against Jews, a power struggle broke out openly between the military administration and the Security Police. At the same time, the military administration continued to express strong objections to the hostage shootings ordered by Hitler and Wilhelm Keitel, chief of staff of the German Armed Forces High Command. In January 1942 Military Commander von Stülpnagel again suggested that Jewish and communist inmates of the German internment and police detention camps instead be deported to the East.²⁰² After lengthy debates, his suggestion finally found formal expression in a Führer decree issued in April 1942. This stipulated that 'for each future assassination, apart from the shooting of a number of appropriate persons, 500 communists and Jews are to be handed over to the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police for deportation to the East.'²⁰³

Meanwhile, permission from Berlin arrived to have a first deportation train depart from France. The plan was to deport 743 Jews who had been arrested in Paris in December 1941 and about 300 Jews from Drancy camp.²⁰⁴ In the meeting between Dannecker and Eichmann in Berlin on 4 March 1942, it was agreed to propose to the French government that 5,000 Jews be deported 'to the East'.²⁰⁵ In the wake of this planning and further intensive activities by Dannecker (and Zeitschel), the first transport of Jews, composed of prisoners from Drancy and Compiègne camps, departed for Auschwitz on 27 March 1942. Dannecker personally accompanied this train along the entire route and into Auschwitz.

Additional deportation orders followed as retaliation for attacks carried out by the French resistance. From now on, the hostage shootings and deportation orders spiralled – 18 April: 24 shootings, 1,000 deported; 24 April: 10 shootings, 500 deported; 28 April: 1 shooting, 500 deported; 5 May: 28 shootings, 500 deported; 7 May: 20 shootings, 500 deported. By 31 May a total of 993 shootings had been ordered and 471 had been carried out. Approximately 6,000 Jews and communists had been deported by this date.²⁰⁶ Subsequent transports were now postponed temporarily, however, because the Reich Railway lacked sufficient capacity.

Otto von Stülpnagel, who had fallen from Hitler's favour owing to the so-called hostage crisis and resigned as a result, was replaced by his cousin Carl Heinrich von Stülpnagel in February 1942. This gave rise to a comprehensive reconfiguration of the structure

202 MBF to OKH, 15 Jan. 1942, BArch, RW 35/543, pp. 51–57.

203 See the Military Commander's decree dated 10 April 1942, Nürnberger Dokument RF-1241, published in Ludwig Nestler (ed.), *Die faschistische Okkupationspolitik in Frankreich (1940–1944)* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1990), p. 209, and letter from Schleier (embassy in Paris) to the Reich Foreign Office, dated 11 April 1942, in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945*, series E: 1941–1945, vol. 2, no. 128.

204 Memo from Dannecker to Lischka, 'Deportierung von 1000 Juden nach dem Osten', 10 March 1942, in Klarsfeld, Vichy-Auschwitz, pp. 401–402.

205 Memo from Dannecker to Lischka and Knochen, 'Abschub von 5000 Juden aus Frankreich', 10 March 1942, *ibid.*, p. 402.

206 'Das Geiselfverfahren', pp. 40–42.

of the occupation regime, to the benefit of the RSHA. The military administration had to cede to the Office of the Higher SS and Police Leader, newly created in France in March 1942, all Security Police responsibilities that could not be assigned to the narrower remit of the military. The new office also acquired all responsibilities for issues related to the 'Jewish question'. Only Aryanization continued to be overseen by the military administration. Henceforth, the representatives of the RSHA in Paris had both the power and the authority to implement the 'final solution' in France, an issue that had now, after the Wannsee Conference, become a top priority.²⁰⁷

In April 1942, in response to German pressure, Pierre Laval, the proponent of Franco-German collaboration who had been dismissed as prime minister in December 1940, was appointed head of government and given broader responsibilities. With Laval's consent, the Germanophile collaborator Louis Darquier de Pellepoix succeeded the French nationalist Vallat as commissioner general for Jewish affairs in May 1942. In the period that followed, the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs increasingly acted as an executive body of the RSHA in France.²⁰⁸ This allowed for the coordination of the preparations for the deportations from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. On 4 March 1942 the officials in charge of Jewish affairs in these countries, under Eichmann's direction, had set out the further course of action. The newly acquired dominance of the Higher SS and Police Leader within the occupation regime in France made it possible to introduce the yellow star in June 1942, a step that the military administration had rejected until then (Doc. 323). From 7 June, all Jews – foreign and stateless Jews, as well as French Jews – over the age of six had to wear the star. However, the regulation was only implemented in the occupied zone of France, as the Vichy government refused to introduce it in the unoccupied zone.²⁰⁹

Parts of the French population increasingly criticized the actions of the Germans. Many non-Jewish French people were now far more sympathetic and helpful to the Jews than before, even if the majority in France still did not question Vichy's Statute on Jews. Non-Jews sometimes wore the yellow star in order to protest against it, risking internment at Drancy. Fifteen people were arrested for this offence on 7 June 1942 alone, and ten days later the number had gone up to forty; most of the arrests involved minors. The last of the internees were released at the end of August.²¹⁰ Similarly, both the French Catholic episcopate and Protestant groups, which were far less influential in the country than the Catholics, wrote a letter of protest to the head of state, Marshal Pétain.²¹¹ Nevertheless, collaborationist and antisemitic audiences were no less active,

207 Bernd Kasten, 'Gute Franzosen': *Die französische Polizei und die deutsche Besatzungsmacht im besetzten Frankreich 1940–1944* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), pp. 26–29; Raphaël Delpard, *Aux ordres de Vichy: Enquête sur la police française et la déportation* (Paris: Lafon, 2006); Wolfgang Seibel, *Macht und Moral: Die 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' in Frankreich, 1940–1944* (Konstanz: Konstanz University Press, 2010), pp. 81–99.

208 Laurent Joly, *Darquier de Pellepoix et l'antisémitisme français* (Paris: Berg, 2002); Joly, *Vichy dans la 'Solution finale'*, pp. 277–328; Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith: A Forgotten History of Family, Fatherland and Vichy France* (New York: Jonathan Cape, 2006).

209 The Vichy government introduced only the marking of identity papers, which was implemented in December 1942. See Serge Klarsfeld, *L'Étoile des Juifs: témoignages et documents* (Paris: L'Archipel, 1992), pp. 23–24.

210 See Poznanski, *Jews in France*, pp. 244–245.

211 Cointet, *L'Église sous Vichy*, pp. 222–223.

and the antisemitism that had existed in France long before 1940 was expressed in both political and cultural fields.²¹²

By early 1942 the Jews in France had already been almost completely forced out of professional and economic life and largely excluded from French society. As a result, their living conditions deteriorated drastically, as did the standard of their nutrition and often their housing as well.²¹³ Many Jews had also been arrested and harassed. But they still lived among non-Jews and their appearance was indistinguishable from that of their non-Jewish compatriots. However, the requirement that they wear an identifying star stigmatized the Jews. It became clear to many Jews that additional measures would follow, and the fear of roundups increased. After the first deportation of interned Jews to Auschwitz on 27 March 1942, the second transport left Compiègne on 5 June, after Himmler at the beginning of May had approved continuing with the deportations.²¹⁴ Additional transports to Auschwitz followed on 22 June (from Drancy), 25 June (from Pithiviers), and 28 June (from Beaune-la-Rolande). The German authorities planned major roundups for the summer of 1942.

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In the spring of 1940, when the German military and civil authorities established occupation regimes in Western and Northern Europe, they encountered very different conditions in the respective countries and reacted to these conditions in differing ways. Unlike in Poland, which had been occupied a few months before, here the German authorities were guided by the objective of inducing at least part of the local populace and administration to collaborate wherever possible. The anticipated collaboration also included anti-Jewish policies, although not all parts of the respective German administrations were equally committed to this goal. Within this context, the power relations and division of responsibilities between the civil administration, the Wehrmacht, and the SS played a role during the two first years of the occupation.

As the documents published here indicate, many members of the non-Jewish population had palpable reservations about the anti-Jewish policies of the occupiers, which aimed at separating the Jews, whether locals or foreigners, from public life in general. However, these reservations were not expressed in such a manner that they altered German policies. This generally also applied to the local administrations. With the passage of time – to a different extent in each individual country – the German occupation authorities succeeded in imposing a stronger hold over local administrations. This in turn enabled the Germans to exert constant pressure upon these local administrations to participate in the persecution of the Jews. The degree to which this pressure was effective would be of great importance for the later overall success in deporting all Jews

212 See Philippe Ganiayre, *Une certaine France: l'Antisémitisme 40-44* (Paris: Balland, 1975); Simon Epstein, *Les Dreyfusards sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2001); Joly, *Darquier de Pellepoix*; Renée Poznanski, *Propagandes et persécutions: La Résistance et le 'problème juif' 1940-1944* (Paris: Fayard, 2008); and the various contributions in *L'Antisémitisme français sous l'Occupation*, *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, no. 198 (March 2013).

213 Poznanski, *Jews in France*, pp. 104–135.

214 Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 76–77.

from each country. Northern and Western Europe differed from Poland (and the Soviet Union), and even from Germany and Austria, in that during the period between summer 1940 and summer 1942 most Jews continued to live in their homes and among the non-Jewish population without being concentrated in designated districts and ghettos. They thus could continue communal, religious, social, cultural, and even political activities which were tolerated by the German authorities.

The Jewish leaderships and representatives in the countries of Western and Northern Europe pursued differing strategies in their conflict with the occupation authorities. Whether they chose refusal, obedience, or efforts at mitigation through legal action or negotiations, the dilemma they faced was essentially similar to that of the Jewish associations and Jewish councils in other occupied and satellite countries, even though during this period the occupiers did not generally force them to cooperate with the same brutality applied there. The fact that they were living without physical separation from the non-Jewish population made things feel less extreme than in Eastern Europe.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, however, the hitherto diverse measures taken against the Jews of Western Europe were increasingly brought into line with each other. Following the Wannsee Conference, held in January 1942, the RSHA accelerated this process of synchronization and made concrete preparations for the deportation of the Jews from the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. Most of Luxembourg's Jews had already been deported by this time, and the Jews of Norway had only a few months remaining until the first transport left that country too, headed for Auschwitz. The 'final solution to the Jewish question' in Western Europe had begun.

List of Documents

Norway

- 1 On 31 October 1939 the Czech literary historian Pavel Fraenkl writes to Professor Harald Schjelderup requesting support for his efforts to emigrate to Norway
- 2 *Egersundsposten*: in an interview published on 30 January 1940, Moritz Rabinowitz comments on antisemitism and the situation for Jews in the war
- 3 On 18 May 1940 Ruth Maier from Vienna describes her loneliness as a refugee in Norway
- 4 On 29 May 1940 the publisher of the National Socialist periodical *Ragnarok* informs the commandant of Oslo about reactions to the visible identification of Jewish businesses
- 5 On 1 April 1941 the Nasjonal Samling newspaper *Fritt Folk* publishes a speech by Vidkun Quisling on the Jews in Norway
- 6 On 21 April 1941 the Jewish Community of Oslo asks its sister community in Trondheim how many Jews are living in northern Norway
- 7 On 9 May 1941 the writer Eugen Lewin Dorsch is arrested by the Gestapo in Norway on account of his anti-German stance
- 8 In diary entries for 30 April to 21 May 1941, Pastor Arne Fjellbu records measures against Jews in Trondheim
- 9 On 5 June 1941 the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Norwegian Territories informs the Reich Foreign Office about the distribution of the Jewish population in Norway
- 10 On 22 June 1941 the Security Police arrest Jewish employees of the Soviet trade mission in Oslo
- 11 On 3 July 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD informs the Reich Security Main Office about attacks on Jewish shops
- 12 On 6 September 1941 the Norwegian Minister of Justice Sverre Riisnæs revokes lawyer Willy Rubinstein's licence on account of his Jewish ancestry
- 13 On 9 September 1941 the Bishop of Oslo, Eivind Berggrav, rejects the prohibition of marriages between Norwegian citizens and Jews or Sami
- 14 On 10 October 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD instructs the head of the Norwegian police to prepare for the stamping of identity documents belonging to Jews
- 15 In a diary entry for 11 November 1941, Pastor Arne Fjellbu describes the arrest of Jews in Trondheim
- 16 In November 1941 an anonymous author reports on the forced closure of Jewish businesses in Trondheim

- 17 On 22 November 1941 Norway's representative in Stockholm criticizes Swedish officials' practice of apprehending refugees from Norway in border areas and sending them back
- 18 *Die Zeitung*, 2 December 1941: article on measures against Jews in Norway and the founding of an anti-Jewish league in Denmark
- 19 *Vestfold Presse*, 10 January 1942: a Norwegian SS member describes his deployment in the war against the Soviet Union and the murder of Jews in Lwów
- 20 On 10 January 1942 the chief of the Norwegian Security Police briefs all police stations about the requirement for Jews to have their identity documents stamped with a 'J'
- 21 On 6 February 1942 the Norwegian Security Police inform the heads of the local police stations about the registration of Jews
- 22 *Fritt Folk*: report published on 9 March 1942 on the first execution of Jews in Norway
- 23 *Aftenposten*, 14 March 1942: article on the reinstatement of the ban on Jews emigrating to Norway
- 24 On 20 June 1942 Ruth Maier describes her ambivalent feelings towards other Jews and towards Austrian members of the Wehrmacht

Netherlands

- 25 On 7 May 1938 Dutch Minister of Justice Carel Goseling announces that refugees from Germany are no longer to be accepted into the Netherlands
- 26 In a poem dated 31 August 1939, Wilhelm Halberstam describes the life of Jewish refugees in the Netherlands
- 27 In a farewell letter dated 14 May 1940, Mr and Mrs Levy arrange the handling of their estate
- 28 Harry C. Schnur describes the German invasion of the Netherlands and his escape on 15 May 1940 from the port at IJmuiden
- 29 On 18 May 1940 a section head at the Reich Security Main Office asks his superiors for permission to confiscate valuable books from Jewish libraries in Amsterdam
- 30 On 20 May 1940 the mayor of The Hague honours a Jewish member of the city council who has taken his own life
- 31 *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 4 June 1940: article welcoming the end of Jewish influence
- 32 On 5 June 1940 Egon von Bönninghausen congratulates the NSB functionary Meinoud Rost van Tonningen on his return from internment
- 33 On 8 June 1940 Einsatzkommando III of the German Security Police reports on the mood in the Netherlands
- 34 *Der Stürmer*, June 1940: article containing a German soldier's initial impressions of Amsterdam
- 35 On 1 July 1940 the Senior Commander of the German Order Police excludes Jews from the Air Raid Protection Service

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- 36 Excerpt from the minutes of an Amsterdam City Council meeting, dated 5 July 1940, concerning the German administration's conduct towards the Jews
 - 37 *De Doodsklok*, 24 August 1940: article demanding that Jews no longer receive ration coupons
 - 38 On 16 September 1940 the head of the Social Youth Service protests against the unequal treatment of Jews and is arrested
 - 39 On 11 October 1940 the secretary general of the Dutch Ministry of Justice asks all officials to prove their Aryan ancestry
 - 40 *De Unie*, 12 October 1940: the heads of the Nederlandsche Unie comment on the situation of the Jews in the Netherlands
 - 41 On 17 October 1940 the secretary of the Central Association of Dutch Postal Workers advises the Rienks sisters on how to fill out the Aryan Declaration
 - 42 On 22 October 1940 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart forces all Jews to register their businesses and determines who is considered a Jew
 - 43 On 24 October 1940 six Dutch Protestant churches write to Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart criticizing the regulations regarding Jewish public officials
 - 44 Willem Limburg issues an invitation to the inaugural meeting of a representative body of Aryan diamond workers on 26 October 1940
 - 45 In a broadcast on Radio Oranje on 29 October 1940, Marcus van Blankenstein condemns the measures taken against the Jews
 - 46 On 25 November 1940 the Dutch secretaries general summarize their position on German policy towards the Jews in a letter to the Reich Commissioner
 - 47 On 26 November 1940 Isaak Kisch, professor of law, delivers a farewell speech to his students
 - 48 On 26 November 1940 the Berlin publisher Erich Erdmenger asks the Office for Economic Investigation in The Hague to provide him with the names of Jewish firms that he could acquire
 - 49 On 28 November 1940 Gertrud van Tijn-Cohn from the Committee for Jewish Refugees asks the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to take up the case of refugees in the Netherlands
 - 50 On 29 November 1940 the Dutch National Socialist P.H. Hörmann writes to his children in Germany about the political situation in the Netherlands
 - 51 Report dated November 1940 on the presence of Jews in the liberal professions and economic life of the Netherlands
 - 52 In an illegal pamphlet written in November 1940, Jan Koopmans criticizes the lack of moral courage within Dutch society
 - 53 *Die Judenfrage*, 20 December 1940: article on the German occupying forces' anti-Jewish policies in the Netherlands
 - 54 On 10 January 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart issues a regulation requiring all Jews to register with the authorities
 - 55 *New York Times*, 14 February 1941: article on riots in Amsterdam

- 56 On 14 February 1941 the Dutch Israelite Religious Community circulates Abraham Asscher's speech concerning the establishment of the Jewish Council
- 57 On 17 February 1941 a representative of the Reich Foreign Office branch in the Netherlands reports to his office in Berlin on the unrest in Amsterdam
- 58 On 17 February 1941 Hans Böhmcker, the Reich Commissioner's representative for the City of Amsterdam, informs the city council about sealing off the Jewish quarter
- 59 *Het Parool*, 17 February 1941: article on the failure of German plans for the Nazification of the Netherlands and the unrest in the Jewish quarter
- 60 On 22/23 February 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter announces the arrest of 400 Jews in response to the unrest in Amsterdam
- 61 On 24 February 1941 an illegal flyer calls for a general strike in protest against the mass arrests of Jews
- 62 In diary entries for 25 and 26 February 1941, Police Inspector Douwe Bakker records the suppression of the February Strike
- 63 On 26 February 1941 the commander of the Wehrmacht in the Netherlands declares martial law and orders an end to the strikes
- 64 On 26 February 1941 P.D. Sondervan describes her impressions of the February Strike in her diary
- 65 On 27 February 1941 Commissioner General for Security and Higher SS and Police Leader Hanns Albin Rauter reports that the situation has eased after the strikes
- 66 In diary entries for 27 February and 2 March 1941, J. C. M. Kruisinga reports on the strike in Amsterdam
- 67 On 12 March 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart issues his Regulation on the Removal of Jews from Economic Life
- 68 In her diary entry for 15 March 1941, Etty Hillesum reflects on her hatred of the German occupiers and their policies
- 69 On 8 April 1941 the café owner Arie Verhoog accuses a Jewish businessman of slander and threatens revenge
- 70 On 18 April 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter orders the establishment of a Central Office for Jewish Emigration
- 71 On 19 April 1941 Maria Grutterink asks the Office for Economic Investigation for permission to sell her pharmacy in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter to a Jew
- 72 *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 20 April 1941: article on the local population's reaction to the persecution of Jews in the Netherlands
- 73 In April 1941 the physician Oscar Cahen announces that he is henceforth only permitted to treat Jewish patients
- 74 British Secret Service report, dated 13 May 1941, on living conditions in the Netherlands and the treatment of Jews
- 75 On 21 May 1941 Arthur Frank asks his cousin Emil Mayer in New York to help him emigrate

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- 76 *Time*, 2 June 1941: article on protests by Dutch students against the dismissal of their Jewish professors and lecturers
- 77 On 4 June 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter bans Jews from public facilities and establishments
- 78 On 12 June 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD informs the Dutch Ministry of Justice how radio ownership in mixed marriages is to be regulated
- 79 On 12 June 1941 Dutch Secretary General Tobie Goedewaagen receives permission to establish a Jewish orchestra
- 80 *Het Parool*, 23 June 1941: article on a new round of anti-Jewish riots in Amsterdam
- 81 In a letter dated 24 June 1941, Emil Mayer expresses regret that he cannot help his cousin emigrate to the USA
- 82 On 3 July 1941 Secretary General of the Dutch Ministry of the Interior Karel J. Frederiks instructs Dutch mayors to stamp a 'J' on all identity cards belonging to Jews
- 83 On 11 July 1941 the Jewish Coordination Committee informs its regional representatives of the German administration's plans to liquidate Jewish businesses
- 84 On 1 August 1941 manufacturer Carl Hubert refuses to pay licensing fees to two agencies that he considers to be Jewish
- 85 Regulation issued by Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart on 8 August 1941 concerning the handling of Jewish financial assets
- 86 On 8 August 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart orders the establishment of separate schools for Jews
- 87 On 14 August 1941 municipal director Klaas Kaan describes the measures already introduced to isolate the Jews and gives his overall assessment of the situation
- 88 On 18 August 1941 representatives of the Jewish Council explain to the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam why there have been no volunteers for labour deployment
- 89 On 28 August 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD clarifies the responsibilities of the newly created Special Department 'J' with regard to the deportation of all Jews
- 90 On 5 September 1941 the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice informs the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs of the results of the registration of Jews
- 91 On 5 September 1941 a mother refuses to fill out an Aryan certificate for her two daughters, citing her Christian beliefs
- 92 On 11 September 1941 the Archbishop of Utrecht states his refusal to exclude baptized children from Catholic schools on the basis of their ancestry
- 93 On 15 September 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter further curtails Jews' freedom of movement in public
- 94 On 25 September 1941 the Dutch Ministry of Public Enlightenment and the Arts complains to the Commissioner General for Security about a Jewish ensemble

- 95 On 2 October 1941 Representative for Amsterdam Hans Böhmcker reports to the Reich Commissioner on measures already taken against Jews in the Netherlands
- 96 *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, 11 October 1941: article on relations between Jews and the non-Jewish Dutch population
- 97 In a memorandum to his colleagues dated 12 October 1941, Meijer de Vries reflects on the role of the Jewish Council and its current options
- 98 On 14 October 1941 the Jewish Coordination Committee expresses concern over the increasing isolation of Jews
- 99 On 5 November 1941 the Reich Foreign Office raises the issue of Sweden's intervention on behalf of Dutch prisoners in Mauthausen concentration camp
- 100 On 5 November 1941 Baruch Wagenaar asks to be allowed to retain his mentally disabled daughter's non-Jewish carer
- 101 On 11 November 1941 the bank Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Sarphatistraat draws up a first summary of compulsory deposits made by Jews
- 102 *New York Times*, 18 November 1941: article on the high death rate among Jews deported to Mauthausen
- 103 On 21 November 1941 Henricus van den Akker reports Hugo Kruijne to the German authorities for being a Jew and continuing to work in the civil service
- 104 On 25 November 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart sums up the state of the 'Jewish question' in the Netherlands
- 105 At a meeting on 27 November 1941, David Cohen informs the Jewish Council about the latest directives from the German occupiers
- 106 In a letter to his friend Lodewijk Ernst Visser, dated 30 November 1941, David Cohen defends the Jewish Council's cooperation with the German occupiers
- 107 On 11 December 1941 Lodewijk Ernst Visser describes his unsuccessful attempts at bettering the situation of Jews arrested in raids
- 108 Report by a member of the British legation in Stockholm, dated 16 December 1941, regarding conditions in the Netherlands
- 109 On 28 December 1941 Rost van Tonningen expresses his dissatisfaction at the progress of Aryanization to Anton Mussert, the leader of the Dutch National Socialist Movement
- 110 On 8 January 1942 the Jewish Council urgently advises that all individuals summoned for labour service heed the directive
- 111 On 12 January 1942 the Jewish Council discusses the expansion of compulsory labour service for Jews
- 112 On 14 January 1942 representatives of the Dutch churches criticize the lack of rights for Jews and the actions of the occupying forces in a letter to the Secretary General for Justice and Administration
- 113 On 27 January 1942 the chairmen of the Jewish Council send out instructions to Jews from the Dutch provinces who are to relocate to Westerbork camp

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- 114 On 28 January 1942 Mayor Voûte asks the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam not to house any more Jews in the city
- 115 In a letter to his children dated 17 February 1942, Felix Hermann Oestreicher describes the tense situation in the family
- 116 *De Misthoorn*, 21 February 1942: article on the racial characteristics of Jews in the Netherlands
- 117 On 23 February 1942 the chief public prosecutor in Arnhem orders the local police to ensure that signs reading 'No Jews allowed' are displayed
- 118 On 25 February 1942 an employee of the Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture confirms the Aryanization of Lazarus Lazarus's farm in Winschoten
- 119 H. M. van Randwijk attempts to galvanize the Dutch people with his illegal pamphlet 'Unless ...', published in February 1942
- 120 On 5 March 1942 Pastor Willem Oosthoek informs the secretary of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of his actions on behalf of the Jews
- 121 On 5 March 1942 the Jewish Council discusses the German occupiers' demand that a further 3,000 Jews be sent to labour camps in the Netherlands
- 122 On 11 March 1942 Dutch Secretary General of the Interior Karel Frederiks criticizes the Reich Commissioner's position that Jews in the Netherlands are not to be regarded as Dutch
- 123 On 20 March 1942 the chairmen of the Jewish Council urge labour camp inmates currently on leave to return to the camps as instructed
- 124 On 23 March 1942 a member of the General Synod criticizes the Dutch Reformed Church's silence regarding the anti-Jewish measures
- 125 In letters dated 24 and 26 March 1942, the secretary of the council of governors of a hospital in Amersfoort and the Archbishop of Utrecht express their opposition to signs banning Jews
- 126 On 1 April 1942 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD confirms that the Nuremberg Race Laws are being applied analogously in the Netherlands
- 127 On 23 April 1942 the Jewish Council appeals to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration for the return of confiscated devotional objects
- 128 *Vrij Nederland*, London, 25 April 1942: article on the increasing number of Jews getting married because unmarried Jews are liable to be sent to labour camps
- 129 On 29 April 1942 Flip Slier writes to his parents, describing life in Molengoot labour camp
- 130 On 29 April 1942 the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration describes the Jewish Council's dismay at the introduction of the yellow star
- 131 In late April 1942 an illegal pamphlet protests against the Aryanization of Dutch economic life
- 132 On 1 May 1942 the journalist J. A. Polak reports on the introduction of the yellow star

- 133 *Storm* SS, 8 May 1942: article on the introduction of the yellow star in the Netherlands
- 134 On 14 May 1942 the Jewish Council faces a demand from the German authorities to send a further 3,000 men to the labour camps, including from the provinces
- 135 *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 15 May 1942: announcement of the directive concerning the billeting of Jews in Amsterdam
- 136 A regulation issued on 21 May 1942 requires Jews to transfer assets to the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank
- 137 On 21 May 1942 the chairmen of the Jewish Council warn of the possible consequences of failing to obey German regulations
- 138 On 1 June 1942 the Dutch National Socialist Antoon Reijnga asks the Office for Jewish Affairs to exempt his wife from wearing the yellow star
- 139 *Tijdschrift voor de Amsterdamsche Politie*, 6 June 1942: article justifying police measures against Jews
- 140 On 8 June 1942 the head of the section for Jewish affairs in The Hague informs the Reich Security Main Office of reactions to the introduction of the yellow star in the Netherlands
- 141 On 16 June 1942 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart instructs the representative for the province of Limburg regarding the handling of cultural assets and household goods belonging to Jews
- 142 On 20 June 1942 Anne Frank describes how her family arrived in the Netherlands
- 143 In her diary entry for 20 June 1942, Etty Hillesum reflects on the humiliation of the Jews
- 144 Samson de Hond describes his family's flight to Switzerland from 17 to 25 June 1942, hidden in a railway wagon
- 145 On 22 June 1942 Adolf Eichmann informs the Reich Foreign Office about the planned deportation of Jews from Western Europe to Auschwitz
- 146 On 29 June 1942 Aaltje de Vries-Bouwes writes in her diary about rumours that hundreds of thousands of Jews have been gassed in Poland

Belgium

- 147 On 8 July 1939 the German Consul General in Antwerp comments on the increasingly anti-Jewish mood in the city
- 148 On 16 February 1940 Gerhard Wolff informs Belgian acquaintances of his daughter's death in detention and appeals for help in returning to Belgium
- 149 In May 1940 Miriam Gretzer records in her diary her family's escape from Belgium
- 150 On 4 June 1940 Arthur Czellitzer describes his flight through Belgium following the German invasion
- 151 *Die Judenfrage*, 7 June 1940: article on the economic and political situation for Jews in Belgium

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- 152 Edith Goldapper describes her flight from Belgium to France in May 1940
- 153 On 16 July 1940 Marguerite Goldschmidt-Brodsky asks the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to help Jewish refugee children from Belgium
- 154 On 30 July 1940 the Belgian police report on how German soldiers mistreated Jews at Antwerp market
- 155 On 8 September 1940 the businessman Norbert Vanneste seeks the support of the German military administration to help him regain his ex-wife's shares in a business
- 156 Report for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, dated 26 September 1940, on the situation of refugees from Belgium in St Cyprien camp in the south of France
- 157 On 11 October 1940 the Belgian secretaries general refuse to follow the instructions from the German military administration regarding the exclusion of the Jews from economic life
- 158 On 28 October 1940 the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France issues the First Jew Regulation
- 159 On 28 October 1940 the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France issues the Second Jew Regulation, ordering the dismissal of all Jewish public officials from the civil service
- 160 *Nationalzeitung*, 8 November 1940: article on the reactions of the Belgian press to the first anti-Jewish regulations
- 161 On 19 November 1940 representatives of Belgium's highest courts lodge a protest with the Military Commander against the dismissal of Jewish judges and lawyers
- 162 On 3 December 1940 the Belgian secretaries general discuss how the anti-Jewish regulations issued by the Military Commander should be implemented
- 163 Prior to 19 December 1940 the provincial government of Limburg instructs the municipal government of Genk on how to deal with the Jews expelled from Antwerp
- 164 On 21 December 1940 the German military administration explains the measures to be taken concerning Jewish public officials in Belgium
- 165 On 16 and 20 February 1941 Ilse Boehm writes postcards to her former teacher and classmates following the expulsion of her family from Antwerp
- 166 On 10 April 1941 the mayor of the municipality of Wilrijk removes Boris Melamid from the Jew registry
- 167 On 24 April 1941 a lawyer from Antwerp enquires into whether her exclusion from the Bar Association is permissible
- 168 On 31 May 1941 the German military administration issues the Third Jew Regulation, which sets out the procedure for the registration and identification of businesses and assets belonging to Jews
- 169 *Steeds Vereenigd-Unis Toujours*, late May 1941: article on looting and assaults on Jews in Antwerp
- 170 *Die Zeitung*, 10 July 1941: article on further economic restrictions imposed on Jews in Belgium

- 171 Excerpt from the German military administration's annual report, dated 15 July 1941, about measures against Jews in Belgium thus far
- 172 On 29 July 1941 the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior instructs the Belgian administration to stamp 'Jew' in the passports of Jewish citizens
- 173 On 29 August 1941 the Chief of the Military Administration restricts freedom of movement for Jews
- 174 *België Vrij*, 20 September 1941: article on the effect of anti-Jewish measures on the Belgian population
- 175 On 29 September 1941 the Chief of the Military Administration summarizes the conditions in Breendonk camp
- 176 On 15 October 1941 the German military administration decides to establish a compulsory association of Jews in Belgium
- 177 On 25 November 1941 the *Brüsseler Zeitung* comments on reactions of Jewish shop owners to the requirement that their businesses are visibly identified
- 178 On 17 December 1941 the head of the Commodity Office for Diamonds justifies the recognition of Jewish diamond brokers
- 179 On 4 January 1942 the internee Mordchai Max Epstein asks the secretary of the Association of Jews in Belgium to send money or food
- 180 In a letter written after 20 January 1942, the Reich Foreign Office warns the Reich Security Main Office about a backlash in the Belgian Congo should measures be taken against Belgian Jews
- 181 On 31 January 1942 the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD outlines how the Belgian antisemitic movement is organized
- 182 On 5 March 1942 the management board of the Association of Jews in Belgium reports on the registration of Jews in Antwerp
- 183 *La Libre Belgique*, 15 March 1942: article on the recently decreed prohibition of all business activity by Jews
- 184 On 18 April 1942 Joseph Schuermans provides the German military administration with a list of the Jewish companies whose goods he wishes to acquire
- 185 Under a regulation issued by the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France on 22 April 1942, the assets of German Jews in Belgium fall to the German Reich
- 186 *Volk en Staat*, 23 April 1942: article warning 'Aryans' about Jews
- 187 On 27 April 1942 the Association of Jews in Belgium explains the structure and activities of the Jewish welfare system to the German military administration
- 188 *Jewish Bulletin*, April 1942: writing from London, Belgian Prime Minister Pierlot stresses the equality of all Belgian citizens before the law
- 189 On 4 May 1942 Szniereł Gecel writes to Salomon Ullmann, chairman of the Association of Jews in Belgium, asking to be released from Rekem internment camp
- 190 On 8 May 1942 the Rosenberg Task Force's head of operations for Belgium summarizes plans for the use of furniture stolen from Jews

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- 191** On 15 May 1942 the Brussels Trust Company comments on the liquidation of Marcel Halpern's company in Antwerp
- 192** On 2 June 1942 Henry Strauß asks the Association of Jews in Belgium whether he is required to register
- 193** On 4 June 1942 the mayors of Brussels refuse to distribute yellow stars
- 194** *L'Ami du peuple*, 13 June 1942: article on the unwillingness of many communities to distribute the yellow star
- 195** On 19 June 1942 the president of the mayoral conference of Brussels refuses to send Jewish students to separate schools
- 196** Salomon van den Berg reflects in his diary on the period from the start of the occupation of Belgium up to 30 June 1942
- 197** An unknown author reports to the World Jewish Congress on forced labour and anti-Jewish measures in Belgium from the start of the occupation to the summer of 1942

Luxembourg

- 198** On 9 July 1940 a night watchman discovers antisemitic slogans on Luxembourg's synagogue
- 199** On 5 September 1940 the provisions of the Nuremberg Blood Protection Law prohibiting marriage and extramarital relations between Jews and non-Jews are introduced in Luxembourg
- 200** A regulation dated 5 September 1940 requires Jews to register their businesses and prevents them from disposing of their assets freely
- 201** On 5 September 1940 the Chief of the Civil Administration calls for the Luxembourg Administrative Commission to dismiss all Jewish public officials
- 202** On 16 September 1940 the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg comments on plans to expel all Jews from Luxembourg within two weeks
- 203** On 6 October 1940 Rosa Steinberg recounts her plight to the Jewish Community of Luxembourg
- 204** *Aufbau*, 7 February 1941: in a letter to the editor, Albert Nussbaum requests assistance for emigrants detained in France
- 205** On 8 February 1941 the government in exile's Minister of Justice requests that the ambassador of Luxembourg in Washington DC help persecuted Luxembourg Jews find asylum
- 206** On 27 February 1941 representatives of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg call for the Courthéoux company to pay compensation to a Jewish employee who has been dismissed without notice
- 207** On 25 April 1941 Berthold Storfer and Paul Eppstein record Eichmann's orders for expediting the emigration of Jews from Luxembourg
- 208** On 7 May 1941 a Jew from Ettelbruck asks the office manager of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg for advice following the theft of his furniture

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- 209 On 13 May 1941 the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg requests permission from the Gestapo to hold services undisturbed
- 210 *Die Judenfrage*, 31 May 1941: article on the expropriation of the Jews in Luxembourg and the Aryanization of the economy
- 211 On 15 July 1941 the head of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg reports on progress regarding the expulsion and persecution of the Jews
- 212 On 29 July 1941 Chief of the Civil Administration Gustav Simon curtails Jews' freedom of movement and requires them to wear a yellow armband
- 213 On 16 September 1941 the musician Kurt Heumann asks the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg for help in obtaining an exemption from forced labour in road building
- 214 On 5 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg announces the imminent deportations to the East
- 215 On 7 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg informs the Jewish population of the Einsatzkommando's instructions for the deportation to the Łódź ghetto
- 216 On 10 October 1941 Gisela Kahn explains her emigration plans and asks to be exempted from the announced deportation to Łódź
- 217 On 13 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg proposes to the Gestapo that the elderly and the sick be housed in Fünfbrunnen Abbey
- 218 On 19 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg expresses the hope that it can still help recently deported people to emigrate to the United States
- 219 On 17 November 1941 the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg warns the Jews against personal contact with non-Jews
- 220 On 20 November 1941 Ester Galler writes a postcard to her son from Fünfbrunnen Abbey
- 221 On 8 December 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg provides information about ways to make contact with persons deported to Litzmannstadt (Łódź)
- 222 By order of the Gestapo, on 7 January 1942 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg instructs its members to hand in articles of warm clothing
- 223 On 16 April 1942 the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg issues instructions regarding preparations for deportation to the General Government
- 224 On 16 April 1942 Alfred Oppenheimer, Jewish elder in Luxembourg, delivers a speech in advance of the impending deportation
- 225 On 22 April 1942 Gertrud Cahen asks Gauleiter Gustav Simon to exempt her mother-in-law from deportation
- 226 On 5 June 1942 the deportee Josy Schlang implores the Jewish Consistory in Luxembourg not to abandon him

- 227 On 20 June 1942 Siegmund Leib reports to the Luxembourg government in exile on the German measures against the Jews

France

- 228 On 11 April 1933 the French chargé d'affaires in Berlin proposes that visas be granted only to carefully selected refugees
- 229 *L'Univers israélite*, 3 February 1939: article marking the 150th anniversary of the French Revolution with a look back at the history of the Jews in France
- 230 *New York Times*, 28 November 1939: letter to the editor regarding the situation for foreign refugees in France
- 231 *Revue OSÉ*, January 1940: article on the care of Jewish children evacuated from Paris by the Œuvre de secours aux enfants (OSE)
- 232 On 17 August 1940 the German ambassador in Paris proposes anti-Jewish measures to the military administration in France
- 233 On 20 August 1940 the German ambassador in Paris asks the Reich Foreign Minister to consent to the introduction of anti-Jewish measures in France
- 234 On 22 August 1940 the sub-prefect of Aix-en-Provence reports on clashes between German Jews and French soldiers in Les Milles internment camp
- 235 On 22 August 1940 General de Gaulle assures the Jewish World Congress that the anti-Jewish regulations will be repealed after the liberation of France
- 236 On 22 August 1940 the German military administration emphasizes the necessity of measures against Jews in the occupied zone of France
- 237 On 1 September 1940 Gabriel Ramet sends his first postcard from Drancy camp to his family
- 238 The Military Commander in France's First Regulation on Measures Against Jews, issued on 27 September 1940, contains provisions to control the Jews and prohibits the return of Jewish refugees to the occupied zone
- 239 In a poem composed in September 1940, the writer Walter Mehring records his experiences in St Cyprien internment camp in the south of France
- 240 *New York Times*, 2 October 1940: article on the Vichy government's plans to enact a law against the Jews
- 241 In the Statute on Jews of 3 October 1940 the Vichy government defines the term 'Jew' and bans Jews from certain professions
- 242 On 4 October 1940 the Vichy government resolves that foreign Jews can be interned by order of the prefect in charge
- 243 In his diary Jacques Biélinky describes life for the Jews in Paris from 19 July to 6 October 1940
- 244 On 7 October 1940 the Vichy government revokes the French citizenship of Jews in Algeria

- 245 On 16 October 1940 the Gauleitung in Baden writes to the Kreisleiter in Alsace about the future use of synagogues
- 246 The Military Commander in France's Second Regulation on Measures Against Jews, issued on 18 October 1940, marks the beginning of the Aryanization of Jewish property in the occupied zone
- 247 On 20 October 1940 Senator Pierre Masse asks Head of State Pétain whether he has to return his family's military decorations
- 248 On 26 October 1940 the Paris Police Prefecture informs the German occupiers of the results of the census of Jews
- 249 While interned at Gurs, Ludwig Baum from Baden writes a letter on 4 November 1940 seeking to secure the release of his personal property
- 250 On 12 and 13 November 1940 Rabbi Kapel shares impressions from his visit to Gurs camp and calls for support for the interned Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate
- 251 In the Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 18 November 1940, Oberfeldkommandantur 670 sets out measures to exclude the Jews in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais départements
- 252 On 21 November 1940 the Reich Foreign Office discusses the Vichy government's protests against the deportation of the Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate to the south of France
- 253 On 21 November 1940 the French Minister of Justice lists ways of establishing the racial status of people who fall under the Statute on Jews
- 254 On 4 December 1940 a French Jew expresses his indignation about the Statute on Jews in a letter to Marshal Pétain
- 255 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 December 1940: article on the utilization of furniture belonging to Jews expelled from Alsace
- 256 On 16 December 1940 representatives from the French ministries discuss the practical implementation of the Statute on Jews
- 257 Between 24 July and 20 December 1940 Raymond-Raoul Lambert writes in his diary about how life has changed for the Jews
- 258 On 30 December 1940 a pupil writes to her teacher, Fanny Lantz, who has been dismissed from her post, to say that she hopes she will return to school soon
- 259 The police in Marseilles report on the speech given by the chief rabbi of France in the main synagogue on 10 January 1940
- 260 On 30 January 1941 the German military administration and deputies of the representative of the Chief of the Security Police discuss the establishment of a French Office for Jewish Affairs
- 261 On 26 February 1941 the Crédit Lyonnais bank gives its regional branches instructions for handling accounts belonging to Jews
- 262 *Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1941: article describing the conditions for German Jews in Gurs camp

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- 263 On 4 April 1941 the German military administration outlines its next steps against the Jews
- 264 On 4 April 1941 Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, Xavier Vallat, outlines the Vichy government's intended policy on Jews to the German Military Commander
- 265 On 23 April 1941 an internee asks the management of Les Milles camp for permission to travel to Marseilles to take care of formalities required for his departure
- 266 On 26 April 1941 the Military Commander's Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews further restricts occupational and economic opportunities for Jews
- 267 In the course of the first roundup of Jews, the Paris Police Prefecture summons Pinkus Eizenberg to appear on 14 May 1941
- 268 *L'Œuvre*, 15 May 1941: article on the arrest of foreign Jews
- 269 With the Fourth Regulation on Measures Against Jews, issued on 28 May 1941, the Military Commander also places Jewish businesses without temporary administrators under German control
- 270 The Vichy government intensifies the exclusion of Jews from professional and economic life with the second Statute on Jews, issued on 2 June 1941
- 271 On 2 June 1941 the Vichy government introduces compulsory registration for Jews
- 272 On 1 July 1941 Theodor Dannecker, head of the Reich Security Main Office's section for Jewish affairs, reports on his plans for the treatment of Jews in France
- 273 On 22 July 1941 the Vichy government enacts the law on the Aryanization of Jewish property in the occupied and unoccupied zones of France
- 274 On 28 July 1941 the wives of interned Jews storm the office of the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations and demand the release of their husbands
- 275 On 31 July 1941 Rabbi Kaplan criticizes the Vichy government's directive introducing compulsory registration for Jews
- 276 *New York Times*: article published on 22 August 1941 on the arrests of Jews in France
- 277 On 26 August 1941 the Chief of the Civil Administration in Alsace considers the use of former Jewish cemeteries
- 278 On 2 September 1941 Pierre Lion makes notes on the course of the war and the situation in France
- 279 On 4 September 1941 Paul Sézille explains the aims of the exhibition *The Jew and France*
- 280 On 10 September 1941 the prefect of the Seine département reports to the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs on the camp at Drancy and its supply problems
- 281 On 10 September 1941 Algerian Jews write to Head of State Marshal Pétain to express their indignation at the anti-Jewish measures enacted
- 282 On 13 September 1941 Pierre Lion writes in his diary about the latest events in Paris and the course of the war
- 283 On 29 September 1941 the director of a Jewish orphanage sends the prefect of the Creuse département the requested information about the religious affiliation of his wards

- 284** In September 1941 the children's aid organization Union OSE reports on its activities for the months of June, July, and August
- 285** On 8 October 1941 the official in charge of Jewish affairs at the German embassy in Paris proposes that Jews held in internment camps in occupied France be deported
- 286** On 23 October 1941 the Reich Security Main Office forbids the emigration of Jews to third countries
- 287** On 24 October 1941 Jewish aid organizations in Marseilles discuss the planned creation of a compulsory organization for Jews
- 288** *New York Times*: article published on 26 October 1941 on President Roosevelt's response to the shooting of hostages in France
- 289** On 6 November 1941 Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Security Police and the SD, comments on his office's involvement in the bombing of synagogues in Paris
- 290** On 11 November 1941 a married couple describe their escape from Paris across the demarcation line into the unoccupied zone
- 291** On 13 November 1941 Fanny Lantz relates the sympathy of friends and relatives to her husband, who is interned in Drancy
- 292** On 15 November 1941 Chaim Rachow asks the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations for agricultural work in order to be able to feed his wife and children
- 293** On 17 November 1941 the Association of French Artists asks that its members submit a declaration of descent
- 294** On 19 November 1941 Gabriel Ramet writes to his parents from Drancy camp
- 295** On 29 November 1941 the Vichy government decrees a compulsory merger of Jewish organizations
- 296** In November 1941 an anonymous writer complains to Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat about Jewish influence in France
- 297** At the end of November 1941 an anonymous letter to Head of State Marshal Pétain denounces discrimination against Jews on the basis of France's race laws
- 298** In diary entries written between 30 November and 11 December 1941, Raymond-Raoul Lambert describes his encounters with Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat
- 299** On 12 December 1941 the Security Police arrest more than 700 Jews in Paris
- 300** On 14 December 1941, after attacks on German soldiers, the German Military Commander in France orders executions and the deportation of Jews
- 301** On 14 December 1941 Jacques Grinbaum writes a final letter to his family before his execution
- 302** *Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1941: article on the shooting of hostages in France
- 303** On 15 December 1941 Isaac Schoenberg writes a letter to his fiancée, describing his life in Pithiviers camp

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- 304 On 21 December 1941 the commandant of Greater Paris is instructed to have the Jews in Compiègne camp examined to determine whether they are fit for labour deployment 'in the East'
- 305 On 24 December 1941 the Reich Security Main Office expresses its opposition to plans to deport French communists together with Jews from France
- 306 In a leaflet from late December 1941, the French Communist Party urges the French to resist antisemitism
- 307 In late 1941 the Jewish Camps Commission reports on its efforts to improve conditions in the internment camps
- 308 On 12 January 1942 the Association of French Banks agrees to approve a loan of 250 million francs for the General Union of French Jews
- 309 On 24 January 1942 the professional association for the furniture industry asks Commissioner for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat to Aryanize furniture companies
- 310 On 3 February 1942 the prefect of Marseilles informs the French Ministry of the Interior about the implementation of the government's anti-Jewish directives
- 311 On 7 February 1942 the German Military Commander in France issues the Sixth Regulation on Measures Against Jews, subjecting Jews to a curfew and a ban on relocation
- 312 On 10 February 1942 the German embassy in Paris informs the Reich Foreign Office of Hitler's decision regarding the handling of deported Jews' household furnishings
- 313 In an anonymous letter dated 12 February 1942, a Jew asks Head of State Marshal Pétain to differentiate between French Jews and Jewish immigrants
- 314 In February 1942 Benjamin Schatzman describes life in Compiègne camp in his diary
- 315 On 2 March 1942 Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat sends the German military administration an overview of dismissed Jewish civil servants and public officials
- 316 On 10 March 1942 Theodor Dannecker reports on a meeting at the Reich Security Main Office, at which the decision was taken to deport 5,000 Jews from France
- 317 On 20 March 1942 Compiègne's police commissioner informs the prefect of the Oise département that a transport of Jews has left Compiègne camp
- 318 On 27 March 1942 Theodor Dannecker informs the Reich Security Main Office that a train carrying 1,112 deported Jews has left France for Auschwitz
- 319 In April 1942 the French Police for Jewish Affairs inform the secretary general of the French police about their investigative work
- 320 In April 1942 the journalist Lucien Rebatet declares his support for the ghettoization of Jews
- 321 *Le Matin*, 6 May 1942: article on the plans of the new commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Darquier de Pellepoix
- 322 On 9 May 1942 Robert Lantz writes his wife Fanny a letter, which was smuggled out of Drancy camp

- 323** In the Eighth Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 29 May 1942, the Military Commander orders that Jews must wear a yellow star
- 324** In early summer 1942 the schoolboy Alain Sené contemplates how Youra Riskine, a Jewish classmate, will react to having to wear the yellow star
- 325** On 8 and 9 June 1942 the student Hélène Berr writes in her diary about her turmoil at having to wear the yellow star
- 326** *Le Cri du peuple*, 11 June 1942: article on a lawyer who wore the yellow star on her robes
- 327** On 18 June 1942 Theodor Dannecker, head of the Reich Security Main Office's section for Jewish affairs, provides information about the departure times of additional deportation trains
- 328** In his last letter from Drancy camp, written on 20 June 1942, Gustave Ziboulsky informs his wife of his impending deportation

DOCUMENTS

Norway



DOC. 1

On 31 October 1939 the Czech literary historian Pavel Fraenkl writes to Professor Harald Schjelderup requesting support for his efforts to emigrate to Norway¹

Letter from Dr Pavel Fraenkl,² Hradec Králové,³ 75 Československé náměstí, to Professor Harald Schjelderup,⁴ Oslo, dated 31 October 1939

Dear Professor,

We are not personally acquainted, but your work is known here to those of us Czechs who are specialists in psychology. For me your name is not 'flatus vocis'.⁵ Your character and all your great efforts to penetrate the human soul are the underlying basis for this name.

I am a stranger to you. But the confidence with which I appeal to you flows from my knowledge of your work. For this reason I do *not* come to you as to a stranger.

I am asking for your help. I am a Czech scholar who has lost his entire livelihood because of the non-Aryan origins of his forebears.⁶ In terms of my field of expertise, I am a literary historian; however, I had applied myself mainly to questions of so-called psychological literary criticism. Almost all of my more major works – a short bibliography of which is enclosed⁷ – were based on this psychological approach to the study of literature.

In this regard perhaps I may mention that I have developed a new research method – new to the field of literary studies – which, in the view of critics, has proven successful for specific analysis of poets.

For months and months I have been looking for a new position; I already had an opportunity to emigrate. Then the war began. Many countries are now closed to me. I am completely on my own. And cannot work. And cannot live ...

I would like to do *everything* in my power to be useful to the scholarly community of your country, which has long-standing intellectual and cultural-historical ties with my native country.

For these reasons I earnestly request: help me! Confer with your colleagues to see whether a position, even if it is entirely temporary, could be found for me at the arts

1 HL-senteret, Oslo, no shelf mark. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Pavel Fraenkl (1904–1985), literary scholar; librarian in Brno, 1930–1939; university lecturer from 1935; reached Norway in 1940; arrested on 4 August 1942 while attempting to flee to Sweden; interned in Grini prison camp; deported to Germany on 29 Jan. 1944; deported in June 1944 to Auschwitz, where he was liberated on 27 Jan. 1945; returned to Norway in August 1945; lecturer at the University of Oslo from 1950.

3 German: Königgrätz. The Czech city was under German occupation in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia from March 1939 to May 1945.

4 Dr Harald Schjelderup (1895–1974), psychologist; professor of philosophy and then of psychology in Oslo, 1922–1928; established Freudian psychoanalysis in Norway; aided refugees seeking to enter Norway, including Wilhelm Reich, from 1933; led a resistance group at the University of Oslo until his arrest on 15 Oct. 1943; interned in Grini prison camp until liberation; again professor of psychology, 1945–1965.

5 Latin: 'words with no meaning'.

6 On the persecution of the Jews in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, see PMJ 3/235–320.

7 Could not be located.

faculty of the University of *Oslo*. I could – as a lecturer or a ‘university fellow’ – give lectures on psychological literary criticism and on comparative literary history. I have also focused on theatre studies (dramaturgy) and could place my expertise at the service of the university library – for I was a librarian at Masaryk University.⁸

Only in this way would it then be possible for me to obtain an entry visa through the Central Pass Control in *Oslo* and thus be able to emigrate. In my case: *periculum in mora*.⁹ If you can – then help me soon.

One human being whose entire fate has collapsed through absolutely no fault of his own (I was not responsible for the origins of my ancestors, after all!!) is approaching another human being. As one intellectual to another.

All my hopes and thoughts now fly to you. Fly to Norway.

Will you be able to decide my fate there?

I have faith in you, I have faith in you, Professor Harald Schjelderup in *Oslo*!!

In sincere and grateful devotion
to you and your work¹⁰

DOC. 2

***Egersundsposten*: in an interview published on 30 January 1940, Moritz Rabinowitz comments on antisemitism and the situation for Jews in the war¹**

*M. Rabinowitz*²

A swarthy foreign-looking man who always seems to be in a rush is often seen about the streets here. This is M. Rabinowitz, perhaps the most well-known man in the county by name and appearance. His name is always in the daily newspapers.³ In spite of the fact that he is 100 per cent businessman and at the head of a large industrial concern, he gives up a lot of his time to provide his countrymen with commentaries on and explanations of the great problems which now concern us all. Perhaps no other Norwegian has

⁸ Masaryk University was founded in Brno in 1919.

⁹ Latin: ‘danger in delay’.

¹⁰ Harald Schjelderup forwarded the letter to the Nansen Relief organization, which then informed Pavel Fraenkl by telegram in early 1940 that a visa for him would be available at the Norwegian Consulate General in Prague one week later: letter from Nansen Relief for Stateless Persons, Oslo, signed Odd Eidem, to Paul Fraenkl in Hradec Králové, dated 18 Jan. 1940, HL-senteret, Oslo, no shelf mark.

¹ *Egersundsposten*, 30 Jan. 1940, pp. 2–4. The daily newspaper appeared from 1865 to 1940 in the southern Norwegian town of Egersund. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

² Moritz Rabinowitz (1887–1942), businessman; born in Rajgród (Poland); owned clothing stores and a textile factory in south-western Norway; went underground on 9 April 1940; arrested on 4 Dec. 1940; deported to Germany at the end of April 1941; from 30 Nov. 1941 in Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he was murdered on 27 Feb. 1942. His life provided the basis for the documentary film *Mannen som elsket Haugesund* (The Man who Loved Haugesund), directed by Jon Haukeland and Tore Vollan, and the play *Rabinowitz* by Marius Leknes Snekkvåg.

³ Moritz Rabinowitz wrote numerous articles and columns for the local press, spoke out against xenophobia and antisemitism, and criticized National Socialist policies in Germany.

travelled as much around Europe in recent times as has Rabinowitz; and he knows the flashpoint Poland through and through. Thus one reads with interest what is on his mind.

Rabinowitz's main hobby is the Jewish question; he goes after misleading comments about Jews like a horsefly and does not give up until the truth is out – even if this means going to court to have such claims declared false. Rabinowitz belongs to that type of Jew who shouts from the rooftops that he is Jewish. Some do find such race-conscious pride irritating. But one must not forget that in many parts of the world it is common practice to regard Jews as inferior individuals. The race-conscious among them tend to react by taking their pride to an extreme, a phenomenon which is not found only among Jews. In reality Rabinowitz is more Norwegian than most of us.

He came to Norway as a 19-year-old in 1902⁴ without a penny to his name. Today he owns one of the country's largest clothing firms – but that is something that every child knows very well ...

Since the Jewish question is now so lamentably pressing, there are many things that we would like to ask Rabinowitz about. We will start with the myth that all Jews are rich.

– We ask: Is it true that all Jews are rich?

– Far from it! Millions of Jews are poor; millions are now living in dire poverty. Here in Norway, for example, where Jews have it good, not many are rich. Overall, Jews in this country are on a par economically with the average person. But in general I think that Jews have a better understanding of human nature than others. We are indeed an ancient people and over a long period have had to adapt to different circumstances.

– How many Jews are there in Norway?

– 1,600.⁵ But I am worried that in a hundred years there won't be any. No new ones are coming, and those that are here will soon be assimilated into the general population.

– Does that worry you?

Rabinowitz doesn't answer this question.

– How do Jews like Norway?

– It is a splendid, cultured land. And here the Jews find what they value most highly: freedom!

– But not all Norwegians seem to appreciate theirs. Do you know of a character in Oslo called Sylten?⁶

– I most certainly do. I myself have taken him to court,⁷ as have many Jews. But we don't take his filthy rag seriously, and even less so the man himself. Fifteen or sixteen anti-semites in Oslo have his back.

4 Moritz Rabinowitz had actually emigrated to Norway in 1901 as a 14-year-old.

5 Approximately 2,100 Jews were living in Norway in spring 1940: see Introduction, p. 15.

6 Mikal Sylten (1873–1964), typesetter; editor of the antisemitic newspaper *Nationalt Tidsskrift* from 1916; joined Nasjonal Samling in 1942; sentenced to one year of forced labour in 1948.

7 The case against Sylten was heard in June 1927. The judge ruled that Sylten had insulted Rabinowitz but also accused Rabinowitz of having provoked Sylten through his conduct and the nature of his business's advertising. Sylten was ordered to print an apology in his periodical *Nationalt Tidsskrift*.

– His publication is certainly not noted for its erudition, and its tone is such that most people who read it find it offensive. Some have therefore conjectured that you Jewish people, on the basis of a rule that every country will at some stage have an antisemitic mouthpiece, support Sylten, in order to have a news outlet directed against you which is as ineffectual as possible. Is there any truth in this?

Rabinowitz's laughter sounds genuine. And we feel ashamed that we still have a tendency to overestimate Jewish influence.

– Apart from that, are other newspapers in Norway all right with you?

– It's only Sylten's rag which persecutes us.

– Do you know anything about the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion'?⁸

– Of course. It was printed in Tsarskoye Selo⁹ and is obviously a vicious fabrication from start to finish.

– But didn't the Jews lose the court case in Switzerland?

– According to Swiss law the publisher of the book had no criminal liability.¹⁰ There was no verdict whatsoever as to whether the book was genuine or not. The famous English newspaper the *Times*, which had printed it, later stated that it had been established that the book was a fake.

– Why do you Jewish people stick so closely together?

– For the same reason as Finland today. The attack there¹¹ has brought us all together in common defence. That's precisely what we do in a country where we are persecuted. In more peaceful conditions we are just like everyone else, with the same percentage of communists, middle-class people, and workers.

– It is said that Jews only employ Jews in their businesses.

– I have 150 men working for me and not one of them is Jewish. But of course I will take on a Jew if he is capable. I treat everyone the same.

– You don't feel Polish any more?

– No, I am a Norwegian. But I have family in Poland. I hear nothing from them. The conditions are horrendous there now. At least 2,000 people are executed or die from want every day.

– How do you know this?

– I am in constant contact with people coming from Poland, there is always someone arriving. The last time I spoke with someone was two weeks ago. The conditions are beyond description.

– Do you think that Poland will be free again?

⁸ *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was a forgery by the Russian secret police. Initially serialized in a Russian newspaper in 1903 and then published for the first time in its present form in 1905 in Russia, it was meant to serve as proof that Jewish representatives had conspired on the fringes of the First Zionist Congress of 1897, held in Basel, to assume global domination. See PMJ 1, p. 30, and PMJ 1/4 and 25.

⁹ District outside St Petersburg containing a former residence of the Russian imperial Romanov family. It was renamed Pushkin in 1937.

¹⁰ In fact, on 14 May 1935 a court in Berne had ruled that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was a forgery and plagiarized, and had sentenced the publishers to a fine.

¹¹ The so-called Winter War began with the Soviet Union's attack on Finland on 30 Nov. 1939 and ended in March 1940 with Finland's defeat.

- Without doubt. It won't be long before He¹² is finished.
- And then?
- Cikorsky¹³ has issued a proclamation in which he promises a democratic constitution with equal civil rights for all minorities. Poland committed a grave error in disregarding minorities. The Poles are hardly going to make this mistake again.
- How do you think the war is going?
- Germany must inevitably lose. And since he (Hitler) has set himself against us, Germany has already lost a great deal. To give you just one small example, the Jews involved in textiles who were driven out of Germany have created a worldwide industrial operation based in Holland. That country, which never had such an industry before, now exports textiles the world over.
- What will you think if Norway gets mixed up in this devilry?
- The Norwegian Jews stand shoulder to shoulder with the Norwegian people. We feel totally Norwegian and we are in the same boat. And if it does come to anything serious, we are prepared to sacrifice everything for our fatherland. Norway is and will remain our home.

DOC. 3

**On 18 May 1940 Ruth Maier from Vienna describes her loneliness
as a refugee in Norway¹**

Handwritten diary of Ruth Maier,² entry for 18 May 1940

18 May 1940, Lillestrøm³

Of course it's stupid to wail because Kurt⁴ sends me a telegram: Is Ruth safe? Cable!⁵

And yet! I'm crying. Because I'm so alone and because someone is worried about me ... very far away ... in America.

I hate Lillestrøm. I want to travel ... travel!

¹² The reference is to Hitler.

¹³ Correctly: Władysław Sikorski (1881–1943), military officer; prime minister of the Polish government in exile, Sept. 1939 to July 1943; military commander-in-chief of the army in exile from Nov. 1939; died in a plane crash off Gibraltar on 4 July 1943.

¹ HL-senteret, Oslo, Ruth Maier's arkiv 007. Published in *Ruth Maier's Diary: A Jewish Girl's Life in Nazi Europe*, ed. Jan Erik Vold, trans. Jamie Bulloch (London: Vantage, 2010), pp. 233–234. This document has been newly translated from the original German.

² Ruth Maier (1920–1942), grew up in Vienna; arrived in Norway as a refugee in Jan. 1939; school-leaving examinations in 1940; worked in the voluntary Women's Labour Service, 1940–1942, then earned a living through craftwork and by posing for artists; took evening courses at the Arts and Crafts School in Oslo; arrested in Nov. 1942 and deported on board the *Donau*, transported to Auschwitz, where she was murdered on 1 Dec. 1942. See also PMJ 2/104, 121, 138, and 202.

³ After her arrival in Norway, Ruth Maier lived at first with friends of her father's in Lillestrøm. Her host father, Arne Strøm (1901–1972), acted as a guarantor for Ruth with the Norwegian authorities.

⁴ Kurt Pollack was a friend of Ruth Maier's from Vienna. He managed to emigrate to the United States.

⁵ The text of the telegram is in English.

Spring ... I long for the few people who are dear to me, who are very far away and sometimes think of me. I would like to have Dittl⁶ with me, Musch,⁷ ... Kurtl ... Susi ... Egon ... all of them, all those who are my friends. We would walk together through these heavenly spring nights. Maybe Kurtl would give my hand a squeeze ... just because it's spring. And we would also forget the loathsome bombers and the war on the 'Western Front'.⁸ All of us together ... dear familiar faces that look at you ... that are dear to you. People ...

My God! I've become so mundane. Yes, once I dreamed of tasks that lay before me, of services that I would perform for mankind ... of work that would give my life fulfilment. Oh! Now I want nothing more than a home ... four walls, a few books and a bit of sky outside the window and ... dear people with whom I want to share my life. Yes. And I want work, so that I don't have to starve to death, so that I can buy coal in winter. I will gladly wash floors, work as a window cleaner to earn money ... that's all. Oh dear, my dreams.

What other people possess – a home – is something I have to work hard for. I don't really have a home here with the Strøm family. I am a stranger. Oh, so strange!

And I don't do any work either. I read. I learn English, French. I am 19 years old and have never had a ... lover.

It's no use consoling oneself with the thought that we are living in inflammatory times. [...] ⁹

6 Nickname for Ruth's younger sister, Judith (b. 1922); in Dec. 1938 she was evacuated on a Kindertransport to Britain, where she later married Hans Suschitzky and became a teacher.

7 Nickname for Ruth's mother, Irma Maier (1895–1964); she managed to flee to Britain in 1939. Ruth Maier also had a visa for Britain, where she could have accepted a job as a housemaid, but instead decided to go to Norway to finish her schooling.

8 On 10 May 1940 the German Wehrmacht had invaded France, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands: see Introduction, p. 13.

9 The passage that follows was crossed out: 'It's true – today world history is being played out. At stake is the existence and non-existence – of England and thus – it's true – also of so-called European civilization. [...] The fight is for its poor, threadbare ideals. Humanity, individual freedom, etc. They have a melancholic, bitter tone. But they have the power to convince Germany's foes that their struggle is justified. The fact is that one cannot view England and France as representative of these eternal truths without smiling ironically at this notion. But it is also true that while'. The sentence breaks off at this point. Then Ruth Maier describes how she was harassed by a Norwegian man while taking a walk.

DOC. 4

On 29 May 1940 the publisher of the National Socialist periodical *Ragnarok* informs the commandant of Oslo about reactions to the visible identification of Jewish businesses¹

Letter from Hans S. Jacobsen,² Moss, to the commandant of Oslo and the areas surrounding the Oslofjord, General von Kemski,³ dated 29 May 1940 (copy)

Dear General,

I refer to our conversation during the evening function to mark the release of the Norwegian prisoners of war that was held at the Grand Hotel⁴ last Thursday and, as you requested, I am sending you this short document concerning the *Jew notices* in Moss.

On 17 May, Jew notices were put up here on the windows and doors of the two local Jewish businesses. Moss is a town of around 12,000 inhabitants and has one Jewish draper and one Jewish dentist. The notices were approximately twice the width of this sheet of paper and about half its length. Yellow paper, at the top a Star of David, below, in large letters, 'Jüdisches Geschäft'⁵ (or 'Jüdischer Zahnarzt',⁶ respectively), below the same in Norwegian, in smaller letters. In the building where I live, and where the dentist also has his practice, the notice was posted in the main entrance of the building too – of all things in a building where one of the two antisemitic periodicals in Norway⁷ is published – but this notice was removed after consent was obtained from the SS Death's Head Unit⁸ that was redeployed here.

The population has become extremely upset about this, not so much because of the antisemitic bias – although both Jews are generally respected in the town as quiet, hard-working people who are not politically active – but rather because it is viewed as an act of profound interference in the domestic and civil affairs of Norway. The Norwegian people are defiant, and the purely practical effect, as far as I can interpret the general mood, will be an increase in revenue for the two Jews. That was certainly not the idea. When it is pointed out that the notices are there to prevent German soldiers from entering

1 NRA, Statspolitiet, Jødeaksjonen, 'Mappe 25: Sachakten C II B 2 (6)'. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hans Solgaard Jacobsen (1901–1980), economist, shipping agent and journalist; fellow at the Institute for the World Economy and Maritime Transport at the University of Kiel, 1922–1925; publisher of the monthly periodical *Ragnarok*, 1934–1945; mayor of the town of Moss, 1940–1945; county governor of Østfold, 1941–1945; member of Nasjonal Samling, 1933–1934 and 1940–1945; sentenced to eight years of hard labour in 1948.

3 Correctly: Hans von Kemscki (1883–1970), military officer; divisional commander of the 199th Infantry Division in Oslo from 1 Nov. 1940 to 1 April 1942; placed on the retired list in 1942; in British captivity from May 1945 to March 1947.

4 Nasjonal Samling had been founded in the Grand Hotel on Karl Johans Gate in Oslo in May 1933.

5 German: 'Jewish shop'.

6 German: 'Jewish dentist'.

7 Jacobsen is referring to the periodical *Ragnarok*, of which he was publisher. He was a champion of pan-Germanic ideas and a disciple of Nordic mysticism. In commentaries and contributions to discussions, the periodical imparted the world view of its publisher. It remained independent during the occupation.

8 In April 1940 SS Death's Head Regiments 6 and 7 of the 2nd SS Division 'The Reich' were redeployed to Norway.

Jewish establishments, the reply is that no notice in Norwegian would be needed in that case, at most a requirement for the Jews to make German soldiers aware that they are Jews. Alternatively, if posting a notice is deemed essential, then merely a Star of David. A large-scale collection of signatures here in the town was proposed in this matter, but I advised the pastor against it, and counselled against it again repeatedly following my conversation with you, General, and with Vice President Dellenbusch.⁹ Nonetheless, a few signatures from local institutions were sent by the local Fylkesmann (county governor) to the Administration Council¹⁰ (Justice Department).¹¹

I hope that this matter will be resolved. A review of the issue would clear the air and contribute to better cooperation between the German authorities and the Norwegian population.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Reich commissioner's private secretary, Dr Lehmann,¹² and to the Norwegian chief of police, Jonas Lie,¹³ who discussed the matter with us on the evening of the event for the prisoners of war.¹⁴

DOC. 5

On 1 April 1941 the Nasjonal Samling newspaper *Fritt Folk* publishes a speech by Vidkun Quisling on the Jews in Norway¹

The leader of Nasjonal Samling has demanded common European legislation on the Jews. In relative terms, the Jews have done more harm in Norway than in many other countries with a larger percentage of Jews.

- 9 Karl Eugen Dellenbusch (1901–1959), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1932 and the SS in 1939; vice president, under Josef Terboven, in the Office of the Governor of the Rhine Province in Koblenz from 1935; head of the Main Department for the National Economy in the Reich Commissariat of Norway, April to August 1940; territorial commissioner in Bergen from August 1940; representative of the Regierungspräsident of Cologne in 1942; imprisoned from 27 Sept. 1945; sentenced to a fine by a German court in Dec. 1947; subsequently practised law in Wuppertal-Elberfeld.
- 10 After the German occupation of the country, in April 1940 the Norwegian Supreme Court, in consultation with the German envoy, appointed the so-called Administrative Council, which was tasked with the administration of Norway. The council was replaced in Sept. 1940 by the acting state counsellors appointed by Reich Commissioner Terboven.
- 11 Norwegian Ministry of Justice.
- 12 Dr Wilhelm Lehmann (b. 1908), lawyer and philologist; joined the NSDAP and SS in 1933; attaché at the German embassy in Oslo, then worked in the Reich Commissariat; Reich Foreign Office representative within the 1st Panzer Army High Command, 1942–1943.
- 13 Jonas Lie (1899–1945), police officer; appointed by Terboven to serve as political police inspector in June 1940; minister of police in the Quisling government, 1942–1945.
- 14 In the written reply, dated 14 June 1940, the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD for Oslo, Frederikstad Field Office, advised that given the small number of such establishments, the visible identification of Jewish-owned businesses could be dispensed with. The signs were purportedly removed by the local police authorities: NRA, Statspolitiet, Jødeaksjonen, 'Mappe 25: Sachakten C II B 2 (6)'.

1 *Fritt Folk*, 'Jødene har gjort forholdsvis mere vondt i Norge, enn i mange andre land med langt større jøde-procent', 1 April 1941, pp. 1–2. *Fritt Folk* was the national newspaper of the Nasjonal Samling party. It appeared from March to Oct. 1936 as a daily newspaper, then as a weekly and again as a daily newspaper from 1 April 1940. From its foundation it received funding from

Why Europe now needs common legislation on the Jews.

In his address, among other things the leader² gave an account of 'how the Jewish Hambro³ family entered the country and gradually, through intermarriage, corrupted the blood of many good Norwegian families. Was it the Secret Service that stood behind the Oxford Group,⁴ which entered Norway under the auspices of the Hambros, among others?' The leader went on to describe how Norway was Judaized via the press, literature, schools, and art, and that the catastrophe of 9 April⁵ was the inevitable natural consequence of this situation. He also rebuked Freemasonry, emphasizing that around 10,000 good Norwegians have in this way become artificial Jews, and ended by highlighting the unfading glory of Adolf Hitler and Germany in the struggle against Judaism, Freemasonry and the ally of these dark powers, international Anglo-capitalism.

At the conference that was held recently in Frankfurt by the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question,⁶ the leader of Nasjonal Samling, as stated above, gave a speech on the state of the Jewish question in Norway. The address attracted considerable attention – not least because there he made his demand for common European legislation on the Jews.

[...] ⁷

As one can see, Norway, with its key strategic and political position in northern Europe and its relatively abundant goodwill⁸ in the world, in recent generations and particularly since the last war has been subject to an extraordinarily insidious major attack from the forces of international Jewry.

Germany; in Oct. 1942 it had a circulation of 34,500 copies. An edited version of Quisling's speech was also published under the title 'Norway' in the periodical *Weltkampf: Die Judenfrage in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1/2 (April–Sept. 1941), pp. 77–84. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 The author is referring to the leader (*fører*) of Nasjonal Samling, Vidkun Quisling (1887–1945), military officer; defence minister, 1931–1933; founded Nasjonal Samling in 1933; advocated the occupation of Norway by German troops and then proclaimed himself head of government, although the German occupation authorities did not initially recognize him as such; prime minister of the Norwegian collaborationist government from 1 Feb. 1942; sentenced to death after the war and executed on 24 Oct. 1945.

3 Members of the Hambro family emigrated to Norway from Denmark in the nineteenth century.

4 The Oxford Group was an interdenominational Christian organization founded by the American Frank Buchman (1878–1961). It championed 'moral rearmament' and reconciliation among peoples. The Oxford Group is not to be confused with the Oxford Movement, an Anglican movement of religious renewal established around 1830.

5 The German invasion of Denmark and Norway began without warning on 9 April 1940; it was intended to prevent a landing of British troops in Scandinavia: see Introduction, p. 13.

6 The Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question had been set up in 1939 as a satellite of the NSDAP's planned elite university, the Advanced School (Hohe Schule). Representatives of other countries also attended the three-day inaugural conference, which took place from 26 to 28 March 1941: see PMJ 3/170.

7 Here Quisling spoke about the Christianization of Scandinavia around 800 and the arrival of the first Jews in the territory of what is now Norway. He referred to the prohibition of the immigration of Jews contained in the first Norwegian constitution of 1814 and addressed the immigration of Jews since the 1930s, as well as the danger that Jews posed to Norwegian society.

8 English in the original.

No nation in the world could have repelled such a concentrated attack on its very nerve centre. And precisely because Norwegians are typical of a primitive people and are in many ways well-meaning and trusting, they were completely unprepared and uncomprehending in the face of such a well-organized attack. Only our Nasjonal Samling movement determinedly resisted.

It was not long before the work of Mr Hambro⁹ and his companions very nearly achieved its intended goal in Norway, with fateful consequences not only for the rest of the North but also for all of Europe.

On 9 April 1940, with only a few hours' head start, the Anglo-Jewish attempt to occupy Norway and to strike at the heart of German defences from the north was scuppered.

According to Hitler's statement in his speech of 15 March this year, 'as a result the gravest danger for Germany's military and economic position was thus successfully averted'.¹⁰

Furthermore, Jewish power and influence in Norway was thereby broken. Many of the Jews and a number of others in Norway who worked for the forces of international Jewry and were in the service of Albion¹¹ fled abroad. Among them the multifaceted Mr Hambro, who now operates as a warmonger in America and has rendered his impressions of the North in a book with the title significant for the wandering Jew: '*What I saw in Norway*'.¹²

Freemasonry and the political parties have been dissolved. The Nasjonal Samling movement has taken control of the state as the party that embodies and leads the state.¹³ The construction of a new National Socialist state is progressing relentlessly, accompanied by the continuing elimination of Anglo-Jewish influence in every field – dynastic, political, social, economic, cultural, and in the biology of race. From the national decline and collapse that the Jews brought upon our people a national revival is growing. A new Norway is arising, based on the firm foundations of National Socialism and Nordic race principles, working in solidarity with our brothers, the Greater German Reich, and determined to take its place and to make its contribution in the new Europe, liberated from England and Israel.

Thus, in a remarkable manner the *primordial concept of Nordic mythology is being realized, according to which the eternal struggle between Aryans and the forces of Jewry*

9 Carl Joachim Hambro (1885–1964), journalist; editor-in-chief of the *Morgenbladet*, 1913–1920; Høyre (Conservative Party) member of the Storting from 1919; president of the Storting, 1926–1933 and 1935–1945; president of the League of Nations Assembly, 1939–1940; fled via Sweden to the United States in April 1940; representative of the Norwegian government in exile in the United States, 1940–1944; member of the United Nations General Assembly, 1945–1956. In June 1940 he organized the flight of the Norwegian royal family and several members of parliament.

10 Quote from a speech given by Hitler in Berlin on 16 March 1941 to mark Heroes' Commemoration Day (*Heldengedenkttag*). Published in *Der großdeutsche Freiheitskampf*, vol. 2: *Reden Adolf Hitlers vom 10. März 1940 bis 16. März 1941*, ed. Philipp Bouhler (Munich: Franz Eher Nachfolger, 1941), pp. 241–242.

11 Literary term for the British Isles and sometimes specifically for England, often used in reference to historical times.

12 Carl Joachim Hambro, *I Saw It Happen in Norway* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1940).

13 Norway was in fact completely under the control of the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Norwegian Territories. Nasjonal Samling was the only party still permitted but had no real power vis-à-vis the German authorities: see Introduction, pp. 31–32.

will end in a final terrifying battle, Ragnarök,¹⁴ the twilight of the Aryans brought about because the Aryans received the Jews into their midst, thereby weakening their godly power. But the Aryan world only perishes to be reborn in greater splendour. In the decisive battle the world serpent and the wolf of war,¹⁵ the vile progeny of the Jews, will be brought down. The old world will collapse and a new world will forge ahead, populated by a more vigorous and joyful human race.

We live in a time that is witnessing the release of a Jewish-inspired worldwide conspiracy against European civilization. The greatest contradictions in the world today are in reality reduced to a duel between Jewry and the European principle.

Jewry is a nation. But unlike all other nations, the Jews live spread out over the whole world as parasites on other peoples, hostile to all other nations and in constant war with them. Consciously or unconsciously, their goal is to break down the other nations' natural national organization in order to exercise their world domination, and to realize the nationalism and imperialism which are determined by the Jewish religion. The waning of Jewish nationalism in the nineteenth century was followed by a heightened nationalism in the twentieth, the terrible effects of which we are now witnessing.

And this necessitates a solution to the eternal problem of the Jews. This problem is an international one. It can therefore only be solved internationally, or at least continentally.

For this, therefore, what is firstly required is legislation on the Jews that is not only national but also international, so in this case common throughout Europe. And this legislation must take no account of the usual shallow and false attitudes. It must build on the genuine facts of the Jewish problem and the specific Jewish national character and thus in the first instance forbid the mixing of races and deny Jews civic rights and access to them. And, secondly, as the Jewish question cannot be solved simply by eradicating the Jews or sterilizing them, in order to prevent their parasitic existence they, like all other peoples in the world, must be given their own country. Their former land, Palestine, has, however, belonged to the Arabs for centuries. There is therefore no better or milder way of solving the Jewish problem than by providing them with another promised land and sending them all there together, thus, if possible, bringing peace to the eternal Jew and his divided soul.

In order to put an end once and for all to the alien, oriental pestilence in Europe, we must make use of the opportunity that the fortunes of war have offered by placing Europe under the decisive personality of Adolf Hitler, who already is due the everlasting honour of having saved the people of Europe from becoming the Jews' prey, and who in his staff of co-workers headed by Reichsleiter Rosenberg¹⁶ has such great experience and expertise at his disposal in this area.

14 Old Norse for 'fate' or the 'twilight of the Gods'; in Nordic mythology it represents the end of the world.

15 In Nordic mythology, the 'world serpent' is a sea serpent that encircles the world (Old Norse: Midgard) and, like the 'wolf of war' (Old Norse: Fenrir), is one of the three enemies of the world.

16 Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), head of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office, 1933–1945; plenipotentiary of the Führer for the supervision of the entire intellectual and ideological training and schooling of the NSDAP (Amt Rosenberg), 1934–1945; Reich minister for the occupied Eastern territories, July 1941 to 1945; sentenced to death by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1946 and executed.

The solution to the Jewish problem in Europe will be if not the crowning glory then one of the most important pillars of the new order and of the peace that will follow the great war the Jews and England have inflicted upon Europe. Inspired by the greatest foresight, this will be an act that perhaps more than any other will ensure peace and prosperity for future generations.

DOC. 6

On 21 April 1941 the Jewish Community of Oslo asks its sister community in Trondheim how many Jews are living in northern Norway¹

Letter from the Mosaic Religious Community of Oslo, unsigned, to the Mosaic Religious Community of Trondheim, dated 21 April 1941 (copy)

Urgent!

Re: census

The Mosaic Religious Community, *Trondheim*

The German Sicherheitspolizei² Oslo has ordered a census of all Jews in Norway.

You must therefore count all members of the congregation, i.e. Jews of all ages, and send the lists to us by post immediately. Non-members must also be included, though only full Jews.

You must state: how many live in

Trondheim

Kristiansund N³

together with all towns to the north and/

or rural districts.

The census must be completed and the lists sent to me by the end of April.

Yours faithfully

1 Jødisk Museum i Oslo, Archives of the Jewish Community, correspondence, box 18. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 German in the original: 'Security Police'.

3 In order to distinguish the location from Kristiansand in southern Norway, N, for 'north', is usually added to the town's name.

DOC. 7

On 9 May 1941 the writer Eugen Lewin Dorsch is arrested by the Gestapo in Norway on account of his anti-German stance¹

Daily report no. 5 (marked 'secret') from the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD (BdS) in Oslo (IV C 3 – B. Nr. 455/41 g),² signed p.p. SS-Sturmabführer Dr Knab,³ to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), dated 13 May 1941

[...]⁴

4. *Jews and Freemasons*

On 9 May 1941 the Jew

Eugen Lewin *Dorsch*⁵

(born 24 April 1883 in Berlin, from Oslo)

was taken into custody by the Office of the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD in Oslo. In a confidential letter to Professor Mowinckel,⁶ Oslo-Blindern, Student Residence, Dorsch had written, among other things:

And for the very near future, I wish that you may experience, united with your family and in very good health, the return of freedom and of your king,⁷ the return of everything that the marauding German troops have driven out of Norway. May this happen soon in our days, as it is said in many Jewish prayers that express the hope for the kingdom of God.

I sincerely hope that I can congratulate you in the not all-too-distant future on another day of rejoicing, namely on the day when the two political villains – par nobile fratrum⁸ – who are now trying to shatter civilization and humanity to smithereens will hang where they belong, that is, from a very high gallows. With every stroke of the clock, the hour of reckoning draws closer.

1 NRA, Reichskommissariat, Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Nord: series SIPO und SD: supplement box 1. Published in Volker Dahm, Beatrice Sandberg, and Stein Ugelvik Larsen (eds), *Meldungen aus Norwegen 1940–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Norwegen*, vol. 1 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. 271–273. This document has been translated from German.

2 Heinrich Fehlis was the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD (BdS) in Norway from autumn 1940 until the end of the war.

3 Dr Werner Knab (1908–1945), lawyer; joined the NSDAP and SA in 1933 and the SS in 1934; worked in the Reich Security Main Office from 1939; head of Dept. IV (Gestapo) with the BdS in Norway, 1940–1941; with the BdS in Kiev as a member of Operational Group C and head of Dept. IV, 1942–1943; commander of the Security Police and the SD in Lyons, 1943 until August 1944; responsible for a massacre of the civilian population in the French town of Vassieux en Vercors in 1944; killed in an air raid on Bavaria.

4 Item 1 of the report contains information on the general resistance movement, sabotage and terrorist activity; there are no remarks under items 2 and 3.

5 Eugen Lewin-Dorsch, also Eugen Lewin Dorsch, born E. Lewin (1883–1941), writer and ethnologist; studied in Zurich from 1923; emigrated to Italy in 1934; reached Norway with the assistance of the Norwegian consul in Rome in Sept. 1939; the first Jew to be deported from Norway to Germany, June 1941; perished on 3 Oct. 1941 in Mauthausen camp.

6 Sigmund Olaf Plytt Mowinckel (1884–1965), theologian; university lecturer from 1917; professor in Oslo from 1933.

7 The royal family had left Norway on 7 June 1940, three days before the capitulation.

8 Latin: (ironic) 'a noble pair of brothers'.

A satirical [!] saying follows:⁹

that the weak shall not
 forever fall victim
 to each brazen murderous gesture.
 Something akin to righteousness
 lives and works in night and horror¹⁰
 and a kingdom shall yet rise up,
 seeking peace upon the earth.

Dorsch, who lived in Italy for several years, moved from there to Switzerland and arrived in Norway as a political immigrant in 1938.¹¹ During the house search that was performed here, it was determined that D., who worked as a writer, was concealing an extensive store of banned literature (émigré newspapers, private letters with anti-German contents and the like) in his apartment. Investigations are ongoing.
 [...] ¹²

DOC. 8

In diary entries for 30 April to 21 May 1941, Pastor Arne Fjellbu records measures against Jews in Trondheim¹

Diary of Arne Fjellbu,² entries for 30 April to 21 May 1941

Persecution of the Jews begins

30 April. Yesterday, the schoolmaster Mendelsohn³ came to see me in a very distressed state. He was able to tell me that the Jewish synagogue had been taken over by the

9 The passage that follows is from the poem 'Friede auf Erden!' (Peace on Earth) by Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, written in 1886.

10 In C. F. Meyer's poem, the original wording is 'weaves and works in murder and horror'.

11 The date is incorrect: Dorsch arrived in Norway in 1939.

12 There are no remarks under item 5; item 6, 'Specific Incidents', contains a report on the exposure of a cheque fraud.

1 Published in Arne Fjellbu, *Minner fra Krigsårene* (Oslo: Land og kirke, 1946), pp. 104–110. An English translation appears in *Memoirs from the War Years* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1947), pp. 107–113. The diary is located in the University Library Trondheim, spesialsamlingen, Privatarkiv nr. 16, Supplement innlevert 30/4 1999. These documents have been newly translated from Norwegian.

2 Arne Fjellbu (1890–1962), Protestant theologian; dean of Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim from 1937; after protesting against a service held by a National Socialist pastor in Trondheim Cathedral, Fjellbu was dismissed in Feb. 1942, and in response all Norwegian bishops resigned their posts on 24 Feb. 1942. Fjellbu fled to Sweden in 1944 and was bishop of Trondheim from 1945. He kept a diary from 1940 until the end of the war.

3 The reference is to Oskar Mendelsohn (1912–1993), teacher; secretary of the Jewish Community of Trondheim; teacher in Trondheim, 1938–1942; fled to Sweden in 1942; grammar school teacher in Uppsala until the end of the war; chairman of the Jewish Community of Oslo, 1945–1948; author of *Jødernes historie i Norge: Gjennom 300 år* (2 vols., 1987).

Germans without warning.⁴ They could barely retrieve their belongings. They felt that their sanctuary had been violated. A synagogue has been set up in his father's apartment.⁵ But now the Germans were going around and inspecting their apartments and it was said that all the Jewish homes would be seized and the Jews would be thrown out onto the street. We then agreed that he should come to me later that day with the lawyer Cappelen.⁶ At about two o'clock he came back with Cappelen, old Mendelsohn, and Isidor Isaksen.⁷ Isaksen's villa had already been seized, and the family was to be out by 8 May. Cappelen and I maintained that we should make absolutely certain that this was really a campaign against the Jews, such that one could talk of persecution of Jews. After all, Norwegians' homes had also been seized, and we could not do anything about one or other Jewish homes being taken, if there was no system in this madness. The Jews were totally in agreement with us on this. Isaksen also said: 'We will gladly endure the suffering that other Norwegians have to endure in these times, but we are outraged at being treated in a special way. We are, after all, also law-abiding Norwegian citizens who pay their taxes.' The Jews promised that they would give us as accurate as possible an account of what was going on with Jewish homes and property, and if it were a question of persecution of Jews, Cappelen and I would go to see Bergan,⁸ the town mayor, and Prytz,⁹ the county governor, to get them to take up their fellow countrymen's case.

The meeting at the office was very emotional. The Jews were grateful that someone was going to help them. We were moved in particular by Mendelsohn senior. He felt that what he held sacred had been violated. We got an impression of the Jews' feelings towards what is holy.

1 May. Yesterday the lawyer Cappelen and I went to see Mayor Bergan and County Governor Prytz on the matter of the Jews. The time had been agreed beforehand. We

4 Members of the German Security Police seized the synagogue, the interior of which was destroyed; the building was used for storage until the end of the war. The Jewish Community thereafter held services in a private apartment; later it was able to use rooms in the Methodist church for secret services.

5 Aron Mendelsohn (1871–1943), businessman; born in Lithuania; emigrated to Norway in 1894; co-founder of the Jewish Community of Trondheim; before the seizure of the synagogue he was able to salvage Torah scrolls and a portion of the books belonging to the Jewish Community; arrested on 25 Nov. 1942; deported on 24 Feb. 1943 to Auschwitz, where he perished on 3 March 1943.

6 Johan Cappelen (1889–1947), lawyer; from 1922 barrister at the Supreme Court in Oslo; mayor of Trondheim, 1931–1934; county governor of Sør-Trøndelag, 1940 and 1945–1947; arrested on 3 March 1943 as a member of the civilian resistance organization Sivorg; imprisoned, 1943–1945; minister of justice and the police, 1945.

7 Isidor Isaksen (1896–1943), retailer; owner of a clothing store in Trondheim; head of the Jewish Community of Trondheim; arrested on 28 July 1942; deported on 26 Nov. 1942 to Auschwitz, where he perished on 9 April 1943.

8 Olav Bergan (b. 1890), worked in a bank; director of the Norsk-Russisk Oljekompani, 1936–1938; member of Nasjonal Samling; mayor of Trondheim, 1940–1943; manager of the bank AS Forretningsbanken in Trondheim, 1943–1945; after the war sentenced by a Norwegian court to twelve years of hard labour; released in 1950 and pardoned in 1951.

9 Frederik Prytz (1878–1945), businessman; co-founder of Nasjonal Samling and chairman of the party's finance committee in 1933; county governor of Sør-Trøndelag from 1940; finance minister in Quisling's government, 1942–1945; died of an illness in 1945.

went first to Bergan. He was noncommittal and smooth-talking. It was not necessary to say much there. When Cappelen stressed that it would be a pity if Trondheim was at the forefront of persecution of Jews in the country and that Bergan as mayor should do his best to prevent such shame descending on the town, the latter immediately became very eager and rang Phoenix¹⁰ to talk to Ling,¹¹ but Ling was not there. We then proceeded to the governor's office. He received us cordially but nervously. When Cappelen told him what it was about, he said straight away: 'I am against the persecution of the Jews, and neither do I agree with the party on the question of Freemasonry.' After Cappelen had told him everything in a calm and collected manner, I took over and said, among other things, 'We must be completely clear that it is not just about seizing one or other Jewish homes. Jews must put up with this like the rest of us, but there is the question of Jews being treated as a separate class. If that happens, I can assure you that the Church will be in a state of alarm from one end of the country to the other. The Church is 100 per cent united on this, and we will not stand for this sort of thing.' The governor then got very irritated and asked whether we realized that this was a threat. I did not deny this. The governor continued: 'I do not think it would be a good idea for me to convey your threat to our government, because there are so many pastors who have adopted a hostile attitude towards the N.S.¹² that it could be very dangerous for the Norwegian Church. It could have a bearing on the Church's very existence. The Church is today in a very weak position and you should be careful.' I objected that it would be more dangerous for the Church if it did not respond to the persecution of Jews. If it did not protest against injustice at all, its existence would be threatened. It is our duty to obey the scripture: 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, etc.'¹³ Then the governor surprised us with the following observation: 'I know there are many pastors who have maintained that no one can hold out for long at the tip of a bayonet. From my time in Russia in the years 1908–29, I know that it certainly is possible.' This was probably a slip of the tongue by the governor. He admitted that the N.S. remains in power with the help of German bayonets. However, the governor promised to go to Ling and also if necessary to Terboven¹⁴ in Oslo. But he had little hope of success. 'The steamroller rolls on', he said, 'and it can't be stopped. It is of little consequence what a single person tries to stop.'

Now we are awaiting a report from Bergan and the governor on the progress of negotiations with Ling.

10 Hotel Phoenix housed the headquarters of the regional German occupation authorities.

11 Hermann Ling (1899–1945), retailer; joined the NSDAP in 1929; member of the SA, 1930–1936; joined the SS in 1936; worked for the SD in Düsseldorf; commander of the Security Police in Trondheim, autumn 1940 to Oct. 1941; member of Einsatzgruppe C in the area of Army Group South, April 1942, then in the area of the Higher SS and Police Leader for Russia-South attached to the commander of the Security Police in Dnepropetrovsk; deployed in Belarus as a member of SS Special Regiment Dirlewanger from June 1944.

12 Nasjonal Samling.

13 Galatians 3:28 (KJV); a chapter on how all are equal in the eyes of God.

14 Josef Terboven (1898–1945), bank employee; joined the NSDAP in 1923 and the SA in 1925; participated in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; Gauleiter in Essen from 1929; Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, 1935; appointed by Hitler as Reich commissioner for the occupied Norwegian territories in April 1940; committed suicide on 8 May 1945.

2 May. Pastor Pfetsch¹⁵ came to see me. During the conversation I raised the question of persecution of the Jews. He was by and large in agreement with Germany's laws on the Jews. The worst thing in Germany was mob persecution of the Jews, and this of course he could in no way condone. I observed that if Jews came to be persecuted in Norway, a united Church would step forward in protest. He had to admit that the Church had done nothing like that in Germany. There the Church had only protested sporadically about the persecution of the Jews, something which he did perceive as weakness. We subsequently turned to the matter of how one should preach. Here he expressed himself more frankly. He said that to start with his preaching had given people heart palpitations. They were scared that he would say too much, but eventually he fell back on the timeless,¹⁶ which he thought was the right thing to do. I observed that it was absolutely necessary for the Church to denounce injustice as a sin, and to make this quite categorical. The Church was the only institution now in a position to put this label on what was going on, and this was a responsibility that the Church had to bear. He said that my stance was like that of the 'Deutsche Christen'¹⁷ in Germany. In Germany one spoke of Christ and Hitler, but I spoke of Christ and the Norwegian people. I protested against this. The important thing is that our nation remains a Christian nation, and therein must lie the true purpose of Christian preaching.

While he was here, Mendelsohn arrived. He waited until the German pastor had finished and then he came in. Mendelsohn was excited to find out how it had gone. I had not heard anything and rang Cappelen, who asked me to come down to the office. Cappelen was able to tell me that both Prytz and Bergan had visited Ling, who, however, had nothing to do with the matter. A new organization had been set up, the Wehrmacht police, with its own colonel.¹⁸ It was he who was responsible. Prytz felt that he could not approach this colonel for reasons of etiquette, as the colonel had not paid a visit to the governor. This is a big deal for big people. Questions of etiquette are more important than people in distress. Cappelen was going to find out whether Bergan was less sensitive on the issue and would go to the colonel. Otherwise, we would seek him out ourselves.

That afternoon, all the town's pastors convened. I brought them up to date on the Jewish question. They supported everything we had done. Today I received notification from the Phoenix that Ling has forbidden me to subsequently set foot in the prison to visit the Norwegian prisoners. I asked the reason for this but got no answer. I was merely told that the prohibition was absolute. I do not know why. The explanation will come later.

15 Walter Pfetsch (1908–1973), German Protestant theologian; pastor in Glatten from 1935; navy chaplain from June 1940; pastor in Stuttgart from 1950.

16 Words missing in text.

17 German in the original: 'German Christians'. In 1932, Pastor Joachim Hossenfelder (1899–1976) founded the German Christians, a religious movement within the Protestant Church that was affiliated with the NSDAP and sought to combine Lutheran Christianity with racist and nationalist ideals. It aimed to dissolve the regional churches, create a Reich Church, and to exclude Jews. The German Christians won the church elections in summer 1933 and membership soon reached a million. The movement's radical demands and support for Nazi principles caused many members to leave and led to a split in the German Lutheran Church and the creation of the Confessing Church, which opposed Nazi control over religious life. See PMJ 1/88 and PMJ 2/307.

18 The author is presumably referring to the Secret Field Police. In Norway, Secret Field Police Group 629 was established in Feb. 1940; it was under the Wehrmacht commander in Norway.

3 May. There is nothing new on the Jewish question. I am awaiting word from Cappelen on the result of Bergan's negotiations. If his attempt has come to nothing, we ourselves will go to the German authorities. I am today sending a messenger with a letter to Berggrav¹⁹ to put him in the picture.

16 May. On 5 May Cappelen phoned me and was able to greet me with word from Governor Prytz that he had made a considerable effort on behalf of the Jews. There would not be any further requisitioning of Jewish homes beyond what was reasonable in comparison to what other Norwegians must forfeit.

17 May. Today is 17 May.²⁰ We started the day with liturgical devotion in the cathedral, where many people were gathered. The text and the prayers for the people and the country were very moving. Of the psalms perhaps the greatest effect was made by Brorson's²¹ psalm 'Here be quiet, here be longing'.²² Both the melody and the words were perfectly suited to the mood of the day. There were several students in the church with academic caps and ribbons in the national colours. The people who stayed at home probably celebrated a peculiar 17 May this year.

19 May. 17 May passed peacefully and calmly in the town. There was much conviviality. There were a number of arrests, but those affected were soon released again. The Germans were armed, but the people behaved with dignity.

Justice is served

21 May. Yesterday I was summoned by the German Security Police. To be on the safe side, I emptied all my pockets of dangerous papers. When I arrived at the Security Police, a long telegram from Dr Knab of the Oslo Security Police was awaiting me. First I heard that Dr Knab had decided that I should no longer have access to the political prisoners. That was not surprising. Furthermore, he was able to tell me that I had incurred a fine of 1,000 kroner²³ for 'deutschfeindliche Aussagen'.²⁴ I thought this was a very general expression and wanted something more concrete. The Gestapo officer was not allowed to tell me any more, but he did, however, confide in me that it was because of my statements in the Svolvær affair.²⁵ He warned me to be more careful. After we had talked for

19 Eivind Berggrav (1884–1959), Protestant theologian; bishop of Oslo from 1937; during the war one of the leaders of the Norwegian Church's struggle against National Socialism. All Norwegian bishops resigned from their positions within the country's Lutheran Church on 24 Feb. 1942 in protest against the Nazi regime. Berggrav was subsequently suspended by the Ministry of Church Affairs; under house arrest, 1942–1945; resumed his post as bishop of Oslo after the war.

20 Norwegian national holiday celebrating the adoption of the constitution of the Kingdom of Norway on 17 May 1814.

21 Hans Adolph Brorson (1694–1764), Protestant theologian and psalm writer; bishop of Ribe (Denmark) from 1741.

22 'Her vil ties, her vil vies': Danish psalm from the collection *Svane-Sang* (Swan Song), published in 1765.

23 In 1941, 1,000 kroner was equivalent to approximately 568 Reichsmarks.

24 German in the original: 'anti-German statements'.

25 Svolvær is the largest town on the Lofoten islands. On 4 March 1941, with the support of Norwegian soldiers, British naval units launched a surprise attack on targets including the fish processing

a while, he revealed that the fine also had to do with my efforts in support of the Jews. I could barely conceal my joy that it was for these two issues that I was to be punished. The German policeman was very unhappy. He knew me so well, he said, and I must not believe that he had any part in it. I assured him that it would not occur to me to think anything of the sort; he was, after all, a man without responsibility. A document was then drawn up with my name and age and date of birth and I incurred a fine of 1,000 kr. I asked for the reason to be appended. 'I can certainly write "angebliche deutschfeindliche Aussagen"',²⁶ he said. I agreed to sign as it stated 'alleged'.

This morning schoolmaster Mendelsohn came to see me. After hearing about my fine while he was in the waiting room, he did not know whether he should still present his matter to me. He asked me for further support for the Jews. Now the Germans were going to take his father's house, which was serving as a synagogue, and then they would be without any place of worship at all.

DOC. 9

On 5 June 1941 the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Norwegian Territories informs the Reich Foreign Office about the distribution of the Jewish population in Norway¹

Letter from the Main Administrative Department of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Norwegian Territories, signed p.p. Schiedermair,² to the Reich Foreign Office, dated 5 June 1941

Re: ascertaining the distribution of Jews in Norway

In response to the letters dated 24 July – D III 1074 – and 4 March 1941 – D III 1290 – respectively.³ Assessments of the distribution of Jews in Norway, in particular inquiries into Jewish population figures, encounter difficulties, as the enforcement of the registration requirement for Jews was previously very unsatisfactory. In addition, many Jews left the country illegally in the early days of the occupation. It has therefore been impossible

factories, ships, oil bunkers, and docks, which were under German control. In response, the German authorities ordered reprisals against the local population, who were suspected of assisting the British attack.

²⁶ German in the original: 'alleged anti-German statements'.

¹ PA AA, R 99431 (Juden in Norwegen), fols. 018–019. This document has been translated from German.

² Dr Rudolf Schiedermair (1909–1991), lawyer; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1933 and the SS in 1939; responsible for race questions and anti-Jewish policy in the Constitutional Department of the Reich Ministry of the Interior from 1935; Reichsleiter for 'Legislation' in the Racial Policy Office of the NSDAP; head of the Department of Administration and Law in the Main Administration of the Reich Commissariat in Norway from April 1940 to Dec. 1943; honorary professor at the University of Würzburg, 1958–1977; president of the Bavarian Administrative Court in Würzburg, 1958–1963.

³ In the letter dated 24 July 1940, the head of the section for Jewish affairs at the Reich Foreign Office, Franz Rademacher, had requested information about the number of Jews living in Norway and about their influence on large-scale industry and commercial enterprises: PA AA, R 99431 (Juden in Norwegen), fol. 008r-v and fol. 016.

to ascertain the precise number of these Jewish emigrants.⁴ The numerical overview of the Jews still residing in Norway, which is enclosed, represents the Jewish population in Norway as determined on the basis of the most recent investigations. The data generally correspond to the figures provided from there in the letter of 24 July 1940.

Precise details concerning the economic influence of the Jews in Norway could not be obtained. It could only be ascertained that Jewish influence and Jewish capital, particularly in companies in the textile sector (ready-to-wear and tailored goods) were, or are, of key significance. Moreover, considerable influence can be ascertained in the shoe industry, food industry, and coal-import business. To a lesser extent, Jews were in evidence as agents of larger shipping companies.⁵

The full extent of Jewish capital cannot be stated with any claim to accuracy. Jewish capital – as far as it could be ascertained in Oslo – amounts to around 6 million Norwegian kroner, without consideration of any Jewish holdings abroad. This sum will increase to a not insignificant degree after thorough inquiries have been carried out and when Jewish capital in the rest of the country is included.

p.p.

Copy

Jews residing in Norway

I. Southern Norway

17 persons

a) in the cities

Östfold⁶

Oslo

600 persons

Buskerud

9 persons

Vestfold

25 persons

Telemark

8 persons

Rogaland

12 persons

Bergen

9 persons

Møre

22 persons

Oppland

4 persons

706 persons

⁴ Immediately after the German invasion of Norway, around 15,000 Norwegians, including many Jews, fled to Sweden. Most of them returned, however, once combat operations had ceased. It is presumed that a total of 1,100 to 1,200 Jews fled to Sweden during the war. Most of them crossed the border after the beginning of the large-scale arrests in autumn 1942. See Ragnar Ulstein, Jødar på flukt (Oslo: Samlaget, 1995), and Bjarte Bruland and Mats Tangestuen, 'The Norwegian Holocaust: Changing Views and Representations', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 5 (2011), pp. 587–604, here p. 594.

⁵ The numerical data are presumably based on the book *Hvem er hvem i jødeverden, samt fortegnelse over fremmedes forretninger i Norge* (Who's who in the Jewish world, as well as a list of the companies owned by foreigners in Norway), published by *Nationalt Tidsskrift* in Oslo in 1939. This list was later used by the German authorities when preparing for the arrest and deportation of Jews from Norway.

⁶ Correctly: Østfold, Møre og Romsdal, Oppland, Vest-Agder, Løkken, Rørvik, Ålesund, Mosjøen, Tromsø, Kjøllefjord.

b) in the rural districts:	1 person
Östfold	
Akershus	99 persons
Hedmark	10 persons
Opland	3 persons
Buskerud	6 persons
Vestfold	2 persons
Vestagder	1 person
Rogaland	–
	122 persons
<i>II. Central and northern Norway</i>	202 persons
Trondheim and Strinda ⁷	
Levanger	1 person
Orkanger	1 person
Loekken	1 person
Nypan, Leinstrand	5
Roervik	4
Aalesund	4
Kristiansund N.	20
Mosjoen	1
Narvik	13
Harstad	2
Tromsøe	22
Hammerfest	1
Kjoellefjord	1
	278 persons
In total	1,106 persons

⁷ Strinda was a community neighbouring Trondheim; it has been a part of Trondheim since 1964.

DOC. 10

On 22 June 1941 the Security Police arrest Jewish employees of the Soviet trade mission in Oslo¹

Daily report no. 15 (marked 'secret') from the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD (BdS) in Oslo (IV C 3 – B. No. 455/41 g), signed p.p. SS-Obersturmbannführer and Oberstleutnant der Polizei Fehlis,² to the RSHA, dated 23 June 1941

In the early hours of 22 June 1941, the Russian trade mission in Oslo was closed down by the Security Police.³ As expected, during the subsequent search it was ascertained on the basis of the materials discovered that the members of the Russian trade mission in Oslo had been engaging not only in the exercise of economic tasks but also in active espionage, or at least intended to do so in future. Among other things, the police seized a short-wave transmitting and receiving apparatus, chemicals for the manufacture of explosives, several firearms, and plasticine for making duplicate keys. It will take some time to review the remainder of the materials found, particularly the written matter. The Russian trade mission members of Soviet Russian and Norwegian citizenship (for personal particulars, see no. 7) were arrested. Their interrogation is still in progress.

On 23 June 1941 all males between 18 and 60, both Russian citizens and stateless persons who previously held Russian, Lithuanian, Latvian or Estonian citizenship, were taken into custody for the purpose of internment if they belong to the Jewish race or have otherwise come to attention in the past in a politically damaging way. In the region of Oslo/Aker⁴ and the vicinity, the number of these persons totals 64. Among them is the local representative of the TASS agency, journalist Wassilli Karjakin⁵ (born 28 February 1905 in Sommowa,⁶ district of Nizhninovgorad, resident of Oslo).

The numbers of those arrested within the scope of the individual offices of the commanders of the Security Police and the SD in Norway are not yet available. They will be made known later.

1.-6. *Nil report.*⁷

7. *Arrests.*

1 NRA, Reichskommissariat, Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Nord: series SIPO und SD: supplement box 2. Published in Dahm et al., *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, pp. 312–313. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Heinrich Fehlis (1906–1945), lawyer; joined the NSDAP and SA in 1933, and the SS in 1935; worked for the Gestapo in Berlin from 1935; chief of staff in the SD Main District Southwest in Stuttgart and deputy head of the Gestapo head office there in 1937; head of Einsatzgruppe 1 in Oslo in 1940; senior commander of the Security Police and the SD (BdS) in Norway from autumn 1940 until the end of the war; committed suicide when his arrest was imminent.

3 The cause was the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941.

4 Aker is the administrative district surrounding Oslo.

5 Vasilii Karyakin (b. 1905); representative of the Soviet news agency TASS in Oslo, of Jewish origin; arrested on 22 June 1941, incarcerated in Møllergata prison in Oslo, deported to Germany on 3 July 1941, and interned in Stutthof concentration camp in Nov. 1942; subsequent fate unknown.

6 Correctly: Somovo, district of Nizhniy Novgorod.

7 No remarks under items 1. General Resistance Movement, Sabotage, Terrorist Activity, 2. Communists and Marxists, 3. Political Churches and Sects, 4. Jews and Freemasons, 5. Violations of Orders in the Area of the Wartime Economy, and 6. Specific Incidents.

Members of the Russian trade mission in Oslo:

Deputy head of the Russian trade mission

Edvokim⁸ *Medunov*, born 13 August 1910 in Voroshilovsk/Russia,

his wife, Valeriia *Medunov*, born 15 July 1907 in Bakal (Urals),

the second deputy head of the Russian trade mission Pavel *Belobrov*,

born 20 March 1915 in Kopeisk,

the driver (GPU man?) Grigorii *Potapov*, born 23 January 1909 in Ivanovo/Vladimirsk,

the USSR trade mission employee Dmitrii *Moisev* (did not enter Norway until 18 June 1941), born 10 September 1902 in Tbilisi/Caucasus.

Norwegian citizens employed at the Russian trade mission in Oslo:

employee Trygve *Nygaard*, born 5 October 1892 in Wadsö⁹/Norway,

interpreter Myrjan *Kristiansen*,¹⁰ born 26 June 1899 in Osha/Russia,

cleaning woman Inga *Lie*,¹¹ born 18 September 1901 in Aamodt in Österdal,¹² (previously a member of the KPN¹³ – employed at the trade mission or the Russian consulate for the past 10 years).

Language teacher at the Russian embassy and trade mission Johan *Strand-Johannsen*,¹⁴ born 3 February 1903 in Ofjaard/Drontheim, resident of Oslo,

Karjakin's secretary Helene *Strand-Johannsen*,¹⁵ born 19 April 1903 in Moscow, resident of Oslo.

8 Correctly: Evdokim.

9 Correctly: Vadsø.

10 Correctly: Mirjam Kristiansen, née Rathaus (1899–1942), secretary, born in Orsha (Belarus); she was arrested, along with her Norwegian husband, Henry Wilhelm Kristiansen, head of the Communist Party of Norway (NKP), on 22 June 1941, held in Grini prison camp, and deported to Germany on 15 Nov. 1941; her husband died on 16 Jan. 1942 in Neuengamme concentration camp; Mirjam Kristiansen was imprisoned in Ravensbrück concentration camp and, as a Jew, deported to Auschwitz, where she perished in May 1942.

11 Inga Lie (1901–1993); married to Ottar Lie (1896–1943); both were arrested on 29 Oct. 1942 as members of the Norwegian resistance movement; her husband was shot on 1 March 1943; Inga Lie was pregnant at the time of her arrest and miscarried as a result of torture; imprisoned in Ravensbrück concentration camp from June 1943 and in Mauthausen from March 1945; liberated at the end of the war and returned to Norway with the help of the International Red Cross.

12 Correctly: Åmødt in Østerdalen.

13 Correctly: NKP (Norges Kommunistiske Parti, Communist Party of Norway).

14 Correctly: Johan Strand Johansen (1903–1970), journalist and politician; contributor to the newspaper *Arbeideren* and member of the NKP Central Committee from 1931; arrested on 22 June 1941; imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp from Nov. 1941 until liberation; minister of labour in 1945; NKP delegate in the Storting, 1945–1949 and 1954–1957.

15 Correctly: Helene Strand Johansen, née Sterbin (1903–1942); born in Ukraine; arrested along with her husband, Johan Strand Johansen, on 22 June 1941; deported to Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel in Nov. 1941, then to Ravensbrück concentration camp and, as a Jew, to Auschwitz, where she perished in May 1942.

DOC. 11

On 3 July 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD informs the Reich Security Main Office about attacks on Jewish shops¹

Daily report no. 2 (marked 'secret') from the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD, signed p.p. SS-Obersturmbannführer and Oberstleutnant der Polizei Fehlis, to the RSHA, dated 3 July 1941

[...]²

6. Specific Incidents

On the night of 1 July 1941, display windows in several Jewish shops in Oslo were smashed. The culprits have so far not been identified by the Norwegian police. There is no doubt, however, that this act was intended as a demonstration against Jewish-communist circles in Oslo and that Hird³ members are likely to be the offenders. Seven display windows in a Jewish shop in Bogstadveien in Oslo had already been smashed on 27 June 1941. In a press article dated 4 June 1941, Nasjonal Samling points out that independent operations of a political nature are prohibited. Further, the party leadership will hold party members accountable if they engage in independent operations in violation of this prohibition.⁴

1 The original could not be found; copy in NRA, Reichskommissariat, Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Nord (IX): series SIPO und SD, supplement box 2. Published in Dahm et al., *Meldungen aus Norwegen*, p. 322. This document has been translated from German.

2 Report on items 1. General Resistance Movement, Sabotage, Terrorist Activity, and 2. Communists and Marxists. Items 3–5. 'Nil report'.

3 The paramilitary arm of Nasjonal Samling.

4 A notice concerning this prohibition was published on the front page of the *Aftenposten* for 3 July 1941: 'NS forbyr sine medlemmer politiske enkeltaksjoner' ('NS forbids its members to engage in independent operations').

DOC. 12

On 6 September 1941 the Norwegian Minister of Justice Sverre Riisnæs revokes lawyer Willy Rubinstein's licence on account of his Jewish ancestry¹

Letter (Jnr. 511/41. S.) from the Ministry of Justice, signed Sverre Riisnæs² and Reinh. Breien,³ to lawyer Willy Rubinstein,⁴ Oslo, 11 Fauchaldsgt., dated 6 September 1941

According to your statement to the State Police on the 28th of last month, you are of full Jewish descent. As a Jew, you are unworthy of the trust and esteem which are required for your position. The Ministry of Justice has therefore permanently rescinded your licence to practise law pursuant to the decree of 23 June of this year, § 5.⁵

DOC. 13

On 9 September 1941 the Bishop of Oslo, Eivind Berggrav, rejects the prohibition of marriages between Norwegian citizens and Jews or Sami¹

Letter from the Bishop of Oslo, signed Eivind Berggrav, to the Ministry of Church Affairs² (received on 11 September 1941), dated 9 September 1941

Changes to the marriage law³

Ministerial notice issued on 18 August

Jnr. 3672-A-1941.⁴

1 HL-senteret, Oslo, no file number. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 Sverre Riisnæs (1897–1988), lawyer; public prosecutor from 1934; joined Nasjonal Samling in 1940; headed the Norwegian Ministry of Justice as councillor of state from Sept. 1940; minister of justice, 1941–1945; ideological leader of the Germanic SS Norway; arrested in 1945; his trial was suspended in 1947 on account of his alleged mental illness; hospitalized, 1947–1958.

3 Reinhold Gram Breien (b. 1914), lawyer; head of section in the Ministry of Justice; organizational leader of the lawyers in Nasjonal Samling; in Feb. 1945 prosecutor at the trial of six resistance fighters, who were sentenced to death; sentenced by a Norwegian court after the war to fifteen years in a labour camp.

4 Willy Rødner (from 1947), born Willy Rubinstein (1911–1977), lawyer; fled to Sweden in 1941; soldier in the Norwegian brigade at St Andrews (Scotland) from 1943; returned to Norway after the war; worked as a lawyer; temporarily employed in the Office for Confiscated Assets at the Ministry of Justice.

5 The Regulation on Changes to the Legislation concerning Lawyers (23 June 1941) did not explicitly mention Jews. A lawyer might lose his licence on the grounds that they exhibited grossly inappropriate behaviour or otherwise proved themselves unworthy of their position: *Norsk Lovtidend*, part 2, 1941, pp. 361–363.

1 NRA, Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, Kontoret for kirke og geistlighet A, series Dd, box 145. Published in *Kirkelig Hvitbok*, ed. Sigmund Feyling (Oslo: Kirke- og Kulturdepartementet, 1942), pp. 123–125. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 Ragnar Sigvald (1890–1948) was minister of church affairs and education from 1941.

3 The proposal to alter the marriage law was the first attempt by the Norwegian authorities to introduce discriminatory measures based on racial criteria. It failed as a result of protest from Norwegian bishops.

4 The ministerial notice is not in the file.

The ministry has asked for a statement in connection with some proposed changes to the marriage law. Having received my colleagues' responses, I can state on behalf of the bishops:

*Re: sect. 1.*⁵

The Church's fundamental position on the question that marriage be forbidden purely on grounds of race corresponds to the Christian image of humanity and its conception of the unity of humankind. People of all races have the same human value (see, for example, Epistle to the Galatians 3:28).⁶ Biological theories based on race or 'eugenic' theories and also regulations based on racial biology that deny individual peoples or races this human value destroy that unity and are therefore openly counter to the fundamental views of the Christian Church. Christianity does not judge the value of individuals on the basis of their race, but on their personality. The determining factor is not race, but the individual. Thus, in many cases a marriage between two Norwegian citizens – who indeed need not be of purely 'Norwegian' descent – can prove far less fortunate than a marriage with someone of a different race. If the right to marry is to be restricted, then it should be only in consideration of the person concerned being unable to bring normally endowed children into the world.

There is, however, no basis for saying that a marriage between people of different 'races' is so detrimental that there are objective grounds to issue a general ban. Should a ban of this type be considered, then it would have to include *all* races. We have, for example, marriages between Chinese and Norwegians, which seem a lot more alien than marriages between people of the Norwegian and Sami races. If the Sami⁷ are to be excluded, then why not the Kvener⁸ people as well, or other equally or less foreign ethnic groups.

Marriages between Jews of the Mosaic faith and Norwegians are extremely rare. Based on the Christian view, we must protest against a ban on these marriages, and even more against designating Norwegian citizens with a trace of Jewish blood in their veins as pariahs with lesser human worth. Our people are steeped in this Christian and humane outlook, and the Church thus speaks in the name of the Norwegian people when it objects to the proposal to forbid marriages to Jews.

To forbid marriage between people of Sami descent up to three generations and Norwegians would conflict both with the same fundamental Christian view and with Norwegians' immediate sense that the Sami are our countrymen. A ban such as this would be received with absolute incomprehension and, yes, with repugnance, even in the parts of our land where there are no Sami.

5 A letter from Skancke to Berggrav dated 13 June 1941 proposed altering the wording of the law. Point 1, to which Berggrav refers here, stated that persons 'who are of Sami or Jewish descent in the third generation' were not permitted to marry a Norwegian citizen: NRA, Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, Kontoret for kirke og geistlighet A, series B – Letterbook.

6 Galatians 3:28; a chapter on how all are equal in the eyes of God.

7 The ethnic minority Sami are regarded in Norway, Finland, Russia, and Sweden as the native population.

8 The Kvener are a northern Norwegian minority of Finnish descent whose ancestors emigrated to Norway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The three bishops who through their offices are familiar with the conditions in northern Norway⁹ particularly highlight that experience provides no basis for a ban and that any ban would not work in practice because in most cases ancestry would be so entangled. In practice what would happen if there were obstacles to obtaining permission is that people would cohabit without getting married. The conditions in Finnmark¹⁰ would be downright alarming.

On all these grounds the Church must therefore categorically reject all thought of banning Norwegian citizens and citizens of 'Norwegian descent' from marrying other Norwegian citizens of Sami or Jewish descent of up to three generations.

*Re: sect. 5*¹¹

There is evidence that marriage can occur on the basis of false pretences, untrue statements or ill-fated concealment without this being actually directly subject to the law on invalidation or annulment. In these cases there must be provision for exceptions to the proposed three-year deadline rule, even if there are no 'compelling grounds'.

The proposed alteration (sect. 5) is one detail within a larger complex which raises many questions. It does not seem reasonable to add this single provision without working through all the material, something that requires much deliberation and preparation.

DOC. 14

On 10 October 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD instructs the head of the Norwegian police to prepare for the stamping of identity documents belonging to Jews¹

Letter from the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD (Tgb.-Nr. I Nr. 15 084/41), Oslo, 7 Victoria Terrasse,² signed SS-Standartenführer Fehlis, to the Police Department in Oslo, dated 10 October 1941³

Re: labelling the identity cards of Jews

I consider it appropriate to place special markings on identity cards held by Jews. A 'J' stamped in red would be a possible marking. For the marking to take place, the Jews

⁹ This is probably a reference to the bishops of the Nidaros, Sør-Hålogaland, and Nord-Hålogaland dioceses.

¹⁰ A county in the most north-eastern part of Norway.

¹¹ Point 5 of the proposed amendment to the marriage law envisaged that divorce within the first three years of marriage would be permitted only if there were 'compelling grounds'; where appropriate, the extension of the marriage for a further two trial years could be imposed: NRA, Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, Kontoret for kirke og geistlighet A, series B - Kopibok no. 264, p. 2402.

¹ NRA, Politidepartementet, series Ee box 32, 'jøder'. This document has been translated from German.

² From mid April 1940, the former building of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, the so-called Victoria Terrasse complex, was the main office of the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD in Norway.

³ The original contains handwritten underlining and receipt stamps.

would have to appear at the police station which had originally issued the identity card. Because blue control cards were prepared at these stations when the identity cards were distributed, these blue cards would also have to be stamped with the red letter 'J', so that a special registry of Jews⁴ can be created.

A special regulation is not needed to implement the labelling measures. It is sufficient for instructions to be issued from there to all subordinate offices and for a corresponding announcement to be made in the press and on the radio. Obviously in these instructions, as well as in the press and radio announcement, it must be made completely clear who is a Jew. I ask that the draft instructions and a draft of the press and radio announcement be sent to me first for approval.

Once I have returned to you, with my comments, the instructions and the public announcement sent to me, I will order the head of the Jewish religious community to send out a circular letter to all Jews in Norway who are known to him, notifying them that they are to submit their identity cards at the police stations for stamping.⁵

DOC. 15

In a diary entry for 11 November 1941, Pastor Arne Fjellbu describes the arrest of Jews in Trondheim¹

Diary of Arne Fjellbu, entry for 11 November 1941

More about the Jews

11 November. Mendelsohn,² the schoolmaster, came to inform me that two Jewish businesses have been closed down by the State Police, and Nazi temporary administrators have been installed.³ One of the owners of the businesses, Abrahamsen, escaped to Sweden with his family, but both old Klein⁴ and one of his sons were imprisoned. He had the strong impression that the persecution of the Jews was now starting in earnest.⁵

4 A registry of Jews such as was created in France or Belgium was not set up in Norway, but the questionnaires that Jews had to fill out as of 1942 were compiled in the Ministry of Police: see Doc. 21.

5 The order of the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police concerning the marking of identity documents belonging to Jews followed in Jan. 1942: see Doc. 20.

1 Published in Fjellbu, *Minner fra Krigsårene*, p. 123. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 Oskar Mendelsohn.

3 The Abrahamsen family owned three businesses, which were confiscated on 21 Oct. 1941 and re-opened two weeks later under new ownership: see Doc. 16. On the flight of Heiman Abrahamsen (1904–1994) and his family to Sweden, see Doc. 17.

4 Henoeh Klein (1876–1947), textile trader; emigrated to Norway from Lithuania in 1896; board member of the Trondheim synagogue from 1938. The clothing store that he founded was placed under temporary administration on 3 Nov. 1941; he was initially interned in Volla prison together with his oldest son, Josef (b. 1904), manufacturer; Josef Klein was transferred to Falstad prison camp on 11 Dec. 1941 and was able to escape from Bredtveit prison in Oslo on 15 Jan. 1943.

5 Following his transfer from Bergen to Trondheim in Oct. 1941, Gerhard Flesch (1909–1948), commander of the Security Police, had vigorously accelerated the isolation and arrest of Jews in his area of jurisdiction. In other parts of Norway the systematic confiscation of Jewish property did not begin until Oct. 1942.

Practically all Jews in Tromsø and Narvik had already been imprisoned.⁶ He was worried that his elderly father⁷ could also be taken. I asked him to keep me informed. On Saturday I got the news that now old Mendelsohn had been taken, along with one of his sons.⁸ Another of his sons had managed to escape.⁹ The teacher is still free. In the course of the morning Mendelsohn's young wife¹⁰ came to see me. She was pale but resolute. She talked of how she had long been prepared for something to happen to them as well. Their fellow believers in Germany have been suffering for nearly nine years. It wasn't so awful that the Germans robbed them of most of their belongings, if only they could survive and one day be free in a free country. She did, however, derive significant strength from the fact that it wasn't just Jews who were being persecuted, but that they united with their Christian friends in suffering. I sent a report about all this business with the Jews to Berggrav on Sunday morning.

After High Mass on Sunday, Torp, the editor,¹¹ came to see me. That morning he had received word by Rikstelefon¹² from Oslo that at 9 o'clock his brother-in-law Rolf Lea¹³ along with 11 others had been condemned to death. He wanted to ask me if I would telephone Berggrav to see if there was anything he could do to get Lea a reprieve. I phoned Berggrav around midday. The phone had been disconnected for a while because of an air-raid alarm in Oslo. He was already onto it and intended, together with a lawyer, to look into what could be done.

6 After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Norwegian and stateless Jews in northern Norway had been arrested and interned: see Doc. 10.

7 Aron Mendelsohn.

8 Henrik Mendelsohn (1896–1944), textile manufacturer; the family business was confiscated on 7 Nov. 1941 and placed under temporary administration. Henrik Mendelsohn was arrested the same day and again on 26 Oct. 1942; deported on 24 Feb. 1943 to Auschwitz, where he perished in spring 1944.

9 Isak Mendelsohn (1900–1973), textile manufacturer; took over one of his father's textile factories in Trondheim in 1923; fled to Sweden in Nov. 1941; returned after the war and continued the company with the widow of his brother Henrik.

10 Sussi Mendelsohn (1910–1995); married Oskar Mendelsohn in 1938.

11 Probably Harald Torp (1890–1972), journalist; editor-in-chief of the Trondheim daily newspaper *Adresseavisen* from 1927; removed from this post by the German authorities in 1941; at the end of the war took up the post again until 1969.

12 Rikstelefon was a brand of Televerket, the Swedish government agency responsible for telecommunications from 1853 to 1993. The Rikstelefon network allowed phones to connect between cities, allowing long-distance calls.

13 Rolf Lea (1891–1941), economist; director of the Norwegian Central Association of Marine Insurers; head of a military intelligence organization in Oslo during the war; he was executed on 26 Nov. 1941 for allegedly organizing a refugee transport to the Shetland Islands.

DOC. 16

In November 1941 an anonymous author reports on the forced closure of Jewish businesses in Trondheim¹

Typewritten memorandum, unsigned, no addressee,² undated

Right after 20 October, three firms belonging to the Abrahamsen family were closed down by the State Police. The family's houses, other properties, safe-deposit boxes seized. Owners not arrested. Homes concerned were searched for goods. Four family members reportedly later left town, their fate unknown.³ The remaining family members as far as is known not arrested. One of Abrahamsen's three firms reopened on 3 November under Aryan management. The family was not allowed access to the businesses. The town's remaining Jews took the affair calmly until Monday, 3 November, as everyone assumed that there had been irregularities or violations of rationing regulations at the Abrahamsens'.

Monday, 3 November, the State Police under the leadership of Mr Landgraff⁴ closed the firm H. Klein. The senior manager and his eldest son⁵ were arrested and imprisoned at Vollan⁶ for alleged violations of, among other things, rationing regulations (see *Dagsposten* from the same evening and *Addresseavisen* from 4 November). Klein senior is unwell, heart problems, he was not allowed to have his medicine brought to him in prison. Has received medical treatment while in prison. The firm is still closed for inventory. Klein's staff, apart from employees who are members of the Klein family, were ordered to turn up for work the next day. In response to an enquiry from one of the staff as to whether this was persecution of Jews, Mr Landgraff answered no. Mr Landgraff claimed the same thing after a further three firms were closed. When the Germans were approached on Tuesday concerning the arrests, the explanation was given that this action was directed not against the Klein family but against the Jews in Trondheim. Jewish circumstances (business practices?) were apparently at fault. On Tuesday a business belonging to Klein's daughter⁷ was closed, no arrests. Homes searched for goods by the Norwegian police in both cases. Rumours about the campaign against the Jews are spreading. Several Christians made their Jewish friends aware of the situation. Monitoring of the business practices of many Jewish businesses has been instigated by N.S.⁸ functionaries, including the Supply Office. Meanwhile, there are rumours that all male

1 NRA, PA-320 – Eivind Berggrav, box 29. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 The memorandum was probably intended for the Bishop of Oslo, Eivind Berggrav, and includes a handwritten note: 'Received anonymously by post on 12 November 1941'.

3 Several members of the Abrahamsen family were able to flee to Sweden: see Doc. 17.

4 Reidar Johan Dunker Landgraff (b. 1892), office administrator; employee at the publisher Halvorsen & Larsen in Oslo and Trondheim; from autumn 1940 as general trustee, head of the Administrative Office for Confiscated Jewish Assets in Trondheim; sentenced by a Norwegian court in Oct. 1947 to 15 years in prison; pardoned in 1951.

5 The reference is to Henoch Klein and his son.

6 The Vollan district prison in Trondheim was used by the German police as a transit camp.

7 Ida Klein (1909–1980), textile trader; daughter of Henoch Klein and Anna Ruth Paltiel.

8 Nasjonal Samling.

Jews are to be arrested. (One recalls that nearly all male Jews were arrested in Narvik and Tromsø in June. They have not yet been released.)

At midday on Friday, 7 November, the police, led by Landgraff, close the firm A. Mendelsohn and Sons. The head of the firm is taken to Vollan. The head of the Supply Office, Mr Møllerop, is installed as manager. There are enquiries about all the Mendelsohn brothers, who are to be arrested. Mr Landgraff is informed that Oskar Mendelsohn the schoolteacher has nothing to do with the firm, he has so far not been arrested. Instead, an hour later, the father Aron Mendelsohn is arrested, after the police in the meantime had obtained an arrest warrant for Aron Mendelsohn. A. Mendelsohn is 70 years old, he left the firm 6–7 years ago, has nothing to do with the firm, but owns the two apartment buildings in which the firm, along with others, has its premises. Mendelsohn also has a private residence there. Securities in Mendelsohn senior's private safe, which belong to him, were handed over to the police at their demand. The regular Norwegian police carried out this arrest.

While this is happening, Møllerop is also installed as head of Trondheim's Clothing Factory,⁹ whose manager was Isak Mendelsohn. The latter was not present when the police arrived. It is not known for certain whether he has been arrested. However, after 1½ days he has still not returned home. Homes of the two business owners searched for goods and securities. The family has been given no reason for the arrests and confiscations. It is expected that an Aryan manager for the two apartment buildings will be installed.

Following these events the town's Jews are extremely agitated, for everything points clearly to a campaign against the Jews. One fears the worst when even an old man like Aron Mendelsohn, who additionally is no longer a businessman and therefore cannot be accused of improper business practice, is arrested. No non-Jewish businesses have been seized. None of those named here as having been arrested have been released.

One is under the impression that they will conspire to find some irregularity in one Jewish firm after another, thereby 'legitimizing' the campaign against the Jews.

9 Aron Mendelsohn founded Trondheim's Konfektsionsfabrik (Trokofa) in 1923 and an additional clothing firm two years later. In 1933 the businesses were passed down to his sons Henrik, Isak, and Filip Mendelsohn. After the war Henrik Mendelsohn's widow took over their management; the businesses closed in 1980.

DOC. 17

On 22 November 1941 Norway's representative in Stockholm criticizes Swedish officials' practice of apprehending refugees from Norway in border areas and sending them back¹

Note by the chargé d'affaires in Stockholm, Jens Bull,² regarding a discussion with State Secretary Engzell³ the previous day, dated 22 November 1941 (copy)⁴

Yesterday I spoke with State Secretary Engzell and among other things we touched on the recent incidents where the commissioners of the rural police had turned away Norwegian citizens who had crossed the border. He mentioned in particular Peter Holst and his complaint about how he was treated in Töcksfors.⁵ The commissioner of the rural police had said that he did not accept Holst's account. It was in many places very colourful and exaggerated, and Holst had been very upset that he had been interrogated at all, but the commissioner had brought to the attention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it was his duty to interrogate him. Holst had crossed the border with false papers, and that was good enough reason to examine him more closely. I replied that we did not contest the commissioner's right to interrogate people who cross the border. The Swedish authorities must have the right to verify a person's identity and also to obtain an explanation of why that person left Norway. But there have been many complaints that people have been turned back to Norway.⁶ Only yesterday a new case had been submitted to me (here I was thinking of the account of the two Abrahamsen brothers),⁷ and we must insist that political refugees are not sent back to Norway. I examined every case that had been submitted to us, but I willingly acknowledged that many of our refugees had been received very well, and I also expressed our gratitude for this. In particular

1 NRA, Utenriksdepartementet: mappe 39/12 'Politiske flyktninger i Sverige' i sakarkiv 1940–1949, box 11 198. Published in *Norges forhold til Sverige under krigen 1940–45: Aktstykker utgitt av Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement*, vol. 3 (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk, 1950), doc. 446, pp. 212–213. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 Jens Bull (1886–1956), diplomat; worked in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry from 1909, becoming secretary general in 1939; chargé d'affaires at the diplomatic representation in Stockholm for the Norwegian government in exile from 1940; ambassador in The Hague, 1945–1951, and then in Copenhagen.

3 Gösta Engzell (1897–1997), diplomat; state secretary and head of the legal department in the Swedish Foreign Ministry, 1938–1947; ambassador in Warsaw, 1948–1951, and in Helsinki, 1951–1963.

4 The original of the note was sent to the Swedish Foreign Ministry. A copy was attached to a letter dated 22 Nov. 1941 that was sent from the head of the Norwegian legation in Stockholm to the Royal Foreign Ministry of the Norwegian government in exile in London, which is also in the file.

5 Peter Holst, student; member of the military resistance movement Milorg; fled on 7 Oct. 1941 to Sweden; probably attended the military academy of the Norwegian government in exile in London from 1942 to 1943. Töcksfors is a Swedish border town not far from Oslo.

6 Only after the deportation of the Jews commenced in autumn 1942 were all Jewish refugees from Norway admitted to Sweden: see Introduction, p. 34.

7 Heiman and Abel Abrahamsen (b. 1923) together with their mother Mirjam Abrahamsen (1878–1974) had crossed the border into Sweden on 28 Oct. 1941 and had been returned the next day by the Swedish border police. Only after they crossed the border again the following day and at the intervention of a Swedish relative were they permitted to remain in Sweden.

I mentioned Mayor Hartmann and his wife,⁸ my own wife and daughters and Police Superintendent Iversen,⁹ who had just yesterday morning said that he had been graciously received. We are certainly not inclined to complain about every occasion, I said, but we must take up the justified complaints that are submitted to us and ensure they are followed up if this seems advisable. Engzell mentioned that the commissioner of the rural police in Töcksfors had calculated that since he took up the post on 1 October, 148 refugees had arrived in his area alone. I responded that I was not particularly impressed by that figure; it was 50 days since 1 October, and 148 in 50 days was not even 3 per day. We must also remember, I said, that the specific geographical conditions in Töcksfors meant that many attempted to come across there. Nevertheless, I was of the view that the figure for Töcksfors represented a peak in the statistics. Engzell said nothing to this.

DOC. 18

***Die Zeitung*, 2 December 1941: article on measures against Jews in Norway
and the founding of an anti-Jewish league in Denmark¹**

News from Norway and the occupied territories. Fate of the Jews. Norway and Denmark. The Nazis are ensuring that what they understand by culture is also being forced upon the population in the occupied territories. The Ministry of Justice in Oslo has sent a confidential circular to the provincial authorities and ordered them to ascertain what property is in the hands of persons of Jewish origin.² The investigation into origin should be undertaken 'as discreetly as possible'; at any rate so that, once all the preparations have been made in silence, the Nazi masters can 'purchase' as cheaply as possible. In a typical case reported to us from Drontheim,³ property valued at 250,000 kroner (£12,500) was taken from a Jewish businessman.⁴ The owner was offered 750 kroner (£37 10s) as compensation. When the lawyer of the man whose property had been stolen asked the authorities which laws were the basis for the so-called confiscation, he was informed that appropriate 'laws' would be issued before Christmas, depriving all Jews

8 Probably Paul Hartmann (1878–1974), lawyer; city councillor for finance in Oslo from 1928; sent to London for the Norwegian resistance movement Hjemmefronten in 1941; minister of finance in the government in exile until 1945; then returned to work for the Oslo municipal authorities.

9 Trygve Iversen (b. 1899), lawyer; deputy police superintendent in Aker (now part of Oslo) in 1939; deputy chief of police in Telemark in 1940; fled to Sweden; military prosecutor in London in 1942; extraordinary legation secretary in Washington, 1943; military prosecutor in Oslo in 1945.

1 *Die Zeitung: Londoner Deutsches Wochenblatt*, no. 227, 2 Dec. 1941, p. 4. The German-language weekly newspaper was published in London from March 1941 to 1945 on behalf of the British Ministry of Information under the management of Johannes Herbert Lothar (1900–1944) and Sebastian Haffner (1907–1999). It had a circulation of around 20,000 copies. This document has been translated from German.

2 Circular from the Ministry of Justice to the county governors, 2 Oct. 1941: Statsarkivet i Oslo, L-sak Sverre P. Riisnæs, Oslo politikammer. Box 1, (Dok.liste 5–10), Dok.liste 5, ark 6.

3 Alternative spelling for Trondheim.

4 See Doc. 15.

of their rights in the same way as in Germany.⁵ In Denmark too, an 'Anti-Jewish League'⁶ has been founded under the supervision of the Nazis. The organization considers its major task to be the distribution of antisemitic literature. In a leaflet 'the great leader' of the Danish Nazis, Fritz Clausen,⁷ is extolled because 'with superior political acumen and intellectual greatness' he initiated the antisemitic agitation. The propaganda is to be continued 'until the last Jew is chased out of the country with loathing and contempt and persecuted so ruthlessly that he never again finds a possibility of existence anywhere in the world'.

DOC. 19

***Vestfold Presse*, 10 January 1942: a Norwegian SS member describes his deployment in the war against the Soviet Union and the murder of Jews in Lwów¹**

The misery in Russia is indescribable. 'We in the NS² should do all we can to support Germany in its struggle, for it is a question of Europe's very existence.' SS man Josef Hansen³ relates his experiences in the red 'paradise'.

We bring here an extract from SS man Josef Hansen's speech at the large Hird rally in Tonsberg on Tuesday evening:

I am grateful to the Führer that we Norwegians have been allowed to take part in the struggle against Bolshevism. We have many examples of how the Norwegian lads have made a real contribution to the struggle over there in the East. The Norwegian soldier is the equal of the German in every way and is deployed anywhere where it really matters.

On the night of 22 June we crossed the Soviet border.⁴ The first offensive went so fast that the supply lines could hardly keep pace. Everywhere we saw the corpses of people the Bolsheviks had killed before they retreated. And the terror and the misery got worse and worse the deeper we got into Russia. The first thing we saw when we entered the town of Lemberg was piles of corpses in the streets, women and children stabbed with knives by Jews. We Norwegians who were present could not believe that the Jews could be so savage; we had after all seen so many pleasant and kind Jews at home in Norway. But now we really got to know these people. In

5 The Law on the Confiscation of Property Owned by Jews was not issued until 26 Oct. 1942, in connection with preparations for the deportation of the Norwegian Jews.

6 The Danish Anti-Jewish League was founded by Aage H. Andersen (1892–1968) in 1941.

7 Correctly: Dr Frits Clausen (1893–1947), physician and politician; head of the Dansk National Socialistiske Arbejder Parti (DNSAP), 1933–1944; physician with the Waffen-SS from 1943; arrested in 1945 and died in custody.

1 *Vestfold Presse*, 10 Jan. 1942, p. 1: 'Elendigheten i Russland er ubeskrivelig'. The *Vestfold Presse* appeared from 1937 to 1942 as a propaganda newspaper for Nasjonal Samling in the southern Norwegian administrative district of Vestfold. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 Nasjonal Samling.

3 Josef Hansen; member of the Waffen SS, SS division 'Wiking', SS regiment 'Nordland'.

4 The German invasion of the Soviet Union began on 22 June 1941.

one place we caught twelve Jews, whom we set to work for us. I had never seen worse workers. It turned out later that all twelve were murderers. A military court was set up and a short trial held. A GPU prison⁵ had also been set up in Lemberg. I was allowed to be present when we entered this prison. In the cellar we found sixty-two people whom the Bolsheviks had locked in there. All of them had starved to death. These poor unfortunates had torn pieces of flesh from each other to eat. Thousands of such examples could be recounted.⁶ As late as 1937 I was a supporter of communism. I will say today that I am glad that I have now come to Russia as an opponent of communism.

The state of education among the people is appalling. Ninety-five per cent of Russians are illiterate. There are no schools over there. No one can do addition, abacuses are used everywhere. We were in many large businesses and offices. Everywhere they use abacuses to count.

Living conditions in Russia are wretched. This is something I know about because I am myself a bricklayer. The houses are just hovels, none of them have cellars, the houses are built straight onto the ground and collapse after a few years. At one place we came across a large factory. There we saw many fine rooms. Some Russian told us that Jews, commissars and factory bosses lived here. The workers lived in small mud huts behind the factory. Up to 28 persons lived there in one room.

Anything resembling Christianity or religion has clearly been abolished. Several buildings that we visited and which we could see had once been churches had been converted into armoury and shooting ranges for the Red Army soldiers. One church was used as party offices, another as a stable. In the corner of one of them three petrol pumps had been installed.

Prices are sky-high and the whole country is therefore living in abject poverty. A pair of shoes costs 900 roubles and a suit 1,200 roubles. In order to be able to afford a suit, the average worker must work for two years. Once in the autumn we saw some workers walking along a road with their shoes in their hands. We asked them why they did not have their shoes on. Well, we can't afford to use the shoes on the way, they said, we must save them until we get there. Even in winter, when it is many degrees below zero, children have to walk barefoot. A little boy we talked to told us how he had to stay at home when his brother went out because they had only one jacket.

But the Russians do know how to make weapons. A 72-tonne tank with a 9-man crew is like a storm when it comes rolling towards you. We can be glad that Hitler let us take on Russia, because had the Russians been allowed to use this mighty equipment it would have been the end for Europe. We in the NS should do all we can to support Germany in its struggle, for now it is a question of Europe's very existence.

5 The GPU (Gosudarstvennoye politicheskoye upravleniye) were the political secret police in the Soviet Union. In Lwów and elsewhere they had murdered political and other prisoners, including Jews, before the Soviet troops withdrew.

6 On 30 June and 1 July 1941 several hundred Jews perished during pogroms in Lwów. By mid July 1941 Ukrainian militia, SS, and Wehrmacht had murdered around 4,000 Jews in Lwów. See PMJ 7/18, 27, and 55.

DOC. 20

On 10 January 1942 the chief of the Norwegian Security Police briefs all police stations about the requirement for Jews to have their identity documents stamped with a 'J'¹

Circular from the chief of the Security Police² (Jnr. 5289/41 A.), unsigned, to the local police stations, dated 10 January 1942

Stamping of Jews' identity documents

The department has placed the following notification in all the country's newspapers: '*Stamping of Jewish identity documents etc.*'

In order to be valid, identity cards, border residency registrations, permits, and worker identification cards belonging to Jews are to be stamped with the letter 'J'. According to this regulation, a Jew is:

1. A descendant of at least three fully Jewish grandparents regardless of citizenship. Grandparents who have belonged to the Jewish religious community are considered full Jews in every instance.
2. Jewish half-breeds with two fully Jewish grandparents are also considered Jews:
 - a) if at the time this notification comes into effect they belong to the Jewish religious community or subsequently join it.
 - b) if at the time this notification comes into effect they are married to a Jew or subsequently marry one.
3. All members of the Mosaic religious community are considered Jews.³

Persons who in respect of the above regulations are required to be in possession of personal documentation stamped with a 'J' must report to the chief of police or lensmann⁴ who issued the documentation by 1 March of this year in order to have their identity documents stamped.

Failure to do so is punishable by a fine or up to three months' imprisonment.

With reference to this it should be noted:

All those who according to the above notification are regarded as Jews are required to report to the police by the stated deadline in order to have their identity documents stamped. If someone is known to have apparently unlawfully failed to do so, the usual investigations are to be initiated.

1 NRA, L-sak Knut Rød Dom 4094, document 55. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

2 The chief of the Norwegian Security Police was Oliver Møystad (1892–1956), civil engineer; university studies in Dresden; joined Nasjonal Samling in 1933; leader of Hird in the province of Hedmark, 1940; chief of the Norwegian Security Police from 1941; supreme leader of Hird, Jan. 1942 to March 1944; after the war sentenced by a Norwegian court to ten years' forced labour; released in 1950.

3 On 10 Sept. 1941 Heinrich Fehlis, supreme commander of the Security Police, had called on the Ministry of Police to prepare, in consultation with him, a regulation for the stamping of Jews' identity documents. The Ministry of Police proposed that only members of the Jewish community be considered Jews. Fehlis insisted on a broader definition based on the Nuremberg Laws valid in the German Reich: see PMJ 1/210.

4 Lensmann, plural lensmennene: Norwegian state official with police duties as well as responsibilities in the fields of taxation and judicial administration.

The index card associated with the identity documents is likewise to be stamped. In addition, a separate list of all persons whose documents are stamped in line with this regulation is to be drawn up. A copy of the list is to be sent by the lensmann to the chief of police, who is to compile a consolidated list of all Jews in his district. Subsequent changes to the list are to be sent by the lensmann to the chief of police.

As is evident from the notification, those concerned must report to the police chief or lensmann who prepared their documents. Should the long journey or other reasons prevent the person concerned from doing so, he can instead report to the nearest police authorities to have his documents stamped. A report is to be sent from there to the police authorities who prepared the person's documents. They must ensure that the index card is also stamped.

Stamping is free of charge.

A quantity of stamps with the letter 'J' will be sent out to chiefs of police for distribution to lensmennene. Wherever possible, the stamp is to be in red.

Non-compliance with the requirement stipulated in the notification to report for stamping of identity documents is punishable under § 5 of the regulation of 30 January 1941 concerning identity documents.⁵

DOC. 21

On 6 February 1942 the Norwegian Security Police inform the heads of the local police stations about the registration of Jews¹

Circular from the Security Police (Jnr. 00 746/42 A.), signed Oliver Møystad and Jørgen Wiermyhr,² to the heads of local police stations, dated 6 February 1942

FAO the Chief of Police

Re: questionnaire for Jews in Norway

Please find attached several copies of the 'Questionnaire for Jews in Norway'.³ This should be filled out in triplicate by all those persons whose identity documents, as per the department's circular of 10 January this year,⁴ must be marked with a 'J'.

⁵ Section 5 of the Regulation on Identity Documents (30 Jan. 1941), which was issued by the Ministry of Police, stipulated that violations were to be punished by a fine or prison terms of up to three months.

¹ The original could not be found; copy in YIVO, Samuel Abrahamsen Coll., RG 1565/67. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

² Jørgen Wiermyhr (b. 1910); ship radio operator, 1931–1936; worked for the Norwegian state police from 1940; police chief inspector, 1942–1944; head of the Norwegian criminal police, 1944–1945; after the war sentenced by a Norwegian court to nine months in prison; construction worker from 1946.

³ A copy of the four-page questionnaire was enclosed with the letter. The questions addressed, among other things, a person's marital status, religious affiliation, occupation, military training, trade union membership, status as employer or business owner, assets, and any previous convictions.

⁴ See Doc. 20.

One of the completed copies is to be kept in the police station's archives, one will be sent to the NS⁵ Office for Statistics, Rådhusgaten 17 VI, Oslo, and one will be sent to the head of the Security Police.

Completion of questionnaires should take place as the opportunity arises, and wherever possible in conjunction with the stamping of the individual's identity documents. The chief of police is to send the collected questionnaires for the whole police district to the head of the Security Police immediately.⁶

DOC. 22

***Fritt Folk*: report published on 9 March 1942 on the first execution of Jews in Norway¹**

Death penalty for hostile propaganda

Oslo, 7 March

(NTB)² Norwegian communist Olav Sverre Benjaminsen and Norwegian Jews David Wolfsohn, Wulf Isaksen, David Isaksen, and Abel Bernstein, all from Trondheim,³ have been sentenced to death for propaganda for an enemy power, by sentence of the SS and Police Court North.⁴

The convicted have been spreading English news in Norwegian, which they had been listening to using an illegal radio.

The sentence is to be carried out by shooting.

⁵ Nasjonal Samling.

⁶ The initiative for the registration of Jews was taken – according to Jørgen Wiermyhr, ‘without any pressure from the German side’ – by Nasjonal Samling's Office for Statistics, the director of which, Sigfried Nylander, had designed the questionnaire: NRA, J.nr. 1205/42B, Registrering av jøder i Norge. Politidepartementet. Rikspolisjefen. L-sak Oslo pkm, D 4094.

¹ ‘Dødsstraff for fiendtlig propaganda’, *Fritt Folk*, 9 March 1942, p. 1. This document has been translated from Norwegian.

² Norsk Telegrambyrå: news agency founded in 1867.

³ Olav Sverre Benjaminsen (1899–1942), labourer; David Wolfsohn (1900–1942), worked as a trader in Trondheim, Verdal and Levanger; arrested for remarks hostile to Germany and initially imprisoned from 7 Jan. to 5 Feb. 1941; Wulf(f) Isaksen (1895–1942), born in Bergen; David Isaksen (1898–1942), retailer; brother of Wulf Isaksen; Abel Lazar Bernstein (1885–1942), born in Sweden; deputy chairman of the Jewish Community of Trondheim.

⁴ The SS and Police Court North was subordinate to the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Norwegian Territories and responsible for sentencing members of the Norwegian population for violating the Reich Commissioner's directives. The four defendants were arrested in Trondheim on 6 and 8 Jan. 1941, interned in Falstad prison camp near Trondheim, and executed on 7 March 1942, probably in the nearby woods. Their graves have not been found.

DOC. 23

***Aftenposten*, 14 March 1942: article on the reinstatement of the ban on Jews emigrating to Norway¹**

*Article 2 of the constitution restored to its original form
‘Jews are denied access to the Reich.’*

In his long speech yesterday in Lier, Minister Sverre Riisnæs announced that the chief minister² had that day restored the country’s constitution in one specific area where the law had been besmirched in the previous century by weak liberalism. Nasjonal Samling is building the new state with the constitution as its foundation.

The chief minister’s restoration concerns Article 2. He has restored the second clause, which was revoked in 1851: ‘Jews are denied access to the Reich.’

In the time of the Eidsvold³ fathers, we still preserved our Nordic ways. Our people recognized that one of the first duties of a people who want to safeguard their right to exist is to take care of the nation’s blood. This healthy race consciousness is also in close accord with N.S.⁴ ideology. Vidkun Quisling had all the more reason for restoring the terms of the constitution because today Jewry is a dangerous enemy of our race in a way that is completely different from the time when our constitution was adopted.

Along with this announcement, the minister gave an assessment of Nasjonal Samling’s view on the core values that make up a people, the people’s land and blood. It is Nasjonal Samling’s first task to protect these values.

The announcement of the chief minister’s amendment to the constitution was greeted with powerful and long applause by the large crowd, who had filled every last seat in the town hall.⁵

1 *Aftenposten* morning edition, 14 March 1942, p. 1: ‘Grunnlovens prg. 2 atter i sin opprinnelige form’. This document has been translated from Norwegian. *Aftenposten* was founded in 1860. It was (and now is once again) the largest Norwegian daily newspaper. In the 1930s it had a right-wing stance. In 1939 the morning edition of *Aftenposten* had a circulation of 98,500 copies, and the evening edition a circulation of 78,700 copies. Following the occupation of Norway, the newspaper became the mouthpiece of the occupying authorities.

2 Vidkun Quisling.

3 While meeting in the municipality of Eidsvoll (also Eidsvold), the constituent assembly adopted the first Norwegian constitution, on 17 May 1814. It was one of the most liberal of the time, although Article 2 contained a ban on immigration by Jews, and also by Jesuits and monks.

4 Nasjonal Samling.

5 The reference is to the Norwegian parliament building, the Storting. On the reinstatement of the ban on Jewish immigration, see Introduction, p. 34.

DOC. 24

On 20 June 1942 Ruth Maier describes her ambivalent feelings towards other Jews and towards Austrian members of the Wehrmacht¹

Handwritten diary of Ruth Maier, entry for 20 June 1942

20 June 1942

I was in a synagogue. It was quite strange. The Jews came well-dressed, wearing hats. One man, with a white shawl and black cap, prayed before a sort of altar. He prayed and sang. The Jews often joined in, half singing, half speaking. (It was like being inside a beehive.) Whenever I closed my eyes, it was like being in the Orient. Sometimes I could make out the word 'adonoi'. That is Hebrew: God.

I did not feel that I belonged there. I was a stranger. The Jews had black hair, they were small and dark. I saw them as *Jews* and myself ... as ... a non-Jew. There was something in me that drew back from them. – In the past it was different.²

On the other hand, I am so close to the Austrian soldiers. I wanted to talk to them. My people, I want to say. And yet they are not my people at all. Their way of speaking touches me so deeply. On the train I consoled one of them. He was talking to a Norwegian girl; she asked him where he was from. From Austria, he said. That made me feel really good. Later I saw many with the green peaked cap. They were so familiar to me. Their way of speaking is like a lullaby.

I have come to the strange conclusion that I don't know the Jews after all. It is so sad. I'd like to be together with them again. To love them undividedly. As I used to, when I was with Dita³ in the Zionist association. They sang Hebrew songs. In those days I had a sense of where I belonged.

1 HL-senteret, Oslo, Ruth Maiers arkiv 008. Published in *Ruth Maier's Diary*, pp. 394–395. This document has been newly translated from German.

2 It is thought that as a child, until around 1926, Ruth Maier belonged to the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna.

3 Ruth's sister, Judith Maier.

Netherlands

Netherlands



DOC. 25

On 7 May 1938 Dutch Minister of Justice Carel Goseling announces that refugees from Germany are no longer to be accepted into the Netherlands¹

Letter from the Ministry of Justice (2. Dept. A, no. 1184), signed C. Gosling² (Minister of Justice), 's-Gravenhage, to the attorneys general of the courts; the Inspector of the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee, Office for Border Control and Immigration Services; the chief police commissioners of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, 's-Gravenhage, Utrecht, and Groningen, dated 7 May 1938

I have the honour of informing you that the government has had to examine the refugee problem more closely. Five or six years have now passed since the problem became critical, during which time there has been a constant stream of refugees into our country. In the meantime, our country is also housing many thousands of these foreigners.³ While the initial hope was that changes would take place abroad, as a consequence of which the current situation would more or less stabilize, it must now be acknowledged that rather than there being a gradual improvement, the refugee question is causing increasing problems. Leaving aside the other facts, I limit myself as a case in point to the consequences that have arisen from the changed situation in Austria.⁴ In recent years, we have generally adopted an accommodating position when it comes to admitting refugees into our country.⁵ Now that, after so many years, no end to the influx of refugees is in sight, in fact an even greater number is to be expected, the government is of the opinion that the course of action pursued thus far must be terminated and that in future entry to this country for refugees, regardless of nationality, can no longer be permitted. Various concerns and interests of our country and of our people – I call to mind only economic interests and the still-considerable unemployment in this country – make it necessary to take action against and to prevent the continued admission of refugees into this country. Henceforth, a refugee is to be regarded as an undesirable element for Dutch society and therefore as an unwelcome foreigner who must be turned away at the border and, if found within our country, be sent back over the border.

1 Nationaal Archief, Min. van Justitie, 2.09.22/16753. Published in Corrie K. Berghuis, *Joodse vluchtelingen in Nederland 1938–1940: Documenten betreffende toelating, uitleiding en kampopname* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1990), pp. 223–224. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Carolus (Carel) Maria Johannes Franciscus Goseling (1891–1941), lawyer; practised law, 1919–1937; member of parliament for the Roman Catholic State Party (RKSP) from 1929; minister of justice, 1937–1939; taken hostage in the autumn of 1940 as a reprisal for the arrests of Germans in the Dutch East Indies and deported to Buchenwald, where he perished.

3 From 1933 onwards, several thousand German Jews, as well as political enemies of the Nazi regime, fled to the Netherlands every year. About half of the refugees emigrated further, going overseas, but more than 16,000 remained in the Netherlands: see Introduction, p. 17.

4 This is a reference to the Anschluss of Austria on 12 March 1938, which subjected Jews in Austria to the German anti-Jewish regulations. These events are detailed in PMJ 2.

5 Refugees were able to enter the Netherlands until May 1938, although from May 1934 entry was refused unless there was evidence that refugees would risk death if they returned. Since many refugees came with passports and did not claim refugee status, they were granted temporary permission to stay, but they had to provide proof of financial means. In April 1934, a law restricting the employment of foreign labour made it more difficult for refugees to access the labour market. This had an impact on the overall number of refugees entering the country.

The term refugee shall be understood to mean any foreigner who leaves the country in which he is resident or established under pressure due to the circumstances in that country. Therefore the term must not be interpreted narrowly; it should be noted in particular that a refugee's possession of sufficient financial means is not sufficient reason to admit him into the country or to grant him permission to remain.

As you know, in light of the above observations, border controls are to be reinforced and expanded, which will result in improved protection. However, the above will also give local police greater responsibility in terms of inspection and monitoring. It is essential that the police pay rigorous and constant attention to the task of tracking down and expelling the refugees concerned in order to ensure that the new course of action is implemented.

In individual cases in which it can be anticipated that the refugee would be placed in mortal danger if refused entry or sent back over the border, or should there be a special and significant reason to suggest that permitting entry would, after all, be in Dutch interests, then my decision can be sought via the inspector of the Royal Marechaussee or the relevant attorney general in his capacity as chief of police.

In addition, I call to your attention the following points:

The new course of action outlined above naturally applies only to newly arrived refugees and those who have entered our country since 1 March 1938.

Normal business, tourist, and border traffic must, of course, be hindered as little as possible. We are investigating the extent to which it will be possible to issue concrete instructions in order to differentiate foreign businessmen etc. from refugees.

May I remind you of my directive stating that when a foreigner is permitted across the border into the country for a specific, time-limited purpose – which must be indicated in the passport at the border checkpoint – such as a visit for a week, a fortnight, etc., this person must in all cases leave our country after this permitted period of time has expired.

I request that the inspector of the Royal Marechaussee instruct the local police chiefs to issue a public notice that, as specified in Article 4 of the Regulation on Foreigners,⁶ the foreigners concerned are required to report to the police.

I request that you do everything necessary to ensure that the above directive is complied with as precisely as possible and given the necessary attention.

This order will be published in the *Algemeen Politieblad*.⁷

⁶ Article 4 required foreigners to register with the police. The police were instructed to announce this via a public notice: see *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, no. 521, 16 August 1918.

⁷ Goseling's order was published in the *Algemeen Politieblad* (General Police Gazette), 12 May 1938, p. 483.

DOC. 26

In a poem dated 31 August 1939, Wilhelm Halberstam describes the life of Jewish refugees in the Netherlands¹

Handwritten poem sent by Wilhelm Halberstam,² Amsterdam, 14 Jan van Eijckstraat, to his daughter Käthe Hepner,³ 13 054 Casilla, Santiago, Chile, dated 31 August 1939

In Amsterdam, the Netherlands, its south part most of all,⁴
 You find our folk in massive bands, their means be great or small!
 You often see a cheerful face, but mostly they're fartsoret,⁵
 For Holland's not a pleasant place for migrants opting for it.
 For many, it is much too near penates⁶ from old times.
 Quite soon the Nazis may be here, along with all their crimes.
 So Rosenbaum, the fat man, mopes to Silberstein,⁷ the old:
 'Nehmones⁸ on us, I've no hopes our safety here will hold.
 To England I would go, if I'd a permit⁹ to get in;
 An old umbrella by my side for Mr Chamberlain.'¹⁰
 'I'm New York bound,' boasts Mr Cohn. 'I've got an affidavit¹¹
 supplied by my friend's brother's son, the Tarnopoler Levit.'
 'For me, those just aren't far enough. Chile's my destination.'
 The blond named Kornfeld says this stuff, with real exhilaration.
 'You're all still here, how's that make sense?' asks Itzigsohn the wise.
 'If I possessed such documents, I'd say my prompt goodbyes.'
 'Why, Itzigsohn, you chochem,¹² you,' replies come ringing back.
 'We would have long ago shot through; a visa's what we lack.'

1 The original is privately owned. Published in Irmtrud Wojak and Lore Hepner (eds.), *'Geliebte Kinder ...' Briefe aus dem Amsterdamer Exil in die Neue Welt 1939–1943* (Essen: Klartext, 1995), pp. 84–85. This document has been translated from German.

2 Wilhelm Max Halberstam (1866–1943), retailer; in 1939 emigrated with his wife from Berlin to Amsterdam, and from there made unsuccessful attempts to emigrate to Chile and join his daughter; deported in June 1943 to Westerbork, where he died of heart failure. The Yiddish expressions and names in the poem reveal his eastern European origins.

3 Käthe Hepner, née Halberstam (1898–1982), chemical lab technician; worked at the Mampe distillery in Leipzig from 1920; married Heinrich Hepner in 1921; emigrated, with various stopovers, to Chile in 1939.

4 A great many German-Jewish émigrés lived in the southern part of Amsterdam, in a neighbourhood that was newly constructed from 1920.

5 Yiddish form of the Hebrew word *tzarot*: 'woe, cares, trouble'.

6 Roman household gods (official term 'Di Penates').

7 The names mentioned were thought to be typical for German or East European Jews.

8 Yiddish, misspelling of *nehomes*, plural of *nehomeh* (Hebrew: *nehamah*): 'consolation'.

9 Entry permit.

10 Arthur Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940), politician; prime minister of Britain, 1937–1940; nicknamed 'umbrella man' because he often carried an umbrella in public and was invariably depicted with it in cartoons.

11 Correctly: affidavit.

12 Yiddish form of the Hebrew word *hacham*: 'genius, very clever person, scholar', here 'smart aleck'.

'You have no visa? Such cruel fate! You're nebuch¹³ Jews – it's clear!
 You won't get that from any state. Nu! Be content right here!'
 'For ages now that's what we've done; what does the future hide?
 With eytses,¹⁴ dearest Itzigsohn, we're plentifully supplied.'

DOC. 27

**In a farewell letter dated 14 May 1940, Mr and Mrs Levy arrange the handling
 of their estate¹**

Handwritten letter from Helena Martha Levy-Frijda² and Willem Albert Levy,³ 82 Frans van Mierisstraat, Amsterdam, to the Amsterdam police, undated⁴

To the Amsterdam police

Because it is impossible for us to live in a Netherlands that is *no* longer free, we have put an end to our lives.⁵

A copy of our will can be found in safe-deposit box no. 77 at Amsterdam Bank, Van Baerlestraat.

The money at our home can be used as needed to pay for a grave and burial. We do not care where we are buried, but we would like to be buried together or in two graves next to one another. Apart from that, we want a quiet funeral. We would like a simple headstone on our grave, and part of the money can be used for tending the grave.

We leave no debts but have credit at Amsterdam Bank, which can also be used to cover expenses if necessary. If possible, we request that you secure our possessions until the rightful heirs⁶ can receive them, should they still be alive.

13 From Yiddish: term expressing pity, 'you poor things'.

14 Yiddish form of the Hebrew word *etsot* (singular *etsah*): 'advice'.

1 NIOD, Doc. II/1390. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Helena Martha Levy-Frijda (1905–1940), housewife; married Willem Albert Levy in 1934 and moved with him from Assen to Amsterdam.

3 Willem (Willy) Albert Levy (1899–1940), physician; worked at Amsterdam Hospital from 1926; later worked in private practice; committed suicide together with his wife on 14 May 1940.

4 The dating is determined by a letter dated 23 May 1940 from Levy-Frijda's father, Joseph Aron Frijda, which is included in the bundle of files and describes the presumed course of events. The document contains handwritten underlining and a number of words are crossed out.

5 On the number of suicides after the German invasion, see Introduction, p. 36.

6 The couple were childless. No relatives who survived the Holocaust could be traced.

DOC. 28

Harry C. Schnur describes the German invasion of the Netherlands and his escape on 15 May 1940 from the port at IJmuiden¹

Report by Harry C. Schnur,² 'Bombs and Barbed Wire. The Story of my Escape from Amsterdam, from July 1940' (typescript)

Motto: The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

In the early hours of 10 May 1940 – it is still dark – I am aroused by the thunder of gunfire and the booming of exploding bombs. It is shortly after 3 o'clock. I can guess what has happened: rushing down and switching on the radio I can hear the excited voice of the announcer giving the awful news of the German invasion. 'Attention! Five German aeroplanes trying to land at X aerodrome.³ Attention – twenty German planes dropping parachutists near Scheveningen. Attention – sixty planes of unknown nationality passing over Dordrecht in a westerly direction.'

It has come at last, what we had feared but refused to believe. I rush into my wife's⁴ room. She too has been wakened by the guns. 'It has come!' She understands me. While the sun gradually climbs higher in a brilliant blue sky, we hurriedly don our clothes.

Hanna and Ilse appear on the scene,⁵ both half dressed. Ilse, the young thing, is remarkably cool, while Hanna threatens to have a fit of hysterics. Small wonder – her family lives at Groningen, hard by the German frontier. She must be given something to do. 'Make us a nice strong cup of coffee: you can't make war on an empty stomach.' And the girl pulls herself together and adjourns to the kitchen. The children are still asleep. Am I dreaming all this? No – the loudspeaker keeps booming out the horrible truth. Wave after wave of German planes, ever fresh battalions of parachutists; a proclamation by Her Majesty, and then the first news from the front.

Where is that front? Barely two hours by car from here! Will the Army be able to hang on until help comes? Will it come?

Claire and I hold a council of war. There is terror in her eyes, but she is trying hard not to show it. Months ago we made our preparations: paltry enough, it is true, but all we could do. A large handbag contains our jewellery, and, what is much more important, our papers. What is man, and more especially a Jew, without papers? There they are, neatly stacked, certificates of birth and marriage, originals and photocopies and among them Caroline's British passport.⁶

1 Wiener Library, P.III.i/121. The report was written several months after its author had escaped from the Netherlands. The original document is in English.

2 Henricus Cornelis (Harry C.) Schnur (1907–1979), lawyer; escaped from Germany to Britain in 1933; emigrated to the Netherlands in 1935; in May 1940 fled again to Britain, where he was temporarily interned; subsequently worked as a journalist and translator; emigrated in 1947 to the United States, where he studied classical philology and worked as a lecturer in Latin.

3 As in the original.

4 Claire Schnur, née Müller (1907–1951).

5 Probably the family's two Dutch maids.

6 Caroline Debora Schnur (b. 1934) held a British passport because she had been born during the family's stay in London.

What else? The larder is well stocked. – We have an oil stove and several oil lamps, bought months ago, just in case, and there are rolls of black-out-paper and plenty of first-aid material. Not in vain did we attend our ARP classes regularly for the past two years!⁷ What else remains to be done? Childhood memories of revolutions and general strikes crop up: so I have all available receptacles and the bath filled with water.

While Claire and Ilse are dressing the children,⁸ who are awake now, and don't want to stay in bed any longer, I go out into the street. Both my Dutch neighbours greet me. They are, of course, unusually grave this morning, but they believe confidently that help will come. I have my doubts, but I think it more prudent not to utter them.

It is 6 o'clock now, and I walk to the garage, a few blocks away, in order to fetch the car: who knows but it might be useful? For flight, you blockhead, like in the terrifying dreams you sometimes had – sitting in the car with your wife and children, an endless ribbon of grey and foggy road before you, and, while you are desperately stepping on the gas, the car crawls like a snail, but the horror there behind you roars nearer and nearer! Besides, all roads are very likely closed by now.

Clusters of excited people everywhere – that is, looking excited only to him who knows the proverbial calm, not to say phlegm, of the Dutch. But others go about their ordinary duties, the milkmen with their tricycles, the postmen carrying the first mail. Rumours are circulating everywhere. (At Schiphol, Amsterdam's airport, the director of the K.L.M.⁹ is said to have ordered a well-known pilot to switch on all landing lights at 2.30 a.m. – 'secret orders of the Government' – and the unsuspecting pilot complied and thus gave an excellent target to the Nazi bombers which, within an hour, destroyed the airport and the best part of the small Dutch force of fighter aircraft. The director was court-martialled and shot on the spot, while the pilot committed suicide.¹⁰)

I succeed in extricating my car from the crowd and their owners¹¹ and drive down to the Jewish Refugee Committee.¹² A confused crowd of terrified refugees is milling around before its gates. Many of them have escaped from the Brown Hell only a few months before, and now they flock to the only place where they hope to find protection, the Consulate of the Homeless.

A short conference with the heads of the various departments. Three things are imperative: the crowd must somehow be calmed, all money in hand must be distributed, as well as passports and other papers held by us, and, most essential of all: the files must be destroyed. The most important and confidential dossiers were sent to England several months before; now the remainder must be burnt. Soon, black smoke rises from the

7 ARP: Air Raid Precautions, British air raid defences; the reference here is to the Dutch counterpart, the Luchtbeschermingsdienst (LBD).

8 In addition to Caroline, the Schnur family had two more children, Marc (b. 1936) and Mariam (b. 1939).

9 Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij (Royal Dutch Airlines), founded in 1919.

10 The rumour was incorrect. Shortly before 4 a.m. on 10 May 1940 squadrons of the German Luftwaffe reached Schiphol airport, which was bombed. The Dutch Air Force had initially believed that the German Luftwaffe was flying over the Netherlands in order to attack Britain, and only a few aircraft took off in defence. Large parts of the airport were destroyed.

11 As in the original.

12 Comité voor Joodsche Vluchtelingen (CJV).

chimneys, and bits of burnt paper and ashes are wafted into the streets, while a human chain of stewards passes stacks and stacks of files down to the incinerator.

None of the regular staff are as yet in the waiting room, which is chock full of people in all degrees of fright and agitation. I try to calm them. Every one hangs on my lips, while I try to show a calm, an assurance, which are, however, sadly lacking in me just now. 'French troops are marching into Belgium and North Brabant, British ships and planes are on their way here (those were, in fact, the latest radio news). Try to show the same fortitude as the Dutch population. The Committee will do everything in its power for you. Two weeks' relief will be paid out today.'

People calm down a little and press towards the paying-out counters. Meanwhile, my own thoughts are bitter. For months past I have waged a sharp but unsuccessful fight against the Central Camp for Refugees which had been installed at the instigation and with the cooperation of the Dutch Jews.¹³ How often did I not attack, not only the principle itself, but especially the fact that this concentration camp, where the so-called 'illegal' refugees were imprisoned, was situated in the province of Drenthe, hardly 20 miles from the German frontier. At this moment those unfortunates have probably fallen into the hands of the Nazis.¹⁴ It was impossible to get through over the phone.

The Amsterdam telephone, too, closes down. Until then I had called up my house every ten minutes or so. The radio broadcasts a new order: all German subjects must stay in their houses, under severe penalties.

So home again. The streets look much as usual, but there are fewer policemen and soldiers to be seen. Extra editions are on sale and are torn out of the vendors' hands, but otherwise I find few symptoms of unusual excitement.

At home, I find a calling-up notice from the ARP, signed by the Burgomaster.¹⁵ Accordingly I drive down to the Police Station. 'I wish to do my duty.' But the inspector is adamant, though quite courteous. I shall have to stay indoors, and even my duties with the Committee are of no avail.

And now the waiting, the nerve-racking waiting, begins. The radio keeps shouting and booming. I switch over from one station to another, but find nothing to give us a ray of hope. German stations threaten in Dutch, and the excited staccato phrases of Paris and Brussels convey nothing but Job's tidings.¹⁶ All this is intermingled with the warnings from Hilversum:¹⁷ 30 German planes dropping parachutists from 1500 feet; profiteering will be severely dealt with; listen carefully to the voices of our three announcers: only these can be trusted to give the official news. I switch over to the BBC. The slightly

13 In Feb. 1939 the Dutch government decided that a central refugee camp should be constructed at Westerbork; the first refugees entered the camp in Oct. 1939. Its remote location in the north-eastern Netherlands was particularly criticized, as it made it difficult to submit emigration applications at embassies and consulates.

14 On 10 May 1940 the 791 inmates of Westerbork camp were evacuated by train to Leeuwarden, in the province of Friesland. Because it proved impossible to escape further, they were housed in private homes and hotels in Leeuwarden for several weeks; they then returned to Westerbork.

15 Term for the mayor of a Dutch town.

16 A reference to the biblical character Job who endures extreme suffering in a test of his faith.

17 All Dutch radio stations established in the 1920s were located at Hilversum, in the province of North Holland. Today the city is still home to a large number of Dutch broadcasters and media companies.

bored voice with the Oxford accent announces that Princess Juliana and her husband and children¹⁸ have just arrived in England.

Things must look black indeed. Barely a week ago, Hendrik van Loon¹⁹ offered his country seat in Long-Island to the Royal Family as a refuge in case of invasion. The Princess, however, had it officially proclaimed that no Prince of Orange had, for 500 years, deserted his country, and that she would not be the first to do so. A historical error and a premature prophecy!

We are cut off from the outside world and can but wait and feel the noose drawing tighter round our throats. Even the children, though we try to hide it from them, feel that something ominous is happening. 'Are the horrid Germans coming to Holland?' Caroline asks. 'But Daddy won't let them, will you, Daddy?' 'No, darling, of course not.'

My little girl, how pathetic is your simple faith in the power and wisdom of your Daddy, who, at this moment, doesn't know whether he will see you tomorrow.

Cut off from the outside world – but not completely. Now we find our true friends. Our little Jewish flower vendor comes with his tricycle. Every day he used to fill our house full with flowers, and the children love him, because he always has an extra posy for them and lets them ride on his tricycle; and now he offers to run all our errands for us.

The Chief Air Warden of our district drops in. 'All the neighbours like you and know, of course, that you are not a Nazi. We are sorry you have to stay indoors. Can I do anything for you?' Other friends call and also the tradesmen as usual, but today they ask for cash down, because all the banks are closed.

Opposite, in front of the big tennis hall, a long column of buses is drawn up. They have brought refugees from the Eastern provinces, who are to be billeted in the hall. And still the radio keeps clamouring its evil tidings. I lack the force to switch it off. Fighting in Rotterdam – the bridge between Holland and Belgium in German hands: things look black indeed.

Suddenly, the sirens begin to moan. The first air raid. Where are we to go? We won't be buried in the cellar; the ceiling is far too weak anyway. Our little entrance, having no outside walls, is, relatively speaking, the safest place. We have already pasted strips of paper across the windows, and I suddenly remember our collapsible tabernacle;²⁰ I now use the planks to board up the windows.

We are sitting in the dark hall. Outside, the guns are barking, and the house shakes whenever a bomb falls – rather far away, fortunately. The dejected spirit of the grown-ups infects even the children, who sit there, with big wondering eyes, waiting silently and trembling a little. Only baby, taken hurriedly from her warm cot, registers an audible protest. Hanna shows signs of nervousness again, so I begin to tell funny stories, one

18 Juliana (1909–2004), crown princess of the Netherlands; succeeded her mother as queen of the Netherlands in 1948; married to Bernhard zur Lippe-Biesterfeld (1911–2004); they had two daughters, Beatrix (b. 1938) and Irene (b. 1939). See also fn. 29.

19 Hendrik Willem van Loon (1882–1944), historian and writer; emigrated to the United States in 1902; lecturer in history at Cornell University, 1915–1917; became known in the United States for his popular non-fiction books.

20 The Jewish Feast of Tabernacles (Hebrew: Sukkot) starts five days after Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, and is celebrated from the 15th to the 22nd/23rd day of the month of Tishri (Sept./Oct.).

after the other, the hoariest chestnuts, until I am requested to stop: one would rather hear the bombs!

Finally, the all-clear sounds. Outside, the sky is blue and the sun hot and bright. From the direction of the City there come tell-tale columns of smoke and a smell of burning.

In shorter and shorter intervals the sirens drive us into the hall. Claire is a marvel of composure. She plays with the children, she has a merry word for everyone, and if sometimes, secretly, she leans on my shoulder and grips my hand as if she would never let go, nobody can notice it.

The sirens begin, as the French say, to knock on our nerves. Whatever you do, unconsciously you listen in a constant state of tension. The door slams, the engine of a car whines, the brakes of a bus or lorry screech, and you jump and hear an imaginary siren.

Only the children are now looking forward to their sound. A big box of chocolates is waiting in the hall, and every time we play that intriguing and novel game of assembling there, they are rewarded with a sweet.

Friday night. The white damask cloth is on the table, and the Sabbath bread, and the red wine from Palestine sparkles in the old silver cup. Around me, by the light of the candles, I see the faces of my dear ones, my household, strained and tired. We all feel that this is very likely the last time together to welcome the Sabbath at our own table, in our own home.

I speak the words, the ancient words of blessing and thankfulness, and the high voices of my children join in the half understood prayers. 'Secher litzith mitzrayim' (In remembrance of the Exodus from Egypt).²¹ Alas, this time it looks as if Pharaoh is going to catch up with us, and the Dutch 'water-line'²² is no Red Sea. –

Night. Guns rumbling afar. All the windows are blacked out. By the light of a candle on my night table I am trying to read Aristophanes' 'Clouds'.²³ How often had not the immortal Attic wit consoled me! But tonight the Greek letters dance grotesquely before my tired eyes. Clouds – mild givers of bounties and blessings – today your womb hides death and destruction. A new Cleon²⁴ struts upon the stage of the world, but the laughter that should wipe him out has been killed, smothered in blood and muck. –

Air raids night and day. Ilse and the children are to sleep downstairs from now on. The radio had been silent for a few hours; its news now looks black. I realize that it can only be a matter of days, unless a miracle happens. But do miracles happen nowadays?

We are still prisoners on the next day. The children, with happy insouciance, are playing in the garden, and we rack our brains trying to find some way out. Flight? We may not even leave our house. Friends tell us that all roads are closed and that thousands of parachutists are harassing the country. They murder motorists, take their cars, and

21 This reminder is part of the Kiddush, the blessing which is recited at the beginning of the Sabbath meal over a glass of wine to emphasize the holiness of the day.

22 The Dutch Water Line was a water-based defence system established in the nineteenth century. It allowed large expanses of land between the IJsselmeer and Biesbosch to be flooded in the event of attack. When the Dutch Army was mobilized in 1939 the Water Line was also flooded, but this did not succeed in halting the advance of the German troops.

23 *The Clouds* by the Greek comic playwright Aristophanes (448–385 BCE), first performed in 423 BCE.

24 Athenian politician and general Cleon (d. 422 BCE) was described in the classical period as an advocate of war.

disorganize the Dutch defences. They are coming down right here in Amsterdam, where Dutch Nazis²⁵ and the German colony²⁶ assist them. They come in all sorts of disguises: in Dutch and Allied uniforms, dressed up as clergymen, workmen, and even women. My cousin and her husband tell us how they saw four parachutists make a landing on the roof of the house opposite to theirs. One of them was disguised as a woman and escaped, while the others were shot on the spot. At this very moment, the radio issues a warning: a man in the uniform of a major of the Dutch Army is driving through the streets of Amsterdam and sabotaging the ARP.

No, there is no chance of flight. Let us try to meet what must come with decency and fortitude.

However, I must now destroy letters and manuscripts. This may not make much difference to my own fate, but I must not allow others to become compromised by correspondence found here.

The stove emits clouds of black smoke. Not the smoke alone is causing a bitter taste in my mouth while I am feeding the flames. Letters, manuscripts, collected articles, and even my book, due to appear shortly – into the fire.

An occasional letter arrests my attention. Where are you now, friends and comrades-in-arms, who fought for Freedom in Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris? Here is the dossier on the secret Anti-Nazi radio station, somewhere in Belgium. Neutral Belgium, urged and assisted by the Gestapo, sentenced my friend who ran that station, to imprisonment. He managed to escape in the nick of time. To Paris.²⁷

Here is my correspondence with a certain Ministry in England. 'We are very grateful ...' Perhaps England's gratitude may be useful to me one day: I will pocket one of the letters at any rate.

Another air raid is just over when I hear the tail end of a news bulletin: 'All British subjects to come to the Consulate. Arrangements will be made for their evacuation.'

Claire and I look at one another. Perhaps we shall be able to save one of our children. She stifles a sob, only once; then she goes and packs two small cases. The baby must stay with us, but the other two may be able to escape. But how to get the children to the British consulate? Our Dutch neighbour sends his son for our friends, and in a very few minutes they arrive, those good and faithful friends, and take the children away.

The leave-taking is not very pleasant ...

But within an hour they are back again. Caroline, born in London, has a British passport; she will be evacuated next day. But her little brother is Stateless, and a Stateless Jewish child has no right to expect to be saved.

On that day, there were eleven air raids on Amsterdam, and another three during the night. Next morning, our friends collect the child. She has a label with her name and destination around her neck, and she carries a small bag with some clothes and food. Her favourite doll must come along too, and she is pleasurably excited at the thought of going to England. I find it difficult to appear cheerful, and Claire –

25 Members of the NSB: see Introduction, p. 16.

26 From the summer of 1933 German clubs and individuals joined together in cities across the Netherlands to form 'German colonies'.

27 No further details are known.

They have gone, and we are informed that the transport has left Amsterdam. They are making for Ymuiden²⁸ by boat – a trip of some twenty miles along canals and through locks which are constantly under fire.

Waiting, waiting. Can you feel the rope getting tighter and tighter? You cannot eat, but thirst constricts your mouth and throat, and it can't be good for your health to smoke a hundred cigarettes a day. Damn those thoughts! Were you right to send your child away into danger? But could you protect her here, and why, pray? Wouldn't it be better we all were bombed into oblivion together? Are children to grow up in this world as slaves, as orphans, – for Claire and I are resolved not to outlive the entry of the Nazis. Anyway, there is still a little time left. Let's hear what the radio has to say.

Is it night or day, as we hear, and won't believe our ears: a ship with British evacuees on board has struck a mine off Ymuiden and sunk with great loss of life.²⁹

Claire turns as white as marble. She collapses with a terrible moan. My knees turn to water, I feel like fainting, something I have never experienced. At this moment our Dutch neighbour who, too, has heard the news comes and tries to reassure us. It was another ship, he says, bound for the Dutch Indies. When I try to talk, I can only utter a hoarse and inarticulate croak. What else can we do but cling to the last bit of hope – the disgusting 'hope' that perhaps some other people's children have perished instead of our own.

After a while, our good friends come – from the British Consulate. They assure us that the transport with our child has safely arrived in England. We breathe again, but it is impossible to obtain official confirmation. There is no more telegraphic communication.

The third night comes and goes. The radio still remains our only means of learning what is happening. Near the set I have tacked maps of Holland, Belgium and France to the walls. It is but too obvious what is happening. The gunfire, coming nearer and nearer, makes it clear. And, suddenly, London announces something that proves the end must be very near: Queen Wilhelmina has landed in England.³⁰

What does Hilversum say? Nothing yet. Again and again, the voices of the three announcers: 'Listen only to the voices you know.' A parson preaches a sermon. Of course, today is Whit Monday. His voice trembles and breaks with emotion: he can't keep to the script. Oh God, do a miracle, save our country and our Queen!

The miracle does not happen. A few hours later Holland knows that the beloved Queen had to fly in order not to fall into the Nazis' hands.

The last line of defence is still holding out: two provinces bitterly contested.³¹ But the fresh reserves who should have relieved the frontier troops, who are on the retreat, tired and terribly decimated, are not there.³² They are tied up in heavy fighting for Rotterdam

28 Correctly: IJmuiden; North Sea port near Amsterdam.

29 This rumour was untrue. Almost all the ships that left IJmuiden reached Britain. The *Van Rensselaer* hit a mine on 13 May 1940 shortly after leaving port, but all 150 passengers were saved.

30 Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands (1880–1962); became queen of the Netherlands on the death of her father, William III (1817–1890); her mother, Emma (1858–1934), was regent during her daughter's minority; married Heinrich von Mecklenburg Schwerin (1876–1934), who was German, in 1901; on 13 May 1940 escaped to Britain, where she led the Dutch government in exile; in 1948 abdicated in favour of her daughter Juliana (1909–2004).

31 The Dutch army capitulated on 15 May 1940. Fighting continued only in the province of Zeeland and ended with the bombing of Middelburg on 17 May 1940.

32 Just over 2,000 Dutch soldiers were killed in the fighting.

and its aerodrome, which changes hands three times, in mopping up small bands of parachutists everywhere, and in bloody street fighting with Dutch and German Nazis. The few Dutch planes have been destroyed; the A.A.³³ guns cannot reach the Nazi flyers who, from unattainable height drop murder and arson on the beautiful, peaceful towns. Rotterdam is laid to waste, and 30,000 people are killed there in one short hour.³⁴

In shorter and even shorter intervals the sirens moan, the bombs fall. Very high up in the blue sky something glistens like a swarm of silvery sardines in the blue Adriatic. An enemy squadron, in perfect formation, sailing on serenely, contemptuous of the impotent little clouds appearing far beneath them. And always the smell of burning coming from the City.

A news bulletin. The Burgomaster of Rotterdam³⁵ asks urgently for doctors, nurses and bandages. Looters will be shot on the spot. General Winkelmann³⁶ takes over command of the fortress Holland. Amsterdam may only be left with a written permission of Army Headquarters. German subjects still to be confined to their houses, but the women may come out tomorrow, Tuesday the 14th. And then – what cruel irony! – the music plays the anthems and battle-tunes of the Allies, hitherto barred by Holland's strict neutrality. God save the King – the Son of the Siegfried Line,³⁷ slightly over-optimistic perhaps, and then, immortal fanfare of Liberty, the Marseillaise.

We do not mind the air raids very much now. At night, we sit alone, Claire and I. Our way, in extremis, is clear. She clings to me, 'if only we stay together, I shall be brave'.

'And the children? Have we the right to take them with us?'

'No, we are the Past, they the Future. They may have the chance we were not given.'

Another night, an unquiet night, rent by searchlights and the noise that is no thunderstorm. I cannot read. Is this then the end? So much to do, so little accomplished yet. And then, the great curiosity: how is all this going to end – and I not here to see it. And yet: I am grateful to the unknown powers for seven years of happiness, for the laughter of our children, and for the hand that always was in mine.

Very little sleep, and another raid early in the morning. Then Claire's mother³⁸ comes. She lives only three minutes' walk from here, but could not come before today. The old lady is crying helplessly. Only a few months ago, we succeeded in getting her out of Germany. She had hoped to spend her last years in peace with her children and grandchildren. Now she cannot understand this world any more.

33 Anti-aircraft.

34 Despite ongoing capitulation negotiations, Rotterdam was bombed on 14 May 1940 and the city centre was almost completely destroyed; around 800 civilians were killed.

35 Pieter Jacobus Oud (1886–1968), administrative official; from 1916 member of the Dutch parliament; finance minister, 1933–1937; mayor of Rotterdam from 1938, resigned in 1941, served again as mayor, 1945–1952, then member of parliament, state minister and professor of constitutional law.

36 Henri Gerard Winkelman (1876–1952), professional soldier; served in the military, 1909–1934; appointed commander-in-chief of the Dutch army in early 1940; signed the capitulation on 15 May 1940; in German captivity, 1940–1945.

37 The British song 'The Siegfried Line' (music and lyrics by Jimmy Kennedy and Michael Carr, 1939) ridiculed Germany's Siegfried Line defence system where, according to the song, the British would soon be hanging out their washing to dry.

38 Martha Müller, née Laubner (b. 1873), housewife; divorced from her husband in 1937 in Hamburg; emigrated to her daughter's family in the Netherlands in 1939; fled to England in 1940.

Claire is going to try a last chance. It seems that the port of Ymuiden is still open. She rushes to a friend of ours, one of the heads of the Committee. Is there a chance to escape, or at least to try? Anything rather than sit here passively, and impotently wait for the end. She is told to call again in the afternoon: there may be a transport trying to get through. A ray of hope? Let us abstain from hoping – disappointment now would be too cruel.

Afternoon. A suitcase for each of us stands ready. Impatiently, I am waiting for Claire. Here she comes, with a taxi. If we go to the Committee at once, there may be the ghost of chance.

Hanna, Ilse – do you want to come? Hurry up, quick! The taxi-driver waxes impatient. We bundle the suitcases and ourselves into the taxi, five grown-ups, two children. Claire wants to lock this up, to take that along – no time! I cram my pockets with cigarettes and, rushing out, grab a box of chocolates and some rugs. Marc cries: he doesn't want to leave his big Panda behind. A last look at our little house. How beautiful the bright tulips look in the sunshine!

'I wouldn't take you to Ymuiden for a hundred guilders', exclaims the driver, who may have been asked to do just this more than once today, 'it's being bombed to pieces'; – 'Who mentioned Ymuiden – take us to the Committee!'

I am not allowed even to leave the house, I'm thinking, but the thought annoys me. Has Prussian discipline still left its mark on me? And, after all, what do I risk?

The streets do not look as quiet as before. It strikes me as strange that the automatic traffic lights are still functioning, and that traffic should still obey them.

Lo! the sirens, and almost at once the deafening explosions of bombs. The driver wants to stop and seek shelter, but I persuade him to go on. Here is the house of the Committee. Inside, quick. Bombs are dropping quite near and make the building tremble. In the entrance hall, a crowd of terrified people is densely packed together. The air is foul; people begin to faint, and a few women moan and scream. The stewards succeed at last to restore some order. We are standing at the entrance, since it is impossible to penetrate farther into the room. Five motor coaches are drawn up in front of the door, partly filled with 69 Jewish children from the Municipal Orphanage. Their parents are dead, missing or in German concentration camps. We are trying to get the children out of Amsterdam.

We are given seats: the last ones in the last coach, and presently the file begins to move. We should not have had five minutes to spare.

A mixed crowd fills our coach: old bearded men, young girls, women and, of course, the children. Some of us carry parcels or bags, others have no luggage at all, having come in straight from the street. At the last moment, several people have pushed their way into the coach, which is now dangerously overloaded. In the bends, the wheels rasp against the body of the coach, and sometimes it comes perilously near overturning.

All passengers have two things in common: all of them are Jews – and all of them are completely silent. Nobody utters a single word. It is as if we tried to make ourselves quite small, quite unobtrusive, so that the evil fate might overlook us. Although it is very warm, nobody appears to feel the heat; neither do I, sitting motionless whilst I ponder on our chances of getting through. They seem to me very slim indeed.

We are driving through the familiar streets of the town that was our home for so many years, and I realize that this is probably my last glimpse of them.

Is there a storm coming? The bright sun hides behind a dark curtain. These are no clouds: thick black smoke covers half the sky. Leaving the town, where the Haarlem road begins, we see an immense wall of smoke, broken by huge red tongues of flame. The petrol and oil tanks of the oil harbour are on fire, and the northern part of the city, the factories across the Y,³⁹ are burning too. A strange contrast, the bright sunshine and this horrible picture of destruction.

Pickets of soldiers stop us at once. We have a pass from the Commander of the garrison, but it is doubtful if it will be valid elsewhere. Already here there are people in cars and on bicycles who are inexorably turned back. But we have, in the first coach, the indefatigable Mrs. W.,⁴⁰ the guardian angel of Jewish children. Herself a Gentile, and a Dutch subject, she has, ever since 1933, cared for refugee children, procured Dutch visas for transports to Palestine, stormed the locked doors of Bureaucracy, and never taken no for an answer. Her hair is white, but her charm and energy are youthful and irresistible – never more so than today, when picket after picket is made to let us pass through.

In Haarlem, 10 endless minutes are spent in parleying with the soldiers. 'It's hopeless', they shout, 'Ymuiden is completely choked up, and there are no ships left.' But Mrs. W. demands an officer who, at long last, allows us to proceed – at our own risk, as he says. Our breast is encircled by an iron band of fear. Keep moving, only keep moving – every revolution of the wheels is a relief.

Velsen, 4½ miles to Ymuiden. At the crossroads, barriers have been thrown up, and before them stand hundreds of cars. Their occupants, showing all degrees of terror and despair, are vainly imploring the cordon of troops to let them pass. They have got as far as this, but now, almost in sight of the harbour, they are turned back. We recognize a number of well-known figures, some of the wealthiest and most important people of Holland among them. Later I learned that, during the night, a few of them, very few indeed, succeeded in hiring, at fantastic prices, fishermen's boats, and thus made good their escape.

Every minute of waiting is hell. We want to walk, to run – anything but to keep sitting and waiting.

At last: the barrier opens, and the coaches roll on. Here are the first houses of Ymuiden. A signpost: to the harbour, 2 miles. Suddenly, halt! In front of a railway viaduct a large crowd of refugees in cars, on bicycles, with prams and on foot is milling around confusedly. In vain that Mrs. W. parleys with the soldiers and their officers, who are holding the crowd back with their rifles at the ready: we may not pass.

The coaches turn about and stop in a side street. There is despair in all our hearts – to be wrecked so near the coast. Mrs. W. has managed to get an interview with the Commander of the garrison, to try her utmost. Meanwhile – we are waiting –

The sun is still strong, though it is now nearly 7 o'clock.

39 Correctly: IJ. The IJ was originally a lake north of the centre of Amsterdam. In the nineteenth century it was connected by canals to the IJsselmeer and the North Sea; today it is the site of Amsterdam's harbour.

40 Geertruida (Truus) Wijsmuller-Meijer (1896–1978); active in the Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen (CBBJ), a Dutch relief organization, from 1930; organized Kindertransports from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia to Britain, 1938–1939; active in the resistance, especially in assisting children and those in hiding, 1940–1945; member of Amsterdam City Council, 1945–1966.

Even here, the smoke of Amsterdam is visible. We sit in utter silence. Nobody feels hungry or thirsty, although we have not had anything to eat or drink all day, and, observing myself, which is a habit from which I cannot rid myself even at this moment, I note that other bodily functions seem to have been arrested too.

Around us are friendly little villas and gardens, but few people are to be seen. Two roughs, of a type we easily recognize, stand at the curb and offer provocative remarks about the Jews who are trying to save their skins now. They are frightened away by the sirens and the sound of bombs falling not very far away.

Suddenly – how long have we waited? – Mrs. W. comes running. ‘Drive on, quickly!’ But, when we arrive at the viaduct, the troops stop us again. How long are our nerves going to stand this cruel suspense?

Another officer appears and, at last, allows us to go on. Is it really true? Hope revives. We drive through the little town. The inhabitants wave to us. They seem to know why we are fleeing.

The harbour. Here the North Sea Canal unites Amsterdam with the North Sea, passing through the enormous Orange locks.⁴¹ The harbour is cordoned off by troops and completely deserted. Where are the hundreds of trawlers, steamers and boats of all description which were formerly to be seen here? There are only two steamers berthed here; one of them has steam up.

The soldiers range us in a long file along the deserted store-houses, so as to give us some cover against observation from the air. The soldiers are friendly and helpful, but deeply dejected. They tell us that the Dutch Army has, in five days, lost 100,000 casualties, one fourth of its strength. In small groups, so as to offer no target to aircraft, they dispatch us along the quay. We have to walk a long way, for we have to cover the whole length of this pier in order to get to the next one, to which our ship is made fast.

There are machine-guns mounted everywhere, hardly likely to be effective against German bombers. We meet small detachments of British marines and sailors, and the sight somehow cheers us up. Some of us even raise a feeble cheer. But we can see that they are only busy dismounting the machine guns. Two British motor torpedo boats are moored to the quay, embarking the men and the guns.

I am dragging two heavy bags with me. Marc walks by my side. Nobody could carry his big Panda, so Panda had to be left behind. Marc, his lower lip trembling a little, keeps looking back to where his poor Panda, sitting all alone on the deserted quayside, has dwindled to a small speck. Behind me, Claire follows with her mother. The heat, the excitement and the fatigue have almost caused the old lady to break down. Hanna and Ilse, carrying suitcases and rugs, help her along somehow, whilst Claire bears the baby in her arms.

The way seems endless. I perspire profusely, my breath is laboured. All of a sudden, I remember how I have always hated carrying my own luggage. For the shortest of distances I used to hire a porter, being much too lazy myself. This must be the condign punishment.

⁴¹ The Oranje locks are located on the east side of the IJ and connect it with the outer IJ and on to the IJsselmeer. IJmuiden is the location of the Southern, Central and Northern Locks. The reference here is probably to the Northern Lock, built in 1930, one of the largest locks in Europe.

It's a lucky thing that I am at least capable of walking and therefore not a burden to others. Only a few months ago, I spent many long weeks helpless in bed with an inflamed ankle joint. When it comes to running away, I am forced to think, technical progress is no use, nor is sympathy something that will help you along: you've got to have sound bones, reliable feet, and let the feeble and the infirm look after themselves.

Behind and in front of us, there is a long straggling line of refugees, carrying their belongings. Many of them have come to the end of their strength, but they cannot bear to leave their bags and bundles behind: all they have left in the world. They sit and lie all over the quay, completely exhausted. The British sailors and several Dutch soldiers encourage them and give them a hand with their loads.

Marc trots along by my side. He is so quite unusually good today, poor little chap, and so tired. Very soon we'll be in the nice big ship, my son, and are going to take a lovely trip.

Another 200 yards, another 100 – at last we are there. The crowd presses up the gangway, coloured sailors assisting the ill and feeble.

The 'Bodegraven' is a freighter of about 8,000 tons with accommodation for 35 passengers.⁴² More than 400 refugees are crowding into the ship. The small children and some old people are allotted the cabins – 6 or 7 people in a small two bed cabin.

Claire and I decide to stay on deck – it's quite warm, and only for one night. An old lady, accompanied by a nurse, is carried on board on a ladder. She is the octogenarian mother of my friend Dr. Erich Rosenberg,⁴³ and was to survive her flight only by a few weeks.

Rosenberg, himself a refugee from Germany, had reorganized the Jewish Refugees' Committee in Amsterdam. It was due to him that the refugee was treated there as a human being and a brother, not as a number or an importune beggar. He had, in no uncertain manner, conveyed this opinion to those of the employees who hitherto had not been ashamed to subject those who invoked their assistance to most cavalier treatment. He also put an end to the waste of money on unproductive schemes, and succeeded in establishing our Committee as one of the best in all Europe. He would work ten hours or more every day, without salary of course, being himself a generous contributor.

Having taken his mother to the cabin, he makes for the gangway. 'Where are you going?' I ask him. 'I am returning to Amsterdam.' 'Are you crazy?' 'I have no family left in Amsterdam, and our refugees need me more than ever now. If the Nazis don't kill me outright, they, too, will need someone to continue the business of the Committee.'

His friends, his brother who, with his family, is on board, attempt to hold him back, at last almost by main force. But in vain – he tears himself loose and leaves the ship.

⁴² The SS *Bodegraven* was a steamship built in 1929 and owned by the Royal Dutch Steamship Company. The ship was sunk by a German submarine off the coast of Africa in 1944.

⁴³ Dr Erich Rosenberg (1896–1971), salesman; emigrated, probably in 1933, from Germany to the Netherlands, where he was a member of the Committee for Jewish Refugees (CJV) and a board member of the Jewish 'work village' (*werkdorp*) in Wieringermeer, where young Jews were prepared for emigration to Palestine and elsewhere; in 1941 emigrated to Spain and from there to Cuba; in 1943 emigrated to the United States, where he worked for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). His mother, Berta Rosenberg, née Rosenbaum (1865–1940), emigrated from Germany to the Netherlands in 1933.

Several months later I heard that he was alive and continuing his work. If our people had a Victoria Cross to give, it could grace no better man than Rosenberg.

The sun sinks in a splendid riot of red and gold, and on the horizon smoke and flames of burning Amsterdam can be seen. The last of the passengers have embarked: a number of Dutch soldiers and marines with arms and equipment, and even an officer. He is the 'Crown Prince of Margarine', a member of the well-known family v.d.B.,⁴⁴ who had rushed to the Dutch colours from England.

Slowly the ship gets under way and glides along the quay. And then the terrible thing happens: running, stumbling with exhaustion, a small knot of refugees appear. They shout. 'Take us with you, for the love of God!' A one-legged man, swinging wildly in his crutches, tries vainly to catch up with the ship and grab a rope-ladder hanging down the side. He screams, wildly and horribly. A woman is with difficulty prevented by others from throwing her baby on the deck over the railings. The ship is gathering momentum every second, gliding on. The sight is horrible, and Claire cannot master her tears. I too turn away. The little group stays behind, in the gathering dusk, in hopeless silence.

In front of us, the brilliant sunset has faded and it is growing dark. We have barely left the entrance of the harbour behind when suddenly all the lights on land spring into brightness. For a moment I am bewildered: I can see the pier, the water-front, even the street-lights, quite clearly. What of the black-out? And then I comprehend the fact which was later confirmed: at this very moment the Germans are marching into the town, and the lights are intended to notify their own bombers of this fact. At a later date I was to learn that after a brave but hopeless resistance, the Dutch Army had capitulated late that afternoon, the Nazis, however, continuing their bombing of undefended towns till late at night.

The ship loses way and heaves to. The captain is unwilling to go on but the British motor torpedo boats, dashing up at enormous speed half through, half over the water, order him to continue. That most welcome of noises, the pounding of the engines, is resumed, and we are under way again.

I am breathing again. It begins to look as if we had at last escaped from the clutches of the Nazis. But safety will only be found when we land: mines and torpedos still threaten.

It has turned cooler and most of the passengers have scrambled down a vertical ladder into the hold. Claire and I, however, don't want to be cooped up below, whence there could be no escape if 'something should happen'. Knowing the children quartered in a deck cabin, we walk up and down near the stern of the ship.

All of a sudden, the captain barks the order: 'All hands below!' We happen to be near the stern at the entrance of the lascars' quarters. Suddenly, a sheet of flame rends the darkness with ear-splitting noise: a German plane has opened fire on us. We throw ourselves to the ground; I am holding Claire in my arms, trying instinctively to shield her with my body. The bullets clatter and crackle on the iron deck like hailstones, only a few feet from where we are. Screams are heard, but Claire utters no sound.

⁴⁴ Sidney James van den Bergh (1898–1977), entrepreneur; grandson of margarine manufacturer and Unilever founder Simon van den Bergh; employed in the family business; various functions in the Dutch army, 1939–1946; from 1948 member of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD); minister of defence, 1959; member of the Dutch parliament, 1963–1971.

I am surprised to find that I am not frightened at all, only filled with an unspeakable hatred of those cowardly assassins. 'You swine!' I shout, Shaking my impotent fist. The plane returns and another sheet of fire pours down on us. It looks like fireworks, the bright trace bullets leaving their trajectory in the sky. This is the end, I am thinking. A bomb now will be the end of us.

But the British motor boats have in turn opened a heavy barrage with their pom-poms, and the German hero turns tail. After all, his business had only been with an unarmed refugee ship.

By a miracle, nobody was hit, although on the next day numerous hits on the superstructure were in evidence. Unfortunately, I do not succeed in obtaining one of the bullets as a souvenir of our baptism of fire, the sailors having collected them already.

It is typical of Nazi methods that, as we learned later, Radio-Hilversum was made to broadcast on the next day that the 'Bodegraven', with 400 Jews on board, had been sunk with all hands. For many weeks afterwards our relatives and friends in Holland believed us dead.

We remain sitting on the companion way. It is quite likely that the plane may return, this time provided with bombs. All lights are extinguished, and we are going full steam ahead.

DOC. 29

On 18 May 1940 a section head at the Reich Security Main Office asks his superiors for permission to confiscate valuable books from Jewish libraries in Amsterdam¹

Letter (marked 'urgent!') from the RSHA (II A 22), signed Dr Kellner,² Berlin, to the head of Section II³ via Staff Leader II,⁴ undated⁵

Re: securing valuable Judaica in the new operational areas of Holland, Belgium, and France.

It is absolutely essential to take the unique opportunity afforded by the military operations to supplement the currently existing library with additional most valuable works, particularly works dealing with Western Jewry.

1 RGVA, 500k-3-155. Copy in NIOD, 206/500-3-155. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Walter Kellner (1906-1963), priest and theologian; served as a chaplain, 1932-1933; dismissed after contracting polio; section head for the so-called Jewish library of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) from Sept. 1939.

3 Dr Waldemar Beyer (1909-1952), librarian; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; worked at the University of Leipzig, 1935-1936; transferred to the SD Main Office in 1936; head of the library in Section VII (II A 2, Research into Ideological Enemies), 1940-1942; librarian at the Reich University in Strasbourg in 1942; called up for service in the Wehrmacht in 1944.

4 Presumably Dr Günther Stein (1908-1972), librarian; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1936; employed at the Leipzig Institute for the Study of Reading and Literature, 1935-1936; from 1936 employee and from 1939 deputy head at the so-called Jew Library in Berlin; department head at the German Society of Glass Technology, 1949-1972.

5 The dating given here is based on an enclosed letter. The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

In addition to the Jewish community libraries in individual locations in Holland and Belgium, which must also be examined briefly in order to identify particularly valuable copies, it is primarily the well-known Jewish libraries in Amsterdam and Brussels that must be seized. Even though no precise details can be furnished at the moment with respect to the nature, value, and extent of the libraries in Belgium and France, the Amsterdam libraries listed below must be seized immediately:

- 1) The Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana,⁶ which is affiliated with the university in Amsterdam.
- 2) The library of the Sephardic rabbinical seminary.⁷
- 3) The library of the Ashkenazi school 'Ets Haim'.⁸
- 4) In addition, the private library of Sigmund Seeligmann⁹ is said to be of special significance.

Because previous experiences with the seizure of Jewish libraries, particularly the operation in Poland, have clearly shown that the seizure and transfer of valuable materials did not take place in a sensible manner, I ask the section head to give the undersigned the opportunity to perform, on the spot, the actions necessary for the general and complete confiscation and conveyance of all materials not on hand in the library here.

The personal presence of the undersigned is essential also because, on the basis of a general overview of the Jewish materials confiscated thus far, it can be decided as quickly as possible what part of the abundance of libraries located in the operational areas must be seized for immediate transfer and what part can be deemed of secondary importance and insignificant and thus permitted to remain there.

In the event that the presence of civilians in the operational area encounters difficulties, the undersigned requests that you consider whether his wearing the field-grey jacket [for] SS recruits can be permitted during his stay there.

6 The library of Leeser Rosenthal (1794–1868) was donated to the city of Amsterdam by his children in 1880 and is still one of the largest libraries of Judaica and Hebraica in Europe. Large portions of the library were taken to Germany in 1941; they were returned, partially damaged, in 1945.

7 The library of the Ets Haim rabbinical seminary of the Portuguese Israelite Religious Community in Amsterdam was established in 1616 and is now on the UNESCO list of World Heritage sites. During the Second World War the holdings of the library were taken to Germany. Most were returned in 1946.

8 Correctly: Beth Hamidrash Ets Haim. Rabbinical seminary of the Dutch Israelite Religious Community, founded in 1740. Its library was taken to Germany in 1943.

9 Sigmund Seeligmann (1873–1940), theologian and historian; emigrated in 1884 to the Netherlands, where he founded the Association for Jewish Scholarship in 1919; built up a significant private library, which was taken to Germany in 1941. Portions of the library went to Theresienstadt and were presented to the University of Jerusalem by his son Isaac Leo Seeligmann (1907–1982) after the end of the war.

DOC. 30

On 20 May 1940 the mayor of The Hague honours a Jewish member of the city council who has taken his own life¹

Leaflet with the speech Salomon de Monchy² gave before The Hague City Council, dated 20 May 1940

Speech by Mayor de Monchy

Mayor S. J. R. de Monchy gave the following speech during the meeting of The Hague City Council this afternoon (20 May 1940):

How incredibly far away the moment we last left this hall, just ten days ago, seems to us now.

Our army taken prisoner; our land occupied by foreign troops; our city no longer the royal residence; an unknown number of our soldiers and sailors killed, wounded, or missing, their names not even known to their relatives; the heart of our sister-city in South Holland destroyed;³ the political as well as the economic future of our fatherland a question mark.

I would now like to attempt to somehow put into words what we are all feeling right now. Allow me to begin with one solitary symptom of these difficult times; one that is, however, presently very close to home: the empty chair that only two weeks ago was honourably occupied by our fellow member Joëls.⁴

Unfortunately, like so many, he could not bear these oppressive times. I will not describe what he did for this city. I will say only this: he was a good patriot and a good citizen of The Hague. A member of the ancient people,⁵ he championed his co-religionists with energy and devotion, but at the same time, as was natural to him, he was equal to any Christian in terms of showing genuine love for his fatherland.

The farewell letter he wrote to me reached me only once the irreversible had already happened. Allow me to read out the words that followed some opening remarks and an affectionate parting word to me:

Please convey my best wishes to the aldermen, the municipal secretary, and the members of the council. Likewise, my final tribute of esteem to the directors and senior officials of our city, who have always treated me with the greatest kindness. In my will I have bequeathed to the City of 's Gravenhage my collection of paintings for the City Museum, should they be considered worth of display there⁶ according

1 JHM, Doc. 00 000 813. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Salomon Jean René de Monchy (1880–1961), lawyer; official in the administration of the province of South Holland, 1902–1921; mayor of Arnhem, 1921–1934; mayor of The Hague, 1934–1940; dismissed on 1 July 1940 and briefly interned; served again as mayor of The Hague, 1945–1947.

3 The bombing of Rotterdam on 14 May 1940 almost completely destroyed the city centre.

4 Michel Joëls Jun. (1881–1940), cattle trader and salesman; member of The Hague City Council, 1919–1940; took his own life on 16 May 1940.

5 A reference to the Jews.

6 The Hague City Museum still holds two paintings bequeathed by Michel Joëls.

to the judgement of Dr van Gelder.⁷ I do this as a sign of my appreciation of that which this good city has given me in my lifetime. It is my hope that this bequest will go some way to increasing the appeal of our museum. With best wishes for our royal house, our country, our people, and our city, *Joëls*.

The wonderful gesture of this gift reminds us again of just how much we have lost with his passing. Joëls' image will remain engraved on our hearts. We will remember him with honour and gratitude.

Yet no matter how deeply we are all affected by this death, I cannot dwell on it for too long. There are too many terrible things which demand our attention at this moment.

Our country's armed forces, a weapon in the hands of our queen, exist now only in our overseas territories.

The first words spoken by the first officers who arrived at The Hague City Hall to announce the German troops' arrival to the mayor expressed the German Wehrmacht's sincere and profound admiration of the matchless bravery and absolute loyalty of our troops. We still know next to nothing about the specifics of the heroic struggle our men have waged, but what we are told here and there – by cavalrymen and marines, by gunners and foot soldiers, by members of every branch of the military, whom I shall not list – is enough to convince us that within our people there still live the best qualities of the Dietsch race,⁸ which for centuries gave our nation its independence and maintained this against an overwhelmingly superior power.

Nobody can yet say how large the monument will be which will soon stand here in this city as a memorial to those from The Hague who died for their country, but to all of them – no, to all Dutch people, dead or alive, who fulfilled their duty as soldiers during these five horrific days – I offer, and I know I do so on behalf of us all, a salute of honour with the deepest respect.

Our armed forces were not defeated. When the Supreme Commander of Land and Sea Forces⁹ agreed to the capitulation, he was guided solely by the knowledge that after the destruction of Rotterdam, a continuation of the war could only lead to the pointless destruction of even more of our splendid, well-cared-for, happy cities and villages, which now, thank God, remain untouched, free to bask in the golden sunlight of this stunning May.

As well as being directed to our armed forces, our thoughts at this time turn above all to our much loved and respected queen, whom her advisors compelled to leave Dutch soil at the very last moment. That her departure would have a crippling effect upon the people's and the armed forces' powers of resistance is something she will have understood better than anyone. We were no longer comforted by the thought that the Netherlands was gathered tightly around the throne of the House of Orange. We did not understand and were confused.

7 Hendrik Enno van Gelder (1876–1960), lawyer; archivist in The Hague, 1906–1912; director of the The Hague City Museum from 1912; director of the city's department for the arts and scholarship, 1918–1941.

8 Dietsch is a Middle Dutch language from which contemporary Dutch emerged. In the first half of the twentieth century, the term was often used to signify the common origin of the Dutch peoples.

9 Henri Gerard Winkelman.

For many this gave rise to reflection. They recalled how, for the more than forty years of her reign, Queen Wilhelmina has never failed to be a paragon of judicious wisdom, of infinite dedication, of deep empathy for her people. They realized that it could not be any other way, and that our queen's actions must have been and still are motivated solely by our national interests.

Calm consideration also quickly made the motive clear. One began to understand that if we may continue to call and consider ourselves Dutch, and our overseas territories remain under the royal prerogative that can assert itself internationally and is bound up with the queen's name, this is all a consequence of her decision to withdraw from a predicament which threatened to befall her as the bearer of sovereignty, before it was too late. Far from her people and not in a position to steer events in this country directly, our queen, I am certain, will be experiencing the most difficult days of her eventful life.

Let us continue to feel united with her and her house, let us continue to remember her in our prayers, and let us take strength from the hope that the day will come when we will be reunited, and the happy voices of children in the Soestdijk¹⁰ will let us know that the cherished princely family is also once more around her.

After this speech, Mayor de *Monchy* was arrested.
We salute the prisoners! Serenity and composure.

DOC. 31

***Het Nationale Dagblad*, 4 June 1940: article welcoming the end of Jewish influence¹**

Amsterdam is no longer a Jew-city!
Workers now call for dynamic socialism

(From our Amsterdam correspondent²)

For the last six years, the Dutch capital has been almost entirely dominated by volksvreemde³ parasites.⁴ Six years of Jewish exploitation and repression are behind us, six years during which the value of working Amsterdamers was demeaned by mouthy Asians.

10 Castle Soestdijk is located in the province of Utrecht and was the residence of Crown Princess Juliana and her family from 1937 to 1940. German officers lived in the castle during the German occupation.

1 *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 4 June 1940, p. 1: 'Amsterdam is geen Jodenstad meer!' This document has been translated from Dutch. *Het Nationale Dagblad*, which first appeared in 1936, was the daily newspaper of the NSB. Rost van Tonningen was its editor-in-chief until Oct. 1940. The newspaper had a circulation of between 11,000 and 30,000 copies. After the liberation of the Netherlands, the newspaper was banned for seventy-five years.

2 Presumably Jan de Haas.

3 Dutch form of the Nazi term *volksfremd*: 'racially alien'.

4 Amsterdam had been governed by a council made up of social democrats and confessional parties since the 1935 municipal elections, at which the 'bourgeois' parties had lost their majority.

The collapse of the system built by the traitors of the people and the accompanying occupation by German troops that happened at the same time have fundamentally put an end to that. It pretty much goes without saying that during the first days after the occupation, they were not yet able to cease their insolence and pretensions, and believed they could simply continue to conduct their activities at the expense of the Dutch people. But today it has become clear to these gentlemen, or it has been made clear to them, that their dominion is now over.

The greatest Jew-bulwark, Amsterdam City Council,⁵ has made the wise decision not to reconvene. The exploitation of personnel in Jewish department stores has been impeded by the new regulations on closing times at lunchtime and in the evening. The daily smear campaigns on the streets have been prevented once and for all. From now on, it is Dutch people who sell newspapers, and in a respectable way. The immigrants, if they have not already left, are behaving completely calmly and are urgently attempting to transfer other parasitical activities to the 'goyim'. Many of the gentlemen have been shrewd enough to remove the large, provocative Yiddish signs from their houses and shops. Most places of entertainment can once again be visited without any annoyance to the visitor. In short, Amsterdam is beginning to look human again. The city, which since 1933 has been looking ever more Palestinian, is becoming more Dutch again by the day. The practice of giving preference to Jews in many different respects has now come to an end.

The people's task

We are not exaggerating at all when we state that the people of Amsterdam can breathe easy again. This Jewish domination lasted far too long. Over time, there was virtually no one left who dared to give his honest opinion regarding the Jews. The threat of hunger and the fear of being robbed of their livelihoods scared them off.

All of that is now over. Everyone can speak their mind once again, and many are now taking the opportunity to say what is on their minds.

Yet this is not enough to complete the cleansing of our national life. To leave the task to the occupying forces would be evidence of limited energy. It is the population's task.

Now is the time for every Amsterdamer to begin asking: What is in the interests of my city and of my fellow Amsterdammers? How can I help my fellow citizens, who were so tormented and discriminated against by the Jews, to get back on their feet?

There is much to do. Here are a few examples:

A huge number of Dutch musicians are out of work. Yet Jewish orchestras, often including immigrants, are still working at various large venues. What can be done about this? It must be made clear to the management of these establishments that the Amsterdam public will no longer tolerate this privilege granted to Jewish musicians.

There are still masses of shopkeepers who have the greatest difficulty keeping their heads above water. And yet every day, countless Amsterdammers walk to the Kalverstraat⁶ to have the money taken out of their pockets by the various Jew-shops. How much longer must this carry on, while our own people are in such dire need?

⁵ In 1940 Amsterdam City Council had only few Jewish members.

⁶ A major shopping street in the centre of Amsterdam.

There are hundreds of good craftsmen, office workers, and others who are unemployed while equally as many or perhaps more Jews are still sitting pretty. The action of the Dutch-minded population will put an end to this more quickly.

These are merely a few examples. We cannot do enough to convince Amsterdamers of the need for these cleansing operations. Jewish attempts to thwart them, whether illegal or not, cannot taint this period of development that has now begun.

Amsterdam's workers

For years, throughout the Netherlands, Amsterdam has had the reputation of being 'red', redder than any other city in our fatherland. Indeed, a very significant portion of Amsterdam's workers have let themselves be misled for years and years by the mostly Yiddish preachers of hate and Marxism.

These people's influence has now been eliminated once and for all. The flight of the SDAP⁷ bigwigs to England, along with a considerable portion of their war funds, has cooled the love for Marxism, insofar as it still existed, while the restoration of the freedom of expression in the Netherlands means that the unionized worker is no longer required to remain silent.

Of course, even after the elimination of the Marxist rabble-rousing in the daily and weekly press, a few political hotheads have tried to continue underground propaganda against National Socialism. The authorities need not concern themselves about this, however: the workers who had been deceived no longer fall for it.

This is by no means an easy time for Amsterdam. Even though the city was largely spared the violence of war, severing foreign links entails major difficulties for many firms. Yet among Amsterdam's workers there is a conviction, which grows with every passing day, that these difficulties will merely be temporary in nature and that in the foreseeable future, the construction of a new society – stronger than ever – can begin, with work and bread for everyone. *Dynamic socialism*: that's what the workers demand.

Yes, something has changed in Amsterdam. The Burgerwacht Jews⁸ have disappeared from the streets, and no volksvreedme elements will ever again have the chance to insult an Amsterdamer without feeling the hard hand of the person being insulted or very quickly ending up in a police station.

Something has changed, and a lot more will have to change, but we already know: Amsterdam is no longer a Jew-city, Amsterdam is Dutch once again!

The cleansing continues!

7 SDAP: Social Democratic Workers' Party, renamed the Labour Party (PvdA) in 1946.

8 In Nov. 1918, when Pieter Jelles Toelstra (1860–1930) called for a revolution in the Netherlands, volunteers banded together in various cities to form citizens' brigades (*burgerwachten*) in defence of the monarchy and the existing order. The German occupiers dissolved the brigades in 1940. There is no evidence to suggest that a particularly large number of Jews were active in these groups.

DOC. 32

**On 5 June 1940 Egon von Bönninghausen congratulates the NSB functionary
Meinoud Rost van Tonningen on his return from internment¹**

Letter from Egon von Bönninghausen,² Herinckhave, to M. M. Rost van Tonningen,³ dated 5 June 1940

Dear Meinhold,

Congratulations on your release and glorious return!⁴ I personally took your unjust and degrading arrest very hard, as I myself was suddenly and ignominiously dismissed from my civil service career after more than twelve years of hard work and dutiful service because of similarly deceitful insinuations.⁵ It was Judaism and political Catholicism that caused trouble for you in particular, and also for the other comrades. You were the ones who warned the Dutch National Socialist Movement first about both of these principal poisoners of the people, and then again and again. These elements therefore had every reason to destroy you first of all, through their influence and secretive methods. The guiding hand of the Almighty, which always reveals itself in great men throughout history, has saved you for National Socialism in the Netherlands. All the hopes of Dutch National Socialism rest on you. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is a National Socialist principle that the secret powers which have so wrongly sought to dishonour you should experience first, and as soon as possible. To anyone with even the slightest insight into the pernicious mentality of Judaism who sees the photos in *Het Nationale Dagblad* on 3 June⁶ – the photos of your brave, heroic mother,⁷ of yourself, Comrade Feldmeijer,⁸ and the others – it is clear that these are the kind of people Jewry has sought to destroy at any price.

1 Published in E. Fraenkel-Verkade and A. J. van der Leeuw (eds.), *Correspondentie van Mr. M. M. Rost van Tonningen*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), pp. 361–362 (the original is held by NIOD, but could not be located). This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Baron Egon Lodewijk Maria Theresia Jozef von Bönninghausen (1899–1943), civil servant; mayor of Ootmarsum, 1926–1939; mayor of Tubbergen, 1940; joined the NSB in 1940; commissioner for the province of Overijssel, 1941–1942; volunteered for the SS in August 1942 and was deployed in the war against the Soviet Union.

3 Meinoud Marinus Rost van Tonningen (1894–1945), lawyer; worked at the League of Nations, 1923–1928 and 1931–1936; joined the NSB in 1936; important party ideologue in his role as editor-in-chief of the NSB newspaper *Het Nationale Dagblad*; appointed president of Nederlandsche Bank and secretary general of the Ministry of Finance in 1941; arrested in 1945; died in prison shortly thereafter after falling from a prison building; the exact circumstances of his death are unclear.

4 On 3 May 1940, shortly before the Wehrmacht invaded, the Dutch police had interned Rost van Tonningen and others viewed as dangers to the state in order to prevent them from committing treason. On 30 May 1940 Tonningen was liberated by the Wehrmacht in northern France; he returned to the Netherlands.

5 Egon von Bönninghausen had been dismissed as mayor of Ootmarsum in Feb. 1939 because he had publicly stated that in the event of a German invasion, he would be one of the first to march with the National Socialists.

6 *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 3 June 1940, p. 3.

7 Lady Meinouda Sara Johanna Rost van Tonningen-van den Bosch (1868–1946).

8 Johannes Hendrik Feldmeijer, born J. H. Veldmeijer (1910–1945), politician; joined the NSB in 1932; helped establish and lead the Dutch SS from 1940; commander of a reserve battalion in 1945; fatally wounded.

I am overjoyed by the German occupation and liberation of the Netherlands. This is the only way to see all of our ideals realized in the foreseeable future. Your own editorial in *Het Nationale Dagblad* on 3 June, 'The Social Revolution',⁹ shows the only right way that must henceforth lead towards this goal. It is a wonderful article, a true 'Rost', I have heard many say, and that is how it is. I view the flight of the royal family as an enormous advantage. The Netherlands was always a very republican country. The House of Orange's contributions were great in previous centuries, although certainly not greater than those of the Hohenzollerns. Queen Wilhelmina completely failed as a leader in the darkest hour and, according to old Germanic conceptions, thereby forfeited her claim to the state leadership. She clearly and openly sided with Jewry, choosing the destruction of the nation over the finest sons of her own people. Should you have a free weekend, a visit from you would be most welcome, also from your mother; you have an open invitation.

With National Socialist greetings, also from Mama¹⁰ and Ernst.¹¹

DOC. 33

On 8 June 1940 Einsatzkommando III of the German Security Police reports on the mood in the Netherlands¹

Situation report (marked 'confidential') no. 5 by Einsatzkommando III,² unsigned (received on 8 June 1940³)

Part I

General mood

The mood of the population is essentially unchanged in comparison with the preceding days. The population continues to adopt a wait-and-see approach. Even though the prevailing mood is still subdued, people are nonetheless mostly glad that the hostilities between Germany and Holland are at an end. Some segments of the population expect a quick conclusion of the war in favour of Germany. On the other hand, one is repeatedly amazed to note the obstinacy with which some of the Dutch, despite the latest German military successes, expect and also hope for a final victory by England. This optimism is based on factors including their own calculation that the German economy might be unable to maintain to the end the quick pace that has been adopted. Further, it is expected that the Western powers will receive military support from the USA if their existence is seriously threatened. The Dutch Catholics additionally count on moral support from the Vatican.

⁹ *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 3 June 1940, p. 1.

¹⁰ Lady Theresia Maria Cornelia Francisca von Bönninghausen-de van der Schueren (1874–1960).

¹¹ Baron Ernst Johannes Baptista Maria von Bönninghausen tot Herinkhave (1900–1973), Egon von Bönninghausen's brother.

¹ NIOD, 077/367. This document has been translated from German.

² Einsatzkommando III of the Security Police was stationed in Amsterdam; headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Dr Joseph Kreuzer (1907–1958), it was responsible for the provinces of North Holland, South Holland, and Utrecht.

³ The report was presumably compiled for the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD (BdS), in whose files it was found. The only legible portion of the receipt stamp is the date.

With regard to the attitude towards Germany, one must note that three groups have formed within the Dutch population. The first group, to which primarily the socially advantaged belong, takes a cautious, anti-German position in every respect. The second, consisting of members of the middle classes, is largely pro-German in its stance, while the third group, made up of working people, has a predominantly passive attitude and is largely indifferent to the developments here. Jobless workers expect unemployment to be eliminated soon.

The general mood, however, is largely determined by the effects of the economic measures. Currently the greatest concerns, accounted for by the mentality of the Dutch in general, are the future way of life and the securing of essential needs. As the state of war makes the import of goods from the colonies impossible, there is a general expectation that there will be price increases and shortages, and as in Germany when the war began, people are scouring the grocery shops and department stores.

Part II

Inquiries regarding the mysterious leaflet⁴ which is a topic of discussion everywhere in the Netherlands and in which bombings of the airfields located in the Netherlands were announced were unfruitful here as well.

Part 3⁵

II

Jewry

Voices from the Aryan business world are repeatedly heard expressing amazement at the punctilious rectitude of the German authorities towards the Jews. Perhaps out of conviction or on account of personal economic advantages, it is stated that the Dutch people will be greatly disappointed unless the economic influence of the Jews is eliminated. Suicides of Jews continue to occur. It is rumoured that around 2,000 Jews have committed suicide since the capitulation of the Dutch army.⁶

Political currents

Both in the general public and in the Dutch army in particular, there continues to be an extremely strong feeling of dislike, verging on contempt, for the Mussert movement.⁷ According to credible accounts by Dutch soldiers, one of the reasons cited is that members of the Mussert movement shot at Dutch soldiers from behind during the campaign. In this context it is noteworthy that people do not equate the NSB with the German National Socialist Movement. Further, people take the view that Dutchmen who allow themselves to get carried away to the point of committing such acts cannot be respected

⁴ This could not be found.

⁵ The inconsistent numbering of the document is presumably attributable to the fact that different authors worked on it and used a predefined numbering system.

⁶ There were approximately 200 suicides after the German invasion: Wout Ultee, Ruud Luijkx, and Frank van Tubergen, 'The Unwholesome Theme of Suicide: Forgotten Statistics of Attempted Suicides in Amsterdam and Jewish Suicides in the Netherlands for 1936–1943', in Chaya Brasz and Yosef Kaplan (eds.), *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 325–353.

⁷ The reference is to the NSB.

by the Germans either. Members of the NSB who have an overview of the situation express the belief that from the moment the Germans leave the Netherlands again, they will be helplessly exposed to the revenge of their domestic political foes. To counter this possibility, according to both the Mussert supporters and their opponents, it is not out of the question that the NSB will take advantage of the German occupation period to attempt a *coup d'état*.

III

Press

The first edition of the newly founded *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*⁸ was published on 5 June 1940. In its outward appearance and format, the newspaper has conformed to the major political dailies in Holland, in proper recognition of the propaganda effect of adopting such a format. The newspaper has set itself the task not only of conveying information about the new Germany but also of cultivating the interests 'which Germany and the Netherlands have in common'. Thus far nothing definitive can be said about the response to the first few issues of the paper. It is worth noting, however, that the paper's publisher has received a few anonymous letters calling attention to the futility of publishing the *Deutsche Zeitung*. Readership figures are satisfactory thus far. The paper currently has 1,500 subscribers, and according to assessments made to date, street vending is brisk. For example, on one day a newspaper kiosk in Amsterdam sold no fewer than 400 copies in half an hour.

A certain scepticism towards the Dutch press is noticeable to a large extent among the population. For example, announcements concerning the bombing of Rotterdam are openly called into question, with the implication that as a result of German interference the press is publishing biased reports.

Radio

Evidently there is still uncertainty among the Dutch population about listening to foreign radio stations. The previous Dutch regulations, which permit listening to such a radio station within the immediate family circle, have not yet been amended. All German radio stations are thus also regarded as foreign. In the interests of German propaganda activity, it is therefore both desirable and necessary that a new regulation be drawn up with respect to listening to foreign stations.

Economy

The first economic rationing measures and the scarcity of specific commodities have given rise to extreme anxiety among the Dutch population in general about the way of life in the future and the securing of essential needs. Because no goods can be imported from the colonies, general price increases and shortages are anticipated. The many rumours that arose in connection with the rationing of foodstuffs have led to panic buying and, at the same time, have caused certain businessmen, predominantly Jewish ones, to

⁸ *The Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* was a German-language daily published in Amsterdam from 1940 to 1945, with a circulation of approximately 30,000–55,000 copies. It was the official newspaper of the German occupiers and replaced the earlier publication *Reichsdeutsche Nachrichten in den Niederlanden*, which had been published by the NSDAP's Foreign Organization.

have mass-produced items and goods of various sorts sold by travelling salesmen. Among other items, fabrics for menswear, other textiles, and, most recently, also bicycle tyres are being sold off. Traders are attempting to liquidate their stock, as far as possible. Apart from these cases, as far as can be ascertained, retail businesses are strictly complying with the rationing measures.

The German Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands in Amsterdam, acting as trustee for German firms, is collecting money owed. In the process, considerable difficulties have arisen of late for the chamber because some of the Dutch debtors, especially Jews, have fled and can no longer be reached, and the abandoned goods and assets are being sold off by former employees and other persons, most of them also Jews. Although there have been only isolated cases thus far, the German Chamber of Commerce fears that debt collection will increasingly encounter such difficulties in future, and as a result German firms in the Reich, as well as economic interests more broadly, will incur unwelcome losses.

A very small but noticeable segment of the Dutch business community is mistrustful of the Reichskreditkassenscheine,⁹ for it can be observed that every day business owners bring their Reichskreditkassenscheine to banks to exchange them for guilders.

It is reported from Utrecht that the proclamations of the military authorities and of the Reich Commissioner are largely being torn down, especially in the working-class neighbourhoods. In addition, there are complaints from there alleging that members of the Wehrmacht continue to be photographed by street photographers and are asked for their field post numbers. A Jew who was involved said by way of excuse that according to the announcements in the Dutch newspapers only the photographing of troop formations is prohibited.

DOC. 34

***Der Stürmer*, June 1940: article containing a German soldier's initial impressions of Amsterdam¹**

In Amsterdam

What a German soldier experienced with Jews

Dear *Stürmer*,²

I am writing to you from Amsterdam. Although we have difficult, but also eventful, days behind us, I have to report to you at once. The fact is that my experience in

⁹ 'Reich credit notes', transitional currency introduced in German-occupied countries during the Second World War. The respective national banks had to accept the notes and convert them into national currency. This placed a strain on the finances of the occupied countries by allowing the occupiers to 'purchase' currency with notes that were essentially worthless.

¹ *Der Stürmer*, vol. 18, no. 23, enclosure, '25 Jahre jüdischer Krieg vom Juni 1940', p. 8. The antisemitic weekly, edited by Julius Streicher, was published in Nuremberg from 1923 to 1945 and in 1940 had a circulation of around 500,000 copies. This document has been translated from German.

² *Der Stürmer* often published articles by its own staff in the form of supposed letters to the editor.

Amsterdam is similar to that in Poland. I see Jews everywhere, and now I really don't know whether *we* are persecuting the Jews or the Jews are persecuting *us*.

I have made comparisons as to where the Jews seem more terrible, over there in Poland or here. Although one probably encounters Jewry in greater numbers in Poland than anywhere else, the impression in Amsterdam is nonetheless more monstrous. In Poland even the non-Jew was filthy and slovenly. But in Holland, with the proverbial tidiness of the Dutch, Jewry in the centre of Amsterdam is *twice* as conspicuous. The contrast between the Dutch cleanliness and the Jewish filth is indescribable!

But first I must tell you, dear *Stürmer*, about how I immediately came into contact with the Amsterdam Jews. It was like this:

This is how they do business

My first time out on a pass took me to *Calver Straat*,³ a long, beautiful, relatively narrow but extremely good shopping street in Amsterdam, much like Hohe Straße in Cologne. I was having a look at the shops, the goods, and the prices when I was suddenly addressed by a man speaking broken German. I understood him to be saying that he had a gold watch that he wanted to sell cheaply. I have never concluded such a deal in the street and naturally did not intend to do so. But apparently the man misinterpreted my hesitation. He continued to pester me, urging me to purchase the watch, and said: 'Watch very cheap, will be searched on ship and watch must not be found on ship.'

I now realized that the watch was stolen and that the thief wanted to sell it on quickly. Now I became curious and took a closer look at this man, who spoke relatively good German. What should I tell you: *you could see from his face that he was a Jew!!* Now things got interesting, and I *pretended* to respond to his offer but told him that I was not interested in a pocket watch. At that, he immediately pulled out a gold wristwatch, implored me not to attract attention, and assured me that this watch too was very cheap. He was asking only 60 guilders for it, he said. When I pointed out that, as a soldier, I did not have that much money and in particular had no guilders, he gradually dropped the price until he finally was asking for only 7 *guilders*. He interpreted my continued hesitation as mistrust and shoved the watch into my pocket, saying that I should have its value checked myself. I must repeat that the Jew was extraordinarily skilled at acting the part of a fearful man who was forced to sell an item of great value here at a ridiculous price because he was in dire straits.

The great scam

Luckily I saw a policeman right at the next street corner. (Here one calls him a bobby.⁴) I quickly filled him in and asked him to arrest the thief. At that, the Jew took to his heels. I wanted to go after him, but the policeman laughed with all his might, so that I was uncertain at that moment whether to be more surprised at the strange behaviour of the policeman or at the flight of the watch thief. The explanation given to me by the policeman was very interesting indeed. In fact, the watches were not stolen at all. *They were worthless trinkets and barely kept correct time for a day*. Naturally, the 'gold' was just

³ Correctly: Kalverstraat, today still the major shopping street in Amsterdam's city centre.

⁴ As in the original. In Britain a policeman is known colloquially as a 'bobby', but in the Netherlands as a 'flik'.

varnish. By looking at the watch in my pocket, I was able to satisfy myself that it was just cheap, shoddy stuff.

I now learned that the Jews try this trick *on every stranger* and maintain an entire organization that immediately spots every stranger and tries to cheat him in this manner. So, typically Jewish: *the Jew would rather pose as a thief, simply to give the impression that one really can buy an expensive item from him*. I've been told that thousands of strangers who came to Amsterdam have fallen for this con.

Jews everywhere!

After this practical example of Jewish trickery in Amsterdam, I took a further interest in how things look in Amsterdam.

Amsterdam has 300,000 Jews!⁵ The number is so overwhelmingly high that a Jewish proletariat and Jewish workers also exist there, as in Poland. Of course, somehow these Jews too have a sideline, namely their '*little deals*'.

In Amsterdam there is still a real *ghetto*⁶ right between canals that run through the old town and are known as grachten. Even a few streets away, one can tell from the typically Jewish odour that one is approaching the Jewish neighbourhood. *And all the things one sees here!*

Gesticulating Jews in caftans, with sidelocks! Jewish women and Jewish brats are gathered in the narrow streets and are either defrauding another goy or swindling one another. Given the large numbers of Jews residing here, the fact is that the Jew can no longer refrain from fleecing other Jews within his own race.

In addition to all kinds of garments which were the main object of the trading and bartering, I saw uniforms from every country, every branch of service, every military rank. The uniform of a Bavarian postal official from the days of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis⁷ can be bought there just as readily as the uniform of an English general of today. The latter no longer has much market value, however.

Yet with horror I also observed the many Jewish children, swarming around like ants. They grow up here in packs with no supervision and from an early stage seek to become involved in trading and making money. *Everything about all these children already said 'Jew'*.

From iron nail to paraffin lamp!

Then I came to a market square.⁸ Here I was most surprised, and not only at the Jew but also at the *Dutchman*. The entire square was crowded *with Jewish dealers*, as at fairs in our country. But while our German market traders have a proper stand with an awning and attractive displays, here at this market in Amsterdam's ghetto one finds nothing but, at most, a tattered, dirty, and often torn unstitched *coal sack* serving as a rug and under-

5 Of the approximately 750,000 residents of Amsterdam in 1940, around 80,000 were Jews.

6 'Ghetto' here refers to the traditional meaning of the term – a densely populated poor Jewish neighbourhood. In Amsterdam, the term was used, also by Jews, for the area around Waterlooplein (Waterloo Square), where many Jews had settled and many synagogues were located.

7 The noble house of Thurn and Taxis established and operated postal systems in Western and Central Europe from the fifteenth to the late nineteenth century.

8 Presumably the Waterlooplein, where an antiques and flea market is still held every day.

lay for the goods spread out on it. But these 'goods'! All the things that were being offered and actually sold here! I observed, and this is no isolated case, that one can buy every imaginable type of dross here, from a rusty, bent nail to an old paraffin lamp. A truly new item that could be used in a household or for a trade is only rarely to be found. Much of what is offered for sale at this market is found in our country at most in the *rubbish bin*.

For these reasons I was surprised that these Jews can do any business at all with the Dutch. And then again throughout the entire square there was a furious clamour and a great deal of shouting. In short, it was a real 'Judenschule'.⁹

A memory of earlier times

I had now had enough of my first walk through the Amsterdam ghetto, however. I walked back into the city with its elegant, metropolitan character, but here too I saw that all the names of the businesses were just as we once knew them *in our country*. All the Kohns, Levis, Hirschmanns, and Samuels were to be found there again, and I, as a German and as someone enlightened by you, was naturally aware: this is not a Dutch shop but rather a *Jewish* one.

The ghetto in Amsterdam is the cradle of Dutch Jewry. The first experiences with cheating the goy were gained at the markets. With the *revekh*¹⁰ he made, the Jew could then open a shop, first in the outer districts and then, after repeated failures, in the expensive neighbourhoods.

More about my other impressions another time! Then I will tell you, above all, *what the Dutch think about the Jews*. Indeed, they have now experienced first-hand that the Jew brought them misfortune.

Heil Hitler!

Wilhelmi.

DOC. 35

On 1 July 1940 the Senior Commander of the German Order Police excludes Jews from the Air Raid Protection Service¹

Letter (by messenger) from the Higher SS and Police Leader with the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories – Senior Commander of the Order Police (-L- 5421/19.6.-), signed p.p. Schumann² (major general in the Order Police), verified and signed Schönlebe³ (captain in the urban police), The Hague, to the Inspector for National Air Raid Protection Captain v. Batenburg,⁴ The Hague, 23 Heerengracht, dated 1 July 1940 (copy)⁵

Re: cleansing the Dutch Air Raid Protection Service of unsuitable elements

I have been informed by multiple reliable sources that members of the official Air Raid Protection Service (Luchtbescherming)⁶ played an active part in the political demon-

⁹ Literally 'Jew school': here meaning 'disorderly crowd'.

¹⁰ Yiddish form of the Hebrew word *revach*: 'gain' or 'profit'.

¹ NIOD, 020/252. This document has been translated from German.

strations on 29 June 1940.⁷ Among other things, going from house to house the air raid protection police (Luchtbeschermings Politie) called on the public to wear the white flower on 29 June 1940.

On the aforementioned grounds, I order as follows:

- 1) The National Inspectorate for Air Raid Protection⁸ must immediately initiate the removal of the following from the Air Raid Protection Service:
 - a. all Jews
 - b. all nationals of enemy states of the German Reich
 - c. all anti-German Dutch.
- 2) The positions vacated through the removal of the groups of persons listed under 1) are to be filled with pro-German Dutch or with Germans residing in Holland.
- 3) The Reich Inspector is personally responsible to me for the enforcement of these measures.
- 4) Once carried out, the removal of the persons listed under 1) from the Air Raid Protection Service must be reported to me in writing by 15 July 1940.

I have appointed my air defence aide, Captain Schönlebe, to serve as supervisory officer of the Dutch Air Raid Protection Service.

In the interest of having real protection from air raids available for the population, I expect that the Dutch Air Raid Protection Service will quickly be made into a non-political instrument focused exclusively on serving its important mission. I reserve the right to undertake further measures as appropriate.

2 Otto Schumann (1886–1952), professional soldier and policeman; senior commander of the Order Police (BdO) in the Netherlands, 1940–1942; BdO in military district VI in Münster, 1942–1943; in retirement from 1943.

3 Rudolf Schönlebe (1909–1990), milliner; worked for the urban police from 1928; joined the SS in 1929 and the NSDAP in 1937.

4 Adrianus van Batenburg (1897–1964), policeman; worked at the Dutch Ministry of the Interior; in the National Inspectorate for Air Raid Protection from 1937 and served as its head, 1940–1945; interned for eighteen months after the end of the occupation.

5 The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

6 The Luchtbeschermingsdienst was established in 1936.

7 On 29 June, Prince Bernhard (1911–2004), husband of Crown Princess Juliana, celebrated his birthday. His signature feature was a carnation worn in a buttonhole, which many Dutch copied on that day. This campaign was the first major act of public protest against the occupiers and simultaneously a declaration of loyalty to the House of Orange. Subsequently the Germans prohibited mention of the royal family and had their images removed from public buildings.

8 The Dutch Inspectie Bescherming Bevolking tegen Luchtaanvallen (Inspectorate for Civilian Protection against Air Raids) was established in 1936. In 1942 the German occupiers issued an ordinance giving them greater control over air raid protection in the country.

DOC. 36

**Excerpt from the minutes of an Amsterdam City Council meeting, dated 5 July 1940,
concerning the German administration's conduct towards the Jews¹**

Excerpt from the official records (marked 'secret', no. 100/89, A. Z. 1940), report by the chairman² on the meeting with the representative for North Holland,³ signed van Lier (municipal secretary),⁴ dated 5 July 1940

Excerpt from the mayor and aldermen of Amsterdam's official records

Friday, 5 July 1940

The chairman reported on the discussion held in Haarlem on Wednesday, 3 July of this year, with the representative for North Holland, Ministerial Director Ross.

The speaker stated that either the aforementioned gentleman or Kriegsverwaltungsrat Rombach⁵ intended to attend the council meeting, in which case the head of the General Affairs Department⁶ could serve as an interpreter.

If the representative for North Holland is present, he must be assigned a place at the table with the mayor and the aldermen, and should Kriegsverwaltungsrat Rombach attend the meeting, it is advisable that he be seated in the press gallery, if possible.

Furthermore, the aforementioned gentleman has expressed the wish to be informed about all the important business concerning the municipality.

In this regard, the speaker requested that the municipal secretary inform the head of the General Affairs Department in as much detail as possible about the outcome of the discussions at the mayor and the aldermen's meeting so that he can report on this to Mr Rombach where necessary.

The assembly agreed to this.

1 Stadtsarchief Amsterdam, 5181/5148. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Willem de Vlugt (1872–1945), retailer; member of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP); mayor of Amsterdam, 1921–1941; removed from office by the German occupation authorities following the February Strike, 1941.

3 Werner Ross (1895–1973), lawyer; worked for the Oldenburg municipal administration, 1924–1939; joined the NSDAP in 1937; representative for North Holland from June to August 1940, and then for Friesland until 1945; sentenced in the Netherlands to twenty years' imprisonment after 1945; released from prison in 1949; returned to the civil service in Lower Saxony, including a post as deputy Regierungspräsident in Oldenburg and Stade, 1951–1960.

4 Siegfried Jacob van Lier (1877–1976), lawyer; worked in the Amsterdam municipal administration from 1906, as its head from 1933 to Nov. 1940; dismissed from office because of his Jewish ancestry; member of the Jewish Council from 1941; survived the occupation period, presumably in hiding; again head of the Amsterdam municipal administration, 1945–1946.

5 Albert Rombach (1897–1968), lawyer; worked for the Prussian Ministry of the Interior in Münster, Arnsberg, Ratibor, and Frankfurt an der Oder from 1929; joined the NSDAP in 1937; worked at the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Dutch Territories, first as the representative for the city of Amsterdam, subsequently in the administration of the province of North Holland, and then again in Amsterdam, 1940–1945; chief clerk of Detmold welfare tribunal, 1954–1962.

6 Johannes Franciscus Franken (1890–1952), lawyer; worked for the Amsterdam municipal administration from 1928; head of the General Affairs Department, 1933–1940; head of the Amsterdam municipal administration, 1941–1945; held various administrative posts in the transport sector, 1946–1952.

The chairman went on to announce that, according to Dr Ross, the Germans are not getting involved with German Jews living in the country legally, or with Dutch Jews who behave like ordinary Dutch people. However, they do object to German Jews living illegally in the country and to Dutch Jews who have abandoned their businesses, thus giving rise to economic problems.

The assembly resolved to acknowledge the chairman's announcements.

A copy will be sent to the General Affairs Department.

Excerpt certified by the secretary.

DOC. 37

***De Doodsklok*, 24 August 1940: article demanding that Jews no longer receive ration coupons¹**

No ration coupons for Jews

As long as the Netherlands does not have supplies in abundance, Palestinians should not get a share of everything!

As things stand in the Netherlands, as a result of the war, a number of items and basic essentials have had to be rationed; in other words, within a given period of time, each volksgenoot² can only obtain a set number or quantity of a particular item.

Rationed products include bread, sugar, coffee and tea, textiles, fats, butter, rice, oatmeal, and flour.

In Amsterdam alone, some one hundred thousand Jews are included in this rationing, although they do not belong to the Dutch people.³

It is self-evident that the Jews, who bear responsibility for this entire war, are again to blame for the fact that the allocation of rationed goods cannot be higher. When an additional one hundred thousand people have to receive a share of a fixed amount of supplies, it is clear that everyone will get less than would otherwise be the case.

The Jews are to blame for this war. They have used every newspaper and party to agitate against Germany; they have cursed Hitler; they have sold our neutrality to England, just as they later had our gold taken over to England. They sent the government to London and themselves fled to America, or at least their leaders did.

The Jews are the reason we are involved in this war, the reason the Netherlands is an occupied territory, the reason our connection to the [Dutch East] Indies has been cut off, the reason supplies were not stockpiled and no new supplies can be built up. They are therefore to blame for this rationing.

¹ 'Geen distributebonnen voor joden', *De Doodsklok: Volksblad bij de opruiming van het Jodendom* (Death Knell: People's Newspaper for the Removal of Jewry), 24 August 1940, p. 1. This document has been translated from Dutch. Just ten issues of this antisemitic newspaper, which was closely associated with the NSB, were published between August and Oct. 1940, with a circulation of 2,000 copies. The German civil administration mistakenly banned *De Doodsklok* in Oct. 1940 for supposedly printing pro-Jewish content.

² Dutch form of the Nazi term *Volksgenosse* ('racial comrade').

³ There were a maximum of 25,000 foreign Jews living in the Netherlands in 1940. Amsterdam had around 80,000 Jewish residents.

Out of the ration system

For these reasons, *De Doodsklok* demands that the democratic government exclude Jews from the ration system for all the goods which we Dutch do not have in abundance!

No coffee and no tea for Jews: let them drink water.

No sugar for the Jews: they prefer to scoff mustard and vinegar anyway.

No butter for Jews: they've been able to gorge themselves for long enough.

No textile stamps for Jews: they've made a fortune flogging new and second-hand goods for long enough.

Half bread rations for Jews: our grain is too precious to be wasted on these people.

They'll prefer the taste of tubers and turnips after all those years of lavish banqueting.

No cigarettes for Jews as long as countless Dutch people cannot get hold of any!

Justified punishment

Putting these demands into practice will bring our people countless benefits:

The quantity of various rationed items can be increased. Our own products will then solely benefit our own volksgenooten. Public health will improve as a result.

But at the same time, a justified punishment will be inflicted on Jewry for:

1. Incitement to war and the loss of our national existence.
2. Spreading slanderous rumours about Germany, the occupation, and the rationing system.
3. The endless stockpiling they've been doing for months.
4. Working as stooges for the traitors in England.
5. Passing on false reports to England, and the bombing of Dutch hospitals which occurred as a consequence of this.
6. *All other crimes committed by Jews, on account of their Yiddish nature, against the Netherlands and the Dutch people!*

We are not demanding that the Jews be left to starve: there are better ways to bring about an end to Jewish influence and infiltration. We demand that this scum be forced to move on; it does not matter where. As long as the war makes this impossible, these people must be treated in just the same way as they allowed the anti-Jewish elements to be treated during the five days of the war!⁴

The Jews shall not eat up our precious food. There are still enough other things, perhaps less tasty, which we have left over. Let them enjoy those.

But get them out of the rationing system!

⁴ On 10 May 1940 Dutch police detained numerous NSB supporters and other pro-German individuals, but also German refugees, for fear they would commit treason.

DOC. 38

On 16 September 1940 the head of the Social Youth Service protests against the unequal treatment of Jews and is arrested¹

Pamphlet containing the speech given by N. H. de Graaf² to his colleagues at the Social Youth Service³ on 16 September 1940⁴

Mr N. H. de Graaf, head of the Social Youth Service at the Ministry of Social Affairs, has resigned after refusing to carry out orders regarding the exclusion of Jews in his department,⁵ but not before giving the following speech to his staff:

I have a need to briefly explain to you, as my colleagues, the motivation behind my handing in my letter of resignation to the acting secretary general⁶ on 12 September. On that day it became clear to me that in our country too, the so-called 'Aryan Paragraph'⁷ will be introduced in the near future. Therefore, when hiring staff, it will become necessary to check whether the person concerned is of Jewish descent. It is for this reason that I feel it necessary – despite my deep attachment to my post – to tender my resignation, for my conscience as a devoted Christian and as a Dutchman will never allow me to ask this question about anyone. Any form of bias on the part of one man towards another based on his belonging to a particular race or people is in conflict with the deepest principles of faith in Jesus Christ, in whom God, the Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, seeks to reveal himself to everyone in this world, and before whom every person is completely equal. But in addition to this, discrimination against the Jewish people in particular is in conflict with the content of God's Word and with his gospel, because it pleased God's miraculous and unfathomable wisdom to provide salvation, beginning with the Jewish people, to all peoples and races through Jesus Christ, incarnate as a son of the Jewish people. Every rejection of this people is thus a rejection of him. It will be clear to you all that, in line with my deepest convictions, before God and my conscience, I can never cooperate with the implementation of the aforementioned measure. That I must also act in this way as a Dutchman results from my conviction that the gospel, certainly since our fight for independence under William the Silent,⁸ is inextricably intertwined with our people, with the result that it governs our attitude

1 JHM, Doc. 00 000 804. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Nicolaas Hendrik de Graaf (1891–1947), civil servant; chief inspector at the Social Youth Service; after resigning in 1940, he was imprisoned and interned in various camps in the Netherlands and Germany until 1943; active in the church and in the resistance movement, 1943–1945.

3 The Sociale Jeugddienst, a department of the Ministry of Social Affairs, was responsible for the care of unemployed young people.

4 The pamphlet is dated Oct. 1940, but according to other sources, N. H. de Graaf actually gave this speech on 16 Sept. 1940.

5 De Graaf was one of the few officials to resign because of the anti-Jewish measures. See Introduction, p. 37.

6 Robert Antony Verwey (1882–1980) was secretary general of the Ministry of Social Affairs from 1940 to 1945.

7 The so-called Aryan Paragraph of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (11 April 1933), introduced the first legal definition of the term 'non-Aryan': see PMJ 1/32.

8 During the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) William I, Prince of Orange (also called William the Silent, 1533–1584), led the Protestant Dutch provinces in their struggle for independence against Catholic Spain. He is seen as the 'Father of the Fatherland'.

toward the Jewish people, also among other Dutch people of different orientations. Finally, may I point out my conviction and awareness that, beyond conflict and war, the gospel of Christ is addressed to every individual personally, and to all peoples and races equally, and that I see no distinction between friend and enemy, be they Dutch, German, Jew, or anything else. For truly, everyone equally depends on God's mercy and forgiveness as their sole daily bread. Just like me, every person, whoever he may be, can only truly live and die by that grace. Despite every storm, in this world and in our hearts, I therefore expect salvation through him alone who said, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and earth,'⁹ and 'I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'¹⁰ I know as little as any of you about what my future holds, yet none of us need be concerned, for although I know that my inner strength is gone, I can expect all strength from him who never abandons anyone, even in their greatest need. I therefore want to conclude by reading from Psalm 23 (unrhymed) in which, so many centuries ago, the Jewish prophet gave voice to this indestructible faith in God:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the *Lord* for ever.¹¹

Mr de Graaf was later arrested by the German authorities and taken away. Pray for him.

DOC. 39

On 11 October 1940 the secretary general of the Dutch Ministry of Justice asks all officials to prove their Aryan ancestry¹

Letter from the Ministry of Justice (Afd. A.S., no. 1122), signed J. C. Tenkink² (secretary general, deputy head of the Ministry of Justice), 's-Gravenhage, to all departments of the Ministry of Justice and all organizations in which the Ministry is involved, dated 11 October 1940

1. By order of the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice,³ I have the honour of bringing the following to your attention.
2. In order to implement the Fourth Regulation no. 108/1940⁴ issued by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories concerning special regulations in the area of administrative law, it must be ensured that henceforth no person who is fully or partly of Jewish blood, or whose spouse is fully or partly of Jewish blood, may be nominated or appointed to Dutch administrative organs and bodies governed by public law on a

⁹ Matthew 28:18 (KJV).

¹⁰ Matthew 28:20 (KJV).

¹¹ Psalm 23 (KJV).

¹ JHM, Doc. 00 002 950. This document has been translated from Dutch.

permanent or interim basis, employed on the basis of civil law, or promoted. Reappointments shall be considered on the same basis as appointments etc.

Should an official or someone employed on the basis of civil law marry a person who is fully or partially of Jewish blood, then they shall be immediately dismissed or relieved of their duties.

3. Bodies governed by public law here refers to all private law bodies, institutions, and foundations in which the state, a province, a municipality, or any other body regulated by public law has a stake.

4. Anyone who is fully or partly of Jewish blood, or whose spouse is fully or partly of Jewish blood, is henceforth forbidden from serving in an official position of any kind, including honorary ones; such individuals are also henceforth barred from employment in state or private education, unless the school concerned is attended solely by Jewish pupils.

Here too, should an official or someone employed on the basis of civil law enter into a marriage, as specified in point 2 above, they shall be immediately dismissed or relieved of their duties.

5. The following principal guideline shall be applied to determine whether a given person is or is not of Jewish blood: an individual shall be deemed not to have Jewish blood if, to the best of their knowledge, none of their four grandparents have belonged to the Jewish faith, that is, have been a member of an Israelite religious community.

6. Moreover, the Commissioner General has instructed that a list be submitted to him as soon as possible of all persons working for the national government, a provincial government, a municipality, or another body governed by public law, or their equivalent body, institution, or foundation under private law, as specified under point 3, and of all other people, as specified under point 4, who are fully or partly of Jewish blood.

7. In connection with this, every person specified under point 6 above is to be presented with a corresponding declaration to sign. The required copies of the declaration are enclosed.⁵ The completed and signed declarations are to be carefully stored in your archive for the time being. A list of these signed declarations is to be drawn up in triplicate. Two copies of this list are to be sent to the Ministry of Justice; one is to be kept at your office. This list must include the name, function, and place of employment of each person concerned.

8. The names of those who cannot sign the declaration are to be compiled in a separate comprehensive list. The individuals on this list must be divided into the following groups:

2 Jan Coenraad Tenkink (1899–1986), lawyer; employee at the Ministry of Justice from 1926; secretary general of the Ministry of Justice from 13 May 1940 until March 1941; resigned based on the conviction that he could no longer cooperate with the German occupiers; again secretary general, 1945–1965.

3 Dr Friedrich Wimmer (1897–1965), archaeologist and lawyer; archaeologist at the Lower Austrian State Museum from 1924; joined the NSDAP in Austria in 1934 and the SS in 1938; state secretary in Seyss-Inquart's cabinet in Austria from 1938; commissioner general for administration and justice in the Netherlands, 1940–1945; testified against Seyss-Inquart at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg; amnestied under the Austrian amnesty law in 1957; thereafter lived in Salzburg and Regensburg.

4 Fourth Regulation on Special Measures in the Area of Administrative Law, *VOBl-NL*, no. 108, 20 August 1940, pp. 338–340.

5 Not included in the file.

- a. people in permanent or temporary employment with more than two grandparents of Jewish blood;
- b. people in permanent or temporary employment with two grandparents of Jewish blood;
- c. people in permanent or temporary employment with one grandparent of Jewish blood;
- d. people in permanent or temporary employment whose spouse or fiancé(e) has more than two grandparents of Jewish blood;
- e. people in permanent or temporary employment whose spouse or fiancé(e) has two grandparents of Jewish blood;
- f. people in permanent or temporary employment whose spouse or fiancé(e) has one grandparent of Jewish blood.

The following information must be included for each person specified in this list: their civil or public service post, their current residence and place of birth, and their age and income, the latter specifying income from civil or public service as well as from private assets. These lists must be drawn up *in triplicate*. You are to file one copy, while the other two copies are to be sent to the Ministry of Justice.

9. For the purpose of the comprehensive list that you are to compile, as specified in point 8 above, the officials concerned, in compliance with the listed specifications, are to produce a signed statement on the above, giving precise details of the extent to which they and their spouses or fiancé(e)s are fully or partly of Jewish blood. The other details mentioned (specifically, income from a profession or post, or income from private assets) must of course also be provided. The statement that the person concerned is aware that he faces summary dismissal should the details provided turn out to be incorrect must be added for each individual entry.

This list must be submitted *in triplicate*. Two copies are to be included in the list specified in point 8 above, while you are to retain the third.

10. It should be noted that all of the above is also applicable to non-salaried officials, including, for example, judiciary substitutes, members and substitute members of the judiciary at the tenancy court⁶ in Arnhem and the subdistrict courts, sworn clerks at the court registry and the public prosecution offices, workers and employers who are members of Boards of Appeal (social security benefits),⁷ the members of public service tribunals, and other officials with similar roles.

11. The aforementioned declarations and lists must be signed by 1 November. In the cases of those who, for example due to illness, have neither signed a declaration as specified in point 7 nor submitted a statement as specified in point 9, I shall be pleased to accept a quantitative list (stating the function and place of work) which also specifies the reason for non-submission.

12. Should the number of blank declaration forms sent to your office be insufficient, the necessary number of copies can be requested from the Ministry of Justice.

13. Your close attention to and precise execution of the above is hereby requested.

⁶ Tenancy courts (*pachtkamer*) settle disputes concerning rental income and rental agreements.

⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century, special tribunals were established in the Netherlands to settle cases related to administrative law, including social security.

DOC. 40

De Unie*, 12 October 1940: the heads of the Nederlandsche Unie comment on the situation of the Jews in the Netherlands¹A candid statement**The triumvirate on the Jews in the Netherlands*

Pursuant to a regulation, Jews and half-Jews may no longer be appointed to or promoted at Dutch administrative authorities.

It is known that from its inception, the Nederlandsche Unie² has held the view that, while a regulation was necessary to address the issue of Jews who had emigrated to the Netherlands from other countries, any change in the long-held attitude of the Dutch people towards those Jews who have lived and worked in the Netherlands for generations is unnecessary and undesirable.

It is unnecessary because in the Netherlands, the Jews neither occupy the position nor possess the attitude which allowed the Jewish problem to become acute in other countries. Generally speaking, there has been and is still no question of the Jews who live here overrunning Dutch national life with their foreign influence, nor did or do they now exercise any kind of adverse influence upon the national character of the Dutch people.

It is undesirable because our sense of Christian tolerance and justice makes us aware that we cannot drive out any group living here or push them to the margins of our society on account of their origins.

The Nederlandsche Unie thus made membership open to everyone who, according to the law, was born Dutch and had reached the age of eighteen. The distinction made above was also stated.

Honesty, and therefore our understanding that the issue should be viewed and dealt with in line with its Dutch characteristics and not based upon the experiences or principles of others, now compels us to point out that we hope that in this too our views – naturally as the nation, rather than as the *Unie* – will be respected.

We acknowledge that the regulations regarding the Jewish problem have been moderate to date. However, we nevertheless think it necessary not to refrain from a candid discussion of this topic, as we believe that the Dutch way of viewing things and our long-standing relations [with the Jews] offer the best guarantee for practical cooperation and a way of doing things that has always functioned well in our country, barring a few exceptions.

The thorny nature of this issue, given the differences of experience and opinion in Germany and here, must not be a reason for the Nederlandsche Unie not to express its view on the subject frankly and directly. On this issue too, candour is more important

1 'Een openhartig woord', *De Unie: Orgaan van de Nederlandsche Unie*, 12 October 1940, p. 3. This document has been translated from Dutch. *De Unie* was the weekly periodical of the Nederlandsche Unie. It was published from 1940 to 1941, and at times reached a circulation of 300,000 copies.

2 The Nederlandsche Unie (Netherlands Union) was founded on 24 July 1940 to bring democratic forces together and became politically influential in the Netherlands. Although it was initially tolerated by the German occupying forces, Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart banned the organization on 13 December 1941.

than anything else, precisely in order to prevent any misunderstanding of the differing convictions and opinions on both sides.

*L. Einthoven*³

*J. Linthorst Homan*⁴

*J. E. de Quay*⁵

DOC. 41

On 17 October 1940 the secretary of the Central Association of Dutch Postal Workers advises the Rienks sisters on how to fill out the Aryan Declaration¹

Letter from the Central Association of Dutch Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers,² secretariat (no. 8044), signed H. van Giessel,³ 's-Gravenhage, 417 Beeklaan, to H. and R. Rienks,⁴ 85b Ebbingestraat, dated 17 October 1940

Dear colleagues,

In response to your letter⁵ received this morning, I wish to communicate the following.

If your grandfather's name does not appear in the records of the Jewish religious community, then you may simply fill out Form A, thereby declaring that you are not of Jewish blood.

You do not need to submit a statement from the Jewish religious community. Indeed, based on your own enquiries, you may declare that, to your best knowledge, your grandfather was not Jewish.

In anticipation of subsequent enquiries, it is important that you have statements made by your grandfather's contemporaries put down in writing. Those who knew him as a non-Jew will undoubtedly want to declare this and affirm it with their signature.

If, on the whole, you have good reason to believe that your grandfather was never a member of the Jewish faith, then I believe you can sign Form A without any concerns.

Yours faithfully,

3 Louis Einthoven (1896–1979), lawyer; practised law in the Dutch East Indies, 1920–1933; chief of police in Rotterdam from 1933; co-founder of the *Nederlandsche Unie*; arrested and held hostage after the organization was banned, 1942–1944; escaped and fled to the liberated southern part of the Netherlands in 1944; head of the Dutch National Security Service after 1945.

4 Johannes Linthorst Homan (1903–1986), lawyer; worked as a lawyer and politician from 1926; appointed queen's commissioner for the province of Groningen in 1937; co-founder of the *Nederlandsche Unie*; arrested and held hostage after the organization was banned, 1942–1944; dismissed as queen's commissioner in 1947; subsequently active in the European Movement.

5 Dr Jan Eduard de Quay (1901–1985), psychologist; co-founder of the *Nederlandsche Unie*; arrested and held hostage after the organization was banned, 1942–1943; subsequently went into hiding; queen's commissioner for the province of North Brabant, 1946–1959; prime minister of the Netherlands, 1959–1963.

1 JHM, Doc. 00 007 272. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 The association emerged from the New Dutch Post Association in 1911 and was affiliated with the Netherlands Trade Union Federation (NVV).

3 H. van Giessel, secretary of the Central Association of Dutch Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Employees.

4 Hendrika (1896–1992) and Roelfina Rienks (1899–2001), switchboard operators at the Dutch postal and telecommunications service (PTT).

5 Not included in the file.

DOC. 42

On 22 October 1940 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart forces all Jews to register their businesses and determines who is considered a Jew¹

Regulation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories² on the Registration of Businesses.³

Pursuant to § 5 of the Führer's Decree on the Exercise of Government Powers in the Netherlands, 18 May 1940 (*Reichsgesetzblatt* I, p. 778),⁴ I hereby issue the following regulation:

*Part I**Businesses required to register*

§ 1

Definition of businesses

Businesses within the meaning of this regulation are:

- (1) commercial enterprises (*zaken*) required to be registered in the commercial register under the terms of the 1918 Commercial Register Law (*Handelsregisterwet 1918*);
- (2) enterprises of other associations of individuals, or of institutions, foundations, and other special-purpose funds, provided they are pursuing commercial ends;
- (3) agricultural and forestry enterprises and also horticultural and fishery enterprises provided there is a commercial enterprise associated with them;
- (4) enterprises employing skilled tradesmen and door-to-door salesmen in so far as they are not covered by (1) above.

§ 2

Registration requirement

- (1) The registration requirement applies to any enterprise that corresponded to one of the following definitions as of 9 May 1940 or that corresponds to them at a later date:
 - 1) an enterprise run by a natural person if the proprietor is a Jew;
 - 2) an enterprise that is run by a general partnership (*vennootschap onder eene firma*) or limited partnership where at least one personally liable partner is a Jew;
 - 3) an enterprise that is run by a legal person under private law or by a limited joint-stock partnership
 - a) where at least one of the persons appointed to act as legal representative of the company or at least one of the members of the supervisory board is a Jew,
 - b) where Jews have a decisive participating interest in the company in terms of capital or voting rights. A decisive participating interest in terms of capital

1 *VOBl-NL*, no. 189, 22 Oct. 1940, pp. 546–552. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Arthur Seyss-Inquart (1892–1946), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1931; member of the German-Austrian People's League (*Volksbund*) and the Styrian Home Guard; appointed Austrian minister of the interior in Feb. 1938 and chancellor and Reichsstatthalter of Austria in March 1938; served as deputy to the governor general of occupied Poland, Hans Frank, 1939–1940, and from 25 April 1940 as Reich commissioner for the occupied Dutch territories; sentenced to death in 1946 at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg and executed.

3 Corresponding regulations were also issued for Belgium, Luxembourg, and France: see Doc. 158 (Belgium), Docs. 199 and 200 (Luxembourg), and Doc. 238 (France).

4 Under the terms of § 5, the Reich commissioner could issue regulations in the Netherlands.

means that more than a quarter of the capital belongs to Jews; a decisive participating interest in terms of voting rights means that Jews make up half of all those eligible to vote; where some of the persons eligible to vote have preferential voting rights, it will suffice if half of said voting rights are held by Jews;

- 4) an enterprise that is run by an association of individuals, an institution, foundation or special-purpose fund within the meaning of § I(2), where one of the conditions set out in points 2 or 3 of this subsection is met;
 - 5) an enterprise that is de facto dominated by Jewish influences.
- (2) The registration requirement continues to apply where the assets of the enterprise in question are already required to be registered pursuant to Regulation no. 26/1940⁵ on the Handling of Enemy Assets.

§ 3

Branch establishments

- (1) Branch establishments are required to register
 - 1) if the enterprise to which they belong is itself required to register;
 - 2) if the enterprise to which they belong is not required to register but at least one of the branch managers is a Jew.
- (2) The rules applying to the registration of enterprises shall apply to the branch establishments specified in (1) as appropriate.

§ 4

Definition of the term Jew

- (1) A Jew is someone who is descended from at least three grandparents who are full Jews according to race.
- (2) Also considered a Jew is a person who has two Jewish grandparents and
 - 1) either belonged to the Jewish religious community on 9 May 1940 or subsequently joins this community;
 - 2) was married to a Jew on 9 May 1940 or married one later.⁶
- (3) A grandparent is automatically considered fully Jewish if he or she has belonged to the Jewish religious community.

Part II

Registration procedure

§ 5

Persons required to register

- (1) In the case of a business that is run by a natural person, the owner and person authorized to manage the business is required to register; in the case of businesses within the meaning of § 2(1), points 2–5, the duty falls upon each authorized representative.
- (2) If all the persons required under (1) to register a business under the terms of (1) are permanently or temporarily in a foreign country or are otherwise prevented from exercising their powers, then those persons who are actually running the business are also required to register the business.

⁵ Regulation on the Handling of Enemy Assets, *VOBl-NL*, no. 26, 24 June 1940, pp. 66–76.

⁶ The formulation in this section is based on § 5 of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law (14 Nov. 1935). See PMJ 1/210.

§ 6

Content of registration

- (1) At the time of registration, the entire domestic and foreign assets of the business must be declared, separated into assets and liabilities. Everything that is directly or indirectly intended or suited to serve the purposes of the business must also be considered part of the business's assets.
- (2) Businesses that satisfied the conditions of § 2(1) on 9 May 1940 are required to declare their balance sheet figures as of 31 December 1939 or, in the event that a balance sheet was drawn up subsequent to this date, the figures stated on that balance sheet. Businesses that satisfied the conditions of § 2(1) at a later date are required to declare the figures stated on the last balance sheet prior to this date. The balance sheet in question must be enclosed with the registration form.
- (3) If the business required to register does not regularly draw up a balance sheet, the asset value shall be an estimate based on the general value of the business on 9 May 1940 or, where the business became liable for registration at a later date, on the value of the business at that later date. If the Office for Economic Investigation⁷ so requires, an appraisal of the assets carried out by a registered appraiser shall be submitted within a time period to be stipulated by this office.

§ 7

Form of registration

- (1) The registration must be submitted to the Office for Economic Investigation in The Hague no later than 30 November 1940 using the official form that can be obtained from the Chamber of Industry and Commerce (*Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken*) responsible for the area where the business has its headquarters.
- (2) Where a business became liable for registration subsequent to the date specified in § 2(1) of this regulation, the registration must be submitted within two weeks of the date on which the business became liable for registration.

§ 8

Disclosure requirement

- (1) Information about enterprises liable for registration must be disclosed to the Office for Economic Investigation at its request; the books and other documents may also be required to be produced.
- (2) The Office for Economic Investigation may delegate the powers referred to in (1).

*Part III**Penal provisions*

§ 9

Penalties

- (1) Anyone who deliberately fails to fulfil the registration and disclosure requirements arising from the above provisions or who fails to do so correctly or on time will be punished with a prison sentence of up to five years and a fine of up to 100,000 guilders

⁷ Established in 1940, the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle reported to the commissioner general for finance and economic affairs, Hans Fischböck. All Jewish businesses were required to register with the authority, which worked closely with the German Audit and Trust Company (Deutsche Revisions- und Treuhand AG).

or by one of these penalties, except where the offence carries a more severe penalty under a different regulation.

- (2) Any person who negligently fails to fulfil the registration and disclosure requirements or who fails to do so correctly or on time will be punished with a prison sentence of up to one year or a fine of up to 10,000 guilders.
- (3) The punishable acts specified in (1) and (2) are criminal offences.

§ 10

Confiscation of assets

In addition to the penalties set out in § 9, the confiscation of those assets to which the punishable act relates may be ordered.

Part IV

Concluding provisions

§ 11

- (1) The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories shall take the necessary measures for the implementation of this regulation, and shall decree any necessary implementing or supplementary provisions.
- (2) The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories can make legally binding decisions to resolve any uncertainties arising from the application of the provisions of this regulation.
- (3) He may delegate the powers referred to in (1) and (2)

§ 12

Entry into force

This regulation comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

The Hague, 22 October 1940

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories: Seyss-Inquart

DOC. 43

On 24 October 1940 six Dutch Protestant churches write to Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart criticizing the regulations regarding Jewish public officials¹

Letter (marked 'not for publication') from six Protestant churches, unsigned, The Hague, to Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart, dated 24 October 1940 (copy)

Your Excellency,

The undersigned, who are representatives of the following Protestant churches in the Netherlands in matters concerning the relations of these churches and the government, that is:

¹ Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 4462/8. Copy published in Hendrik Cornelis Touw, *Het verzet der Hervormde Kerk*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Boekencentrum, 1946), pp. 19–20. This document has been translated from Dutch on the basis of this copy.

1. The Dutch Reformed Church;²
2. The Reformed Churches in the Netherlands;³
3. The Christian Reformed Church;⁴
4. The Reformed Churches in the Netherlands in Restored Union;⁵
5. The Remonstrant Brotherhood;⁶
6. The General Mennonite Society;⁷

feel compelled to approach Your Excellency in response to the recently enacted regulations forbidding the appointment and promotion of public officials and other persons of Jewish blood in the Netherlands.⁸

They consider that the effect of said measures, which very much concern significant spiritual matters, are in conflict with Christian compassion. Moreover, these measures also affect members of the church, specifically those in recent generations who have converted to Christianity and, as explicitly specified in the Holy Bible (Romans 10:12,⁹ Galatians 3:28¹⁰), have been accepted into the church as fully equal members.

Finally, the churches are deeply distressed because this affects the people unto whom was born the Saviour of the world, and it is the task of Christian intercession to teach them to recognize their Lord and King.

It is for these reasons that the undersigned turn to you, Excellency, with the urgent request to work towards the retraction of the aforementioned regulations.

In so doing, they appeal to the solemn promise made by Your Excellency¹¹ that the character of our people would be respected and that there was no intention to impose on our country an ideology that is alien to us.

In respect whereof

2 The Nederlands Hervormde Kerk, which adhered to moderate Calvinism, was the largest Protestant church in the Netherlands until 2004, when it merged with the Reformed Church to form the Dutch Protestant Church.

3 The Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland was strictly Calvinist, but likewise merged into the Dutch Protestant Church in 2004.

4 The Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerk Nederland emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and also closely adhered to Calvinist traditions.

5 In 1926 the Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland in Hersteld Verband split from the Old Reformed Church after a theological dispute. Its members joined the Dutch Reformed Church in 1946.

6 The Remonstrantsche Broederschap split from the Dutch Reformed Church in the seventeenth century due to a dispute concerning Calvin's teachings on predestination, which the Remonstrants rejected.

7 The Algemene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit was founded in 1811 as an association of several Mennonite churches in the Netherlands which adhered to Menno Simons's pacifist theology.

8 See Doc. 39.

9 'For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him' (KJV).

10 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus' (KJV).

11 This is a reference to the speech Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart gave at the Knights' Hall in The Hague upon taking office on 29 May 1940.

DOC. 44

Willem Limburg issues an invitation to the inaugural meeting of a representative body of Aryan diamond workers on 26 October 1940¹

Appeal by W. Limburg² to all interested parties, undated³

Dear Sirs,

You are hereby invited to a meeting at *10 a.m. on Saturday, October 26th, at Café de Pool, Damrak 43*, to discuss the interests of Aryan diamond workers, including how they can be employed more extensively.

The aim of the meeting is to establish a commission of Aryan diamond workers within the A.N.D.B.⁴ and to draw up a joint plan of action.

Now that a Government Office for Diamonds⁵ has been set up and the entire industry is set to be reorganized, I, along with various fellow Aryan diamond workers, am of the opinion that the moment has now finally come to put an end to the discrimination against Aryan diamond workers.

Vigorous and rapid action is necessary.

I very much hope that you will attend, and I trust you will respond to this appeal regarding the defence of your rightful interests.

Entrance will be granted upon presentation of this invitation and your ANDB membership book.

On behalf of the Aryan diamond workers,

DOC. 45

In a broadcast on Radio Oranje on 29 October 1940, Marcus van Blankenstein condemns the measures taken against the Jews¹

Transcript of the Radio Oranje² broadcast, 29 October 1940

Announcer: Good evening dear listeners, this is Radio Oranje, the Dutch broadcasting station under the auspices of the Dutch government.

Dear listeners, recently a number of regulations have been issued by the Germans which constitute an initial attempt to eliminate Dutch citizens who are Jewish from

1 JHM, Doc. 00 009 096. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Willem Limburg (1888–1947), diamond cutter; joined the NSB in 1940; member of the Germanic SS and the Dutch Labour Front; sentenced to two and a half years' internment in 1946.

3 The document is undated but must have been written in 1940, as the ANDB mentioned in the document was dissolved in 1941.

4 The General Dutch Diamond Workers Union (Algemeene Nederlandse Diamantbewerdersbond) was founded in 1894 by Henri Polak (1868–1943), a Jewish socialist; the German authorities dissolved the union in 1941. It was re-established after the war and merged with the General Dutch Union of Metalworkers in 1958.

5 The Rijksbureau voor Diamant was established as part of the Dutch administration on 18 October 1940, by order of the German authorities. It was tasked with monitoring the diamond industry and deploying it for the German war economy.

1 NIOD, Radio Oranje, 29 Oct. 1940. This document has been translated from Dutch.

Dutch business and professional life.³ These provisions, which are in flagrant violation of the tolerant spirit of the Dutch people and are no less in conflict with the provisions of the constitution, have evoked just as much outrage among Dutch people abroad as among their countrymen in the occupied territories.

Tonight, Radio Oranje will take the opportunity to address you in response to these initial antisemitic decrees. It will also provide words of encouragement to our Jewish compatriots who are badly affected.

The title of this address is 'The mask cast off'.

Speech: The mask cast off

(Text: Dr M. van Blankenstein)⁴

Dear listeners,

The Germans are casting off their mask in our country. This will lead to yet more suffering. But a ghastliness is also disappearing, for it is hardly possible to think of anything more repugnant than the 'friendliness' and the promises with which they attempted to placate the Dutch people after invading our country, murdering and pillaging. Perfidiously, systematically violating every courtesy and every trust; mercilessly, even beyond the boundaries of what they term 'military necessity'; predatorily, they vanquished the Netherlands. Yet after the brutal destruction of Rotterdam, they were able to immediately put on a 'charming' face and express their indignation at that which others – particularly the Dutch government, which had fled – had done to our people! We Dutch were supposed to believe that their arrival was merely intended to further our national good fortune. They spoke convincingly, and Dutch people such as Rost van Tonningen relished talking to them in this way and wearing a friendly smile, as they do. While they plundered our country, robbing the people of that which they needed most, they whistled like birdwatchers, pretending to spare the people's feelings. They promised to preserve Dutch rights and institutions; they kept their Dutch helpers, those despised traitors, in the background as much as possible. They set to work according to the old adage that one catches more flies with honey than with vinegar. This did indeed serve to relieve the fate of our people in the midst of all the suffering. Yet this German ingratiating was revolting all the same. 'Peace' and ghastliness reigned over our country.

This endeavour has failed. Our people have kept their eyes open; the usurpers have not been able to cloud our judgment. The people continued to despise what was despicable. These traitors, whether imported or not, could never be whitewashed in the mind of the people. Nor will the people tolerate a foreign fire in the temple of its national

² During the German occupation, Radio Oranje was the radio broadcasting station of the Dutch government in exile in London. Fifteen-minute (later thirty-minute) broadcasts in Dutch were transmitted via BBC radio frequencies. The first broadcast was on 28 July 1940. Queen Wilhelmina also used Radio Oranje to address her subjects.

³ See Docs. 39 and 42.

⁴ Dr Marcus van Blankenstein (1880–1964), journalist; worked as a journalist for the *Nieuw Rotterdamsche Courant* newspaper, 1909–1936; lived in Berlin until 1920; fled in 1940 to Britain, where he became head of *Vrij Nederland*, a weekly newspaper, and worked for Radio Oranje; journalist for *Het Parool* from 1945.

existence. If reform is necessary, then the people will know how to bring this about themselves, as soon as the enemy is driven out and they are again free to do so. The people's instinct appeared healthy and was not open to any compromise.

After five months the Germans have come to realize this. Now, as we have said, they have cast off their duplicitous mask.

There is no longer a Dutch government, not even a semblance of one, but among the revered top officials, it is now German agents – real Germans, as far as we know, and fortunately no Dutch enemy agents – who occupy the highest positions of authority.⁵ Naturally they must make use of Dutch officials, otherwise anarchy would break out. They will certainly not forget their accomplices. However, many a good Dutchman will continue to serve his own people under circumstances which he will inevitably experience as horrible torture every day of his life. He will be subject to the whims of these rulers and will have to carry out humiliating orders in order to stave off worse for the Netherlands.

For some time, the Germans have more or less spared the Jews [in the Netherlands], longer than in any other country they have vanquished. They evidently knew of the Dutch people's centuries-old tradition of tolerance and understood that being overzealous in this regard could prove troublesome. They will have smiled at the thought that no centuries-old belief and no centuries-old tradition could withstand their sly propaganda. They have tried to awaken an antisemitic instinct within the population at large. Had this not always proven to be a 'rewarding' task in so many countries over so many centuries? It must also work in the Netherlands. Everywhere, this success had been the touchstone of their hold over the population.

Yet it did not work in the Netherlands, for had the Germans seen a chance of success, they would not have forced their anti-Jewish measures upon the Dutch people so suddenly. Here too their poisonous method was frustrated by the robust health of our people. Or is it that they believe they have sufficiently sowed their own barbaric views, such that they can now proceed to implement them? There is no indication whatsoever that they had reason to believe this. Their behaviour towards the Jews is an act of sudden violence, as is their 'administrative reform'. They have discovered that they cannot win if they continue to hide their true face. This is why they are now revealing who they truly are.

We know what is happening. All Jewish civil servants and all Jewish officials are threatened with dismissal. No more Jews will be hired. Even those whose ancestry is only partly Jewish and who have nothing to do with the Jewish community are suffering the same fate. Having just one Jewish grandfather or grandmother is sufficient; it does not matter if they have already converted to another religion; they only have to have been born as a member of the Israelite faith to seal the fate of their grandchildren in the public service. It is not only those who work for the state, the provinces, or the municipalities who are affected by this fate; it is no different for public bodies, if they receive state subsidies. And under the new regime, the concept of subsidies is very broadly construed. Orchestras and drama associations which have never received any state funds

⁵ This refers to Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart and his four commissioner generals: Rauter, Wimmer, Fischböck, and Schmidt.

are included. The motives behind this have now become clear: they must gradually cast their Jewish members out into the street.

Jewish teachers have to disappear from the teaching profession – primary, secondary, and higher education. They will be permitted to continue to pursue their profession only at Jewish schools. These provisions will ultimately leave tens of thousands of Dutch people without a means of subsistence. Yet they remain trivial compared to the provisions in effect in Germany, particularly those of the Nuremberg Laws.⁶ However, we are merely at the beginning. We have already been informed that civil servants and officials who marry women who are fully or partly of ‘Jewish blood’ are to be immediately dismissed. Will those who are already married escape this fate? Probably not for long in any case, since all public bodies have already been required to submit lists of the names of all of their employees, Jewish or otherwise, and their family members. This is what it has come to in the Netherlands, and we must fear that things will go from bad to worse. A Dutch senior official, the secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior,⁷ had to proclaim these provisions, which are inhumane from a Dutch point of view. This official is a humane Dutchman whose inner convictions are at odds with the task imposed upon him. We know that our government and civil servants in London are carrying out their work under constant threat to their lives.⁸ They will nevertheless now be envied by innumerable Dutch civil servants who are not exposed to any threat. For a real Dutchman, such as the secretary general, it must be less painful to lose a hand than to use it to sign his name to a decree such as this.

Our deepest sympathy goes out to our fellow Dutch citizens, so many of whom have contributed to the greatness of our fatherland, and who are now the victims of this new barbarism. Among the hardships which have been foisted upon our people, thousands of them face the additional deprivation of having no means of subsistence, in addition to the imminent humiliation. And yet we cannot pity them too much. Their suffering is Dutch suffering, and their humiliation is Dutch humiliation. Their name is the shibboleth standing between us and our enemies. They can even be proud that they have been chosen to draw the sharpest distinction between the powers of good and the powers of evil, which Queen Wilhelmina contrasted in an unforgettable radio address.⁹ Some day it will be their historic glory; at present, it is their tragedy.

Although the lot of the Dutch Jews has become very hard, their future looks more secure. The poisonous campaign [against the Jews] in the Netherlands, which the Jews were not able to stand up to, or at least its impact, will come to an end; or at least its effect will cease. Now that they have been made a symbol of the humiliation of the Netherlands, they can no longer be artificially separated from the Dutch people.

6 See PMJ 1/198 and 199.

7 Karel Johannes Frederiks (1881–1961), lawyer and political scientist; worked at the Ministry for Agriculture, Trade, and Industry, 1907–1919; worked at the Ministry of the Interior from 1919; secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior, 1931–1944; defended his actions during the occupation in the book *Op de bres* (In the Breach), published in 1945; pensioned off after the liberation of the Netherlands; dismissed in 1946.

8 From Sept. 1940 London and other British cities were subject to heavy bombing by the German Luftwaffe, resulting in the deaths of around 43,000 people.

9 This presumably refers to the first radio address given by Queen Wilhelmina on Radio Oranje on 28 July 1940.

And let this be a comfort to them: their suffering will not last long. The violent, the powers of darkness, are venting their fury. However, it is already unmistakable that this fury has its limits. And when it stops, it will collapse.

That the Germans in the Netherlands have lost their patience is yet another indication that they themselves understand this. Truly, the spiritual health of our nation will not suffer from these events.

DOC. 46

On 25 November 1940 the Dutch secretaries general summarize their position on German policy towards the Jews in a letter to the Reich Commissioner¹

Letter from the secretaries general, signed A. M. Snouck Hurgronje,² J. C. Tenkink, K. J. Frederiks, H. J. Reinink,³ L. J. A. Trip,⁴ D. G. W. Spitzen,⁵ H. M. Hirschfeld,⁶ R. A. Verwey,⁷ and O. E. W. Six,⁸ to Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart, The Hague, dated 25 November 1940⁹

A few weeks prior to 4 November, the secretaries general had the honour of being received by the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice. On this occasion, Dr Wimmer informed us of the intention to dismiss certain categories of Jewish officials from their posts. Dr Wimmer explained that it was safe to assume that Jews were anti-

1 NIOD, 020/79. This document has been translated from German.

2 Baron Arnout Marinus Snouck Hurgronje (1882–1951), lawyer; worked for the Dutch Ministry for Foreign Affairs from 1907, as secretary general, 1921–1941; resigned in protest at the deployment of the Dutch Waffen-SS Legion in July 1941 in the war against the Soviet Union; returned to his former position in May 1945; member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague, 1948–1951.

3 Hendrik Jan Reinink (1901–1979), lawyer; practised law, 1928–1930; worked at the Dutch Ministry of Education, Science, and Cultural Protection from 1939, as secretary general from 2 Sept. 1940; resigned on 27 Nov. 1940 because of the growing National Socialist influence on the universities; co-founder of the Nederlandsche Unie; worked at the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, 1955–1966.

4 Leonardus Jacobus Anthonius Trip (1876–1947), lawyer; worked for the Ministry of Finance, 1902–1923; chairman of the Javanese Bank in the Dutch East Indies, 1924–1929; chairman of Nederlandsche Bank, 1931–1941; secretary general of the Dutch Ministry of Finance from 25 May 1940 until his resignation in March 1941 (see Doc. 74, fn. 4); from May 1945 again on the board of Nederlandsche Bank.

5 Derk Gerard Willem Spitzen (1896–1957), lawyer; worked for the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Trade, and Industry, 1920–1922; at the Ministry of the Interior, 1922–1938; secretary general of the Ministry for Water Management from 1939 to 15 August 1943 (dismissed by the Germans); secretary general of the Ministry of Transport, 1945–1948; minister for transport and water management, 1948–1951, and secretary general of the same ministry, 1951–1957.

6 Dr Hans Max Hirschfeld (1899–1961), economist; employee of various banks, 1920–1932; worked for the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs and Labour, 1932–1940, as secretary general, 1940–1946; also secretary general at the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, Trade, and Industry; retained his position during the German occupation despite his Jewish origins; government commissioner for economic and military aid programmes, 1947–1952.

7 Robert Antony Verwey (1882–1980), engineer; at the Ministry for Water Management, 1908–1917; on the board of the National Service for Unemployment Insurance and Labour Placement, 1917–1940; secretary general for social affairs, responsible for organizing forced labour for Germany, 1940–1945; temporarily interned after the end of the German occupation; dismissed from government service in 1946.

German, and that it was therefore a matter of public order and security to eliminate the Jews for the duration of the occupation.

At this point we took it upon ourselves to inform Dr Wimmer that we found the proposed measures deeply concerning. We began by noting that there is no Jewish question in the Netherlands, as is perhaps the case in other countries, and that consequently in this country there is no need to make a distinction between Jews and non-Jews. The implementation of such a policy would therefore be repugnant to our nation's sense of justice and its long-established traditions.

As Volksgenossen¹⁰ of this Dutch nation it would therefore be awkward for us to be involved in such a policy.

However, irrespective of the reasons given above and mindful of the loyal cooperation that we have pledged to you, we considered that it was our duty to draw attention to another aspect of the problem. We could understand that from the German point of view Jews are to be regarded as anti-German; however, as a counterweight to this point of view we put forward that

- 1) alleged anti-German comments by Jews would not have much resonance among other Dutch people, and
- 2) that the number of Jews in positions of authority in the Netherlands is so small that even if they were to exert an anti-German influence, this could be discounted.

We feared, on the contrary, that given the views of the population at large, the dismissal of the small number of Jews currently employed by the state would have an extremely unfavourable impact on the feelings of the Dutch population towards the occupation authorities. Since we understand loyal cooperation on our part to mean that we intend to do everything possible to avoid, in so far as we are able, the possibility of friction with the occupation authorities, we considered it our duty also to draw your attention to these consequences.

On 4 November of this year we received a written communication from the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice instructing us to arrange for certain categories of Jews to be dismissed from their posts.¹¹ It will be clear to you, now that you are informed of the concerns which we expressed to Dr Wimmer and which are outlined above, that this order put us in a serious moral dilemma.

As Dutch citizens, we found the measure repugnant because it did not square with our sense of justice; as your loyal colleagues, we could not endorse it unreservedly because we could foresee that it would adversely influence the feelings of the Dutch population towards the occupation authorities.

While we have ultimately decided, after careful reflection, to undertake the implementation of the aforementioned order, the decisive consideration was that this is a

8 Baron Otto Eduard Willem Six (1879–1966), lawyer; worked for the Dutch Ministry of the Colonies, 1907–1910; held various public offices in the Dutch East Indies, 1910–1915; again at the Ministry of the Colonies, 1915–1946, as secretary general, 1929–1946.

9 The original bears the receipt stamp of the Reich Commissariat, dated 25 Nov. 1940, and the receipt stamp of the Office of the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice, dated 2 Dec. 1940.

10 Nazi term meaning 'racial comrades'.

11 On 4 Nov. 1940 Commissioner General Wimmer issued an order to the secretaries general of the Dutch ministries to the effect that all Jews were to be dismissed from the civil service with immediate effect: NIOD, 101a/3d.

temporary measure which, as was made clear in the explanatory observations, was designed to maintain public order and security.

However, we take the view that this does not absolve us from the responsibility of voicing the concerns that the execution of your order has caused us and the serious reservations that we have about it; these reservations are motivated both by our own conscience and by the repercussions that these measures will have on the feelings of the people towards the occupation authorities.

The Secretaries General

DOC. 47

On 26 November 1940 Isaak Kisch, professor of law, delivers a farewell speech to his students¹

Flyer containing a transcript of the speech Isaak Kisch² gave to his students on 26 November 1940 (copy)

After concluding his lecture on 'comparative law' on 26 November 1940, Prof. Kisch addressed his students as follows: Ladies and gentlemen, As you know, we shall no longer be meeting here after the Christmas break. I should like to say a few words about the circumstances which have led to this untimely interruption of these meetings and which have had so many other consequences. I do so not to explain their importance for me personally, but rather what they mean for you.

I consider it important to speak about all of this because while it represents merely a small tragedy for me, it may constitute a great one for you.

A small tragedy occurs in our lives when we lose personal and material objects of value; a great tragedy occurs when we lose our social and moral values.

Leaving this place means giving up a job which was dear to me from the very start, and which has become even dearer to me over the course of more than ten years. This is a personal loss, and thus merely a small tragedy. It is a loss which I shall indeed be able to bear with resignation. From a young age I have known that everywhere and at all times – and for this reason, a period like this is easier for me to bear than for many others – the Jew has to reckon with the prospect of being eliminated from society as soon as political and economic upheavals occur, and that he can therefore derive strength and dignity solely from the awareness of belonging to a community of fate, and from a sense of unity with all those of his kind.

In this sense, today I feel more concern for you than for myself, because your part will possibly be the greater tragedy.

It is a sign of an individual's good health if he is able to consume all kinds of food without difficulty, if he can digest and convert diverse substances in order to live. I believe the same is true for a people.

1 JHM, Doc. 00 000 189. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Isaak Kisch (1905–1980), lawyer; professor at the University of Amsterdam from 1935; dismissed from office in 1940 because of his Jewish origins; member of the Jewish Council, 1941; survived deportation to Theresienstadt; reinstated as a professor in 1945.

For centuries the Dutch people have accepted, assimilated, and converted foreign elements and made them their own. This ability has been to the benefit of foreigners, refugees, Jews, and all those who were persecuted on account of their religion or ancestry and found a home here; it has contributed to the prosperity of this good country; above all, however, it is to the honour of the Dutch people that this greatness has manifested itself in the field of ethics, where a people small in number can also be great.

At present a new doctrine is being spread, according to which the honour of a people lies in its distaste for assimilating foreign elements, its greatness in expelling everything that comes from elsewhere.

I cannot accept this new doctrine. Yet – and to this extent things are easy for me – I will not be called upon to accept it.

You will be invited, possibly most insistently, to profess and to spread this new doctrine. I believe there are many among you who will demonstrate their resistance to this call, out of loyalty to this most noble Dutch tradition.

You will have to fight for this tradition. And should you lose the battle, then the great tragedy will befall you.

Soon, when the fate of the moral and social values of this society are in your hands, I will not be able to support you; perhaps I will have no means of knowing what you are doing; perhaps we will never see each another again.

But in bidding you farewell, I wish to remind you of the words from the Old Testament: *'Be strong and stand firm.'*³

DOC. 48

On 26 November 1940 the Berlin publisher Erich Erdmenger asks the Office for Economic Investigation in The Hague to provide him with the names of Jewish firms that he could acquire¹

Letter from E.O. Erdmenger & Co. K.G., Berlin-based publisher of books and magazines, signed Erdmenger,² Berlin, 7a Tauentzienstrasse, to Consular Secretary Dr Kühn,³ Office for Economic Investigation, The Hague, dated 26 November 1940 (copy)

Dear Dr Kühn,

As you may perhaps recall, I am working with the German Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands, that is to say I am the German advertising manager for the Chamber's journal.

³ Presumably a reference to Deuteronomy 31:6: 'Be strong and of a good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them; for the Lord thy God, he it is that doth go with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee' (KJV).

¹ NIOD, 077/1309. This document has been translated from German.

² Erich Erdmenger (1899–1964), businessman; from 1930 owner of the eponymous Berlin publishing house, which brought out books and magazines; after 1945 established two advertising firms in Hamburg.

³ Dr Ernst Kühn (1908–1990), lawyer; from 1931 member of the Prussian civil service; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; from 1937 in the diplomatic service, including a posting from 1938 to 1941 in The Hague, where one of his roles was as head of the Office for Economic Investigation, and from 1941 at the embassy in Zagreb; director of the export division at Friedrich Krupp AG, 1955–1974.

In addition, I am extremely interested in doing business in Holland if opportunities arise in my own line of business. I would therefore be most grateful if the Office for Economic Investigation could let me know about any viable businesses in the directory or specialist magazine sector that are due for Aryanization.

I am sure that Dr Herbig⁴ will be willing to supply any information about me.

With best wishes,

Heil Hitler!

DOC. 49

On 28 November 1940 Gertrud van Tijn-Cohn from the Committee for Jewish Refugees asks the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to take up the case of refugees in the Netherlands¹

Letter (by clipper) from the Committee for Jewish Refugees (Afd. B/vT/JSsp), signed G. van Tijn-Cohn,² 366 Lijnbaansgracht, Amsterdam, to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 100 East 42nd Street, New York (received on 3 January 1941), dated 28 November 1940³

Gentlemen:

There is a question which we are very anxious you should take up with the State-Department in Washington, if you believe you can do so after having studied it.

There are at present in Holland about 150 refugees who were in possession of an American emigration visa on May 10th 1940. These are all people who were to have left for the States by the SS 'Veendam' which was supposed to sail on the 10th of May.⁴ About 80 of the passengers had only arrived in Holland on the 9th of May. The 'Veendam' did not leave because of the war; all the people were stranded in Holland and their American visas have in the meantime become invalid.

The American Consulate was closed in the beginning of the war, but started its work again in the beginning of June. Only then this group of people were able to ask the American Consulate for a replacement of their visa which had already become invalid or would do so within the next few weeks. The American Consulate in Rotterdam was not willing to automatically prolong these visas which had been given partly in Germany and partly in Rotterdam. The Consul⁵ gave as a reason for this line of conduct the fact that he was allowed to prolong a visa only within the quota-year and that new visas

4 Dr Kurt Herbig (b. 1906), economist; joined the NSDAP in 1933; from 1939 managing director of the German Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands; returned to Germany in 1946 and worked as a business journalist.

1 NIOD, 217a/1b. The original document is in English.

2 Gertrud Francisca van Tijn-Cohn (1891–1974); played a leading role in the Committee for Jewish Refugees (CJV) from 1933; worked for the Jewish Council in Amsterdam, 1940–1942; deported to Westerbork and on to Bergen-Belsen in 1943; released to Palestine in the course of a prisoner exchange in 1944; worked for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) from 1944; emigrated to the USA in 1948.

3 The original contains handwritten notes and underlining.

4 SS *Veendam* was a passenger ship owned by the Holland-America Line that travelled between Europe and the USA from 1923 to 1952.

could only be given in a new quota-year (beginning 1st of July 1940). In order, however, to give such new visas the Consulate in Rotterdam asked for renewed submission of all the documents i.e. new affidavits, certificates of good conduct, birth-certificates, etc. at the same time reserving for himself the decision, whether or not a new visa would eventually be granted. In practice we found that even for those people who were able to furnish the Consulate with a complete set of all the documents which formerly were sufficient to get the visa, a replacement-visa was refused.

Generally speaking, since the re-opening of the American Consulate, only in a very few exceptional cases visas were granted or promised. Only those people have a chance to get a visa, who have either their parents, their children or their husband or wife in the States and who can, moreover, furnish good affidavits. No other cases are at present being considered.

We now ask you to get into touch with the State-Department in Washington, in order to induce them to intervene with the Consul here to grant a visa to at least those people, who were already in possession of a valid U.S.A. visa, when the war broke out and who are able to furnish the consul with all the required new documents. After a great deal of trouble we at last succeeded to get exit-permits for a group of emigrants who were in possession of valid emigration-visas. These exit-permits were granted a few weeks ago; conditions are therefore at present such that this particular group of U.S.A. emigrants is in possession of an exit permit, but cannot now get the American replacement-visa. If the Consul at Rotterdam cannot be prevailed upon to change his tactics this might have serious consequences.

We believe that, if somebody were to put this case before the Washington State-Department, they would be willing to intervene with the Consul in Rotterdam in view of the very difficult position these people find themselves in and in view of the fact that they would have already long since been in the States, if it had not been for the war.

When getting into contact with the Washington State-Department, we would be grateful if you would at the same time draw their attention to a second problem which causes a great deal of hardship to many refugees here in Holland. You will probably know that during the war all the documents from the American Consul in Rotterdam were destroyed.⁶ These documents included all registrations without exception. The Rotterdam Consulate was the only American Consulate which did not give a written confirmation of the registration to the applicants. Only after April 1939 did they start to give registration-confirmations in writing. Consequently, all those who registered before that date have no proof whatsoever. When people asked for a written confirmation, the Consul always refused to give this; they were simply shown the dossier containing their registration-form and were told that this was sufficient. Notwithstanding this, the Consul demanded after re-opening of the Consulate an 'official proof' of the first registration. Naturally practically nobody who registered before April 1939 is in possession of such a proof. The result is that they all have to file new applications and it will be a long time before their number will be called up. We have tried everything in our power to get the Consul to make a change, but without any avail. Even our proposal to let these

5 Harold D. Clum (b. 1879), teacher; in the US diplomatic service from 1909, with postings including Königsberg and Bucharest; consul general in Rotterdam 1937–1940; retired in Nov. 1940.

6 Rotterdam city centre was almost completely destroyed by German bombs on 15 May 1940.

people give a declaration on oath that and when they were registered was refused. The position is particularly tragic for those people who because of their *original* registration, would now have a right to get their visa. There is no doubt that the original refusal of the Consul to give a written confirmation and his present attitude cause grave injustices.

We feel sure that it might be of the greatest importance to all those concerned if the State-Department were to ask the Consul for an explanation.⁷

Sincerely yours,

DOC. 50

**On 29 November 1940 the Dutch National Socialist P. H. Hörmann
writes to his children in Germany about the political situation in the Netherlands¹**

Letter from P. H. Hörmann² PHz. (H.31.174/L.36.169.3778/L.1-47-167/L. 21 Nov.'40) to Sister Ha. E. M. Hörmann,³ Moers (Lower Rhine), Bethanien Hospital, and P. H. W. Hörmann,⁴ Marl-Brassert (Kreis Recklinghausen, Regierungsbezirk Münster), Hagenstrasse Civilian Workers Camp, Barrack 5, dated 29 November 1940⁵

Dear children,

We have not written since Tuesday, 19 November, i.e. for the last ten days, for the simple reason that we couldn't find the time. Still, all of us should try to stray as little as possible from regular correspondence, for otherwise it might soon be the case that we'll only hear from one another once a month, and then we might not find the time again, and so it will go on. I will give myself a slap on the wrist, and give one to mother too,⁶ and you do the same to yourselves, so that from now on we will once again write to each other every week.

We have heard nothing from Henk since his letter of the 11th of this month, received here on 19 November and answered the same day. Yesterday we received the letter mentioned above from Leni, dated 21 November, in which she acknowledged receipt of letter 3,755, dated 12 November. However, since then there was letter 3,756, dated 13 November, which was sent to you both by express delivery, and letter 3,765, dated 19 November. –

Leni's letter contained little to comment on, so I'll do my best to comply with her request to say something about politics.

Appointments are the order of the day. Comrade Dr Goedewaagen⁷ is our prime minister, so to speak. He has been appointed secretary general of the new Department of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, i.e. a small-scale version of Dr Joseph

7 No response from the JDC or the State Department has been found.

1 NIOD, 244/917. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Pieter Hendrik Hörmann (1895–1944), tax consultant; managed various businesses and companies from 1925; joined the NSB in 1934; from June 1943 worked as an auditor for the Nederlandsche Oost-Compagnie, which aimed to promote Dutch settlements in German-occupied Eastern Europe.

3 Helena (Leni) Elisabeth Maria Hörmann (1919–1998).

4 Pieter Hendrik (Henk) Wilhelm Hörmann (b. 1924); lived in Germany from 1939.

5 The original contains stamps and annotations.

6 Agnes Augusta Bernardine Hubertine Hörmann-Selckmann (b. 1889), housewife.

Göbbels.⁸ Then we have a new boss for education, Prof. van Dam,⁹ whose first act in office was to close the universities of Leiden and Delft¹⁰ because the gentlemen from the university thought they could mount protests and go on strike because this week 'Jews' – and this is stricter than where you are (here a person is classified as Aryan only if they have four non-Jewish grandparents, meaning grandparents who were born non-Jewish; i.e. only their great-grandparents can be baptized Jews) – have been thrown out of all state-owned and semi-governmental organizations, as well as out of all jobs connected to institutions etc. in which the state, municipality, or province has a stake.¹¹ These 'gentlemen' were fired with immediate effect, which prevented them from continuing to commit small acts of sabotage. You will therefore no longer be snapped at by a 'Jew' from behind any counter or be tried by a Jew!

Of course this too will take time to take effect. Here and there one already notes a certain relief that people are finally rid of the *Saujuden*;¹² on the other hand, there are far too many people who pity those they call the 'oppressed', not even aware that because they felt so sorry for the 'oppressed', they themselves had become the oppressed.

Today and tomorrow we will have the first Winter Relief¹³ collection, which is being severely sabotaged by all kinds of slurs and rumours. Despite this, we shall make the most of it, by order of the Leader.¹⁴ The lapel pin [of the Winter Relief] is a luminescent 'windmill', and so tomorrow all the National Socialists will be walking around hawking 'windmills', and so the entire population will be going around wearing them. These are one of many glosses which are really not conducive to truly achieving something worthwhile.

We had a party district members' meeting last Wednesday evening. The largest hall at the Tivoli was almost too small for all the members. In the past we were happy if a hall that size was full when we had public meetings with one of our great speakers; now

7 Dr Tobie Goedewaagen (1895–1980), philologist; joined the NSB in 1940; head of its press department; secretary general of what was correctly known as the Department of Public Enlightenment and the Arts, 1940–1943, in charge of aligning Dutch press and broadcasting with National Socialist principles; returned to the University of Utrecht in 1943; fled to Germany in 1944; arrested in Germany in 1946 and sentenced in the Netherlands to twelve years' imprisonment; amnestied in 1952; later worked as a teacher.

8 Correctly: Dr Joseph Goebbels.

9 Dr Jan van Dam (1896–1979), Germanist; initially worked as a teacher; professor in Amsterdam from 1930; secretary general of the Ministry for Education, Science, and Cultural Protection, late 1940–1945; sentenced to seven years' imprisonment after 1945; worked as a lecturer and teacher after his release in 1949.

10 Students at the University of Delft held a general strike on 25 Nov. 1940, and students at the University of Leiden did the same one day later to protest against the dismissal of Jewish professors and university employees. Both universities were subsequently closed down by the German occupation authorities.

11 See Doc. 46.

12 German in the original: 'filthy Jews'.

13 On 22 Oct. 1940 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart established the Winter Relief for the Netherlands, which – like the Winter Relief in Germany – was designed to support the poor with financial and material aid. Winter Relief resources came from donations, but also from wage and salary deductions.

14 This presumably refers to the chairman of the Dutch NSB, Anton Mussert, who was referred to as *Leider*, the Dutch equivalent to the German word *Führer*.

we were there with just our comrades, and even without any added attraction it was full. For health reasons, Schouten¹⁵ has resigned as district leader and was immediately appointed district youth leader. Dr Nieschulz,¹⁶ the N.S.D.A.P. Kreisinspektor,¹⁷ was present in uniform as a guest.

Sergeant Lammers¹⁸ has had another daughter; everything went well, despite the delivery being a bit premature. He is over the moon that there were no complications. Everything is all right.

The movement is getting stronger every day.¹⁹ Of course we still think it's taking too long, but you can plainly feel that we are getting closer every day, even though the terror is increasing at the same rate. It is impossible to count or to convey the number of attacks. In Heerlerleide, a bus with WA members on board was shot at; in Leidschendam, the mayor and an architect, both fellow party comrades, were shot at,²⁰ lots of windows were smashed, both at party district headquarters and in private homes, and there is practically no café where you can sit in uniform without having to defend yourself. Despite all this, we are mastering the situation, and we will prevail. We are not satisfied with a piece of the pie; we want the whole pie.

Albion is beginning to show signs of weariness, as they are beginning to admit damage and difficulties. Parliament has already relocated, and these are unmistakable signs that things are beginning to come to an end. We are seeing the same things in Turkey and Egypt. The Secret Service's operations are also coming to a close there, and in the British Raj they lost control of the situation some time ago. If you ask me, I think Turkey will sign the Tripartite Pact today or tomorrow.²¹ I am convinced that von Papen²² will pull this off in Ankara. Now that it seems there will be peace between Japan and China,²³ the skies there are also clearing significantly, and it is safe to assume that we will have peace in Asia and Africa at the same time as in Europe, thanks to the skilled leadership

15 Christian Hendrik Schouten (b. 1879), gardener; member of the NSB, 1933–1942; NSB district leader in Utrecht until 1940; district youth leader from 1940; simultaneously appointed a member of the Gedeputeerden Staten (provincial executive); interned from May to July 1945; sentenced to a fine in 1948.

16 Dr Otto Nieschulz (1899–1980), physician; NSDAP Kreisleiter in Utrecht, 1940–1945; appointed professor of veterinary medicine at Utrecht University in 1941; worked for a chemical factory in Hamburg after 1945.

17 German in the original: 'district inspector'.

18 Harm Lammers (1903–1947), salesman; member of the NSB paramilitary wing (Weerbaarheidsafdeling, WA) in Utrecht; interned from 1945; shot while attempting to escape in 1947.

19 This refers to the NSB.

20 The assassination attempt occurred in the municipality of Horst (province of Limburg), not in (correctly) Heerlerheide. No one was injured, and the culprit was not caught. In Leidschendam (province of South Holland), shots were fired at the homes of the mayor, H. A. C. Banning, and the chief civil engineer, De Regt, both of whom were members of the NSB. Those responsible were caught.

21 Turkey remained neutral during the Second World War and did not join the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan. Turkey declared war on Germany and Japan only on 23 Feb. 1945.

22 Franz von Papen (1879–1969), professional soldier; Reich chancellor in 1932; Reich commissioner for Prussia, 1933–1934; vice chancellor, 1933–1934; ambassador in Vienna, 1934–1938, and in Ankara, 1939–1944; joined the NSDAP in 1939; acquitted by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in 1946; sentenced to eight years in a labour camp in 1947; amnestied in 1949.

23 In 1940, in the course of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), a stalemate emerged, but there was no peace agreement; China entered the Second World War on the side of the USA in 1941.

of Adolf Hitler. For there is one thing this generation must never forget: that we have to thank the Almighty for his gifts, for he has chosen Adolf Hitler as his first servant in a new order to create a new society.

Now Leni wrote that I should write more about politics, but where should I get the politics from? Things run smoothly when everyone does their job. The only thing one hears these days is the charge that it is unchristian, that it shows a lack of charity, to treat the poor Jews in the way they are being treated. After the detractor, c.q.²⁴ the Jew-friend, has naturally asserted that there are really so many *good* Jews, the *only* response is that it is precisely our Christian duty to love our neighbours that requires us to throw out the good with the bad, for ... if they are soon to be transported to Guyana, then there need to be a few among them who are able to take charge of that bunch of parasites.

But here their parasitic existence will come to a swift and abrupt end.

So now that I have tackled politics again, you can read about the rest in the 29 November issue of *Volk & Vaderland*, no. 47,²⁵ which has been sent at the same time.

There is not much news at home either, and business is still flourishing. The only thing that tries my patience tremendously is that I, together with Janssen and Kucharski, cannot seem to get the trustee business going.²⁶ I don't know what's stopping us, but we are not managing to get any trustee assignments. Now, it is true that this business hasn't really taken off here because we have not yet begun a large-scale Aryanization process. Still, commissions are being handed out here and there, just not to us. Nor have we been able to get hold of the authorities in charge of this.

Otherwise, nothing new to report. Until next time!

Together with Mussert – Hou Zee!²⁷

Comrade Fruyn,²⁸ the head of the Rechtsfront, has been appointed ... president of the Utrecht Court!!!

²⁴ *Casu quo* (Latin): 'and/or', 'as the case may be'.

²⁵ The weekly newspaper *Volk & Vaderland* was published by the NSB between 1933 and 1945. In 1941 it had a weekly circulation of 20,000 copies.

²⁶ In 1940 or 1941 Hörmann – together with W. H. A. Janssen, an auditor, and Dr Johann Kucharski, an economist – founded the Deutsch-Niederländisches Treuhand-Kontor (German-Dutch Trustee-ship Office), which was based in Utrecht and Berlin.

²⁷ 'Hou zee', the NSB's standard greeting, comes from a seafaring context and translates as 'stay the course'.

²⁸ Correctly: Henry Mary Fruin (1895–1973), lawyer; judge in Alkmaar, 1930–1940; joined the NSB in 1934; president of Utrecht Arrondissementbank, 1940–1943; founded the Rechtsfront, a National Socialist association of lawyers and policemen, in 1940; president of the Amsterdam court, 1943–1945; sentenced to five years' imprisonment and a fine after the war; later worked as a tax consultant.

DOC. 51

**Report dated November 1940 on the presence of Jews in the liberal professions
and economic life of the Netherlands¹**

Report, unsigned,² dated November 1940

The presence of the Jews in Dutch economic life and in the liberal professions

Because in Holland no distinction is made in the treatment of the various religious denominations, meaningful figures for the presence of the Jews in Dutch economic life and in the liberal professions can only be given after the population census which takes place every ten years and which is tied in with a census of occupations and businesses. Jews are listed in the population and occupation census in so far as they are members of one of the two Jewish communities (Nederlandsch Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap and Portugeesch Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap³).

The following observations and tables are based on the results of the last population census in Holland, which took place on 31 December 1930. The census shows that those resident in Holland included:

Male Jews:	53,685
Female Jews:	58,232
Total:	111,917 persons

The entire Dutch population numbered 7,935,565 persons. The Jews therefore accounted for 1.4 per cent of the total.

Based on informed estimates, one can assume that the figure of 111,917 Jews needs to be increased by 15 to 18 per cent, to approximately 130,000 persons, if we also include those individuals who are not members of a Jewish community, but are of Jewish extraction (incl. non-Aryan Christians).

As well as the actual *size* of the Jewish population, the relative *growth rate* of this group is also of interest; for more than a generation now, the growth of Holland's Jewish population has lagged behind the growth of the non-Jewish population, with the result that the Jews now make up an ever smaller proportion of the overall population, as the following table shows.

Population census of:	Number of Jews as a percentage:
1889	2.15%
1899	2.04%
1909	1.81%
1920	1.68%

1 Nationaal Archief, 2.09.56/22. This document has been translated from German.

2 The author of the report was most likely Erich Rosenberg, a leading representative of the Committee for Jewish Refugees (CJV).

3 In Dutch in the original. The Dutch-Israelite Religious Community was founded in 1814 as the umbrella organization for Jewish communities in the Netherlands and remains traditionally orthodox in outlook to this day; the Portuguese Israelite Religious Community of the Netherlands represents the Sephardic Jews, whose ancestors migrated to the Netherlands from Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth century. Prior to the German occupation, there were approximately 4,300 Sephardim living in the Netherlands.

1930	1.41%
Between 1920 and 1930:	increase in the Dutch population as a whole: 15.6%
	decrease in the share of Jews in the population: 2.9%

A continuing decrease in the Jewish population seems likely in view of the following: in 1938 the number of Jewish live births amounted to 0.7 per cent of all live births, whereas in 1930 1.4 per cent of the population was Jewish, i.e. the Jewish birth rate lags well behind the normal birth rate for Holland as a whole. Conversely, the mortality rate for Jews is higher than the general mortality rate, and in 1938 the number of Jewish deaths accounted for 1.9 per cent of the total.

Dutch economic life and the Jews

The key sectors of the Dutch economy are agriculture, shipping, colonial trade (petroleum, rubber, sugar, coffee, tea, cocoa, tobacco, spices, etc.), and banking.

The Jews have little influence in those professions which are typical of Dutch economic life. They are hardly represented at all in agriculture and shipping, and only to a very limited extent in colonial trade and banking.

Section I gives figures for Jews working in each occupational category as employers or employees. This produces the interesting result that the percentage of Jewish employees corresponds exactly to the Jewish share of the Dutch population, i.e. both come out at 1.4 per cent.

Section II gives a detailed breakdown of the number of Jews in Holland employed in each occupational category.

Section I

Jews as employees and employers

Dutch official statistics (results of the 1930 occupational census)⁴ distinguish between 'bedrijfshoofden' and 'ondergeschikten'. The first group – 'bedrijfshoofden' – comprises not only employers in the narrower sense of the term, but also the directors of business enterprises.

Company directors are therefore listed under the rubric of 'employers'.

All other persons are classed as employees (ondergeschikten).

The following occupational categories are not included in the statistics for 'Ondergeschikten en Bedrijfshoofden':

XXIV	Miscellaneous enterprises and liberal professions
XXV	Teaching
XXVI	Domestic staff
XXVII	Self-employed tradespeople
XXVIII	Church
XXIX	Occupation unknown

These occupational groups comprise a total of 550,735 persons.

⁴ The total figures quoted are taken from the official publication of the population and occupation census conducted in 1930: see Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, *Volkstelling 31 December 1930*, 10 vols. (The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1932–1934). However, the occupation census did not ask about religious affiliation. The numbers quoted for Jews working in the individual sectors are probably fairly accurate: see Doc. 90.

Table 1

Employees in Holland

Occupational categories:	Total number:	of whom Jews:
I. Pottery and glassware, stoneware, stone industry	38,884	41
II. Cutting and polishing of diamonds and other precious stones	6,787	3,887
III. Book printing and lithography	27,626	374
IV. Construction industry	216,961	363
V. Chemical industry	24,362	231
VI. Processing of timber, cork, and straw	47,313	419
VII. Garments and laundering	102,848	5,301
VIII. Arts and crafts	890	17
IX. Leather, waxcloth, rubber	27,548	298
X. Ore, coal, peat	50,685	12
XI–XIII. Metal industry, shipbuilding, and vehicle manufacturing	210,443	771
XIV. Paper	20,360	327
XV. Textile industry	86,609	240
XVI. Gas and electricity	20,044	42
XVII. Food, drink, and tobacco products	181,723	2,384
XVIII. Agriculture	377,114	47
XIX. Fisheries and hunting	11,786	4
XX. Trade and commerce	228,146	10,325
XXI. Transport (incl. shipping)	237,717	1,709
XXII. Banking and financial services	26,225	598
XXIII. Insurance	18,873	241
	1,963,144	27,631

Out of 1,963,144 employees, 27,631 are Jews; this amounts to 1.4 per cent, which, as noted above, corresponds exactly to their share in the population as a whole.

The section of the Jewish population without significant means is not drawn only from this category of employees, but also includes a large number of persons who are listed in the official statistics as self-employed traders under the heading 'Trade and commerce': namely the large group of small-scale street traders and hawkers. The income of these persons is on average lower than the income of the lowest-paid worker. This must be taken into account when interpreting the following statistics for 'employers'.

Table 2

Employers in Holland

Occupational categories:	Total number:	of whom Jews:
I. Pottery and glassware, stoneware, stone industry	1,200	6
II. Cutting and polishing of diamonds and other precious stones	132	87
III. Book printing and lithography	3,241	123
IV. Construction industry	40,505	153
V. Chemical industry	1,394	59

VI. Processing of timber, cork, and straw	10,435	112
VII. Garments and laundering	32,319	1,043
VIII. Arts and crafts	493	12
IX. Leather, waxcloth, rubber	15,218	287
X. Ore, coal, peat	764	–
XI–XIII. Metal industry, shipbuilding, and vehicle manufacturing	26,978	218
XIV. Paper	911	39
XV. Textile industry	1,686	76
XVI. Gas and electricity	252	2
XVII. Food, drink, and tobacco products	37,101	1,409
XVIII. Agriculture	261,912	22
XIX. Fisheries and hunting	4,378	–
XX. Trade and commerce	170,572	12,088
XXI. Transport (incl. shipping)	59,020	634
XXII. Banking and financial services	2,082	182
XXIII. Insurance	1,344	54
	671,937	16,606

Out of 671,937 employers, 16,606, or 2.5 per cent, are Jews.

As stated earlier, one group of these Jewish employers is in reality working class. It must also be borne in mind that the majority of these Jewish employers are in the small business sector.

Section II

Breakdown of Jews in Holland by occupational category

When considering the statistics for the breakdown of Jews in Holland by occupational category, it must be borne in mind that for historical reasons the vast majority of Dutch Jews live in large towns and cities.

For this reason, the tables below include the breakdown for the city of Amsterdam, where a large proportion of the Jews live, as this gives a more accurate picture for comparison.

In Table 3 we give the absolute numbers, and in Table 4 we have grouped together the various occupational categories into main groups and compared them as percentages.

Table 3

Statistics for occupational categories

(absolute numbers)

Occupational categories	No. of persons in all Holland	Jews in all Holl.	in Am- sterdam
I. Pottery and glassware, stoneware, stone industry	40,084	615	47
II. Cutting and polishing of diamonds and other precious stones	6,919	6,686	3,974

III. Book printing and lithography	30,867	6,059	497
IV. Construction industry	257,466	24,635	516
V. Chemical industry	25,956	3,623	290
VI. Processing of timber, cork, and straw	57,748	5,526	531
VII. Garments and laundering	135,167	26,400	6,344
VIII. Arts and crafts	1,383	355	29
IX. Leather, waxcloth, rubber	42,766	3,085	585
X. Ore, coal, peat	51,449	99	12
XI–XIII. Metal industry, shipbuilding, and vehicle manufacturing	237,421	28,146	989
XIV. Paper	21,271	2,758	366
XV. Textile industry	88,295	526	316
XVI. Gas and electricity	20,296	3,165	44
XVII. Food, drink, and tobacco products	218,824	20,483	3,793
I–XVII. All industries	1,235,912	132,161	18,333
XVIII. Agriculture	639,026	2,683	69
XIX. Fisheries and hunting	16,164	131	4
XX. Trade and commerce	398,718	71,206	22,413
XXI. Transport (incl. shipping)	296,737	49,036	2,343
XXII. Banking and financial services	28,307	10,723	780
XXIII. Insurance	20,217	4,876	295
XXIV. Miscellaneous enterprises and liberal professions	171,312	27,269	3,000
XXV. Teaching	85,067	8,226	733
XXVI. Domestic staff	243,555	27,366	1,115
XXVII. Self-employed tradespeople	32,845	5,683	368
XXVIII. Church	17,624	994	369
Occupation unknown	332	77	1
Total:	3,185,816	340,431	49,823

Table 4

Statistics for occupational categories
(relative numbers)

Occupational categories

Percentage of population in
each occupation

	in all Holland	Jews in all Holl.	in Am- sterdam
I–XVII. Industry	38.8	38.8	36.8
XVIII, XIX. Agriculture, fisheries, hunting	20.5	0.8	0.1
XX, XXI. Trade and transport (incl. shipping)	21.9	35.3	49.7
XXII, XXIII. Financial services, banking, and insurance	1.5	4.6	2.2
XXIV, XXV, XXVIII. Miscellaneous occupations, teaching and the Church, liberal professions	8.6	10.7	8.2

XXVI, XXVII, XXIX. Domestic staff, self-employed tradespeople, occupation unknown	8.7	9.8	3.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

As we mentioned in the introduction, Jews play a minor role in agriculture, shipping, colonial trade, and banking. This is clearly shown by the statistics.

I–XVII Industry: the Jewish presence is strongest in relative terms in the following industry sectors: diamond industry, garments and laundering, food, drink, and tobacco products. The following table gives a more precise overview of this:

Table 5

Occupational category:	Employers		Employees	
	In total	Jews	In total	Jews
II. Diamond industry	132	87	6,787	3,887
VII. Garments and laundering	32,319	1,043	102,848	5,301
XVII. Food, drink, and tobacco products	37,101	1,409	181,723	2,384
	69,552	2,539	291,358	11,572

XVIII, XIX Agriculture, fishing, and hunting:

Only 0.1 per cent of Dutch Jews are engaged in agriculture, fishing, and hunting as employers or employees.

XX, XXI Trade and transport:

a) Trade

The greater presence of Jews in trade and commerce is explained largely by history. Out of a total of 170,572 employers engaged in trade and commerce, 12,088 are Jews, and out of a total of 228,146 employees in this sector, 10,325 are Jews. It has already been pointed out that street traders and hawkers are included under the heading ‘employers’ here. In the official statistics, colonial trade is included under the general heading ‘Trade and commerce’, rather than being treated as a separate category. Consequently, the number of Jews engaged in colonial trade cannot be established from these figures. It is a known fact, however, that Jews have a very minor presence in colonial trade. Most of the remaining employers listed under ‘Trade and transport’ are small-scale traders. A few department stores are under Jewish management, but the Jewish presence in the department store sector is likewise very limited. There are 570 employers listed under the official heading ‘Department stores and bazaars’; only 30 of these are Jews. The many large retail stores with multiple branches, particularly in the food, drink, and tobacco sector, are not in Jewish ownership.

b) Transport (excluding shipping)

In the transport sector (excl. shipping), 44,607 persons are listed as employers. Of these, 632 are Jews. The total number of employees is 181,701 persons, of whom 1,582 are Jews.

c) Shipping

In the official statistics, 254 employers are listed under the heading ‘Ocean shipping’, none of whom are Jewish, while of the 26,947 listed employees, 112 are Jews. In the ‘Inland shipping’ category, only two out of 14,159 employers are Jews, while the total number of employees – 29,069 – includes just 17 Jews.

XXII–XXIII Banking and insurance:

The proportion of Jews in this branch of business is much smaller than their predominantly urban presence would lead one to expect. A total of 3,426 persons are listed as employers, of whom 236 are Jews.

XXIV–XXV Liberal professions and teaching:

The 1930 occupation census reveals the following picture:

a) Liberal professions and public officials

Table 6:

Occupational category: XXIV	Total no.:	of whom Jews
National, provincial, and municipal authorities	12,286	67
Diplomacy and consular service	339	10
Finance and taxation	13,121	46
Judiciary, police, and prison service	20,121	66
Health and safety inspection, hygiene	2,592	24
Armed forces	11,927	25
Archives, museums, libraries	5,567	59
Legal advice services (e.g. solicitors and notaries)	6,478	169
Accountants	2,988	115
Engineering and architectural offices	6,301	63
Administrative offices	11,750	345
Press	256	12
Doctors and dentists	5,191	217
Hospitals, clinics, convalescent homes	34,058	453
Theatre and concert performances	5,674	536
Cinema	1,808	156
Writers, sculptors, and painters	1,797	33
Nurses	4,298	106
Miscellaneous	24,760	498
	171,312	3,000

With regard to the figures for national, provincial, and municipal authorities, the following points should be noted:

Government ministers: since 1815, two Jews.

Heads of provincial authorities: (queen's commissioners): no Jews to date.

Mayors: no Jews.

Aldermen (Wethouders): 10 to 15 Jews out of approx. 4,000.

'Eerste en Tweede Kamer':⁵ seven Jews out of the 150 members.

'Provinciale Staaten':⁶ twelve Jews out of 590 members in total.

Senior government officials: only in isolated instances.

⁵ Upper and Lower House of the Dutch parliament.

⁶ The 'Provinciale Staaten' are the elected parliaments in each Dutch province. Working together with the commissioner for the province, who is appointed by the monarch, these parliaments conduct government business at the provincial level.

b) Teaching:

Table 7:

Occupational category: XXV	Total no.	of whom Jews
Universities	3,412	26
Middle schools and academic secondary schools	7,256	103
Primary schools	54,047	322
Teacher training	2,123	5
Specialized/technical schools (for boys)	2,853	7
Art schools	200	–
Dance schools	274	35
Music schools	713	28
Nursery schools	5,711	55
Miscellaneous branches of teaching	8,478	152
	85,067	733

The percentage of Jews represented in this sector is much smaller than their share in the overall population.

In conclusion, we list the statistics for:

*Students and persons with an academic title**a) Students:*

According to the statistics for higher education for the period 1930–1931, there were 270 Jewish students enrolled in Holland, which equates to 3.3 per cent of the student population.

b) Persons with an academic title:

The 'Statistiek der Academisch Gegradueerden', compiled at the time of the 1930 population census in Holland, gives us the following figures:

Out of a total of 23,507 university graduates (gegradueerden) in Holland, 618 – or 2.6 per cent – were Jews.

Concluding remarks

Since the last population census, various sectors of the Dutch economy have undergone changes that have obviously not been without effect on the presence of the Jews in business and the liberal professions.

In the absence of sufficient statistical material, and because we wish to use only exact figures, we are not in a position to comment more specifically on these changes.

However, on the basis of good information, we believe that we can say with certainty that the overall picture remains largely unchanged.

The percentage of Jews engaged in agriculture, shipping, industry, trade, and transport has not changed. Reliable estimates indicate that the proportion of Jews working in banking and insurance has fallen. In the liberal professions, the percentage of Jews has not altered significantly. In some occupations, such as the press, the absolute number of Jews has indeed increased, but one has to bear in mind that the overall number of persons working in journalism has also risen sharply.

DOC. 52

**In an illegal pamphlet written in November 1940, Jan Koopmans criticizes
the lack of moral courage within Dutch society¹**

Illegal pamphlet titled 'Almost too late!', unsigned, undated²

Almost too late!

The papers recently reported that the Church in France had objected to the regulations against the Jews which have also been taken there. We do not know whether the French newspapers have now reported that some Dutch churches have now also submitted a petition against these measures to the Reich Commissioner.³ But we do know that on the Monday morning, after the announcement in church that the matter had been taken up with the Reich Commissioner, the editorial offices of the Dutch newspapers found an order on their desks prohibiting them from publishing anything concerning the proclamation made the previous Sunday. It has also come to our attention that these churches were not alone in objecting to this violation of international law by the occupying power. Likewise, 240 of the 500 or 600 Dutch professors along with 1,700 of the 2,500 students at Leiden University have written to Dr Seyss-Inquart that the enemy was not keeping his promises – although of course they expressed it slightly differently.

Yet where is the rest of the Netherlands? It is true that the Nederlandsche Unie⁴ has surprised us by unambiguously expressing its point of view on this issue. On a number of other points, it continues to leave us in the dark as to its actual aims. Troublingly, in many respects it adapts to its surroundings, but fortunately on this one point it spoke frankly and clearly, and only watered its message down slightly when it said that the measures to date were moderate.⁵ If the Unie remains true on this one point, it can perhaps improve on a few others.

Yet where is the rest of the Netherlands? Where are the organizations and unions, the associations and societies that have not yet been put under one-man National Socialist 'leadership'? What is the advice of the associations, which are implicitly asked for advice by their members? Should the declaration that one is or is not of Jewish origin be signed or not? Should we say: it is indeed terrible, but unfortunately we are being forced to do it, and perhaps all this will pass quickly? Or should we here and now with a single voice not only protest but also refuse to answer improper questions simply as a matter of conscience?

1 NIOD, Br 3534. Published in T. Delleman, *Opdat wij niet vergeten: De bijdrage van de Gereformeerde Kerken, van haar voorgangers en leden, in het verzet tegen het nationaal-socialisme en de Duitse tyrannie* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1950), pp. 675–682. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 The name of the author of this pamphlet was already familiar in the Netherlands during the German occupation: Jan Koopmans (1905–1945), pastor; member of the Dutch Reformed Church and follower of the Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886–1968); pastor in Amsterdam from 1941; active in the resistance; killed by a stray German bullet in March 1945. The pamphlet can be dated to Nov. 1940. It was written in response to the first measures enacted against the Jews, especially those which discriminated against Jewish civil servants.

3 See Doc. 43.

4 See Doc. 40, fn. 2.

5 See Doc. 40.

We must not pretend that things are better than they are. The best thing we can do is to admit honestly that we have lost one battle. It is true that the petition submitted by the 240 professors is unpleasant for the Germans. But it is not about being unpleasant to the Germans – and it was not about that for the professors. It is about the Dutch people remaining steadfast in these times, about them showing that they have a conscience and are not willing to let the difference between good and evil be obscured by the monotonous talk about a new Europe and the historic possibilities it will open up for the Netherlands. If our ‘place in history’ is to be bought at the cost of a good conscience, then it is a thousand times more preferable to simply disappear from ‘history’ than to sell our conscience.

And now we must acknowledge that, on the issue of the declaration of our ancestry, we were too late and we have lost the battle. The vast majority of us acted thoughtlessly. We filled in the form without thinking, without asking whether what we were doing was perhaps wrong. We did find it bothersome that we had to do this; we even found it scandalous that this was an open violation of their own promises and of the Hague Convention.⁶ But we failed to recognize or scarcely recognized that, just by submitting the declaration, we have to a certain extent acted as accomplices in the measures taken against the Jews. If all those required to sign the form had as one refused to do so, it would have been simply impossible for the Germans to import their practices to this country. We must honestly acknowledge that it is now too late for this.

Some of us were more concerned. They understood that the foundations of the Christian faith and of humanity are under attack. They recognized that whoever signs the form no longer has a clean conscience. They then contacted their boards, their organizations, their associations. They did this although it gave them little pleasure. They were perceived as being difficult and annoying; they were told they were meddling in affairs that had nothing to do with them. Or otherwise they were told that their concern was actually shared, but everyone was signing and therefore they, too, had to sign; others confessed that this matter did raise issues for them as well, but that at this stage it was not yet that serious. One Christian education organization even responded that everyone had also filled in their religious affiliation on the decennial census form without any objection! This is how the few who did ask themselves whether this could and should happen were abandoned by their boards and organizations. What was left for them to do but to resign themselves and also sign?

But there is one ray of hope: the Church’s petition has received publicity as it was read out during services. It was not mentioned in the papers, but it spread by word of mouth. It is known at home and abroad that at least six of the forty-seven denominations known to the Dutch government did not accept the measures against the Jews without speaking out against them on the basis of their Christian faith. For a long time many wondered whether the Church would do or say anything. That some churches have now indeed said and done something has had a liberating effect.

6 The Second Hague Convention with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land of 1907 stipulated the belligerents’ rights and duties in wartime. Article 46 states that an occupying force must respect ‘family honour and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice’ of the defeated states’ citizens.

It was also high time. Those at all familiar with how the Church works will not reproach the church authorities that they left it so late to speak out – almost too late. As for the issue of whether or not to fill out the ancestry forms, which serve to suppress our conscience, the Church's intervention came too late because these have already been completed and signed almost across the board. There is just one point that remains, where a fundamental objection can be also transformed into a clear and outright refusal in practice. Because *that* is what it is all about at the moment: we as Christians and Dutchmen will not leave stop at words and Christian witnessing, rather we will demonstrate *in practice* that our words and witnessing are to be taken seriously.

This is why we would have wished the churches had not remained so terribly correct, that is to say, correct by worldly standards. The churches have submitted a petition to the Reich Commissioner and four of the six that did so have informed their congregations of this. They could not have been any more correct. But what is a poor Christian wrestling with his conscience to do? He says: 'Led by compassion and based on scripture',⁷ my church says that the measures taken against the Jews go against everything I believe in as a Christian and feel as a human being. I believe that my church is right about that. Because when I read my Bible, I find there too that the Gentiles may not turn upon God's ancient people. Yet, should I sign or not sign? Should I help make it easier for the Gentiles to identify Jews in the Netherlands? Or should I say what was written in the church newspaper (and here I cite from memory, so somewhat freely): 'I would sooner lose my right hand than sign a declaration that I have no Jewish ancestry, whereby I am declaring: You, Lord Jesus, were of Jewish blood, but fortunately I am not and therefore I can keep my job.'

We should have wished – and our tormented and enslaved consciences have a right to this – that the Dutch churches would give us Christian advice led by compassion and based on scripture. Should I sign or not? It's about what we do *in practice*! Help me, Church of the Netherlands!

For I know that you did not start out with the intention of being unpleasant to the Germans; that you did not start out with the intention of being a tool of the growing national resistance to the 'new order'. I know that you did not start out with the intention of getting involved with politics, in as much as politics is purely a technical affair which must not bring us into conflict with obedience to our Saviour. I know that for you, Church of the Netherlands, it is about the message that the Holy God has entrusted to you. Did you not, after all, appeal to the Reich Commissioner for reasons based on what lies within the Holy Bible? Yet I am closer to you than is the Reich Commissioner. He did not request your intervention – I will always be grateful that you nonetheless provided him with this unasked.⁸ I am closer to you because I am a member of the Church of the Netherlands. For the Creator and Saviour of heaven and earth entrusted a message to me too, indeed, first and foremost to me and people like me, as well as to the entire Dutch people and finally to 'the stranger within thy gates'. It has been passed to the stranger on God's authority – and God's blessing is guaranteed. But I am closer to you

⁷ This is a reference to the petition submitted by the churches (see Doc. 43) but does not quote the text literally.

⁸ See Doc. 43.

than is the stranger. What is the message that our Lord has given you for me? Should I sign or am I allowed to simply refuse 'led by compassion and based on scripture?'

The Church of the Netherlands cannot answer this question for me. It is too late for that. Nobody will receive scripture-based advice from their church on this matter, not the majority who realized only after signing that they had done so without thinking, nor those who from the very start struggled with their consciences, nor the large majority who even now have not realized that they behaved rashly.

In this respect, we are defeated. Yet that should not mean that we have been defeated forever. We must not deny that the situation has become much more difficult because we lost the first battle. After all, it would have been possible to react to the Germans and their illegal forms with unanimous and categoric refusal. In that case, the implementation of their godless regulation would not have been possible in the first place. But that is not the main thing. The main thing is that the Dutch people could have kept a clear conscience on this extremely important point. We no longer fully have that, and we should freely admit it. It is an empty excuse to say that the current situation is not that serious yet, that right now it's only about information, because passing on this information will result in no Jew being appointed or promoted in future! No matter how you look at it, we have lost a battle over one of the most important matters of principle we will ever have with these unprincipled Germans.

We have lost a battle. And we must recognize, looking at it from the outside, that the next one will be much, much harder. This time around, it was about a general measure. It would have been possible to put up general resistance if we had put our heads together in time to think about it 'from the Dutch point of view' and 'based upon scripture', if only we had acted as one, as Christians and Dutchmen, regarding an issue about which we all, without any argument, were in agreement. It's about what we do in practice! It will not help us to form a union that talks (and that so often talks rubbish)⁹ if we do not do the things which are painfully obvious to us all and if we do not refuse to do the things that even without discussion we all consider to be improper. We needn't have lost this battle. If we had trusted in God and counted on one another, we would have done what it was our duty to do.¹⁰

The next battle will be more difficult. Now, of course, we shall see the dismissal of persons with 'Jewish blood'. No consideration will be given to whether they might have accomplished excellent things during their time in office or during their employment. Whether they worked honourably and in harmony with God won't matter. Whether it will be possible to find someone of irreproachable Aryan background who can properly replace them is of no significance. They will have to go! After all, according to the 'new order', they occupy an entirely wrong place in 'history'. Dr v. d. Vaart Smit,¹¹ who years ago himself occasionally entered the pulpit, has written that with God's help the Jews

⁹ This is a reference to the Nederlandsche Unie.

¹⁰ This is a reference to Luke 17:10: 'So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.' (KJV)

¹¹ Dr Hendrik Willem van der Vaart Smit (1888–1985), pastor; with the Dutch Reformed Church, 1917–1936; head of the Dutch Christian News Agency from 1933; joined the NSB in 1935; leader of the Dutch News Agency (ANP), 1940–1942; sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in 1950.

must be driven out of this wrong place. They are going – we should not entertain even the slightest illusions about this. They are going, and they are going to die.

That will be more difficult than having people sign a declaration. For general resistance has now become almost impossible. The fact is that there are precious few people of Jewish origin left in public posts. The number of institutions and boards that should resist the wrongful dismissal of these people is not very large. It is a matter of a few here and there. A broad rejection of a general regulation can be effective. One cannot suddenly replace all the people with others. But when it concerns just a few cases, those who behaved humanely and in a Christian way will simply be cast aside, robbed of their livelihood, and perhaps arrested and imprisoned. One cannot dismiss every school board, but one can definitely close twenty schools. One cannot remove every mayor at the same time, but there are easily thirty power-hungry National Socialists to fill the empty posts. For this reason the second battle will be more difficult than the first, which we lost.

It is already almost too late for the second battle as well! Let us see these things clearly, as they really are! Many people meet casually or regularly in groups and discuss many issues in a good, patriotic spirit. The mood among the Dutch people is generally good. Nevertheless, there are a few aspects of the current circumstances and our national character that we must be careful about. The circumstances are causing the hatred of the Germans and especially of the NSB members to increase. However, as Christians we must bear in mind that revenge is reserved for God alone, and that justice must be exercised by a lawful government, i.e. by the Queen upon her return and not by individuals favouring mob rule. We must not let the feelings generated by the current circumstances dictate our actions. – Part of our national character is that we are prepared to compromise and are inclined to give way when we do not see any chance of success. We are little inclined to commit ourselves to something which appears to be a lost cause from the start. But as Christians we must not bargain when it comes to matters of conscience and we must bear in mind that when it comes to a good cause we should stand up for it and, if necessary, even die for it. We must not let circumstances dictate our actions; we must also not permit our national character to prevent us from being obedient to the commandment of our God and Saviour.

That is why now, before it is altogether too late, we must do more than just stand together and talk. We must also not rely on the current dominant mood among us, for like our changeable climate, it can be different tomorrow. We must now, ahead of time, discuss what we must do when the second battle commences.

Let those institutions that were obligated or forced or even just urged to obtain signed declarations now make a clear and plain statement that they are not prepared to dismiss people 'of Jewish blood'! The Dutch people call upon the *secretaries general*. We understand your responsibility. We understand very well that at this juncture you recoil from the idea of being replaced by completely insignificant persons or by German stooges. We respect the struggle you have been having with your conscience up until this moment. You for your part, however, must excuse the candour with which we have stated that you have perhaps already gone further than was desirable and permissible. We, too, would rather see you in the positions you are in than the instruments of the ruthless enemy. We have the feeling that you seek with all your strength what is best for the Netherlands and that you find yourselves in a truly appalling predicament. We are truly

thankful for what you have done for our people and for that for which you have suffered daily. Yet we wonder whether all your work is not being transformed into a piece of fiction when you go along with regulations of which no Christian and no Dutchman could approve. Of course we know that it is not you but the Germans who are doing this to us. But has not the moment also arrived when you have to listen to your conscience, when you must say: 'I can no longer go along with this'? You seemed to be of the opinion that things were still acceptable up to now. We do not diminish the deference and gratitude we owe you when we nevertheless say: we do not agree with you, we feel that it was in part your fault that the Netherlands lost the first battle regarding the Jewish question. We would have had the greatest respect for you if you had refused to cooperate with the regulations against the Jews and had borne the consequences of having done so.

We are of the opinion that you would have demonstrated greater and better service to the Netherlands than is now the case. Your example is, after all, of the greatest significance for the entire civil service.

The Dutch people call upon you, most honourable Secretaries General. Lead our people well! The time in which you could say that by staying on you could still do so much good work and prevent a great deal of evil, that time has passed. It is has become entirely clear to us that you cannot do anything to stop the enemy who is taking away our rights. Do not lose the next battle before it begins, as you did the first. In the name of the Netherlands we ask you: stand firm! And in Christ's name we beg you: take up the cross and follow it. Strengthen the Dutch people through your good example. We are similarly appealing to all civil servants, mayors, association boards and unions, school boards, every institution that in one way or another is in contact with or will come into contact with the godless and degrading regulations against those 'of Jewish blood'. We have already let this go much too far. We can no longer account for our actions before God and the people of the Netherlands. We have tried to placate our conscience. We have not engaged in discussion, not given any advice, done nothing to maintain our 'principles' of which we have been so proud, and in the meantime we fooled ourselves and one another into believing that we had not continually betrayed those principles. The latter is the greatest illusion to which we have surrendered ourselves. But it is an illusion!

Did you not betray the just cause, honourable *Mayors* of Dutch Municipalities, from the very first moment that you presented your citizens' ancestry declaration to those who were in charge of the Air Raid Protection Service?¹² As early as July, the Germans' plans for the Netherlands too were unmistakably clear! That would have been the moment for you to say as one: never! Did you not discuss this among yourselves? Or are 'politics' not discussed during mayoral meetings? In that case, it would now *almost be too late* to start – but not entirely! Unite, gentlemen, before the next battle begins!

Did you not betray our principles, *Principals of Christian Schools*, by pretending that we were not being asked to go against our conscience and when you told your staff that they had to sign because everyone else was signing? And your major national organizations have let you down by refusing to give the advice that a few (oh! only a few!) had asked you to give! Now the next battle is imminent. It has already been expressed within

12 See Doc. 35.

your circle that ‘naturally’ nobody of Jewish blood should be appointed for the time being because ... ‘that could seem like a provocation’! If this is the common opinion among you, does that not mean you not only have betrayed the principle already, but also are apparently intending to make this into a habit? Soon, brothers in Lord Jesus Christ, the second battle will begin. What do you intend to do? It is *almost too late* to return to adherence, not to the principle, but to the word of our Lord Jesus Christ – but not altogether too late! Confer with each other, exert pressure on your national organizations, and above all act quickly, before it is no longer almost but actually too late.

Have you not sold and betrayed the Saviour’s good cause, *Managers of the Christian Broadcasting Companies*, and did you not do so the moment that you permitted the Germans to censor the sermons, lectures, and prayers that were broadcast by your networks? This is why some churches have justifiably declared: No more official public services on the radio. Yet you thought that it was possible under enemy censorship to preach the full gospel without losing anything. Or you thought that half the gospel was better than none at all; you forgot that half the gospel is no gospel at all. Perhaps for you, after all you have subjected the Dutch people to, it is altogether too late. No! As long as one single person still walks this earth, thank God, it will not be entirely too late, only *almost too late*. It is not even too late for the enemies of Christ. Consider, then, what you have to do, Reformed and Dutch Reformed, orthodox and liberal Christians, who have lost the first battle and will lose all future battles if you do not return to Him after whom you have named yourselves.

We could continue in this vein. What can we expect from those organizations and people who have not yet been confronted by this issue but most assuredly soon will be? What will the *Medical Society*¹³ do? What does the *Bar* intend to do? Has the *Notaries’ Association*¹⁴ already deliberated about this? Do the *associations of public servants* already have a position? For all of these organizations and people it is *almost too late* – but not entirely so. If you gentlemen hurry up, a great deal of good can still be accomplished. Will doing the right thing have any *effect*? Will doing the right thing require sacrifice and suffering? Is a good conscience worth nothing to you? Are you aware that the Netherlands’ moral strength will weaken if our actions are weak? Do you think you can preserve your basic convictions without acting on them?

Finally, one last question. *What is the episcopate doing?* We are not Roman Catholic. But you, Your Illustrious Excellencies the Archbishop and Bishops of the Netherlands, call yourselves Christians just as we do, and in the name of that same Christ we must also approach you with our questions. You cannot blame us if we do not know where we currently stand with our Roman Catholic Church and our Roman Catholic countrymen. It is true that you have not yet lifted your censure of the NSB. Is that a question of time, or can we expect the Roman Catholic Church to not adapt itself to the current circumstances for once? The position taken by the Roman Catholic Church during the events of 1940 is not entirely clear to us. Is this lack of clarity deliberate, or is it your intention to express your position unambiguously?

13 The Royal Dutch Medical Association (KNMG), founded in 1849, is the professional association for Dutch physicians.

14 The Dutch Notaries’ Association (Broederschap van Notarissen) was founded in 1843. Its successor organization, the Koninklijke Notariële Broederschap, still exists today.

The churches which signed the petition to the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories have communicated this fact to the archbishop.¹⁵ We understand that it is not possible for you, Monsignor, to communicate with Dr Seyss-Inquart together with us and in the same way that we do. We understand how difficult it is for you to be clear with the Reich Commissioner, with your church, and with the Dutch people while the Pope blesses the Italian weapons and the German episcopate holds positions different from your own on various issues. Are these difficulties insurmountable? Is obedience to Christ not paramount for Your Illustrious Excellency as well? The newspapers have reported that ecclesiastical circles in France have objected to the regulations instituted against the Jews, but they did not indicate which church it was. Given the situation of Protestantism in France, it is not out of the question that it was the Roman Catholic Church that raised its voice there. Nobody here knows for sure; perhaps you do, Monsignor. Yet no matter which church it was, the Dutch people have a right to hear from you as to the position of the Roman Catholic Church regarding our enemy's ungodliness, regarding the horrors that defile this country, in the face of the bewilderment being caused here.

In the name of Christ, after Whom you and we have named ourselves, we ask of you: Do not refrain from speaking out on our behalf! What do you say to the stranger who stands within thy gates? What do you, who have a staff of knowledgeable moral theologians at your disposal, advise your people to do? For you too, Monsignor, it is almost too late – but not entirely so. Do not make us wait any longer than is absolutely necessary!

The Christian faith and our conscience: these are the things which are now at stake in the Netherlands. Those Dutch who presently call themselves Christians in whatever form must now bear in mind that they should follow our Saviour *in practice*. That is not a curse, nor destiny, nor duty. It is a blessing. For he who speaks as a Christian but fails to act as one alienates himself from his Saviour – and that is a curse!

Those Dutch who for whatever reason do not wish to call themselves Christians should bear in mind that a clear conscience is worth more than almost anything else. For you it is no doubt more difficult than for Christians. You have not been liberated by Christ nor are you bound by His commands. Do not hold it against us when we say to you candidly in this moment: faith in Jesus Christ alone will be your only guide through the endless moral conflicts of these times. If you do not want to walk this path, at least consider whether there is not also a point at which you would feel compelled to say: I cannot go along with this any further if I do not want to become a man without a conscience.

People of the Netherlands, it is *almost too late – but not yet entirely so*! It is not yet entirely too late to return to the Christian faith and a clear conscience. It is not yet entirely too late to stand up for our Jewish countrymen out of compassion and based on scripture. It is not yet entirely too late to show the Germans that their godlessness cannot

15 Dr Johannes (Jan) de Jong (1885–1955), priest and theologian; professor at Rijsenburg Seminary from 1914; archbishop of Utrecht from 1936; active in the church resistance movement during the occupation period; cardinal from 1946. During the occupation, the Catholic Church provided particular assistance to those Jews who had converted to Catholicism.

conquer all things and that *somewhere* there are people whose Christian faith and whose clear consciences cannot be so easily stolen.

O God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! Come to your poor Christendom's aid and have mercy on the Netherlands.

(While this text could only be printed and distributed by the tens of thousands, it should be read by all of the millions of Dutch people! Pass it on immediately to your acquaintances after reading.)

DOC. 53

***Die Judenfrage*, 20 December 1940: article on the German occupying forces' anti-Jewish policies in the Netherlands¹**

The Jewish question in the Netherlands

When the German troops occupied *Holland*, they entered a country that had literally become an *Eldorado for Jewry*. While the Jews only *made up* around 1.4 per cent of the Dutch population of around 8 million at the start of the 1930s (based on religious affiliation!), this share has increased to approximately 2.3 per cent since 1933 following brisk immigration from Germany.² Even before this, the indigenous Jews had already established a large presence in public life, particularly in the business world and in the press. This state of affairs grew even worse when, in no time at all, the new *immigrants* took up key positions in the press, in broadcasting, theatre, film, and music. *The main centres for Jews* are the provinces of North Holland and South Holland. Eighty per cent of them live in the country's six big cities, and over half of all Dutch Jews live in *Amsterdam* alone. Quite apart from the economic, intellectual, and spiritual infection, the direct *racial threat* to the Dutch population assumed ever more menacing proportions.

The Jews were clever enough to avoid occupying the highest and most prestigious government posts, but key advisory positions in government ministries were in their hands, along with *positions of authority* in central economic organizations, the banking sector, and local government.³ The board of the Amsterdam stock exchange was 50 per cent Jewish. The banks, trade and commerce, and the diamond-cutting industry were all Jewish domains, and they made more and more inroads into the liberal professions. Jews made up 40 per cent of the judges in Amsterdam, a Jew was serving as president of the Supreme Court of the Netherlands,⁴ while another was one of the country's chief public prosecutors.⁵ What a broad and fruitful area of activity has opened up there for big-time scam merchants like Barmat und Mannheimer!⁶

1 *Die Judenfrage*, 20 Dec. 1940, pp. 207 f.; published by Antisemitische Aktion, Berlin. Antisemitische Aktion was originally founded in 1934 as the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, and renamed in 1939. It was under the authority of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. From 1942 it was known as Antijüdische Aktion. This document has been translated from German.

2 In 1940 the Netherlands in fact had a population of nearly 9 million people, roughly 1.4 per cent of whom were Jews. That figure includes the approximately 20,000 German Jews who had come to the Netherlands as refugees.

3 On the presence of Jews in Dutch society, see Doc. 51.

It was thanks in part to their Jew-infested gutter press that the Dutch got drawn into the war in the first place. Many rich Jews managed to save their skins before 10 May or during the few days of actual fighting; the fishermen of Scheveningen made a fine profit from those who escaped in their boats.⁷ The Jews who stayed behind were no less panicked by the arrival of the Germans. While the business life of the Jewish middle classes generally went on as before, some very curious changes took place in other areas from the very beginning. Shortly after 15 May, the Jews withdrew from all their earlier positions in politics, journalism, and the art world. Not long after that, the press and the cinema were completely Jew-free.

Given that the Dutch movement for renewal akin to German National Socialism does not yet have sufficient power and influence, it was understood from the outset that the *German administration* would take measures against the Jews in order to protect the Dutch population as well as the German administration itself and the occupation, and ultimately also in the interests of trouble-free collaboration between Germans and Dutch. Treating the Jews with leniency and connivance would only have led to a continuation of their anti-German and economically parasitic activities once the initial shock had worn off. The extent to which relations between the two Germanic peoples had been poisoned by the Jewish caricatures of Germany and German culture has only now become fully apparent through the lively contact between the occupation forces and the local population. This is doing much to clear away the tangle of prejudices.

Among the measures put in place by the authorities in the wake of the German occupation are the police ordinances relating to the *registration* of Jewish *emigrants* from Germany who are currently living in Holland. These allow the authorities to exercise the much-needed control and supervision of an element whose malevolence and deviousness pose a constant threat. The ordinances were quickly followed by a regulation issued by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on 31 July 1940,⁸ which is more ethical than political in character: the practice of *kosher slaughter* was *banned* in the Netherlands. Despite the love of animals for which the Dutch are renowned, there was no legal protection for animals in their country, let alone a ban on the hideous practice of slaughtering animals without stunning them first, as prescribed by Jewish religious ritual.

4 The Supreme Court (Hooge Raad) of the Netherlands is the highest court in the Dutch judiciary, with its seat at The Hague. At the start of the German occupation, the post of president of the Supreme Court was held by Lodewijk Ernst Visser. He was dismissed on 21 Nov. 1940 because he was Jewish.

5 None of the Dutch chief public prosecutors in 1940 were Jewish.

6 The names of the entrepreneurs Barmat and Mannheimer were used to signify corruption and financial crime in antisemitic propaganda. The four Barmat brothers, who were Jewish, had been involved in a corruption scandal during the Weimar Republic. From 1920 to 1939 German-Jewish banker Fritz Mannheimer (1890–1939) was the director of the Amsterdam branch of the Mendelssohn & Co. bank, which got into financial difficulties in the late 1930s.

7 During the last days of fighting, many Jews attempted to reach Amsterdam's port of IJmuiden, hoping to escape from there to England, and some of them paid astronomical prices for a crossing. It was virtually impossible to escape via Scheveningen as there was fierce fighting there against German airborne forces. See Doc. 28.

8 Regulation on the Avoidance of Cruelty to Animals in Livestock Slaughter, *VOBl-NL*, no. 80/1940, 31 July 1940, pp. 247 f.

A step of far-reaching significance was the *dissolution of all Masonic lodges* in the Netherlands on 5 September of this year.⁹ Since it is well known that Freemasonry and Jewry are closely entangled, the policies of the former being largely directed by the latter, this ban also marks a very significant contribution to the solution of the Jewish problem in Holland. The secret societies of the Freemasons were breeding grounds of anti-German conspiracy, and nowhere more so than in Holland, where the Dutch national committee of the International League of Freemasons had been entrusted with the international leadership of the League. As the League's secretary, a Dutch national of all-Jewish descent,¹⁰ admitted under interrogation: 'The Dutch national committee of the GLF was chosen because it was the biggest and most active group in Europe.' In the province of North Holland alone more than one hundred high-ranking Freemasons were counted! 'Brothers' occupied leadership positions in all Dutch organizations and associations that agitated against nationalist ideas, against Germany and Italy.

*The Regulation on the Registration of Jewish Businesses*¹¹ issued on 22 October of this year by the Reich Commissioner is of particular importance for the economy. All Jewish-owned businesses subject to registration under the 1918 Commercial Register Law – businesses operated by other associations of individuals or by institutions, foundations, and other special-purpose funds, provided they are pursuing commercial ends, as well as agricultural and forestry enterprises and horticultural and fishery enterprises, provided they are of a commercial nature, and finally skilled trades and door-to-door sales operations – must be registered by the cut-off date of 9 May. The definition of the term 'Jew' for the purposes of this regulation corresponds to that in Germany; the German regulation also sets out in detail which businesses are to be classified as Jewish. Registration also entails the compulsory *declaration of the business's assets* – vital information should further action become necessary in the future.

In the interests of public order and security in the occupied Dutch territories, it was finally decreed on 28 November that *all Jews employed in public offices and public services are to be dismissed from their posts*.¹² The definition of the term 'Jew' in the aforementioned regulation on Jewish enterprises also applies for the purposes of this decree. All private law bodies, institutions, and foundations are treated as bodies governed under public law if the state, a province, municipality or public body has a stake in them. As the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*¹³ points out, this decree is not intended to pre-empt any measures that might be adopted in the future by the Dutch authorities; but under the current conditions of war, German standards and policies must be enforced. The day will surely come when the entire population of the Netherlands will realize how much it owes to the German war administration for its exemplary policy on Jews!

⁹ See the article in *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 6 Sept. 1940, p. 1.

¹⁰ Probably Jan Cornelis Willem Onderdenwijngaard, born J. C. W. Polak (1897–1973), banker; became treasurer of the International League of Freemasons in 1939 and survived the German occupation, presumably because he was under the protection of Seyss-Inquart.

¹¹ Correctly: Regulation on the Registration of Businesses; see Doc. 42.

¹² The instruction was issued by the commissioner general for administration and justice, Friedrich Wimmer, to the secretaries general on 4 Nov. 1940 (NIOD, 101a/3d), but it was not published until 28 Nov. 1940.

¹³ *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 28 Nov. 1940, p. 1.

DOC. 54

On 10 January 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart issues a regulation requiring all Jews to register with the authorities¹

Regulation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on the Compulsory Registration of Persons who are Fully or Partially of Jewish Blood²

Pursuant to § 5 of the Führer's Decree on the Exercise of Government Powers in the Netherlands, dated 18 May 1940 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 778),³ I hereby issue the following regulation:

§ 1 Persons who are fully or partially of Jewish blood and are resident in the occupied Dutch territories are required to register in accordance with the following provisions.

§ 2

- (1) Within the meaning of this regulation, any person with a grandparent who is fully Jewish by race will be considered to be fully or partially of Jewish blood.
- (2) A grandparent is automatically considered fully Jewish if he or she belongs to, or previously belonged to, the Jewish religious community.

§ 3

- (1) Where there is any doubt as to whether a person should be classified as fully or partially of Jewish blood as defined in § 2, a decision on the matter will be provided, on request, by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch territories or an agency nominated by him.⁴
- (2) Such a request may be submitted by
 - 1) any German official or agency in the occupied Dutch territories;
 - 2) the registering authority;
 - 3) the individual concerned.
- (3) Rulings issued under the terms of (1) shall be final.

§ 4

- (1) The requirement to register applies to all persons specified under §§ 1 to 3.
- (2) If the person required to register is not legally competent or of limited legal competence, that person's legal representative and those who de facto take care of that person are required to register in his or her stead.

§ 5

- (1) Registration must take place within four weeks of this regulation coming into force. If the registering authority is the mayor's office of the City of Amsterdam, this period is extended to ten weeks.

1 *VOBl-NL*, no. 6/1941, pp. 19–23. This document has been translated from German.

2 The personal data collected under the terms of this regulation formed the administrative basis for the later deportations: see Introduction, p. 39.

3 Under the terms of § 5, the Reich commissioner could issue regulations in the Netherlands.

4 These cases were passed on to the Office for the Clarification of Doubts regarding Racial Origins, a department under the commissioner general for administration and justice. The office was headed by the German lawyer Hans Calmeyer (1903–1972), who in many cases interpreted the criteria for descent in favour of the Jews: Geraldien von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel, *Het geval Calmeyer* (Amsterdam: Schildt, 2008).

(2) Where a person becomes liable for registration as a result of a change of circumstances occurring after this regulation comes into force, registration must be completed within two weeks following this change of circumstances. However, this grace period shall not be shorter than the grace period allowed under (1).

§ 6 The person authorized to carry out the registration (registering authority) is the mayor or the head of the State Inspectorate of the Population Register (Hoofd der Rijksinspectie van de Bevolkingsregisters)⁵ who keeps the population register (bevolkingsregister) or register of residence (verblijfsregister) in which the person required to register has been or is to be recorded.

§ 7

(1) Registration must be completed in writing.

(2) It must contain the following

- 1) first name and surname of the person to be registered;
- 2) place, day, month, and year of birth;
- 3) place of residence, specifying street name and house number; persons who moved to the European territory of the Netherlands after 30 January 1933 must, in addition, state their last place of residence in the present-day territory of the Greater German Reich (including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia) or the General Government for the occupied Polish territories;
- 4) nationality and where applicable any previous nationalities;
- 5) creed;
- 6) occupation;
- 7) marital status: single, married, widowed, or divorced;
- 8) number of Jewish grandparents (see § 2).

§ 8

(1) The registering authority must make a note in the population register or register of residence indicating that the registered person is a person of Jewish blood.

(2) Within one week of any note made under the terms of (1) and of all subsequent changes and additions to the entries relating to a registered person made in accordance with current Dutch regulations, the mayor must notify the head of the State Inspectorate of the Population Register (Hoofd der Rijksinspectie van de Bevolkingsregisters) accordingly. The latter may extend this one-week deadline at his discretion.

§ 9

(1) The registering authority must issue a certificate to the registered person confirming that the person concerned has satisfied the requirement to register in accordance with the present regulation.

(2) The registered person must pay a fee of 1 guilder in advance to the registering authority for the issuing of the certificate of registration. If the person is unable to pay, the local Israelite Religious Community to which the person belongs is responsible

⁵ Jacobus Lambertus Lentz (1894–1964), civil servant; worked for the registration authority in The Hague, 1913–1932, thereafter for the State Inspectorate of the Population Register, which he managed from 1936; in 1941 he was responsible, acting on German instructions, for the introduction of a new identity card that was difficult to forge; received a three-year prison sentence after the war.

for paying the fee; if the person in question does not belong to any such religious community, the registration fee may be waived in whole or in part. The fee cannot be waived in any other instances.

- (3) Persons required to register under the terms of § 4(2) will be required to pay the fee in cases where it has not been paid by the registered person subject to the provisions and exemptions contained in (2) above.
- (4) Where the registering authority is the local mayor, he shall pay one half of the fees collected to the head of the State Inspectorate of the Population Register (Hoofd der Rijksinspectie van de Bevolkingsregisters).

§ 10

- (1) Any person required to register who culpably fails to satisfy the requirement to register will be punished with a prison sentence of up to five years.
- (2) Actions falling within the scope of (1) are criminal offences.
- (3) The assets of any person who is guilty of an offence under the terms of (1) are subject to the provisions of Regulation no. 33/1940 on the confiscation of assets.⁶

§ 11

- (1) This regulation comes into force on the fourteenth day following the date of its promulgation.
- (2) The Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior will issue the necessary instructions for its implementation.

The Hague, 10 January 1941.

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories: Seyss-Inquart

DOC. 55

***New York Times*, 14 February 1941: article on riots in Amsterdam¹**

Jews Fight Nazis in Amsterdam Riot

Establishment of Ghetto for 50,000 is Threatened by Germans After Clash

Traffic to District Cut

Netherland Lack of Docility Reported in Reich and Draws Warning

Amsterdam, the Netherlands, via Berlin, Feb. 13, AP²

German authorities ordered all non-Jews out of the old Jewish quarter of Amsterdam around Waterloo Square today, raising the possibility of a moated ghetto of 50,000 inhabitants.

The German order, it was declared, was the result of street fighting Sunday in which Netherland Nazis and armed opponents from Waterloo Square clashed, and of a series

⁶ Regulation on the Confiscation of Assets, *VOBl-NL*, no. 33/1940, 4 July 1940, pp. 128–131.

¹ *New York Times*, 14 Feb. 1941, p. 5. The *New York Times*, a daily newspaper, was founded in 1851.

² The Amsterdam correspondent of the Associated Press (AP) news agency at the time was Hendrik (Henk) Gerardus Kersting (1905–1993), journalist; worked for the AP from 1937; after 1945 helped establish the AP's Amsterdam office, which he headed from 1946 to 1971.

of drubbings that the Jews gave Nazis in that district in the ensuing two days. Nazi shop windows were smashed in the rioting.³

It is estimated that about half of Amsterdam's 100,000 Jews live in the Waterloo Square district.⁴ The population of Amsterdam is about 800,000. Traffic to and from the Waterloo Square district can be controlled by raising or lowering canal draw-bridges.

A communiqué from the occupation authorities said that disorders broke out after a 'training march' of the Nazis on Sunday and that several combatants as well as members of the Amsterdam police force were wounded.⁵ Next day, the communiqué added, ten groups of young Jews with various weapons attacked Nazis who live in the Waterloo Square neighborhood. Some of the Nazis were seriously injured, the communiqué said, and some shops were demolished.

Police quickly rounded up suspects, some of whom were identified as members of the armed bands. Then the Jewish quarter was closed to traffic by raising the draw-bridges.⁶ When order was finally restored, the communiqué said, 'it became an urgent necessity that all non-Jewish inhabitants of the quarter leave immediately. This action began today.'

A Jewish council has been formed⁷ to guarantee maintenance of order in the vicinity.

DOC. 56

On 14 February 1941 the Dutch Israelite Religious Community circulates Abraham Asscher's speech concerning the establishment of the Jewish Council¹

Letter from the Permanent Commission for General Affairs of the Dutch Israelite Religious Community (no. 8,028), signed A. Asscher² (chairman) and Dr D. M. Sluys³ (secretary), Amsterdam, to an unknown recipient, dated 14 February 1941

Pursuant to our letter of 1 October 1940 (no. 7,884)⁴ it is our honour to send you a transcript of the speech delivered yesterday in the local diamond exchange by the first undersigned in his capacity as the representative of the Jews of Amsterdam in the presence of the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam.⁵

Yours sincerely,

3 In Jan. and Feb. 1941 members of the NSB repeatedly marched through Amsterdam's predominantly Jewish quarter around Waterlooplein (Waterloo Square), smashing shop windows and assaulting pedestrians. On Sunday, 9 Feb. 1941, the Jewish population defended itself against these attacks for the first time. In the days that followed, the unrest escalated and the Jews received support from workers from the Jordaan and Eilanden neighbourhoods. See Introduction, p. 40.

4 The registration procedure, which was concluded in Sept. 1941, showed that 80,000 Jews were resident in Amsterdam, most of whom lived near Waterlooplein.

5 *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 13 Feb. 1941, p. 1.

6 On 12 Feb. 1941 the German Order Police closed off the Jewish quarter around Waterlooplein. However, the restrictions were lifted a week later.

7 See Doc. 56.

1 JHM, Doc. 00 003 186. This document has been translated from Dutch.

The Permanent Commission for General Affairs of the Dutch Israelite Religious Community

A. Asscher, Chairman

The Secretary, Dr D. M. Sluys.

Speech by Mr A. Asscher

Esteemed assembly,

We invited you here today at the request of the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam in order to pass on the following notification:

Before I begin, I request that *you refrain from any indication of approval or disapproval*. Now, to the issue at hand.

You are all aware of the lamentable events which unfolded last Sunday in certain parts of the city. The representative for Amsterdam subsequently summoned Chief Rabbi Sarlouis,⁶ Rabbi Francès,⁷ and myself. During this meeting the representative first requested that we form a Commission for the Representation of the Jews of Amsterdam, consisting of fifteen to twenty people, to deal with various Jewish affairs in cooperation with him. This commission has now been formed and most of its members are present here on this podium.⁸ Prof. D. Cohen⁹ and I will be responsible for regular contact with the representative for Amsterdam on behalf of the commission.

2 Abraham Asscher (1880–1950), diamond merchant and liberal politician; worked for the family business; chairman of the Ashkenazi Jewish community and, from 1933, of the Committee for Special Jewish Interests, the activities of which included relief work for Jewish refugees; one of the two chairmen of the Jewish Council, 1941–1943; deported to Bergen-Belsen in 1943; freed when the camp was liberated in 1945; a Jewish 'court of honour' (*erenraad*), established by Jewish community activists after the war to try former Jewish Council members and collaborators, banned him from participating in Jewish organizations after 1945.

3 Dr David Mozes Sluys (1871–1943), philologist; secretary of the Dutch Israelite Religious Community, 1905–1942; administrator of the Dutch Israelite Main Synagogue from 1906; member of the Jewish Council, 1941–1943; deported in June 1943 with his family to Sobibor via Westerbork, where he was murdered on 9 July 1943.

4 This letter is not included in the file.

5 Dr Hans Böhmcker (1899–1942), lawyer; practised law in Lübeck, 1921–1925; judge in Lübeck and Hamburg from 1925; joined the NSDAP in 1933; member of the Lübeck senate, 1933–1940; appointed the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam; returned to Lübeck in 1942 and committed suicide shortly thereafter.

6 Lodewijk Hartog Sarlouis (1884–1942), rabbi; served as rabbi of the Dutch Israelite Religious Community from 1912; chief rabbi of Amsterdam from 1936; member of the Jewish Council from February 1942; deported to Westerbork in October 1942 and murdered in Auschwitz on 26 Oct. 1942.

7 Liahò Francès (1878–1942), rabbi; emigrated from Greece to the Netherlands in 1928; rabbi of the Portuguese Israelite Religious Community; deported in 1942 to Auschwitz, where he perished.

8 At the time the members of the Jewish Council were: Jacob Arons, Nochem de Beneditty, Arnold van den Bergh, Albert Barend Gomperts, Isidor de Haan, Abraham de Hoop, Marinus Leonard Kan, Isaak Kisch, Abraham Krouwer, Siegfried Jacob van Lier, Abraham Jacob Mendes da Costa, Juda Lion Palache, Max Isaac Prins, Lodewijk Hartog Sarlouis, David Mozes Sluys, Abraham Soep, Herman Isidore Voet, and Isidor Henry Joseph Vos.

9 Dr David Cohen (1882–1967), historian; professor in Leiden and Amsterdam; worked closely with the Committee for Jewish Refugees (CJV) in the 1930s; one of the two chairmen of the Jewish Council from 1941; deported to Theresienstadt in 1943 and liberated there; a Jewish 'court of honour' banned him from participating in Jewish organizations after 1945.

As far as the disturbances are concerned, the representative for Amsterdam has informed us that the German authorities not only will not tolerate them, but also plan to institute appropriate measures to prevent them from happening in the future. Any group or individual – whether in uniform or not – whose presence could cause friction shall henceforth be prevented from entering the parts of the city in which you live.

Furthermore, we have been instructed to communicate the following: Those among you in possession of firearms, truncheons, knives, or any other kind of weapon must immediately hand these in to the Amsterdam police at the station located on Jonas Daniel Meyerplein.¹⁰ Anyone who does so before tomorrow (Friday) at 1 p.m. will not be prosecuted.

I do not need to point out the paramount importance of full and immediate compliance because – *since it has been decided to cooperate in maintaining an order in which you can all work and live undisturbed* – every effort should be made on your part also to uphold this order vigorously. So cooperate and think about your own responsibilities!

In appealing to your responsibilities, I mean above all that those who are later found with weapons risk the most severe penalties and will put many others in danger. I can also tell you that a regulation is being prepared by the authorities to ensure unhindered contact between local residents and all others, about which you will presumably be informed in more detail soon.¹¹

Esteemed assembly, I thank you for coming! We shall now adjourn with the firm intention to recognize the seriousness of the present situation and to maintain peace and order. In doing so, we will act fully in accordance with the will of our city government.

I firmly believe I can voice the assumption that from now on the authorities will prevent further disturbances of the kind that have recently taken place. It is our, and therefore your, duty to ensure that the Jewish community does its part. In practice, this means: Know your responsibilities! Control yourself! Do not be needlessly alarmed! Do not take part in public meetings when there is no need to!

I sincerely trust in all of you, and close this meeting.

10 Correctly: Jonas Daniël Meijerplein.

11 The Jewish quarter was cordoned off for a few days after the unrest.

DOC. 57

On 17 February 1941 a representative of the Reich Foreign Office branch in the Netherlands reports to his office in Berlin on the unrest in Amsterdam¹

Report by the Reich Foreign Office representative (D Pol 3 Nr. 8, 2 copies), signed p.p. Mohr,² The Hague, to the Reich Foreign Office in Berlin, dated 17 February 1941

Re: Jewish question

Last week there were clashes in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter between Jews and NSB members, in which a number of people were injured, some of them severely. One NSB member has since died of his injuries. He will be laid to rest today at a solemn funeral ceremony.³

These incidents have prompted the Reich Commissioner's Office to address the Jewish question in Holland with renewed vigour, the Reich Commissioner⁴ having stated on a number of occasions that finding a solution to the problem is an urgent priority.

As a first step, the Jewish quarter will be closed off from now on. Aryans living in the Jewish quarter will be rehoused in exchange for undesirable Jews now living in other parts of Amsterdam. Aryans will be prohibited from entering the Jewish quarter. The Jews living there will be given an identity card in Hebrew and Dutch and will only be allowed to leave the confines of the Jewish quarter upon presentation of this document. To preserve order, a Jewish Council has been formed, which is required to give the Amsterdam municipal council certain guarantees for ensuring safety and security.

At the same time, a long-planned regulation has been issued, designed to limit the number of Jewish students at Dutch universities.⁵ The percentage of Jewish students is currently estimated at around 8 to 10 per cent, although exact figures are not available. The first purpose of the regulation is to establish the exact number of Jewish students. The intention is to reduce their percentage to around 3 per cent.

1 PA AA, R 102895. Published in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik (1918–1945)*, series D: *Die Kriegsjahre*, vol. 12, part 1: 1. Februar bis 5. April 1941 (Baden-Baden: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 93 f. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Ernst-Günther Mohr (1904–1991), lawyer; with the German diplomatic service from 1929; joined the NSDAP in 1935; posted to China in 1936, to the Netherlands, 1939–1941, then to Tangier, 1942–1944; section head in the German Office for Peace Issues, 1947–1950; again served in the West German diplomatic service, 1950–1969.

3 Hendrik Evert Koot (1898–1941) was injured on 11 Feb. 1941 and died three days later.

4 Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

5 Regulation on Jewish Students, *VOBl-NL*, no. 27/1941, 11 Feb. 1941, pp. 99 f.

DOC. 58

**On 17 February 1941 Hans Böhmcker, the Reich Commissioner's representative
for the City of Amsterdam, informs the city council about sealing off
the Jewish quarter¹**

Letter from the Representative for the City of Amsterdam (no. 100/64 A.Z. 1941), signed Böhmcker, to the City of Amsterdam, dated 17 February 1941 (copy)

Re: establishment of the Amsterdam ghetto

With reference to the meeting I had on the 12th of this month with Deputy Secretary General Dr Franken,² I am writing to inform you of the following:

- 1) The sealing off of the Jewish quarter I ordered on the evening of the 11th of this month will remain in force. Unrestricted traffic in and out has been permitted since 6 a.m. on the 13th of this month. The Jewish quarter remains closed to through traffic. This applies until further instructions are issued.
- 2) The confines of the Jewish quarter will basically remain as they have already been established, pending possible expansion at a later date. I expect to receive your proposals regarding changes in the port area at the earliest opportunity. Please supply details of possible options for erecting suitable barriers.
- 3) The Jewish quarter is to be cleared of all non-Jewish residents. Jews are that group of persons defined in § 4 of the Regulation of the Reich Commissioner no. 189/40.³ You are responsible for organizing the clearance. With regard to the public buildings situated within the Jewish quarter (Distributie-Kantoor⁴ and the offices of the utility companies), alternative premises must be found immediately. The police stations and all other public buildings which help oversee the population inside the Jewish quarter are not affected by this regulation.
- 4) Non-Jewish schoolchildren are to be removed from the schools inside the Jewish quarter immediately. A corresponding number of Jewish children from schools outside the Jewish quarter must be transferred to the schools inside the Jewish quarter. With regard to teaching staff, further instructions will be issued once the transfer of pupils has taken place.

H.P.⁵

1 NIOD, 101a/3d. This document has been translated from German.

2 The reference is probably to Johannes Franciscus Franken, director of the City of Amsterdam's General Affairs Department.

3 See Doc. 42.

4 Dutch in the original: 'rationing office'.

5 No further details are available.

DOC. 59

Het Parool, 17 February 1941: article on the failure of German plans for the Nazification of the Netherlands and the unrest in the Jewish quarter¹*The antisemitic bomb has misfired*

The Germans are in the habit of attacking people they want to subjugate, and not just with physical weapons. They also attack them with ideological weapons, one of which is antisemitism. They attempt to use the Jews living among us to sow discord among us. They attempt to use antisemitic ideology as a crowbar to cause confusion and to pit the sons of the same family against one another. If their scheme works, it is much easier for them to control the quarrelling nation. German antisemitism is thus first and foremost a crafty device that helps them apply the traditional principle of 'divide and conquer'.

The Germans are attempting to make the subjugation of our people easier by causing a split in the Netherlands too over the Jews. This is why they sent their henchmen onto the streets to start antisemitic riots.² For it goes without saying that the NSB would never have dared cause all those outrageous incidents if it had not been assured in advance of the occupier's benevolent neutrality. Indeed, eyewitnesses have confirmed that many Germans were involved in the recent unrest. At Rembrandtsplein in Amsterdam the Green Police acted as auxiliaries for Mussert's WA.³ German police officers gave the order to disarm our police and military police because they vigorously opposed the NSB mob. Our police inspectors were arrested by the Green Police on the street. When a large gang of NSB members pounced on one of our mounted military policemen, snatched his revolver and his sword from him, so that the man was completely defenceless before his assailants and had to flee, members of the German police stood by watching and roaring with laughter. In The Hague, members of the German SS even took part in a raid on the secretariat of the Jewish synagogue.⁴

In the meantime, the gentlemen will have had to conclude that their scheme has failed. Especially in Amsterdam, the antisemitic bomb has completely misfired. When

1 'De anti-semietische bom is verkeerd gebarsten', *Het Parool*, no. 2, 17 Feb. 1941, pp. 1–2. This document has been translated from Dutch. Initially published as the typewritten *Nieuwsbrief van Pieter 't Hoen*, the first issue of *Het Parool: Vrij onverveerd*, an illegal newspaper with social-democratic leanings, was published on 10 Feb. 1941. It had a circulation of 40,000 copies in 1943 and was one of the largest illegal newspapers in the Netherlands.

2 This is a reference to the unrest that took place from 8 to 11 Feb. 1941 in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter, during which members of the NSB engaged in fights with Jews and with Dutchmen who had come to their aid. On the background to the February Strike, see B. A. Sijes, *De februari-staking: 25–26 februari 1941* (Amsterdam: Becht, 1978), here pp. 53–97, and Introduction, p. 41.

3 Anton Adriaan Mussert (1894–1946), engineer; worked for the Dutch Water Management Office (Rijkswaterstaat); founded the NSB with Cees van Geelkerken in 1931 and became its leader; during the occupation he attempted to put himself forward as head of state of the Netherlands within a Germanic Reich but never obtained Hitler's consent; declared 'Leader of the Dutch People' in Dec. 1942; interned in 1945, sentenced to death and executed in May 1946. The WA (Weerbaarheid-safdeling) was the paramilitary arm of the NSB.

4 The Dutch original uses the word 'church' (*kerk*) rather than 'synagogue'. The raid on the offices of the synagogue on Wagenstraat occurred on 2 Feb. 1941 and was mainly carried out by NSB members.

NSB members stopped the trams in the streets to remove the Jewish passengers, virtually everyone on the trams turned against the bastards. When NSB members burst into a café or restaurant to drag the Jews out, the majority of the clientele got up to throw the intruders out. And when the WA ultimately staged an attack on the Jewish quarter, thousands of citizens were ready to help their Jewish brothers defend themselves against Mussert's brown scum.

The battle in the Jewish quarter has become a resounding show of national solidarity. Workers, students, unemployed people, office clerks, and others were drawn to the Waterlooplein to help their threatened Jewish compatriots, and when the antisemitic murderers arrived in military formation in order to create a bloodbath in the poor Jewish quarter, they were initially met by a large group of Jewish young men who had gathered in front of their houses to defend their parents. The Prussians' lackeys pounced on the Jews, who vigorously and successfully defended themselves. Just as the fight got started, the reinforcements emerged from air-raid shelters, sheds, and doorways to rally around their Jewish brothers. The 'pogrom heroes' were beaten back with bloodied heads. Despite the racist clamouring from the Green Police, who fired repeatedly, the WA mob were given a sound thrashing. Dozens of the assailants had to be taken to the hospital; one of them has since died.⁵

What took place on this misty, moonlit night in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter should be seen as a successful start to Dutch resistance against German Nazi villainy. Young Dutch men from various social circles, diverse religious persuasions, and all sorts of professions stood shoulder to shoulder. In the battle a valuable, spontaneous unity manifested itself. This is something very different from the bland national mush one constantly hears about from all kinds of charlatans.

This is something very different from the talk of unity one hears from the *Nederlandse Unie*⁶ or the *Nationaal Front*,⁷ groups that would also lead our people, united and marching in step, right into the German concentration camps. This was the unity of the Dutch people who rose up to protect a section of our people threatened by the Germans and their minions.

Only the performance of the Amsterdam authorities once again did not fit in with this picture of national unity. They ordered the police and military police, both of which urgently wanted to redress the humiliation done to them by the NSB, to stand aside. When a gang of NSB members assaults, beats up, or even murders decent Dutch citizens in our streets, the Amsterdam police are not allowed to intervene! There is absolutely no justification for a mayor⁸ or a chief of police⁹ to give this kind of order. Of course

5 See Doc. 57.

6 See Doc. 40.

7 The Nationaal Front was founded in March 1940. It was the successor organization of the Black Front (Zwart Front) and was meant to unite the fascist parties of the Netherlands under the leadership of Arnold Meijer (1905–1965). The Nationaal Front was never able to win out against the NSB and was banned by the occupation authorities in Dec. 1941.

8 Willem de Vlugt (1872–1945), businessman; member of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP); mayor of Amsterdam, 1921–1941, dismissed from office by the German occupation authorities after the February Strike.

9 Hendrik Johan Versteeg Jun. (1878–1954), police officer; chief of police in Amsterdam, 1928–1941, dismissed from office by the German occupation authorities after the February Strike.

these gentlemen were under pressure and acted under German influence. But in such situations it is the duty of those Dutch figures of authority, at least those who understand what their responsibilities are, to foster a sense of national honour among the general population by setting a courageous example. If Mr de Vlugt and Mr Versteeg – like so many other Dutchmen in positions of authority – do not know how to behave towards the enemy during occupation, they should read up on Adolphe Max, mayor of the Belgian capital during the World War.¹⁰

The antisemitic WA riots have died down now. The troublemakers' German masters have been able to see for themselves that the people of Amsterdam will take to the streets to put the NSB in its place. And most of all, the German Wehrmacht should have realized by now that giving the NSB power or licence to do whatever it wants will inevitably lead to civil war. The Dutch people will fight the scum of Mussert and Rost van Tonningen and their party of traitors tooth and nail. Whether Roman Catholic or Red, Calvinist or Liberal – we are all united in this.

In the wake of recent events, a Jewish Council has now been created in Amsterdam,¹¹ a completely unnecessary institution but, however, entirely in line with the German anti-semitic strategy, which seeks to isolate Jewish Dutch people from the rest of the population in every possible way. It seems that the establishment of a new ghetto is even being contemplated.¹² Such plans will have to be implemented without the cooperation of the Jews or other Dutch people, with the possible exception of a few cowardly Dutch authorities who will cooperate with the enemy.

The local German commander in Amsterdam¹³ has assured the newly created Jewish Council that no further incidents or riots will be tolerated. Putting aside the fact that promises made by Germany are completely worthless, could one assume even for a moment that the local commander seriously meant this? What could he or the Wehrmacht do if a few NSDAP puppet masters or a couple of radical extremists from the German SS once again unleashed the NSB upon the population?

Everyone should therefore prepare for the next incidents. We have already let ourselves be mollified for too long by all kinds of illusions.

Pieter 't Hoen¹⁴

10 Adolphe Eugène Jean Henri Max (1869–1939), lawyer; mayor of Brussels from 1909; refused to cooperate with the German occupiers during the First World War and was consequently interned; escaped in 1918 and was celebrated as a hero by the inhabitants of Brussels upon his return.

11 See Doc. 56.

12 On 12 Feb. 1941 the German Order Police cordoned off Amsterdam's Jewish quarter: see Doc. 58. Although there were plans to establish a ghetto, the quarter was sealed off for only a few days. Later, the entrance to the Jewish quarter was marked by signposts.

13 This presumably refers to Hans Böhmcker, the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam.

14 Pieter 't Hoen was the pseudonym of Frans Goedhart (1904–1990), journalist; from July 1940, he edited *Nieuwsbrief van Pieter 't Hoen*, the illegal newspaper from which *Het Parool* emerged in Feb. 1941; edited *Het Parool* after the war until 1955; active in the Labour Party (PvdA); co-founded the DS70 (Democratisch Socialisten '70) party in 1970.

DOC. 60

On 22/23 February 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter announces the arrest of 400 Jews in response to the unrest in Amsterdam¹

Public notice from Commissioner General for Security Rauter,² unsigned, undated³

Announcement from the Commissioner General for Security and Higher SS and Police Leader SS-Brigadeführer Rauter

While the memory of the savage murder of a Dutch National Socialist in the Jewish quarter is still fresh,⁴ a German Security Police patrol has now been attacked in a most criminal manner. During the night of Wednesday, 19 February, on van Woustraat in the Jewish emigrant quarter of Amsterdam, a German Security Police patrol was doused with a caustic and toxic liquid upon entering a Jewish café where a secret meeting was taking place.⁵ The Jewish criminals simultaneously opened fire on the German police officers.⁶ The quick intervention of the next police patrol made it possible to apprehend some of the criminals, but most of them escaped into the night.

The Commissioner General for Security and Higher SS and Police Leader has therefore ordered the following punitive and retaliatory measure:

Four hundred Jews between the ages of twenty and thirty-five will be taken prisoner and transported to a German concentration camp.⁷

The Commissioner General for Security and Higher SS and Police Leader calls your attention to the fact that this is a retaliatory measure ordered by the German occupation authorities.

Every demonstration of any kind whatsoever, and any similar incidents, will be viewed as hostile to the German occupying authorities and will be immediately suppressed and crushed by German security forces.

1 JHM, Doc. 00 000 002. Published as a facsimile in Sijes, *De februari-staking*, p. 142. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Hanns Albin Rauter (1895–1949), military officer; active in various Freikorps paramilitary groups in Austria and Upper Silesia from 1919, involved in antisemitic organizations in Austria until 1933, fled to Germany in 1933; joined the SS in 1935; commissioner general for security and also higher SS and police leader in the occupied Netherlands from May 1940, where his responsibilities included organizing the deportation of Jews; seriously wounded in an assassination attempt in March 1945, sentenced to death in the Netherlands in 1948, and executed in 1949.

3 The date can be determined from the arrests on 22 and 23 Feb. 1941. The notice was displayed publicly.

4 See Doc. 55.

5 See Doc. 107.

6 Jewish resistance operations were planned in an ice-cream parlour called Koco run by German-Jewish emigrants Ernst Cahn and Alfred Kohn. After receiving a tip-off, the Order Police arrived to search the ice-cream parlour and were sprayed with ammonia gas. Cahn was executed on 3 March 1941 Kohn was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and perished in Auschwitz. See also Introduction, p. 41.

7 During the initial riots on 22 and 23 Feb. 1941, 425 Jews were rounded up and transported to Buchenwald concentration camp and later to Mauthausen; none of them survived.

DOC. 61

**On 24 February 1941 an illegal flyer calls for a general strike in protest
against the mass arrests of Jews¹**

Flyer, unsigned,² undated³

Protest against the appalling persecution of the Jews!!!

On Saturday, Sunday, and again on Monday, the Nazis rampaged like wild animals through the parts of the city where many Jews live.

Hundreds of heavily armed Grüne Feldpolizei⁴ suddenly descended upon the old city and other neighbourhoods. Raging, yelling, hitting, and shooting, the armed majority fell upon the defenceless men, women, and children.

Hundreds of young Jews walking the streets were randomly chosen and then flung into police vans with brute force or hauled off to an unknown site of horror.

This is the Nazi revenge for the robust self-defence two weeks ago, which sent the heroes of the WA pogrom packing and during which the WA bandit Koot died a terrorist.⁵

This is the villainous response to the mass indignation and the mass demonstration of the people of Amsterdam in protest at the pogrom against Jews.

It is chiefly the result of the big-capitalist 'mediation' undertaken by Asscher, Saarlouis,⁶ and Cohen, who sycophantically accepted the Jews' guilt and attempted to suppress additional vigorous defence measures and combat by suggesting the need for 'calm'.⁷ These big capitalists are afraid of a fine being imposed, and they value their money more than the Jewish working people!

The SS and the Grüne Polizei, whom the German soldiers also hate, took genuine pleasure in carrying out this dirty work.⁸ This was the work of the scum and dregs of the German people; the cowardly WA louts, the scum of our people, who were absent this time, will have to learn from this rabble how to direct terror against the working people.

These pogroms against Jews are an attack on all working people!!!

They are a prelude to further and more severe repression and terror!!!

1 NIOD, IP27.14/MIPo65. Published as a facsimile in Sijes, *De februari-staking*, p. 134, and L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, vol. 4, 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsdrukkerij, 1972), pp. 920-921. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Louis Jansen (1900-1943), a functionary of the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) who was arrested and executed in 1943, stated that he had written the flyer. It was Willem Kraan (1909-1942) and Piet Nak (1906-1996), two communists working for the city council, who had the idea for a strike in response to the rounding up of Jews.

3 The flyer appeared one day before the actual day of the strike, which commenced on 25 Feb. 1941.

4 German in the original: 'Green field police'; members of the Order Police, so described due to the colour of their uniforms. The reference here may be to the Order Police or to the Feldpolizei who all wore green uniforms.

5 See Doc. 57, fn. 3.

6 Correctly: Lodwijk Hartog Sarlouis.

7 See Doc. 56.

8 Order Police units from The Hague and Amsterdam were principally responsible for carrying out the raids, under the command of Friedrich Knolle, deputy chief of the Security Police.

They are intended to lead to the seizure of power by the man every Dutchman hates: Mussert!!!

Workers of Amsterdam, will you allow this to happen??

No, and a thousand times no!!!

Do you have the power and the strength to prevent a continuation of this heinous terror?

Yes, you do!!!

Amsterdam's metal workers have shown how this should be done.⁹ They went on strike in unison in protest against their forced deployment to Germany. And the German military force lost out in the face of this resistance! The metal workers gained victory in a single day!!

Do not let yourself be intimidated by the thud of German soldiers' boots!!

Organize a protest strike in every business!!!

Fight as one against this terror!!!

Demand the immediate release of the arrested Jews!!!

Demand the dissolution of the W.A. terror groups!!!

Organize self-defence at work and in the neighbourhoods!!!

Show solidarity with the hard-hit Jewish element of the working people!!!

Extricate Jewish children from Nazi violence, take them into your families!!!!

Be aware of the enormous power of your united action!!!!

This is many times greater than the German military occupation!

A great many of the German worker-soldiers are undoubtedly sympathetic to your resistance!!!!

Strike!!! Strike!!! Strike!!!

Bring Amsterdam's businesses to their knees: the shipyards, the factories, the work-shops, the offices and banks, municipal businesses and work-creation agencies!!¹⁰

Then the German occupiers will be forced to relent! Then you will have struck a blow against the monstrous plan to help bring Mussert to power! Then you will prevent further looting of our country!! Then you will have the chance to chase Woudenberg¹¹ out of the NVV!!

Also state your demands everywhere for higher wages and benefits!!

Be united!! Be courageous!!!

Fight proudly for the liberation of our country!!!!

Comrades,

Pass on this announcement after you have read it!

Stick it up wherever you can,

but do so carefully!

Municipal and other large businesses have already shown what we must do!!!

Everyone should follow their example!!!

9 On 17 Feb. 1941 the German occupiers ordered workers from the shipyards to undertake forced labour in Hamburg; the ensuing strikes in Amsterdam-Nord led to the order being retracted the same evening.

10 It is unclear whether this refers to employment offices or places of labour deployment.

11 Hendrik Jan Woudenberg (1891–1967), accountant; joined the NSB in 1933; head of the Netherlands Trade Union Federation (NVV) from 1940, at Seyss-Inquart's behest, and also head of its successor organization, the Dutch Labour Front, from 1942; sentenced to life imprisonment in 1948; released in 1956.

DOC. 62

In diary entries for 25 and 26 February 1941, Police Inspector Douwe Bakker records the suppression of the February Strike¹

Handwritten diary of Douwe Bakker,² entries for 25 and 26 February 1941³

Tuesday, 25 February

A quiet night. Weather good with the occasional light flurry of snow.

Today was a special day. In protest at the measures taken against the Jews, strikes were announced at municipal and private firms today. The trams did not run, nor did the street cleaners turn up for work. Around 10.30 the trams started running again, but returned to the depots later. Lots of activity in the city, particularly around Dam Square, Westermarkt, and the surrounding areas.⁴ Here and there, the German police turned up and fired at the agitators, wounding a number of them. Workers at the Fokker factory,⁵ the docks, and the shipbuilding firms also downed tools. The ferries across the IJ were not running. Queues formed at the bakers' shops, as customers had heard rumours that there would not be any bread the next day and so wanted to stock up.

In the afternoon had a conversation with Gemmeker,⁶ who still has a lot on at work. Dikke Jansen joined us for a while. He had terrible difficulties with the tram, which wasn't running, and had to walk a long way. Later it was announced that nobody was allowed on the streets after 7.30 p.m., and anyone who failed to stop immediately when ordered to do so would be shot. I was on evening duty, and when I went home at around 8.30 p.m., it was as if the city was dead. There were a few people around, however. Comrade Wunderinck⁷ had no knowledge of the measures and was visiting his fiancée in Schipbeekstraat. He had just come outside and had to go home immediately. I gave him a pass, and so hopefully he made it. I'm curious to see how this will all turn out and whether they will have the insolence to continue the strike. The city has made it known

1 NIOD, 244/758. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Douwe Bakker (1891–1972), policeman; worked for the Amsterdam police from 1918; joined the NSB in 1933; head of the department for investigating political opponents and Jews, April 1941–Sept. 1942; engaged in various other police activities, 1942–1945; sentenced to life imprisonment in the Netherlands in 1946; released in 1958.

3 In the original, the author switches randomly between the past and present tense. This has been adjusted in the translation.

4 In the original, the last sentence at the bottom of the page begins 'Now and then', but it is not continued on the next page.

5 The Dutchman Anthony Fokker (1890–1939) established his first aircraft company in Germany in 1912 and built aircraft for the German Luftwaffe during the First World War; Fokker founded a new aircraft manufacturing company in Amsterdam in 1919, which continued until it went bankrupt in 1996, at which point the company was restructured.

6 Albert Konrad Gemmeker (1907–1982), policeman; in police service from 1927; worked for the Düsseldorf Gestapo, 1935–1940; joined the NSDAP in 1937 and the SS in 1940; worked for the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD in the Netherlands, 1940–1942; commandant of Westerbork transit camp from Oct. 1942; arrested in 1945; sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in the Netherlands in 1949; released from prison and returned to West Germany in 1951; thereafter managed a tobacco shop.

7 Presumably Jan Wunderink (1907–1993), administrative official; member of the NSB.

that anyone who fails to turn up for work tomorrow will be considered dismissed. *De Telegraaf*⁸ was not delivered this evening either.

German U-boats attacked a convoy and sank 125,000 tonnes, including an auxiliary cruiser. The convoy was scattered everywhere. Other U-boats sank a number of ships from another convoy.

In just two days, the heroes sent some 217,300 tonnes of enemy vessels to the bottom. A plane hit a 4,000-tonne boat off the south coast of Zeeland. It is adrift, listing, and considered lost.

The ceasefire between Indochina and Thailand, which was due to expire today, has been extended by 10 days.⁹

Wednesday, 26 February

Quiet night. The weather is good, colder and frosty. While cycling to the office down Sarphatistraat I did not see any trams at first, but later encountered more and more of them. It appears that these men have seen the light. Bonarius¹⁰ told me that he had seen a column of German Schutzpolizei¹¹ in Scheldestraat consisting of police vans and motorcycles with machine guns, who were evidently making the demonstrators aware of the danger they were putting themselves in. The newspaper came again this morning, and I did not notice anything else out of the ordinary. The bakers are delivering bread again, and hopefully everything will be back to normal today.

Later in the morning, however, it transpired that the agitators were still attempting to create unrest. Trams were stopped. The public was asked – and sometimes impelled – not to get on them. People gathered in various parts of the city, with the result that *the German authorities had to take action. Dead and wounded.* Action was taken in Jordaan, the Kinkerstraat neighbourhood, and in and around Albert Cuypstraat. Hand grenades were used and rifles fired, and there were casualties. In Van Woustraat a number of these louts stopped a tram just as a German military vehicle showed up. Four men were apprehended. Shots were fired, but it seems there were no casualties.

This afternoon, civil law was suspended and placed in the hands of Military Commander Christiansen.¹² General Schumann has given Major Bendsko¹³ command of the

8 *De Telegraaf* was published from 1893 until 1945, and at one point had a circulation of 115,000 copies; at the end of the war it was subject to a thirty-year ban on publication; the ban was overturned in 1949. Since then, *De Telegraaf* has once again become one of the most widely read Dutch daily newspapers.

9 In Dec. 1940 Thailand attacked the French colony of Indochina; Japan brokered a ceasefire at the end of Jan. 1941 and commenced peace negotiations on 7 Feb. 1941; negotiations were concluded in May 1941, with Thailand making territorial gains.

10 Franciscus Johannes Jozef Marie Bonarius (1893–1974), police official.

11 German in the original: 'urban police'.

12 Friedrich Christiansen (1879–1972), sailor; initially captain of a merchant ship; sailor and pilot in the German navy, 1913–1922; worked for the Dornier aircraft manufacturer, 1922–1933; worked at the Reich Ministry of Aviation, 1933–1937; appointed air marshal (General der Flieger) in 1938; commander of the Wehrmacht in the Netherlands, 1940–1945; sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in the Netherlands after 1945; pardoned in 1951.

13 Correctly: Kurt Bendzko (b. 1893), retailer of colonial goods; soldier in the German army, 1911–1919; owned a shop for colonial goods in Halle, 1928–1933; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1932; court usher in Worbis from 1935; Order Police major in the Netherlands.

police and has tasked him with nipping these disturbances in the bud. The entire police corps, with the exception of female personnel and those who perform solely administrative functions, has been placed on non-stop duty, with all breaks suspended. We are only allowed to take it in turns to get food.

While I was eating at home, we saw a German SS column go down Radioweg. They had light artillery with them, and machine guns were mounted on the cars between the soldiers.

Straw mattresses have been delivered to the office for us to sleep on, though I doubt much will come of that. Once again nobody is permitted on the streets after 7.30 p.m.

In France a new government has been formed, with Darlan as vice president of the Council of Ministers.¹⁴ Laval¹⁵ has not been included.

A proclamation by General Christiansen¹⁶ made it known that civil law has been replaced by military law in northern Holland, and that he has instructed Lieutenant General Siburg to restore order. Anyone who refuses to work as of 27 February will face a sentence of 15 years' penal servitude. No political gatherings or insignia of any kind are permitted.

Captain Lieutenant Lehmann Willenbrock's U-boat was responsible for 55,600 of the 125,000 tonnes reported sunk.¹⁷ One German warship operating in foreign waters sank about 20,000 additional tonnes of enemy vessels. German U-boats continue their assault. A fast attack boat *sank a British destroyer* in the [English] Channel.

Italian armed forces have reported, among other things, that the English have succeeded in crossing the [...] ¹⁸Juba in several places and have reached the *left bank* of the river.¹⁹

In the evening we – Bergsma, Bonarius, Detective Berends,²⁰ and I – played cards (bridge). I understand from van Jansen that the Germans have taken away many rich Jews by car from the area around Beethovenstraat. It was about time. According to him, at least seven people were killed and some sixty were seriously wounded over the course of the day. With regard to those Jewish civil servants dismissed last November,²¹ a financial settlement has been reached that will come into effect from 1 March: heads of households will receive 85 per cent of their salary for the first 3 months, then 70 per cent for 5 years, then 60 per cent for 5 years, and finally 50 per cent of their final salary; others will get 70 per cent, then 60–50 per cent, and [finally] 40 per cent.

14 This refers to François Darlan's appointment as the designated successor to Marshal Pétain as president of the Vichy government on 21 Feb. 1941: see Doc. 262.

15 Pierre Laval was prime minister of the Vichy government in 1940 and championed close cooperation with Germany: see, for example, Doc. 262.

16 See Doc. 63.

17 Between 13 and 24 Feb. 1941 the U-96, under the command of Heinrich Lehmann-Willenbrock (1911–1986), sank seven British ships.

18 Word illegible; could be 'river'.

19 In Feb. 1941 British troops launched a major offensive in Italian Somaliland from Kenya, which involved crossing the river Juba. The British captured Mogadishu at the end of February 1941.

20 Antonie Berends (b. 1907), policeman; worked for the Amsterdam police from 1931; member of the NSB, 1940–1942; worked for the department investigating political opponents and Jews from May to Oct. 1941; worked for the Arnhem police, 1941–1942; appointed chief of the Enschede police in May 1943; arrested in 1945; sentenced to life imprisonment in 1948; released in 1960; emigrated to South Africa in 1967.

21 See Doc. 39.

On 2 March a plebiscite will be held in Romania regarding Antonescu's regime.²²

We spent the night in the office, though without much sleep. I dozed a bit from 6.30 to 8.00 a.m., but I had no blanket. I read and wrote letters to [de Winken]²³ until 3.30 a.m. Otherwise a quiet night. Once again, we are no longer aware of any British planes now that it is dark.²⁴

DOC. 63

On 26 February 1941 the commander of the Wehrmacht in the Netherlands declares martial law and orders an end to the strikes¹

Public announcement from the commander of the Wehrmacht in the Netherlands, signed Fr. Christiansen (Air Marshal), The Hague, dated 26 February 1941

Announcement from the Commander of the Wehrmacht

1. In agreement with the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories,² in view of the current political situation, I have assumed executive power for the province of North Holland.
2. I assign responsibility for implementation to Luftwaffe Lieutenant General Siburg,³ commander of Luftgau Holland. He shall proceed according to my instructions.
3. I order:
 - a. that all public and private businesses shall return to full operation on the morning of Thursday, February 27th;
 - b. marches, meetings, gatherings, and demonstrations of any kind, particularly in public streets and squares as well as in businesses, are prohibited;
 - c. with immediate effect, all activities on the part of every Dutch political party in the province of North Holland are forbidden until further notice – particularly also the wearing of uniforms and insignias of any kind.
4. Any act that conflicts with these orders or with any measures taken by the commander charged with their implementation will be subject to German martial law and tried by German military courts.

Furthermore, anyone who incites or encourages anyone to strike or who refuses to work shall receive the special punishment of fifteen years of penal servitude, unless criminal offences have been committed that would incur a more severe penalty.

If businesses important for the Wehrmacht are involved, including all vital businesses, this can result in the death penalty being imposed.

22 Ion Antonescu (1882–1946) called for a referendum on 2 March 1941 to legitimize his regime following a failed coup against him in Jan. 1941.

23 Word illegible: possible content in square brackets.

24 Sentence barely legible in the original.

1 JHM, Doc. 00 000 793. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

3 Hans Siburg (1893–1976), professional soldier; served in the navy from 1912; trained to become a pilot in 1915; commander of the Holland Luftgau (one of the Luftwaffe's organizational and logistical units), 1940–1943; served in the Reich Ministry of Aviation, 1943–1945; held in British captivity, 1945–1947; lived in retirement in Lüneburg from 1953.

DOC. 64

On 26 February 1941 P. D. Sondervan describes her impressions of the February Strike in her diary¹

Handwritten diary of Petronella Diderika Sondervan,² entry for 26 February 1941

I do think that a new period of Dutch history has begun, because what is happening now in Amsterdam exceeds all expectations. Or perhaps it should be called history repeating itself.

It started on Saturday or Sunday. The Green Police entered the Jewish quarter and dragged the Jews out of their homes. The male Jews aged between 20 and 35 were beaten, loaded onto trucks, and carted off. To where? God only knows. They say to concentration camps³ near Castricum, and from there to Germany for forced labour.

It is so easy to write, but the things that have happened must have been so inhuman that some of the people in the office who saw it were deeply shaken.

Apparently they made the Jews march down Haarlstraat⁴ barefoot, and at Waterloop-lein they made them kneel down for an hour. And the mistreatment! They were beaten and kicked even if they submitted. In some cases the entire contents of homes were destroyed, with not even a cup or saucer left intact.

On Tuesday the tram services and the municipal sanitation department in Amsterdam went on strike. Then a number of businesses on the other side of the IJ,⁵ such as Fokker and the shipbuilding firms, and others, followed. Many shops, including De Bijenkorf and Hema, were closed, and almost all the shops on Ferd. Bolstraat.⁶ All of this in protest. People are saying that they will not go back to work until the persecution of the Jews ceases. At first the ferries across the IJ were not running, but they did start up again later. At the office an attempt was made [to organize a strike]; it got no further than an attempt, although it did have some momentum.

And today there are reports that there is unrest in many places in Amsterdam. People were apparently shot at with machine guns and wounded by hand grenades. The strikers and others tried to overturn trams and drag the passengers out. (Today some of the trams are running again.) Nobody may leave home after 7.30 p.m., and this applies until 8 in the morning.

In Haarlem and at home,⁷ a few businesses have gone on strike. Tomorrow Utrecht will strike.

1 NIOD, 244/141. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Petronella Diderika Sondervan (1905–1991), bank employee; worked at the Rijkverzekeringsbank in Amsterdam.

3 There is no evidence of a concentration camp in Castricum (south-west of the city of Alkmaar); the author is presumably referring to Schoorl transit camp, located north-west of Alkmaar, in which prisoners were interned prior to their deportation to Buchenwald and Mauthausen.

4 There is no such street in Amsterdam; the author could be referring to Haarlemmerstraat, located near the train station.

5 Many of Amsterdam's industrial areas were located north of the IJ.

6 A popular shopping street in the De Pijp district. Branches of the major department stores De Bijenkorf and Hema were located there.

7 Sondervan lived in Bussum, a small city north of Hilversum.

There is no word of any of this in the newspapers or on the radio, except the announcement this evening that anyone from a regular business who goes on strike faces ten years' imprisonment, and anyone doing so at a weapons factory will be shot. I'm curious to see how or whether it will continue.

DOC. 65

On 27 February 1941 Commissioner General for Security and Higher SS and Police Leader Hanns Albin Rauter reports that the situation has eased after the strikes¹

Telex (no. 800, dated 27 February 1941, 11.30 a.m., marked 'urgent, for immediate attention') from the Higher SS and Police Leader North-West, signed Rauter, Amsterdam, to Reichsführer SS Himmler, Chief of the Security Police and the SD Heydrich,² Chief of the Order Police Daluge,³ Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories Seyss-Inquart at The Hague, Senior Commander of the Wehrmacht in the Netherlands Christiansen at The Hague, Higher Command XXXVII Boehm-Tettelbach⁴ at Utrecht (duplicate)⁵

Re: report on the situation in Holland, 10 a.m.

No change in the province of North Holland. Wehrmacht reports indicating that there were disturbances in Hilversum were immediately investigated, but it turned out that everything is quiet there. Seven agitators who last night attempted to incite strike action were arrested by the Order Police. All factories started work as normal. The only issue there is the fear that the Marxists might take action against the NSB members and put them at risk. Wehrmacht headquarters in Hilversum requested that the NSB members be taken into protective custody to safeguard them against attacks, but this was refused. A platoon of Order Police has been given special orders in this regard. In Utrecht, where a strike had broken out in a number of large firms yesterday afternoon at 2.30 p.m., work was resumed this morning, following the measures that have been put in place; only Werkspoor⁶ is missing 250 of its 1,500 workers, while the Jaffa engineering works⁷ is 125 workers short out of a workforce of 225. The missing workers were told to get back

1 NIOD, 077/1137. This document has been translated from German.

2 Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), military officer; served in the German navy, 1922–1931; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1931; head of the SD and then the SD Main Office from 1932; head of the Central Office of the Secret State Police (Gestapo) in Berlin from 1934; chief of the Security Police and the SD, 1936–1942; head of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), 1939–1942, and from Sept. 1941 also deputy Reich protector of Bohemia and Moravia; following an assassination attempt in Prague, he died of his injuries on 4 June 1942.

3 Kurt Daluge (1897–1946), construction engineer; joined the NSDAP in 1922 and founded the SA for Berlin and North Germany in 1926; chief of police of Prussia from 11 May 1933 to 1936; chief of the Order Police, 1936–1945; deputy Reich protector of Bohemia and Moravia from June 1942 to 1943; condemned to death and executed in Prague in 1946.

4 Alfred Böhm-Tettelbach (1878–1962), military officer; head of the Higher Command for Special Deployment XXXVII in the Netherlands from March 1940 to May 1942; retired in 1942.

5 The original contains handwritten underlining.

6 The Werkspoor company was founded in Amsterdam in 1828. In 1916 the division that manufactured rail vehicles moved to Utrecht; since 1954 there have been mergers with various other firms, and in 1989 the company was acquired by the Finnish Wärtsilä concern.

to work by midday, otherwise arrests would follow. All is quiet in the province of Groningen, in Rotterdam nothing special to report, in Assen nothing to report, in Middelburg nothing to report, and in the industrial area of Drenthe there are no signs of a strike. There is a report from Leeuwarden that some disturbances have been observed among the boatmen in Harlingen; security measures were immediately put in place. No incidents have been reported. Arnhem reports 60 workers on strike in Gelderland, who were ordered to go back to work, otherwise they will be arrested. Maastricht and Limburg: nothing special to report. The Hague and the province of South Holland are quiet. For the province of North Brabant, the field office of the Security Police in Hertogenbosch reports that there are no signs of unrest or strikes, apart from a handful of workers employed on a bridge construction site near Hedel (Hertogenbosch-Utrecht), who went on strike yesterday; officers from the Security Police are on their way there to restore order.

Many Jews from Amsterdam are turning up in southern Holland. Today, therefore, after consulting with Major General Siburg and the Reich Commissioner, I summoned the leaders of the Amsterdam Jews to a meeting and told them that in consideration of the abandonment of the strike throughout Holland and in consideration of their efforts in this regard, it has been decided not to arrest further quotas of Jews – apart from the 420 Jews already detained in this connection⁸ – on condition that the present attitude is maintained and that no Jews have been engaged in agitating for strike action. In order to bring the Jews back to Amsterdam, I have agreed that the leader of the Amsterdam Jews can make an announcement about this *on the radio*, the text of which has been approved by me in advance.⁹ In addition, I have instructed the Jewish Community to refrain from any political interference whatsoever in Amsterdam and have informed them that it is not acceptable for them to be politically active in any shape or form. Reports from Zaan-dam, north of Amsterdam, indicate that more people are going back to work, and police patrols are out and about, advising still absent workers of the seriousness of the situation. It is estimated that everybody there will be back at work too by lunchtime.

Current reports indicate that things are quiet right across Holland. We have reports from all the field offices of the Security Police and all police authorities, so the present situation is unlikely to change. The transport of Jews (420 persons) left today for Buchenwald.

The trial of the two Jews Kahn and Cohn from Amsterdam (stateless German emigrants),¹⁰ who fired shots at agents of the Security Police four days ago, begins today at 2 p.m. before the SS and Police Court in The Hague.

The Security Police in Amsterdam made around 200 arrests yesterday and today. I instructed the Commander of the Security Police to arrest all the Communist agitators at this time, since they were also very much at the forefront of the strike actions around here, in distributing large numbers of flyers (reference: verbal order from the Reichsführer SS).

7 The Jaffa engineering works was founded in 1891 by Louis Smulders in Utrecht; by 1900 it was one of the most important manufacturers of pumps and other heavy machinery in the Netherlands. In 1951 the company merged with the Stork enterprise.

8 On 22/23 February 1941 Rauter announced the arrest of 400 Jews in response to the unrest in Amsterdam: see Doc. 60.

9 No further details available.

10 Correct spellings: Cahn and Kohn; see Doc. 60, fn. 6.

DOC. 66

In diary entries for 27 February and 2 March 1941, J. C. M. Kruisinga reports on the strike in Amsterdam¹

Diary of Jan Christiaan Marius Kruisinga,² entries for 27 February and 2 March 1941 (typescript)

27 February 1941.

On Tuesday and Wednesday an almost complete general strike took place in Amsterdam.³ There was nothing about it in the papers, but we heard the first rumours from travellers as early as Wednesday morning, and these have been largely confirmed by letters received today from the capital.

The cause for the strike appears to be that the 'Green Police', together with ... the WA or the 'Dutch SS', dragged all male Jews⁴ aged between twenty and thirty-five out of their homes in the Jewish quarter and subsequently herded them onto Waterlooplein, loaded them into trucks, and took them off towards Schoorl or Wieringermeer. It appears that earlier there was some friction at one of the Amsterdam shipyards on account of workers being conscripted to go to Germany; this led to all shipyards and dockyards being telephoned and urged to immediately down tools. The issue appears to have been resolved by the German authorities, but the 'Aryan' part of the city's population did not tolerate the internment of their Jewish compatriots;⁵ the residents of Jordaan and Kattenburg⁶ rushed out and improvised a kind of House of Orange⁷ celebration on the Dam⁸ – something which is currently not permitted. Signs ('Free the Jews, then we'll work') urged people not to go to work on Tuesday. And that's what happened: not a single tram or bus was running, and most public services were either partly or completely closed, chiefly the gas and waterworks company. In the evening the city was disconcertingly quiet, with just the periodic sound of pistol shots. I don't know whether people have been killed, and if so, how many;⁹ most probably a number of WA men, and their funerals may give rise to more trouble.¹⁰ And so the avalanche continues, and law and order are increasingly difficult to maintain. Everywhere patience and the willingness to cooperate seem to be giving way to cold hatred. It is barely comprehensible that, in attempting to win the Dutch people over to their idea of a 'new order', the Germans keep making the same mistake of primarily making use of the WA, which is poorly developed and despised like the plague, constituting less than one in a thousand of the

1 NIOD, 244/335. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Jan Christiaan Marius Kruisinga (1895–1971), notary; kept a detailed diary during the occupation period.

3 The margins of the original text include underlined headings, which will be reproduced here in the footnotes in italics and set in parentheses (here *Rumours confirmed*).

4 Handwritten note: 'Not all, as it turned out; in the summer, they talked of 600–700 men, in the autumn of around 1,000, of whom over half are said to have perished to date.'

5 (*The population stands up for the Jews*)

6 Jordaan and Kattenburg, located on an island, are working-class districts in the centre of Amsterdam.

7 A reference to the Dutch royal family.

8 The large square in front of the Royal Palace in the city centre.

9 Nine people died and 24 were seriously injured in the suppression of the February Strike.

10 (*The WA*)

Dutch people, and most of these are the kind of people who would not have got very far under any government but now, for convenience, attribute their failures to our 'previous' government.

Yesterday the entire province of North Holland was placed under martial law,¹¹ and this morning an official announcement was published in which the disturbances were attributed to 'irresponsible elements' hired by paid English agents and so on. Sure; this of course needs looking into, but the WA is not a 'corps' that can be trusted with responsible research tasks and with maintaining order. First, they are too undeveloped and recruited from the wrong circles – Judge Feber¹² recently made some forceful and interesting comments on this in public – and second, they are obviously far too biased, far too taken in by their success (which they owe to German soldiers), and too un-Dutch in their behaviour. It is common knowledge¹³ that the WA has an appetite for riots. Rather than using these people to maintain order, it is better to leave this to the Dutch police, or if they cannot do it, for God's sake, then the German police.

Should anyone be in any doubt, then read any issue of 'De Unie' – (the 28 February 1941 issue in particular contains an especially filthy example¹⁴) – or stop any random passer-by, as almost every Dutch person has experienced something like this. This even includes me, someone who has only seen uniformed NSB members three times in my life because I don't get out any more. The second time I encountered some, they had stopped a horse and cart – without any justification – in order to see what was in the bags on the cart. The driver was so stupid; he said nothing and just sat there calmly and let them do it!

2 March 1941.

All the rumours doing the rounds report that it was provocations by NSB members that led to the riots in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Hilversum, Amersfoort, Zaandam, and elsewhere. It is true that NSB members have had their windows broken, including a shop window near Montelbaanstore¹⁵ which was destroyed when Kattenburger residents threw a whole handcart through it. But all of this took place only *after* the disorder in the actual Jewish quarter. Twenty or thirty pages back I wrote that it *had* to turn out this way if people were crazy enough to allow the Blackshirts to take the bold and audacious step of choosing the Jewish quarter for their provocative game. I have also already mentioned that the Sabbath was not the day that a person with even a little bit of sensitivity would choose for this kind of rally. *In all of this it is somewhat strange to recall that it has not even been three years since the NSB publicly declared that they were not against the*

11 (*Intelligence service in action*). See Doc. 63.

12 Presumably Gustaaf Hendrik Alexander Feber (1900–1982), lawyer; served as a judge in The Hague, 1929–1936, and in Almelo, 1936–1945; member of the Dutch Supreme Court, 1946–1970; also a professor in Amsterdam from 1946.

13 In the original, a symbol has been inserted here to refer to a section of text added at the bottom of the page. This section is reproduced here in the paragraph that follows.

14 'Unruhen in den Niederlanden: Ein ernstes Wort zur Haltung der NSB', *De Unie*, no. 27, 22 Feb. 1941 (not 28 Feb. 1941), p. 5.

15 The Montelbaanstoren is a medieval tower located in the eastern part of Amsterdam city centre and is one of the city's famous landmarks.

Jews.¹⁶ Anyway, I won't say any more; there's already been a lot said about this in a clearer and more articulate manner.

The mood in Amsterdam is particularly bad, though all the workers in both government service and private businesses sensibly decided to return to work on Thursday morning.¹⁷ The fact that the strikes were so widespread and with no organization quickly developed into a general strike, or even happened at all, reveals just how febrile the mood was everywhere. It is possible that the riots have had a positive effect in that the occupiers themselves now recognize how they have consistently been wrongly informed by a small group of people who, even before the war, repeatedly demonstrated that they have no understanding of the Dutch people.

The upheaval has cost the city of Amsterdam 15 million guilders,¹⁸ Hilversum 2.5 million guilders, and Zaandam half a million guilders in '*Sühnegeld*'.¹⁹ That's a shame for the *Winter Relief*, which was collecting when this was announced! That boils down to twenty guilders for each Amsterdam resident, including women and infants. It is a fine thing to live in a village²⁰ of 10,000 people, including 5 Jewish men, 4 Jewish women, and 3 WA men. We do not need anyone to restore peace and order here and can permit ourselves the luxury of sending the entire police force to Almelo for training on Fridays without windows being smashed in. Once again: we are a gigantic, occupied territory, a laboratory for occupation experiments, the excellent results of which will be reported on for centuries. The overall solution for economic, sociological, and political problems is simple: 'Do away with the big cities, as they produce only gatherings, bombings, and clashes.' The abolition of any opportunity for mass gatherings is the very first point of the Individual-Socialist Movement manifesto, which I plan to draw up as soon as Terpstra²¹ has finished formulating the party's principles.

Last Thursday and Friday rail traffic came to a virtual standstill, not because of the disturbances, but for other reasons unknown to me.²² People who left Zwolle at seven in the evening did not get into Wierden until four in the morning. Many trains full of military equipment are heading towards the Dutch-German border.²³ Residence permits for the Zeeland and South Holland islands expired yesterday (the first of March). Invasion plans?

16 NSB membership was also open to Jews until 1938.

17 (*Strike ended*)

18 (*An expensive demonstration*)

19 German in the original: 'atonement fine'.

20 Kruisinga lived in Vriezenveen, a small town in the province of Overijssel.

21 Kruisinga wrote poems and other texts under the pseudonym Christiaan Terpstra.

22 Could not be verified.

23 (*Intensive troop movement*)

DOC. 67

**On 12 March 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart issues his Regulation
on the Removal of Jews from Economic Life¹**

*Regulation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on the treatment
of businesses that are required to register*

Pursuant to § 5 of the Führer's Decree on the Exercise of Government Powers in the Netherlands, 18 May 1940 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 778),² I hereby issue the following regulation:

*Part I**Authorization requirement*

§ 1

- (1) Authorization is required to
 - 1) establish a new business which falls under the provisions of Regulation no. 189/1940³ on the registration of businesses (business required to register);
 - 2) undertake changes to an existing business that make it liable for registration.
- (2) Application for authorization must be made by the person intending to establish the new business or to undertake the changes to an existing business.

§ 2

- (1) Authorization is required for
 - 1) the disposal, renting, leasing, liquidation, or closure of a business liable for registration or of part of such an business;
 - 2) the granting of a usufruct in a business or a part thereof that is liable for registration;
 - 3) the undertaking of changes to a business liable for registration in consequence of which the preconditions for registration no longer apply;
 - 4) the obligation to perform a legal transaction of the kind set out in points 1) to 3) above; if the contractual transaction is authorized, the authorization shall also apply to the corresponding fulfilment transaction.
- (2) Application for authorization must be made by the person intending to complete the transaction requiring authorization or to undertake the measure requiring authorization.

§ 3 If measures of the kind set out in §§ 1 and 2 were implemented in the period between 9 May 1940 and the day on which this regulation comes into force, they require retrospective authorization.

§ 4 The authorization requirement cannot be circumvented by the abuse of forms and interpretations of civil law.

¹ *VOBl-NL*, no. 48/1941, pp. 164–170. This document has been translated from German.

² Under the terms of § 5, the Reich commissioner could issue regulations in the Netherlands.

³ See Doc. 42.

§ 5 The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) is responsible for issuing the authorization.⁴

§ 6

(1) Authorization must be sought

- 1) in the circumstances set out in §§ 1 and 2, prior to undertaking the measures referred to there;
- 2) in the circumstances set out in § 3, within one month of this regulation coming into force.

(2) If authorization is refused in whole or in part, the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) shall determine whether and in what manner the measures already undertaken are to be reversed or whether they are invalid. He can rule on the resulting legal situation, and his ruling will be binding; his decision will also be binding for the courts and administrative authorities.

Part II

Trustees

§ 7

(1) The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) can appoint trustees for businesses that are required to register.

(2) The costs of trust administration shall be borne by the business.

§ 8

(1) Unless otherwise stipulated when the trustee is appointed, the trustee is authorized to carry out all judicial and extrajudicial transactions and legal acts associated with the running of the business. Specifically, he may also dispose of the business in whole or in part and is free to specify the terms and conditions of sale. For the duration of the trust administration, no guardian, custodian or other type of administrator may be appointed for the business. For the duration of the trust administration, the powers of the proprietor, directors, or other persons authorized to act as representatives or administrators shall be suspended. The same applies to the powers exercised by any other bodies; these powers shall devolve to the trustee. The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) may, however, direct that the powers normally exercised by such bodies continue to be exercised by them in whole or in part.

(2) If the business is entered in the Companies Register, the appointment of the trustee is to be officially recorded in the Companies Register without payment of a fee.

§ 9

(1) The trustee shall exercise the same care as a regular trustee in the performance of his duties.

⁴ Dr Hans Fischböck (1895–1967), lawyer; director of the insurance company Österreichische Versicherungs-AG; in 1938, following the Anschluss, appointed Austrian minister for trade and transport; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1940; from 1940 commissioner general for finance and economic affairs in the Netherlands, and from 1942 also Reich commissioner for price setting in Germany; after 1945 fled to Argentina under a false name; returned to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1958.

- (2) The trustee is subject to the supervision of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) and is answerable to him alone for his activity.
- § 10 The trustee shall be entitled to reimbursement of his cash expenses and to an appropriate remuneration for his activity. The amount shall be determined by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs).
- § 11 The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) may suspend the trust administration at any time and revoke the appointment of the trustee. If the business is entered in the Companies Register, the revocation of the appointment is to be recorded in the Companies Register without payment of a fee.

Part III

Miscellaneous measures

- § 12 The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) may bar businesses that are required to register from continuing to trade. He may order such businesses to be liquidated or closed down by a specific date that he will determine.

Part IV

Procedural rules

- § 13 An authorization or a decision rejecting an application for authorization in whole or in part may be subject to conditions and restrictions.
- § 14
- (1) A fee may be levied for proceedings pursuant to this regulation.
- (2) The processing of applications can be made conditional on prepayment of the fee in whole or in part.

Part V

Penal provisions

- § 15
- (1) Any person who deliberately contravenes or circumvents the provisions of this regulation or any instruction, condition, or restriction issued pursuant to this regulation shall be punishable by a prison sentence of up to five years and a fine of up to 100,000 guilders or by one of these penalties, except where the offence carries a more severe penalty under a different regulation.
- (2) Where such an act is committed through negligence, the penalty shall be imprisonment for up to one year or a fine of up to 10,000 guilders.
- § 16
- (1) In addition to the penalties set out above, the courts may order the confiscation of those assets to which the punishable act relates.
- (2) If it is not possible to prosecute or sentence a specific individual, the confiscation of assets may be ordered independently by the courts.

§ 17

- (1) A prosecution may only proceed at the instigation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs).
- (2) Criminal charges may be withdrawn in the court of final instance at any time prior to the delivery of the judgement.

§ 18 The punishable acts specified in § 15 are criminal offences within the meaning of § 2 of Regulation no. 52/1940 on German Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases.⁵

*Part VI**Concluding provisions*

§ 19

- (1) The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) shall take the necessary measures for the implementation of this regulation and shall enact such provisions as are necessary for its implementation and amendment. He may assign the powers vested in him to another.
- (2) The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) can make legally binding decisions to resolve any uncertainties arising out of the application of the provisions of this regulation.

§ 20

- (1) This regulation comes into force on the day of its promulgation.
- (2) It will be cited as the 'Regulation on the Removal of Jews from Economic Life'.

The Hague, 12 March 1941

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories: Seyss-Inquart

⁵ Regulation on German Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases, *VOBl-NL*, no. 52/1940, 17 July 1940, pp. 181–190. § 2 defined the powers of the German courts to rule on all acts directed against the German Reich, its representatives, authorities, or institutions.

DOC. 68

**In her diary entry for 15 March 1941, Etty Hillesum reflects on her hatred
of the German occupiers and their policies¹**

Handwritten diary of Etty Hillesum,² entry for 15 March 1941

15 March, 9.30 a.m.

His face no longer worries me.³ The contrasting parts have amalgamated into a single good, well-loved whole. Its changing expression keeps taking me by surprise, and if you look at it from another angle it is suddenly quite a different face, but I no longer feel at odds with it, with that contrast; the mouth has been looking less heavy and pronounced of late, more *'untergeordnet'*⁴ in the fascinating, gripping landscape his face continues to be for me.

Yesterday afternoon we read over the notes he had given me. And when we came to the words, 'If there were only one human being worthy of the name of "man", then we should be justified in believing in mankind and in humanity,'⁵ I threw my arms round him on a sudden impulse. It is the problem of our age: hatred of Germans poisons everyone's mind. 'Let the bastards drown, the lot of them,' 'They're garbage,' and 'They should all be gassed' – such sentiments have become part and parcel of our daily speech and sometimes make one feel that life these days has grown impossible. Until suddenly, a few weeks ago, I had a liberating thought that surfaced in me like a hesitant, tender young blade of grass thrusting its way through a wilderness of weeds: if there were only one decent German, then he should be cherished despite that whole barbaric gang, and because of that one decent German it is wrong to pour hatred over an entire people. That doesn't mean that one reacts feebly to certain currents; on the contrary, one takes a stand, waxes indignant at times, tries to get to the bottom of things. But indiscriminate hatred is the worst thing there is. It is a sickness of the soul. Hatred is not in my nature. If things were to come to such a pass that I began to hate people, then I would know my soul was sick and I should have to look for a cure as quickly as possible. I used to believe that my inner conflicts were due to a particular cause, but that was much too superficial an explanation. I thought they simply reflected a clash between my primitive instinct as a Jew threatened with destruction and my acquired, rationalist, and socialist beliefs,

1 JHM, Doc. 00 005 119. The diary entry published here is based on the translation in Etty Hillesum, *The Complete Works, 1941–1943: Bilingual, Annotated and Unabridged*, ed. Klaas A. D. Smelik and Meins G. S. Coetsier, trans. from Dutch and German by Arnold J. Pomerans (Maastricht: Shaker, 2014), pp. 30–32, by kind permission of the publisher. Etty Hillesum wrote her diary between March 1941 and Oct. 1943 in ten notebooks which she gave to friends; the last of these, written in Westerbork, she took with her on the transport to Auschwitz.

2 Esther (Etty) Hillesum (1914–1943) from 1932 studied law and Slavic languages in Amsterdam; taught Russian courses; undertook welfare work at the Westerbork department of the Jewish Council, from the end of July 1942, returning periodically to Amsterdam until she was interned in Westerbork in the summer of 1943. Deported from there to Auschwitz in Sept. 1943, together with her parents and siblings; murdered in Auschwitz on 30 Nov. 1943. See also PMJ 12/ 54.

3 This is a reference to Julius Spier (1887–1942), businessman and psychologist; ran a psychochirology practice in Berlin; emigrated to the Netherlands in 1939; worked there as a chirolgist; Etty Hillesum became his secretary and lover in 1941; he died of lung cancer in Sept. 1942.

4 German in the original: 'subordinate'.

5 This quote originally in German.

which have taught me to see a people not as a whole, but instead, a good majority led astray by an evil minority. Thus I am torn between a primal instinct and a rational habit.

But it goes deeper than that. Socialism lets in hatred against everything that is not socialist through the back door. That is crudely put, but I know what I mean.

I have recently made it my business to preserve harmony in this household⁶ of so many conflicting elements: a German woman,⁷ a Christian of peasant stock, who has been a second mother to me; a Jewish student from Amsterdam;⁸ an old, level-headed social democrat;⁹ Bernard the Philistine,¹⁰ with his pure heart and his fair intellect, but limited by the 'Spießbürgertum'¹¹ from which he originates;¹² and an honest young economics student, a good Christian, full of gentleness and sympathetic understanding but also with the kind of Christian militancy and rectitude we have become accustomed to in recent times. Ours was and is a bustling little world, so threatened by politics from outside as to be disturbed within. But it seems a worthy task to keep this small community together as a refutation of all those desperate and false theories of race, nation, and so on. As proof that life cannot be forced into pre set moulds. But doing this causes a great deal of inner struggle and disappointment, and now and then it means inflicting pain on others as well as anxiety and remorse etc. Sometimes when I read the newspapers or hear reports of what is happening, I am suddenly beside myself with anger, cursing and swearing at the Germans. And I know that I do it deliberately to hurt Käthe, to work off my anger as best I can. Even if it is directed against a dear friend who I know is filled with love for her country of birth, which is only natural and understandable. But nevertheless I can't bear the thought that in that moment she cannot feel the same hatred as I do – I want to feel at one with my fellow beings even in that. And all this when I know perfectly well that she finds the new way of thinking as dreadful as I do, and is just as beaten down by the excesses of her people. But deep down she is of course one of her people and while I understand, I sometimes cannot bear it. The whole nation must be destroyed root and branch. And now and then I say nastily, 'They're all scum,' and at the same time I feel terribly ashamed and deeply unhappy but can't stop even though I know it's all wrong.

At other times we all feel very close to Käthe and tell her encouragingly, 'Yes, of course, there are still some good Germans, and anyway the soldiers can do nothing about it, and there are some quite nice ones even among them.' But that is only in theory, of course, the intention being to safeguard at least a little bit of humanity with a few friendly words. Yet if this were real flesh and blood, if we really felt like that, we should not have

6 This is a reference to the people sharing the apartment in which she lived at Gabriël Metsustraat 6 in Amsterdam.

7 Käthe Fransen, housekeeper.

8 Etty Hillesum herself.

9 Hendrik Johannes (Han) Wegerif (1879–1946), accountant; lived on Gabriël Metsustraat from 1913; rented out rooms in his apartment after he and his wife divorced in 1936.

10 Bernardus (Bernard) Meylink (1911–1952), biochemist; worked for the physician Prof. Ernst Laqueur after completing his studies; moved out of Gabriël Metsustraat in 1942; worked for the company Organon (insulin manufacturers) after 1945.

11 German in the original: 'small-minded bourgeoisie'.

12 Hendrik Johannes (Hans) Wegerif (1919–1983), economist; Han Wegerif's son; also lived in the Gabriël Metsustraat apartment during his studies.

had to say it so emphatically, since we should all be feeling the same way, the German peasant and the Jewish students, and then we could all talk about the nice weather or vegetable soup, instead of torturing ourselves with acrimonious discussions which serve solely as outlets for our hate. For these discussions are hardly ever concerned with real politics, with any attempt to grasp major political trends or to fathom the underlying trends. Instead, it all remains very superficial, which is why it is so unpleasant to discuss politics in the present climate and why I felt that sudden urge to fling myself at S.,¹³ an oasis in a desert.

This is by no means my last word on the subject, but now I must think of my work, and take a breath of fresh air and then Church Slavonic. So long!¹⁴

DOC. 69

On 8 April 1941 the café owner Arie Verhoog accuses a Jewish businessman of slander and threatens revenge¹

Handwritten letter from A. Verhoog,² Ruischerbrug,³ to M., dated 8 April 1941

M,

I hear from various sources that you are slandering me or attempting to do so. I do not think I deserve that from you *Jews*.

Nevertheless, I want to tell you that I am a member of the NSB; feel free to pass it on – I'd appreciate it if you did.

You *must* prove that this is a reason for me to lose the café, as that would do me a great favour.

But I advise you to be careful, because if I hear even *one more time* that you are spreading stories about me among the farmers, or anything similar, then I will get even with you *personally*. Your attempts to save your miserable little existence as a merchant are your business, but with this I'm telling you in advance: watch out, for I will not permit you *lot* to blacken my name any longer. I hope you take note of this, otherwise I will seek redress in another way.

In anticipation,

¹³ Julius Spier.

¹⁴ In English in the original.

¹ JHM, Doc. 00 004 247. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² Arie Verhoog (1890–1969), café owner and cattle trader; joined the NSB in 1933; supplied cattle to the German Wehrmacht; sentenced to 21 months' imprisonment after the war.

³ Formerly part of the Noorddijk municipality; today part of the city of Groningen.

DOC. 70

**On 18 April 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter
orders the establishment of a Central Office for Jewish Emigration¹**

Letter from the Higher SS and Police Leader as commissioner general for security (B.d.S. III B.-Nr. 783/41), signed Rauter (SS-Brigadeführer), to the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice² – Legislation Department, dated 18 April 1941 (copy)

Re: establishment of a Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Amsterdam.

Case file: discussion between Dr Rabl³ and SS-Sturmabführer Dr Hammer.⁴

Enclosure: one draft regulation.⁵

Following a personal request from the Reich Commissioner, Reich Minister Dr Seyss-Inquart has ordered the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, SS-Gruppenführer Heydrich, to establish a Central Office for Jewish Emigration in the occupied Dutch territories, which is to serve as a model for the solution to the Jewish question in all European countries.

The Central Office for Jewish Emigration will be tasked with registering all Jews in the Netherlands, conducting surveillance of Jewish life, and centrally steering emigration. Just as in Prague, a public fund charged with providing the resources required to finance emigration and the forthcoming final solution to the Jewish question in Europe should be set up alongside the Central Office.

I ask that a regulation be issued in line with the enclosed draft (expedited circulation procedure).

Within my remit as commissioner general, I will put the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD⁶ in charge of handling all related matters. In terms of the

1 NIOD, 020/9137. This document has been translated from German.

2 Friedrich Wimmer.

3 Dr Kurt Rabl (1909–1992), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1934; representative of the Ethnic German Liaison Office for the German minority in Slovakia, 1938–1940; head of the legislation department at the office of the commissioner general for administration and justice in the Netherlands, 1940–1942; served in the Waffen-SS in the Netherlands from 1942; appointed lecturer at the University of Innsbruck in 1964; denied further employment following protests.

4 Dr Walter Hammer (1907–2003), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1937; member of the Gestapo from 1936; leader of Einsatzkommando 2 of Einsatzgruppe IV of the Security Police from 1939, then reassigned to the Security Police in Warsaw, and from Jan. 1941 to 15 Feb. 1942 to the Security Police in The Hague, and thereafter held positions in Berlin, Verona, and Prague; sentenced to twenty-five years of forced labour by a Soviet military tribunal in 1945; returned to Germany in 1955. Legal proceedings relating to his involvement in executions by firing squad following the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre of ethnic Germans in Bromberg in 1939 were discontinued in 1971.

5 Not in the file.

6 Dr Wilhelm Harster (1904–1991), lawyer; official at Stuttgart police headquarters from 1929; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; began working for the SD in 1935; posts included head of the Gestapo in Innsbruck, 1938–1940, senior commander of the Security Police (BdS) in the Netherlands, July 1940 to August 1943, and BdS in Italy, 1943–1945; in British captivity from 1945; extradited to the Netherlands, where he was sentenced to twelve years in prison in 1949; pardoned in 1955; Regierungsrat in the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior, 1956–1963; sentenced in Munich to fifteen years in prison in 1967; pardoned in 1969.

issues he will be working on, he will also be subject to instructions from the special representative for the solution to the Jewish question (SS-Gruppenführer Heydrich), and will carry out the work in this specialist field under my responsibility and in accordance with the wishes of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories.

I request your authorization and, in view of the urgency of the matter, a prompt decision.⁷

DOC. 71

On 19 April 1941 Maria Grutterink asks the Office for Economic Investigation for permission to sell her pharmacy in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter to a Jew¹

Handwritten letter from M. Grutterink,² The Hague, 105 Regentesselaan, to the Office for Economic Investigation³ (received on 21 April 1941), The Hague, dated 19 April 1941⁴

Dear Sirs,

May I turn to you with a request?

I would like to sell a business, which I own, namely a pharmacy which does not provide me with sufficient income.

However, as the pharmacy is located in the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam, Nieuwe Heeren-Gracht 1,⁵ it would only be possible to transfer the business to a Jew, because having a business in the ghetto is not worthwhile for Aryans. I myself am not Jewish.

I shall be happy to provide further information if you would like to know more about this matter.

I also ask that you attend to my letter promptly, if possible, because on 1 May I will have an opportunity to find a Jew to continue running the pharmacy.

Yours faithfully,

7 Rauter failed to push through his proposal. Compared with the Central Offices in Vienna and Prague, the Central Office in Amsterdam had only limited responsibilities. See Introduction, pp. 36–37.

1 NIOD, 039/138. This document has been translated from German.

2 Maria Grutterink (1882–1964), pharmacist; married to mineralogist and Delft University professor Jan Adolf Grutterink (1879–1949).

3 No addressee was specified, but the letter was found in the files of the Office for Economic Investigation.

4 The original contains handwritten annotations. No response from the Office for Economic Investigation has survived.

5 Correctly: Nieuwe Herengracht.

DOC. 72

Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden, 20 April 1941: article on the local population's reaction to the persecution of Jews in the Netherlands¹

'What have you got against the Jews?'

Conversations with the 'man on the street'. Is there a growing realization even in the Netherlands?

'What do you have against the Jews?' That has been the question which Germans abroad have been asked often enough in recent years. The topic of the 'persecution of Jews in Germany' has been recast in the Jewish papers in every way possible, and the perusal of these gory outpourings must have been frightening for their readers. The foreigners who visited our country discovered, however, that the exclusion of Jews was being carried out in an entirely calm and orderly fashion, and that not even one hair on the head of a single Semite has been harmed, but the Jewishly contaminated newspapers of their countries were naturally not in the least interested in such accounts.

An objective response

In regard to the aforementioned question, we Germans abroad have objectively come to the conclusion that the cleansing of the Jews from the German Volkskörper² is an unavoidable measure for strengthening our nation again and for re-establishing a well-ordered body politic. In this regard, we pointed out the damage that the Jews have inflicted on us in all spheres of public life, their corrupt business practices, and, finally, the fact that the Jews were behind the stab in the back of 1918.

It was only very gradually that Germany's measures concerning the exclusion of Jews began to be understood among a few circles abroad. The more the political situation in Western Europe has escalated in recent years, the clearer it has become in these international circles that Alljuda³ has been agitating for a new war, in order to regain its lost position in Germany on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to prevent the true nature of the Jews from also being exposed abroad, beyond the borders of Germany.

After the National Socialist revolution, the Jews who emigrated from Germany saw in the Netherlands a new and 'rich' opportunity to pursue their activities. This small country was virtually swamped by an influx of Jews. Now the atmosphere between these similar and kindred neighbouring peoples became poisoned more than ever before. The systematic agitation against the Third Reich, which was verifiably initiated by the Jews, inevitably led to the events of May of last year.⁴

1 *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 20 April 1941, p. 4. This document has been translated from German.

2 'People's body' or 'body politic': under National Socialism, the notion of a biologically defined collective body of the German people. The concept distinguished between individual bodies deemed to be of (hereditary) 'value' or 'non-value', and provided a framework for policies designed to cultivate certain elements within society and to eradicate others.

3 A portmanteau of the German words *All* and *Juda*. The term was used in Nazi propaganda to refer to 'international Jewry' and its alleged attempt to achieve world domination.

'Public' opinion

Apart from a few exceptions, both the Dutch intelligentsia and the Dutch workers have so far not found it necessary to concern themselves with the Jewish question in the slightest. It was previously impossible to even discuss a Jewish question in the Netherlands, and woe betide those who dared to speak out publicly against the Jews. This situation has since changed considerably. In recent months it has become clear, especially to the workers, that the proliferation of Jews in their country has not only caused severe moral harm, but that the people as a whole had increasingly been delivered into the hands of the Jews. Those who struggled against the Jewish intruders were now able to raise their voices loudly and warn the people of the dishonest machinations of the Jews. Within 'public opinion', they have been and still are mostly voices in the wilderness, because this 'public opinion', which has been interrelated with the Jews for years, has still not considered it necessary to take up the Jewish question in the Netherlands.

By talking to Dutch people, by contrast, one can learn every day how very different the sentiment in certain segments of the population is, and how much the recognition is growing there that the Jew is a poisonous mushroom growing on the Dutch Volkskörper. 'Here, too, the Jews have amassed a fortune by underhand and fraudulent means in the space of just a few years,' some Dutch people are heard saying. All done, of course, on the backs of the working population, who have seen a sharp fall in their standard of living under the influence of Jewish business. Here, too, we have examples – and could cite hundreds of them – that show that the 'grand' entrance of the Jews into the Netherlands was exclusively motivated by greed, with the aim of amassing a huge fortune in a short time. In typical Jewish fashion, the Semites in our country have also moved aggressively into the retail trade, Jewified the banking industry,⁵ and then brought the power of their fraudulently obtained gold to bear for imposing their demands even on government officials. The Jews have stuck together so closely that it has not been possible to hold a single one of these fellows to account, not even in the biggest scandals – just recall the Barmat case.⁶

'Being forced to work with the Jews', waiters, musicians, and actors told us, 'was one of the most unpleasant experiences of our lives. This explicitly showed us both the indolence and the avarice of our Jewish "colleagues". The Jew only ever wants to obtain an advantage at the expense of Aryans. He is devoid of any feeling for cleanliness, for morality, and for comradeship. In addition, he is cowardly and immediately retreats to the remotest corner when faced with danger of any sort.'

'It is difficult', an expert on the Jewish question said, 'to make all of these insights common knowledge among the Dutch people within just a few months. Here in the Netherlands it is still necessary to eliminate the widespread opposition in so-called "liberal and democratic" and religious circles, who are opposed to finding a solution to the Jewish question in our country out of pure animosity towards National Socialism. They fail to recognize, however, that this question has now arrived in the Netherlands, and that it can no longer be argued away. Even here, the people are beginning to slowly wake

4 On 10 May 1940 the Wehrmacht had launched its invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium, and France.

5 On the truthfulness of these claims, see Doc. 51.

6 See Doc. 53, fn. 6.

up and see the Jews for what they really are: a cancerous sore on the Volkskörper which must be completely eradicated.'

*Oskar Peter Brandt*⁷

DOC. 73

In April 1941 the physician Oscar Cahen announces that he is henceforth only permitted to treat Jewish patients¹

Announcement by O. Cahen² (Acad. Lugd. Bat.³ Med. Doct., a.v.c. retired doctor), Leiden, to his patients and colleagues, undated⁴

In the Netherlands, Israel mourns

It is my sad duty to inform you that, in accordance with the order issued by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories⁵ which prohibits me from treating non-Jewish patients, *I am no longer available for consultations as of 1 May 1941.*⁶

I was a resident of Leiden for 33 years and of Dordrecht for just as long. A general practitioner, I also worked for more than 28 years as a physician for the Social Welfare Service, for 10 years as an anaesthetist at the municipal hospital, and I served for 4 years as a member of the city council. I believe that as a Jewish *Dutchman* and as a physician I have undauntedly and steadfastly kept to the oath I took 50 years ago upon my initiation,⁷ true to the proud motto: 'Virtus, Concordia, Fides', meaning *Virtue, Cooperation, and Good Faith*, and that in my life both as a physician and as a human being I have been *honourable, devoted to my fellow men, and trustworthy*. In any case, I have striven to be so, in accordance with the guiding principles: 1) do unto others as you would have others do unto you, and 2) what I desire for myself, I also desire for everyone.

Former patients, I thank you for your trust and friendship, which many of you have shown me through all these years.

7 Presumably Oscar Peter Brandt (1909–1984), journalist; after the war worked as a freelance journalist and travel correspondent for *Die Zeit* and other newspapers.

1 Erfgoedcentrum DiEP, 150/2994. Published as a facsimile in Jacques Presser, *Ondergang: De vervolging en verdelging van het Nederlandse Jodendom 1940–1945* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1965), vol. 1, p. 128 (the document is referred to in the abridged English edition, *Ashes in the Wind: The Destruction of Dutch Jewry*, trans. Arnold Pomerans [London: Souvenir Press, 2010]). This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Oscar Cahen (1874–1943), physician; practised in Leiden from 1903, and then in Dordrecht; member of Dordrecht City Council, 1931–1935; deported to Westerbork in Dec. 1942, and from there in March 1943 to Sobibor, where he was murdered on 13 March 1943.

3 Abbreviated form of the Latin name of Leiden University, 'Academia Lugduno-Batavo'.

4 This document was presumably written at the end of April 1941, as Jewish physicians were not permitted to treat non-Jewish patients after 1 May 1941.

5 Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

6 The exclusion of Jews from the liberal professions was not governed by a regulation. On 5 Feb. 1941 the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry for Social Affairs sent out a form to lawyers, physicians, pharmacists, etc., requiring them to provide details of their Jewish heritage and informing them that they had to close their practices and businesses by 1 May 1941 or to cater solely to Jewish patients and clients henceforth.

7 This could not be verified.

I also thank my fellow general practitioners and specialists for their support and their genuine professional 'fraternity', which stood me and my patients in good stead.

I also wish to pay tribute and offer my thanks to the dentists, pharmacists, managers, and nurses at the hospitals, district nurses, administrators, and employees within the philanthropic, i.e. humanitarian community who have worked with me.

I wish them, their families, and everyone all that will make them happy for the rest of their days, and as back then in 1574:

*'Now we can dry our red, tear-filled eyes, for our Leiden has been relieved.'*⁸

DOC. 74

British Secret Service report, dated 13 May 1941, on living conditions in the Netherlands and the treatment of Jews¹

Report (confidential), signed H., dated 13 May 1941²

Conditions in Holland

The following notes are based on messages received from dependable sources in the second week of April 1941:

1. *General*

Constant stiffening of attitude. Growing hatred. Conviction that Germans will lose. This based on impression of demoralisation German army (enormous immorality) and utter inability of Germans to rule and organise another people. Never such attachment to House of Orange as today. Special hatred against Dutch Nazis, and a certain number being killed each week.³ Not a single leading figure among these Nazis; practically all people with inferiority complexes who have failed in normal times. Attitude of common people remarkable. If any discouragement, this among some intellectuals only. But nation more united than ever.

Food situation increasingly difficult, but far better than in Belgium. Very great concern with regard coming winter. But blockade question not raised, for whole nation united in one desire – get rid of invader. Financial position increasingly bad. When President Bank Netherlands (Trip) asked payment [of] 500 million which Germans

⁸ The phrase 'Nu kunnen wij afdrogen, ons rood bekreten oogen, ons Lijden is ontzet' was first inscribed on a memorial at the University of Leiden (which Cahen had attended), established the year after the Spaniards' one-year siege of Leiden ended on 3 Oct. 1574. It was later used in the opera *Leiden ontzet* (Relief of Leiden) by Cornelius (Kees) van der Linden (1839–1918), which premiered in 1893. In Dutch, 'ons Lijden is ontzet' has a dual meaning because *lijden* also means 'suffering'.

¹ TNA, FO 371/26683. Published in *Conditions and Politics in Occupied Western Europe, 1940–1945: Selected from PRO Class FO 371*, part 2 (London: Thomson, 2006 [microfilm edn]).

² The report was sent as an attachment to a letter from Cecil H. de Sausmarez (UK Ministry of Information) to Paul Gray (UK Foreign Office) on 23 May 1941. Its author was identified as a reliable anonymous source. In the correspondence that followed and in handwritten annotations on the report, whether and to what extent this report could be used for propaganda was discussed.

³ Attacks on NSB members repeatedly took place: see, for example, Doc. 50.

owed, answer: 'this spent on education of Dutch Nazis in Germany for S.S., etc.' Trip protested and was removed from office.⁴

2. *Amsterdam Strike*⁵

Was a completely spontaneous reaction against the violence committed against the Jews. Germans cannot believe that it was spontaneous and seek for ringleaders. Machine guns shot on crowds. Unknown how many dead.⁶ But at same time number of Dutch Nazis killed in riots.⁷ Violent reprisals. The strikers had to walk up and down prison staircases for whole day and keep saying: 'I will not strike again'. Special reprisals against Jews.⁸ Forced to stand on all fours on sidewalk while Germans walk over their hands. Fifteen million fine in City of Amsterdam. In Hilversum in certain families all provisions taken away as punishment.⁹ Nervous German reaction to strike shows how little they understand of true psychology and how afraid they are of revolt. In North Holland martial law.¹⁰ Those who are in streets after eight o'clock brought to cinema where they have to stand whole night with arms above their head.

3. *Imprisonments*

Very large numbers being imprisoned.¹¹ Often without any known reason. No one knows for how long. On the whole the interned in Buchenwalde¹² concentration camp better off than those (the great majority) in prisons or improvised prisons in Holland. In Buchenwalde an elite (many professors, lawyers, M.P.s) who remain together and can read, discuss, hold Bible study groups and religious services. (There is, however, a fear that something serious may happen to them when Germany begins to crack). In prisons in Holland, however, barbarous treatment of prisoners.¹³ *All* things taken away, even Bibles; absolute isolation; many not allowed to come into open air at all. Some break under nervous strain. Questioning with mediaeval methods of torture (injections). N. H. de Graaf¹⁴ now also in Buchenwalde. A few have come back (Monchy,¹⁵ F. van Lennep¹⁶).

4 Leonardus Jacobus Anthonius Trip had stepped down as secretary general of the Ministry of Finance and as president of Nederlandse Bank in 20 March 1941, following the removal of foreign exchange borders between the Netherlands and the German Reich, which resulted in the transfer of a large part of the Dutch gold reserves to Germany.

5 See Docs 55–66.

6 The suppression of the February Strike resulted in the deaths of nine people.

7 The only NSB member killed during the riots preceding the February Strike was H. E. Koot. See Doc. 57, fn. 3.

8 See Doc. 60.

9 This could not be verified.

10 See Doc. 63.

11 The strike resulted in the arrest of around 200 Dutch people, in particular municipal employees, Jews, and communists. Most were released after a few weeks.

12 Correctly: Buchenwald.

13 Among the infamous prisons during the occupation period were the so-called Oranjehotel in Scheveningen as well as the prisons on Weteringschans and the Lloyd Hotel in Amsterdam.

14 See Doc. 38.

15 Correctly: Salomon de Monchy; see Doc. 30.

16 Baron Frans Johan Eliza van Lennep (1890–1980), banker; worked at the bank Patijn, van Notten & Co. from 1915; arrested as a hostage in July 1940 and deported to Buchenwald; released in March 1942. He was also known for his books on cultural history, including *Als vorsten: Portretten van 18de-eeuwers* (1967).

4. *Jews*

Open persecution in all realms. All those in state employment who have three Jewish grandparents removed.¹⁷ Later those with two Jewish grandparents. 85 per cent of salary for 3 months, 70 per cent for three years. But general impression this will never be paid out. In Leyden University students with 2 Jewish grandparents no longer admitted. Total number Jews allowed in University 4 per cent. In Leyden and Delft professors and students protested and *therefore* universities closed.¹⁸ In May all lawyers, chemists, doctors will lose right to practise.¹⁹ Dutch population take Jews under their protection. 'We are the first nation to fight for the Jews'. Jews helped in all sorts of ways. Dutch refuse to be silent on this issue.

5. *Church*

Firm position both Protestants and Roman Catholics. Church services very well attended. Sermons biblical but with clear application to situation. Thus open treatment of Jewish question in line with October protest.²⁰ Secretary of Synod²¹ has been imprisoned in order to be questioned. The former Minister of Justice, Donner,²² who now acts as representative of all churches in relation to Government, was imprisoned, released, imprisoned again. Several other pastors (a. o. Berkhof who was at Amsterdam Conference²³) imprisoned. Increasing likelihood of open conflict between Church and authorities. The religious societies have now to pay a special tax on their capital and income,²⁴ and it is feared that this is only the beginning of financial measures against them.

6. *Miscellaneous*

De Geer's return has made very bad impression.²⁵ General condemnation. De Geer himself very astonished about this. Listening to B.B.C. almost universal. German

¹⁷ See Doc. 46.

¹⁸ See Doc. 76.

¹⁹ See Doc. 73.

²⁰ See Doc. 43.

²¹ Koenig Henricus Eskelhoff Gravemeijer, known as Gravemeyer (1883–1970), pastor; served as a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church; helped found the orthodox Calvinist-leaning Reformed Political Party (SGP) in 1921 and served as member; secretary of the Reformed Synod and the Convent of the Churches from 1940; imprisoned as a hostage on numerous occasions from 1941; held various positions in the church after 1945.

²² Jan Donner (1891–1981), lawyer and political scientist; minister of justice, 1926–1933; justice of the Dutch Supreme Court, 1933–1944; delegate of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Convent of the Churches, 1940–1945; held as a prisoner and hostage in various concentration camps on numerous occasions from 1941 to 1943; active in the resistance; president of the Dutch Supreme Court, 1946–1961.

²³ Hendrikus Berkhof (1914–1995), pastor; served as a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Lemele and Zeist, 1938–1950; lecturer, later rector at Driebergen theological seminary, 1945–1960; university professor in Leiden, 1960–1981. The conference referred to here is likely the Amsterdam Synod of 1936.

²⁴ Could not be verified.

²⁵ Baron Dirk Jan de Geer (1870–1960), prime minister of the Netherlands, 1926–1929 and 1939–1940; while in exile in London, he attempted to negotiate a peace settlement with Germany and was dismissed by Queen Wilhelmina as a result; returned to the Netherlands with the consent of the German authorities in Nov. 1940; given a suspended sentence of one year and stripped of all honorary titles in 1947.

propaganda in Holland works practically as anti-German propaganda. Many cyclo-styled and typewritten weeklies being circulated and mailed in large numbers. German army afraid of sea. Stories of refusals to jump overboard (during manoeuvres) and numbers of soldiers having been shot.

The myth of the superiority of the 'young nations' has been completely exploded as Dutchmen see that the Germans are utterly unable to use their victory for any constructive purpose and succeed only in destroying and disorganising the life of the nation. The German army can organise in a military manner, but in all other realms it (and even more the various civil authorities of the power of occupation) is a purely negative force without ideas, without imagination, without moral drive. The stupidity of German officials has become proverbial. And whatever respect there was has gone as they have become known as a corrupt group of adventurers without principles of any kind.

DOC. 75

On 21 May 1941 Arthur Frank asks his cousin Emil Mayer in New York to help him emigrate¹

Letter from Arthur Frank,² Enschede, 46 Laareschsingel, to Emil Mayer,³ New York, dated 21 May 1941⁴

Dear Emil,

Years have again gone by without our hearing directly from each other, and the past few years in particular have brought us all so many changes.

Through Uncle Michel in Zwolle, whom I often visit, I heard that you and your wife and Alfred and his family are well. Uncle Michel is still very sprightly and mentally alert despite his seventy-eight years; he does not look his age. His brother Sigmund, who is six to seven years younger, looks older than Uncle and is also mentally much less agile.⁵ As for myself, I can report that I have lived for four years in E[nschede], where I have managed, with great effort, to establish a modest livelihood once again. I have been through a lot since then, but I have remained healthy and industrious, thankfully. I got divorced from my wife⁶ two years ago; she still lives in G[ermany]. My daughter,⁷ who stuck by me, manages the household of a physician in Amsterdam. We see each other quite frequently, of course, and enjoy the time spent together. But how long will this last?

1 JHM, doc. 00 004 730. This document has been translated from German.

2 Arthur Frank (1881–1944), retailer; born in Germany; came to the Netherlands as a refugee in 1938; deported to Westerbork in July 1944, and from there in Sept. 1944 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered on 6 Sept. 1944.

3 Probably Emil E. Mayer (1893–1988), cattle trader; married to Mathilde Mayer, née Alexander; emigrated to the United States in July 1938 and resided in New York City, where he ran an engineering firm.

4 The original contains handwritten additions.

5 Michael Isidor Hausmann (1861–1942), retailer; born in Germany; uncle of Arthur Frank; after the death of his wife lived with his brother Sigismund in Zwolle, where he died. Sigismund Hausmann (1868–1942), retailer; deported in Nov. 1942 to Westerbork, and from there to Auschwitz, where he was murdered on 3 Dec. 1942.

6 Elisabeth Frank, née Feder (b. 1898).

In light of the new circumstances, it might only be a matter of weeks or months before it will no longer be possible or permissible for me to work, and what then? Uncle Michel, with whom I spoke recently about this, advised me to write to you, dear Emil. He thought you might be able to help me come to the USA. I know that you have been besieged with requests of this kind from every direction, and it is hard for me to come to you with yet another request,⁸ but *que faire*⁹ ...

Dear Emil, if you could possibly help me (this concerns me alone), it would be a tremendous relief, but if you are unable to, please be frank with me, we will then continue to be the same good friends as we were when we were growing up.

Please write again soon, warm greetings from your cousin,

P.S. I have written this with someone else's typewriter, so please excuse my typing.¹⁰

DOC. 76

Time, 2 June 1941: article on protests by Dutch students against the dismissal of their Jewish professors and lecturers¹

Why Leyden Was Closed

How a professor's heroic speech led to the closing of The Netherlands' famed 365-year-old University of Leyden was last week revealed by Leydeners in Manhattan who had just received a full report smuggled from their home town.

As reward for their bravery in fighting Spanish rule, William of Orange three and a half centuries ago² offered Leyden's burghers the gift of 1) a university, or 2) freedom from taxation. They chose the university.³ Last November Nazis took over the university and promptly fired one of its most brilliant and popular professors, 61-year-old Eduard Maurits Meyers,⁴ a Jew.

Appointed to take Meyers' classes was an Aryan colleague, once his pupil, Professor Rudolph Pabus Cleveringa, 47.⁵ Professor Cleveringa wrote a speech to deliver to

7 Ursula Irmgard Frank (1917–1942/1943), maid; came with her father to the Netherlands as a refugee in 1938; worked as a maid in Amsterdam; deported on 14 July 1942 to Westerbork, and from there in Sept. 1942 to Auschwitz; she perished either there or in Sobibor.

8 There is an illegible handwritten insertion here.

9 French: 'what is one to do?'

10 There is a partially illegible handwritten insertion here. For the reply to this letter, see Doc. 81.

1 'Why Leyden Was Closed', *Time*, 2 June 1941, p. 57. *Time* is a weekly news magazine that has been published since 1923 in New York City.

2 See Doc. 38, fn. 8.

3 Leiden (Leyden) University was founded on 8 Feb. 1575, making it the oldest university in the Netherlands.

4 Correctly: Eduard Maurits Meijers (1880–1954), lawyer; practised law, 1903–1910; professor in Leiden from 1910 until his dismissal in Nov. 1940 (see Doc. 46, fn. 11); deported to Barneveld in Aug. 1942, from there to Westerbork in Sept. 1943 and on to Theresienstadt in Sept. 1944; returned to his teaching position in 1945; in charge of drafting the Dutch Civil Code from 1947.

5 Rudolph Pabus Cleveringa (1894–1980), lawyer; professor in Leiden from 1927; arrested multiple times between Nov. 1940 and July 1944; active in the resistance; reinstated as professor in Leiden after 1945.

Professor Meyers' next class, read it to his wife.⁶ 'Excellent,' said Mevrouw Cleveringa. 'Good,' said the professor. 'This, then, is the way I will speak. But you'd better pack up my suitcase tonight.'⁷

Having given copies of his speech to two colleagues, so that they might finish if he were stopped, big, blond Professor Cleveringa marched into class, announced Dr Meyers' dismissal, added:

In this moment we should realize with unmistakable clarity who it is that, after 30 years of fruitful labor, was pushed aside by a power that has no other support in heaven or on earth than brute force alone. ... [Professor Meyers was] one of the greatest lawyers of many countries and many periods. ... This noble and true son of our nation ... has been ousted from his post by the stranger who rules over us as our enemy. ... We can but bow before superior power.⁸

When he finished, Leyden's students cheered wildly. Next morning Nazis arrested Professor Cleveringa and sent him to a concentration camp. Instead of bowing, students paraded and shouted in Leyden's streets, raised such a commotion that the Germans closed the university.

DOC. 77

On 4 June 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter bans Jews from public facilities and establishments¹

Announcement issued by Commissioner General for Security Rauter (SS-Gruppenführer), dated 4 June 1941

Pursuant to the Regulation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories no. 20/1941,² it is decreed that:

- § 1 Jews as defined in § 4 of the Regulation of the Reich Commissioner no. 189/1940³ are prohibited from:
 - a) bathing in public at seaside resorts, bathing beaches, and outdoor and indoor swimming pools,

⁶ Hiltje Cleveringa-Boschloo (1898–1988); married Rudolph Cleveringa in 1922.

⁷ Rudolph Cleveringa delivered his speech on 26 Nov. 1940, triggering a student protest that led to the closing of the university. He was arrested the next day.

⁸ The complete speech is published in Rudolph Pabus Cleveringa, *Afscheidscollege & 26 novemberrede* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1973), pp. 23–30.

¹ The directive was published in *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 4 June 1941, p. 1. This document has been translated from German.

² Regulation on Criminal Liability for Contraventions of Military or Police Orders, *VOBl-NL*, no. 20/1940, 7 Feb. 1941, pp. 82–83.

³ See Doc. 42.

- b) entering public parks and public eating and drinking establishments, as well as lodging in public accommodation (hotels, guesthouses, inns) at seaside and beach resorts or spa resorts,
 - c) attending horse races as spectators.
- § 2 Contraventions of this directive are offences punishable by imprisonment of up to six months and a fine of up to 1,000 Dutch guilders or by one of these punishments, unless subject to a more severe punishment in accordance with other provisions.
- § 3 This directive comes into force upon its promulgation. The promulgation shall be effected through publication in the press.

DOC. 78

**On 12 June 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD
informs the Dutch Ministry of Justice how radio ownership in mixed marriages
is to be regulated¹**

Letter from the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD (III B-B, Nr. 6749/41), unsigned (SS-Sturmbannführer and Regierungsrat),² The Hague, to the Ministry of Justice, General Affairs Department, The Hague, 21 Koninginnegracht, dated 12 June 1941 (copy)

Re: surrender of Jewish-owned radio sets

Case file: Letter of 6 June 1941 – AO 0-59-41³

In response to the aforementioned letter, I hereby inform you of the following:

1. If the husband is Aryan, radio sets need not be surrendered.
2. If an Aryan woman married to a Jew concluded a marriage contract stipulating that she retains ownership of the radio set, it will also not be required to surrender the radio. However, it must be ensured that the Jewish husband has no possibility to listen to radio broadcasts with the radio set in question, in other words, the radio must be removed from the apartment.⁴

1 Archief Eemland, AGA 002.1/4005. This document has been translated from German.

2 There is no name on the copy of the letter, but this wording probably refers to either Dr Walter Hammer or Erich Deppner, who both held the titles SS-Sturmbannführer and Regierungsrat and who both served as senior commander of the Security Police and the SD (BdS).

3 The earlier letter is not in the file.

4 A copy of this letter was enclosed in a letter from the public prosecutor of Amsterdam Court to the municipality of Amersfoort, dated 5 July 1941. It contained the following comment inserted by hand: 'This applies to B. Bons, 52 Rubensstraße. On 26 July 1941 Bons was informed of this letter. He will have the radio set removed. The radio was already wrapped up.'

DOC. 79

**On 12 June 1941 Dutch Secretary General Tobie Goedewaagen receives permission
to establish a Jewish orchestra¹**

Letter from the Commissioner General for Special Duties,² Main Department of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (v. t./ha. VP 100 R/10.5.41/7.12), signed p.p. von Tiedemann,³ to Secretary General Dr Goedewaagen, Department of Public Enlightenment and the Arts (received on 18 June 1941), The Hague, dated 12 June 1941⁴

Re: Jewish cultural orchestra

In response to your letter of 15 May 1941–4352 A, Afd. KB –.

The Commissioner General for Special Duties has consented to your proposal of 15 May 1941 to establish an orchestra composed entirely of Jews, but has imposed an obligation to ensure that the orchestra's performances be held only before a purely Jewish audience and take place without any commotion. Furthermore, the sponsor, Mr van Leer, can rest assured that, in consideration of the aforementioned requirements, there is no intention to exert influence on the financial basis of the orchestra.⁵

DOC. 80

***Het Parool*, 23 June 1941: article on a new round of anti-Jewish riots in Amsterdam¹**

New pogrom in Amsterdam

No, this time it was not bloody, as one assumes a pogrom will be, and people were not beaten or kicked, as was the case in February, when the sadistic German police and the NSB mob were set loose upon the residents of Amsterdam's Jewish quarter.²

1 NIOD, 102/162d. This document has been translated from German.

2 Fritz Schmidt (1903–1943), photographer; soldier, 1922–1926; freelance photographer, 1926–1934; joined the NSDAP in 1929; NSDAP Kreisleiter in Westphalia, 1932–1936; member of the Reichstag from 1936; in 1940, at Bormann's suggestion, made commissioner general for special duties in the Netherlands, at the same time department head of the NSDAP's 'Netherlands Section' (Arbeitsbereich Niederlande); died in unexplained circumstances in France in 1943.

3 Otto von Tiedemann (1906–1989), engineer; joined the NSDAP in 1932; section head at the Reich Association of the German Press, 1934–1938; section head at the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, 1938–1940; deputy department head in the Commissariat General for Special Duties, 1940–1942; conscripted into the Wehrmacht in 1942; released from Allied captivity in 1947; worked as an industrial and financial consultant, 1959–1973.

4 The original contains handwritten annotations.

5 The Jewish Symphony Orchestra was founded by the Van Leer Foundation. Its conductor was Albert van Raalte (1890–1952) and it included Jewish musicians from all of the Netherlands' major orchestras. The Van Leer Foundation was established in 1941 by the industrialist Bernard van Leer (1883–1958) shortly before he emigrated to the United States. It supported Jewish cultural life until 1943.

1 'Nieuwe pogrom in Amsterdam', *Het Parool*, no. 14, 23 June 1941, pp. 3–4. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 See Docs. 55–66.

What we experienced in Amsterdam on 11 June and over the following days could be called a 'cold pogrom'.³ It took place without anyone being beaten or kicked, but it was nevertheless an outrageous and disgraceful form of persecution, a fundamental violation of the most basic rights, of the simplest concepts of international law. The German representatives of culture have proven themselves to be on a par with those barbaric slave traders who, centuries ago, scoured Black Africa in order to catch people and turn them into slaves.

Using the addresses obtained by requiring Jews to register, some 300 German Jewish emigrants and more than 300 young Dutch Jews⁴ aged between 18 and 30 were taken from their homes and transported to the German concentration camp at Schoorl,⁵ starting on the afternoon of Wednesday, 11 June. To reach their quota, which had not been met as some of the young men selected at random were not found at home, roundups were carried out in several parts of Amsterdam South, in the course of which a number of young Jewish compatriots were seized – and also a few non-Jews, who were later released, however – while the young Jews present in a rowing association clubhouse and at a few tennis clubs were also seized. In addition, various arrests were made in cafes which did not have an antisemitic sign in the window. Guards were posted on the bridges and tasked with pouncing on any passers-by who looked Jewish.

The arrests were mainly carried out by Dutch police officers. Many of them demonstrated a remarkable enthusiasm for their task. If they discovered that the young man on their list was not at home, they simply grabbed someone else living there. If someone happened to call at a house that had just been entered by the police, they were also taken away, just to be on the safe side. Some detectives waited several hours in the apartment of someone they had been told to take away, until the victim came home. In one case, the police even shot at a young man who had been stopped on the street and had attempted to escape his pursuers. One hardly needs to say that these zealous police agents were principally NSB members, the kind of rabble that gladly carries out such tasks. As for the rest of this dirty work, it was entrusted to the policemen from the Doelenstraat Bureau mentioned earlier, a department made up of Dutch policemen which now acts as Amsterdam's Gestapo.⁶ Unfortunately, it must be stated that a great many decent police officers likewise took part in this pogrom, though one could see that they did so reluctantly. This would have been the moment for a collective refusal.

3 The Security Police wanted to arrest a further 300 Jews in response to the acts of sabotage that had taken place at the beginning of June 1941. To avoid riots which would lead to unrest in Amsterdam, the Security Police used a pretext to have the Jewish Council submit a list of addresses for the members of the Wieringermeer 'work village' (*werkdorp*, a training camp for would-be emigrants), who were being housed in Amsterdam at the time. Since the quota could not be achieved in this way, the police arrested additional Jews at random.

4 Louis de Jong assumes that a total of only 300 people were arrested, comprising 200 German refugees from the Wieringermeer 'work village' and 100 people from Amsterdam who were arrested at random. See de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939–1945*, vol. 5, 1, p. 549.

5 The Security Police established an internment camp at a former military camp in Schoorl (province of North Holland) in June 1940. In addition to Jews, Dutch civilians and prisoners were temporarily held in the camp until it was closed down in Oct. 1941.

6 After the February Strike in 1941, the German Security Police ordered Police Commissioner Douwe Bakker to establish a department for investigating political opponents and Jews as a branch of the Amsterdam police. The department offices were located at 13 Nieuwe Doelenstraat.

According to the Germans, the reason for these mass arrests was an explosion that had taken place just beforehand in a villa used by the Wehrmacht on Bernard Zweerskade in Amsterdam. This explosion was blamed on Jewish emigrants.⁷ If that is known, then why did they not simply arrest the perpetrators? We have it on good authority that the investigation in the villa found that the explosive used is available exclusively to the German authorities in our country...

Those arrested included all kinds of young people: often some or all of the sons from a single family, breadwinners from families without a father, students, and even boys in the middle of taking their final exams at middle or grammar school. All of them underwent a rigorous inspection immediately after their arrest, so one can assume they will be used to help alleviate the manpower shortage in Germany. It is not known what exactly the Germans intend to do with them, but it won't be good.

Of the 400 Jews rounded up during the February pogroms and sent to Germany,⁸ more than 50 have already died, despite passing the rigorous inspection before being transported to Germany. They are evidently being subjected to extremely heavy, hazardous work, while regular mistreatment, humiliations, and substandard food are doing the rest.

In the meantime, the hunt has been extended to include other groups among the population. In Amsterdam North, Jordaan, and on the Eilanden,⁹ the German slavers have arrested numerous young men, reportedly because they are 'communists'. Germany needs more and more labour as more and more of its own people are called to arms.

It is also important to be aware of the role Mr Voute¹⁰ played in these affairs. The Germans initially attempted to use the explosion on Bernard Zweerskade as a pretext to impose another fine of millions on the city of Amsterdam. Voute was not in favour of this because he feared it would lead to an increase in the acts of sabotage carried out by the wealthier parts of the population. He thus thought it better to round up a few hundred more Jews. The Germans, however, had little desire to do this because they feared it would lead to a further strike or other difficulties. Voute countered that such difficulties could easily be avoided if one approached the matter correctly and 'discreetly'. If one had the arrests carried out by Amsterdam's plain-clothes policemen and the work was done without attracting attention, then he could guarantee that nothing would happen. The gentlemen [the Germans] allowed themselves to be convinced by this. After all, they could extract as many millions as they wanted from Nederlandse Bank. Labour is worth more at the moment. Voute's advice was heeded.

7 Theodorus Dobbe (1901–1944), a Dutch resistance fighter, had carried out a bomb attack on the villa mentioned here on 14 May 1941. Although Jews were not involved in the attack, it was used to justify the arrests of Jews in June 1941.

8 See Doc. 60.

9 Jordaan is a traditional working-class district in the western part of the city centre. The nearby Oostelijke Eilanden and Westelijke Eilanden, which are islands located to the east and west of the port, were home to poor working-class communities.

10 Correctly: Edward John Voûte (1887–1950), professional soldier; grew up in the Dutch East Indies, officer in the Dutch navy, 1907–1915; held various administrative posts in the Netherlands from 1915 to 1941; appointed mayor of Amsterdam in March 1941, following the February Strike; member of the Germanic SS; sentenced to three years and six months' imprisonment after 1945.

DOC. 81

In a letter dated 24 June 1941, Emil Mayer expresses regret that he cannot help his cousin emigrate to the USA¹

Letter from Emil E. Mayer, Consulting Engineering, 10 East 40th Street, New York, to Arthur Frank, 46 Laareschsingel, Enschede, Holland, dated 24 June 1941²

Dear Arthur,

I was delighted to hear from you and particularly to learn that you remain in good health and are eager to work and that you have been able to establish a modest livelihood for yourself in Enschede. I'm sorry to hear that you and your wife are divorced, but in times like these that is an increasingly common occurrence. I would gladly help you get to the United States, but to my great regret I don't see even the remotest possibility. Since it became known that the consulates are being closed, there has been uncertainty – even among the relief associations – as to what else can happen. Even if I were willing and able to help, I'm afraid that it is no longer possible at this late hour to obtain a visa for the United States. Should no way be found, the only advice I can give you is to put all your energy into trying to get through the difficult times.

Warmest regards, also to Uncle Michel,³ should you see him,

Yours,

DOC. 82

On 3 July 1941 Secretary General of the Dutch Ministry of the Interior Karel J. Frederiks instructs Dutch mayors to stamp a 'J' on all identity cards belonging to Jews¹

Letter from the secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior (no. 23 953, Abt. B.B.Bur.St.en A.R.²), signed Frederiks, to the mayors, dated 3 July 1941

Subject: J. (Jew) on identity cards.

The Commissioner General for Security³ has ordered that, in line with the following stipulations, the designation J (= Jew) be added to identity cards already issued or issued in the future to Jews or those who are classified as such under the terms of § 4 of Regulation 189/1940.⁴

The mayor shall arrange for the aforementioned designation in the following size and shape⁵

J

1 JHM, Doc. 00 004 731. This document has been translated from German.

2 The letter is a reply to Arthur Frank's request for assistance: see Doc. 75.

3 Michael Isidor Hausmann.

1 NIOD, 020/1548. This document has been translated from German.

2 Abt. Binnenlandsch Bestuur Bureau Staats- en Administratief Recht (Department of Internal Administration, Office for State and Administrative Law).

3 Hanns Albin Rauter.

4 See Doc. 42.

5 The 'J' was to be approximately 2 cm high and 1 cm wide.

to be added forthwith with jet-black stamp ink to

- 1) page 1 (one) of the identity card, to the right of the Reich coat of arms;
- 2) page 5 (five) of the identity card, to the left of the photograph;
- 3) the order – also the confirmation of receipt – on the far left, in the blank margin next to the photograph.

I ask that you make the necessary arrangements regarding this matter.

DOC. 83

On 11 July 1941 the Jewish Coordination Committee informs its regional representatives of the German administration's plans to liquidate Jewish businesses¹

Letter from the Coordination Committee (Cy.10), unsigned, The Hague, 215 Bezuidenhout, to the regional and local representatives, dated 11 July 1941

Liquidation

Scope of the measures

Over the last few days, a number of Jewish-owned businesses across the country have been ordered to liquidate. This measure is based on Regulation no. 48 of 1941.²

In The Hague there are 40 known cases, in Rotterdam 6, in Utrecht 5, 3 in both Leeuwarden and Groningen, and 1 each in Schiedam, Bussum, Strijen, 's-Hertogenbosch, and Apeldoorn; businesses have also received liquidation orders in Arnhem and other places.

With a few exceptions, the businesses concerned are small. Insofar as can be ascertained, only fruit and vegetable shops, shops selling dairy produce, fishmongers, and groceries are affected, as well as a few smaller wholesalers in these sectors.

The letters containing the liquidation order are numbered consecutively. The highest number noted to date is 100.

Opening balance sheet for liquidation

An opening balance sheet for liquidation must be submitted to the Chamber of Commerce before 15 July. This should not be too difficult for most of the businesses affected, but most shopkeepers are not in a position to draw up this balance sheet in the correct format. For this reason, the subcommission in The Hague has enlisted the help of a number of Jewish accountants and bookkeepers who will provide support to these people free of charge, if required.

Liquidation deadline

Given that the opening balance sheet must be submitted *before* 15 July, it can be inferred that the liquidation itself need not be completed before 15 July.

It seems prudent, however, to conclude the liquidation as quickly as possible.

Purchase of goods

As liquidation is to begin upon receipt of the letter, the purchase of goods after that date is not recommended. Although liquidation does not preclude the purchase of easily marketable items which are needed in order to sell less-marketable ones, as it applies

¹ NIOD, 181d/1b. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² See Doc. 67.

here almost exclusively to businesses that make daily purchases and are not large enough to justify a longer liquidation period, it is desirable to discontinue purchases.

Goods that have already been ordered but not yet received may be accepted. However, if it is possible to negotiate their return with the supplier, this is to be recommended.

No further purchases may be made for ongoing allocations of rationed goods.

Allocations must be returned to the Rationing Office. If it is possible to pass on rationed goods to another merchant during the liquidation process, it would be advisable to ask the Rationing Office to make these allocations available to the merchant who has acquired said goods.

Street trader's licence

Those who hold a street trader's licence in addition to their shop are also required to cease street trading, as the two are considered a single business. Given that it is not out of the question that other regulations concerning street trading will be introduced at some point in the future, it is recommended that you hold on to your street trader's licence.

Current rental arrangements

With regard to current rental arrangements, you must attempt to come to an agreement with your landlord. If necessary, the commission representative can mediate this process. However, legally speaking, the liquidation order cannot be regarded as *force majeure*.

Sale of assets

The sale of an entire business without the permission of the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle³ is prohibited under the terms of Regulation no. 48 of 1941. However, all the assets, with the exception of the business name and premises, may be transferred.

Clearance sale

Permission from the Chamber of Commerce is required in order to announce and hold a clearance sale. In general, however, clearance sales are neither necessary nor desirable for these kinds of businesses.

Accepting employment

There is no objection to those affected accepting employment, including from former colleagues, so long as this does not give the impression that the business is being continued.

Economic assistance

In general, those who require assistance as a consequence of these measures should be referred in the usual way to the agencies of the Social Welfare Service, which will supply local assistance as needed.

For our part, we will attempt to arrange resources in order to provide assistance as required in these and similar cases. Further details about this will be made available in due course. Should very special cases arise which cannot be handled locally (as should generally occur), then we request that all the details of such cases be brought to our attention.

3 German in the original: 'Office for Economic Investigation'.

DOC. 84

**On 1 August 1941 manufacturer Carl Hubert refuses to pay licensing fees
to two agencies that he considers to be Jewish¹**

Letter from the Euterpe company² (manufacturer of music rolls for player-pianos and orchestrions³), signed Carl Hubert,⁴ Amsterdam, 263 Prinsengracht (current address: Amsterdam-West, Borgerstraat 89 hs.⁵), to the Office for Economic Investigation under the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs, The Hague, 5 Vijverberg,⁶ dated 1 August 1941⁷

With regard to the following, the undersigned (DAF)⁸ courteously requests your esteemed instructions on how to proceed in this matter.

As a manufacturer of music rolls for player-pianos and orchestrions, I have until now been obliged to obtain trademark licences for musical rights from *Stemra* (authors' agency, Jac. Obrechtst. 61 Amsterdam-Z).

Stemra has its offices in the same building as *Buma* (also an authors' agency). These enterprises are Jewish, and I reported this already on 22 March 1941 in an application for a trusteeship.⁹

As it is untenable to be obligated to a Jewish enterprise, not to mention one which settles its accounts with Paris, I have had no further dealings with this agency. Today I received a letter regarding an invoice for trademark licences because I have not obtained any such licences since June 1940.

A humorous sketch published by the *Telegraaf* years ago amply illustrates how these enterprises have lined their own pockets.¹⁰ The text reads:

Buma: 'I have made them pay handsomely for your author's rights.'

Author: 'That's wonderful! – – well, then – – eh? – – eh?'

Buma: 'Oh, don't get any exaggerated ideas; most of it has been spent on administrative costs.'

I would be most grateful if you could kindly inform me how I should proceed in this matter.¹¹

Heil Hitler

1 NIOD, 039/138. This document has been translated from German.

2 Euterpe, one of the nine muses, is the muse of lyric poetry and flute playing. Her name has often been used by companies making or selling musical instruments.

3 An orchestrion is a mechanical musical instrument that imitates an orchestra.

4 Carl Hubert (b. 1874), manufacturer; emigrated from Dresden to the Netherlands in 1924; founded the Euterpe company in Amsterdam; thought to have returned to Germany in 1946.

5 Hs. (abbreviation of *huis*) refers to a ground-floor apartment.

6 Correctly: 5 Korte Vijverberg.

7 The original contains handwritten annotations.

8 Hubert is emphasizing that he is a member of the German Labour Front (DAF), the National Socialist labour organization founded in 1933 after the trade unions in Germany had been disbanded.

9 Founded in 1912, Buma is an agency which markets the rights to musical works. Its partner organization Stemra was established in 1936 to protect copyright of sound recordings (e.g. gramophone records). Both organizations still exist in the Netherlands.

10 The sketch could not be found.

11 A memorandum of 29 Sept. 1941 by the Office of Economic Investigation indicates that although Jews were employed by both agencies, they did not hold senior positions. According to the office, it was therefore not possible to institute proceedings against the agencies, and consequently Hubert was told to fulfil his financial obligations to Buma and Stemra: see NIOD, 039/138.v

DOC. 85

**Regulation issued by Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart on 8 August 1941
concerning the handling of Jewish financial assets¹**

Regulation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on the Handling of Jewish Financial Assets

Pursuant to § 5 of the Führer's Decree of 18 May 1940 concerning the Exercise of Governmental Authority in the Netherlands (*Reichsgesetzblatt* I, p. 778),² I decree the following:

§ 1

- (1) Persons who are Jews or considered to be Jews within the meaning of § 4 of Regulation no. 189/1940³ on the Registration of Businesses shall on the date of entry into force of this regulation immediately
 - 1) deposit cash and cheques in their possession in an account at the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co.⁴ banking house in Amsterdam. The exemption limit for the compulsory deposit is one thousand guilders; if the cash and cheques amount to more than 1,000 guilders and also exceed one-tenth of taxable income for the 1940/1941 tax year, the exemption limit then increases to this amount;
 - 2) deposit securities in an account at the banking house designated in point 1) above;
 - 3) transfer assets and securities held at banks, savings banks, and other financial and credit institutions to the banking house designated in point 1) above
- (2) The obligation set out in subsection (1) above also applies to financial assets of the types specified that are accrued after this regulation comes into force; however, accrued cash and cheques shall be deposited only insofar as, at the time they are accrued, they exceed a total amount of 1,000 guilders for that calendar month, in addition to the cash and cheques possessed by the persons liable to make the deposit.
- (3) If the persons referred to in subsection (1) above do not have possession or custody of the assets specified above, the obligations set out in subsections (1) and (2) shall also apply to the owners and actual holders of the assets.
- (4) The above provisions shall apply equally to the legal representatives of the persons referred to in subsection (1) as regards those assets specified in subsection (1) under their management.
- (5) Any management and disposal of the assets specified in subsection (1) other than as designated in the same paragraph is prohibited.

1 *VOBI-NL*, no. 148/1941, pp. 624–628. This document has been translated from German.

2 Under the terms of § 5, the Reich commissioner could issue regulations in the Netherlands.

3 See Doc. 42.

4 To facilitate the expropriation and theft of Jewish property, the German authorities established a bank named Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. on Sarphatistraat. The name was a front, identical to that of the renowned Jewish bank that already existed on Nieuwe Spiegelstraat, and used as a ploy to gain the trust of the Jewish population. The two financial institutions had otherwise nothing to do with one another. The German authorities later liquidated the Jewish bank and transferred its assets to the front institution: Gerard Aalders, *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry during the Second World War* (London: Berg, 2004), pp. 221–326. See Doc. 101.

§ 2

- (1) Assets of the type specified in § 1 to which third parties have rights in connection with the securing of claims shall be reported immediately to the banking house designated in § 1. They shall be deposited or transferred in accordance with § 1 if the banking house takes over the claim; otherwise the assets shall be employed as soon as possible in order to cover the claims.
- (2) If judicial precautionary or enforcement measures have been obtained in connection with the assets, such assets shall nevertheless be deposited or transferred pursuant to § 1. The measures shall be considered effected by the banking house designated in § 1 upon the fulfilment of these obligations, if it has been informed of this.

§ 3

If, in order to complete the actions pursuant to § 1, it is necessary to obtain permission under the terms of the Foreign Exchange Regulation of 1941 or Regulation no. 26/1940⁵ on the Handling of Enemy Assets, such permission is hereby granted.

§ 4

The provisions of § 1 shall not apply to persons whose net assets do not exceed the amount of 10,000 guilders and whose taxable income in the previous year, without taking account of losses not offset from previous years and of personal expenses, also does not exceed the amount of 3,000 guilders.

§ 5

- (1) A person who intentionally contravenes or evades the terms of this regulation or a directive issued pursuant to this regulation shall be subject to imprisonment and to an unlimited fine, or to one of these penalties.
- (2) If the offence is committed negligently, the penalty shall be imprisonment of up to a year or a fine of up to 100,000 guilders.

§ 6

- (1) In addition to the imposed penalty, a judgement of confiscation of the assets to which the punishable act relates may be pronounced.
- (2) If no specific person can be prosecuted or sentenced, the confiscation may then be ordered independently.

§ 7

- (1) Criminal proceedings shall only take place at the request of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs).⁶
- (2) The criminal complaint can be withdrawn up to the pronouncement of judgement at the last instance.

§ 8

Acts punishable pursuant to § 5 shall be considered criminal offences within the meaning of § 2(2) of Regulation no. 52/1940⁷ on German Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases, as revised in Regulation no. 123/1941.⁸

⁵ Regulation on Foreign Exchange Control, *VOBl-NL*, no. 63/1941, 26 March 1941, pp. 220–262; Regulation on the Handling of Enemy Assets, *VOBl-NL*, no. 26/1940, 24 June 1940, pp. 66–76. Both these regulations provided means to expropriate Jewish property.

⁶ Hans Fischböck.

§ 9

- (1) The assets relating to the punishable act may also be confiscated through administrative procedures.
- (2) In this case, confiscation will take place upon order of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Security);⁹ such an order will be made effective through its publication or through notification of the person concerned. If such confiscation involves property or rights which, pursuant to a legal provision, have been recorded in a public register, such confiscation shall be immediately recorded free of charge in such register, upon the request of the Reich Commissioner (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs).
- (3) The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) shall make the final decision concerning the utilization of the confiscated assets.

§ 10

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) shall take all measures necessary for the implementation of this regulation. He has the authority to make legally binding decisions if uncertainties arise regarding the application of the provisions of this regulation.

§ 11

This regulation comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

The Hague, 8 August 1941

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories: Seyss-Inquart

DOC. 86

On 8 August 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart orders the establishment of separate schools for Jews¹

Letter from the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Z. 11 220 Ve/41), signed p.p. Wimmer, The Hague, to the Secretary General for Education, Science, and Cultural Protection,² 2 Ostduinlaan, dated 8 August 1941 (copy for the head of the Department for Internal Administration, received 11 August 1941)³

Pursuant to § 1(2) of my Regulation no. 3/1940,⁴ I instruct you to take the measures necessary to remove all Jewish schoolchildren from Dutch state and private schools from 1 September this year and to concentrate them from the earliest conceivable date in

⁷ See Doc. 67, fn. 5.

⁸ This regulation amended Regulation no. 52/1940 on German Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases, in *VOBl-NL*, no. 23/1941, 5 July 1941, pp. 522–523.

⁹ Hanns Albin Rauter.

¹ NIOD, 020/1473. This document has been translated from German.

² Jan van Dam.

³ The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

⁴ Regulation on the Exercise of Governmental Authority in the Netherlands, *VOBl-NL*, no. 3/1940, 29 May 1940, pp. 8–11. § 1(2) gave regulations issued by the Reich Commissioner the force of law in the Netherlands.

schools for Jews where only Jewish teachers provide instruction. The state or the municipalities must make such schools available in the cities of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam by 1 September. Where required, the same should be done in the provincial capitals, where possible by 1 October of this year. In smaller towns and rural communities, a census of Jewish and half-Jewish schoolchildren is to be carried out by 15 September of this year and submitted to me with proposals regarding transfer to Jewish schools. It is necessary to ensure that, as a result of the implementation of these instructions, Jewish children do not remain out of school for longer than around four weeks in addition to the usual holiday period.

It is intended that the still-to-be-formed Jewish Council⁵ will be given the task of maintaining and supervising the Jewish schools. Until then these schools must be paid for by public funds, and the respective school inspectors and municipal offices must oversee their development and operation. I reserve the right to take further decisions regarding possible reimbursement of the public funds expended for these purposes by the future Jewish Council.

Aryan teachers who have become unemployed temporarily as a result of the reorganization are to be given leave of absence with continued payment of their previous salary until they are re-employed.

Jewish schoolchildren ([and] teachers) within the meaning of this decree are those persons who are Jews or are considered to be Jews in accordance with § 4 of Regulation no. 189/1940⁶ of the Reich Commissioner on the Registration of Businesses.

DOC. 87

On 14 August 1941 municipal director Klaas Kaan describes the measures already introduced to isolate the Jews and gives his overall assessment of the situation¹

Diary of Klaas Kaan,² entry for 14 August 1941 (typescript)

Persecution of Jews

If there is one topic about which much could be written, then it is this one. I will not do so, but I do not want this particularly unpleasant subject to pass without mention.

The German occupiers see the Jews as their greatest enemy and consider that they have to treat them as such in the Netherlands as well. The result is that their loyal followers, the NSB, do just that. I shall limit myself to mentioning a random selection of the measures. It will be incomplete, for there are so many that I will certainly forget some. Exclusion from all public offices, resulting in the dismissal of many who always carried out their duties loyally. Removal from all kinds of businesses, which is tantamount to

⁵ The Jewish Council of Amsterdam had been established on 13 Feb. 1941 and in Nov. 1941 had to expand the scope of its activities to include all of the Netherlands.

⁶ See Doc. 42.

¹ Archief Eemland, *Oorlogsherinneringen K. Kaan*, part 2, pp. 17–18. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² Klaas Kaan (1885–1944), administrative official; municipal director of Amersfoort (province of Utrecht), 1923–1941; wrote his diary on the occupation period from 1941 to 1944.

expropriation and consignment to unemployment, with all of the ensuing consequences. Being prohibited from various places, public buildings, and even public parks, bathing facilities, and so on. Special identification, resulting in their identity papers being stamped with a large 'J', for example. The deposit of their assets in a designated bank. The confiscation of their radios. Dismissal from any post that has anything to do with national, provincial, or municipal government etc. etc. etc.³

It is a miracle that they manage to endure all of this, and they do so, I must say, with an unbelievable courage for which I have every respect. Circular after circular brings new regulations and measures which they must obey, and it's been like this for a year already. How is it possible for people to think all of this up? There must have been lots of training on this in Germany beforehand, as there is no human mind that could keep thinking it all up otherwise.

When we previously heard what was happening in Germany, we said and thought at times that it was exaggerated or that it concerned other Jews, more the Polish type; that they wouldn't do that to the Jews here, among whom there are many decent, principled people. Now we know better. I've not touched on the more personal measures taken after the unrest in Amsterdam, but that must have been truly terrible.⁴ Many people were arrested and sent to Germany, where they are forced to undertake heavy labour.

We don't know much about what's going on. There are many rumours. They are blamed for everything. When anything happens, Jews are said to have been involved and have to bear the severest consequences. I doubt that they are always involved. Jews are not heroes by nature, and it doesn't make sense to me that they should now always be the ones to have done it. On the other hand, it is understandable that they might become rebellious and take a stand against these regulations, forgetting for an instant that we are a country under occupation. I've repeated this last point many times in conversation. We must constantly bear it in mind. In order to stay in power, one must come down hard on any breach of the rules and take drastic action. There is no other way; it is war, and we must not lose sight of that. I don't want to excuse what has been done to the Jews specifically, but in general people just want to forget about it.

A further consequence of this situation is that severe measures are taken against acts of sabotage and that such acts incur harsh penalties. There is virtually no other way of handling it. We must wait and see what kinds of measures they will take against us. I want to refer here to the collection of copper, tin, and other metals – we didn't expect that, but then suddenly it appeared in the newspaper.

Now I'll return to something more general regarding what might still happen.

We approach winter with concern and think a lot about what might still happen. Many have a suitcase packed in case they are taken away because someone said something or they unwittingly commit an offence. It is no longer possible to stock up much for winter. Virtually everything is rationed. Thankfully there are some supplies left over from last winter, but if we have to start on those, they will soon be gone.

And with that I will end these brief notes for today (14th August 1941). I hope to be able to record some more of my impressions later. When will that be, and what will it be like then?

³ See Docs. 39, 67, 77, and 82.

⁴ On the unrest in Amsterdam and the February Strike, see Docs. 55–66.

DOC. 88

On 18 August 1941 representatives of the Jewish Council explain to the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam why there have been no volunteers for labour deployment¹

Minutes of the meeting taken by David Cohen, 18 August 1941

Meeting of Mr A. Asscher and Prof. Cohen with the Beauftragte des Reichskommissars,² held on Monday, 18th August 1941

1. We spoke first about Mauthausen³ and told the Beauftragte that more than 140 of the 670 young men there have already died, that this has caused a great deal of unrest throughout the city, and that it dominates every problem we deal with. He took detailed notes and said the matter did not fall within his remit, but he would take it up with the Sicherheitspolizei.⁴
2. He then asked that the smaller items of business be taken care of first, and turned to our request to make an appeal for Jewish teachers.⁵ He said that he had no objection to this, but that the mayor⁶ had told him this should be arranged through Amsterdam City Council. In response, we stated that the alderman for education⁷ had expressed the wish that we publish this appeal, but that naturally we would not do so if it turned out that the city council would take care of it, and we would notify the mayor accordingly. (We did so. It was indeed the mayor's wish that the city council publish the appeal. Hence, we refrained from publishing our own and informed the Beauftragte of this.)
3. Then the question of the call for volunteers for Ommen⁸ and Germany was brought up. We explained to the Beauftragte that carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, and other such professions were not available from the two categories we had examined, namely those dismissed from public service and those receiving unemployment benefits. We should be able to find a physician, an office clerk, and one carpenter, but we would not get any volunteers for Ommen because it is known that members of the SS and the NSB are in charge of the camp at Ommen, and nobody will volunteer for the camps in Germany on account of the frantic fear caused by the deaths at Mauthausen. The Beauftragte responded that he was not aware of the SS being in charge at Ommen

1 NIOD, 182/1d. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 German in the original: 'Reich commissioner's representative'.

3 Jews arrested following the unrest in Feb. 1941 and the attack in June 1941 were deported to Mauthausen concentration camp: see Docs. 60 and 80.

4 German in the original: 'Security Police'.

5 On 8 August 1941 Commissioner General Wimmer had announced that all Jewish schoolchildren would have to attend separate schools from 1 Sept. 1941. To comply with this demand, the Jewish Council required more Jewish teachers: see Doc. 86.

6 Edward John Voûte.

7 Dr Jan Smit (1884–1951), teacher; head of the Christian Lyceum in Amsterdam, 1929–1941; joined the NSB in 1935; wrote for various newspapers; alderman for education, the arts, and science, 1941–1945; interned from 1945; sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in 1948.

8 The expansion of the Erika labour camp near Ommen on the German border began in June 1941. As part of the calls for workers, Jews were to be recruited to carry out construction work. The camp commandant was Werner Schwier (b. 1907). Ommen served as a penal camp from June 1942.

and expressed the opinion that our assessment was based on unsubstantiated rumours. We told him that members of the SS in Ommen themselves boasted that they were going to teach the Jews a lesson in discipline. He said he knew nothing about this. However, he did say that the leadership of the camp at Osnabrück was in the hands of the Reichsnährstand,⁹ and he presumed that Organization Todt¹⁰ was in charge of the camp in Essen. We replied that we had no objection to this in itself, but that any voluntary registration required trust, and that this had been shaken because, according to a photo published in the *Schwarze Korps*, the Jews who were arrested in February and taken to Buchenwald as hostages have been treated as Verbrecher.¹¹

We then enquired whether it would be possible to put the unemployed to work in the Netherlands. He replied that the memorandum we had sent him¹² regarding placements for the unemployed had not presented him with any acceptable proposals and that this was an error on our part. It must be completely clear to us that we are not regarded as Dutch by the Germans and thus are not able to make use of the same state agencies as non-Jews. We countered that we are indeed Dutch, to which he replied that while this may be the case with regard to constitutional law, it is not so from a political standpoint. We said that when drawing up such a report it was difficult to simply forget long-standing traditions, but declared ourselves willing to make new proposals. He said that this must be done with the greatest possible speed. He then asked whether, based on what we had said, he was to conclude that no volunteers had come forward for the camp at Ommen. We said that it should not be interpreted in this way because volunteers would have come forward if others had been in charge [of the camp], and we asked what would happen now, that is, whether people would be forced into the camp against their will. He denied this and said that in general no arrests were planned, so long as nothing out of the ordinary took place. He then said that two men from Germany were here to recruit workers for Germany. If it were not possible to raise sufficient numbers of volunteers for Ommen and Germany from among the unemployed, then we would be instructed to find them among those already in employment, as the necessary workforce could certainly be obtained from this group. He read aloud to us the proposals he had drawn up in this regard. We had the impression that this will only take place once the so-called Statute on Jews¹³ has delimited our area of authority, and also that this Statute on Jews would not be introduced for some time.

9 German in original: 'Reich Food Estate', a corporatist organization operating under National Socialist agricultural policy that oversaw the production, distribution, and pricing of foodstuffs.

10 Organization Todt deployed forced labour on projects in the Reich and across occupied Europe. The camp referred to here could not be determined. In the area around Osnabrück there were almost 100 forced labour camps during the war, and in Essen there were more than 350 in total.

11 German in the original: 'criminals'. *Das schwarze Korps: Zeitung der Schutzstaffeln der NSDAP. Organ der Reichsführung SS*, 26 June 1941, p. 8 showed six photos of Dutch prisoners in the concentration camp wearing the striped prisoners' uniforms. The prisoners concerned were the Jews mentioned in the document who had been deported to Mauthausen after a short period at Buchenwald.

12 This could not be determined.

13 While a Statute on Jews had been adopted in France (see Doc. 241), the Reich Commissariat controlled the lives of Jews in the Netherlands with regulations and orders issued to the Jewish Council. No regulation stipulating the fundamental rights and responsibilities of the Jewish Council was ever published.

4. We subsequently spoke about relocations¹⁴ and told him that the public prosecutor had advised us to contact him. He said that this was a matter for the Sicherheitspolizei, but that he would pass our letter on to them.

The meeting was held in an entirely correct manner, and the Beauftragte displayed his understanding of the difficulties with which we were dealing

DOC. 89

On 28 August 1941 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD clarifies the responsibilities of the newly created Special Department 'J' with regard to the deportation of all Jews¹

Letter (marked 'secret!') from the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD for the occupied Dutch territories, Special Department 'J', signed Dr Harster (SS-Standartenführer and police colonel), The Hague, to all internal groups and sections, to all branch offices, to the Central Border Control Office,² The Hague, the Border Control Offices in The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Maastricht and to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration,³ Amsterdam, dated 28 August 1941⁴

Re: allocation of responsibilities on matters pertaining to the Jewish question

- 1) To combat Jewry in its entirety, with the aim of achieving the final solution of the Jewish question through the resettlement of all Jews, I have established, under my direct command, a Special Department 'J'. The responsibilities of this special department shall include in particular:
 - a) interpreting relevant regulations and decrees issued by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories, the commissioners general, and subordinate offices,
 - b) expanding security policing powers with the aim of bringing Jewish life under the overall control of the Security Police.
 - Specifically, this includes:
 - handling the Jewish Council,
 - the Jewish organizations,
 - the Jewish press,
 - deployment of Jews for labour,
 - the Jewish school system and retraining, as well as institutional and non-institutional care. –
 - c) emigration and immigration permits,

14 This presumably refers to the question concerning the conditions under which Jews were permitted to relocate from Amsterdam to other cities. The ban on such relocations in March 1941 did not fully resolve the matter. The minutes of the Jewish Council show that no final ruling was made.

1 The original could not be located; copy in Staatsarchiv München, Staatsanwaltschaften, 34 879/16. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Central Border Control Office was responsible for controlling border traffic between the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany.

3 See Doc. 70.

4 The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

- d) developing guidelines for the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, Amsterdam,
- e) stockpiling Jewish assets,
 - in particular:
 - participating in the development of the foundations and offices established by the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs⁵ and liaising with these bodies, steering and evaluating the investigation of assets, preparing an overview of all Jewish assets, confiscating assets pursuant to the Regulations on the Handling of Jewish Financial Assets⁶ and on Jewish Real Estate.⁷
- 2) The Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Amsterdam is responsible for compiling information on Jews as a preliminary measure for the forthcoming evacuation and the handling of technical issues related to emigration applications. (I have reserved for myself the right to grant special emigration permits.) The Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Amsterdam will be expanded to become the sole body authorized to issue orders to the Jewish Council. As matters develop, I will confer further responsibilities on it on a case-by-case basis.
- 3) IV B⁸ remains responsible for combating Jews as individual enemies. This includes in particular:
 - criminal offences committed by Jews,
 - violation of directives issued by administrative authorities and the police,
 - search warrants,
 - Jewish hostages and concentration camp prisoners,but, moreover, also:
 - seizing assets at the request of authorities in the German Reich,
 - confiscating radio sets owned by Jews.

5 Hans Fischböck.

6 See Doc. 85.

7 Regulation on Jewish Real Estate, *VOBl-NL*, no. 154/1941, 11 August 1941, pp. 655–663.

8 Section IV B under the senior commander of the Security Police and the SD was responsible for combating all ideological opponents of the Nazi regime; a subdivision of this group was Section IV B 4, headed by Adolf Eichmann, which was in charge of all matters relating to Jews. See Introduction, p. 36.

DOC. 90

**On 5 September 1941 the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice
informs the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs of the results
of the registration of Jews¹**

Letter from the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice (Z.12313 Ve/41.), signed Wimmer, The Hague, to the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs² (received on 9 September 1941), 25 Alexanderstr., dated 5 September 1941³

The implementation of the Reich Commissioner's⁴ Regulation no. 6/41⁵ is practically complete. On the cut-off date of 27 August 1941, the central register of all persons of Jewish blood and mixed Jewish blood established by the Rijksinspectie van de Bevolkingsregisters⁶ in The Hague, 17 Scheveningscheweg, contained:

	160,820 individual entries	
of which	140,552	Jews
	14,549	half-Jews (G I) ⁷
	5,719	quarter-Jews (G II)

It is no longer anticipated that this total figure for persons required to register will change significantly. In the future, the central register will change only as a result of deletions resulting from deaths and emigration or as a result of an adjustment arising from an adjustment procedure, or, on the other hand, as a result of births, immigration, or a ruling arising from a request or from criminal proceedings.

The present results can be used to assess the outcome of the obligation to register laid down in the regulation, as well as to address the question of the number of Jews and Jewish Mischlinge in the occupied Dutch territories. I am sending the following enclosures⁸ for your information and for practical use:

- I. The complete table of registered persons as of the cut-off date of 27 August 1941, broken down into men and women, Jews, half-Jews, and quarter-Jews, and further segmented into persons of Dutch nationality, persons who are Dutch subjects,⁹ persons of German nationality and of foreign nationality.
- II. A table of the distribution of registered persons in the individual provinces of the Netherlands.

1 NIOD, 020/279. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hans Fischböck.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations.

4 Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

5 See Doc. 54.

6 The State Inspectorate of Population Registers, established in 1936 and headed by J. L. Lentz, was subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior. The existence of a central population register made it difficult for many people to escape the clutches of the German occupiers.

7 G I and G II here stand for 'first generation' and 'second generation'. According to this classification, a 'half-Jew' would be a person with one Jewish parent and a 'quarter-Jew' someone with one Jewish grandparent.

8 The enclosures mentioned here are in the file.

9 This included people from the Dutch colonies (e.g. from the Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia) who did not have Dutch citizenship.

This table, however, is based on the register as of 11 August 1941, when it contained a total of 159,806 registered persons.

- III. A table of the distribution of registered persons in the ten largest municipalities in the Netherlands (as of 25 July 1941).
- IV. A booklet containing an overview of registered persons (as of 11 August 1941) broken down into three age groups, followed by an overview of registered persons by year of birth. This enclosure shows the pace at which the Jewish and mixed population in the Netherlands increased, the pace at which it is decreasing and when this decrease began, and it also makes clear how exceptionally unhealthy the age distribution of the Jewish and the mixed population is.

The statistical calculation presented in enclosure IV proves, along with further experience gained in the process of implementing Regulation no. 6/41, that previous assumptions that the number of Jews and Mischlinge in the Netherlands must be considerably greater were inaccurate.

- V. A statistical overview of the distribution of registered persons by occupation.

In addition to the relatively low total figure, which was initially unexpected, the most striking and remarkable finding of the census and registration of Jews and Jewish Mischlinge carried out under Regulation no. 6/41 is without doubt the small number of Mischlinge.

There is little mixing of Jews with the Dutch population, with 19,828 Mischlinge from the two categories versus 139,787 Jews. Only 14.2 per cent of all registered persons are Mischlinge. Jewish Mischlinge in the Netherlands make up only about 0.2 per cent of the total population of around 9 million. There is far less mixing than in the German Reich.

With the central register of Jews and Jewish Mischlinge at the Rijksinspectie van de Bevolkingsregisters in The Hague, we have now created an instrument and a central information office for all branches of the administration, police, and judiciary which I not only recommend but also would request you use in all applicable cases. The entries made in the registry by this Dutch office are based not only on the information given by those persons required to register, but also incorporate all the decisions made through the Department for Internal Administration in cases of ambiguity. Notably, the said register includes a list of those cases in which, after thorough investigation, whether on application by the persons concerned or on application by an official body, the registration requirement was nullified. For individual cases, the central register, and in emergencies only the Department for Internal Administration, can provide information regarding a person's obligation to register and the scope of said obligation, as well as the details recorded in the register as a result of registration.

The central register's close organizational links with the *Bevolkingsboekhouding* (population accounting) in the Netherlands ensure the prompt recording of any changes that may arise (e.g. change of residence) and therefore guarantee that the registry entries continually provide an up-to-date picture for individual cases and statistical purposes.

DOC. 91

**On 5 September 1941 a mother refuses to fill out an Aryan certificate
for her two daughters, citing her Christian beliefs¹**

Letter from a mother, unsigned, to A. Zeedyk,² director of the Amsterdam Domestic Science School, Amsterdam, dated 5 Sept. 1941

Dear Madam,

I have received your circular, dated the second of this month,³ in which, by order of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Cultural Protection, you asked whether or not my two daughters, registered at your school, are Jewish within the meaning of Section 4 of Regulation no. 189/1940.⁴

Regretfully I must inform you that, as a Christian, I must refuse to answer this question. After all, the question is not asked out of mere curiosity, but with a specific aim in mind. And that aim is clear enough: the results of this inquiry are to give the ministry the opportunity to adopt different criteria for the Jewish girls or to separate them from the rest.

In my opinion, and following my Saviour, race should play no role in determining how I behave towards my neighbours. For Christ, and therefore for me too, all people are equal. I must therefore refuse to cooperate in any way with the implementation of measures taken by any authority with the objective of drawing this kind of distinction.

I trust that you will believe that, in my response above, I am in no way intending to be impolite towards you, and I very much hope that it causes you no inconvenience.

Yours faithfully,⁵

DOC. 92

**On 11 September 1941 the Archbishop of Utrecht states his refusal to exclude
baptized children from Catholic schools on the basis of their ancestry¹**

Letter from the Archbishop of the Diocese of Utrecht, signed Dr J. de Jong, to the secretary general of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Cultural Protection, J. van Dam, 's-Gravenhage, dated 11 September 1941²

Most Noble Sir,

Our school boards have informed us of the content of your letter to them, dated 16 August of this year.³

1 NIOD, Doc. II/363a. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Correctly: Adriana Zeedijk (b. 1885), teacher; director of the Amsterdam Domestic Science School, which opened in 1895.

3 In the letter, the director asked the students' parents to inform her which of the students were to be regarded as Jews: NIOD, Doc. II/363a.

4 See Doc. 42.

5 No response to the letter could be found.

1 Het Utrechts Archief, 449/76. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 The date of the document is determined by a handwritten note: 'Dated 11 Sept. 1941 and sent on the same day'.

As prelates of the Dutch Church and fully aware of the duties our pastoral office entails, we inform you, Noble Sir, that we must raise serious objections to the measures adopted and that we cannot, and will never, permit children who have been baptized Catholic to be removed from or denied admission to our schools because of their Jewish ancestry.

Our school boards must not sanction this ban on these children receiving instruction in these schools.

For Catholic children, whether of Jewish ancestry or not, have the right to the great benefit of a Christian education. Excluding them from this would signify a serious injustice; it would be an application of racial doctrine to religious belief, in conflict with Galatians 3:28: 'There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male or female.'

In the name of the Venerable Episcopate⁴

DOC. 93

On 15 September 1941 Commissioner General for Security Hanns Albin Rauter further curtails Jews' freedom of movement in public¹

Directive issued by the Commissioner General for Security and Higher SS and Police Leader, signed Rauter (SS-Gruppenführer and major general of the police), The Hague, dated 15 September 1941²

Directive of the Commissioner General for Security on the Presence of Jews in Public

Pursuant to § 45 of Regulation no. 138/41³ of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on the Protection of Order, I hereby decree the following, at the same time revoking my announcement of 4 June 1941 concerning restrictions to the movement of Jews:⁴

§ 1

- (1) It is forbidden for Jews to participate in public events and to use public facilities insofar as these are intended for the recreation, entertainment, and instruction of the population.
- (2) In particular, it is forbidden for Jews to:
 - 1) enter public parks and zoological gardens,

³ The letter mentioned here is not in the file.

⁴ There is no recorded response from the secretary general or the Reich commissioner. Archbishop de Jong instructed the Catholic schools to continue teaching children of Jewish ancestry.

¹ NIOD, 102/5r. Excerpts published in Presser, *Ashes in the Wind*, pp. 148–149. This document has been translated from German.

² The directive is enclosed in a letter dated 14 Sept. 1941 from Rauter to Tobie Goedewaagen, secretary general of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and the Arts. In the letter, Rauter called on Goedewaagen to take all measures necessary to implement the directive.

³ Regulation on the Protection of Order, *VOBl-NL*, no. 138/1941, 25 July 1941, pp. 560–590. § 5 authorized the commissioner general for security to issue his own directives and orders: *VOBl-NL*, no. 154/1941, 11 August 1941, pp. 655–663.

⁴ See Doc. 77.

- 2) enter eating and drinking establishments, including those at railway stations, and restaurants, cafés, hotels, and boarding houses,
- 3) use sleeping carriages and dining cars,
- 4) enter theatres, cabarets, music halls, and cinemas,
- 5) enter sports grounds, including bathing beaches and indoor and outdoor swimming pools, and participate in public sporting events,
- 6) participate in public arts events, including concerts,
- 7) enter and use public libraries, reading rooms, and museums.

§ 2

It is further forbidden for Jews to participate, directly or indirectly, in public markets, including livestock markets, and in public auctions and commodity exchanges, as well as to enter slaughterhouses.

§ 3

Jews must obtain permission before making permanent or temporary changes of residence.

§ 4

- (1) Exemptions may be granted from the provisions of §§ 1 and 2; conditions may be attached to such exemptions.
- (2) The Commissioner General for Security or a body designated by the Commissioner General for Security is responsible for granting exemptions (see (1) above) and for granting permission (§ 3).

§ 5

- (1) If exemptions for events or facilities are granted, the respective premises or grounds must be identified as such by signs, placards or labels which read:
 'Jewish premises (or Jewish event),
 only Jews admitted'.
- (2) It is prohibited for non-Jewish persons to enter such premises or grounds.

§ 6

Jews within the meaning of this directive are persons who according to § 4 of Regulation no. 189/40⁵ are Jews or considered to be Jews.

§ 7

- (1) A person who contravenes or circumvents §§ 1, 2, 3, and 5 shall be punishable by a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months and a fine of up to 1,000 Dutch guilders or by one of these punishments unless subject to a more severe punishment in accordance with other regulations. The same punishment shall apply to anyone who orders, facilitates, or is complicit in the circumvention of these provisions.
- (2) The acts punishable under (1) above are criminal offences.
- (3) This directive shall apply without prejudice to the power of the Security Police to introduce measures.

§ 8

With the exception of § 2, this directive comes into force on the day of its promulgation; § 2 will come into force two weeks after the promulgation.

⁵ See Doc. 42.

DOC. 94

On 25 September 1941 the Dutch Ministry of Public Enlightenment and the Arts complains to the Commissioner General for Security about a Jewish ensemble¹

Letter from the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and the Arts (no. 757 E/TD/A), signed F.P.² (Head of the Department for Theatre and Dance), The Hague, 21 Prinsessegracht, to the Commissioner General for Security, SS-Gruppenführer Rauter, The Hague, 1 Plein, dated 25 September 1941

Sellmeyer³ performances

For several months now, a company under the management of the Aryan director A. Joh. Sellmeyer has been performing at the Beatrix-Theater, 4a Plantage Middenlaan in Amsterdam, telephone no. 52 117. The company is composed solely of Jewish artists, including several German emigrants. The Ministry of Social Affairs issued a work permit, no. 191 862/3/4/5, on 4 July 1941, on behalf of:

Name	Date of birth	Nationality
<i>Engel, Franz</i> , ⁴	16 Sept. 1898	German
<i>Rosen, Willy</i> , ⁵	18 July 1894	German
<i>Steiner, Fritz</i> , ⁶	1 Nov. 1896	German
<i>Dürer, Otto</i> . ⁷	2 Oct. 1907	German

1 NIOD, 102/185k. This document has been translated from German.

2 Frans Primo (1884–1946), journalist; politically active in Flemish nationalist circles; editor of *De Nieuwe Gazet* in Ghent (Belgium), 1914–1918; emigrated in 1918 to the Netherlands, where he worked as a journalist at *De Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant*; served during the occupation as head of the Department of Theatre and Dance at the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and the Arts; returned to Belgium in March 1944.

3 Correctly: Antonius Johannes Sellmeijer (1899–1984), café proprietor and theatre director; leader of a cabaret troupe, 1934–1935; director of the Beatrix-Theater, 1938–1942. Willy Rosen's Theater der Prominenten performed a total of eight plays there between Dec. 1940 and May 1942, but to Jewish audiences only from summer 1941. After Sellmeijer was banned from running a Jewish theatre in May 1942, Willy Rosen's ensemble moved to the Hollandsche Schouwburg theatre.

4 Franz Engel (1898–1944), actor; emigrated from Britain to the Netherlands in 1938; member of the Theater der Prominenten, 1938–1942; deported at the end of 1943 to Westerbork, and from there in Sept. 1944 to Theresienstadt and in Oct. 1944 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered on 17 Oct. 1944.

5 Willy Rosen, born Wilhelm Julius Rosenbaum (1894–1944), composer and cabaret artist; in 1937 emigrated from Germany to the Netherlands, where he founded the Theater der Prominenten; deported in 1943 to Westerbork, where he led the camp's cabaret; deported to Theresienstadt in Sept. 1944, and from there to Auschwitz, where he perished.

6 Fritz Steiner (1896–1976), singer, dancer, and actor; from 1912 acting engagements at theatres in Germany and Austria; emigrated to the Netherlands in 1938; member of the Theater der Prominenten, 1938–1942; thought to have lived in hiding, 1942–1945; co-founded the Hoofdstad Operette with Otto Dürer and Otto Aurich in 1945; subsequently returned to Vienna; actor in residence at the Raimundtheater and worked in television, 1961–1964.

7 Otto Dürer, born O. Demant (1909–1994), actor and director; trained with Fritz Reinhardt; acting engagements at theatres in Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, where he took up residence in 1935; served as director of the Fritz Hirsch Operetta in Amsterdam; member of the Theater der Prominenten, 1940–1942; lived in hiding from 1942; in 1950 returned to Austria, where he worked as a film producer.

and no. 192 995/6, on 21 Aug. 1941, on behalf of:

Name	Date of birth	Nationality
<i>Aufrichtig, Otto</i> , ⁸	11 Feb. 1900	German
<i>Aufrichtig, Alice</i> , ⁹ née Lisl Frank	22 Jan. 1911	German

On multiple occasions, the ministry has brought to Mr Sellmeyer's attention that he, as an Aryan, is not allowed to serve as the director of a Jewish company, that he must put up a sign next to the ticket office which reads *Only Jews admitted*, etc. Considerable effort was expended before Mr Sellmeyer complied with these provisions. He intimated on multiple occasions that he had a permit from the German authorities in Amsterdam because his theatre is in fact located in the Jewish quarter, but the ministry eventually referred this matter to the chief of police in Amsterdam in a letter dated 22 September 1941.¹⁰

Mr Sellmeyer sensed that he would not be able to salvage the situation in the long term after all, and in a letter of 16 September¹¹ he suddenly put forward the name of the German Jew Willy Rosen, who was to ostensibly act as writer and director of the company.

It is clear that nothing has actually changed, that Sellmeyer remains the manager and director of the company and is the responsible party. The Jews pushed to the forefront in this case are merely front men. Sellmeyer is the holder of the work permit and as such he is regarded as the employer of the Dutch artists under Dutch law. As a result of the issuance of the Regulation on the Presence of Jews in Public,¹² Mr Sellmeyer has now changed his position again. On 22 September he wrote that henceforth he will act only as landlord and will be satisfied with part of the proceeds.¹³ This is, of course, not true, because as landlord he must have a rental contract and cannot be dependent on fluctuating revenue.

Sellmeyer is now seeking to further obscure the situation by having evaded the legal obligations that are incumbent on him as a result of his holding a work permit issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs. Furthermore, on the 20th of this month, the German Jews Willy Rosen and Otto Dürer sent the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and the Arts a letter containing the manuscript of a new play which was to be performed as early as 25 September. The ministry did not authorize the performance, but instead referred Mr Sellmeyer to the responsible German body.

⁸ Otto Aurich, born O. Aufrichtig (1900–1961), dancer; in 1936 fled to the Netherlands, where he was a member of the Fritz Hirsch Operetta, the Rudolf Nelson Revue, and the Theater der Prominenten; deported to Westerbork in 1943 and from there to Theresienstadt and Buchenwald in Sept. 1944; returned to the Netherlands after 1945.

⁹ Alice Aufrichtig, née Frankl (also known as Frankel) (1911–1944), singer and dancer; stage name Liesl Frank; emigrated in 1936 to the Netherlands, where she performed with ensembles including the Fritz Hirsch Operetta, the Rudolf Nelson Revue, and the Theater der Prominenten; deported to Westerbork in 1944 and from there to Theresienstadt and Auschwitz; sent on a death march from Auschwitz to Christianstadt forced labour camp, where she perished on 30 Nov. 1944.

¹⁰ The letter mentioned here is in the file. In the letter Sellmeyer is accused of seeking to obtain a special permit under false pretences. The chief of police is asked to investigate the matter and produce a report.

¹¹ The letter mentioned here is not in the file.

¹² See Doc. 93.

¹³ The letter mentioned here is in the file.

It should be noted that the two Jews mentioned concealed themselves behind a new name when submitting their request: 'Het Theater van den Lach, Sellmeyer Theater'. In addition, I bring to your attention that the letterhead had previously read: 'Beatrix-Theater', etc. This was suddenly changed after the issuance of the Jewish directive and the letterhead now reads: 'Amstelrust'. In the top left corner, 'Beatrix-Theater' has been crossed out.

In my opinion, Mr Sellmeyer's conduct is very suspicious and he is attempting to 'mislead the authorities', because he now presents himself as allegedly merely the director-landlord, whereas hitherto he has always presented himself as an employer of Jewish artists.

DOC. 95

**On 2 October 1941 Representative for Amsterdam Hans Böhmcker reports
to the Reich Commissioner on measures already taken against Jews
in the Netherlands¹**

Report by the representative for the City of Amsterdam, signed Böhmcker, Amsterdam, to the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories,² The Hague, dated 2 October 1941 (copy)

Re: measures against the Jews

I. The registration of Jews in the Netherlands

The registration of Jews in the Netherlands is provided for by the Reich Commissioner's Regulation 6/41.³ The result of the registration was announced by the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice⁴ in his letter of 5 September 1941 – file ref. Z 12 313 Ve/41.⁵

Those Jews who emigrated from Germany to Amsterdam are also recorded in the Amsterdam population register. I have in my possession a list of the names of these emigrants. I sent a copy to all commissioners general with my letter of 27 March 1941.

Jews residing in the Netherlands who are German nationals are recorded in a special register in accordance with Regulation 168/41.⁶

Residents of Amsterdam who are Jews within the meaning of Section 4 of Regulation 189/40⁷ have been registered by the Amsterdam Jewish Council. I have in my possession a list of the persons in this category.

Members of the Dutch civil service who are of Jewish descent have been registered by means of the questionnaire procedure which the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice ordered in the decree of 11 September 1940, Z 2544 Ve/40.⁸

Regulation 189/40 provides for the registration of Jewish businesses.

1 NIOD, o86/60. This document has been translated from German.

2 Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

3 See Doc. 54.

4 Friedrich Wimmer.

5 See Doc. 90.

6 Regulation on the Registration of Germans, *VOBl-NL*, no. 168/1941, 29 August 1941, pp. 716–719.

7 See Doc. 42.

8 This could not be located. The decree required members of the civil service to obtain an Aryan certificate, a matter discussed in the Council of Secretaries General on 12 Sept. 1941: NIOD, 216/22.

II. Identity documents and visible identification of Jews

1) Identity documents

Jewish descent is indicated by J, G I, and G II on the identity document which every Dutch national must carry with them pursuant to Regulation 132/40.⁹

Full Jewish descent is indicated in the passports of Jews who are German nationals. The status of Mischling of the first and second degree is not indicated in the German passports.

Residents of Amsterdam who are Jews within the meaning of Section 4 of Regulation 189/40 have a special identity document, which I introduced in February 1941 at the behest of the Commissioner General for Special Duties.¹⁰ This consists of the certificate issued by the mayor in accordance with Section 9 of Regulation 6/41 and machine-stamped by the Jewish Council.

2) Visible identification

Visible identification of the Jews as decreed in the Reich by the Police Regulation of 1 Sept. 1941¹¹ is still lacking in the Netherlands. At present I cannot recommend that visible identification be made compulsory in the Netherlands. Nothing would be gained by such visible identification. It would not cause much alarm among the Jews. I believe, rather, that the Jews would wear the identification with pride. Those Dutch people who are friendly towards the Jews would, in my opinion, continually use the visible identification as an opportunity to express their sympathy with the Jews wearing it. Such a situation cannot be desirable, particularly considering that there are barely any suitable means available to counter it.

III. Protection of blood

- 1) The decree of 14 February 1941 issued by the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice¹² stipulates that only Jews may be used as *blood donors* for Jews. Persons of Jewish blood have been struck off the lists of blood donors since 1 March 1941.
- 2) Blood protection provisions equivalent to Sections 1 and 2 of the Nuremberg Law of 15 September 1935 (prohibition of marriage and of extramarital relations between Jews and citizens of German or kindred blood)¹³ are still lacking in the Netherlands.

IV. Protection of honour

- 1) Equivalent to Section 3 of the Reich Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour of 15 September 1935, Regulation 231/40¹⁴ stipulates that German nationals of German or kindred blood are prohibited from being employed in households in which a Jew is the head or a member of the household.

9 Regulation issued by the secretaries general of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice concerning the Requirement to Carry Official Identification, *VOBl-NL*, no. 132/1940, 6 Sept. 1940, pp. 408–410.

10 Fritz Schmidt.

11 The Police Regulation on the Visible Identification of Jews (1 Sept. 1941) made it compulsory for Jews to wear the yellow star in Germany: see PMJ 3/212.

12 See *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 18 Feb. 1941, p. 1.

13 See PMJ 1/199.

14 Regulation on the Employment of Germans in Jewish Households, *VOBl-NL*, no. 231/1940, 19 Dec. 1940, pp. 701–703.

- 2) A rule equivalent to Regulation 231/40 is not yet in place for the Netherlands.¹⁵ In my opinion, we should therefore seek to implement such a rule, if only because it would provide unemployed Jewish women with the possibility of working as domestic servants. The need for the Jewish unemployed to have work will be addressed later.

V. *Protection of land*

- 1) Regulation 102/41¹⁶ concerns agricultural land in Jewish hands and governs
 - a) the recording of agricultural land in Jewish hands by means of registration by 30 June 1941,
 - b) the disposal of agricultural land in Jewish hands,
 - c) the leases and usage rights of Jewish tenants and usufructuaries of agricultural land.
- 2) Regulation 154/41¹⁷ on Jewish Real Estate governs:
 - a) the recording by means of registration by 15 September 1941,
 - b) the authority of the Netherlands Real Estate Administration to take over the administration of Jewish real estate,
 - c) the authorization for the acquisition of land by Jews and the disposal of Jewish real estate.

VI. *Protection of youth*

- 1) The Reich Commissioner's decree of 8 August 1941 stipulates that from 1 October 1941 all Jewish pupils are to be excluded from Dutch state and private schools and placed together in Jewish schools where Jewish teachers provide instruction.¹⁸ The implementation of this directive is still under way.
- 2) The university education of persons of Jewish blood (full Jews, Mischlinge of the first and second degree, baptized Jews) is governed by Regulations 27 and 28/41.¹⁹

VII. *Exclusion of Jewish influence from the public administration*²⁰

- (1) Decree of 28 August 1940 – Z 1916 Ve/40 –:
and of 14 September 1940 – Z 2704 Ve/40 –:
Prohibition of the employment and promotion of persons of full or partial Jewish blood (full Jews, Mischlinge of the first and second degree, persons related to Jews by marriage) in the public sector.
- (2) Decree of 4 November 1940 – Z 5077 Ve/40 –:
and of 21 February 1941 – Z 3147 Ve/41 –:

¹⁵ This refers to the regulation prohibiting non-Jewish Dutch women from working in households headed by a Jew.

¹⁶ Regulation on the Registration and Treatment of Agricultural Land in Jewish Hands, *VOBl-NL*, no. 102/1941, 27 May 1941, pp. 388–395.

¹⁷ Regulation on Jewish Real Estate, *VOBl-NL*, no. 154/1941, 11 August 1941, pp. 655–663.

¹⁸ See Doc. 86.

¹⁹ The Regulation on Jewish Students, *VOBl-NL*, no. 27/1941, 11 Feb. 1941, pp. 99–100, and the Implementing Regulation to Regulation no. 27/1941 on Jewish Students, *VOBl-NL*, no. 28/1941, 11 Feb. 1941, p. 101, severely restricted the admission of Jewish students to universities.

²⁰ The decrees mentioned hereafter stipulated a ban on hiring Jews for public sector posts or promoting Jewish staff already working in the public sector. These measures represented a preliminary step towards the dismissal of all Jewish civil servants, which was implemented soon thereafter. See Doc. 39.

The dismissal of full Jews and Mischlinge of the first degree from the public sector (salaried and honorary posts) on 30 November 1940 insofar as they or their spouses belong to the Jewish religious community (as of 10 May 1940).²¹ Service in associations and institutions in which public authorities have a financial stake is treated as equivalent to service in the public sector.

VIII. Exclusion of Jews from the liberal professions.

- (1) The decrees mentioned in VII (1) and (2) also cover the liberal professions where practice is contingent on taking an oath or pledge, including in particular lawyers, notaries, physicians, and veterinarians. The ban on practising such professions came into force on 1 May 1941.
- (2) There is still no law regulating all professions not covered in point (1) above. For example, at present lawyers are prohibited from practising their profession, but not legal consultants; notaries, but not auctioneers; physicians, but not masseurs; state school teachers, but not private school teachers; and others. The existing gaps for these and other professions, such as accountants, brokers, porters, tourist guides, and other service trades, must be closed. The Department for Legislation has already drafted a regulation to govern the practice of professions by Jews.

IX. De-Jewification of economic life

- 1) Regulation 48/41 governs the *de-Jewification of businesses* which are owned by full Jews and Mischlinge of the first degree who belong to the Jewish religious community or are related to Jews by marriage (as of 10 May 1940).²² The implementation of this regulation is under way.
- 2) On the de-Jewification of professions related solely to the *rendering of services*, please refer to point 2.²³
- 3) The *de-Jewification of workforces* is being addressed by draft legislation on the termination of the employment contracts of Jews.
- 4) The Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs²⁴ has prohibited those who are Jews within the meaning of Section 4 of Regulation 189/90 from participating in trading on the *stock exchanges* since 1 April 1941. The business of security traders, stock brokers, etc. is treated in accordance with Regulation 48/41. The measures are already in place for businesses in Amsterdam.
- 5) The directive issued by the Commissioner General for Security²⁵ on 15 September 1941²⁶ prohibits Jews within the meaning of Section 4 of Regulation 189/90 from participating in trading on the commodity exchanges. The de-Jewification of those

21 The dismissal of Jewish civil servants was based on the Regulation on the Ordering of the Legal and Financial Situation of Civil Servants, Salaried Employees, and Workers as well as Certain Sworn-in Persons, *VOBl-NL*, no. 137/1940, 13 Sept. 1940, pp. 425–426, which, in contrast to previous legislation, permitted the dismissal of these persons. A directive was actually issued on 21 November 1940, ordering that Jews in the civil service were to be dismissed by 1 March 1941, though the process was completed before this date.

22 See Doc. 67.

23 The reference is incorrect in the original.

24 Hans Fischböck.

25 Hanns Albin Rauter.

26 See Doc. 93.

Jewish businesses which participate in trading on the *commodity exchanges* is governed by Regulation 48/41.

- 6) The directive issued by the Commissioner General on 15 September 1941 prohibits Jews within the meaning of Section 4 of Regulation 189/90 from participating in *public markets* and auctions as well as from entering slaughterhouses.
- 7) *Street trading* by Jews is to be addressed by the yet to be issued ban. The need for this ban is all the more urgent as it is feared that Jewish traders who are prohibited from selling at markets, in particular at the Jewish markets, will now turn to street trading.

Re: 1) to 5): As long as a considerable number of Jews are still resident in the Netherlands, there will have to be *exceptions*:

Re: 1): It will not be advisable to de-Jewify the diamond industry. Instead, this must be considered above all as a means to employ Jewish labour (as long as raw materials are available). In those cities where Jews are concentrated in certain districts, it will be advisable, particularly in the retail sector, to keep in operation Jewish businesses which serve only Jews, such as Jewish eating and drinking establishments or Jewish grocery stores, etc. In Amsterdam, there are plans to retain such Jewish businesses in those parts of the city designated as the Jewish quarter and as Jewish streets. It is necessary to visibly identify Jewish businesses as such to indicate that only Jews are permitted to enter. This has already been prescribed for Jewish eating and drinking establishments by the Commissioner General for Security's directive of 15 September 1941.

Re: 6): Where Jews are concentrated in certain localities, it is necessary to allow them access to the slaughterhouses and vegetable markets to ensure they have food supplies. Since 1 February 1941 Jewish butchers have been separated from the rest of the butchers in Amsterdam's slaughterhouse. Jewish butchers are supplied only with an amount of livestock that corresponds to the proportion of the Jewish population in the total population. An equivalent regulation is required for the vegetable market in Amsterdam and is being prepared.

X. De-Jewification of cultural life

To date, the de-Jewification of cultural life has been initiated through:

- a) the measures described under VII, insofar as cultural life takes place within the sphere of the public administration and the institutions in which the public authorities have a financial stake (e.g. the Concertgebouw Orchestra,²⁷ theatre companies)
- b) the Commissioner General for Security's directive of 15 September 1941, insofar as it is forbidden for Jews to participate in public events and to use public facilities intended for the recreation, entertainment, and instruction of the population – such as by entering theatres; participating in public arts events, including concerts; and using public libraries, museums, etc.

A general law is still needed that prohibits Jewish persons and persons related to Jews by marriage from engaging in any cultural activity, unless this activity is exclusively [...] ²⁸

²⁷ This world-famous orchestra was founded in 1888 for the inauguration of the eponymous concert hall in Amsterdam and has been based there ever since. The Concertgebouw is one of the world's most renowned concert halls.

²⁸ Two pages of the original are missing.

In order to regulate and monitor Jewish life, it is necessary to consolidate the organization of the Jewish community in the Netherlands. Please refer to the draft law prepared by the Department for Legislation concerning the provisional regulation of Jewish life in the Netherlands.²⁹

XIII. The recording and stockpiling of Jewish assets

Thus far, Jewish assets have been recorded and administered as follows:

- 1) Assets invested in Jewish businesses are registered and administered in accordance with Regulation 48/41³⁰ upon liquidation or disposal of the business.
- 2) Jewish real estate is recorded and administered in accordance with Regulations 102³¹ and 154/41.³²
- 3) Jewish *financial assets* are recorded and administered in accordance with Regulation 148/41.³³ Jewish receivables are not yet being recorded.
- 4) The *assets* of Jewish *associations* are recorded and administered in accordance with Regulation 41/41³⁴ by the Commissioner for Non-Commercial Organizations and Foundations. When associations are dissolved, the assets are to be used in accordance with § 2(2) of Regulation 41/41.

The entirety of Jewish assets must be kept exclusively available for:

- a) the implementation of the tasks described under XII,³⁵
- b) the promotion of the emigration of Jews, with the ultimate goal being the solution to the Jewish question.

XIV. Summary

In light of the above, the following additional measures are required to effect a provisional solution to the Jewish question in the Netherlands:

- 1) Regulation on the provisional ordering of Jewish life in the Netherlands by consolidating the organization of Jewry and transferring responsibility for the Jewish school system and welfare work – cf. XII.
- 2) Labour deployment of Jews – cf. XII.
- 3) Blood protection provisions equivalent to §§ 1 and 2 of the Reich Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour of 15 September 1935 – cf. III, point 2.
- 4) Regulation on the non-employment of non-Jews in Jewish households – cf. IV, point 2.
- 5) Regulation on the control of professional practice – cf. VIII, point 2.
- 6) Prohibition of Jewish street trading – cf. IX, point 7.
- 7) Regulation on cleansing cultural life of Jewish influences – cf. X.
- 8) Rules covering the relocation of Jews within their places of residence – cf. XI, point 2.
- 9) Exclusion of Jews from non-Jewish non-commercial organizations and foundations – cf. X.

²⁹ This could not be located.

³⁰ See Doc. 67.

³¹ Regulation on the Registration and Treatment of Agricultural Land in Jewish Hands, *VOBl-NL*, no. 102/1941, 27 May 1941, pp. 388–395.

³² Regulation on Jewish Real Estate, *VOBl-NL*, no. 154/1941, 11 August 1941, pp. 655–663.

³³ See Doc. 85.

³⁴ Regulation on the Restructuring of Non-Commercial Associations and Foundations, *VOBl-NL*, no. 41/1941, 28 Feb. 1941, pp. 148–152. § 2(2) gave the Reich Commissioner the authority to independently appoint and dismiss the directors and officials of associations and foundations.

³⁵ The section is not contained in the existing original.

DOC. 96

Westdeutscher Beobachter*, 11 October 1941: article on relations between Jews and the non-Jewish Dutch population¹Jews in the Netherlands (V): The Forces of Resistance**A clear appreciation is needed – the country awakens / by Hermann Ginzel²*

In recent years, prominent Dutch politicians and ministers have claimed over and over again that there is no antisemitism in Holland. In an earlier instalment of this series we already mentioned the remarks made by the last prime minister (de Geer Esquire), who emphatically stated in Parliament in 1938 that the Jews here were of Dutch stock and equal to every other citizen of this country. If that were so, then one would have to contemplate the fact that the 'Grand Club'³ in Amsterdam, for instance, along with many other associations, has not admitted any Jews as members. What is more, only in the last generation have we begun to observe intermarriage with Jews. The segregation of Jews in separate city districts also shows that they themselves at least certainly do not see themselves as being of 'Dutch stock'. No, the truth is that on a purely instinctive level the Dutch people also feel that they must be wary of the Jews. What we are dealing with here to a certain extent is an unwritten and, above all, amorphous antisemitism. It is concealed beneath bourgeois tolerance and societal and other considerations, and therefore has never been a factor in the political struggle.

At first glance, it may come as a surprise that even the Catholic Church in the Netherlands expressed anti-Jewish sentiments not so long ago. A message to the faithful in 1924 declared:

All dealings and communications are to be avoided with the Jews, who bear such hostility towards the glory of the cross of Christ, which they find offensive. The priests must ensure that Christians shall not proffer regular services to them and end up becoming their servants and sharing living quarters with them. If there is no fear of faith and morality being corrupted, the only work permitted is that done for daily wages in the fields or factories of the Jews. It is important for us to be on our guard to make sure that Christians are not compelled to perform other services for shameful gain that might imperil their souls. In accordance with the exhortation of Pope

1 *Westdeutscher Beobachter* (evening edition), 11 Oct. 1941, p. 3. The *Westdeutscher Beobachter* was one of the largest National Socialist newspapers in the western parts of the German Reich. It appeared daily from 1930 to 1945 and in 1934 had a circulation of around 180,000 copies. This document has been translated from German.

2 Hermann Ginzel (1899–1974), journalist; worked at various newspapers from 1919, including the *Kölnische Zeitung*, 1928–1933, and the *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, 1933–1945; editor-in-chief of the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* from Dec. 1940 to Nov. 1941; journalist at the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* after 1945.

3 Founded in 1922, the Sociëteit de Groote Club Doctrina et Amicitia was a club for Amsterdam's economic and social elites. It merged with De Industriele Club in 1975 to become De Industriele Groote Club, which is still in existence today.

Benedict XIV, it is also necessary to ensure that the faithful shall not seek the riches and the resources of the Jews.⁴

This statement, it should be noted, was made for purely *religious* ecclesial purposes, but by no means for racial policy purposes. The *politicians* of the Catholic parties have also not cared one bit about the Church's recommendations. They, in particular, maintained the closest ties to Jewish finance – a case in point is the Mannheimer incident.⁵ The resistance which reared its head on several occasions was unable to assert itself. As early as 1878, the leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, Dr *Kuyper*,⁶ clearly pointed out the dangers posed by Jewry: 'One discovers little by little that under the cover of liberalism the Jews have become lords and masters in our part of the world, and in most countries hold enormous sway not only over public opinion but also over international relations.' Kuyper later served as prime minister for quite some time, and he must have soon realized that it was impossible to control this danger under the circumstances prevailing at the time. If there was a basic antisemitic attitude, it remained amorphous and leaderless, and thus also without impact. The press, state, parliamentary, and governmental apparatus became more tolerant and more accommodating from decade to decade.

When the Mussert-led NSB came on the scene in 1931 to take up the struggle for renewal, the Jewish question was initially put aside for tactical reasons. Dutch National Socialists have explained that the movement would never have come into existence if solving the Jewish question had been the first task it set itself. According to them, the notion of Jewish domination was completely foreign to the popular consciousness, so it was necessary to proceed step by step. Although, as Dr von Genechten⁷ pointed out at the Frankfurt Conference on the occasion of the opening of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question,⁸ there was little talk of the Jews at first, they did immediately stand at the front line of hostility towards the National Socialist movement and were thus themselves responsible for bringing the topic to the fore. 'We first tackled the subject vigorously in 1937 in a programmatic paper on "The origins of Dutch National Socialism".⁹ Various writers systematically examined the role of the Jews in our history.'

The English war sees the Jews actively joining the ranks of our enemies. This fact made it necessary to intensify the struggle. In a programmatic speech given in March

4 In 1924 the archdiocese of Utrecht convened a provincial council, which reaffirmed the antisemitic recommendations issued by the provincial council of 1865. These recommendations urged Catholics to avoid contact with Jews. In subsequent years, the guidelines were adopted time and again by Dutch National Socialists. To this day they have not been officially retracted.

5 See Doc. 53, fn. 6.

6 Dr Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), pastor; founder of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) in 1879; founder of the Free University of Amsterdam in 1880; prime minister of the Netherlands, 1901–1905.

7 Robert van Genechten (1895–1945), lawyer; the native Belgian joined the NSB in 1934 and became one of the leading members of the party; chief public prosecutor in The Hague, Sept. 1940 to 1943; sentenced to death in 1945; committed suicide.

8 The inaugural conference of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question was held from 26 to 28 March 1941. Mussert and van Genechten took part as representatives of the Netherlands. See PMJ 3/170 and Doc. 5.

9 A. A. Mussert, *De bronnen van het Nederlandsche nationaal-socialisme* (Hoofdkwartier NSB: Utrecht, 1937).

of this year at the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart stated:¹⁰

I declare that my word still stands – we seek neither to suppress the Dutch national character nor to impose our convictions on it. But this applies only to the Dutch people! We do not consider the Jews to be part of this people. To National Socialism and to the National Socialist Reich the Jews are the enemy! – We do not consider the Jews to be Dutch. They are an enemy with whom it is impossible to reach an armistice or peace. Do not expect from me any order which lays this down, apart from regulations of a police nature. We will smite the Jews wherever we find them, and anyone who goes with them will bear the consequences. The Führer has declared that the role of the Jews in Europe is finished, and consequently their role is finished. The only thing that can be discussed is the institution of a tolerable transition stage that maintains the fundamental attitude that the Jews are enemies, in other words, that takes the caution appropriate for enemies.

The Reich Commissioner has not enacted a cohesive set of regulations. Only police measures and other security measures have been put in place. The Jewish quarters in Amsterdam and elsewhere are marked by signs. A census of all Jews has also been conducted and a new identity document procedure decreed. The Jew has been removed from public life (administration etc.). Jewish businesses are being Aryanized. Only a limited number of Jews are admitted to university studies. They are banned from eating and drinking establishments, cinemas, theatres, etc. Further measures (work camps, among others) are being prepared or are under way. The cleansing of the universities was also essential.¹¹

Some time ago, the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* wrote the following on the subject of 'Jewry and scholarship':¹²

In this political struggle of world proportions within the realm of intellectual history, the Dutch – as the Reich Commissioner once described it – have become rather too caught up in the ways of thinking prevalent on one side of the conflict. The teaching of the humanities at Dutch universities has thus far been carried out entirely in the spirit of the Enlightenment of the nineteenth century, and has assimilated few, if any, ideas of the revolution of the twentieth century. Wherever it was at all possible to grow beyond nationalism in its most primitive form, they did so in a more or less one-sided, sectarian atmosphere. It was therefore also impossible to bring together the existing forces which opposed the spirit of the previous era and to form a productive whole. The preconditions for achieving this require not only a clear appreciation of the fundamental forces of our era; they must be created by removing from the universities and research institutes those who by virtue of their race and ethnic affiliation are the natural bearers of such false convictions and thus the natural opponents

10 On 12 March 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart gave a speech to members of the NSDAP's 'Netherlands Section' (Arbeitsbereich Niederlande). See A. Seyss-Inquart, *Vier Jahre in den Niederlanden: Gesammelte Reden* (Volk und Reich Verlag: Amsterdam, 1944), pp. 37–66, here pp. 57–58.

11 See Doc. 95, fn. 19.

12 'Judentum und Wissenschaft: Gedanken zur Frage des jüdischen Einflusses in den Niederlanden', *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*: 14 Feb. 1941, p. 5.

of the new awareness. The removal of Jewish university lecturers and the restrictions placed on admitting Jewish students to universities and to academic examinations are therefore of fundamental importance. Such actions are far more than merely preventive police measures. They should, in the interests of the humanities in the Netherlands, contribute to creating the preconditions for Dutch scholarship to once again renew its awareness of its true foundations and its inextricable attachment to the intellectual landscape of the Germanic world. This world requires a new breed of people, and therefore the ideas of the eighteenth century and their Jewish proponents must disappear – also from Dutch universities.

The Dutch people themselves will now have to prove through practical action what contribution they can make to the struggle against the Jewish enemy.

(This concludes this series. See also 'WB'¹³ no. 487, 24 September; no. 491, 26 September; no. 496, 29 September; and no. 502, 2 October)¹⁴

DOC. 97

In a memorandum to his colleagues dated 12 October 1941, Meijer de Vries reflects on the role of the Jewish Council and its current options¹

Memorandum from Meijer de Vries² (DVR/R.), general advisor, Amsterdam, to Messrs Blitz,³ Bolle,⁴ Krouwer,⁵ van Oss,⁶ and Roet,⁷ 12 October 1941

I ask that you do not consider the following as proposals for our meeting this Thursday, but merely as reflections which will perhaps give us the opportunity to conduct our meeting along certain lines.

What is the reality?

One should view the Jewish Council's position realistically, that is, not as we would like to see it, but as the authorities have actually shaped it in practice. The reality now is that it is ultimately the chairmen – and they *alone* – with whom the authorities conduct

¹³ *Westdeutscher Beobachter*.

¹⁴ The titles of the other articles in the series were: 'I – The Middle Ages. Emigration from Spain and Portugal. The East also represented'; 'II – How David Warschauer immigrated – under protection from the highest quarters'; 'III – A gathering of big-time fraudsters – from Judko Barmat to Holzmänn to Mannheimer, Reynaud's court banker'; and 'IV – Israel in Dutch caricature'.

¹ NIOD, 182/1a. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² Meijer (also known as Meyer) de Vries (1891–1980), civil servant; worked at the Ministry of Social Affairs until 1941; general advisor in the Jewish Council's secretariat and member of other Jewish Council commissions, 1942–1943; thought to have gone into hiding, 1943–1945; worked again as a civil servant in Utrecht, 1948–1956.

³ Martijn Willem Blitz (1897–1944), accountant; deputy director of Amsterdamsche Bank prior to 1940; member of the Jewish Council's finance committee; deported to Westerbork in Sept. 1943, and from there in Feb. 1944 to Bergen-Belsen, where he perished in Nov. 1944.

⁴ Meijer Henri Max Bolle (1910–1945), auditor; head of the Jewish National Fund in the Netherlands prior to 1940; general manager of the Jewish Council, 1941–1942; deported to Westerbork in Oct. 1942, and from there immediately to Auschwitz; died of typhus in a camp near Dachau in May 1945.

discussions, to whom orders are given, and who are held fully responsible for everything that happens or fails to happen, whether we like it or not; we are given no choice in the matter. If we want to cooperate, we must accept the facts as they are. Under these circumstances the chairmen constitute the top of the pyramid, and they have to bear responsibility outwardly and also inwardly – the two being inseparable – in both *formal* and *material* terms. As colleagues, it is therefore our duty to work together to construct an organization for which they and they alone can bear full responsibility. This implies that no organization – committee, office, or whatever it is called – may be established with an authority greater than or *equal* to that held by the chairmen. Should this occur, then responsibility would no longer rest solely with the chairmen, problems would certainly arise, and the Jewish cause would be harmed.

From what I have set out above, it follows that all Jewish Council staff are hierarchically subordinate to the chairmen. (The word ‘hierarchically’ should be understood here in the sense of colleagues standing alongside the leaders, who ultimately make the decisions.) Consequently, the chairmen – and they *alone* – make decisions (in practice this may mean that someone decides *on their behalf*, which is a matter of delegation), with the result that staff *across the board play merely an advisory role*, and on the basis of their general and political responsibility for Jewry in the Netherlands, the chairmen are fully entitled to deviate from any advice. As prudent men, they will not reject well-founded advice lightly and will otherwise communicate their reasons for any such decision, but this does not alter their indisputable right to do so.

How the Jewish Council should be viewed

Viewed in its broader context, the Jewish Council is made up of two parts: the first is concerned with collection, the second with expenditure. The chairmen are responsible for both of these operations. In line with their responsibility, these men have the duty to ensure that both parts, which are constitutive elements of the council, function as well as possible. In addition to the officials who serve the council, and thus the chairmen, in an explicitly formal capacity, the latter require a number of bodies which provide advice and information on matters of a general nature. By this I mean committees. To ensure efficient operations, committees are needed for areas including culture, youth, education, and not least for finance. All of these committees will contribute information compiled by experts, which, after being presented as recommendations and accepted by the chairmen, is processed by the officials. In order to operate efficiently, the Jewish Council thus functions as

5 Abraham Krouwer (1884–1965), businessman; active in expanding trade with the Dutch East Indies; member of the Jewish court’s finance committee from 1941; survived the war, presumably in hiding; after the occupation ended, a Jewish ‘court of honour’ sentenced him to five years’ exclusion from all Jewish organizations.

6 Dr Jacob Frederik van Oss (1875–1961), mathematician; lecturer in Amsterdam, 1916–1920; worked for the Amsterdam city administration, 1920–1937; co-founder of and economic advisor to the pharmaceutical firm Orgonon; resigned from the company under pressure from the German authorities in 1941; member of the Jewish Council’s finance committee in 1942; survived the occupation by reason of his ‘mixed marriage’.

7 Salomon Roet (1892–1960), financial advisor; worked for various banks prior to 1940; member of the Jewish Council’s finance committee; survived the war, presumably in hiding; lived in Israel intermittently from 1949; emigrated there permanently in 1959.

a kind of triumvirate: the chairmen lead, the committees provide information, and officials in the departments implement decisions.

Financial needs

Given the developments of the last few weeks, we must now reckon with the fact that the council's duties will increase. Unfortunate as it is, we must expect that, in light of these developments, Jews will have to use their own resources to cover many costs which the Dutch authorities have covered until now. *Under these circumstances, it is of the greatest importance that procedures for collection and expenditure are organized as effectively as possible.* While on the one hand levies must be as moderate as possible, on the other hand aspects necessary for survival (by which I also mean the preservation of spiritual, cultural, and physical well-being) require that the expenditure system does everything it can to mitigate the fate of the Jews. Guarantees must be in place so that the funds available for *this* purpose are used to the greatest possible extent. Considering the near future within the framework of what has been outlined here, our next steps must be to immediately examine, reform, and where necessary construct the entire organization accordingly.

Financial structure

In what follows, this memorandum will address financial issues only in general terms, and it will therefore not deal with either the administration of income and expenditure or methods of collection, etc. Along with the various advisory committees set forth in this programme, an advisory committee for financial affairs is indispensable. In my opinion, this committee's tasks should include:

- a. providing guidelines for collecting the required funds;
- b. assessing departmental budgets, not only in terms of the annual budget, but also for each interim change proposed;
- c. obtaining a complete picture of the working practices of the council's various bodies at any time the committee may require it;
- d. providing the chairmen with information concerning financial affairs, whether or not this is requested.

The committee, which should not be too large, can be composed along the following lines: in addition to a few individuals with demonstrable skills in the fields of finance and commerce, it will include the secretary general,⁸ who reports to the chairmen, acts as the liaison between the departments and as an accountant, and ensures that the administration is set up correctly; and also the general advisor,⁹ who will work with the chairmen on a daily basis, assist them with a range of tasks, and therefore be familiar with the progress and purpose of various projects.

The chairmen's requirements

If the chairmen want to perform their work properly, then as well as an advisory committee, two additional departments need to be created, of which one already exists, albeit in a modest form. The first is a supervisory body, linked to the general secretariat, which on behalf of the general leadership, i.e. the chairmen, will carry out all the tasks that fall within the remit of such a body. Its remit can be outlined in such general terms that it

⁸ Meijer Henri Max Bolle.

⁹ Meijer de Vries.

can be expanded or scaled back as circumstances demand. This supervisory body shall also be entirely at the disposal of the advisory committee for finance, which is authorized to commission a wide range of assignments upon consultation with the secretary general.

An efficiency committee is also necessary, which will perform the work currently being done by Dr van Oss, and which – under his leadership and alongside the general secretariat, though subordinate to the chairmen – will act as an independent agency, able to advise the chairmen directly. Close cooperation between the advisory committee for finance and the general secretariat is essential in order for the council to operate successfully.¹⁰

DOC. 98

On 14 October 1941 the Jewish Coordination Committee expresses concern over the increasing isolation of Jews¹

Letter from the Coordination Committee, unsigned,² to the Council of Secretaries General,³ 's-Gravenhage, undated⁴

Honourable Sirs,

The Coordination Committee, established by the Dutch-Israelite and Portuguese-Israelite religious associations, in consultation with the major Jewish organizations in the Netherlands, considers itself duty-bound to call the following to your attention at this time:

Immediately after the Dutch capitulation, various senior Dutch governmental officials, including the secretaries general, notified a number of prominent Jews, on their own initiative, that they had firm assurance from the occupying authorities that Dutch Jews would not be treated differently than any other Dutch people.⁵

Initially it appeared this pledge would be kept. Yet Dutch Jews are now living under increasing discrimination, the consequences of which are placing increasing strain on the Jewish community.

More than six hundred young Jewish men have been sent to Germany without having been tried and sentenced.⁶ These were all young men in the prime of their lives – between eighteen and thirty-five years old – and before their departure they all underwent

¹⁰ No response to these reflections could be found.

¹ JHM, Doc. 00 003 186. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² The letter was written by L. E. Visser, chairman of the Coordination Committee.

³ The secretaries general met several times per week to discuss how to proceed. A. M. Snouck-Hurgronje was the chairman of the council until July 1941, followed by K. J. Fredericks. After more and more NSB members were appointed secretaries general, the meetings became less frequent. See Introduction, p. 37.

⁴ In a report analysing the situation of the imprisoned Jews, Visser himself dates the letter to 14 Oct.: see Doc. 107. The original contains handwritten notes.

⁵ See Introduction, p. 38.

⁶ See Docs. 60 and 80.

a medical examination and were declared healthy. According to official Sicherheitspolizei⁷ reports, almost⁸ four hundred of them have now died.

In the last few days, more than one hundred Jewish men have again been taken to Germany from the eastern part of the country.⁹ Among them are men of advanced years and men declared unfit for work: the condition for their release, that they be replaced by others, could not be met.¹⁰

The Jewish community of the Netherlands mourns for these men endlessly.

Meanwhile, this community undergoes one ordeal after another.

The discrimination began with Dutch Jews no longer being eligible to hold public office, and they were soon ousted from such posts.¹¹

The same fate – albeit with a few exceptions for those whose professional activity was limited to providing services solely to Jews – befell lawyers, estate agents, sworn translators, physicians, pharmacists, midwives, and nurses both male and female.¹²

Preceded by the registration of all Jewish businesses,¹³ the process of ousting Dutch Jews from the business world is now fully under way.¹⁴ A number of Jewish businesses have been placed in German hands, a number in the hands of Dutch non-Jews. In addition, an increasing number of businesses have been forced into liquidation in various ways.

No compensation is provided for forced liquidation; these business owners are simply stripped of their livelihoods. In instances in which businesses continue to operate, compensation and allowances are permitted as a means of subsistence in some cases, but by no means always. The rules according to which this is granted are completely unknown. There is no option to appeal to an authority.

Jewish employees of Aryanized businesses, but also those employed by non-Jewish businesses, are being dismissed in increasing numbers, regardless of how long they have been employed or rendered their services. These dismissals fail to observe the government's rules on dismissing workers and are indeed made without considering the spirit of those rules. In many cases, people are dismissed without any compensation beyond their wages as required by law, while pension rights are disregarded. At most, employees are occasionally reimbursed for the pension contributions they have paid. And in those cases in which compensation is granted, it is always merely a negligible amount at most. Even those who are granted compensation will very soon have nothing left to live on.¹⁵

7 German in the original: 'Security Police'.

8 In the original, the words 'more than' have been crossed out and replaced with 'almost' here.

9 On 13/14 Sept. and 7/8 Oct. 1941 roundups took place in Arnhem, Apeldoorn, and the Achterhoek, all in the province of Gelderland, as well as in Zwolle and Enschede in the Twente region of the province of Overijssel. Around 200 Jews were arrested and deported to Mauthausen. In Twente the roundups had been triggered by minor acts of sabotage (the cutting of cables). The pretext for the roundups in the province of Gelderland is unknown.

10 Handwritten note: '[number illegible] of the Jews from Drenthe have since died in [illegible]'.

11 See Doc. 39.

12 From 1 May 1941 Jews who were physicians, notaries, pharmacists, midwives, lawyers, or employed in other liberal professions could only work for Jewish clients: see Doc. 73.

13 See Doc. 42.

14 See Docs. 67 and 83.

Houses and other property belonging to Dutch Jews continue to be requisitioned at an increasing rate. The number of requisitions is in no way comparable to the demands placed on non-Jewish Dutch people. In many cases, Jewish property is confiscated without any compensation whatsoever.

The liquid assets of Dutch Jews as well as their real estate are subject to a (control) system; their power to dispose of their property has largely been taken away from them.¹⁶

The livelihoods of thousands of small merchants are under threat now that they have been denied access to trade fairs, markets, auctions, public sales, and slaughterhouses.¹⁷

Jewish citizens and their property have repeatedly been targeted by acts of violence and criminal assault. Synagogues and association buildings have been set on fire and destroyed. In virtually every case, the authorities provided no protection, and the culprits have never been punished.

Identity cards have been or will be issued to all Dutch people. It was expressly decided that these cards should bear no other designation than that which had been originally determined. Despite this, the cards issued [to Jews] have been stamped to indicate that the holder is Jewish.¹⁸

Freedom of movement is increasingly being curtailed for Jews. It was already no longer possible for them to move house anywhere they wanted, but relocation and travel will now require various authorizations.

Visiting bathing facilities is forbidden. This prohibition was then applied to an extent that goes way beyond its spirit and wording.¹⁹ Jews may no longer enter public parks. Maintaining hygiene, which is particularly important in these times, is seriously hindered by the ban on using public swimming facilities. This ban – which is not supported by the provision itself – has been extended to include the use of bathtubs in bathing facilities, posing a more serious threat to public health.

Restrictions have been imposed on young Jews in terms of access to higher education.²⁰ Jewish children have been dismissed from all other educational institutions.²¹ This measure even extends to the most pitiable of all creatures: mentally handicapped, blind, deaf, developmentally and physically disabled children. It is altogether uncertain whether it will be at all possible to adequately meet the need to provide Jewish children with a proper education.

Jews have been banished from Dutch cultural life. The extent of the associated measures continues to increase.²² Anything that aids relaxation – including sport, which is

15 Regulation no. 198/1941 on the Professional Practice of Jews was not published until 22 Oct. 1941. However, it appears that a number of businesses pre-empted its provisions on their own initiative with regard to dismissals and the continued payment of wages.

16 See Doc. 85 and the Regulation on Jewish Real Estate, *VOBl-NL*, no. 154/1941, 11 August 1941, pp. 655–663.

17 See Doc. 93.

18 See Doc. 82.

19 See Doc. 77.

20 See Docs. 57 and 95.

21 See Doc. 86.

22 All the additional restrictions mentioned in the document refer to Rauter's order: see Doc. 93.

so essential for maintaining health – is prohibited or else regulated in such a way as to make it impossible or extremely difficult to do.

Jews are forbidden from visiting theatres, concert halls,²³ libraries, public reading rooms, and museums. Even where there is an opportunity for the Jewish community to satisfy its cultural needs, at least in part, so many obstacles must be overcome that such provision is only possible in some of the larger cities.

Entering cafes, restaurants, hotels, boarding houses, and the waiting rooms at stations is no longer permitted. This also constitutes a severe hindrance to business life. But in addition, it is a further exclusion from the Dutch national community.

It is this exclusion – even more than all the economic misery – that the Dutch Jews feel to be a terrible misfortune. For more than three centuries, the Jewish part of the population – despite being bound by fate to the Jewish people – have felt themselves to be at one with the Dutch and rejoiced in the knowledge that Dutch society also recognized no difference between citizens based on heritage or faith.

There is no point in going into further detail about the extent to which the treatment of Dutch Jews has been established by law. Some measures correspond to regulations that have been announced, while others have been issued as police measures even though their scope is far broader than that which could be attributed to measures concerning public safety. Other measures, such as those concerning education, have no legal basis at all.

Even when such a legal basis exists, this treatment of Dutch Jews violates the pledge made by the Dutch authorities after the capitulation. At a time when the unhappy Dutch-Jewish community feels itself threatened by an even greater disaster, this commission considers itself duty-bound to point this out.

With the highest esteem, honourable sirs, we remain your obliging
Coordination Committee

DOC. 99

On 5 November 1941 the Reich Foreign Office raises the issue of Sweden's intervention on behalf of Dutch prisoners in Mauthausen concentration camp¹

Letter (marked 'secret') from the Reich Foreign Office (D III 588.g) to the Reich Security Main Office for the attention of SS-Gruppenführer Müller,² signed Luther³ (6 November),⁴ dated 5 November 1941 (carbon copy, filed)⁵

The request from the Swedish emissaries⁶ makes it necessary to fundamentally clarify several points:

The background to the Swedish emissaries' intervention is as follows: in February and June of this year, a total of 660 Jews of Dutch nationality were taken to concentration

²³ Handwritten addition: 'cinemas'.

¹ PA AA, R 100876. This document has been translated from German.

camps in Germany.⁷ As communicated to the Amsterdam Jewish Council, more than 400 of these prisoners have died so far. The lists show that the fatalities always occurred on certain days. Almost without exception, the prisoners were young men.

The Swedish delegation, representing the protecting power for the Netherlands, repeatedly appealed to the Reich Foreign Office, requesting permission to visit the Dutch Jews in the camps. This request was not granted.⁸

Sweden now acts as the protecting power for Germany in several enemy foreign countries. As a result, handling this issue was difficult and disagreeable insofar as we were unable to summarily dismiss Sweden's ideas without having to fear that Sweden, for its part, would fail to place the necessary emphasis on the representation of German interests in enemy foreign countries.

In order to avoid such incidents in the future, it is necessary that people arrested in German-occupied territories are not taken to the Reich. As long as those arrested remain in the occupied territories, they are not under the jurisdiction of countries acting as protecting powers. In addition, care should be taken to ensure that, as far as possible, notifications of fatalities do not create the impression that fatalities always occur on certain days.

Essentially, the Reich Foreign Office takes the same position as the Reich Security Main Office, and for its part endorses repressive measures against Jews as instigators of unrest. However, the aim of safeguarding German interests in enemy foreign countries makes it necessary for this issue be dealt with in the manner mentioned above.

Please examine these questions and notify the Reich Foreign Office of the response.⁹

2 Heinrich Müller (1900–1945), aircraft mechanic; worked at the police headquarters in Munich from 1919 and from 1929 responsible for monitoring communist organizations for the Munich Political Police; joined the SS and the SD in 1934 and the same year transferred to the Berlin Gestapo; joined the NSDAP in 1938; director of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration and head of Section IV (Gestapo) in the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) from 1939; attended the Wannsee Conference in 1942; died at the end of the war.

3 Martin Luther (1895–1945), furniture haulier; export merchant, 1919–1936; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1932; employed in the Bureau Ribbentrop, 1936–1938; at the Reich Foreign Office, 1938–1943, where he was head of Department D (Germany), 1940–1943; attended the Wannsee Conference in 1942 as representative of the Reich Foreign Office; imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp after attempting to overthrow Reich Foreign Minister Ribbentrop, 1943–1945; taken into Soviet custody at the end of the war; died in May 1945 in a Berlin hospital.

4 The first signature is illegible. Luther signed the document a day later.

5 The original contains handwritten annotations and stamps.

6 On 13 October 1941 the Swedish emissary intervened with the Reich Foreign Office: see PA AA/R 29678.

7 See Docs. 60 and 80.

8 An official rejection could not be found; instead the Reich Foreign Office tried to ignore the requests and to keep postponing the issue: see NIOD 207/5403.

9 See *ibid.*

DOC. 100

**On 5 November 1941 Baruch Wagenaar asks to be allowed to retain
his mentally disabled daughter's non-Jewish carer¹**

Letter from Baruch Wagenaar,² Naarden, 28 Lambertus Hortensiuslaan, to the Secretary General for Administration and Justice,³ office of the Reich Commissioner (received on 8 November 1941), The Hague, 5 November 1941⁴

Regarding regulation prohibiting the employment of Aryans in Jewish households⁵

In connection with the above regulation, I am writing to you politely with the following request.

Our only child, twenty-seven years old, has been mentally ill for ten years now.

The doctors who treated her considered it extremely desirable for her mental as well as her physical condition that she spend time outdoors every day.

For five years now, we have had a girl coming for half-days to entertain our daughter and go for bicycle rides with her.

After much difficulty we finally succeeded in finding this suitable companion for our daughter, and the patient has grown very attached to her over time. A change would have undesirable consequences.

For this reason I respectfully beseech you, also on behalf of my wife, to make an exception in our case by allowing us to retain the girl for our daughter. We would be extremely thankful to you for this.

Yours sincerely

The mayor of Naarden confirms that the aforementioned circumstances are known to him and correct. Approval is respectfully recommended.

Naarden, 5 November 1941.

signed J. E. Boddens Hosang⁶

Mayor

1 NIOD, 020/1461. This document has been translated from German.

2 Baruch Chajim Wagenaar (1883–1943), sales representative; committed suicide on 22/23 April 1943 along with his wife, Berta Adele Wagenaar-Susholz (1878–1943), and their daughter, Maria Leonie Wagenaar (1913–1943).

3 Friedrich Wimmer.

4 The original contains the handwritten comment: '1) Note: Regulation 200/41 creates so many cases in which implementation and refusal to grant an exception leads to hardship that in this case too I cannot take responsibility for making an exception. 2) Respectfully referred to Dr Stüler for a decision. Signed Calmeyer, 10 November 1941'.

5 Regulation on Employment in Jewish Households, *VOBl-NL*, no. 200/1941, 22 October 1941, pp. 846–848.

6 Jacob Eliza Boddens Hosang (1899–1958), mayor of Naarden (province of North Holland), 1935–1942.

DOC. 101

**On 11 November 1941 the bank Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Sarphatistraat
draws up a first summary of compulsory deposits made by Jews¹**

Inception report and first interim report by Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Sarphatistraat, unsigned, undated²

Inception report according to Point V 1 of the guidelines for the administration of businesses subject to registration.

I.

Pursuant to the Regulation on the Handling of Jewish Financial Assets issued by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on 8 August 1941 (148/41),³ persons who are Jews or considered to be Jews within the meaning of § 4 of Regulation 189/40⁴ on the Registration of Businesses are required to deposit cash and cheques exceeding a fixed allowance at the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Sarphatistraat bank, Amsterdam, to deliver their securities to a depository at this bank, and to transfer their assets and deposits from banks, savings banks, and other financial and credit institutions to the aforementioned bank.

In order to implement this regulation, a special department was established within the existing company L. R. & Co. and placed in the charge of General Manager Dr Walter von Karger,⁵ who has been deferred from service in the navy for this purpose. The names of the streets where the respective offices are located have been added to the company name in order to mark the difference between the new department and the old bank: 'Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Nieuwe Spiegelstraat' will continue to conduct the bank's previous business. 'Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Sarphatistraat' can now be used for the implementation of Regulation 148/41.

The two departments are separate from each other in terms of their function and their personnel; each keeps its own books and accounts.

Signatures of authorization are valid only for one or the other of the respective departments; the most recent directory of signatures is enclosed.⁶

As L. R. & Co. Sarphatistraat does not have its own working capital, no opening balance sheet can be prepared; it had no assets or liabilities at the start of operations. The initial expenses were covered by a loan made available by the Nieuwe Spiegelstraat department in the amount of fl. 28,764.00.⁷ This was covered by the first deposits and transfers made by the Jews required to deposit assets.

1 NIOD, 097/B1. This document has been translated from German.

2 The dating is based on a letter enclosed in the file dated 11 Nov. 1941 to the president of the bank, Alfred Flesche.

3 See Doc. 85.

4 See Doc. 42.

5 Dr Walter von Karger (1889–1975), lawyer; director at Deutsche Rentenbank, 1925–1935; partner at Wilhelm Ahlmann Bank in Kiel, 1937–1940; naval officer, 1940–1941; head of Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Sarphatistraat bank, 1941–1943; interned in Amersfoort camp, 1943–1944; interned in the Netherlands from 1947 to August 1948; served on the board of the credit institution Landmaschinen-Finanzierungs-AG from 1950.

6 None of the enclosures mentioned in this report are in the file.

7 According to the official exchange rate, at this time 100 guilders was equivalent to RM 132.70.

Enclosed is a list of the Sarphatistraat department's workforce as of 31 October 1941, stating the start date and monthly salary; at the same time the list provides an overview of the organization. A small number of these employees were transferred from the Nieuwe Spiegelstraat department because they were not needed there.

The Sarphatistraat department employs an exclusively non-Jewish workforce.

The new business is located at 47–55 Sarphatistraat in a building rented from Amsterdamsche Bank. The latter ran a large branch office in the building, which they moved elsewhere at the request of the commissioner for Nederlandsche Bank. The rooms on the first and second floors of the aforementioned building had either stood empty or could be cleared immediately; the third floor is to be vacated by 30 November 1941, but it will probably already be empty by the middle of November.

There are two large modern vaults available in the building, one of which was used by Amsterdamsche Bank for its safety deposit boxes until September 1941. The rental cost was fl. 31,500 without the third floor and 35,000 for the entire building. Additionally, the costs of Amsterdamsche Bank's move were covered, which amounted to fl. 8,711.21, as well as half of the moving costs of the third-floor tenant, which totalled fl. 4,500, including costs for retaining flooring, the furnishings for a room for appointments, and several steel doors used to divide the single space into two separate rooms.

The interior of the Sarphatistraat building had to be completely redecorated, except for a few light fittings and curtains left behind by Amsterdamsche Bank. It was possible to meet all the requirements in spite of the procurement difficulties that exist across the board. In the process we received every possible support from all relevant offices. By 31 October 1941 the amount of fl. 69,353.88 had been spent to procure inventory. By 31 October 1941 a sum of approximately fl. 8,743.20 had been needed to prepare the individual floors which did not meet the new requirements.

II.

First interim report according to Point V 2 of the Guidelines for the Administration of Businesses Subject to Registration.

On 22 July 1941 the commissioner for Nederlandsche Bank, Dr Bühler,⁸ on behalf of the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs,⁹ Minister Dr Fischböck, tasked Director A. Flesche,¹⁰ the 'Bewindvoerder'¹¹ of Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co., and Dr W. von Karger, the future general manager of the new department, with making preparations for the acquisition of Jewish financial assets, composed of cash, credit balances, and securities.

8 Dr Albert Bühler (1895–1973), lawyer; worked at the Reichsbank, 1924–1940; joined the NSDAP in 1938; posted to Nederlandsche Bank, 1940–1945, where he was commissioner from 1943; interned in the Netherlands, 1945–1947; served on the board of the Deutsche Genossenschaftskasse (German Cooperative Bank), 1952–1964.

9 Hans Fischböck.

10 Alfred Flesche (1892–1986), banker; director of the Rhodius-Koenigs bank, 1924–1940; joined the NSDAP in 1933; president of the German Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands, 1936–1945; trustee of Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank, 1941–1944; fled to Germany in 1944; arrested and released multiple times in Germany and the Netherlands in 1945 and 1946; thought to have returned permanently to Germany in 1950.

11 Dutch in the original: 'trustee'.

Apart from hiring executives and other employees, the primary concern was finding suitable premises. As reported in more detail in the inception report, such premises were found in the building at 47–55 Sarphatistraat belonging to Amsterdamsche Bank. Over the next weekend Amsterdamsche Bank generously relocated its branch office from Sarphatistraat 47–55 to alternative premises on the same street, so that the new space was already available for use on 28 July 1941. Over the next two weeks, the necessary initial staff were hired and the necessary furnishings procured. In addition, plans were drawn up for the internal organization of the bank, and the necessary forms, books, etc. were prepared.

On 9 August 1941, issue number 32 of the *Verordnungsblatt* of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories was published, which contained the Regulation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on the Handling of Jewish Financial Assets.¹²

The implications of this regulation for the activity of Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Sarphatistraat are as follows:

A.

Deposits of money and transfer of assets held by banks elsewhere and of other assets
Deposits by Jews affected by Regulation 148/41 were not and are not in line with expectations. By the end of the seventh week after the regulation was issued, the following amounts had been deposited in cash or by transfer each week:

In the week	11–16 August 1941	fl.	398,681.32
” ” ”	18–23 August 1941	fl.	1,991,397.82
” ” ”	25–30 August 1941	fl.	3,743,363.60
” ” ”	1–6 September 1941	fl.	3,438,783.46
” ” ”	8–13 September 1941	fl.	1,616,871.58
” ” ”	15–20 September 1941	fl.	1,618,604.61
” ” ”	22–30 September 1941	fl.	2,352,958.17
total deposits by 30 September 1941		fl.	15,160,660.56
minus a cancelled deposit of		fl.	8,682.31
		fl.	15,141,978.25

On 30 September 1941 the number of accounts was 3,963

B.

Deposits of securities

The extent to which securities belonging to Jews affected by Regulation 148/41 were deposited was, by contrast, very considerable. These deposits increased so much that within the period concerned it proved impossible to issue receipts as would be customary under normal conditions. An arrangement was therefore made with the larger banks whereby the securities they were to deposit would only be registered, and their delivery would be delayed until requested by L. R. & Co. Sarphatistraat. This, in turn, meant that initially only securities deposited at the counter and securities sent by post from smaller banks, brokers, and individual Jews could be received.

¹² See Doc. 85.

For the securities, ledgers by person and by asset are being maintained as is standard banking practice; the certificates are held separately from the interest and dividend vouchers, with the certificates stored in one vault, the interest and dividend vouchers in another.¹³

Each submitted securities deposit is calculated according to its value, and the calculation is regularly forwarded to the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs, for the attention of Regierungsrat Bauditz.¹⁴ By 30 September 1941 the total value of the securities was calculated at fl. 20,069,573; by 31 October 1941 this figure had risen to fl. 37,725,679.

By 30 September, 1,000 securities accounts had been opened.

To avoid misunderstandings, it should be noted that the securities which have had their value calculated make up only a portion of the securities that have already been deposited. Blocks of securities reaching into the thousands have been registered by other banks but not yet retrieved by L. R. & Co. Sarphatistraat. Retrieval began at the end of October, and the aim is for this to be completed by the end of the year. In-house processing of the blocks of securities that are still expected will take some time, however.

C.

Treatment of foreign assets

With the agreement of the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs, Regulation 148/41 is being interpreted to mean that Jews are also required to deposit assets located abroad, unless this cannot actually be carried out, as in the case of the USA. For this purpose, L. R. & Co. Sarphatistraat has established connections with the following foreign banks, through which assets and securities can be transferred:

<i>Berlin</i>	Deutsche Bank, Merck, Finck & Co.
<i>Antwerp</i>	Bank van Brussel N.V.
<i>Basel</i>	Schweizerischer Bankverein
<i>Brussels</i>	Bank van Brussel N.V.
<i>Bucharest</i>	Banca de Credit Roman
<i>Budapest</i>	Magyar Altanos Hitelbank
<i>Milan</i>	Banca Commerciale Italiana
<i>Madrid</i>	Deutsche-Süd-Amerikanische Bank
<i>New York</i>	National City Bank of New York
<i>Oslo</i>	Christiania Bank og Kreditkasse
<i>Paris</i>	Crédit Lyonnais S.A.
<i>Prague</i>	Böhmische Unionbank
<i>Stockholm</i>	Skandinaviska Banken A/B.
<i>Zurich</i>	Schweizerischer Bankverein

13 The certificates are the actual securities; the interest and dividend vouchers are the coupons for stocks and bonds that can be cut off and redeemed. The two parts are stored separately for security reasons, as the vouchers are not worth anything without the certificates.

14 Dr Richard Bauditz (1908–1968), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1933; worked for the Reich Ministry of Justice in 1935, for the Reich tax authorities in 1936, and for the Reich Ministry of Economics from 1937; from 1940 to the beginning of 1942 Regierungsrat at the Commissariat General for Finance and Economic Affairs, where he was head of the foreign currency department.

Where Jews required to deposit assets use the services of a Dutch bank to administer their assets and securities held in countries in which transfer is not possible, these banks are required to transfer the assets and securities on their books to L. R. & Co. Sarphatistraat; while this has already happened in numerous cases, N.V. Vereeniging voor den Effectenhandel has expressed concerns about this in a petition to the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs, and a decision has yet to be made.¹⁵

D.

Stock-exchange department

Jews affected by Regulation 148/41 are free to sell their deposited securities through Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. and to purchase securities with their assets; only the purchase of shares is forbidden.

By 30 September 1941 securities had been purchased for a total of approximately fl. 329,000 and securities had been sold for a total of approximately fl. 1,656,000.

E.

Loans department

According to § 2 of Regulation 148/41, assets required to be deposited to which third parties have rights in connection with the securing of claims are to be registered and deposited if the banking house will take over the claim. Otherwise, the assets are to be realized as soon as possible in order to cover the claims.

In total, 637 registrations have been made to date, of which 570 could be accepted while the remaining 67 were rejected. By the end of September, claims for fl. 2,432,900 had been accepted, and the figure has since risen to fl. 3,684,900. These claims are to pay interest at 6 per cent per annum to the bank, with the interest calculated quarterly in addition to an advance commission of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for the quarter and a sales commission of $\frac{1}{4}$ per thousand.

The sums that have been accepted include the assets of small-scale Jewish savers who mostly owned fixed-interest assets. It can be assumed that these Jews proceeded to take out a loan as the result of financial difficulty. Yet speculative and American securities can also be found among the assets held by these small-scale savers along with fixed-interest assets.

For the most part, Jews with more capital possess securities which, to varying degrees, include a substantial portion of speculative securities.

In assessing the securities it should be ensured that in the case of a diverse portfolio of mostly domestic securities, the loan does not exceed 70 per cent of the current stock-market price. If Dutch-Indian colonial assets are present to a considerable extent as covering funds, the advance margin is raised to 50 per cent. American assets as well as other foreign assets that cannot be assessed as a result of the war situation are not taken into account in the assessment.

In many cases, improvement of the coverage ratio has been ensured by the disposal of assets. Some clients objected to this, saying that the major local banks take a different stance on the assessment of pledged securities. This objection has of course been ignored. Wherever takeover was not possible, we insisted on a sale. In many cases, however, the securities are located in New York and therefore cannot be sold at the moment.

¹⁵ Not found.

In these cases, the banks etc. have been instructed to report any changes regularly so that the status of the execution can be re-examined at any time.

F.

Tasks of the '*Inspectie*' department

According to the guidelines laid down by the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs, Jews cannot freely dispose of their assets held at Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Every transaction is to be reviewed to see if it is necessary. To accomplish this task, a dedicated audit department ('*Inspectie*') has been set up. The task of this department is to provide information about the regulation to private individuals, organizations, professional associations, etc. interested in the regulation, and to release funds for living expenses and other recognized purposes within the framework of the guidelines issued by the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs.

Mr Oskar Witscher,¹⁶ board member (treasurer) of the German Chamber of Commerce in Amsterdam, presides over the audit department. At present, six aides report to him, distributing the necessary information and processing payment applications in close cooperation with him.

In addition, the '*Inspectie*' includes a correspondence department that works closely with the aides, dealing with the extensive correspondence with clients as directed by the aides, and prepares statements for funds that are released and for the costs to be calculated. Furthermore a registry is available to carefully keep track of the extensive correspondence. The audit department has a workforce of twenty-six members.

Consultation hours for clients are held daily (except Saturdays) from 10 a.m. to 12 p.m. and to date 2,512 people have made use of them, corresponding to an average of 35 people per day. People affected by Regulation 148/41 can make enquiries, set out their assets and income, and state their wishes in relation to the release of funds they have deposited. As with those who have made contact in writing, they then receive different questionnaires, as set out in enclosures 3, 4, and 5, which are to be carefully filled out, signed, and returned along with supporting documentation.

After the documents have been closely examined, a decision is made to either approve the application, release a smaller sum than that proposed, or reject the application entirely, according to the strict criteria within the guidelines issued by the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs.

A fee is charged for the processing of every application, at a rate of 1 per cent of the proposed amount up to a total of fl. 1,000, and at a rate of 1½ per cent for amounts exceeding fl. 1,000, with a minimum charge of fl. 1.50. The fee is based on the amount requested and not the amount approved, to guard against applications for excessive amounts.

To cover the audit department's expenses, under the current business conditions approximately fl. 8,000 to 10,000 need to be collected per month. The sums actually collected were:

In August (four days)	fl. 387.65
In September	fl. 6,008.75
In October	fl. 11,232.25

¹⁶ Oskar Witscher (1882–1952), businessman; in the Dutch East Indies at least 1909–1924; in the Netherlands from 1924; joined the NSDAP in 1938; treasurer of the German Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands from 1939; returned to Germany in 1946.

During the first weeks, the activity of the '*Inspectie*' was limited almost exclusively to providing information on the many points of uncertainty arising from the not entirely successful wording of Regulation 148/41. With most issues clarified, it was no longer necessary to provide information, while the number of applications for payments followed an upward trajectory, which certainly has not nearly reached its peak.

In relation to the explanation of the regulation, close verbal and written contact is being maintained with Regierungsrat Bauditz as the official in charge at the office of the Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs. Furthermore, there is regular contact with the local Foreign Exchange Protection Commando when it comes to closing accounts and securities accounts, or in instances when there is uncertainty about the compliance or non-compliance of those required to deposit assets, whereby it should be noted that there is the impression that many of those required to deposit asserts have not fulfilled their obligation to this day and are paying no heed at all to the regulation.

G.

Personnel matters

As already explained, in early August the logistics and personnel department was faced with the unique task of constructing out of nothing and within a few days an operation in the position to carry out almost all of the tasks of a major bank.

In selecting candidates, professional suitability as well as personal and political reliability had to be taken into account. A good number of applications could therefore not be considered for one reason or the other. A positive attitude towards the new order was the deciding factor wherever candidates were otherwise equally qualified.

On 11 August 1941, the day when the practical work began, the staff who were present were made aware of the significance of the task they had been assigned in a speech by the operations manager. The expectation was expressed that the staff would justify the trust placed in them.

Additionally, it was emphatically pointed out to each applicant that he was to work loyally on the implementation of Regulation 148/41. This measure is supplemented by the contractual obligation to refrain from any activity that the management could consider to be directed against the occupying power.

It can be determined that not only has cooperation within the operation, both in terms of banking operations and personally, developed smoothly but also that a friendly spirit prevails, even though the members of the workforce, who come from different groups and different banks, have only been together for a short time.

Approximately 20 per cent of the workforce are registered members of the NSB, but it can be assumed that the vast majority are sympathetic to the new order. The remainder, who are primarily devout Catholics, are also adapting themselves most correctly to the existing framework. Accordingly, work performance can be described as satisfactory and above average in every respect.

In addition to the care taken during the hiring process, enquiries about the staff were made at the Dutch police as well as the German Security Service. Furthermore, to supplement these measures, several members of the workforce were appointed staff liaison officers.

In addition, significant attention has been paid to the social and material well-being of the workforce. When salaries were determined, the previous salary of each individual staff member was taken as a basis and as a rule increased somewhat, since earlier salaries

were for the most part extremely modest, and the workforce is to be given an incentive to perform particularly well. Differences in the amounts paid to those doing equivalent work were initially unavoidable but will be eliminated in the foreseeable future.

For the time when they are not working, a special room has been made available to the workforce, comfortably furnished and provided with a radio and magazines. It has recently been possible to make available a particularly large room on the top floor that can hold 100 people.

The workforce has the option of partaking of a simple warm meal at noon, which they can obtain in exchange for potato vouchers. This meal is priced at 5–35 cents depending on salary level, while the purchase price for the bank is 25 cents. The introduction of this warm meal proved particularly popular with the workforce. At the workforce's request, it was therefore marked by a small party that ended with management and the workforce sharing the first meal.

Arrangements have been made with some Amsterdam theatres and also the Concertgebouw¹⁷ for tickets to be made available at a reduced price. Members of the workforce with recent additions to their families have been given a one-off payment of fl. 50 for each child.

H.

Balance sheet and profitability

Enclosed are an interim balance sheet and a profit and loss statement as of 30 September 1941; for purposes of comparison both lists also include the figures as of 1 September 1941.

Accompanying the balance sheet is a list of the bank's treasury bills as of 30 September 1941, which L. R. & Co. Sarphatistraat purchased as investment for its own liquid funds.

Also enclosed is a list of the bank's securities as of 30 September 1941, which were likewise purchased for investment purposes.

Also attached is a calculation of profitability, with regard to which the following should be noted:

- 1) The deposits currently amount to approximately fl. 22,000,000 and it can be assumed that they will increase to at least fl. 25,000,000. As a precaution, the interest margin is calculated at only 1½ per cent, although it will probably be around 2 per cent.
- 2) Accounts receivable now already total over 2¼ million and will increase to over 3 million.
- 3) It can be expected that the entire value of the securities that will be deposited will be at least fl. 150,000,000. The 1½ per cent used for the calculation in the estimate is lower than experience suggests, on the basis of the custodial fees charged thus far. Previous experience suggests securities worth fl. 1,000,000 will incur not fl. 1,000 but rather fl. 1,500 or more in custodial fees, since the assets quoted under par¹⁸ were accepted at par, and fees were also charged for the numerous valueless securities.
- 4) The revenue from stock-exchange transactions and *Inspectie* fees are estimated conservatively on the basis of experience so far.

¹⁷ World-famous concert hall in Amsterdam.

¹⁸ Designates the difference between the face value of a share or security and its market value.

- 5) As a precaution, no amount is provided for 'miscellaneous', but here too there will be a not insignificant revenue entry (commission from the voucher department, postage and materials charged to clients, and the like).

DOC. 102

***New York Times*, 18 November 1941: article on the high death rate among Jews deported to Mauthausen¹**

400 of 680 Sent to Camp Dead

London, Nov. 17 (Netherlands Indies News Agency) – About 400 of 680 young Netherland Jews who were interned in a concentration camp in Mauthausen, Austria,² have died, it was reported here tonight by reliable Netherland sources. No information about the cause of the deaths was given to relatives, nor were the ashes or personal belongings sent to the relatives. All the prisoners were between the ages of 18 and 35.

Indications were, the Netherland sources said, that the high mortality was due to exhausting labor, harsh treatment, bad food and unhygienic living conditions. The internments began last February after non-Jewish inhabitants of Amsterdam had rioted in protest against Nazi anti-Jewish measures.³

The Berlin radio declares, meanwhile, that Germany has given up all hope of subduing the Netherland people and will wait for the present generation to die out.⁴

DOC. 103

On 21 November 1941 Henricus van den Akker reports Hugo Kruyne to the German authorities for being a Jew and continuing to work in the civil service¹

Letter from H. v. d. Akker,² The Hague, 23 Scheepersstraat, to Reich Commissioner Dr Seyss-Inquart, The Hague, dated 21 November 1941 (translation)³

Dear Sir,

I have heard many times that it is forbidden for people of Jewish descent to work in the civil service,⁴ and now I recently heard about a case where such a person has received a permanent position in the civil service with increased pay applied retroactively from

¹ *New York Times*, 18 Nov. 1941, p. 11.

² Correctly: Mauthausen. See Docs. 60 and 80 and Introduction, p. 42.

³ For more on the February Strike, see Docs. 55–66.

⁴ This could not be verified.

¹ NIOD, Doc. II/1389. This document has been translated from German.

² Probably Henricus van den Akker (b. 1894), cook.

³ The Dutch original contains handwritten annotations and underlining. The German translation is contemporary and was in the file.

⁴ A decree was issued on 21 November 1940, ordering the dismissal of all Jews from the Rijkdienst, the Dutch civil service, by 1 March 1941.

June onwards. In addition, this young man is very anti-German and opposed to the NSB.⁵

Now I believe that this young man got this position through one of his bosses, because he always said to him: 'Don't you worry, I'll help you, and now that has happened.'

If you want, I will gladly attest to the above in person (but unfortunately I do not speak German), at a time and date of your choice.

Yours faithfully,

The name of the person in question is

Hugo *Kruyne*⁶

employed at the Dutch Flour Headquarters in The Hague.

P.S. I ask that my identity be kept anonymous.⁷

DOC. 104

On 25 November 1941 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart sums up the state of the 'Jewish question' in the Netherlands¹

Letter (marked 'confidential! personal!') from the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories, signed Seyss-Inquart, The Hague, to Commissioner General Dr Wimmer, Commissioner General Dr Fischböck, Commissioner General Rauter, and Commissioner General Schmidt, dated 25 November 1941 (transcript)²

On the treatment of the Jewish question

General

The regulations issued this month, especially with regard to professional activity, the termination of employment contracts, and exclusion from non-economic associations,

5 An attached memo from 18 March 1942 notes that Kruyne had not spoken out against the NSB or against Germany, but was deemed to be 'politically unreliable'. With two Jewish grandparents and a purely Aryan father, he was classified as a Mischling of the first degree.

6 Hugo Pieter Kruyne (1914–1986); later worked as a cartographer.

7 Gertrud Slotke (1902–1971), employee of the section for Jewish affairs; noted on the German translation of the original Dutch letter that according to information from the population register, Hugo Pieter Kruyne had two Jewish grandparents and lived in The Hague. It has not been possible to determine whether he was dismissed as a result of being denounced.

1 NIOD, 077/1312. This document has been translated from German.

2 The letter was also addressed to the following functionaries of the Reich Commissariat for the Netherlands: Dr Hans Piesbergen (1891–1970), head of the commissioner's office at the Reich Commissariat; Otto Bene (1884–1973), representative of the Reich Foreign Office at the Reich Commissariat, 1940–1945; Dr Hermann Conring (1894–1989), from 1940 representative for Groningen, member of the Bundestag (CDU), 1953–1969; Dr Werner Schröder (b. 1898), representative for Overijssel and subsequently for Amsterdam and North Holland, 1940–1943; Werner Ross; Heinrich Sellmer (1907–1989), representative for Drenthe, 1941–1944; Dr Emil Schneider (1908–1987), representative for Gelderland, 1940–1945; Siegfried Sommer (1910–1942), briefly representative for Utrecht after October 1941, drafted into the Wehrmacht in April 1942, and died shortly thereafter; Martin Seidel (b. 1898), representative for North Holland, 1940 to May 1942; Dr Carl Völckers (1886–1970), representative for Rotterdam, 1940–1945, and manager of the Röchling synthetics company, 1949–1966; Wilhelm Münzer (1895–1969), representative for Zeeland, 1940–1944; Robert Thiel (1909–1989), representative for Drenthe, 1940 to Sept. 1941 and

as well as from cultural life,³ have created the necessary and intended scope of legislative regulations for the treatment of Jews. They must now be put into practice within this framework.

The next task will therefore be to implement all measures that have been planned in connection with these regulations.

The aim is the economic, cultural, and personal segregation of Jews from non-Jews. To ensure consistency in implementation and in light of the fact that the largest and most significant concentration of Jews is in Amsterdam, the Representative for Amsterdam⁴ will be charged with implementing all general administrative measures. At the same time, the head of the Amsterdam branch of the Security Police,⁵ in his capacity as head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, will be charged with implementing all measures incumbent upon or assigned to the police for the occupied Dutch territories.

Both offices will carry out their measures in consultation with each other, and in important cases by mutual consent.

General administration

On the one hand, the Representative for Amsterdam is to be consulted by the commissioners general and their aides when general instructions, necessary regulations, etc. are being drawn up. On the other hand, it is incumbent upon him to implement all orders concerning the Jews, insofar as these concern general administrative matters; instructions that reach beyond the territory of Amsterdam will be carried out in consultation with the relevant provincial commissioners. To the extent that special treatment in individual provinces proves necessary in individual cases, the relevant provincial commissioners must contact the Representative for Amsterdam and notify him of any provisional measures, which should be taken only as a matter of urgency.

Police

Policing tasks concerning the Jews that are intended to preserve public order and security in the framework of the Commissioner General for Security's general instruction are the responsibility of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration. The Higher SS and Police Leader will coordinate the cooperation with local police.

Jewish Council

No Jewish association with the status of a legal entity will be created. The Jewish Council of Amsterdam will take the form of an agency that communicates the orders of relevant German offices. For the Jews, this means that orders concerning Jews in general that are enacted by the German authorities will be issued via the Jewish Council in Amsterdam,

subsequently for North Brabant until 1944; Wilhelm Schmidt. Not listed among the recipients are the representative for South Holland, Ernst Schwebel, and the representative for Amsterdam, Dr Hans Böhmcker. Reasons for this could not be determined.

3 Regulation on the Professional Activity of Jews, *VOBl-NL*, no. 198/1941, 22 Oct. 1941, pp. 841–844; Regulation on the Activity of Jews in Non-Economic Associations and Foundations, *VOBl-NL*, no. 199/1941, 22 Oct. 1941, pp. 844–846; and Regulation on the Dutch Chamber of Culture, *VOBl-NL*, no. 211/1941, 22 Nov. 1941, pp. 901–915.

4 Hans Böhmcker.

5 Willi (also Willy) Lages (1901–1971), police officer; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1935; member of the Braunschweig Gestapo, 1936–1940; head of the Amsterdam branch of the Security Police, 1941–1945, and also of Amsterdam's Central Office for Jewish Emigration, 1941–1942; sentenced to death in the Netherlands in 1949; sentence commuted to life imprisonment in 1952; released in 1966 on grounds of ill health and extradited to West Germany.

and that non-compliance with announcements made with reference to a directive from the German authority will be punished accordingly.

The existing Jewish school associations will be merged into one central association that will be in charge of all Jewish schools in the country. Likewise, a central welfare association will be formed to take care of all Jewish welfare services throughout the country, including hospitals etc. The boards of these associations will be composed of members of the Jewish Council and will likewise be subject to the orders that it communicates. The Jewish Council can obtain collective authorization if necessary. The necessary funds will be raised

1. through contributions from the Jews themselves;
2. through contributions from the Dutch state and Dutch municipalities, roughly in line with payments made formerly, even if they were not paid out explicitly for Jewish purposes but benefited Jews; and,
3. only in emergencies, through combined Jewish assets under German control.

The Representative for Amsterdam and the Central Office for Jewish Emigration must agree on a joint approach to their dealings with the Jewish Council.

Restriction on residence

There are currently no plans to establish a ghetto. Restrictions on where Jews may live or reside will be issued by the police. If such an order results in a person being disadvantaged from a legal point of view, it has already been decreed that redress cannot be sought in the regular courts (reg. no. 230/40).⁶

Work creation

Because an increase in the number of unemployed Jews is to be expected, and it cannot be anticipated that they will be transported elsewhere in the near future, one of the existing civil defence organizations is to be designated exclusively for Jews, and specific labour schemes are to be selected in which Jews can be put to work in a way that keeps them as isolated and segregated as possible.⁷

Asset records

The recording and administration of Jewish assets is carried out by the institutions established for these purposes; these transactions are to be conducted in consultation with the Representative for Amsterdam and the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration.

⁶ First Regulation on Measures in the Civil Justice System, *VOBl-NL*, no. 230/1940, 19 Dec. 1940, pp. 699 f.

⁷ See Doc. 110.

DOC. 105

At a meeting on 27 November 1941, David Cohen informs the Jewish Council about the latest directives from the German occupiers¹

Minutes, unsigned, 27 November 1941

Meeting of the Jewish Council on Thursday, 27 November 1941, at 10.30 a.m. in the office at 127–129 Tolstraat.

Present: all members apart from Mr Mendes de Costa, Prof. Palache, and Dr Vos (the latter owing to illness); also present: Messrs Brandon, Edersheim, and Meyer de Vries, later also Mr Bolle.

Chairman Mr A. Asscher stated that the most important item on the agenda was the discussion that the Jewish Council's Executive Committee had had with Messrs Lages, Böhmcker, and Aus der Fünt² on 22 November 1941. This had been requested by the Executive Committee, but the German authorities had also prepared a number of points for discussion. Prof. Cohen went through these point by point.

1. *Handover of assets to Lippmann, Rosenthal.* The Beauftragte³ said that he had been informed by the aforementioned firm that this handover had not occurred to the extent required (only between one quarter and one third have been handed over).⁴ The Jewish Council must therefore publish an announcement in the *Joodsche Weekblad*⁵ to draw attention to this obligation and also to the penalties for failure to comply.

2. *Card index of all Jewish homes in Amsterdam.* Instructions were given for the creation of such an index giving the names of homeowners and the number of rooms. We are still to receive a sample card for this. The reason given for this new card index is to assess applications for *change of residence*. In this respect the Executive Committee commented that large numbers of Jews are resident not only in specific neighbourhoods but also in certain streets outside those neighbourhoods; permission was given to draw up a record of these. Changes of residence constitute one of the greatest concerns, as a very large number of applications are turned down. In other cities such problems are even more acute.

1 NIOD, 182/1c. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Ferdinand aus der Fünt (1909–1989), businessman; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1932; full-time member of the SS from 1936; worked in the section for Jewish affairs at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) under Adolf Eichmann; director of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Amsterdam from 1942; sentenced to death in the Netherlands in 1950; his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in 1951; imprisoned at Breda until 1989; released for health reasons and extradited to Germany. Died shortly after his release.

3 German in the original: 'representative'. The reference is to Hans Böhmcker, the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam.

4 See Doc. 101.

5 Jewish weekly newspaper which was published from April 1941 to Sept. 1943 as the only Jewish paper in the Netherlands (following the ban on other Jewish papers in Oct. 1941). The Jewish Council was responsible for ensuring the Jewish population was informed of German directives through the *Joodsche Weekblad*.

A list therefore has to be produced of the streets in the various larger areas where Jews are living; a plan with the different neighbourhoods has to be added for some cities. In the meeting this afternoon concerning the implementation of these different points, Prof. Cohen will point out that there is absolutely no basis for such a system, given that there are no genuine 'Jewish quarters' in the other cities apart from very few exceptions.

3. *Cafés, restaurants, and boarding houses.* It was said that licences would not be granted for cafés and restaurants in the large number requested by the Jewish Council in its memorandum. Instead the German authorities prefer a solution where one large house would be allocated which could serve, for example, to provide meals for young unmarried men, and we should look for such a place. This is connected to the plans for setting up a *central kitchen* (see other business).

The chairmen had then asked for permission for a large number of *boarding houses*; they were told that such permission could be granted in principle, but that no application had been received. The chairmen explained this by pointing out that there were hardly any large houses – a requirement for boarding houses, after all – in the permitted neighbourhoods. However, boarding houses (that is, establishments that very much meet a current need) are necessary, for they help people maintain their income at a certain level. A notice to this effect will be placed in this week's issue of the *Joodsche Weekblad*.

The point was made at the meeting that any boarding house in the neighbourhoods to which Jews are not permitted to move will stand empty when the guests leave, presenting a major risk to the person running the establishment. Upon request, Prof. Cohen provided the names of the seven cafés that are currently licensed, six of which are in the old Jewish quarter. They will be provided with a sign stating 'Jewish establishment'.

4. *Arrests in a Jewish café on 14 November.* This was a café that had applied to operate as a 'Jewish establishment', and while awaiting approval of that request and upon the verbal advice of the Jewish Council (based on communication with the German authorities) had been allowed to remain open. We have done our best to secure the release of those arrested; it turned out that we had to go through both the German and the Dutch police as well as the authorities in The Hague. Their release has been promised and once the formalities between the different authorities have been completed, this should happen quickly.

5. *Rooms for lectures, meetings, etc.* We have requested the use of the buildings of Beth Hamidrash⁶ and Beis Jisroël⁷ and permission has been granted. In the *Joodsche Schouwburg*, all references to the *Hollandsche Schouwburg*⁸ must be removed. The *Tip-Top-Theater*'s⁹ name must be changed.

6. *Emigration of German Jews.* The Executive Committee was informed that all German and stateless Jews living in the Netherlands must submit their forms for emigration; at a rate of 200 per day (reduced in later discussions to between 100 and 150 per day, which

6 A rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam, founded in 1760 and the oldest establishment of its kind in Europe.

7 Recreational and educational association for Jewish youth founded in Amsterdam in 1919.

8 The *Hollandsche Schouwburg* was built in 1892. From 1941 only Jewish artists were allowed to perform there, and the theatre was renamed *Joodsche Schouwburg*. From July 1942 the building served as the assembly point in Amsterdam for Jews before their deportation to Westerbork camp.

9 Popular theatre and cinema under Jewish management (Joseph Kroonenberg, 1874–1943) at 27 Jodenbreestraat in Amsterdam, later renamed Jodenbreestraat-Theatre.

will still require the entire building at Lijnbaansgracht, meaning that the Welfare and Clothing Division will have to move elsewhere).

The Executive Committee stressed that it could not exert any pressure and therefore has to be able to explain to the people what this measure means for them. The answer: emigration, not deportation. 'Where to?' 'We don't know yet ourselves.' However, the German authorities will 'have control over' anyone showing reluctance to submit their forms. Later it was said that the emigration destination was not Poland, but overseas. Each German will now be written to individually about this matter. Here, this concerns approximately 25,000 Jews.

According to the German authorities, with a few exceptions Dutch Jews do not need to submit emigration papers.

We pointed out that the Jewish Council's standing in emigration matters has dwindled among people because so far none of the emigration applications made through its mediation have been approved, as opposed to some cases not involving the council. Messrs Böhmcker and Lages promised to grant more opportunities for emigration for those applying through us.

7. It was announced that ten Jewish *vegetable traders* (seven of whom are in Amsterdam) will be given permission to attend vegetable auctions. No further exceptions will be granted. The Jewish Council will remind the persons concerned of their considerable responsibilities.

8. *Non-Jewish domestic servants*. According to the announcement in last week's issue of the *Joodsche Weekblad*, virtually no Jew was given the prospect of being granted an exception.¹⁰ During the discussion the Executive Committee requested an exception be made for persons in need; permission was given for Jews in need to submit applications to the Jewish Council. The same applies to domestic servants aged over fifty.

For the applications, the Jewish Council has set up a small office, based at 127 Tolstraat for the time being. It will sift through and assess the applications, and then decide if they are to be sent to the German authorities for a final decision. Requests from non-Jews must be sent directly to the Beauftragte.

Regarding *non-Jewish personnel at institutions* etc. it has been decided that these institutions will give details, including the names, of non-Jewish personnel to the Jewish Council, after which the council has to pass them on to the Beauftragte.

9. *Unemployed Jews*. Unemployed Jews will be put to work in the Netherlands, under state-operated bodies (Werkverschaffings-Rijkdienst¹¹ and Heide-Mij¹²). The Executive

¹⁰ According to the regulation of 22 Oct. 1941, Jewish domestic servants were only allowed to work in Jewish households. Jews were not allowed to employ non-Jewish domestic servants: *VOBl-NL*, no. 200, 22 Oct. 1941, pp. 846–848.

¹¹ The Werkverschaffings-Rijkdienst (National Work Creation Service) was set up in 1937 by the Dutch minister for social affairs, C. P. M. Romme (1896–1980), to tackle the problem of mass unemployment. The unemployed had to take on work assigned to them at specific locations and were sometimes placed in work camps. During the German occupation, the service was renamed National Agency for Work Creation (Rijksdienst voor werkverruiming) in 1940 and was also in charge of supervising Jews sent to labour camps.

¹² Short for Heide-Maatschaap, company founded in 1888 and in charge of cultivating land, maintaining and replanting forests, and installing and maintaining irrigation systems. In 1972 it was divided up into a foundation for environmental engineering and a for-profit company operating in the same field.

Committee will receive information on this within the next few weeks. It was announced at the meeting that the construction work at the cemetery in Muiderberg has been approved, where 90 per cent of the workforce will be Jewish. The medical examinations will be carried out by Jewish doctors.

10. *Inalienable status as a legal body for the Jewish Council, especially in relation to the impoverishment of the Jewish community.* The Executive Committee emphasized this point. It will be considered what can be done in this respect. It was also pointed out that the associations' assets have still not been made available to the council. This is also being investigated.¹³

11. *University libraries.* May be visited in order to borrow books by *registered* Jewish students and Jews who have been allowed to sit examinations and take doctorates.¹⁴ The German authorities would also approve a *separate* study room being set aside for them in the library.

12. *Refugees from different provincial towns.* The police are not apparently aware everywhere that refugees must be left in peace upon their return. A request was made to compile a list of the places where this is the case.

13. *People arrested in Franeker.*¹⁵ Another appeal has been made for their release. Mr Lages has contacted the police in Leeuwarden with regard to this matter. We are still awaiting the result.

14. *Traffic route through Vondelpark;* considered a 'park' and therefore no longer accessible for Jews.

15. *Letting rooms without board.* Following a question by the Executive Committee about this, the response was that there will be an investigation of what counts as 'Pensionbetriebe'.¹⁶

16. *Retraining at farms.* Those who are preparing themselves for emigration in this way can stay where they are for the time being, but they may not move to the coastal area for this purpose.

The main point raised under *other* business was the issue of the *central kitchen*. In this regard, Mr de Haan¹⁷ explained that the stage has now been reached where this could be set up at De Joodsche Invalide [JI],¹⁸ for 3,000 people if necessary and involving considerably lower costs than for an independent central kitchen. (The plan: cooked food is cooled, distributed to several collection points in the city, picked up from there, and reheated at home; for young unmarried men etc. a large room is to be set up for this

13 The Jewish Council never gained the status of a legal body.

14 Jews could only continue studying or sit examinations if they had their application to do so approved by the secretary general of the Ministry for Education, Science, and Cultural Protection: *VOBI-NL*, no. 27, 11 Feb. 1941, pp. 99–101.

15 This presumably refers to the arrest of twenty members of the Dath Waärets association (for the training of pioneers for Israel) in Franeker in Aug. 1941.

16 German in the original: 'boarding house establishment'.

17 Isidor de Haan (1884–1943), bakery owner; owner and manager of the De Haan matzo factory in Amsterdam; member of the Jewish Council, 1941–1943; in 1943 deported to Sobibor, where he was murdered.

18 In 1938 a large building at 100 Nieuwe Achtergracht was turned into a Jewish home for the elderly. The residents were deported to Westerbork on 1 March 1943.

purpose at the diamond exchange, or any case close to the J.I.). The Jewish Council would have to pay 7,000 guilders for installation costs. This would resolve both the issue of both fuel and storage space. The delivery time for boilers is six weeks, but cooking could begin in the meantime. If this were to be agreed on, things would need to move quickly. The meeting agreed that the central kitchen committee would submit a budget to the Executive Committee by the next day and that if approved – after being discussed at the Central Office at Keizersgracht¹⁹ – the committee would realize the plans as soon as possible.

The plan states that no meals will be provided on Saturdays or Sundays; however, participants will not be at a disadvantage in terms of vouchers. The J.I. can see to it that young unmarried men and others still get a hot meal on Saturdays.

Principles of the relationship between the Jewish Council and the support committee for the financial needs of the Jewish Council. This matter will be discussed at the next meeting.

The next meeting was scheduled for Thursday, 11 December 1941, at 10.30 a.m.

DOC. 106

In a letter to his friend Lodewijk Ernst Visser, dated 30 November 1941, David Cohen defends the Jewish Council's cooperation with the German occupiers¹

Letter from Prof. D. Cohen, Amsterdam Z., 172 Van Breestraat, dated 30 November 1941 (copy)²

Dear Friend,³

It has taken me a long time to write my reply because I did not want to dictate this letter, as I have noticed that you find this unpleasant. And I am busy every day, usually from very early in the morning until late in the evening.

As regards the content of your letter,⁴ we are unlikely to agree on this. Not because I do not understand or appreciate your point of view; in fact, I would gladly accept it. When I once called it heroic, this was not meant ironically, but rather the expression of a well-considered opinion. But just as the greatest of all heroes, Heracles, died on a pyre, the same is, *mutatis mutandis*, happening to the heroes of our time; and just as Heracles was later received by the gods, the same, again *mutatis mutandis*, will happen to our heroes. What I mean is that in each era there are people who prepare the way for the

¹⁹ Office of the chairman of the Jewish Council.

¹ JHM, Doc. 00 003 184. Published in J. Melkman, 'De briefwisseling tussen Mr. L. E. Visser en Prof. Dr. D. Cohen', in *Studia Rosenthaliana*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1974), p. 126. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

³ Lodewijk Ernst Visser (1871–1942), lawyer; practised law in Amsterdam from 1895; appointed a judge in Rotterdam in 1903; appointed to the Dutch Supreme Court in 1915; president of the Supreme Court from 1939; dismissed because of his Jewish ancestry, 1940; chairman of the Jewish Coordination Committee in 1941; died of a heart attack in 1942.

⁴ In a letter to Cohen dated 18 Nov. 1941, Visser had criticized the Jewish Council's cooperation with the German occupiers and demanded greater resistance to anti-Jewish measures. See Melkman, 'De briefwisseling', pp. 124–126.

future – the revolutionary, rigorous spirits – and others who do the best they can in the existing situation, the realists. These two can never work together: at most, the second group can admire the first, but the first can never admire the second. What you call a breach of law and order, I consider the exercise of power: we are both right, but our points of view and perspectives are different. And so are the consequences. You resist; I do not refrain from resisting, but my priority above anything else is to find a way to make the best of the circumstances as they are. That is why you are unable to feel any respect for the various forms of alleviation we have achieved and through which we have helped hundreds, if not thousands of people. All you can see, and quite rightly so from your point of view, is that we, by making ourselves available, pave the way for measures that harm thousands of people. It does not matter whether I deny this and say that those measures would have been introduced anyway, but outside our organization and therefore without us, or with others who would have been unable to achieve any exceptions. For to quote Pindar⁵ (and I honestly do not mean this ironically, as he himself says further on that we *all* have an element of the divine within us): ‘One is the race of gods, another is the race of men’ – and therefore different.

Frederiks⁶ has certainly achieved a great deal – and we are grateful to you and to him for this – but we have achieved more in terms of the smaller everyday issues, and, as I know from experience, we are now even more successful in this respect than our government bodies. And as far as contacts with them [the Germans] are concerned and the much bigger question of our own community, both relating to this and other problems, matters are very different in practice from how they appear in theory. After all, everything ends up with the German authorities anyway, and, as has become clear, the direct route leads to the goal faster and more easily. As for our own community: during our deliberations concerning the Van Leer Foundation⁷ you could see for yourself how alarming the two sides of this problem are and have consciously taken one side, which is indeed being held against us by many non-Jews. But you can never avoid criticism. We, constantly faced with a choice and conscious of the inevitability of the principle of the segregated community, try, from the other side, to resolve the problem within the bounds of possibility. I know that many resent us for using the *Joodsche Weekblad* for this purpose, but they forget that if we had not taken the matter into our own hands, the *Joodsche Weekblad* would have appeared in a very different form and there would have been no such alleviations as you can find, for example, when comparing the latest issue with the previous one.

But, as I have said, I cannot convince you. So let us each go our own way, as you quite rightly wish to do. We are unable to put into practice Homer’s words: ‘When two go together, one reasons ahead of the other.’⁸ But I will think about you. For one thing

5 Greek poet who lived in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.

6 The secretary general of the ministry of the interior.

7 See Doc. 79, fn. 5.

8 A reference to Homer’s *Iliad*: ‘When two go together, one reasons ahead of the other what’s for the best; alone, he may figure the odds, but his mind has a shorter range, his judgement is slighter.’ Translation taken from *The Iliad: A New Translation by Peter Green* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015), p. 225.

would be disastrous: if I were to forget your opinion when implementing my own. Believe me, with warmest regards,⁹
 tt,¹⁰

DOC. 107

On 11 December 1941 Lodewijk Ernst Visser describes his unsuccessful attempts at bettering the situation of Jews arrested in raids¹

Report by Lodewijk Ernst Visser, dated 11 December 1941 (copy)²

Report on my attempts regarding the Jewish hostages

In February 1941 a German Jew injured a number of German soldiers in his pub in Amsterdam with his ammonia squirt gun, thinking they were WA men who had come to rob him again. The man has been sentenced to death.³ Because of this incident, or at least mainly because of it, a number of Jews, aged 19 to 35, were arrested in public in Jodenbreestraat and the surrounding area and brought to Schoorl by the German police, while at the same time in other cities, including The Hague, a number of Jews were arrested in their homes and also taken there. From there, some Jews who were in a poor state of health were sent back home, while the rest were taken⁴ to Buchenwalde.⁵ They were promised that they would be treated according to the laws of war, but that promise came to nothing.

The exact number is not known either. It is thought to be between 360 and 400; a total of 370 or 375 would probably not be far from the truth, because even now (at the beginning of December 1941) approximately 360 deaths have already been reported.⁶

The first death notices from Buchenwalde reached us at the end of March or the beginning of April. This number rose gradually, with increasing frequency, and by the end of May a total number of over 50 was reached, nearly 15 per cent of a group of healthy young people in 2.5 months!

As no one appeared to be doing anything to stop that awful situation, I thought I might be able to achieve something in a personal meeting with Commissioner General Rauter. I was fully aware that the chance of succeeding was minimal, but I could not get it out of my mind, and one never knows! In the meantime, the people had been taken

⁹ On the entire exchange between Cohen and Visser, see Melkman, 'De briefwisseling', pp. 107–131.

¹⁰ Latin: *totus tuus*, 'Yours truly.'

¹ JHM, Doc. 00 003 185. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² The original contains handwritten notes and underlining.

³ See Doc. 60.

⁴ These first roundups of Jews served as a catalyst for the February Strike in 1941: see Doc. 61. Jews who had been arrested were interned for a few days in Schoorl police camp, then taken to Buchenwald and, sometime later, transported to Mauthausen.

⁵ Correctly: Buchenwald.

⁶ According to figures from the Buchenwald memorial, a total of 389 Dutch Jews arrived in Buchenwald on 28 February 1941. See Harry Stein (ed.), *Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1937–1945: Begleitband zur historischen Ausstellung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), p. 81.

from Buchenwalde to Mauthausen, a place which – according to some – was supposed to be healthier!!

At the beginning of June, I contacted the Secretary General for Justice, Mr Hooykaas,⁷ reported my intention to him, and requested to be introduced to Mr Rauter. Hooykaas was disconcerted by my plan and strongly advised me against it because of Rauter's bad temper etc. He also said that the man I should have approached in this matter was not Rauter, but Snouck Hurgronje, since the captured Jews were no longer here but abroad. He advised me to turn to him; I did not have to tell him that he, Hooykaas, had advised against my plan, but if Hurgronje consulted him, he would advise against it again.

So I went to see Snouck Hurgronje, whom I also told about my proposal, and asked for an introduction. Unlike Hooykaas, Snouck Hurgronje thought my proposal was excellent; he also felt weighed down by the suffering of these hostages but could do nothing, and he welcomed the fact that direct action was being taken by someone else. As for the introduction, I had to go and see Hooykaas. I responded that the latter had sent me to him, Snouck, as the right man. Nonsense, according to Snouck. It was not he, but the Department of Justice that was in contact with Rauter; he promised that when he got back – he was just about to go away for a couple of days – he would speak to both Hooykaas and the envoy Bent (?),⁸ who was assigned to the Reich Commissioner.

It was my intention – this meeting took place on 4 or 5 June – to visit him again on the following Saturday (12 June) to learn the outcome of Snouck Hurgronje Esquire's meetings. However, on the evening of Friday, 11 June, I was tracked down – I was visiting elsewhere – by Mr Cazimir,⁹ an official at the Ministry of Justice, who had the following message for me: the Council of Secretaries General had deliberated that afternoon, following the new roundup carried out in Amsterdam a few days prior, during which another 200 Jews had been arrested,¹⁰ and had come to the conclusion that it could not do anything for them or the people who had been arrested in February, and had now decided to ask me specifically not to take my intended step of approaching Rauter.¹¹ Hooykaas had also concurred with this, retracting his previous opinion, and asked me to visit him on Saturday morning at around 10 o'clock.

I went there at that time and heard what had happened at the Council meeting the previous day. Rost van Tonningen was not present, but Goedewaagen was. The latter also agreed with the other gentlemen that the arrests were awful and the number of deaths regrettable. He then left the meeting, leaving the others to continue their deliberations. Then, they first asked Prof. van Dam whether he, being more closely affiliated with the Germans, and with Seyss-Inquart in particular, might be able to take steps to help these hostages. He refused on the grounds that he would not achieve anything any-

7 Johannes Petrus Hooykaas, born Isaac Petrus Hooijkaas (1900–1971), lawyer; worked in the Ministry of Justice from 1925, as secretary general from March to July 1941, and held lower-ranking positions after being dismissed by the occupying authorities; chief public prosecutor of the Dutch Supreme Court, 1948–1950; professor in Utrecht, 1950–1968.

8 Question mark in the original. The correct name is Otto Bene.

9 Presumably B. H. Kazemir, a lawyer.

10 See Doc. 80.

11 This is a mistake in the report. As the subsequent text makes clear, Visser was in fact specifically asked to meet with Rauter.

way, and that he would lose all of his influence with the German authorities if he stood up for the Jews in this matter, whereas he needed that influence to secure a favourable arrangement for the admission of Jewish students to the universities (an arrangement which he has not managed to achieve in the meantime, or only very much in part!). None of the other gentlemen believed there was any chance of achieving anything either, and it was therefore decided that it would be best if I paid Rauter my intended visit. It could not make matters worse, and they thought I would not be in any danger personally, as long as I could calmly let the Commissioner General's words wash over me.

My first question to Hooykaas was whether he or one of his colleagues would introduce me to Rauter, as I feared he would not receive me otherwise. No, there was no chance of that, but they hoped that my former position¹² would be enough to get my foot in the door. I doubted this, but I declared that I was willing to try; something *had* to be done!

From Justice I went straight to Colonies, the residence of the feared Commissioner General.¹³ He was not there; half an hour later he still had not arrived, but I then managed to contact his adjutant¹⁴ by telephone: he told me that Mr Rauter would not be able to come in that day, and advised me to come back on Monday at around 11 o'clock.

At the appointed hour I met the adjutant, a captain of the SD, gave him my card, and asked to speak to the Commissioner General. 'What about?' was the answer. 'I would prefer to only tell Mr Rauter that.' 'I'm sorry, but in that case my orders prohibit me from passing on your request, as R. has to be able to decide whether he will see you himself, or whether you will be seen by one of the agencies he oversees.' I had no alternative but to explain the purpose of my visit in general terms, after which the adjutant wrote 'Mauthausen' on my card, and we agreed that I would phone him at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. I then learned that Mr R. had requested that I put what I had to say to him in writing.

I understood then that this was a lost cause – I had already considered it as such after Hooykaas's refusal to introduce me – but still felt I could not neglect writing the letter. I wrote the letter that same evening (14/6) and sent a copy to Hooykaas.¹⁵ Despite my urgent request at the end of it, I never received any answer from Rauter. No one knew about my proposal, apart from the Secretary General, of course, as I wanted to avoid the possibility of our Committee¹⁶ getting into trouble.

I was powerless then and did not know what else I could do.

Meanwhile, events continued to unfold. After some time, the number of deaths increased again, also among the 200 arrested in June who had also been taken to Mauthausen. These last arrests had been made because a bomb had exploded somewhere in Amsterdam South, damaging a house where Germans were staying and, as was claimed

12 Visser was chief justice of the Dutch Supreme Court from 1939 to 1940.

13 The Ministry of Justice was located on Scheldoekshaven, and the Ministry of the Colonies just a few hundred metres away, at Plein 1.

14 Karl Schöppe (1905–1945), police officer; served with the police from 1926; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1941; adjutant to the commissioner general for security in the Netherlands from May 1940; deployed in the war against the Soviet Union from 1943; took part in the quashing of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising; died in combat near Brno.

15 Not in the file.

16 The Jewish Coordination Committee, of which Visser was the chairman.

but never proven, injuring a number of Germans. Those arrested at that time – as opposed to those arrested in February – were largely well-to-do, middle-class people, mostly the sons of prosperous parents or well off in their own right, and they also included a number of young Germans, some of whom were from the work camp. These arrests were also particularly spiteful because the Jewish Council, i.e. Asscher and Cohen, had been promised that no further mass arrests would take place without prior warning and consultation. This is how this warning and consultation took place: on the day in question, A. and C. were summoned by the police, where they were kept waiting for about three hours, after which they were told that the arrests had taken place. A. had a joyful moment during the Jewish Council's session the next day when he proposed that the Council should step down because of the way it had been treated, but he was persuaded to change his mind and his proposal was rejected with a majority of one vote, which was not his.¹⁷

Over the months of August and September, especially during the latter month, there was an alarming increase in the number of deaths,¹⁸ and by the beginning of October hundreds had died. (The exact figures can be found in file ..., which is part of file ...).¹⁹ Meanwhile, on 15 September, another 102 Jews were arrested in Twente because power lines had been sabotaged – boys and elderly people too, most of them of high standing. These people arrived in Mauthausen on 17 September, and a few weeks later the first death notices started arriving, soon rising to ten.

I then decided to make another attempt. As I had already been in contact with the Council of Secretaries General about this matter during the episode described above, I decided to turn to them.

On 14 October I sent a letter to the Council²⁰ in which I described the state of affairs, gave the number of deaths, reported the new roundups carried out a few days earlier in Arnhem, the Achterhoek, Apeldoorn, Zutphen, and Zwolle, described how these man-hunts caused many young and older people to flee to avoid an almost certain death, and pointed out the high degree of agitation this caused among the entire Dutch people. Following this, I sent further letters in October, in which I kept the Council informed of the increase in the number of deaths. Indeed, by the end of October, all but a few dozen of the people arrested in Amsterdam had disappeared, and about eighty of those arrested in Twente had lost their lives – by now, mid December, they might all be dead – and of those arrested in Arnhem and other parts of Gelderland, the number of whom – because of the large number of fugitives – was not known and is still unknown, several dozen had already died.

A few days after 14 October, I received a letter from the Council's secretary, in which he notified me that he had forwarded my letter to the deputy chairman, the lawyer Mr Frederiks, who wanted to discuss its contents with me. This meeting took place on Monday 21 October. Mr Fr. was extremely alarmed and outraged about the large number of deaths, of which he had not been aware, and asked me if I could vouch for the figures.

17 Minutes of this meeting could not be found in the relevant archived papers of the Jewish Council: NIOD, 182/1c.

18 The reference is to Dutch prisoners dying in Mauthausen.

19 The figures were clearly meant to be added later. A handwritten note references 'Packages in Belgrade' as the source of the figures; the meaning of this could not be determined.

20 See Doc. 98.

I was able to confirm them, as they had been listed in an enquiry based on notices sent to family members, who had received verbal or written notification from the German authorities, as well as official reports from the German police sent to the Jewish Council in Amsterdam and, for Twente, to the representative of the Coordination Committee, Mr Menko²¹ in Enschede. Mr Fr. promised me that he would put the matter before the Council at the meeting the next day, and that he would also – as I insisted he should – involve the Secretary General of the NSB in this, so that they could not claim ignorance at a later stage. His plan was to contact the Reich Commissioner in person and urge him to improve the situation.

Over a week later, I received another request from Mr Frederiks to go and see him. His story boiled down to this: he had raised the matter of my letter and the many appendices at the Council meeting. The three NSB secretaries general, Schrieke,²² Rost van Tonningen, and Goedewaagen, were against taking any steps involving the German authorities following the large number of deaths and the unrest in the country, and advised against anyone taking such steps, as this would put the person concerned in danger. Nevertheless, all the other secretaries general, including Prof. van Dam, authorized Frederiks to approach the Reich Commissioner on their behalf to express their concern about the number of deaths and to urge for improvement in the treatment of prisoners.

As the Reich Commissioner was out of town, Frederiks first approached his deputy, Dr Wimmer, Generalsekretär für Justiz und Verwaltung.²³ He knew nothing about the matter and had only heard vague things about a large number of deaths among the Jewish hostages, but he was alarmed by the figures that were shown to him. He was therefore of the opinion that, from now on, something should be done about this from Berlin, and he advised F. to go to Rauter.

Rauter of course knew all about it and started to reproach Frederiks for bothering him with Jewish issues. Surely he knew that the Jews were to blame for everything because of the Weltjudentum²⁴ etc. F. replied that he would not get into that, because the Dutch Jews were his fellow countrymen and under his legal protection etc. Rauter calmed down a bit in the end and began to admit that it was rather harsh to send these Jewish prisoners, many of whom would undoubtedly be of a slender build, precisely to the toughest camp. The labour there consisted of working in the quarries, which is very strenuous, and they had to do this thinly clad in work trousers and a shirt. Moreover, they had to wait in the same thin clothes for a long time before starting work. 'You, for example,' he said to Frederiks, 'wouldn't survive six months there; I might last a year and a half.' He said there was no truth to the reports about people being poisoned in the

21 Presumably Sigmond Nathan Menko (1877–1962), textile manufacturer; chairman of the Jewish Community of Enschede from 1930; representative of the Jewish Council in the province of Overijssel, 1941–1943; went underground in 1943; was betrayed in 1944 and deported via Westerbork to Theresienstadt; owned factories again after 1945.

22 Jacobus Johannes Schrieke (1884–1976), lawyer; held various administrative and government posts in the Dutch East Indies, 1909–1934; professor in Leiden from 1934; joined the NSB in 1940; on Mussert's recommendation appointed secretary general of the Ministry of Justice, July 1941; sentenced to death in 1946; his sentence was commuted to 20 years' imprisonment; released in 1955.

23 German in the original: 'Secretary General for Justice and Administration'.

24 German in the original: 'world Jewry'. This refers to the antisemitic concept of international Jewry trying to control the world.

lead and zinc mines due to the excessive working hours and the lack of extra milk rations. (NB: Rauter's story also does not explain the large number of deaths after just a few weeks. They were probably down to severe abuse, both physical and psychological.)

In the end, the promise was made that Rauter and Wimmer would send someone to Berlin, with the message that the German authorities in the Netherlands could not assume responsibility if this treatment of the Jews continued.

Rauter went on to ask Frederiks what the latter would do if he, R., were to deport the Dutch Jews to Poland. Fr. replied that he would protest against this in the strongest possible terms, that he and his colleagues would not continue in their posts a moment longer if such a thing were to happen, and that the largest part of the civil service would follow suit. The Germans would then have to see how they could get things done.

The next question was whether Fr. would also do all of these things if he, Rauter, were to deport the German Jews. No, they are your subjects, who have been under your authority since the occupation, and therefore he, as a Dutch civil servant, would not be able to do anything about it.

I then asked Fr. whether, in his opinion, the German Jews were under threat of being deported, to which he answered: 'Yes, I think so.'

I viewed that account as a warning and have informed the Jewish Council and several other relevant persons of this, without assuming any responsibility myself for the eventuality that the events referred to will actually occur.

I asked Fr. whether Rauter had made any promises regarding the future. Only to such an extent that he would refrain from large-scale arrests in the near future, unless further acts of sabotage took place. In that case, he would not be able to vouch for anything. I then said to Fr. that this statement was not sufficient for me to encourage any fugitive to return;²⁵ Fr. agreed with me.

The results of his efforts were therefore not brilliant. However, when I visited Frederiks again a few weeks later regarding a different matter, he told me with a beaming face – before I even sat down – that he had fantastic news. The man whom Wimmer and Rauter had sent to Berlin with the message described above had returned with the promise from the Berlin authorities that, from now on, the Jews would not be sent to Mauthausen.²⁶ 'But,' Fr. added, 'you'd better give up all hope for those who are already there. They know too much.'²⁷

In the period between these two conversations, the Jewish Council was instructed by the Amsterdam authorities to notify those who had fled that they could safely return to their homes and that no harm would come to them. This applied to those who were wanted during general operations or had fled out of fear of them. If this were to be true, Frederiks's – and therefore also my – actions would indeed have been very successful. Personally, I had my doubts, and I still do, even though the Jewish Council has announced the withdrawal of the notification in the General Police Gazette, according to which the arrest of

25 Many Jews had fled the larger cities for smaller towns, fearing further roundups.

26 Jews who were arrested later were sent to various German concentration camps instead. However, from July 1942 onwards, most of them were taken to the Auschwitz and Sobibor extermination camps.

27 Of the approximately 1,700 Dutch Jews deported to Mauthausen, only one survived: see Introduction, p. 42.

a large number of fugitives was requested on the basis of the breach of Rauter's well-known directive of 15 September 1941.²⁸ However, anyone who has not returned by 15 December 1941 will be severely punished. Time will tell what all of this means.

DOC. 108

**Report by a member of the British legation in Stockholm, dated 16 December 1941,
regarding conditions in the Netherlands¹**

Report from the Press Reading Bureau of the British Legation in Stockholm (Holland: no. 18), signed Hubert Howard,² to the Central Department of the Foreign Office (received on 24 December 1941), dated 16 December 1941³

*Memorandum for P.I.D.*⁴

The following memorandum was prepared by Mr. Tennant⁵ of this Legation, as a result of an interview with a Dutch Jew, who recently escaped to Sweden as a stowaway in a coasting vessel, which left Holland on the 25th ultimo.⁶

2. The source stated that public opinion was anti-English during the first period after the cessation of hostilities and that the German soldiers won favour by their politeness and correctness. De Geer's speech was most unfortunate:⁷ Seyss-Inquart's speech promising freedom of religion, of political views, etc., etc., was received with favour.⁸ Disillusionment however soon set in and anti-German feeling grew after it could be seen how the Germans were not prepared to keep their promises and how they in every way favoured the Dutch Nazi Party.⁹ Anti-Jewish measures were soon taken and since there are, or were, 120,000 Jews in Holland,¹⁰ of whom 70,000 were proletarian workmen, feeling began to grow quickly.

²⁸ See Doc. 93.

¹ TNA, FO 371/26683. Published in *Conditions and Politics in Occupied Western Europe, 1940-1945* (London: Thomson, 2006 [microfilm edition]). The original document is in English.

² Hubert Howard (b. 1907); member of the British Secret Service; in 1941 assigned to the British legation in Stockholm; lived in Italy after 1951.

³ The original contains handwritten annotations.

⁴ Political Intelligence Department, a secret UK Foreign Office division which existed between 1939 and 1946. Its main function was to provide intelligence reports on countries involved in the war.

⁵ Sir Peter Tennant (1910-1996), linguist; press attaché to the British legation in Stockholm, 1939-1945; active in the secret service with the Special Operations Executive; in the diplomatic service, 1945-1952; later worked in the private sector.

⁶ Ultimo: 'of last month'.

⁷ In a speech broadcast by the BBC on 20 May 1940, Prime Minister de Geer called for calm and encouraged the Dutch administration to cooperate with the Germans. He was relieved from his position as prime minister in Aug. 1940.

⁸ This most likely refers to the speech given by Seyss-Inquart on 26 May 1940 at The Hague on assuming his position as Reich commissioner of the occupied Dutch territories: see Seyss-Inquart, *Vier Jahre in den Niederlanden*, pp. 7-12.

⁹ The Nationaal Socialistische Beweging (NSB).

¹⁰ The registration process carried out over the course of 1941 recorded 140,552 people as Jews living in the Netherlands: see Doc. 90.

3. First of all Jews had to register their businesses and to put their affairs into the hands of a trustee.¹¹ This trustee or Verwalter usually noted the financial assets of each business, then voted himself a monthly fee out of the assets so that the assets would be sufficient to keep him going for a year or so, when the business would be liquidated and he would take over the trusteeship of some other business. Jews were prohibited entry into cinemas, theatres, parks, waiting rooms, public baths and public buildings in general:¹² this resulted in people generally becoming very helpful and kind. Then came the February strike in Amsterdam,¹³ when the first serious reprisals were taken against the Jews. About 800 Jews from the age of 18 to 35 were taken in cattle trucks to the concentration camp at Buchenwald, where there is one specially bad camp for Jews and one for so-called Ehrenhäftlinge¹⁴ or hostages. From Buchenwald they were soon moved to Mauthausen, just south of Linz. Nothing was heard of them until, after three months, the first notifications of deaths began to leak through into Holland. Publication of these deaths was forbidden. All those persons taken in the February strikes are now dead. From one man who escaped one hears how they were slowly killed.¹⁵ They were lashed with whips of hippopotamus hide and the great majority of them died after two or three days' treatment. Since most of them were hale and hearty, tough young men, it is impossible for them to have died either from overwork or from lack of food during this short period and it was torture and beating which made them cave in so quickly.

4. February was followed by a period of calm until June 1941 when there was a bomb explosion in Amsterdam. On this occasion reprisals were taken against 1,250 Jews, composed mostly of German emigrants and also Dutch Jews to the number of 300 or 400, between the ages of 18 and 30.¹⁶ These were also sent to Mauthausen and most of them also died after three or four days' treatment. My informant tells me that 30 of his own personal friends have died in this camp. Only 120 persons were alive in the camp when he left Holland.

5. He described how these reprisals were taken and how the Gestapo came with lists from the Standesamt,¹⁷ carrying out searches in houses and looking for Jews in certain alphabetical groups. On one occasion they took all the Jews whose names came within the alphabetical register 'S' to 'V', together with any Jew they found on the streets. After June, razzias¹⁸ have been carried out against the Jews without any reason being given whatsoever.

6. This behaviour has created a general sense of revulsion in Holland. No Jew under 30 years of age dares remain at home at night and all of them sleep with friends, in spite of severe punishments being threatened for doing so. He described one scene of an incidental razzia when the Police went into a Jewish shop and told the proprietress to

11 See Doc. 67.

12 See Doc. 77.

13 See Docs. 55–66.

14 Correctly: Ehrenhäftlinge, 'privileged prisoners'.

15 See Doc. 107, fn. 27.

16 See Doc. 80. These figures are too high. The number of Jews arrested in June 1941 because of the bombing was 200.

17 German in the original: 'registry office'. The reference here is likely to lists drawn up by the State Inspectorate of the Population Register, which maintained a list of Jews resident in the Netherlands.

18 Roundups or raids.

hand over her son. She refused but said that they could take her if they wished. They said that she was too old, that they must have him, searched through the house right up to the roof where he had hidden himself and when they got up to the roof he flung himself off into the street below and killed himself.

7. The Gestapo and the Dutch Nazi Party quite happily walk into Jewish shops and order them to hand over the money in the till and take any goods they like without paying for them. There is a Jewish Council set up by the Germans to plead the cause of the Jews and see to their complaints, etc.¹⁹ but it seems impotent to do anything. Now prohibitions have been issued against Jews travelling and leaving their home town.²⁰ If they have to do so there is an elaborate procedure of licenses to be applied for. Instructions have also been issued that all Jews must sleep at home at night but these are not obeyed. The Germans have taken young Jews in preference to old but often, when they have not been at home when the search has been made, they have taken the older members of the family instead.

8. Stars of David have not yet been introduced but are being considered. In one town the Bürgermeister²¹ ordered Jews to wear them, with the result that *everybody* wore them and made the procedure a farce so that it had to be stopped.²²

9. The Germans are contemplating sending Dutch Jews to Poland but they have not dared take this step as yet.

10. The Dutch Nazi Party, N.S.B., are far worse than the Germans and the ordinary Dutchmen loathe them more. The persecution of the Jews has led to astounding kindness and self-sacrifice on the part of Christian Dutch, who feed and shelter and protect them generally. The N.S.B. has 100,000 members and since October has been joined by about 300,000 so-called sympathisers, who are not actually members but eat the crumbs from their table. Their ostensible policy is for a free Holland under German protection. It is essential to become a member of N.S.B. in order to get any job. The other Nazi party, N.S.N.A.P.,²³ differs from N.S.B. in that they want an 'anschluss' with Germany. There is a third Nazi party of only about 10,000 members, called Black or National Front, or something of the kind, but this is unimportant. All the other parties have been dissolved and members have been arrested, most prominent people having disappeared altogether.

11. The patriotic loyal party 'Nederlands Unie' which, after Collijn's²⁴ objections, now includes members of all old political parties, still exists and has a membership of over two million, but for the last two months it has not been allowed to hold meetings or engage in any public activities. The only meetings allowed are those of not more than

¹⁹ See Doc. 56.

²⁰ See Doc. 93.

²¹ Correctly: burgomaster; mayor of a Flemish or Dutch town.

²² This could not be verified.

²³ Nationaal-Socialistische Nederlandsche Arbeiderspartij. The Dutch equivalent of the German NSDAP, founded by Ernst Herman van Rappard (1899–1953) in 1931, absorbed into the NSB in 1941.

²⁴ Correctly: Hendrikus Colijn (1869–1944), professional soldier; served in the Dutch East Indies, 1892–1909; member of parliament for the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) from 1909; held various ministerial posts; prime minister of the Netherlands, 1925–1926 and 1933–1939; arrested for supporting the resistance in 1941 and placed under house arrest in Illmenau, Thuringia.

20 people at a time and this has resulted in almost every street having a house in which meetings are held.

12. The economic side of the picture in Holland is distressing. Only those who work for the Germans make money: otherwise, the working people are really starving and the middle-classes are just on the borderline. One cannot buy butter, milk, fat, vegetables, or tea or coffee. The largest Department Store in Amsterdam had only 30 winter coats in store this November. One can get no underclothes and no shoes though one can put in special applications for shoes which are seldom granted. The bicycles have no tyres and one now sees bicycle wheels with wooden rims on which are nailed strips of rubber from old motor car tyres. Some people have tried to save rubber by riding bicycles with small wheels about a foot in diameter, with correspondingly small tyres. No shops are allowed to shut, though the food shops are cleared out in ten minutes after opening at 9 A.M.

13. The peasants are a very strong anti-German element and they do everything to sabotage the Germans. They have had to hand over one to two cows for every five they possess.²⁵

14. On the black market one can buy almost anything, but everything is terrifically expensive and is only available for people with money.

15. The Winterhilfe²⁶ has been a complete fiasco as everybody says, rightly or wrongly, it is simply giving money to the Germans. During the last collection in Amsterdam, which went on for three days, only 3,000 Gulden²⁷ were collected, in spite of compulsion and of the fact that the N.S.B. party has 30,000 members in that city.

16. *Radio*. No Jews have any sets.²⁸ It is strictly prohibited to listen to London but everyone does so. You can never get a telephone call in if you ring up around 2 and 7 P.M. when the main Dutch programmes are transmitted – everybody is listening. My informant saw a graph of electrical consumption for the Amsterdam electrical works and described to me how the graph jumped upwards at 2 and 7 P.M.

17. Illegal papers are not published very widely and the only one my informant knew of was 'Frej Nederland'.²⁹ He said that people were afraid to keep this paper in their possession because of the continuous searches. On the other hand, with good communications as in Holland he said he did not think it was so necessary as in some other countries because everyone got the news anyhow by the wireless.

18. Everybody is very optimistic at the moment and big business men are betting on the war being over in January 1942. People are already making arrangements for the reception of Queen Wilhelmina, are washing and repairing their flags and having new ones made, while big parties are being arranged for the celebrations.

19. *Fuel*. Normally, central heating is kept going in Holland from October 1st to the end of March or the beginning of April. Now that coke and coal are so scarce one can only

25 This could not be verified.

26 German in original: 'Winter Relief'.

27 Guilders.

28 See Doc. 78.

29 Correctly: *Vrij Nederland*. The first issue of the underground Protestant newspaper *Vrij Nederland* appeared on 3 August 1940; Henk van Randwijk was its editor-in-chief from 1941 to 1950. It still exists today as an online publication and monthly magazine.

reckon on getting enough coupons for fuel from December 1st to February 1st and then only enough to heat one room in the house. Then it is still not certain whether you will get fuel for your coupons.

20. Petrol is only available to Nazis and certain business concerns working for the Germans. The maximum quantity allowed in these cases is 40 litres per month.

21. Train services run fairly regularly and there are not so many trains deleted from the time-table as one might expect.

22. Gas and electricity are very scarce. Office hours, which were originally 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., are now reduced because of heating and light to from 10 to 12 in the morning and 2 to 5 in the evening.

23. *Trades Unions*. The N.S.B. made arrangements for the old confessional and non-confessional trades unions to join the new Nazi unions and receive the same security and financial support. 20 % of the workmen joined at the beginning but since then none have done so, in spite of bribes and threats. The offer was extended until November 10th and since no applications were made by then it was further extended until November 25th. What happened then I cannot say, but presumably they again got few applications.

24. Sabotage. In the factories there is continual sabotage and ca'canny³⁰ on the part of the workers.³¹ In one tinning factory where two million tins were being produced for the German preserving industry the workmen perforated every one of the two million tins with small invisible holes, so that the contents were utterly destroyed.

25. The Fokker factory is now manned solely by German workers for fear of sabotage. Germans are often beaten up in the street at night after the curfew but they are no longer murdered or thrown in the canals as before, for fear of reprisals.

26. *Die Lustwaffe*.³² The German women of the various services attached to the German armed forces are given the above name on account of their exceedingly light morals.

³⁰ Deliberately slow or unproductive work.

³¹ Repeated small acts of sabotage were carried out in factories and localities across the Netherlands; however, they made no great impact.

³² German in the original: 'Lust Force' (a play on the word *Luftwaffe*, 'air force').

DOC. 109

**On 28 December 1941 Rost van Tonningen expresses his dissatisfaction
at the progress of Aryanization to Anton Mussert, the leader of the Dutch National
Socialist Movement¹**

Letter from M. M. Rost van Tonningen (RvT/K.), 49 Laan van Meerdervoort, 's-Gravenhage, to the leader of the NSB, A. A. Mussert, 35 Maliebaan, Utrecht (received on 21 January 1941),² dated 28 December 1941³

Dear Leader,

Further to our meeting on 18 December 1941 and the discussions⁴ I had the pleasure to have with you afterwards, I hereby send you, as per your request, the summary of my involvement in the Aryanization of Dutch companies since my appointment as leader of the Economic Front⁵ on 1 October 1941.

Back then, it immediately became clear to me that the efforts of the Economic Front had until then been limited to recommending companies for potential Aryanization to the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle.⁶ This did not produce the desired result. Perhaps it would have been better if a procedure had been formally agreed upon with the German authorities in which the Dutch interest in the Aryanization process had been more clearly expressed.

Following the many complaints, not least from our movement, I first approached Minister Dr H. Fischböck. I did not consider it desirable to let dissatisfaction fester behind closed doors within the Movement. On the contrary, I felt I had to notify the German authorities of this matter in an appropriate manner. This resulted in a meeting between my Department for Special Economic Affairs⁷ and the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle.

In this meeting, it became clear that a total of around 21,000 companies had been reported to the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle under Regulation 189/40s⁸ on the Registration of Jewish Businesses. Ten thousand of these companies had experienced very little Jewish influence, and this had already been eliminated, which is why they did not require any Aryanization measures. 8,000⁹ companies which were not indispensable to economic life were to be liquidated. 2,000 had already been Aryanized on their own initiative, but

1 NIOD, 123/155. Published in *Correspondentie van Mr. M. M. Rost van Tonningen*, ed. E. Fraenkel-Verkade and A. J. van der Leeuw, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), pp. 750–753. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Correctly: 1942.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

4 Mussert and Rost van Tonningen had discussed various issues in preparation for a trip to visit the Dutch SS legion in East Prussia, and Goebbels and others in Berlin: see *Correspondentie van Mr. M. M. Rost van Tonningen*, p. 744, fn. 8.

5 The Economic Front, a division of the NSB, was founded on 24 August 1940. Its aim was to spread Nazi ideology in business circles.

6 German in the original: 'Office for Economic Investigation'.

7 The secretary general responsible for economic affairs was Hans Max Hirschfeld (Ministry of Agriculture and Fishing and Ministry for Trade, Industry, and Shipping). In 1941 the Reich Commissioner appointed Rost van Tonningen secretary general of the newly established Department for Special Economic Affairs.

8 See Doc. 42.

9 In the original, the figure 8,000 is crossed out, and the figure 10,000 has been added by hand in the margin.

still required the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle's approval of the Aryanization measures taken. 1,000 companies were eligible for Aryanization. At that point, 400 Treuhänder¹⁰ were appointed, of whom 120 were Dutch.

To better accommodate the NSB's wishes regarding the companies that are to be Aryanized and the appointment of Treuhänder, the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle has promised that, in future, the Planungslisten¹¹ of the business sectors still to be dealt with would be discussed in my department, so that the Movement's proposals could be taken into account as much as possible.

To ensure that the Economic Front's initiative will be fruitful, I have mobilized as many section leaders as possible from the Economic Front, a body which has been virtually inactive until now. I have sent a circular¹² to the different section leaders, approximately forty in total, in which the following questions were asked:

1. Which Jewish companies or companies under Jewish influence have been Aryanized thus far?
2. In which companies have comrades been deployed?
Either (a) because they have taken over the company,
or (b) because they manage the relevant company as a Verwalter,¹³ with the prospect of taking it over completely in the future.
3. Which Jewish companies or companies under Jewish influence are owned by or have had their management taken over by Dutch people who are not comrades?
4. Which Jewish companies or companies under Jewish influence have been taken over by German comrades?
5. Which Jewish companies or companies under Jewish influence have not yet been Aryanized?
6. Which comrades should, in your opinion, be considered as trustees for these companies?

Around twenty replies have been received thus far, most of them rather unsatisfactory due to the size of the sections and the difficulties the section leaders have had in obtaining access to the necessary records. As we do not have access to the data received by the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle under Regulation 189/40, our data must be drawn from the rather incomplete information published in the daily press, which lists the companies where Treuhänder have been appointed, but does not state their nationality. No information is given about the final results of the Aryanizations, i.e. by whom and by which interest group the Jewish share in a company is taken over.

The first meeting, which, as agreed, was held with the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle in my department and was to deal with the textile industry, did not meet my expectations. I therefore sent the enclosed letter to the Wirtschaftsprüfstelle on 5 December 1941.¹⁴ A reply to this letter has as yet not been received.

10 German in the original: 'trustees'; people appointed to Aryanize Jewish businesses.

11 German in the original: 'to-do lists' or 'agendas'.

12 This could not be found in the file.

13 German in the original: 'administrator'.

14 In this letter, Rost van Tonningen complained that the interests of Dutch citizens and NSB members were not being sufficiently considered in Aryanization proceedings: see *Correspondentie van Mr. M. M. Rost van Tonningen*, vol. 1, pp. 740–743.

Following this letter, I had another consultation with Minister Fischböck.

The Aryanization issue had by then entered a new phase, because Minister Fischböck had given me the opportunity to Aryanize De Bijenkorf¹⁵ for the benefit of the Movement, as a concession to the NSB. There had also been German candidates for De Bijenkorf who were in a strong financial position.

And this brings me to the weak point of our movement.

In general, our comrades are not particularly wealthy.

If this problem cannot be addressed, we will be excluded from each Aryanization that requires capital, i.e. the Aryanization of all truly first-class companies.

I have therefore had a credit scheme drawn up which provides inexpensive credit to first-class Dutch people who do not have sufficient capital, but have a good name and reputation and a track record in business. If this arrangement were taken over by the state, it would apply to both members and non-members of the Movement, but it is of course intended to benefit the members of the Movement in particular.

The scheme has not yet been approved by the German authorities, but this could happen in the near future.

However, our response to Minister Fischböck's proposal to Aryanize De Bijenkorf for our movement could not wait for this. I discussed this matter in your presence at the session of the National Economic Council¹⁶ and prepared a plan with comrades De Kock van Leeuwen,¹⁷ Gips,¹⁸ Van Maasdijk,¹⁹ and Krantz.²⁰ De Bijenkorf was reviewed by Van Maasdijk's accountant and by an accountant from De Nederlandsche Bank. Soon thereafter, I was able to report to Minister Fischböck that the 100,000 guilders he had set as a minimum for acquiring control of the company had been raised.

In the meantime, another regulation had been drafted with the aim of avoiding undesirable competition between De Bijenkorf, which is to be taken over by us, and our

15 Founded in Amsterdam in 1870, De Bijenkorf is one of the largest and most well-known department stores in the Netherlands. Classified as a Jewish company, it was placed under German administration on 27 Feb. 1941, in the course of Aryanization proceedings.

16 Raad voor de Volkshuishouding, an NSB organization within the Economic Front which Rost van Tonningen headed from March 1941.

17 Frederik Willem Adriaan de Kock van Leeuwen (b. 1895), lawyer; director of a marketing agency from 1932; joined the NSB in 1935; chairman of the North Holland Chamber of Trade and Industry and section head of the Economic Front, 1941–1943; resigned from all positions and left the NSB due to conflicts with Mussert in 1943; interned from May 1945 to May 1947; emigrated to the Belgian Congo in 1952.

18 Franciscus Bernardus Johannes Gips (1897–1964), timber merchant; joined the NSB in 1936; deputy head of the Economic Front from 1941; commissioner of the Dutch East Company (NOC), which was responsible for settling Dutch citizens and coordinating business enterprises in German-occupied Eastern Europe, 1942–1943; sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment and a fine in 1946.

19 Henri Catharinus van Maasdijk (1904–1985), bank clerk; worked for a Dutch bank from 1927; joined the NSB in 1940; appointed mayor of The Hague in March 1945; sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment in 1946; amnestied a few years prior to the end of his sentence.

20 Dr Leonard Pieter Krantz (1886–1956), textile manufacturer; studied at the University of Jena, 1907–1910; partner in and later director of his father's textile factory in Leiden from 1915; joined the NSB in 1933; member of the National Economic Council and the Economic Front, advisor to Mussert, and NOC commissioner from 1943; sentenced to six years' imprisonment; released in 1949.

comrades who own small- and medium-sized retail businesses. A Central Wholesale Centre has been envisaged for the owners of small- and medium-sized retail businesses who are members of the Movement.

The question of the workers' cooperatives was discussed at the same time, first with Comrade Woudenberg, and then with Minister Fischböck. The plan is to put department stores, small- and medium-sized retail businesses, and cooperatives into the hands of the Movement.

Having reached this point, I was surprised to hear from Minister Fischböck that during a meeting, Commissioner General Schmidt told him that you had not yet discussed this matter with him. The impression was that you were not very interested.

I countered this by setting out the very principled position you took at the last meeting of the National Economic Council, namely that in principle *all* Jewish companies should be made available to *Dutch people*, as this concerns property taken away from the Dutch people by the Jews.

I reported on this to you, and you asked me for lists of companies to which German Treuhänder have been appointed.

I have enclosed some of these lists of companies. They are far from complete, but they give an indication of the situation.²¹ Although it is not yet certain that all of these companies will be excluded from Dutch participation, it seems likely that most of them will be taken over by German groups. It is therefore my opinion that we should aim to find a solution that treats our Dutch comrades as partners with equal rights.

I will gladly be at your disposal for further discussions.

Hou zee!²²

DOC. 110

On 8 January 1942 the Jewish Council urgently advises that all individuals summoned for labour service heed the directive¹

Letter from the Jewish Council of Amsterdam (Afd. II A.Z.), Amsterdam, 58 Nieuwe Keizersgracht, addressees unspecified, signed A. Asscher and Prof. D. Cohen (chairmen of the Jewish Council), dated 8 January 1942

Final warning

You have been instructed by the municipal employment office to undertake work in one of the Dutch labour camps in Drenthe² under the supervision of the Dutch National Agency for Work Creation. You must leave by train on Saturday morning for this purpose.

²¹ This could not be found in the file.

²² 'Hou zee', the NSB's standard greeting, comes from a seafaring context and translates as 'stay the course'.

¹ JHM, Doc. 00 000 470. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² By Sept. 1942 thirteen Jewish labour camps had been designated in the province of Drenthe: JHM, Doc. 00 005 713.

We once again and for the last time urgently advise you *to obey this unavoidable command*. The *most serious measures* against you are to be feared if you fail to obey this command. We repeat our appeal to you – and in doing so we have your very best interests at heart – to be present at the designated time. We repeat: this is a matter of normal labour service in the normal Dutch labour camps under normal Dutch supervision.

DOC. 111

On 12 January 1942 the Jewish Council discusses the expansion of compulsory labour service for Jews¹

Minutes, unsigned, 12 January 1942

Meeting of the Jewish Council on Monday, 12 January 1942, at 11 a.m. at 58 Nieuwe Keizersgracht.

Present: all members apart from Mr Beneditty, Mr de Haan, Prof. Palache and Dr Vos. Also present: Messrs Meyer de Vries, Van der Laan, Bolle, Edersheim, and Brandon.

The chairman, Mr A. Asscher, reported that since the previous meeting the chairmen had held many discussions with both the German and the Dutch authorities about work creation.

On Saturday, 10 January, 905 Jews left for the labour camps in Drenthe;² the messages received from there indicate that both heating and food are good. The 170 who had been selected as fit to go but failed to appear at the station on Saturday have rendered themselves liable to sanctions by the authorities unless they had valid reasons for failing to appear.

An additional 1,000 Jews must in the first instance now be made available for labour deployment; however, some of them will be put to work in Sloterveer.³

In addition, the German authorities are, however, demanding that all unemployed Jews (in Amsterdam for the time being) be called upon to register, so that once they have been deemed fit, they can be allocated to labour camps.

The meeting considered this demand from all angles and decided to express its trust in the decision of the chairmen, who are to take into consideration the interests of those concerned as well as the possible limits to the efforts of the Jewish Council.

Prof. Cohen emphasized that the method of the summons had been the point for discussion. This did not alter the fact that large groups of unemployed Jews will be called up.

Mr A. Asscher announced that the Jewish Council has been given official authorization to arrange placements in domestic service and nursing. If possible, this will be announced in this Friday's issue of *Joodsche Weekblad*.⁴

1 NIOD, 182/1c. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 See Doc. 110.

3 In July 1939, Amsterdam City Council decided to establish a new garden city in the south-western part of the city centre (today the Sloterveer district). Following the German occupation, work on this project was provisionally shelved, but the plans were retained. The Jewish Council is presumably alluding to this project. The new district was only completed in the mid 1950s.

Returning to the issue of the summonses for the labour camps, Prof. Cohen said that since the previous meeting three categories had been added to the groups being summoned, namely German Jews receiving assistance, street traders (whose street trading licences have now been withdrawn), and public officials in receipt of a tiding-over allowance.⁵ It is primarily from these categories that the approximately 400 labourers missing from the quota for Drenthe will have to be drawn.

For the new – more general – measure, no number of Jews to be summoned has been mentioned or stipulated yet.

The ‘Committee of Five’ in charge of internal organization at the Jewish Council⁶ will not meet this coming Wednesday but, after consultation with the chairmen, as soon as they have more control over the use of their time.

DOC. 112

On 14 January 1942 representatives of the Dutch churches criticize the lack of rights for Jews and the actions of the occupying forces in a letter to the Secretary General for Justice and Administration¹

Letter (marked ‘secret’) from the Ministry of Justice (Kabinet Nr. 83B), signed Schrieke (Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice), The Hague, to the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (transmitted in house by Kammergerichtsrat Dr Werner Seiffert²), dated 14 January 1942 (transcript)

Re: Protest from the churches

Allow me to draw your attention to the following matter:

On 5 January 1942 I received the following officials (please note that the Christian Reformed Church [Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerk], the Old Episcopal Clergy or Old Catholic Church [Kerkgenootschap der Oud-Bisschoppelijke Clerezie], the Church Community of the Free Catholic Churches [Kerkgenootschap der Vrije Katholieke Kerk], did not participate in this course of action)

representing the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk): Prof. Paul Scholten³ and Rev. K. H. E. Gravemeyer,

⁴ See *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 16 Jan. 1942, p. 1.

⁵ The reference is to the *wachtgeld* system in the Netherlands, under which public officials are entitled to a proportion of their salary if they lose their job.

⁶ The members of this committee could not be identified; it presumably comprised the leaders of the most important departments within the Jewish Council.

¹ NIOD, 020/602. This document has been translated from German.

² Dr Werner Seiffert (b. 1902), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1933; head of the justice department at the Commissariat General for Administration and Justice.

³ Paulus Scholten (1875–1946), lawyer; practised law, 1899–1907; professor in Amsterdam from 1907; became chairman of the Convention of Churches in 1941; arrested and placed under house arrest in February 1942; member of several underground groups; chairman of the National Advisory Committee, 1945.

the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland): Dr J. J. C. van *Dijk*,⁴

the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands in Restored Union (Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland in Hersteld Verband): Rev. J. J. *Buskes Jr*,⁵

the Remonstrant Brotherhood (Remonstrantsche Broederschap): F. M. *Westerouren van Meeteren*,⁶

the General Mennonite Society (Algemeene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit): Rev. F. H. *Pasma*,⁷

the Evangelical-Lutheran Church (Evangelisch Luthersche Kerk): Rev. J. H. *Grotten-dieck*,⁸

the Restored Evangelical-Lutheran Church Community (Hersteld Evangelisch Luthersch Kerkgenootschap): Rev. B. E. J. *Bik*,⁹

the Episcopal Dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in the Netherlands: the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Utrecht: F. Ac. H. van de *Loo*.¹⁰

During this meeting, Prof. P. *Scholten* spoke on behalf of those listed and presented:

- a) the authorization conferred by the church communities in question or by those present, and
- b) a short summary of the deliberations, in which the spokesman explained the issue to me.

Please find a copy enclosed.

The objections raised are directed against:

1. the almost complete lack of rights, such that anyone is liable to be arrested without any specific charge, to be detained without any hearing, to be deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period in camps or elsewhere without public prosecution or conviction;
2. the treatment of those who are of Jewish descent; and
3. the authorities' imposition of the National Socialist life view and world view.

The churches wanted to speak out on this matter to me first, as they consider me to have a serious responsibility to the Dutch people. They requested that I initially commu-

4 Jannes Johannes Cornelis van Dijk (1871–1954), professional soldier and lawyer; minister of war, 1921–1925; member of parliament for the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), 1925–1937; minister of defence, 1937–1939; delegate of the Reformed Churches to the Forum for Inter-Church Dialogue (Interkerkelijk Overleg, IKO) from 1940; arrested and deported to Dachau in 1943; liberated in northern Italy.

5 Johannes Jacobus Buskes (1899–1980), pastor; member of several underground groups; held in German captivity as a hostage multiple times.

6 Correctly: Frederik Maximiliaan Westerouen van Meeteren (1896–1975), lawyer; practised law in The Hague, 1920–1951; held in German captivity as a hostage by the Germans from 1942; member of the Dutch Supreme Court, 1951–1966.

7 Frans Hendriks Pasma (1886–1970), pastor; curate in Grouw (Friesland), 1921–1951.

8 Johan Hendrik Grotten-dieck (1868–1948), pastor; served in Zierikzee and Maastricht from 1893; in Dordrecht from 1898; also secretary of the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod.

9 Bertus Eliza Johannes Bik (1904–1969), pastor; served in Enkhuizen and Amsterdam from 1930; dismissed in 1948; founded an independent religious community.

10 Felix Aegidius Hubertus van de Loo (1886–1959), priest and theologian; priest in Bussum and Arnhem, 1909–1917; professor of moral theology in Rijsenburg, 1917–1931; various functions in the Archdiocese of Utrecht, 1932–1951; Prelate of Honour to His Holiness from 1949.

nicate the step they have taken to my colleagues,¹¹ and further, if possible, arrange for them to be received by the highest German authorities.¹²

Dr van *Dijk* and Mr van de *Loo* added some remarks to the words of Prof. *Scholten*. In my response, I pointed out that, as the deputies found me unprepared because they had not made the purpose of their visit known to me in advance, I could not immediately respond to the complaints themselves, but that I must immediately reject on legal grounds the special responsibility to the Dutch people that the spokesman wanted to attribute to me, as the Secretary General is immediately subordinate to the Reich Commissioner. Additionally, I pointed out that, in my current assessment, with their complaint the churches were protesting directly against the policies of the occupying power, and had thereby entered territory that is not theirs, which might have particular consequences of its own. I finally pointed out that – again, in my current assessment, and to my even greater regret – the churches were trying to halt an inexorable and inescapable historical process, and in doing so, I feared, were putting themselves in the situation of the man who steps out onto the tracks in front of an oncoming express train travelling at full speed.

I also added that I was nevertheless willing to follow up the request that I inform the Reich Commissioner of the step taken by the churches, to convey to him their request to be received, and also to brief my colleagues on the above.

With respect to the above, I have the honour of submitting to the Reich Commissioner a German translation of the aforementioned authorizations¹³ and aide-mémoire, with the respectful appeal to respond as you see fit regarding the churches' request to be received.

The Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice,
signed Schrieke.

Transcript

The Protestant churches in the Netherlands, namely:

- the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk),
- the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland),
- the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands in Restored Union (Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland in Hersteld Verband),
- the Remonstrant Brotherhood (Remonstrantsche Broederschap),
- the General Mennonite Society (Algemeene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit),
- the Evangelical-Lutheran Church (Evangelisch Luthersche Kerk),
- the Restored Evangelical-Lutheran Church (Hersteld Evangelisch Luthersch Kerkgenootschap)

as well as the Episcopal Dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in the Netherlands have sought a meeting with the Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice. The Protestant churches were represented by:

11 The objections of the church are reported in letters to the secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior (NIOD, 101a/3d) and the secretary general of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Arts (NIOD, 102/8ab).

12 The meeting with Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart took place on 17 Feb. 1942.

13 Not in the file.

Prof. Paul Scholten

Rev. K. H. E. Gravemeyer

Dr J. J. C. van Dijk

Rev. J. J. Buskes Jun.

F. M. Westerouren van Meeteren,

Rev. F. H. Pasma

Rev. J. H. Grottendieck

Rev. B. E. J. Bik,

and the Episcopal Dignitaries led by the Vicar General of the Utrecht Archdiocese:

F. Ac. H. van de Loo.

The following was thereupon presented to the Secretary General:

In March 1941, in a petition to the staff of the Secretary General, the Protestant churches expressed their great concern about the direction that developments in this country were taking and how these developments were affecting our people. The churches requested that this concern should be communicated to the German authorities, while the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church also repeatedly expressed concern on their part.¹⁴

The churches felt compelled to again request most emphatically that their grave concerns regarding the increasingly drastic developments be given sufficient attention.

It is not the intention of the churches to thereby make statements of a political nature or to comment on international law; however, because of the task conferred on them in Christ's name, they must make their voices heard also in cases where the principles of justice and mercy inscribed in the gospel are being ignored in public life.

It is the loyalty to their inner calling which forces the churches to speak.

Furthermore, the churches would be guilty of a breach of duty in relation to the authorities if they did not express their concerns about the feelings and tension that the aforementioned developments have caused and are increasingly causing among broad swathes of the population, for the number of souls encompassed by the churches represents the majority of the country's population.

As the churches are limiting themselves to a few occurrences that are particularly troubling them, they first of all mention the almost complete lack of rights. Liable to be arrested without any specific charge being made against them, to be detained without any hearing, to be deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period in camps or elsewhere without public prosecution or conviction.

The treatment of those who are of Jewish descent must also be mentioned. At present the churches do not seek to pass judgement on antisemitism, which they otherwise fundamentally reject on Christian soil; they also do not want to enter into a debate about the political measures taken against the Jews *in general*. They wish to limit themselves to the fact that in the course of 1941 many Jews were arrested and transported elsewhere, and since then official notifications have come in about horrifyingly high mortality rates

¹⁴ Excerpts from the letter from the Protestant churches dated 5 March 1941 are published in J. M. Snoek, *De Nederlandse kerken en de joden 1940-1945* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1990), pp. 54 f. The protests voiced by the Catholic Church were primarily directed against individual measures, for example against the introduction of purely Jewish schools or the installation of prohibition signs for Jews: see Docs. 92 and 125.

among the deportees.¹⁵ The churches would be very remiss if they did not demand from the authorities that these measures be stopped. This is indeed what Christian mercy demands.

The churches then turn their attention to the fact that the National Socialist outlook on life and world view, which only a small portion of the Dutch people adheres to, is now being imposed from above onto the people as a whole. By virtue of their being founded in Christ, the churches fundamentally reject this view of life. However, this too they do not want to discuss at the present moment.

They must raise objections only to the fact that this outlook on life is being *imposed* by the authorities. This is proven by – to cite only a few examples – the measures taken by the authorities with respect to the administration of justice and education, societies and clubs, and the press. It is increasingly impossible for a Christian to live according to his convictions. Again and again he is faced with a crisis of conscience over whether to be involved in things which he cannot do in good conscience or to expose himself and his family to fateful consequences.

The churches themselves feel the impact of this, but that is not the primary reason why they are turning to you. They are doing so because three of the foundational pillars of our humane society, which are ultimately rooted in faith, have been shaken: i.e. justice, mercy, and freedom of conscience. When such higher values are endangered, it is the duty of the churches to testify about this to anyone, even to the authorities.

The churches are doing so first before the Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice, who is now *responsible* for safeguarding the law in the Netherlands. In this respect, a serious responsibility for the Dutch people rests on his shoulders.

They also appeal through him to his colleagues, the secretaries general of other ministries.

The Dutch churches further request that the Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice arrange a meeting for them with the highest German authorities that decide on these matters, so that they may also express their opinion to these authorities.

DOC. 113

On 27 January 1942 the chairmen of the Jewish Council send out instructions to Jews from the Dutch provinces who are to relocate to Westerbork camp¹

Letter from the Jewish Council of Amsterdam (Dept. I/Chairmen, Ref. C/L/LB), signed A. Asscher, Prof. D. Cohen (chairmen of the Jewish Council), Amsterdam, 58 Nieuwe Keizersgracht, dated 27 January 1942²

To whom it may concern,

The German authorities have instructed us to inform you that on the morning of Wednesday, 28 January 1942, the police will come to your home between 8.00 a.m.

¹⁵ The reference is to the approximately 600 Jews who were arrested in Feb. and June 1941 and deported to Buchenwald and Mauthausen: see Docs. 60 and 80.

¹ NIOD, 182/12d. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² The original contains handwritten annotations.

and 10.30 a.m. with the order for you to leave your home and hand over the keys to them.³

You and your family have to get the 12.25 p.m. train from Amsterdam via Hilversum to Westerbork camp⁴ (near Hooghalen, Drenthe), where you will remain.

You may take as much hand luggage as you can carry; a list of the contents must be presented to the police when they arrive at your home. You must take bedclothes, blankets, towels, and underwear with you. You may not sell your belongings or transfer them to others. We will prepare a list of the shops and businesses that belong to those departing for Westerbork and submit it to the German authorities.

The German authorities have warned that the names of any persons not complying with this order will be published in the police gazette and a warrant issued for their arrest (Schutzhaftantrag).⁵

DOC. 114

On 28 January 1942 Mayor Voûte asks the Reich Commissioner's representative for Amsterdam not to house any more Jews in the city¹

Letter from the City of Amsterdam (Nr. 100/32 A.Z.), signed Voûte (mayor of Amsterdam) and J. F. Franken (secretary general), to Senator Dr Böhmcker, Amsterdam, 19 Museumplein, dated 28 January 1942²

Re: settlement of Jews in Amsterdam

Enclosures.

I have learned that in addition to the Jews from Zaandam, a number of Jews from Arnhem are also to be housed in Amsterdam.

As I have already communicated to you verbally on several occasions, I consider this resettlement a danger to our city, not because these few hundred Jews could have an adverse effect on the city but rather because it is unknown whether this is a one-off measure or the beginning of a systematic resettlement by which all Jews in the Netherlands are to be brought to Amsterdam. I would therefore like to direct your attention to the following points:

3 The compulsory relocation of Jews from the town of Zaandam, which had been decreed by the German authorities and was to be implemented by the Jewish Council, began on 17 Jan. 1942. Dutch Jews had to move to Amsterdam; German and stateless Jews were taken to Westerbork camp. The operation was extended to other cities in order to concentrate all of the Jews in the Netherlands in a few locations. See Introduction, pp. 45–46.

4 Westerbork police transit camp had been set up by the Dutch government in 1939 as a central refugee camp. With the occupation of the Netherlands, it became a reception camp for detained German and Austrian Jews. By 1941 the camp already held 1,100 refugees. From mid July 1942 the deportation trains from the Netherlands to the concentration and extermination camps left from Westerbork camp.

5 German in the original: 'application for protective custody'.

1 NIOD, 020/1479. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original includes handwritten highlighting and underlining.

- 1) There is already a housing shortage, particularly with regard to workers' accommodation, meaning that people are already sharing accommodation in cases where this is undesirable. The German authorities' plan to solve this problem by requiring Jews to be housed with other Jewish families will have adverse effects on public health and is therefore very perilous (see enclosed report from the public health department).³

The parts of the city that have been approved for Jews are precisely those areas in which our housing for workers and the middle classes is located (see enclosed map).⁴

In this context, I would particularly like to draw your attention to the fact that families are living in shared accommodation with other families also in city districts where Wehrmacht units are also billeted. The possibility of a spread of disease in these districts therefore additionally poses a threat to members of the German Wehrmacht.

- 2) The food supply situation is difficult enough at present. In a rapidly growing city, and one with unnatural growth at that, a great number of difficulties arise precisely in this respect. The situation is all the more difficult because many Jewish businesses are currently not receiving allocations, and yet have to serve the rapidly growing Jewish population.

To eliminate this problem as far as possible in future, a plan is being prepared according to which the Jewish food supply is to be considered as a particular whole.

- 3) Amsterdam's reputation and good name are surely also worth something. The constantly growing number of Jews is degrading the city, which it surely does not deserve.
- 4) You are looking into the conversion of empty factories and barracks as a solution to the question of living space. Yet this does not need to happen in Amsterdam; it would be much better to consider one of the dead cities like Hoorn or Harderwijk,⁵ in which no other population groups would be harmed.

Moreover, I do not deem it conducive to peace among the population that all of these expelled Jews are being taken to the most densely populated city in the Netherlands. A very large section of the Dutch population does indeed have sympathy with the Jews, and in Amsterdam this is much more likely to lead to demonstrations than in a small community.

Why must these difficulties be created while at present peace and order prevail thanks to hard work and constant vigilance?

I would therefore most urgently request that you help to ensure that the further housing of Jews in Amsterdam is stopped and that the municipal administration is given the

3 This report from the public health department emphasizes the epidemiological risks that would be caused by a further influx of people into districts of the city that were already densely populated. The risks of diphtheria, typhus, scarlet fever, and dysentery are mentioned specifically.

4 Not in the file.

5 Hoorn and Harderwijk are small cities on the IJsselmeer with a population of approximately 13,000 people. The designation 'dead city' alludes to the fact that in the sixteenth century they were flourishing trade cities that later underwent a sharp decline; an article dated 6 May 1942 in the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* uses the same expression and gives an explanation.

opportunity to continue its constructive work so that Amsterdam can take a worthy place in the new Europe.

As the Netherlands' Jew city, we are being severely hindered in our work, which is surely an undeserved punishment for the city's Aryan population.⁶

DOC. 115

In a letter to his children dated 17 February 1942, Felix Hermann Oestreicher describes the tense situation in the family¹

Letter from Dr Felix Hermann Oestreicher,² unsigned, Blaricum (North Holland), to his children Beate,³ Henriette,⁴ and Maria⁵ Oestreicher, dated 17 February 1942⁶

My dears,

I've only got one copy of this letter in front of me, but I hope to be able to read it to you in peace as a testimony to our current hardships. Since we left Katwyk, we – that is Gerda⁷ and I – have been feeling uprooted. Every day I feel more like a plant that has been pulled out of the ground and then carelessly tossed aside to wither. We are living on the verge of collapse. They no longer leave us with anything. D.H.⁸

We must thank God and Father Laqueur⁹ that we have no money troubles for now, but even earning money from the occasional consultation, bridge lesson, or first aid course that I am supposed to give is no longer enjoyable.

6 No reply to this letter could be found.

1 The original is privately owned. Published in Maria Goudsblom-Oestreicher and Erhard Roy Wiehn (eds.), *Felix Hermann Oestreicher: Ein jüdischer Arzt-Kalender* (Constance: Hartung Gorre), 2000, pp. 252 f. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Felix Hermann Oestreicher (1894–1945), physician; medical officer in the Austrian army, 1914–1919; balneologist in Carlsbad, 1919–1938; married to the daughter of Dutch physician Ernst Laqueur; relocated to the Netherlands with his family in 1938; deported to Westerbork in 1943, to Bergen-Belsen in 1944, and further east in 1945; liberated by the Soviet army in Tröbitz, near Leipzig; died of typhus shortly afterwards.

3 Dr Beate Oestreicher (1934–1997), biochemist; deported with her parents and sister Maria to Westerbork in 1943, to Bergen-Belsen in 1944 and further east in 1945; after the end of the war she and her sisters lived in Bergen and later with relatives in Amersfoort; studied chemistry in Amsterdam; worked as a scientist in the USA, Israel, and the Netherlands, 1964–1997; active in the peace movement.

4 Henriette Oestreicher (b. 1936), visual artist; taken to a hospital when her family was arrested in 1943, saved by a resistance group, and sheltered by a farming family in Gorsse; after the end of the war she and her sisters lived in Bergen and later with relatives in Amersfoort; from 1954 to 1958 studied at the Kunstnijverheidsschool in Amsterdam, a school for arts and crafts.

5 Maria Oestreicher, later Goudsblom-Oestreicher (1936–2009), psychologist and writer; twin sister of Henriette Oestreicher; shared her sister Beate's fate from 1943 to 1945; after the end of the war she and her sisters lived in Bergen and later with relatives in Amersfoort; studied social psychology in Amsterdam and subsequently worked as a psychologist; edited her father's diaries.

6 The letter was never sent but instead kept in a sealed envelope along with other letters intended for the children.

7 Gerda Margarethe Oestreicher, née Laqueur (1906–1945); deported along with her husband in 1943; died, like her husband, of typhus shortly after liberation.

8 The meaning of this abbreviation has not been ascertained.

There is no point in buying anything, one cannot take books along when emigrating or going to a camp.

In the last few weeks, in Zaandam, Hilversum, and Utrecht, emigrants – that is, formerly German, now stateless Jews – were sent to a camp, suddenly, for no reason.¹⁰ They are only allowed to take with them what they are wearing, everything else is sealed up and – probably – sold, like in Germany.¹¹ I am surprised by Gerda and Mother, who are still discussing new clothes. Last autumn (1940) I had two strange dreams. Somehow we intended to take our own lives. But because Helli¹² grasped the tube so patiently to inhale, I gave up. In the second dream, also at Helli's bed, I got into an argument with Gerda for some reason and gave up. I have *never* seriously harboured these thoughts. It's true though that the relationship between Gerda and me is sometimes strained. Above all I cannot forgive my father-in-law. On 25 March 1938 he did not want to invest 5,000 guilders for me for emigration and on 1 May Gerda had merely 8,000 guilders in cash, in other words I only found this out in June from the tax statement.

Now he claims I always knew that Gerda had assets here. It serves me right as I did not confer with my friend Niederhofheim back then. If I had, it would have occurred to us, and maybe this would have got us to the USA, and now we would be long dead in a car crash. In any case Gerda is a complete bundle of nerves, and cries a lot. I yell and get into a rage at every little thing, and it has already rubbed off on the children; at any rate Maria also rages against her sisters. Little Beate has been visiting a friend for two weeks and she is doing well there, according to what they write. But we all miss her a lot. Her sisters always say they have to keep things for Beate, and they respect her well-organized shelf. They are proud that they are allowed to dry the dishes now. I also help a lot in the kitchen, but I feel out of place. Recently I helped to saw wood. I would have more fun helping with the birth of a calf, like last winter. Now I wish for that we can all read this letter as soon as possible and in peace and quiet, or that I may destroy it in peace because of the part about Father L.

We are also thinking about how we can stave off the danger of being taken to the camp as long as possible and save as many of our things as possible from the Germans' clutches. None of it matters to me any more. Some of the books have been safely 'sold' to friends, but of course Gerda is attached to the furniture etc. But you cannot just give everything away now and live with two shirts and suits. They can have the old suits for all I care. The Dutch people are behaving marvellously. It is also amazing that they have not started a revolution because of the things that are being done to them. This goes to show that people are basically good and want to live in peace. It is also remarkable that in the age of radios and telephones there are many things that people don't know because of censorship and fear.

9 Dr Ernst Laqueur (1880–1947), doctor and pharmacologist; professor in Königsberg, Halle, Groningen, Gent, and Amsterdam; Dutch citizen from 1932. Laqueur's good connections and earnings protected the family for a long time from anti-Jewish measures taken by the German occupiers.

10 See Doc. 113.

11 The Household Effects Registration Office of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration was in charge of registering the inventory of residences, while the Rosenberg Task Force was in charge of removing the contents of these residences. Some of the furniture was distributed to bombed-out Germans or requisitioned by the Wehrmacht.

12 The reference here is to his daughter Henriette.

My intention in keeping these reports on the children¹³ is that they can someday be published in commemoration of us and the children, and people will enjoy them and preserve our memory so that we will not have lived entirely in vain.

DOC. 116

***De Misthoorn*, 21 February 1942: article on the racial characteristics of Jews
in the Netherlands¹**

The Jews as Alien Elements
by Pieter Emiel Keuchenius²
Can the Jews Aryanize?

In this issue we begin the publication of a series of articles on 'The Jews as elements alien to the nation', written by Pieter Emiel Keuchenius.³ We are convinced that this essay by such a knowledgeable expert will draw the attention of broad sections of society.

Introduction

A few years ago, a book by E. Boekman was published under the title *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland*,⁴ bringing together virtually all available statistical data about the Jews in our country. Boekman had extracted this material from the publications of the Amsterdam Central Office of Statistics. This book by Boekman, himself a Jew, is the most comprehensive work in this field and has the merit of being very clearly written. The one objection is that it only provides figures relating to Jews of the Mosaic faith, which means that Jews who no longer adhere to the religion of their fathers are not included. This has automatically made the statistical material less reliable, but the compiler is not to blame for this.

One genuine shortcoming of this work by Boekman is that he has failed to include the results of the latest census⁵ as regards the statistics for occupations held by Jews and

13 Between 1937 and 1943 Felix Oestreicher wrote the *Drillingsberichte* ('Triplet Reports'), a series of letters to family and friends in which he reported on the development and upbringing of his three daughters.

1 'De Joden als volksvreemden', *De Misthoorn*, 21 Feb. 1942, pp. 4–6. This document has been translated from Dutch. *De Misthoorn* (The Foghorn), modelled on the German antisemitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*, appeared with some interruptions on a fortnightly basis between 1937 and 1942 with a circulation of 20,000 copies. The newspaper was banned in 1942 after the publishers launched a campaign against NSB corruption.

2 Pieter Emiel Keuchenius (1886–1950), biologist; worked on rubber plantations in the Dutch East Indies, 1913–1926; returned to the Netherlands, where he joined various fascist organizations and parties; co-founder of *De Misthoorn* in 1937; joined the Germanic SS in the Netherlands after *De Misthoorn* was banned in 1942; interned in the Netherlands, 1945–1948.

3 The titles of the other articles in the series are 'The Number of Jews in the Netherlands as a Proportion of the Total Population', 'Distribution', 'Gender Distribution and Age Pattern', 'Intellectuals', 'Criminality', 'Causes of Death'.

4 Emanuel Boekman, *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1936). Emanuel Boekmann (1889–1940), typographer; member of Amsterdam City Council, 1921–1940; he and his wife took their own lives when the Germans invaded.

to subject them to further analysis. These results have still not been processed, and I have the impression that this is not without reason, as these occupation statistics do not shine a positive light on whether the Jews as a 'Dutch' population group actually fulfil their national obligation in all aspects of Dutch life. From a racial-biological point of view, the figures from the occupation statistics are of particular interest, as we shall see here. However, the friends of the Jews prefer to keep silent about this and let sleeping dogs lie rather than feed the antisemitism which has been growing under the influence of National Socialism.

The Jews who still adhere to the Mosaic faith belong to different denominations, namely the Portuguese-Israelite religious community and the Dutch-Israelite religious community. The so-called Portuguese Jews are the direct descendants of the Jews who were expelled at the end of the fifteenth century first from Spain and then from Portugal.⁶ This Jewish group has remained small and is greatly outnumbered by the second group of Jews, who come from the East: from Poland, western Russia, and Ukraine. These areas are the cradle of the masses of Jews who have flooded Europe and also the West since the Middle Ages and up until now.

Let me briefly point out the difference in race between these two Jewish groups. The Portuguese Jews, also called Sephardic Jews or Southern Jews, originate from the Mediterranean. As for their race, they form a mixture of Oriental, Near-Eastern, Western, Hamite, Negro, and Nordic races, according to Günther.⁷

The other Jews are called Ashkenazi or Eastern Jews. As far as numbers are concerned, they form the dominant majority. Racially, they are a mixture of Near Eastern, Oriental, East Baltic, Inner-Asian, Nordic, Hamite, and Negro races. They lack the Western element of the Sephardic Jews and have an East Baltic, Alpine, and Mongolian element that is missing from the aforementioned group. A consequence of this different racial composition is that Southern and Eastern Jews also differ from each other in appearance. Among the Sephardic Jews the Oriental race is dominant, while among the Ashkenazi Jews the Near Eastern element prevails. It is due to their Near Eastern blood that they have a large, hooked and striking 'Jewish nose' as well as their thicker lips and sensuous look. In terms of our perception of beauty, these Jews usually make an unpleasant and repulsive impression. The same does not apply to Portuguese Jews. They look respectable: their appearance is more in line with our perception of beauty. This difference also occurs in psychological terms in that the latter make a quieter impression, just as Orientals do, while the Eastern Jews are not only livelier but also display an impudent, hateful, and malicious streak in their being and attitude. As a consequence of the better appearance of the Portuguese Jews, they soon started to mix with our nobility and our patrician families. They have always felt themselves to be above the Eastern Jews, whom they traditionally regard as inferior. This is also one of the reasons why the Sephardic Jews

5 This was carried out in 1930.

6 In the fifteenth century the Jews in Spain were persecuted by the Inquisition. Many Jews died in pogroms; others were burned at the stake as heretics. In 1492 the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, Isabella of Castile (1451–1504) and King Ferdinand II of Aragon (1552–1516), signed the Alhambra Decree, which forced Jews to either convert to Christianity or leave their lands.

7 Hans F. K. Günther, *Rassenkunde des jüdischen Volkes* (Munich: J.F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1930). Hans F. K. Günther (1891–1968) was a German eugenicist who heavily influenced the Nazis' racial theories in the 1920s and 1930s.

have kept themselves separate from the Eastern Jews in their own faith community up to now.

Many are of the opinion that the Portuguese Jews are no longer Jews because they have been fully Aryanized over the past couple of centuries by mixing with Dutch blood, so that only their family names remind us of their Sephardic origins. It is also claimed that when they found asylum here after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, these Jews had already ceased to be Jews because their blood had been thoroughly mixed with Moorish and Visigoth blood.⁸ This opinion, which has been recently put forward, is probably based on the fact that these Sephardic Jews currently wish to be recognized as Aryan Dutch people, while our nobility would prefer to conceal the fact that it has been corrupted by Sephardic blood.

The Aryanization of a number of Portuguese-Jewish families is indeed a fact. As far as that goes, there would therefore be nothing wrong with recognizing them as fellow Dutchmen. The second opinion, namely that the Portuguese Jews had already ceased to be Jews when they were expelled, is most certainly incorrect. We should not overestimate the blood mixing between Sephardic Jews and Visigoths. The problem of religious differences already existed and formed an obstacle for both the Christian Goths and the Jews. The Jewish community expelled all bastards. The difference in faith, which because of its origins was naturally based on a difference in race, was such that it eventually led to an uprising, as a consequence of which the Jews had to leave the country. There were Jews in Spain in the Middle Ages who had converted to Islam or Christianity and had mixed with Moors or Goths. However, their number was not very large, and in any case such Jews were lost to the Jewish community.

That Sephardic Jews, whether Marranos or not,⁹ were and have remained full-blooded Jews in heart and soul is evidenced by their behaviour and occupations in the Netherlands and elsewhere. This was clear first of all from the way in which they stubbornly clung to their religion. Barely arrived in our country, they asked for permission to set up their synagogues. They then began to act in the typically Jewish way here in our country, and our society soon experienced the pernicious consequences. Because of the Sephardic Jews, our trade degenerated into haggling and swindling. The greed and the complete spiritual degeneration during the Era of the Regents¹⁰ which resulted from this developed under the influence of the Sephardic Jews.

In this sense, then, there was no difference at all between Southern and Eastern Jews. What is so strange is that although the composition by race of the two groups of Jews differs, *they are completely the same in spirit*. By this I mean the character traits we experience as typically Jewish, namely their greed for money, their sense of themselves as the chosen people, their nomadic tendency and lack of a homeland, which means that they do not feel a bond with the soil etc., all these are equally present among both groups

8 The Visigoths ruled large parts of Spain from the sixth century. In the eighth century, the Muslim conquest of large parts of the Iberian Peninsula began a period of Muslim cultural dominance which lasted until the Christian Reconquista was complete in 1492.

9 In the early modern period, Spanish and Portuguese Jews who converted under pressure from the Inquisition but practised Judaism in secret were known as Marranos.

10 This refers to the period of the stadtholders of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, 1559–1702.

of Jews. *The Sephardic Jews do not differ from the Ashkenazi Jews in a spiritual sense: owing to long-term selective breeding based on the same ideals, they have kindred spirits.*

The Southern Jews may believe they are superior to the Eastern Jews, but in their hearts they are all Jews and live in the awareness that they belong to a single Jewish community, spread out around the whole world. Günther also confirms that although the race differences between the two groups of Jews are evident to everyone, the shared features of these Jews are so clear that both Jews and non-Jews always regard representatives of both groups as representatives of one and the same Jewish people.

The following detail is interesting to note with regard to the Aryanization of Sephardic Jews: some of these families who can provide evidence of their Aryanization have nevertheless remained true to the Mosaic faith! Their request to be integrated into our nation as Aryans obviously must be declined. They voluntarily chose the Jewish community and therefore remained Jews in spite of their Aryanization.

I must now comment on the assessment of the available figures and data about the Jews, as it makes an enormous difference which 'objective' measure is used for Yahweh's Chosen People. We cannot, as Prof. S. R. Steinmetz has done,¹¹ consider the Jews a race completely alien in body and spirit from our own Dutch people but still see them as fellow Dutchmen who merely form a different religious group among us, just as other fellow countrymen adhere to other religious groups such as the Christian Reformed, Remonstrants, Baptists, Catholics, etc. This has led Steinmetz to compare the Israelites in terms of their occupations with the Remonstrants and Baptists and various other denominations.

Boekman takes the same approach in his book about the Jews. He too considers the people of his own race simply as Dutch people of a specific religious affiliation! 'In the course of a couple of centuries the Jews in the Netherlands have become Dutch Jews', he writes, and shortly after that he declares that his book is not about 'what separates the Jews from the rest of the population, but about what distinguishes them from the rest of the population'.¹²

The Jew Boekman is fully aware that his fellow Jews form a completely alien, separate, and different community which differs from us Dutch people not only in terms of religion, but also in many other respects, and that this distinction is based on the immutable differences in race and blood. We can try to diminish or even obscure this natural difference, or we can emphasize it. Boekman does the first for reasons of Jewish self-interest. Steinmetz takes a similar position out of other, ethical-humanist motives, or, in other words, out of *affection for the Jews*.

This goes to show that what really matters is which 'subjective' attitude is applied, what one seeks to show in 'objective' terms. In my reflections that follow, I will take it as given that the Jews are of an alien race, that they have nothing to do with us and instead form an alien-blooded element of the body of our people.¹³ The natural consequence of this is

11 Sebald Rudolf Steinmetz and Johannes Antonius Jamesz Barge, *De rassen der menschheid* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1938). Steinmetz (1862–1940) was an anthropologist and influential sociologist who opposed the interchangeable use of 'Volk' and 'race'.

12 Boekman, *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland*, p. 11.

13 The original uses the term *volkslichaam* here, the Dutch form of the Nazi term *Volkskörper*, which referred to the notion of a biologically defined collective body of the German people.

that they behave in a way that is totally different from us Dutch people, as will also be evident from this survey. *In the analysis of the data, what is typically Dutch shall be taken as the standard and the measure*, not what is of alien blood or abstractions such as general human nature or religious affiliation. *Everything that does not correspond to or conflicts with what is typical of our nation is to be considered abnormal*. This is the principal difference between my point of view and that of the above-mentioned authors. They sought to demonstrate that the Jews are in fact truly Dutch!

I am fully aware that not all true-blooded Dutch people are the same and that they exhibit fairly large differences from each other which are again related to race and blood. There is a distinction, for example, between the fair-haired North and the brown-haired South of our country. Both groups nevertheless form an essential and indigenous part of our Dutch population, which is also evident from the fact that they are fully part of all occupational groups in our nation. This is not the case when it comes to the Jews, who form a completely different population group. This study sets out to prove this. In the past, democracy in our country made no distinctions in terms of race and only distinguished between citizens of different religious affiliations or different nationalities, for it considered all people equal. That is why the Jews were not considered alien to our nation and counted separately in our censuses. All Jews who had Dutch nationality were Dutch, just as all non-Dutch people were foreigners. From the democratic point of view, there was no difference between Germans, Hottentots, and Jews. If they met the legal requirements, they could become Dutch through naturalization.

Our censuses identified only those who were part of the Jewish religious community and therefore did not include all of those who were Jewish by race, as many Jews had either converted to a different religion or did not belong to any specific religious community. The latter category of Jews therefore slipped through the census. The results of the censuses therefore do not correspond with the actual, absolute number of Jews and give only an incomplete picture of the share of Jews in our national life.

To distinguish Jews who are members of a Jewish religious community from Jews who are Jewish by race only, I will refer to the former group as Mosaic or Talmud Jews in this study, as they live according to the laws of Moses and the rules of the Talmud, while all Jews by race will be referred to as full Jews.

DOC. 117

On 23 February 1942 the chief public prosecutor in Arnhem orders the local police to ensure that signs reading 'No Jews allowed' are displayed¹

Letter from the chief public prosecutor of the Public Prosecutor's Office at the Arnhem Court (La.A. 2009/41), signed de Rijke² (chief public prosecutor and acting regional chief of police), Arnhem, to the chiefs of the local police forces in the Arnhem police district, sent for information to the secretary general of the Ministry of Justice³ (received on 24 February 1942), to the Security Police in Arnhem, and to the division commanders of the Military Constabulary in Arnhem and Zwolle⁴

Honourable Sirs, I hereby wish to inform you of the following.

I have been advised by various local police chiefs in the area of jurisdiction of this court that Dutch Railways stationmasters have refused to have the prescribed notices with the words 'No Jews allowed' put up at station restaurants, citing instructions from the Railways Directorate. I have raised this matter with the directorate, which has now informed me that it has been decided that the display of these notices at the entrance to station restaurants should be permitted.

If this pertains to your municipality, I would request that you check whether or not the signs referred to have now been put up and that you inform me about this *before 28 February*.

For your information, please see below some further instructions regarding the most frequently occurring issues:

1. The sign does *not* have to be put up in hospitals.
2. The sign must be put up at sanatoriums.
3. A sign must be put up at lending libraries. If the lending library is located inside a bookshop, it will be sufficient to display the sign in the shop in such a way that it is clear that Jews are not permitted to borrow a book, but that they are allowed to buy something in the shop.
4. The sign does not have to be put up on buildings and in rooms that are used exclusively for religious worship and religious meetings. The same applies to so-called retreat centres and similar establishments which belong to a church community and are used exclusively for religious contemplation.

If there is any further refusal to put up the signs, an official report must be produced. Please send me a copy.⁵

1 NIOD, 216k/11b. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Wilhelmus de Rijke (1896–1971), lawyer; practised law in Haarlem from 1924; joined the NSB in 1933; appointed chief public prosecutor in Arnhem by Seyss-Inquart in August 1940; commissioner for the province of Overijssel, 1943–1945; interned, 1945–1948; subsequently worked as a lawyer in Amsterdam.

3 Jacobus Johannes Schrieke.

4 The original contains handwritten annotations.

5 The file does not contain replies from the various municipalities.

DOC. 118

On 25 February 1942 an employee of the Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture confirms the Aryanization of Lazarus Lazarus's farm in Winschoten¹

Letter from the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture (VIII B 11 328/41), signed p.p. Wex,² Berlin W 8, 72 Wilhelmstr., to farmer Lazarus Lazarus,³ Winschoten, Holland, dated 25 February 1942 (transcript)⁴

In response to your letter of 28 August 1941, which has been treated as an appeal against the injunction to sell issued by the Oberpräsident, Department for Agricultural Estates, in Hanover on 17 June 1941 –

OP III 1/3 (b) no. 2 LK 44.5. B 1 Leer SA 1 + 2 –
and the trustee appointment of 19 August 1941 –

OP III 3 (b) ONr. 5 LK 44.5. B 1 Leer SA 1/ 2,⁵

I inform you that the contested orders provide no grounds for appeal. The Aryanization of your property falls within the scope of the total de-Jewification of agricultural assets as generally ordered by the Regulation on the Utilization of Jewish Assets of 3 December 1938.⁶ The fact that you hold Dutch citizenship, which you invoked in your letter of 23 June 1939, does not impede the compulsory measures pursuant to the Regulation on the Utilization of Assets. Your most recent point made in your letter of 29 August 1941,⁷ that you are a farmer by trade and that a third party has been keeping up their own farm by leasing the land you own which is now for sale, is irrelevant for the Aryanization process. Your appeal will therefore be rejected.

1 PA AA, R 99309. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ernst Wex (b. 1898); at the Reich Ministry for Food and Agriculture from 1939; Regierungsdirektor in Section XI (Utilization of Jewish Assets) from 1942.

3 Lazarus Lazarus (1869–1943), farmer and merchant; deported to Westerbork in Oct. 1942 and in 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

4 The original contains handwritten comments and annotations.

5 This letter has not been found.

6 The Regulation on the Utilization of Jewish Assets of 3 Dec. 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt* I, 1938, pp. 1709–1712) stipulated that Jews had to give up their businesses and sell their properties: see PMJ 2/193.

7 This letter has not been found.

DOC. 119

H. M. van Randwijk attempts to galvanize the Dutch people with his illegal pamphlet 'Unless ...', published in February 1942¹

Illegal pamphlet, 'Unless ... An earnest appeal to the conscience of the Dutch people', unsigned,² dated February 1942

And us? For twenty centuries our fate was to endure,
For twenty centuries our fate was sorrow and slander.
And what Fate fulfilled for every nation,
Never did we towards scorn and hate wander.

Our people owns nothing but its own sorrow.
Jacob Israël de Haan³

It seems that the persecution of our Jewish compatriots has reached its final and decisive stage. For months we have looked on, bewildered and horrified. We were too paralysed by our own feelings of impotence!

We were wrong!

There are times in the life of an individual and of a people in which one no longer questions whether something is possible, but in which one simply does something, acts out of a overwrought spirit, and appeals only to one's conscience and to almighty God.

We think this moment has now come, and if it has not, it may come tomorrow.

This document is an urgent appeal to your human dignity, to your Christian faith.

What good does it do us if the Russians force back the Germans in the East, what good is the victory of the British army, what good are the American fighter planes, what good is the resurrection of our homeland, when we tolerate the inhumane and senseless persecution of defenceless fellow human beings among us? It is better to suffer and perish with the innocent than to be free with a stain on our honour and a conscience that is betrayed.

Once, and already it seems like a very long time ago, our people helped create the opportunity for the cruellest and most meaningless persecution to have raged among us since Alba.⁴ Assailed by an enemy ten times as strong, subdued by our own suffering,

1 NIOD, Illegal pamphlet 238. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 The pamphlet 'Tenzij... Een ernstig beroep op het geweten van het Nederlandsche volk' was distributed in Feb. 1942 along with the illegal newspapers *Vrij Nederland* and *De Vonk*. Its author was Hendrik Mattheus van Randwijk (1909–1966), teacher; active in the resistance under the name Sjoerd van Vliet, 1940–1945; editor-in-chief of *Vrij Nederland* from August 1942 to 1945; arrested on multiple occasions by the Security Police; continued to work at *Vrij Nederland*, 1945–1952.

3 These lines are taken from the song 'Israël – Servië' from the book *Het joodsche lied: Tweede boek* (Amsterdam: De Degel, 1921), by Jacob Israël de Haan (1881–1924), teacher and lawyer; famous early twentieth-century Dutch poet; a Zionist, in 1919 he settled in Jerusalem, where he was murdered in 1924.

4 The reference is to Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba (1507–1582), general and advisor to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V; governor of the Netherlands, 1567–1573. In the Netherlands, this period is remembered as a reign of terror and one reason for the Dutch War of Independence.

unfamiliar with the satanic tricks of a devious seducer, we signed the now well-known ancestry forms.⁵

In so doing, we accepted the separation of Jews and non-Jews that the Nazis wanted. Without knowing it, with this seemingly innocent act we signalled to our oppressors that we would indeed tolerate their cruelties, theft, and violence committed against Jews, provided they committed these acts cunningly and gave us an opportunity to justify why we just stood by passively and watched.

Back then, the Dutch people were warned with serious and passionate words. *Almost too late!*⁶ We know that many among us thought at the time that those words were too harsh, and the accusations expressed were unreasonable. Well, it was not yet too late!

After the first defeat, it was still possible to recover and to refuse to tolerate the impending injustice and increasing violence.

The tempest that has since engulfed our Jewish compatriots has surpassed all our fears and has been worse than we, as a people, could have anticipated. Our people stood by and watched! Those who had the opportunity to refute the accusations in 'Almost too late!' with their actions, and even those who agreed with the serious message of that pamphlet, merely looked on! May God forgive us.

The Jewish civil servants working for the government and the councils were dismissed. The Dutch tolerated this, partly with indifference, and partly with compassion and indignation, but always aware of their own impotence. Jewish teachers were barred from schools.⁷ This was still in keeping with the initial measures, which had been accepted reluctantly. But they were even dismissed from Christian schools, where a Jew in the classroom was the triumphant acknowledgement of God's grace and a living sign of the people he calls from all tribes and nations and tongues.

Yet they were still ousted! To outsiders these still seemed like innocent measures. The authorities mentioned redundancy pay, pensions, continued salaries, etc. Stupid people even envied them and did not see the suffering behind the dead money, the destruction of so many people's life's work, the indignities inflicted upon the Jews and, along with them, upon all the free people of the Netherlands. Some of us thought that would be it. They were accustomed to thinking in terms of a legal system which by then had already been destroyed. 'The Nazis are simply antisemitic, and as they are temporarily filling the role of government here, it is understandable that they will not tolerate any Jews in official or semi-official positions.'

Their reasoning was wrong, and as obvious as any stupidity. Indeed, we should have realized by then that National Socialism is a beast that will never be satisfied when it comes to violence and injustice.

Anyone who read the newspapers and pamphlets that were spreading the dirt which the large, official papers were not able to publish understood that this was only the beginning, and that the peace and calm that one noticed among the Nazis was only a cunning preparation for even worse acts of violence.

Nevertheless, even then, there were some who provided our people with an unambiguous, proud example of how to act. By commemorating the unforgettable act of

⁵ See Doc. 39.

⁶ The reference here is to the illegal pamphlet 'Almost too late!' by Jan Koopman: see Doc. 52.

⁷ See Doc. 86.

Prof. Cleveringa, rector magnificus at Leiden University, we pay homage to all those who acted as he did.⁸ He paid for his action with his freedom. He has also gained a reputation in these lands that will last forever, and his name will be remembered everywhere, as long as justice and humanity are valued among our people.

He and a few others represented the faint voice of our conscience, when the conscience of our nation remained silent.

The Church protested as well!⁹

Of course it did, we are inclined to say, but many who had lost all hope that the Church would ever truly speak as a church again thought that a miracle had occurred.

However, this 'miracle' has not been fully understood, not even by the church leaders. If it had been, they would have announced it joyfully and vocally to all people. But in fact they behaved secretly, almost like conspirators. A brief, weak summary of the protest was announced to churchgoers, and in some congregations it was not mentioned at all.

And yet the nation's conscience did speak out once, and when it did, it almost became a song. Not the learned, nor the powerful, nor the Church, but the working class of Amsterdam, the city where Rembrandt painted his Jewish Bride,¹⁰ gave the only appropriate response to so much cruelty and deceit. That cold February day of 1941 has become Amsterdam's holy day!¹¹

God only knows what went before!¹²

The Jews were rounded up and killed like cattle; their houses were destroyed; women and children were put out in the street; we saw them crawling on their knees towards the waiting police vans. Mad with fear, the hunted Jewish men took refuge in basements, warehouses, and lofts; they went without food and shelter for days ... Only to be found, captured, and taken away in the end after all ...

And Amsterdam just watched!

And the Netherlands just watched!

Then the voice of the late Jewish poet Jacob Israël de Haan was heard in the streets of Amsterdam and became the voice of us all:

Truly, if I wanted to sing of my remorseful suffering,

I'd find no harsh words for all this harshness ...¹³

Then something incredible happened! The tram drivers took their trams to the depot and went home. The shopkeepers of Amsterdam let down their shutters as a sign of mourning. The factory workers abandoned their machines and refused to work in a city so full of injustice and suffering ... The streets went quiet. Amsterdam went quiet. It was

8 Rudolph Pabus Cleveringa, who was actually the dean (not the rector) of the law school at Leiden University, protested against the dismissal of his Jewish colleagues on 26 Nov. 1940, which resulted in his arrest: see Doc. 76. Isaak Kisch, a lecturer at Amsterdam University, also gave a farewell address to his students: see Doc. 47.

9 See Doc. 112.

10 The 1667 painting *The Jewish Bride* by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) is in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam today.

11 The reference here is to the February Strike in Amsterdam on 25–26 Feb. 1941: see Docs. 64 and 66.

12 The February Strike was sparked by the arrest of 425 Jewish men on 22 and 23 Feb. 1941 in Amsterdam: see Doc. 61.

13 These lines are taken from the poem 'Jeugddroom II' in de Haan, *Het joodsche lied*.

as if everyone held their breath for one moment, to listen to the song of deliverance, which sounded for the first time since the disastrous May Days:

For the needy shall not always be forgotten: the expectation of the poor shall not perish forever.

Put them in fear, O Lord: that the nations may know themselves to be but men.¹⁴

Then came the armoured vehicles, the hand grenades, and the machine guns.¹⁵

So all had been in vain, said the supposedly sensible among us. Fools! As if life were measured by its 'effectiveness', like a machine!

But we can conclusively refute even those number crunchers. The terror in the streets of our cities had ended, the destruction of houses and synagogues was over, and the public flogging of the innocent had been rendered impossible.

But what was even more important was this: our enemies understood that there was a limit, that our people would not tolerate everything, that a time might come when our people feel that enough is enough, a time when they resist because they have to resist, as otherwise they would collapse from their own inner tensions and suppressed loathing.

Such resistance is always the consequence of experience rather than reasoning. It does not calculate a result, but acts; the heart of the people, the hope of the people, the faith of the people, they act.

Since then, the persecution of the Jews has been carried out on the quiet. For some time now, the new anti-Jewish measures have no longer been published in the press. The Nazis fear our resistance and have acknowledged this. However, they also know our weakness, and they know that when they give us the opportunity to wash our hands in innocence, we will all gladly do so.

That they are right should put us all to shame. From Amsterdam alone, 700 young Jewish men were taken to concentration camps in Germany.¹⁶ They were nearly all ordinary, hard-working, working-class boys. We have not heard their voices again; their lamentations no longer reach us. We have now received more than 650 death notices out of those 700, but we do not need to concern ourselves with that if we do not want to. And in other places in our country, more innocent people were dragged from their beds and taken away before dawn, or they received a written summons to report to the Gestapo ... And then their families received a notice about them as well, saying that 'the Jew ...' was dead. But we do not need to know if we do not want to.

The Jews were barred from our restaurants, theatres, and cinemas as carriers of contagious diseases ... The terror campaigns of the black gangs forced the owners to put up those hateful signs at the entrances, but we do not need to see them when we enter, if we do not want to.

Jews have been banned from our seaside resorts, our swimming pools, and even our city parks;¹⁷ it is very easy to forget this when playing in the sea or enjoying the nice weather in the park. The birds in the trees do not know it; we would have to feel ashamed if they did.

¹⁴ Psalm 9:18 and 20 (KJV).

¹⁵ Nine people were killed and dozens injured when the strike was quashed.

¹⁶ See Doc. 107.

¹⁷ See Doc. 77.

But why should we strain our imaginations and try to envision what all this means for our Jewish compatriots: this continuous slander, this gradual curtailing of their rights and freedoms, until they can no longer move, are stripped of everything and killed?

Their assets have been stolen or placed 'under administration'.¹⁸ They have been denied the freedom to dispose of their possessions, which have been handed over to thieves who go about their thievery with almost scientific precision.

Their shops and businesses have been looted and shut down, and this continues on a daily basis – calmly, sneakily, and silently. We do not need to know if we do not want to. One morning, we will see yet another shop where the shutters are no longer open. Behind them, everything is now dead and empty, stolen, but we can turn our heads away and think of something else. We do not need to know if we do not want to.

Even the destitute, hard-working market vendors have been banned from their stalls.¹⁹ They are no longer allowed to sell on the street. Their flower and fruit stalls and ice cream carts at the corners of our streets pose a risk, the Nazis tell us. Buying at auctions is prohibited, as is buying or selling on their behalf. They have families just like we do, their children ask for bread just like ours do, their food and clothing are just as expensive as ours, and prices are already beginning to go up ... But we do not need to know if we do not want to.

They can no longer leave their places of residence without a permit, they can no longer move house without permission from the Germans,²⁰ they can no longer compete in sports events, their children can no longer attend our schools, they can no longer own radio sets, they are not even allowed to listen to Christian programmes,²¹ Jewish physicians and lawyers can no longer have 'Aryan' patients and clients.²² Private institutions are put under pressure to sack their Jewish staff, and most comply! We do not need to know if we do not want to.

This is the systematic pauperization of the Jews, their unrelenting, heartless expulsion from our nation, the gradual, scientifically prepared, and silently executed murder of our fellow human beings. This is antisemitism: violence, injustice, and manslaughter, and even worse: rebellion and disobedience against the God of Israel, the hubristic gesture of Germanic paganism, which wants to expel from this world – together with the Jews – the God of the Jews, who is the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Our people keep silent, and simply watch. Our enemies have noticed and understood this. They can do as they please without fearing any resistance. Gradually, their acts of torment and persecution are becoming louder and more widespread again.

In Germany, the last remaining Jews are being transported to Poland. Not just the men, but also women, children, and the elderly. Their assets are confiscated. They will die during the transport or in the camps.

What will happen to the Dutch Jews? 'Poland' has become a dark, frightening name to all of them, and with good reason.

As we said before, it seems to us that the persecution of Jews has now entered its final and decisive phase.

18 See Doc. 85.

19 See Doc. 93.

20 Ibid.

21 In the Dutch original, one line of text was printed twice, making this sentence incomplete.

22 See Doc. 73.

Again, people are being taken away on a large scale, currently to camps in Drenthe. This is done under the pretence of job creation.²³ Such hypocrisy, as they had been driven out of the markets and businesses, and were therefore doomed to unemployment. This shows that the Nazis' aim is not to provide work, but rather to deport and imprison. And they do not shy away from using the Jewish Council (who are their prisoners) to mask this sinister aim.

The forms that have now been issued to all male Jews via the Jewish Council again make one fear the worst. Over the next couple of months, we can expect large-scale arrests, people being taken away, theft of property, etc.

This has already started in Zaandam. Between 14 and 17 January, 278 Jewish families were deported: men, women, children, the elderly, the sick, and the infirm. They had to leave everything behind and were only allowed to take a small suitcase with 15 kg of clothes, etc.

In Hilversum, many Jewish families were given the same order on 27 January.²⁴ The following morning, between 8 and 10.30 a.m., the police arrived on their doorsteps to take them from their homes and collect the keys. These families have been taken to Drenthe. They were only allowed to take bedding and clothing. The Germans will 'look after' the possessions that were left behind.

The Jews in other cities in our country are awaiting the same fate. In all likelihood, three ghettos will be established in Amsterdam, where these people – robbed of everything and protected by nothing and no one – can be crammed together like fish in a net.²⁵ They can still breathe, but they can never escape. They will be constantly bullied and provoked, until they are taken away in their thousands to a much worse destination, unless ...

Unless ...

Unless the Dutch people once again make it unambiguously clear that enough is enough, and that the limit of Nazi sadism has been reached.

As we said before, our enemies fear such resistance because they know we are not alone, as they sense that this is brewing among all the nations they overran in 1940, because their overburdened war machine cannot deal with unrest, because they know better than we do what 9,000,000 (nine million!) people can achieve when, aggrieved and pushed to the limit, they take the side of the innocent and the persecuted.

Certainly, we have heard the arguments of the arithmeticians. We are powerless against such brute force, and resistance would only lead to more victims and provoke even worse measures against the Jews. We respond with a question: So what now? Do we just watch? Do we put up with it? Allow injustice to be piled upon injustice, the weak to be trampled, the helpless to cry out in vain, the innocent to be tormented without reason? Have our honour tarnished? Our faith ridiculed?

23 See Doc. 110.

24 See Doc. 113.

25 Amsterdam's Jewish quarter was temporarily closed off in Feb. 1941. No ghettos were subsequently set up in the Netherlands. However, Jews in Amsterdam could only take up residence in certain neighbourhoods, designated as 'Jewish Quarters'.

Once again, we call to mind the Amsterdam strike of February 1941, exactly one year ago this month. No one asked about the 'effectiveness', no one considered the result. Strange as this may sound, it was of very little importance. All that mattered was taking action, the expression, the proof that the Dutch heart was still beating, that the Dutch people were still alive. Our enemies saw that we still protected the weak, that the maligned had a friend in us, and that we would defend those who had lost their rights. If we do not succumb as a people, if we have hope for a better future, it will be because of this. This was the signal given in Amsterdam in February 1941. It will be remembered longer than many victorious battles; it will be more influential than dozens of 'tactically' obtained favours from people without mercy.

If it had been our intention to play upon the sentiments of our people, we would describe in this pamphlet the despair and fear that all of these measures are causing our Jewish compatriots, who wait defencelessly and helplessly for the final blow.

It is not difficult to move our nation in the very depths of its soul. We know that the Netherlands has a big heart. But we have only given a dry, business-like enumeration, which we can forget whenever we want to.

For we are not appealing first and foremost to our national or human feelings, but to our conscience. It is not primarily our compassion but our sense of justice, not just our abhorrence but our damaged human dignity, not our benevolence but our Christian faith that should force us to take action.

We can give our support through our interaction and friendship. We can do all kinds of small things for them. But 'small things' (as good and necessary as they are!) are not enough. Such a great injustice requires a great response.

We are not saying that the Amsterdam strike should be repeated. Neither do we propagate a specific form of resistance or recommend a specific course of action. We do not think that is necessary.

Because we are convinced that the Dutch people will realize today or tomorrow that all this cannot and must not continue any longer, and that this will be manifested here and there and everywhere, unambiguously, in a way that will be understood by all, both friend and enemy.

Finally, a word specifically for the Christian churches in the Netherlands. Thousands of years ago, the Jewish king Solomon built a house for the Lord amidst his people. When its construction was completed, he stood in front of the altar and raised his arms towards heaven. While he was praying, he had many requests, but he also prayed for the strangers, those who were not part of the people of Israel.

... Hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for: that all people of the earth may know thy name, to fear thee, and that they may know that this house, is called by thy name ...²⁶

Will the Christian Church of the Netherlands, which has seen revealed in Christ what remained hidden to Solomon, follow this example and prepare a safe dwelling for the

²⁶ The citation correctly ends: '... to fear thee, as do thy people Israel; and that they may know that this house, which I have builded, is called by thy name.' 1 Kings 8:43 (KJV).

Jews amidst its community? It has happened before in history that open church doors offered the last hope and refuge for the persecuted, which forced the barbarians to relent.

In that case, Solomon's words would be confirmed in this country: Blessed be the Lord, that hath given rest unto his people Israel. There hath not failed one word of all his good promise ...²⁷

We do not intend for you to keep this pamphlet as a curiosity or to burn it because it is dangerous to have. Make sure as many people as possible read this document.

Let no one know from whom they have received this document. Consider its content, discuss it among each other, and think about what you need to do.

DOC. 120

On 5 March 1942 Pastor Willem Oosthoek informs the secretary of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of his actions on behalf of the Jews¹

Handwritten letter from Pastor Willem Oosthoek,² Zoutelande, to Dr K. H. E. Gravemeyer, secretary of the General Synod, The Hague, dated 5 March 1942

Esteemed colleague,

I must hereby inform you that I have been summoned to appear before the German regional court on 27 March at 11.30 a.m. The charge: 'Deutschfeindliche Kundgebung'.³

The issue at hand is as follows. Last year, when the school board was required to prove that none of its members had Jewish blood, I refused, and then with regret witnessed how the other school board members not only signed, but attempted to convince me to do so. In September, a sign was put up at the entrance to the town: restricted freedom for Jews. There was nothing to be done about this, although it was distressing. However, when handwritten signs reading 'Jews not allowed' appeared not long afterwards on both sides of my parsonage in the cafés run by people who are also members of our congregation, I felt I had to confront this cowardly way of collaborating with evil, and by way of protest hung a sign that read 'Every race welcome' in front of the window where I regularly post announcements. My neighbours understood me, and their sign disappeared a few hours later.

A few weeks later a car turned up with German military police. Both men acted rudely and then, despite standing right next to it themselves, demanded that I remove the sign and give it to them. I asked them: Why? They called it a crime against Germans. I said it was no such thing, merely a demonstration of our Christian calling to *all* people

27 Correctly: 'Blessed be the Lord, that hath given rest unto his people Israel, according to all that he promised: there hath not failed one word of all his good promise.' 1 Kings 8:56 (KJV).

1 Het Utrechts Archief, 1424/2154. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Willem Oosthoek (1909–2005), pastor; served as a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church from 1933; pastor in Zoutelande until 1948, and in Westkapelle thereafter (both in the province of Zeeland).

3 German in the original: 'anti-German pronouncements'.

and that for this reason I would not take it down, because to do so would be to admit to a guilt of which I was completely unaware.

The consequence was that they took the sign down themselves, and I was summoned to appear before the Sicherheitspolizei.⁴ I explained to them my vocation and the biblical duty to bring the gospel to all sinners: whether they be of the German, the Dutch, or the Jewish race. They treated me as if I were an idiot who had escaped from a lunatic asylum and mocked my reference to the Bible. I was not nasty or harsh, for fortunately I can still see in the German people a nation of God's children, for whom the Saviour also shed his blood. Yet precisely for this reason, I must not allow myself to be persuaded by them to participate in their trampling of the Jewish people without any form of jurisdiction.

I wanted to communicate this to you because I consider it my duty. I should like to ask you for any guidance you might be able to provide, for I have acted in this case not only as a private individual, but also as a clergyman, and I desire that it is as such that I be interrogated and, if necessary, condemned.⁵ May God be with me.

Yours respectfully,

Your colleague

DOC. 121

On 5 March 1942 the Jewish Council discusses the German occupiers' demand that a further 3,000 Jews be sent to labour camps in the Netherlands¹

Minutes, unsigned, dated 5 March 1942

Emergency meeting of the Jewish Council on Thursday, 5 March 1942, at 4 p.m. at 58 Nieuwe Keizersgracht.

Present: all members apart from Mr de Haan, Mr van Lier, and Dr Vos; also present Messrs Meyer de Vries, Bolle, Edersheim, and Brandon, and from the national organization Chief Rabbi Frank and Mr Wolff.

The main topic for discussion, introduced by Messrs Asscher and Cohen, was the following:

At the beginning of the week it was announced by Mr Rodrego² that an additional 3,000 Amsterdam Jews had to be supplied for the labour camps. The chairmen declared that they could not accept this since it would mean that Jews in work would also be sent. Mr Rodrego responded by telephone yesterday, saying that the chairmen should contact

⁴ German in the original: 'Security Police'.

⁵ In his response – a letter dated 10 March 1942, located in the same file – Gravemeyer assured Pastor Oosthoek of his moral support and offered the church's legal counsel. On appeal, Oosthoek was sentenced to three months' imprisonment or a fine of 180 Dutch guilders. It could not be established whether he served time in prison or paid the fine.

¹ NIOD, 182/1c. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² Correctly: Hugo Rodegro (1907–1971), bricklayer; joined the NSDAP in 1931; teacher at various SA training schools from 1933; in charge of social affairs at the office of the representative for the City of Amsterdam; worked as a civil engineer after 1945.

Mr van Delft,³ who is chairman of the Regional Employment Office, concerning this matter. A meeting with him (at which several other Dutch officials working in this area were present, as well as Mr Meyer de Vries of the Jewish Council) took place this morning.

The following became clear:

Emigrants will not be assigned to the labour camps. The age limit is 18 to 55. Six hundred unemployed people are ready for the camps; a further category consists of those who had been summoned previously but had since found work; the remainder will have to be found from among people who are currently in work. For procedural reasons and because of the nature of the order, Mr van Delft does not want to take responsibility for the summons in the cases of people in work. Were he nevertheless to be instructed to do so by the German authorities, he would have no information whatsoever about specific criteria to apply when selecting people for the labour camps and would therefore have to summon people at random. He could, however, summon people in work for *medical examination*. He asked the chairmen to provide him with names for summons (to be dispatched by him) for such examinations.

The chairmen put to the Jewish Council the dilemma of whether this was the correct path or whether to avoid providing the names of people in work – though with the risk of very serious consequences for Amsterdam's Jews.

Following an extensive discussion, it was decided that a list of names, including the names of people in work, will be provided to Mr van Delft for the purpose of summons for medical examination. To prevent disruptions of families as far as possible, the names of *unmarried* people aged between 18 and about 40 will be provided, with the exception of clergy, teachers, physicians, skilled technical personnel, and skilled, properly trained workers, whose employment is deemed indispensable for Jewish interests.

Mr A. Asscher then provided information about an order from the German authorities to combine all large and small Jewish organizations and foundations into a single association with centralized finances under the control of the Jewish Council, which can retain the current management to carry out the different tasks.

The chairman of the central body for nursing and care will be Mr Asscher, as requested by the German authorities. The chairmen of the Jewish Council have appointed a board, consisting of Messrs Asscher, Meyer de Vries, Leydesdorf (Utrecht), or Speyer, van den Bergh, the former civil-law notary; as well as a financial committee, consisting of Messrs Blitz (former director of Amsterdam Bank), chairman, and Krouwer, Bolle, L. Slijper, Hoedemaker. A central committee will be appointed to represent the participating organizations. Mr Asscher has invited two board members and the director of each of the thirty-one participating organizations to attend a meeting on Monday, 9 March. The financing of the organizations will have to be arranged with particular care, given that, as was noted, the funds available to the Jewish Council cannot possibly be used for this.

Prof. Cohen provided information about the evacuations of Jews from the provinces to Amsterdam that have taken place in recent days or are thought to be imminent.

The next meeting is still scheduled for next Thursday, 12 March, at 11 o'clock.

3 Antonius Judocus Adrianus Cornelis van Delft (1890–1966), public administrator; director of the National Agency for Work Creation in Tilburg, 1917–1941; head of the regional employment office in Amsterdam and then in Breda, 1941–1948.

DOC. 122

**On 11 March 1942 Dutch Secretary General of the Interior Karel Frederiks
criticizes the Reich Commissioner's position that Jews in the Netherlands
are not to be regarded as Dutch¹**

Letter (marked 'personal') from the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior (no. 19, ministerial office, secretary general's office), signed Frederiks, The Hague, to the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice,² dated 11 March 1942³

Re: Letter to the Reich Commissioner⁴

Dear State Secretary,

Based on your kind offer to advise me on my planned letter to the Reich Commissioner in relation to the Jewish question, I venture to submit to you the text of the letter that I intend to send to the Reich Commissioner in order say a few final words in relation to the measures that are to be taken against the Jews.

Before I discuss this matter with the Reich Commissioner, I would be most grateful if you would give me your opinion on the attached draft.

Yours faithfully,

Frederiks

Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior

To the Reich Commissioner

In a meeting with the Commissioner General for Security, Higher SS and Police Leader Rauter, which I had requested in connection with the transport of Jews from Zaandam, Hilversum, and Arnhem to Amsterdam,⁵ I asked if these measures would be applicable to Jews from other parts of the country and what the intention was for Jews in this respect. I was told that the Jewish question would no longer be discussed between the German and Dutch authorities and that I should refrain from interference. The legal reason given was that in the view of the occupation authorities, Jews were not to be regarded as Dutch.

This communication, which was worded most politely, did not fail to make a deep impression on me.

I will have to comply with the order that has been issued, but my conscience and my view of the Dutch people's tradition and their understanding of justice compel me to express to you, Reich Commissioner, my serious concerns and to appeal to you one last time.

The measures taken against the Jews by the Germans since the occupation are absolutely contrary to the understanding of justice held by the Dutch people for 150 years, since the French Revolution.

1 NIOD, 020/283. This document has been translated from German.

2 Friedrich Wimmer.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations.

4 Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

5 Between 17 and 27 Jan. 1942 Dutch Jews from these cities were forced to move to Amsterdam: see Introduction, pp. 45–46.

Until the Great Revolution,⁶ Jews were foreigners in our country, as everywhere else. Their legal protection was guaranteed by Frankish kings, later by German kings, emperors or territorial rulers. They were under their protection.

Because they were seen as foreigners, they had no political rights and only partial civil rights.

Jews actually found themselves in an even more unfavourable position than other foreigners even though they had already lived in the country for centuries; legally, this was due to the fact that they did not belong to a state that could assert legal claims for them on the basis of reciprocity.

In our country, too, the Great Revolution brought the emancipation of the Jews based on the principle of equality. They were received into the national community and enjoyed the same civil and political rights as other citizens. Since then, this equality has prevailed and is anchored in positive law. Given this positive law, it is incontestable that Jews who meet the requirements established by the law of 12 December 1892 (Stbl. 268)⁷ are Dutch, and enjoy all rights of Dutch citizenship. The occupation authorities did not change this positive law, and it is therefore still in effect today.

The rules of land warfare⁸ impose on the occupying power the obligation to respect the law of the occupied country. Only in the case of absolute necessity can it change this law, and as long as the law is not changed, the occupying power has to apply it.

In addition to these historical and legal reasons, I would like to remind you in closing of the convictions of the Dutch people. The Dutch people also perceive a clear difference between Jews and non-Jewish Dutch, but the Dutch people consider it an infringement of their understanding of justice if Jews do not enjoy the same legal protection as other Dutch people. This is why the measures against Jews are having such a deep impact on the Dutch people and why they are impairing the relationship between the people and the occupation authorities in such a regrettable way.⁹

⁶ The French Revolution.

⁷ This law regulates Dutch citizenship: see *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (Stbl.)*, no. 268, 12 December 1892.

⁸ The reference is to the Hague Convention: see Doc. 52, fn. 6.

⁹ In his response, dated 12 March 1942, Wimmer rejected Frederiks's request, arguing that in view of the matter itself (i.e. the 'Jewish question') it was clear that he would have no intention of supporting or advising Frederiks.

DOC. 123

On 20 March 1942 the chairmen of the Jewish Council urge labour camp inmates currently on leave to return to the camps as instructed¹

Letter from the Jewish Council for Amsterdam (XV-Spec.Opdr. – dVr/R/Sj.), addressees unspecified, signed A. Asscher, Prof. D. Cohen (chairmen), Amsterdam, 58 Nieuwe Keizersgracht, dated 20 March 1942²

To those currently back in Amsterdam on leave.

To whom it may concern,

We are delighted that you have returned to Amsterdam on leave from the labour camps of the National Agency for Work Creation. You should be aware that we obtained permission for this leave only with the greatest difficulty.

The authorities have notified us that they are only prepared to grant leave, and thus to also grant leave to people other than yourself, if *all those who are on leave also return on the specified date*. Those who do not return or return later not only risk serious consequences for themselves, *but will also be responsible if leave is no longer granted to anyone*.

We are sure you would not wish to bear the blame for that.

We therefore advise you that it is in your own interest and that of all others to report to the Galerij office,³ counter 2, this coming Monday between 2.30 and 3.30 p.m., and also to make sure you are at the train on time, in order to return to the camps.

Yours faithfully,

DOC. 124

On 23 March 1942 a member of the General Synod criticizes the Dutch Reformed Church's silence regarding the anti-Jewish measures¹

Handwritten letter from L. M. van Dis,² Overveen,³ 82 Ramplaan, to the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, c/o Reverend Dr K. H. P. Gravemeyer, The Hague, 100 Javastraat (received on 25 March 1942), dated 23 March 1942

Dear Reverends,

May I request a moment of your attention regarding the following?

For a number of Sundays I have been waiting in anticipation, initially with hope and trust, for a message from the pulpit on behalf of the Synod.

1 NIOD, 102/8c. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 The original contains handwritten annotations.

3 It is unclear which department of the Jewish Council is meant here.

1 Het Utrechts Archief, 1423/2154. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Leendert Meeuwis van Dis (1904–1973), teacher; particularly interested in pedagogical questions in the field of Dutch studies; active in the resistance helping people who went into hiding during the occupation.

3 Village in the community of Bloemendaal, west of the city of Haarlem (province of North Holland).

Now that yesterday's Sunday has also passed without us members of the congregation having received any words of guidance from 'the Church', and as we are all left alone in our desperation, I am taking the liberty of writing to you. I do so least of all because I consider my feelings and expectations to be so important that I request your attention, but because it is important for our church's well-being that those in the highest leadership positions should be aware of the concern of 'one single church member', and all the more so because I am convinced that many are astonished and hurt to observe that the Church is currently keeping silent.

You must undoubtedly know what has been happening in our country recently, how in various places our Jewish compatriots have been taken away without having personally committed a crime; indeed, without even having been charged with one. That which initially took place more or less randomly on many occasions is now systematic. I shall confine myself to this observation and will make no attempt to describe the misery that has befallen many merely because they belong to the people of Israel.

And while this is happening, we church members hear nothing from the Church, from the Church that preaches the Gospels which provide us all with standards for our everyday lives. If there is only one institution which has the right, indeed the duty, to make its voice heard, it is the Church, which by virtue of its mission must give witness of the commands given to us. Of course, the Church gives witness in each Sunday sermon, but the Word must be interpreted in connection with today's circumstances, and a statement from the church leaders is crucial for this. To remain silent about what is happening now is equivalent to sanctioning it. And what is most upsetting for me as a member of the congregation is to hear rumours that the Church has addressed the government,⁴ while the congregations hear nothing from the pulpit. It is as if the Church has covertly fulfilled its mission, but does not dare to say openly that it has done so.

We have also been repeatedly informed, likewise mostly via rumours, about clergymen who have been taken prisoner.⁵ Why does the congregation, in the name of the Synod, not officially investigate the extent to which these rumours are true?

I write to you as an ordinary member of the congregation, but emphasize that as a member of the Church Synod I am also being kept in the dark. Should the Synod continue to say nothing to the congregation and the church councils, a gulf will form between the church leadership and its members. The Church is not articulating itself to the congregation, and given the circumstances, this constitutes insufficient guidance. Naturally, discretion and caution are warranted, and moreover, our rules for governing church life do not require that the Synod necessarily presides over all matters, but that does not alleviate the necessity for the Church to speak out under the current circumstances and to provide its members with guidance.

⁴ See Doc. 112.

⁵ This is presumably a reference to the arrests of Gravemeyer, secretary of the General Synod, and Donner, one of the leading members of the Convention of the Churches, on 20 March 1942. Both were temporarily released but then taken prisoner as hostages once again.

I sincerely hope that you will read this letter as an indication of severe concern and not as an attempt to criticize your policy.

Esteemed regards,
Your servant⁶

DOC. 125

In letters dated 24 and 26 March 1942, the secretary of the council of governors of a hospital in Amersfoort and the Archbishop of Utrecht express their opposition to signs banning Jews¹

Letter from the secretary of the council of governors of St Elisabeth Hospital, signed L. W. van Loon,² Amersfoort, to His Excellency Johannes de Jong, archbishop of Utrecht, dated 24 March 1942; archbishop's response, signed Dr J. de Jong, dated 26 March 1942

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the council of governors of St Elisabeth Hospital in Amersfoort, I would like to ask Your Excellency for advice on the issue explained below.

Given that the well-known 'no Jews allowed' signs have recently been put up in the St Joseph home for the elderly in Amersfoort, we cannot rule out the possibility that hospital councils will also soon be asked to put these signs up in a visible place.

The hospital council of governors does not intend to comply with any request to that effect. We nevertheless believe that we should check our own initial opinion with that of Your Excellency.

The council of governors has therefore instructed me to ask Your Excellency whether we should or should not refuse to cooperate in putting up the signs.

With our most humble and reverential regards, on behalf of the council I sign,
respectfully yours,
Secretary of the council

Utrecht, 26 March 1942

You would certainly act wisely by refusing to put up the signs. Meanwhile, we will order the sign in the St Joseph home for the elderly to be removed. These signs are absolutely unacceptable in Catholic buildings and institutions such as parish halls, Roman Catholic hospitals, Roman Catholic public libraries, etc.

The Archbishop

⁶ No reply to this letter could be found.

¹ Archief Eemland, 0102/57. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² Leonardus Wilhelmus van Loon (1878–1960), school inspector; after his retirement, secretary of the council of governors of St Elisabeth Hospital, 1942–1953.

DOC. 126

On 1 April 1942 the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD confirms that the Nuremberg Race Laws are being applied analogously in the Netherlands¹

Letter from the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD (IV B 4), signed Dr Harster (SS-Oberführer and police colonel), The Hague, to all external offices of the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD, all in-house groups and sections, and the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, dated 1 April 1942²

Re: treatment of Jewry in the Netherlands according to the Nuremberg Race Laws³
Case file: None

According to a decision of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories,⁴ the Nuremberg Race Laws apply analogously also in the Netherlands. However, there will be no legal provision in the form of issuing a corresponding regulation. Instead, the Jewish Community has been informed through the *Joodsche Weekblad* (published in no. 51, dated 27 March 1942) that marriage and extramarital relations with non-Jews are forbidden.⁵

All Jews who have given notice of their intention to marry a non-Jew, or who will give such notice in future, are to be taken into protective custody and transferred to Mauthausen concentration camp. The resulting applications for protective custody are to be submitted to Section IV D immediately.⁶ In addition, Section IV B 4⁷ is to be informed of the completed arrest and the filing of an application for protective custody through transmission of the transcript of a completed personal record and an index card II.

The same procedure is to be applied to Jews who continue to have extramarital relations with non-Jews in future.

The registry offices are instructed by the Commissioner General for Administration and Justice⁸ to notify the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD of all notices of intention to marry non-Jews submitted by Jews for communication to the individual branch offices.

1 Original not found; copy in Staatsarchiv München, Staatsanwaltschaften 34 879/39. This document has been translated from German.

2 Parts of the original are underlined by hand.

3 Marriages and extramarital relations between Jews and non-Jews were forbidden under the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour of 15 Sept. 1935 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, 1935, pp. 1146 f.). See PMJ 1/199.

4 Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

5 Announcement in *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 27 March 1942, p. 1.

6 Section IV of the office of the Senior Commander of the Security Police and the SD (BdS) was responsible for counter-intelligence and ideological opponents of the regime. The task of department D at this date could not be determined, also because the responsibilities of the different departments changed.

7 Section IV B 4 was the section for Jewish affairs at the office of the BdS, headed by Wilhelm Zoepf. It was involved in most of the anti-Jewish measures in the Netherlands. See Introduction, p. 36.

8 Friedrich Wimmer.

DOC. 127

On 23 April 1942 the Jewish Council appeals to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration for the return of confiscated devotional objects¹

Letter from the Jewish Council for Amsterdam (I/Vors. – C/dL), signed Prof. Cohen, Amsterdam, Nieuwe Keizersgracht 58, to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (received on 23 April 1942), Amsterdam, Euterpestraat, dated 23 April 1942²

We are taking the liberty of drawing your attention to the fact that objects belonging to the Jewish community and used in religious services were confiscated in several cities during the evacuation of Jews.

This is the case in Vlissingen,³ for example, where three scrolls and temple ornaments were confiscated that had been given for safekeeping to the Rotterdamsche Bankvereniging, Vlissingen branch.

Even if a Jewish community is dissolved, such objects are needed in Amsterdam, because in view of the number of newly arrived people, on holy days special services have to be held at a number of venues, for which the scrolls and temple ornaments are needed.

We would therefore ask you to consider whether these objects that are needed for religious services could be returned.⁴

DOC. 128

***Vrij Nederland*, London, 25 April 1942: article on the increasing number of Jews getting married because unmarried Jews are liable to be sent to labour camps¹**

Panic among the Jews

Escape through marriage. Confinement to ghettos begins

Something very striking suddenly happened in the Netherlands. As you can see below,² single Jewish people got married en masse. Even the *Nationale Dagblad*, the newspaper published by the traitor to our country Rost van Tonningen, initially had 'no explanation' for this, although it did, it said, smell a rat, or – what is much more likely – the

1 NIOD, 077/1452. This document has been translated from German.

2 The original contains handwritten annotations.

3 Town in the province of Zeeland. In March 1942 the German authorities forced the Jewish inhabitants of the town (approximately fifty people) to move to Amsterdam.

4 'No' has been written on the text. A handwritten note signed Wörlein (deputy head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration) and dated 25 April 1942 reads: 'As I am aware, the Rosenberg Task Force is particularly keen to secure these objects. All synagogue furnishings were inventoried by [name illegible] but not appraised.'

1 'Paniek onder de joden', *Vrij Nederland – je maintiendrais*. *Onafhankelijk weekblad voor alle Nederlanders*, London, 25 April 1942, p. 396. This document has been translated from Dutch. Alongside *Vrij Nederland*, which was published illegally in the Netherlands, a newspaper of the same name existed in London, supported by the government in exile. Its first edition was published on 3 Aug. 1940.

2 The paper printed a list with the names of recently married couples, almost half a page in length.

paper only pretended it did not know and was at that point already fully aware of what the Nazi government was planning. The paper certainly used the opportunity to incite the Germans against our Jews. Rost van Tonningen wrote:

Apparently there is a loophole somewhere in the measures taken by the government with regard to the Jewish question. How else can it be explained that the morning edition of *De Telegraaf* of 19 March shows a list of wedding announcements nearly two and a half columns long? When you read through it, you find that almost all the Jewish surnames of Amsterdam are there. There appears to be something going on with unmarried Jews. Aside from the fact that weddings on such a large scale are undesirable anyway, it seems to us that if this is done to dodge specific measures that have been taken or are anticipated, this process still can and ought to be halted ...³

We can confirm that the occupiers have already halted this process.⁴ And they had a reason for this. The German juggernaut constantly needs more – preferably young – workers. Why wouldn't the Germans round up the Dutch Jews as their cheap labour slaves, as they have already done with the Polish Jews? They therefore required the Jewish Council in Amsterdam (A. Asscher, Prof. Cohen, Visscher⁵) to ensure the registration, for the time being, of ... unmarried Jews.⁶ Of course this became known in Amsterdam. And it led to that escape through marriage, which will be of no avail to all those poor people. So the young Jews go to the 'work creation programme' and they are herded together in camps. Who will be their blank officers?⁷

But at the same time the fat and poisonous Nazi toad was concocting something else. For some time we had been hearing rumours that the Nazi world with its sick hatred for the Jews whipped up by the likes of Streicher,⁸ Hitler, and Goebbels was planning to establish a ghetto even on our Dutch soil, a centuries-old stronghold of civil liberties!⁹ These rumours have now taken more concrete form. They have been confirmed by different parties. A person who escaped from our country very recently reported: 'The decision has been made, and the measures are being prepared.'

3 See *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 21 March 1942, p. 3. It could not be determined if Rost van Tonningen wrote the article mentioned here.

4 This probably relates to the prohibition of intermarriage: see Doc. 126. However, marriages among Jews also peaked, and did not cease. On the eve of Pesah 1942 (1 April), Rabbi Aharon Schuster married sixty couples. Another wave of marriages occurred in the summer, immediately after the start of the deportations.

5 Asscher and Cohen were the chairmen of the Jewish Council. Visser (spelt incorrectly in the original) was never a member of the Jewish Council but was chairman of the Jewish Coordination Committee until its dissolution in Nov. 1941.

6 Unemployed Jews were first conscripted to the labour camps in the Netherlands in Nov. 1941: see Doc. 105 and Introduction, p. 45.

7 *Blankoffizieren*, presumably a reference to white overseers in plantations in the Dutch colonies.

8 Julius Streicher (1885–1946), teacher; joined the NSDAP and SA in 1922; participated in the Munich Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; editor of *Der Stürmer*, 1923–1944; Gauleiter of Franconia, 1929–1940; sentenced to death at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg and executed in 1946.

9 In January 1941 the German authorities discussed the establishment of a ghetto in Amsterdam like that in Poland: see also Doc. 55.

We cannot yet be sure how far the Nazi scum will go in this respect. We know that Jewish families who fled from Germany and lived in the Utrecht area have confirmed that they 'had to' move to Amsterdam. However, we have not found any evidence that Jewish families of Dutch nationality have so far been forced to move from their towns and villages to the capital.¹⁰ As the solidarity of the decent part of the Dutch population with our persecuted Jewish compatriots is *universal* – to the constant chagrin of the Germans – it would not be surprising if the occupiers tried to put an end to that display of solidarity by rounding up all the Jews, whether they are Dutch or not, in one place.

According to *Volk en Vaderland*¹¹ it is 'for security reasons' that all Jews are being removed from the coastal area of the Netherlands. In other words, it is the current widespread fear of a British invasion that has prompted the Germans to implement this measure. They are right to think that the Dutch Jews in the coastal regions are not their friends. But do these idiots still imagine that the non-Jewish Dutch people are their friends?!

So all those Jews have to go. But – and this is where the ghetto plan comes in – they are all obliged to move to Amsterdam, and to *specific* neighbourhoods. What Hitler is forcing upon the Netherlands is not quite a ghetto yet. The new Jewish residents have to move to Rivierenbuurt and Plantagebuurt.¹² That is where there is room for them. According to the newspaper mentioned above, an inventory of their homes in the coastal area will be drawn up by the relevant Dutch authorities.¹³ We hope for them that this is the case.

We will keep our readers informed about developments in this ghetto conspiracy of the Germans and the NSB. Let us not forget that the February disturbances of last year were inspired by the indignation of the freedom-loving people of Amsterdam, who responded to the acts of violence committed by the cowardly NSB members in the Jewish neighbourhoods.¹⁴ The Netherlands, and Amsterdam in particular, will not simply accept every abuse to which the Jews are subjected.

10 Jewish refugees from Germany were indeed sent to Westerbork camp during this period, while Dutch Jewish families were forced to move to Amsterdam: see Doc. 113.

11 'Joden onder elkaar', *Volk en Vaderland*, 27 March 1943, p. 7.

12 The Rivierenbuurt was created in the 1920s and 1930s as a new neighbourhood to the south of the centre of Amsterdam. The Plantagebuurt is an older neighbourhood in the area around the zoo and botanical gardens.

13 Everything in the apartments was inventoried by the Rosenberg Task Force and much of it later taken to the territory of the Reich to supply bombed-out Germans with furniture and household goods.

14 See Docs. 55–66.

DOC. 129

**On 29 April 1942 Flip Slier writes to his parents, describing life
in Molengoot labour camp¹**

Handwritten letter from Flip Slier,² Molengoot labour camp,³ Hardenberg, to his parents, Saline Rozette⁴ and Eliazar Slier,⁵ Amsterdam, dated 29 April 1942

Dear Father and Mother,

I received your package and letter in the best of health. I'm not nearly as tired as I initially was. It's just a matter of getting used to it, though it isn't easy.⁶ Ma must not cry or fret. I am convinced that we shall survive this too. This morning the ditches were full of ice. It was cold, and there's a fierce north-east wind. But I've already told you about all of this. Sitting here now, I feel as fit as a fiddle. I've washed my legs and my face and ears and eyes. In any event, I'm not letting myself go. You wrote that I should see a doctor, but there aren't any here.⁷ You cannot imagine how happy I am with the package you sent. I don't need the clogs anymore, so someone else will make good use of them. If I'd had to wear my old shoes just one day longer, I would have had to throw them away. I'm now wearing my wind-breaker. It fits really well, so please thank Riek⁸ heartily for me. It's quite something. I am also happy with the slippers and with the flute and syrup and everything. I only regret that I don't have a pair of gloves. My hands are raw from the cold.

But tomorrow I'll take a pair of socks to wear on my hands. I don't need a camping knife right away. Nor do you need to send my yellow filter.

1 NIOD, Doc. I/2361. Published in *Tot ziens in vrij Mokum: Brieven van Flip Slier uit werkkamp Molengoot april 1942-oktober 1942* (Oudewater: Minerva, 1999), pp. 19–20; and *Hidden Letters: Philip Slier, 1923–1943*, ed. Deborah Slier and Ian Shine (New York: Star Bright Books, 2008), p. 34. Translation into English published with kind permission of Star Bright Books.

2 Philip (Flip) Slier (1923–1943), typographer; worked for the newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*; in Molengoot labour camp from April to Sept. 1942; fled and went into hiding; arrested and interned in Vught camp in March 1943; deported from there via Westerbork to Sobibor, where he was murdered.

3 Molengoot (province of Overijssel) was established early in the occupation period as a camp for unemployed Dutch people and was used from March to Oct. 1942 as a labour camp for Jews. The 150–190 inmates were forced to dig drainage ditches for the Heide Maatschappij company (see Doc. 105, fn. 11). Molengoot served as a reception centre for bombed-out families from Oct. 1942, and after 1945 as an internment camp for people who had collaborated with the Nazis.

4 Saline Rozette Slier-Salomonson (1890–1943), housewife; deported to Westerbork in May 1943; murdered in Sobibor in June 1943.

5 Eliazar Slier (1890–1943), typographer; worked for the newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*; deported to Westerbork in May 1943; murdered in Sobibor in June 1943.

6 Philip Slier arrived at Molengoot labour camp on 25 April 1942 and was forced to dig drainage ditches.

7 The parents' letters could not be found. They presumably advised him to seek a doctor's advice, likely in response to a letter from 26 April 1942 in which he complained about the heavy labour and the sand that kept getting in his eyes.

8 Hendrika Schaap.

What a dirty trick that they can't send Harry⁹ packages any more. All they want to do is harass the Jews.

If I am no longer allowed to receive packages, send them to Friesenveen.¹⁰ Perhaps they can give them to me. I will write a separate letter about the De Bruin family.¹¹

Thank you as well for the postage stamps. I am enclosing the clothing coupons. We are not allowed to go to Hardenberg. We're not even allowed out of the camp. We're locked up here like slaves. My galley is still at the Verdoner printing works. It's just like my printer's job at Verdoner.

If Liesje's Lou¹² were to work here for a single day, he would collapse. Let him stay in A[msterdam]. It is no joke here.

But again, I will get through it. If anything happens here, I will be gone in no time. You can count on that. So, Pa and Ma, stay strong. If Pa is called up, bluff, do whatever it takes.

A big kiss from Flip.

I could make good use of a pair of very old socks [to wear] in the clogs.

Send a thick pair of gloves by express. Once again, thank you for the package – I am really happy with it. Byeeee.¹³

DOC. 130

On 29 April 1942 the head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration describes the Jewish Council's dismay at the introduction of the yellow star¹

Report by the Senior Commander of the Security Police for the Occupied Dutch Territories (IV B B.no. 1036/41), signed Dr Harster, The Hague, to the Commissioner General for Justice and Administration, Dr Wimmer (received on 1 January 1942), The Hague, dated 29 April 1942²

Re: introduction of the yellow star

Case file: –

The Jewish Council was informed at 4 p.m. today that within the next three days it must implement the use of the yellow star to visibly identify all Jews. The head of the Central

9 Gerhard (Harry) Elzas (1923–1943), tailor; friend of Philip Slier; interned in Mastinge labour camp in 1942; deported in August 1943 to Auschwitz, where he perished.

10 Correctly: Vriezenveen. This is probably a reference to the Vrijlink family from Vriezenveen. They helped the labourers in the camp in many respects, such as extra food, packages, and help with going into hiding.

11 The family of Rudolf Emanuel de Bruin (1887–1943) lived in Hardenberg; his wife, Rosalchen de Bruin-Salomonsen (1889–1943), was related to Philip Slier's mother; members of the family visited Philip Slier in the labour camp. The entire family died in the Holocaust.

12 Louis Slier (1912–1943), market trader; cousin of Philip Slier; deported in late 1942 to Auschwitz, where he perished.

13 In the original: 'daaaag', rather than correctly: 'dag' (Dutch: 'bye').

1 NIOD, 020/1507. Published in Joods Historisch Museum Amsterdam (ed.), *Documents of the Persecution of the Dutch Jewry* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum Polak & Van Gennep, 1969), pp. 54 ff. This document has been translated from German.

2 Handwritten notes in the original.

Office for Jewish Emigration³ provided the following information about the details of the procedure:

As per orders, at 4 p.m. on 29 April 1942 the chairmen of the Jewish Council, A.) *Asscher* – B.) *Cohen* were summoned to the Central Office for Jewish Emigration. They were informed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Aus der Fünten that identification (yellow star) was to be implemented. They were made aware that this order would be published in today's evening press and that it would come into force three days after being announced. Upon receiving this information, both Asscher and Cohen were completely speechless. Apparently this measure had not been anticipated. Then they, that is Asscher and Cohen, declared that while it was not good news for the Jews, they personally were proud to wear the star, which would make them honorary citizens of the Netherlands. Cohen also asked why yellow in particular had been chosen as the colour of the star. After all, for the Jews, yellow is the colour of humiliation.⁴ SS-Hauptsturmführer Aus der Fünten replied that the colour had been chosen for its conspicuousness and that the star is also the same colour in Germany. The Jewish Council was then issued with the stars (569,355 units).⁵ The task of handing out the stars was assigned to the Jewish Council, which, however, objected that three days was too short. It was made aware that this deadline had to be adhered to at all costs. The enquiry was then made as to whether an announcement by the Jewish Council could appear in the daily press. This was refused. After Cohen had exclaimed that this was a dreadful measure, Asscher said, to quote him directly: 'It won't be long, one or two months, until the war is over and we are free!'

Overall it can be said that the Jewish Council attempted to protest strongly against the introduction of the star. Cohen, for example, said the following: 'You will understand our feelings, Herr Hauptsturmführer; this is a terrible day in the history of the Jews in Holland!'

³ Ferdinand aus der Fünten.

⁴ The visible identification of *dhimmis* (non-Muslims – Christians and Jews) was enacted in Muslim countries as early as the ninth century and there is documentary evidence from the twelfth century of yellow badges being used to identify Jews. In Christian Europe the visible identification of Jews spread during the Middle Ages; in German-speaking areas a yellow badge became the most common type.

⁵ Each of the 140,000 Jews in the Netherlands received several yellow stars. All Jews over the age of six had to wear one.

DOC. 131

In late April 1942 an illegal pamphlet protests against the Aryanization of Dutch economic life¹

Pamphlet, unsigned, undated² (typescript)

More than half a billion stolen from our Jewish fellow citizens!

The NSB man H. C. van Maasdijk wrote in *De Waag*³ about the 'Aryanization' of Dutch economic life.⁴ In this article he states that out of the 21,000 Jewish companies in the Netherlands which have had to register, approximately 10,000 more will have to disappear. About 8,000 companies have been 'voluntarily' Aryanized. The others still represent a cumulative value of 150 million guilders. Jewish homes of a total value of 200 million guilders are to be sold. Jewish financial assets and securities holdings worth a total of 150 million guilders are to be 'liquidated'.⁵

In other words, the Germans are stealing more than half a billion guilders in Jewish capital in our country! Where they cannot convert this capital into cash directly, they offer the property for sale. Mr van Maasdijk is now complaining about the lack of interest in this Aryanization in the Netherlands. 'There have been cases', he writes, 'where Dutch financial institutions have declined to get involved in such transactions for reasons of principle ...'

We find that attitude very understandable; a decent person will not lay hands on stolen goods! Mr van Maasdijk, however, laments this attitude, complaining that these companies will now fall into German possession!⁶

We can understand that this is terrible for Mr van Maasdijk, who of course believes in the longevity of the so-called new order.

We, for our part, are convinced that the Germans will be defeated and think it is dreadful that the Jews are having their possessions taken off them – as that is what the whole Aryanization process amounts to, given that the Jews are not getting a cent of the proceeds – but ... We console ourselves with the thought that these measures, as well as the whole new order, are only temporary and that those possessions will be returned to our Jewish fellow citizens after the liberation.⁷ It will then be up to those dealers in stolen goods to find a way to get their pennies back from bankrupt Nazism! We are therefore particularly pleased that no bona fide Dutchmen are persuaded to take part in such dirty transactions!

1 NIOB, IP 17.29 MIP 042. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 The pamphlet can be dated to the end of April on the basis of H. C. van Maasdijk's article in *De Waag*: see fn. 4.

3 *De Waag* was published from Jan. 1937 to April 1945 and had a circulation of around 4,000 copies. The weekly paper was conservative, anti-parliamentarian, and pro-German in outlook. From the summer of 1942 it championed the positions of the Dutch SS and was financed by Rost van Tonningen.

4 *De Waag*, 'Ariseering van het Nederlandsche Bedrijfsleven', 17 April 1942, pp. 1024–1025.

5 Jewish assets worth a total of at least one billion guilders were plundered in the Netherlands during the occupation period: see Aalders, *Nazi Looting*, p. 180.

6 See Doc. 109.

7 After the war Jews could only reclaim the value assigned to their assets during the Aryanization process, a figure that was frequently far below the actual value.

DOC. 132

On 1 May 1942 the journalist J. A. Polak reports on the introduction of the yellow star¹

Diary of J. A. Polak;² 'Forbidden reports. Journalist's diary from 8 May 1940 to the last day of the occupation of the Netherlands', entry for 1 May 1942 (typescript)

Chapter 18

No German spring offensive³ – Movement on the Eastern Front again – Mofrika⁴ becoming very nervous – Terror throughout the Netherlands – Churchill's optimistic speech⁵ – Timoshenko attacks⁶ – Mexico declares war⁷ – Britain prepares invasion – Jewish star introduced

1 May

When we were still free, the 1 May edition of the *Notenkraker*⁸ once featured a picture of May Day celebrations in Germany that showed a family anxiously huddled together in the evening by candlelight.

However, after two years of occupation we still do not celebrate May Day in this way. The hearts and feelings of socialists are still blood red, and as they are not allowed to express themselves freely, they have found new ways of staying in contact with each other.

Red flowers adorned our table again today, and they were accompanied by a greeting of comrades: 'Courage and struggle, like wave and surf, are one and the same thing.'

We look to the future with confidence, as we know the German beast has been defeated. The weather has been bright and sunny over the past few days and is again today, and our thoughts – although serious – soar upwards on this bright May morning.

We listen to the messages from England and Russia. In small groups surrounded by trusted comrades and in the knowledge that the same is happening in thousands of families, we listen to the familiar voice of Albarda,⁹ which drowns out the hateful crack-

1 NIOD, 244/1131. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Jo Alexander Polak (1908–1944), journalist; pseudonym Joost van Merwede; journalist in South America and Utrecht; dismissed in 1940 because of his Jewish ancestry; continued writing for illegal newspapers; went into hiding at the end of May 1942; arrested in Nov. 1943 and deported to Westerbork, then in Jan. 1944 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered on 31 Oct. 1944.

3 This was added later by hand.

4 This refers to the territories in North Africa occupied by the Germans. It combines the word *Mof-fen*, a derogatory Dutch term for the Germans, with 'Africa'.

5 Could not be identified.

6 All of the following headings were later added by hand. The reference here is to the start of the Russian summer offensive headed by Marshal Semën K. Timoshenko (1895–1970).

7 Mexico declared war on Germany on 1 June 1942.

8 The satirical weekly newspaper *De Notenkraker* (The Nutcracker) was published by the socialist publishing house De Arbeiderspers from 1907 to 1936.

9 Johan Willem Albarda (1877–1957), engineer; minister for water management, 1939–1945; fled to London in 1940 with the Dutch government; member of the Council of State, 1945–1952. During the occupation period Albarda often addressed the Netherlands from London via Radio Oranje.

ling. With extreme care, we have mounted our Germanenfilter,¹⁰ which acts as a triumphant damper. The German filter, a simple home aerial with a condenser, almost completely eliminates the interference.

The sacred solemnity, the revolutionary energy of this day, which in previous years sometimes seemed to deteriorate into a rather worn-out tradition, has been revived.

For this May Day brings us not only struggle, much hardship and endless, unfathomable suffering, but also at last the reasonable certainty that we have won back our future.

Never before has the second stanza from the 'Internationale' rung more true:

The state oppresses, the law is a lie
The selfish wealthy never to be slain.
The poor are abused till they die
And their rights are words in vain.¹¹

But what in the past only applied to the wretched of the earth now applies to students, professors, engineers, teachers, clergymen, priests, confectioners, butchers, carpenters, civil servants and officials, in short to everyone apart from perhaps a small group of irredeemable egoists who only ensure their cellars are well stocked with hoarded goods and make sure their consciences are as flexible as possible so that they can maintain their jobs or positions.

Today the Order of the Yellow Star was founded.¹²

Tomorrow all Jews will have to wear it.

But the Moffen¹³ appear to be colour blind, for the background of the Star of David is not yellow but orange.¹⁴

The spirit with which this new mockery has been received in Jewish circles cannot be described better than by the two following jokes.

Waterlooplein in Amsterdam, where many Jews live, is now called Place de l'Etoile,¹⁵ and the decoration itself is called the 'Ordre pour le Semite'.¹⁶

The decoration.

I am not saying this for no reason.

The Moffen, who clearly have no idea about symbolism, do not know that the inter-linked triangles, one of which has the point upwards and the other the point downwards, have a very deep mystical significance, namely that of the spirit impregnating matter, and the golden-yellow colour that forms the background of this sign is the symbol of the

10 Literally 'German filter': this was a device to cut out German broadcasts designed to disrupt and block listening to foreign stations.

11 This translation follows the Dutch version of the socialist anthem the Internationale according to the original document. The various English versions of the lyric differ significantly from what is expressed here.

12 From 1 May 1942 all Jews in the Netherlands had to wear the yellow star: see Doc. 130.

13 A longstanding satirical or pejorative Dutch term for Germans, used predominantly during and after the Second World War.

14 The background colour was meant to be yellow, but in reality it looked more orange, which evoked the Dutch national colour.

15 French: 'Star Square'.

16 French: 'Order for the Semite', a reference to the Prussian and Imperial German medal Pour le Mérite.

victory of the spirit of 'white magic' over 'black' sorcery. In this context it is interesting to note that the SS, the W. A., and all the other Nazi scum are dressed in black, that the logo of the NSB is a single triangle pointing upwards – the symbol of a purely material outlook – and that we therefore have befitting symbolism, probably entirely unconsciously, on both sides.

These black-clad spirits of darkness have been able to conquer their place in mysticism only through the application of merciless brutal force, but in this context, too, they have to yield to the conquering powers of the Shield of David.

There has been much indignation, especially in the Christian world, about this new insult against the Jews – as no doubt this measure is intended to be, even though I predict that its effect will be very different – and we are greeted everywhere and treated with great respect.

Yesterday I heard a public prosecutor say that the Moffen, by introducing this distinguishing badge for Jews, themselves admit that they cannot tell us apart from other Dutch people and that their whole racial theory has once again turned out to be nonsense.

However, it is now important for us to make sure that we do not allow others to indulge us too much and that we continue to respond normally and do not get a superiority complex.

This evening it was announced that the Axis brothers met in Salzburg on Wednesday and Thursday.¹⁷

It seems that there is growing resentment in Italy.

More German police have arrived in Rome; the astonishing reason given for this is that these gentlemen have to attend a course about the organization in ... East Africa, where there has not been a single Italian to be found for more than a year!

There are also more German troops moving to Italy and more Italian troops moving to Russia.

The tactful Moffen have chosen the first of May to establish the Labour Front officially.¹⁸ Houses, funds, and other possessions of the NVV¹⁹ have been stolen, and Rost van Tonningen 'is taking over the financial management'. People are leaving the NVV in droves; fortunately none of the main secretaries are left, other than the odd traitor, like Sormani.

Furthermore, potato rations are being reduced to 2.5 kilos per week.

Major explosions have been reported from Belgium, in which 250 people were killed and 1,000 were injured. There's more to this, my boy ...²⁰

17 This refers to the meeting between Hitler and Mussolini, the heads of the Axis powers, in Obersalzberg on 29/30 April 1942. At the meeting the further course of action in the Mediterranean was discussed.

18 The Dutch Labour Front was established on 1 May 1942, modelled on the German Labour Front (DAF). NSB labour union leader H. J. (Jan) Woudenberg was appointed its head, and all existing trade unions were dissolved.

19 The Netherlands Trade Union Federation (Nederlandse Vakbond van Vakverenigingen).

20 The explosion at a chemical factory in Tessenderlo (north-west of Hasselt) on 29 April 1942 killed 189 people. More than 900 people were injured. The explosion was caused by human error rather than the sabotage initially suspected by the German occupiers.

DOC. 133

Storm SS, 8 May 1942: article on the introduction of the yellow star in the Netherlands¹*Star of David**First step: The Jews are marked out*

The Jews have received their Star of David. This means that an affliction that prevailed in the Netherlands for several centuries has finally come to an end. In the future these individuals will no longer be able to hide among the people; from now on they will be unable to trickle their poison into innocent souls without their having been warned: the person before you is a Jew. Up until now they had been anonymous, and in many cases people would wonder: could that be a Jew? And they camouflaged themselves so well that one could rarely be sure of the answer. They hid behind the most beautiful Aryan names, noble titles, and prestigious names from Dutch history. They could be found everywhere, but they were rarely called Cohen or Augurkjesman.² Only recently the *Deutsche Zeitung* sang the praises of Haarzuilen Castle and the family's son, who died at a lamentably young age. Haarzuilen was rebuilt with Jewish money and exhibits all the characteristics of this on the inside; the lamented youngster was a half-Jew. But he carried a noble title.³

Only a few days ago we saw a rescreening of 'the best Dutch film', *Pygmalion*.⁴ It was produced by a Jew, an immigrant German Jew called Ludwig Berger;⁵ the cast includes Jewish names and Jewish faces appear on the screen. But the film is still screened, we are still shown what a group of high aristocratic people looks like: Aryans, Jews, and half-bloods. An impression of the Netherlands before 1940.

In the bookshops, books by Jewish authors such as Van Praag, Dekker, Goudsmit, Gans, Cohen, Levisohn,⁶ etc. are sold as if this were perfectly normal.

But now the Jews will be recognizable in everyday life. And many people will be alarmed and ask: 'Is that really a Jew?' And many will note with astonishment: 'I would never have guessed he is a Jew!'

1 'Davidsster', *Storm SS: Blad der Nederlandsche SS*, 8 May 1942, p. 2. This document has been translated from Dutch. *Storm SS* was published weekly from April 1941 to May 1945. It was the newspaper of the Dutch SS and was published by the Amsterdam publishing house Storm, which was headed by Reinier van Houten (1908–1983).

2 Dutch: literally, 'gherkin man'; a reference to the stereotype that Jews had crooked noses.

3 An article in the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* of 21 April 1942 described the history of De Haar castle in (correctly) Haarzuilens in the province of Utrecht. The reference here is to Etienne van Zuylen van Nijvelt van de Haar (1860–1934), who was married to Hélène de Rothschild (1864–1947), and the couple's son, who died at a young age.

4 The highly successful Dutch film adaptation of the musical *Pygmalion* with Lily Bouwmeester (1901–1993) and Johan de Meester (1897–1986) in the leading roles premiered on 26 Feb. 1937. The film was directed by Ludwig Berger.

5 Dr Ludwig Berger, born L. Bamberger (1892–1969), director; theatre and film director from 1916; emigrated via France to the Netherlands in 1935; worked as a director in the Netherlands; survived the occupation under the alias van de Waal; returned to Germany in 1947; member of the Academy of Arts in West Berlin, 1956–1968; regarded as a pioneer of television drama.

6 These are references to the authors Siegfried van Praag (1899–2002), Maurits Dekker (1896–1962), Samuel Goudsmit (1884–1954), Isaïc (Jacques) Gans (1907–1972), and Josef Cohen (1886–1965), all of whom were well known at the time. It is unclear who is meant by the name Levisohn.

We have taken one step in the right direction, but more must follow. We will now recognize a Jew when we see him face to face, but we will also need to know when we are reading about a Jew. It is necessary, strictly necessary, that whenever a Jew is mentioned in the papers, the word 'Jew' is added. This should also be made a binding rule.

The Star of David is nothing more and nothing less than a step towards complete expulsion. This is a step in the interests of the Dutch nation and important because, now that the Jews have become 'recognizable', not only will it be much easier to enforce the existing anti-Jewish regulations much more efficiently, but also all kinds of new wrongs can be eliminated.

As one of the most urgent we would like to mention the transport issue: the time has now come to impose a complete ban on Jews travelling on public transport such as trains, trams, buses, and boats, so that these amenities will also become Dutch again!⁷

DOC. 134

On 14 May 1942 the Jewish Council faces a demand from the German authorities to send a further 3,000 men to the labour camps, including from the provinces¹

Minutes, unsigned, 14 May 1942.

Meeting of the Jewish Council on Thursday, 14 May 1942, at 11.30 a.m, at 58 Nieuwe Keizersgracht.

Present: all members apart from Mr Soep and Mr Vos. Also present: Messrs O. R. Frank and Wolff from the national organization, and Messrs Meyer de Vries, van der Laan, Bolle, Edersheim, and Brandon.

Chairman Mr Asscher said this meeting would be largely devoted to the issues of *work creation and camps*. Last Monday the chairmen and Mr Meyer de Vries had to see Mr Rodegro, who told them that a further 3,000 men were required for the camps, and – following the response that these could no longer be recruited from Amsterdam – that they would have to come from other parts of the Netherlands.

Prof. Cohen gave further details in connection with the call-ups that are now to take place in the provinces. In general, the same provisions apply as for the Jews from Amsterdam, except that in Rotterdam only unemployed men will be called up. Additionally, the following applies:

The regional employment office is in charge of the call-ups. A meeting has been held with Mr van Delft, who is actually only in charge of North Holland, but has now been put in charge of the Jews in the whole country, and several other authorities.

Medical examinations are carried out locally by Jewish doctors.

Age between 18 and 55, including married men.

⁷ On 30 June 1942 the commissioner general for security, Hanns Albin Rauter, issued a directive banning Jews from using public transport: see *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 June 1942.

¹ NIOD, 182/1c. This document has been translated from Dutch.

The following categories are exempted at the instruction of the German authorities:

1. those carrying out manual labour in the clothing industry;
2. those carrying out manual labour in the fur industry;
3. those carrying out manual labour under the Rüstungsinspektion.²

Mr Rodegro will henceforth decide on the exemption of diamond workers on a case by case basis.

Of these 3,000 from the provinces, 1,000 will have to report on 1 June and 2,000 on 15 June. There are to be approximately 650 genuinely unemployed men declared fit to work among the first 1,000.

The chairmen immediately declared to the authorities that it would not be possible to find all 3,000.

For *Amsterdam* it will be extremely difficult to reach the required number of 1,000, above all because replacements have to be found each time for those returning from the camps because they are ill or in mixed marriages; people from the latter group are now being sent back.

The *situation in the camps* is dominated by the issues of insufficient food for the kind of work that is carried out, the low pay, and the fact that no leave is granted. The chairmen have pointed this out again and again at all such meetings – and emphatically, because of the insistence on this by the Council – and it was also raised in the latest discussions with the Agency.³ Henceforth, matters will be organized in such a way that the Agency will look after the material needs, the Heide-Mij⁴ will be in charge of the work (Mr Smisjaert will act as intermediary), while the subsequent organization will be in the hands of Mr Rodegro. There will be no leave for the time being because the required quota of 1,000 men from Amsterdam has not been met and because 31 people have escaped from the camps.

Mr Rodegro announced that from now on no exception could be made for those already called up and he reinforced his announcement by threatening that an employee of the Jewish Council would be sent to Drenthe if he made any further exceptions. Said employee then pointed out, quite rightfully, that he had only acted on the instructions of the chairmen, who declared that they would take full responsibility.

As regards a prayer facility for the *Liberal-Jewish Congregation*, the chairman announced that after consultation with committee members of that congregation on the one hand and the Chief Rabbi⁵ on the other, which took place in a spirit of understanding for the situation, a room would be provided for that congregation at Beis Jisroël,⁶ which has accepted the Chief Rabbi's specific requirements with regard to the service.

2 German in original: 'Armaments Inspectorate'.

3 The Dutch National Agency for Work Creation (Rijksdienst voor werkverruiming) was responsible for the organization and supervision of the labour camps.

4 Short for Heide-Maatschappij, company founded in 1888 and in charge of cultivating land, maintaining and replanting forests, and installing and maintaining irrigation systems. In 1972 it was divided up into a foundation for environmental engineering and a for-profit company operating in the same field.

5 Lodewijk Hartog Sarlouis, chief rabbi of Amsterdam's Ashkenazi community.

6 Beis Jisroël ('House of Israel') was a recreational and educational association for Jewish youth founded in Amsterdam in 1919.

Mr Mendes de Costa⁷ provided information about the provision of food by the central *kitchen* of the Joodsche Invalide⁸ and the financial issues involved. At Mr Krouwer's proposal, he was requested to contact the committee in charge.

At Mr Krouwer's request, it will be considered whether *meetings* of the Jewish Council can henceforth be arranged at a different time so that there will be more time for discussion.

Mr De Beneditty⁹ once again raised the question of how far the chairmen and the council can go in accepting instructions. This was discussed earnestly and from all sides, while the meeting agreed that the line of conduct followed by the chairmen so far was the only one possible in these distressing times.

The *next meeting* is still scheduled for 28 May 1942.

DOC. 135

***Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 15 May 1942: announcement of the directive concerning the billeting of Jews in Amsterdam¹**

Billeting

The German authorities have ordered the evacuation of Jewish residents from a large number of municipalities.² All these people are to be housed in Amsterdam in the three Jewish neighbourhoods you are familiar with.

Although the Jewish Council has so far succeeded in dealing with this influx of people through voluntary letting, this will no longer be possible in the future due to a lack of availability.

Under the authority granted to him, the mayor³ has therefore decided to give orders for billeting in the homes of Jewish families. This process has now started, but in practice it has emerged that not everyone is clear about what is meant by billeting.

The state reserves the right to make billeting an obligation required of its citizens. Citizens must fulfil this obligation in all circumstances. Not only must this obligation not be evaded – it will be enforced uncompromisingly if necessary – but everyone must also fulfil it to the best of their ability.

7 Abraham Jacob Mendes da Costa (1870–1943); secretary of the Portuguese Israelite Religious Community in the Netherlands, 1901–1943; involved in Jewish welfare programmes; member of the Jewish Council, 1941–1943; died in Amsterdam in 1943.

8 Jewish home for the elderly set up in 1938 at 100 Nieuwe Achtergracht. The residents were deported to Westerbork on 1 March 1943.

9 Nochem de Beneditty (1883–1944), lawyer; judge in Amsterdam, 1924–1940; chairman of the Portuguese Israelite Religious Community in 1941; member of the Jewish Council, 1941–1943; deported to Westerbork in Feb. 1944 and from there to Theresienstadt; deported in Oct. 1944 to Auschwitz, where he perished.

1 'Inkwartiering', *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, 15 May 1942, p. 1. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 See Doc. 113.

3 Edward John Voûte.

The Chairmen of the Jewish Council for Amsterdam:
A. Asscher
Prof. D. Cohen

DOC. 136

**A regulation issued on 21 May 1942 requires Jews to transfer assets to the Lippmann,
Rosenthal & Co. bank¹**

*Regulation of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories on the Handling
of Jewish Assets*

Pursuant to § 5 of the Führer's decree of 18 May 1940 on the Exercise of Governmental Authority in the Netherlands (*Reichsgesetzblatt* I, p. 778),² I decree the following:

Section I. Claims and other rights

§ 1

Claims of any kind are to be made in writing to the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank, Amsterdam, if at the time this regulation comes into force or subsequently they appertain legally or commercially in whole or in part to a person who, according to the provisions contained in § 4 of Regulation no. 189/1940 on the Registration of Jewish *Businesses*,³ is a Jew or is considered a Jew. This does not apply to claims from businesses liable for registration pursuant to Regulation no. 189/1940.

§ 2

- (1) The registration of the claim must include:
 - 1) name and address of the creditor,
 - 2) name and address of the debtor,
 - 3) nature and amount of the payment owed,
 - 4) legal basis for the claim,
 - 5) date payment is due,
 - 6) interest,
 - 7) collateral,
 - 8) all other circumstances pertinent to the claim.
- (2) Executable titles as well as debentures and other evidence are to be submitted at the time the claim is registered.

§ 3

- (1) The following parties are required to register:
 - 1) the creditor,
 - 2) the debtor,
 - 3) the person authorized to represent the creditor or the debtor or to administer the claim.

¹ *VOBl-NL*, no. 58/1942, 21 May 1942, pp. 289–300. This document has been translated from German.

² Under the terms of § 5, the Reich commissioner could issue regulations in the Netherlands.

³ See Doc. 42.

- (2) The fulfilment of the registration requirement by the creditor or another person required to register is to the benefit of the persons referred to in § 1, points 2 to 3 [as they will not have to register].

§ 4

Registration of such claims as exist at the time this regulation comes into force must be carried out by 30 June 1942. Claims that arise after it has come into force or the existence of which the individual required to register learns about only after it has come into force must be registered within one week.

§ 5

The stipulations of §§ 1 to 4 shall apply to other legal or commercial rights that are not claims and that belong wholly or partially to the assets of the persons referred to in § 1, in particular rights to land and movable goods, shares in legal entities as well as societies and other associations of persons, reversionary rights, commercial patents, copyrights, and trade licences.

§ 6

The provisions of §§ 1 to 5 are not applicable

- (1) to claims and rights of the kind referred to in Regulation no. 148/1941⁴ on the Handling of Jewish Financial Assets;
- (2) to private ownership of land and rights equivalent to land ownership, usufruct, rental or other rights of use which have been lawfully registered pursuant to § 2 of the regulation concerning the de-Jewification of agriculture (no. 102/1941);⁵
- (3) to rights equivalent to land ownership and mortgages that have been lawfully registered pursuant to § 3 of Regulation no. 154/1941⁶ on Jewish Real Estate; this also applies to claims secured by the mortgages.

§ 7

- (1) Orders concerning claims and other rights which are to be registered according to the stipulations in §§ 1 to 6 which are made after this regulation comes into force are null and void except where they fall under the regulations set out in subsections 2 and 3; such orders include in particular transfers, pledges as collateral, acceptance of services owed, and waivers of services. Also null and void are all obligations to enter into one of the aforementioned legal transactions after this regulation comes into force.
- (2) Only the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank can execute the claims and rights referred to in section 1. The provision contained in subsection 1, sentence 2, does not apply to this bank. The debtor can only make payments to the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank; by making such payments, the debtor frees himself of liabilities.
- (3) Compulsory enforcement measures, particularly detention and other provisional judicial measures, carried out in connection with the claims and rights referred to in § 1 are only permitted with the authorization of the Reich Commissioner for the

⁴ See Doc. 85.

⁵ Regulation on the Registration and Handling of Agricultural Land in Jewish Hands, *VOBl-NL*, no. 102/1941, 27 May 1941, pp. 388–395. § 2 states that land is to be registered even if the company to which the land belongs is already registered.

⁶ Regulation on Jewish Real Estate, *VOBl-NL*, no. 154/1941, 11 August 1941, pp. 655–663. § 3 states that land belonging to Jews is to be registered with the Dutch land registry by 15 Sept. 1941.

Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) or an office authorized by him. Measures undertaken without authorization are null and void.

- (4) The stipulations of sections 1 to 3 are applicable to assets that are to be paid in, deposited, or transferred pursuant to § 1 of Regulation no. 148/1941.⁷ This applies retroactively from the time the aforementioned regulation came into force.

Section II. Exemption limits for financial assets as well as for claims and other rights.

§ 8

- (1) Regulation no. 148/1941 is amended as follows:

I.

In § 1(1), point 1, the second sentence is removed.

II.

In § 1(2), the second half-sentence is removed.

III.

§ 4 is removed.

- (2) Assets not recorded to date because they were covered by the earlier exemption limit contained in the aforementioned provisions are to be paid in, deposited or transferred by 30 June 1942 at the latest pursuant to § 1 of Regulation no. 148/1941.

§ 9

- (1) § 1, subsection 1, of Regulation no. 148/1941 in the form found in § 8 of this regulation does not apply insofar as the total value of cash, cheques, securities, credit balances, and deposits that persons belonging to a single household have at their disposal when this regulation comes into force does not exceed 250 guilders. § 1(2) of Regulation no. 148/1941 in the form found in § 8 of this regulation does not apply if the assets newly accrued by persons belonging to a single household together with assets already in the possession of these persons at the time of accrual do not exceed a total of 250 guilders for the calendar month.
- (2) Claims and other rights to which persons belonging to a single household are entitled can be disposed of up to a limit of 250 guilders in total per calendar month; § 7 does not apply in this respect.
- (3) Insofar as their total value exceeds 250 guilders, cash and other assets accrued are to be paid in, deposited, or transferred immediately pursuant to Regulation no. 148/1941.

Section III. Collections, pieces of art, objects made of precious metals, jewellery

§ 10

Collections of all kinds, pieces of art, objects made of gold, platinum, or silver, as well as finished or unfinished precious stones, semi-precious stones, and pearls are to be handed in to the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank if they wholly or partially belong to one of the persons referred to in § 1, either legally or commercially. This does not apply to the property of a business required to register pursuant to Regulation no. 189/1940.

⁷ See Doc. 85.

§ 11

- (1) If a person who is a Jew or is considered a Jew according to the provisions of § 4 of Regulation no. 189/1940 is married to a person who, according to the aforementioned provisions, is neither a Jew nor is considered a Jew, then § 10 does not apply to such items as belong to
 - 1) the Jewish spouse, if offspring of the marriage exist who, according to the aforementioned provisions, are not considered Jews;
 - 2) the Jewish wife in the case of a childless marriage.
- (2) The provisions of point 1) under subsection (1) above are valid even after the marriage is over.
- (3) The provisions of subsections (1) and (2) above do not apply to marriages entered into after 9 May 1940.

§ 12

§ 10 is not valid

- 1) for a person's own wedding ring and that of a deceased spouse;
- 2) for silver wrist and pocket watches in personal use;
- 3) for used silver cutlery such that each member of the household of the owner is left with a four-piece set of cutlery, consisting of knife, fork, spoon, and teaspoon;
- 4) for dental fittings made of precious metals, insofar as they are in personal use.

§ 13

- (1) Items referred to in § 10 are to be handed in even if third-party claims to them exist. Such claims are to be submitted in writing to the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank within a month of the items being handed in. Claims made after the statutory period has expired can be denied without explanation.
- (2) The Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank is liable for claims protected by rights of the kind referred to in subsection (1) above. The rights holder may claim adequate compensation for rights that do not serve to safeguard claims. The bank is liable only up to the market value of the item that has been handed in.
- (3) After an item has been submitted, judicial safeguards and enforcements enacted before this regulation came into force are to count as effected against the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank.

§ 14

- (1) The owner is liable to hand in the items (§ 10).
- (2) Also liable to hand over items is
 - 1) anyone who is entitled to represent the owner;
 - 2) anyone in the occupied Dutch territories who is administering, has in their possession, is taking care of, supervising, or guarding items that must be handed in according to §§ 10 to 12.

§ 15

Handover must take place immediately, at the latest by 30 June 1942. Items acquired after this date are to be handed in immediately, at the latest within one week of being acquired.

§ 16

Items to be handed in according to the provisions of §§ 10 to 12 are at the sole disposal of the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank. The stipulations in § 7, sections 1 to 3, apply accordingly.

Section IV. Duty of disclosure.

§ 17

- (1) Anyone from whom the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank requests information in the course of the implementation of the tasks assigned to that banking house by this regulation or by Regulation no. 148/1941 must answer the questions put to them completely and truthfully.
- (2) Accounts, receipts, and other documents must be provided to the banking house if required.

Section V. Horses, vehicles, and boats.

§ 18

- (1) If a person referred to in § 1 is in legal or commercial possession of horses, vehicles or boats, these must be registered in writing with the Central Office for Jewish Emigration⁸ in Amsterdam by 30 June 1942.
- (2) Only the Commissioner General for Security may dispose of the items specified in (1). The stipulations of § 7, subsections 1 to 3, apply accordingly.

Section VI. Penalties.

§ 19

- (1) Deliberately contravening or circumventing the stipulations in this regulation or intentionally preventing the registration of assets subject to the stipulations of this regulation or Regulation no. 148/194 is punishable by imprisonment and an unlimited fine or by one of these punishments.
- (2) If committed as a result of negligence, the offence is punishable by imprisonment of up to one year or a fine of up to 100,000 guilders.

§ 20

- (1) Confiscation of assets related to the criminal act can also be imposed in conjunction with the punishment.
- (2) If no particular person can be prosecuted or convicted, confiscation can be ordered independently.

§ 21

- (1) Prosecution can be brought solely by the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs or, in cases covered by Section V, the Commissioner General for Security).
- (2) The criminal charges can be dropped up until the verdict is announced by the court of final instance.

§ 22

Actions punishable under § 19 are criminal offences as defined by § 2(2) of Regulation no. 52/1940⁹ on German Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases in the form contained in regulation no. 56/1942.¹⁰

⁸ See Doc. 70.

⁹ See Doc. 67, fn. 5.

¹⁰ Second regulation amending and expanding Regulation no. 52/1940 on German Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases, *VOBl-NL*, no. 56/1942, 21 May 1942, pp. 282 ff.

§ 23

- (1) Assets related to an act punishable under § 19 can also be confiscated through administrative channels.
- (2) In such cases confiscation will take place on the order of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Security); it will take effect upon being announced publicly or when the persons concerned are notified. If the confiscation concerns items or rights that are entered in a public register pursuant to a legal stipulation, the confiscation must be noted in the register immediately and at no charge on the order of the Reich Commissioner (Commissioner General for Security).
- (3) The Reich Commissioner (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs or, in cases covered by Section V, the Commissioner General for Security) will rule on the use of the confiscated assets.

Section VII. Concluding provisions

§ 24

The obligation to register or to hand in assets pursuant to this regulation is also present if the assets concerned have already been registered pursuant to Regulation no. 26/1940¹¹ on the Handling of Enemy Assets or pursuant to other stipulations. § 6 remains unaffected.

§ 25

- (1) The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs or, in cases covered by section V, the Commissioner General for Security) will take the action necessary to implement this regulation. He can permit departures from the stipulations contained in this regulation. He can also make legally binding decisions regarding uncertainties that arise during the application of this regulation.
- (2) The Reich Commissioner (Commissioner General for Finance and Economic Affairs) may confer the powers held by the Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. bank to another institution pursuant to the stipulations of this regulation or pursuant to Regulation no. 148/1941.

§ 26

This regulation comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

The Hague, 21 May 1942

The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories: Seyss-Inquart

¹¹ Regulation on the Handling of Enemy Assets, *VOBl-NL*, no. 26/1940, 24 June 1940, pp. 66–76.

DOC. 137

On 21 May 1942 the chairmen of the Jewish Council warn of the possible consequences of failing to obey German regulations¹

Letter from the Jewish Council for Amsterdam (I/Voorz. – C/dL/LB), signed by the chairmen of the Jewish Council in Amsterdam,² 58 Nieuwe Keizersgracht, to all offices of the Jewish Council for Amsterdam, 21 May 1942³

Warning

Under the most recent provisions, any Jew who violates regulations or decrees issued by the Reich Commissioner or orders from the Commissioner General for Public Safety must be detained and handed over to the German police.⁴ These ordinances include all provisions regarding Jews, but also general provisions, such as those relating to the blackout.

The following incidents have occurred:

1. A lady entered a shop off limits to Jews, in order to chat with the shopkeeper. She was arrested and has not been released, even though she had not bought anything in the shop.
2. A man walking along the street wearing his jacket without his star was arrested. His excuse, that he had done so by mistake, was not accepted. He is still being detained.
3. A person who entered a café off limits to Jews with a receipt for the café owner was arrested and is still being detained.

To avoid any problems, the regulations, which are being rigorously enforced, as shown above, must be strictly adhered to.

1 NIOD, 182/1b. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Abraham Asscher and David Cohen.

3 The original contains handwritten notes.

4 Regulation on Measures for the Protection of Public Order and Public Safety, *VOBl-NL*, no. 55/1942, 25 May 1942, pp. 281–282.

DOC. 138

On 1 June 1942 the Dutch National Socialist Antoon Reijnga asks the Office for Jewish Affairs to exempt his wife from wearing the yellow star¹

Handwritten letter from Antoon Reijnga,² Amsterdam-Noord, 43 Voornestraat, to the Office for Jewish Affairs,³ Amsterdam, dated 1 June 1942⁴

Hou Zee⁵ Comrade,

The undersigned is Antoon Reijnga, resident at 43 Voornestraat in Amsterdam North, age 41, current occupation: labourer on the work creation scheme in Amersfoort. You can obtain information on my conduct and diligence anywhere you like; you just have to ask around. I would very much like to request your kind assistance in word and deed. I've been married for 16 years and have 4 boys and 2 girls; the youngest is 7 and the oldest 14. Comrade Reif, who lives at 49 Voornestraat, suggested I write to you. I am a member of the N.V.V.,⁶ a member of the Volksdienst,⁷ a subscriber to *Volk en Vaderland*,⁸ etc. I am by race purely Christian. But my wife is a half-Jew. Her mother was Jewish, but my wife's father is unknown. My wife has two Jewish grandparents. Her identity card is stamped with a J, and she also goes out wearing a star. I would very much like to join the NSB in order to help with the reconstruction etc. My children are members of the Jeu[g]dstorm.⁹ I have reported our mixed marriage to the authorities. I have even written to the headquarters in Utrecht about it. To our great pleasure, my son recently got his uniform. It really means a lot to me. But now the question is: since my wife is racially not a pure Jew and is married to a Christian, I would like to request your advice and assistance in obtaining permission for her to remove the J and the star so that I and my child can have freedom of movement in public life. As regards my wife, you can find out about her from Comrades Reif and Heinz, and the entire neighbourhood. In her opinions and conduct she follows the party line entirely, but the star is an obstacle. She would very much like to cooperate and dedicate herself to the party, if it were only possible. If possible, I would very much like to meet with you in person one evening

1 NIOD, Collectie Bureau Joodsche Zaken. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Antoon Reijnga (1901–1955), pedlar; married to Hendrika Reijnga-de Groot (1905–1974).

3 At the suggestion of Hanns Albin Rauter, in late 1941 Amsterdam's chief of police, Sybren Tulp, founded the Bureau Joodsche Zaken as a separate department within the Amsterdam police. Working in close cooperation with the German authorities, this office was responsible for all police operations against Jews in Amsterdam. The NSB functionary Rudolph Wilhelm Dahmen von Buchholz (1889–1967) was its head.

4 The original contains handwritten notes and stamps.

5 'Hou zee', the NSB's standard greeting, comes from a seafaring context and translates as 'stay the course'.

6 Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen (Netherlands Trade Union Federation); founded by the socialist Henri Polak (1868–1943) in 1906; came under National Socialist control during the occupation.

7 The Dutch Volksdienst was founded in the summer of 1941 as the successor to the Dutch Winter Relief and corresponded to the National Socialist People's Welfare Organization (NSV).

8 The newspaper *Volk en Vaderland* was published from 1933 to 1945 as the mouthpiece of the NSB.

9 The Nationale Jeugdstorm was the NSB's youth movement and the Dutch equivalent to Germany's Hitler Youth. Founded in 1934, the organization had around 12,000 members during the occupation.

after 6.30 p.m., as I only get back to Amsterdam at 6 p.m., and taking a day off work for this would cost me 5 guilders, which I cannot afford. I might also explain to you that two weeks ago, at 11 in the morning, my wife attempted suicide. I was at work, but Comrade Reif was fortunately able to prevent the worst from occurring. You can obtain confirmation of this from Dr Oosterbaan; the case was such that he ordered her to be hospitalized. Luckily, I have been able to keep her at home under the care of Comrade Reif and my oldest daughter. She shares my principles, and it really riles her that she cannot contribute. She makes no effort to keep up relations with family or friends of Jewish background; she is also part of a Christian burial fund. From the way she speaks and behaves, you would never think she is half Jewish. You need only ask Comrade Reif about the note she wrote to our comrades, to the Party, and to Mr Mussert before she attempted the aforementioned act. She is still contemplating suicide. My letter makes my situation clear to you. I hope you can resolve the situation so that my wife has permission to remove the star and the J. According to the A[mster]dam population register, my children do not have to wear the star and the J.

Hou Zee Comrade¹⁰

DOC. 139

Tijdschrift voor de Amsterdamsche Politie, 6 June 1942: article justifying police measures against Jews¹

The police and the measures concerning Jews

Although the vast majority of the force has had no difficulty in comprehending and enforcing the government's new stipulations concerning Jewish residents, it has nevertheless become apparent that some officers do not understand them, to the detriment of those affected. To ensure that no further damage to the force is caused by this and in order to improve the public's understanding of the occupying government's motives, I believe it would be advisable to briefly describe the relevant details.

It can be assumed to be common knowledge that the League of Nations, in which the Jews had significant influence, has had a negative effect on the military strength and defensive capacities of the European nations for twenty years. Examples are the campaign for unilateral disarmament in the Netherlands,² the Oxford Movement in Britain,³ the Popular Front in France,⁴ the inadequate defence of the Dutch East

¹⁰ The outcome of this case could not be determined.

¹ 'De politie en de maatregelen inzake Joden', *Tijdschrift voor de Amsterdamsche Politie*, 6 June 1942, p. 2. This document has been translated from Dutch. This magazine for the Amsterdam police was published only in 1942. A magazine with the same name appeared from 1946 to 2002.

² Unilateral disarmament played an important role in Dutch politics in 1923/1924. While the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) and the progressive-liberal free-thinking Democratic League (VDB) advocated it, it was opposed by conservative Christian parties.

³ Correctly: Oxford Group; see Doc. 5, fn. 4.

⁴ In 1936 the Popular Front, an electoral alliance between the socialists (SFIO), communists (PCF), and the Parti Radical, won the election in France and headed a government with Léon Blum, who was Jewish, as prime minister.

Indies,⁵ etc. All this has weakened the military strength of the respective nations, which also hoped in vain that the League of Nations would step in should war break out. At the same time international high finance, which is dominated by Jews, armed the Soviet Russian Republics and ignored all other interests. Only now that war has broken out between Germany and Russia is everybody becoming fully aware of how powerful Russia has become. The occupying authorities assume that these international Jewish circles were expecting the war between Poland, Britain, and France on the one hand and Germany on the other to be as slow and drawn-out as the war of 1914–1918. If this expectation had been met, Bolshevism would have posed a considerable threat to our Western European culture after two or three years of war and would probably have destroyed it. The fact that the Russian army is outfitted with 72-tonne battle tanks, which are unsuitable for use on Russian territory, is evidence of the planned Russian offensive towards the West. Whether or not the Bolshevization of Germany would have stopped at Winterwijk⁶ remains, of course, an open question, which everyone can answer as he sees fit.

That is why the government sees its main enemy in this war in international Jewry. It is clear that ordinary Moses pushing his cart of oranges does not pose any danger. The danger lurks in the international nature of world Jewry. There is therefore absolutely no doubt that after the war the German government will take measures against the Jews in Western Europe that will eradicate their influence. Preparations for this are already being made systematically.

That much is clear. Some of the state's tasks in these matters lie with the police, and the police will have to fulfil these tasks in their usual calm manner. When, therefore, as happened recently during a raid on a Jewish bakery, police officers fail to find a large quantity of hoarded wheat, even though its hiding place is known, or when an officer, who is even on duty at the time, is prepared to deliver messages for a Jew inside the stock exchange, from which Jews have been banned by the government, such police officers are demonstrating a clear lack of understanding of their task. Such ignorance will result in permanent honourable discharge on grounds of unsuitability.

I trust that the above brief explanations will contribute to the development of a clearer understanding of this subject and will prevent any further damage to the force.

Amsterdam, 27 May 1942

H.C.⁷

5 In 1923 Prime Minister Colijn had proposed the so-called Fleet Law, which was intended to strengthen the navy in the Dutch East Indies. The majority of the Dutch population rejected the law in a referendum.

6 Easternmost municipality of the Netherlands in the province of Gelderland, which borders on Germany on three sides.

7 Acronym of the *Hoofdcommissaris van politie*, Dutch for 'chief of police'. At the time the article was published, this post was held by Sybren Tulp (1891–1942), professional soldier; officer in the Royal Dutch East Indies Army, 1912–1938; returned to the Netherlands in 1938; joined the NSB in 1939; appointed chief of police of Amsterdam in 1941 and later that year established the Office for Jewish Affairs as a department of the Amsterdam police.

DOC. 140

On 8 June 1942 the head of the section for Jewish affairs in The Hague informs the Reich Security Main Office of reactions to the introduction of the yellow star in the Netherlands¹

Telex no. 13 234 (dated 8 June 1942, 4.30 p.m.) from the Office of the Senior Commander of the Security Police, signed p.p. SS-Hauptsturmführer Zoepf² (IV B 4, no. 3009/42), The Hague, to the Reich Security Main Office, Section IV (received on 8 June 1942),³ Berlin (copies to the representatives of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for France,⁴ Paris, and Belgium,⁵ Brussels office)⁶

Re: visible identification of Jews

Case file:

Re: 1) report dated 29 April 1942 IV B 4-1036/42 and F3-decree Nue⁷ 81 489 – IV B 4 – Kl. A 1160/42 Kl. G

concerning 2) telex no. 9906, dated 28 May 1942 – IV J – SA 221 Kl. G.

concerning 3) my letter dated 27 April 1942 – IV B 4-1036/42.⁸

The introduction of the yellow star in the Netherlands was welcomed by all Dutch people who hold pro-German views. In oppositional circles, particularly religious ones, the introduction of the yellow star initially elicited strong indignation towards the occupiers and widespread sympathy for the Jews, as was to be expected.⁹ The measure was seen as a new incursion into Dutch sovereignty and the visible identification of Jews was perceived as an insult to the Dutch people as a whole.

Even within NSB circles the directive was not fully understood initially. In public, particularly on public transport, it was often observed that the Dutch people were friendly and emphatically polite towards Jews wearing visible identification. However, only a few Dutch people expressed their sympathy for Jewry by putting on a genuine or

1 Original not found; copy in Staatsarchiv München, Staatsanwaltschaften 34 879/42. This document has been translated from German.

2 Wilhelm (Willi) Zoepf (1908–1980), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1937; worked at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) from 1940; head of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Amsterdam in 1941; became SS-Sturmbannführer in 1942; head of the section for Jewish affairs at the office of the senior commander of the Security Police (BdS) in The Hague, 1942–1944; fled to Germany, 1945; sentenced in Munich to nine years' imprisonment in 1967.

3 Section IV was headed by Heinrich Müller.

4 Dr Helmut Knochen (1910–2003), English teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1932; member of the SA, 1932–1936; joined the SS and the SD in 1936; head of the Paris office of the representative of the commander of the Security Police in Belgium and France from August 1940 to May 1942; BdS in France from May 1942 to August 1944; arrested in 1945; sentenced to death in Paris in 1954; sentence commuted to lifelong hard labour in 1958; released in 1962; subsequently worked as an insurance broker in Offenbach.

5 Ernst Ehlers (1909–1980), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1928 and the SS in 1932; worked at the Saxon Ministry of the Interior, 1935–1937, and at the SD from 1938; from Dec. 1941 representative of the chief of the Security Police and the SD in Belgium and northern France, where he was responsible for the deportation of Jews; after 1945 worked at Schleswig administrative court; committed suicide while awaiting trial.

6 The original contains handwritten annotations.

7 Abbreviation for *Nachrichtenübermittlung* ('communication'), here presumably a telegram.

8 The letter referred to is not in the file.

9 For example in articles published in the illegal magazines *Vrij Nederland* on 8 May 1942 and *Het Parool* on 10 May 1942.

copied yellow star. Owing to the energetic action taken against these persons and against all Jews not wearing the star, the situation has calmed somewhat, especially after the German and Dutch press also published an editorial in which they again took a thorough look at this necessary treatment of Jewry.¹⁰ Those of the Jewish race who at first wore the star with pride have now adopted a meeker attitude again, because they fear further measures on the part of the occupation authorities. Jews who do not wear the star are immediately taken into protective custody. Applications for their internment in Mauthausen concentration camp (or, in the case of female Jews, in Ravensbrück concentration camp) are made at Office IV C 2, which is located here. Non-Jews who wore the star in breach of the prohibition are to be taken into custody for a period of six weeks and then released following a stern warning. However, no such cases have occurred in the last three weeks. Further restrictions on Jews, which can be implemented now that the visible identification of Jews is in place, are planned for this week.¹¹ They are:

- 1) A directive on the presence in public of Jews, including a night-time curfew; removal from all public and private transport (with the exception of bicycles in the city of Amsterdam); debarment from public and private telecommunications and from entering non-Jewish barber's shops.
- 2) A directive on the marking of Jewish rationing cards along with authorization for the provincial commissioners to stipulate specific shops, shopping times, and quantities concerning the provision of goods to Jews.
- 3) A directive prohibiting Jews from engaging in the following professions: auctioneer, pawnbroker, tourist guide, auditor, masseur, and street trader (with the exception of trade in scrap metal and rags and rubbish).

I will shortly submit the requested report on the Jew Asscher.

DOC. 141

On 16 June 1942 Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart instructs the representative for the province of Limburg regarding the handling of cultural assets and household goods belonging to Jews¹

Letter (marked 'secret') from the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories (103/42 g), signed Dr Seyss-Inquart, The Hague, to the representative for the Province of Limburg² or his deputy, Maastricht, dated 16 June 1942 (copy)

I hereby order that

1. All domestic furnishings including household goods and cultural assets (paintings, carpets, pieces of art, etc.) that become available as a result of the resettlement and expulsion of Jews are to be made available to the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, in accordance with the Führer decree of 1 March 1942.³

¹⁰ See articles in *Volk en Vaderland*, 10 May 1942, and in *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, 30 April 1942.

¹¹ On 30 June 1942 the commissioner general for security, Hanns Albin Rauter, issued a second directive: see *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 June 1942. The examples that follow were part of this directive.

¹ NIOD, o86/396. This document has been translated from German.

2. The Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force will be instructed to notify the commissioner general for special duties (Dr Göpel)⁴ and the commissioner general for administration and justice (Dr Plutzer)⁵ prior to dispatching the material that has been secured. After approval from both offices has been received, the material being held will be released for dispatch.
3. The recording of Jewish and enemy furniture assets must be carried out in close consultation with the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force.
4. Where costs are incurred by the liquidation, these are to be reimbursed by the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories.
5. My special instructions with reference to, for example,
 - a. presenting pieces of art to Posse⁶ for selection;
 - b. withholding objects necessary for the fulfilment of the political task in the Netherlands;
 - c. giving objects not taken by the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories to the National Socialist People's Welfare Organization;
 - d. auctioning off special pieces of art and utensils remain valid.
6. My pledge to make a certain amount of furniture available to the Gauleiter in both Cologne and Münster⁷ to redress bomb damage remains in place. Implementation is to be assumed by the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force.
7. The liquidation of the packing crates is not affected by this directive. The compulsory sale of these objects to the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories according to haulage laws is based on a special arrangement.

2 Wilhelm Schmidt (1898–1945), house painter; brother of commissioner general for special duties Fritz Schmidt; worked at his parents' business, 1916–1940; joined the NSDAP in 1930; the Reich Commissioner's representative for the province of Limburg, 1940–1944; died in June 1945 in a British internment camp.

3 The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, which was established in 1941 upon the invasion of the Soviet Union, was led by Alfred Rosenberg. The Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, ERR) was already set up at the beginning of 1940 to confiscate pieces of art and cultural assets as well as furniture and household items, firstly in Western Europe: see BArch, B 323/257. Its activities began in France in September 1940 and were subsequently extended to Belgium and the Netherlands and, after the invasion of the Soviet Union, to the occupied Eastern territories. A renewed authorization for ERR operations was issued by Hitler on 1 March 1942. It granted the ERR the right to confiscate material thought to be useful for the ideological objectives of the Nazi Party and the future scientific research of the NSDAP's Advanced School (Höhere Schule) in Frankfurt.

4 The commissioner general for special duties was Fritz Schmidt. Dr Göpel is probably the art historian Dr Erhard Göpel (1906–1966), who, as the assistant to Hans Posse (see fn. 6), was often in the Netherlands to assess works of art, under the auspices of Schmidt.

5 The commissioner general for administration and justice was Friedrich Wimmer. Dr Friedrich Plutzer (b. 1893), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1934; Gauvolksbildungswart (adult education commissioner) in Vienna; from July 1941 worked under Wimmer at the Commissariat General for Administration and Justice in the Department for Science, Education, and Cultural Protection.

6 Hans Posse (1879–1942), art historian; from 1910 director of the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, one of the most famous art museums in the world; joined the NSDAP in 1933; Hitler's special representative for planned 'Führer museum' in Linz.

7 The Gauleiter of Cologne-Aachen was Josef Grohé (1902–1987); the Gauleiter of Northern Westphalia in Münster was Dr Alfred Meyer (1891–1945).

DOC. 142

On 20 June 1942 Anne Frank describes how her family arrived in the Netherlands¹

Handwritten diary² of Anne Frank,³ entry for 20 June 1942

Writing in a diary is a really strange experience for someone like me. Not only because I've never written anything before, but also because it seems to me that later on neither I nor anyone else will be interested in the musings of a thirteen-year-old schoolgirl. Oh well, it doesn't matter. I feel like writing, and I have an even greater need to get all kinds of things off my chest.

'Paper has more patience than people.' I thought of this saying on one of those days when I was feeling a little depressed and was sitting at home with my chin in my hands, bored and listless, wondering whether to stay in or go out. I finally stayed where I was, brooding. Yes, paper does have more patience, and since I'm not planning to let anyone else read this stiff-backed notebook grandly referred to as a 'diary', unless I should ever find a real friend, it probably won't make a bit of difference.

Now I'm back to the point that prompted me to keep a diary in the first place: I don't have a friend.

Let me put it more clearly, since no one will believe that a thirteen-year-old girl is completely alone in the world. And I'm not. I have loving parents⁴ and a sixteen-year-old sister,⁵ and there are about thirty people I can call friends. I have a throng of admirers who can't keep their adoring eyes off me and who sometimes have to resort to using a broken pocket mirror to try and catch a glimpse of me in the classroom. I have a family, loving aunts and a good home. No, on the surface I seem to have everything, except my one true friend. All I think about when I'm with friends is having a good time. I can't bring myself to talk about anything but ordinary everyday things. We don't seem to be

1 NIOD, 212C/1a. Excerpt from Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, ed. Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler, trans. Susan Massotty (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 6–9. Translation copyright © 1995 by Penguin Random House LLC. Used by kind permission of Doubleday, an imprint of the Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, a division of Penguin Random House LLC. All rights reserved. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Two handwritten versions of Anne Frank's diary exist (version a and version b) because she revised the original in the spring of 1944. She did so in response to a call made over Radio Oranje on 28 March 1944 to save such documents for posterity; she hoped to write a novel based on her experiences in hiding. The *Definitive Edition* draws on both versions and does not include all the text from version b.

3 Anneliese (Anne) Frank (1929–1945); born in Frankfurt am Main; moved with her family to the Netherlands in 1934, after her father had relocated there; began her diary in June 1942; the family went into hiding in July 1942, but were betrayed and arrested on 4 August 1944. Anne Frank was deported to Auschwitz in Sept. 1944 and in Oct. 1944 to Bergen-Belsen, where she perished in March 1945, probably of typhus.

4 Otto Frank (1889–1980), businessman; emigrated from Germany to the Netherlands in 1933; prepared the hiding place for his family in the rear building ('the Annexe') of his business premises; the only member of his family to survive after deportation to Auschwitz; dedicated himself to the publication of his daughter's diary after the war. Edith Frank, née Holländer (1900–1945), housewife; originally from Aachen; married Otto Frank in 1925; deported in 1944 and perished in Auschwitz.

5 Margot Frank (1926–1945); emigrated to the Netherlands with her family in 1933; received orders to report for forced labour on 5 July 1942, which prompted the entire family to go into hiding; deported in Oct. 1944 from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen, where she perished, probably of typhus.

able to get any closer, and that's the problem. Maybe it's my fault that we don't confide in each other. In any case, that's just how things are, and unfortunately they're not liable to change. That is why I've started the diary.

To enhance the image of this long-awaited friend in my imagination, I don't want to jot down the facts in this diary the way most people would do, but I want the diary to be my friend, and I'm going to call this friend *Kitty*.

Since no one would understand a word of my stories to Kitty if I were to plunge right in, I'd better provide a brief sketch of my life, much as I dislike doing so.

My father, the most adorable father I have ever seen, didn't marry my mother until he was thirty-six and she was twenty-five. My sister Margot was born in Frankfurt am Main in Germany in 1926. I was born on 12 June 1929. I lived in Frankfurt until I was four. Because we're Jewish, my father emigrated to Holland in 1933, when he became the Managing Director of the Dutch Opekta Company, which manufactures products used in making jam. My mother, Edith Holländer Frank, went with him to Holland in September, while Margot and I were sent to Aachen to stay with our grandmother.⁶ Margot went to Holland in December, and I followed in February, when I was plonked down on the table as a birthday present for Margot.

I started right away at the Montessori nursery school. I stayed there until I was six, at which time I started in the first form. In the sixth form my teacher was Mrs Kuperus, the headmistress. At the end of the year we were both in tears as we said a heartbreaking farewell, because I'd been accepted at the Jewish Lyceum, where Margot also went to school.

Our lives were not without anxiety, since our relatives in Germany were suffering under Hitler's anti-Jewish laws. After the pogroms in 1938 my two uncles (my mother's brothers)⁷ fled Germany, finding safe refuge in North America. My elderly grandmother came to live with us. She was seventy-three years old at the time.

After May 1940 the good times were few and far between: first there was the war, then the capitulation and then the arrival of the Germans, which is when the trouble started for the Jews. Our freedom was severely restricted by a series of anti-Jewish decrees: Jews were required to wear a yellow star; Jews were required to turn in their bicycles; Jews were forbidden to use trams; Jews were forbidden to ride in cars, even their own; Jews were required to do their shopping between 3.00 and 5.00 p.m.; Jews were required to frequent only Jewish-owned barbershops and beauty salons; Jews were forbidden to be out on the streets between 8.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m.; Jews were forbidden to go to theatres, cinemas or any other forms of entertainment; Jews were forbidden to use swimming pools, tennis courts, hockey fields or any other athletic fields; Jews were forbidden to go rowing; Jews were forbidden to take part in any athletic activity in public; Jews were forbidden to sit in their gardens or those of their friends after 8.00 p.m.; Jews were forbidden to visit Christians in their homes; Jews were required to attend Jewish schools, etc. You couldn't do this and you couldn't do that, but life went on. Jacque always said to me, 'I don't dare do anything any more, 'cause I'm afraid it's not allowed.'

In the summer of 1941 Grandma fell ill and had to have an operation, so my birthday passed with little celebration. In the summer of 1940 we didn't do much for my birthday

6 Rosa Holländer (1866–1942), housewife; emigrated from Germany to the Netherlands to live with her daughter's family in 1939; died in Amsterdam in Jan. 1942.

7 Brothers Julius (1894–1967) and Walter Holländer (1897–1968) took over their father's business in Aachen; both were arrested in Nov. 1938 and emigrated to the USA in 1939.

either, since the fighting had just ended in Holland. Grandma died in January 1942. No one knows how often I think of her and still love her. This birthday celebration in 1942 was intended to make up for the others, and Grandma's candle was lit along with the rest.

The four of us are still doing well, and that brings me to the present date of 20 June 1942, and the solemn dedication of my diary.⁸

DOC. 143

In her diary entry for 20 June 1942, Etty Hillesum reflects on the humiliation of the Jews¹

Handwritten diary of Etty Hillesum, entry for 20 June 1942

Saturday night, half past 12.

It was a good day. Didn't do much work. Early in the morning to S.'s.² And so on. And now the conservatory windows are wide open, and the summer night is right here in the middle of the room. On my desk, Japanese lilies are proudly aflame. The little tea rose beside them is so fragile, so slight, and so weary of life.

For the first time in ages I spent a good, intimate evening with Han.³ Without too many words. Wavy grey hair over a frail face. I have been watching him grow old of late. That is what happens to you when you are young, you watch a fiery and passionate lover gradually turn into an old man. As long as I can inwardly rid myself of every demand on him, I recognize that I love him very much. Tonight we sat by the open windows in the conservatory, in peace and friendship, with a newspaper, a pipe, a book, and a cup of chocolate, as if we had been married for twenty-five years.

I was reading a book about Russia. I am beginning to understand that country better and better, and am also beginning to see what it might have to offer to Europe. There's enough material there for a whole lifetime's study. I'll get around to it yet. And I shall explore Russia one day. Western Europe is something I know – it is what I am myself. And a part of Russia is also in my blood. I shall certainly travel to all of its four corners one day, to observe and try to fathom its people, and then to tell them all about it back in Europe. Sometimes it feels as if everything in me were preparing for Russia. As if what knowledge I have garnered and all of my intuition – especially the latter – were needed for it. Things are moving in that direction, of that there is no doubt. I have no fantasies about it, just a growing confidence and a certainty that that is where some of my future tasks lie.

I'll go to bed now. It was such a good day, even though I didn't do much work, slept the afternoon away, wasted the morning chatting, and now have a bad headache.

I can probably best describe the state I am in today by saying that the sky within me was stretched as wide as the one outside on this perfectly still summer night.

⁸ This is followed by the first diary entry, in which Anne Frank reports on her ping-pong club and her increasing number of admirers.

¹ JHM, Doc. 00 005 119. Published in *Etty Hillesum: The Complete Works, 1941–1943*, pp. 694–696, by kind permission of the publisher.

² Julius Spier.

³ Hendrik Johannes Wegerif.

Humiliation always involves two. The one who does the humiliating, and the one who is to be humiliated, or rather: who lets himself be humiliated. If the second is missing, that is, if the passive party is immune to humiliation, then the humiliation vanishes into thin air. All that remains are vexatious measures that interfere with daily life but are not humiliations that weigh heavily on the soul. The Jews must learn to take this attitude. This morning I cycled along the Station Quay enjoying the broad sweep of the sky at the edge of the city and breathing in the fresh, unrationed air. And everywhere signs barring Jews from the paths and the open country. But above the one narrow path still left to us stretches the sky, intact. They can't do anything to us, they really can't. They can harass us, they can rob us of our material goods, of our freedom of movement, but we ourselves forfeit our greatest assets by our misguided attitude. By our feelings of being persecuted, humiliated, and oppressed. By our own hatred. By our swagger, which hides our fear. We may of course be sad and depressed by what has been done to us; that is only human and understandable. However, our greatest injury is one we inflict upon ourselves. I find life beautiful, and I feel free. The sky within me is as wide as the one stretching above my head. I believe in God and I believe in mankind, and I say so without embarrassment. Life is hard, but that is no bad thing. If one starts by taking one's own seriousness seriously, the rest follows. It is not morbid individualism to work on oneself. True peace will come only when every individual finds peace within themselves; when one day we have all vanquished and transformed our hatred of our fellow human beings, of whatever race or people, into something which is no longer hatred; even into love, although perhaps that is asking too much. It is, however, the only solution.

And I could go on like this, for pages. But I can also stop. That little bit of eternity one carries inside oneself is something one can describe as effectively in a single word as in ten bulky tomes. I am a happy person, and I hold life dear indeed, in this year of our Lord, still of our Lord, 1942, the umpteenth year of the war. And now good night; tomorrow morning at eight I hope to be back with my Japanese lilies and my dying tea rose.

DOC. 144

**Samson de Hond describes his family's flight to Switzerland from 17 to 25 June 1942,
hidden in a railway wagon¹**

Handwritten diary by Samson de Hond,² entries for the period 17 to 25 June 1942.

Wednesday, 17 June 1942

- 11.00 a.m. Boarded
- 1.30 p.m. Customs, almost went wrong, scared to death
- 2.00– Waited for engine, impatient
- 4.00 p.m.
- 4.30 p.m. Put in wagon, Doklaan³

1 JHM, Doc. 00 005 930. This document has been translated from Dutch. The entries were written by hand on a notepad and are difficult to read in places.

2 Samson de Hond (1901–1967), shipping agent; fled from Amsterdam to Switzerland in June 1942; returned to Amsterdam with his wife Engelina in Sept. 1945.

3 Could not be ascertained; possibly a street next to Amsterdam harbour.

- 6.00 p.m. Major scare, calls [...] ⁴ Van Essen, wheels wearing out⁵
Stationary for a day
- 6.15 p.m. Shunting. Are we leaving after all?
- 8.00 p.m. Will remain stationary for a day

Thursday, 18 June 1942

Copper wedding anniversary⁶

- 7.00 a.m. Van E. warns us to cover the carriage vent at the border
- 9.30 a.m. Wagon goes under the measuring gauge. Probably still too high, as the measuring gauge scrapes its side. Perhaps we'll have to move to another wagon.
- 9.45 a.m. Hear the alarm signal of our office telephone, Doklaan
- Noon Familiar voices, also many names. The rear end of the wagon still appears to be too high. Will just have to wait and see what happens next.

Thursday, continued

- 2.30 p.m. A knock on the door. Vell., who says something about problems with P., and that the wagon has to be lowered another 5 cm. More tinkering with the wagon. Feels like it'll never get sorted out.
- 3.00 p.m. Another knock on the door. Van M.; everything to do with the height is now sorted. Issue with P. also likely to be solved. Van M. and Van E. are rescuers who put their own lives at risk.
- 5.00 p.m. We think we are leaving. Once again through the measuring gauge. I hear it scrape our roof again and hear the loadmaster comment that the wagon is still 5 cm too high. We move back and arrive at more or less the same place as before. General mood of hopelessness: we will have to spend another night and day in Amsterdam. The question is whether anything can still be done about it.
- 8.00 p.m. Mood completely negative. Don't hear anything more from Van M. or Van E. either. Meanwhile our wagon is being shunted again. They probably need some wagons positioned behind ours. The shunting continues for a long while, and then we move for quite some time. Peeking through the grille, I see that we have arrived at Rietlanden⁷ after all. A lot of shunting here till about midnight.

Friday, 19 June 1942

- 1.00 a.m. Departure from Rietlanden for Venlo. Stops here and there.
- 5.00 a.m. Train stops permanently, so we appear to be in Venlo.
- 11.00 p.m. Apart from some shunting, we have stayed here and are now beginning to move again. It won't take long, as Venlo to Kaldenkirchen is 15 to 20 km at most.

However, we have been moving at a considerable speed for 1.5 hours now. Perhaps we are going straight through to Krefeld, which I think is unlikely though, as this is never done.

⁴ Content illegible.

⁵ Content barely legible.

⁶ Content illegible.

⁷ Shunting yard on the east side of Amsterdam city centre.

Saturday, 20 June 1942

12.30 a.m. The train has come to a standstill. We try to guess where we are, in Kaldenkirchen or further into Germany.

At night we are extra quiet, as we want to be even more careful here than in our own country.

12.30 p.m. We have found out a bit more now, and we know⁸ that we have only got as far as Venlo. We spend more time stationary than moving.

Saturday, 20 June 1942, continued

6.00 p.m. Departure from Venlo to Kaldenkirchen. We all think we will stay put for one to one and a half days because it is Sunday, unless our invisible helper has managed to organize something. Some shunting takes place, but that says nothing about an imminent departure.

11.30 p.m. Several trains are now ready to leave, and the stationmaster shouts 'Ausfahren!'⁹ three times. And three times we say with relief, 'We're off,' but three times we are disappointed: other trains leave on this signal, but we stay put. But the fourth time the signal is given, it is our turn. We depart and continue to move fast for hours. We are pleased about this, and as we keep going, we begin to celebrate. Our eminent host, who gave us so many pleasant hours in our home town, is also tireless in our moving dwelling and puts the most wonderful cool drinks from the fridge and the most delicious snacks in front of us.

Sunday, 21 June 1942

Approx. Our train stops. We try to work out where we are. Probably in Duisburg or Düsseldorf. Like yesterday, the sun is high in the sky, and it is very hot in our compartment. But it gets better once we start moving again. It appears we are on a dead-end track. During the night we hear the roar of British planes, and I see searchlights through the grille. It is now Sunday evening, but there is still no sign that we are leaving. Our mood is rather low. During the night from Sunday to Monday, the wagon remains where it is, not moving an inch. Monday, very hot, wagon stays put. Try to play bridge, but can't muster much enthusiasm.

Monday, 22 June 1942

Approx. There is some movement, the wagon is shunted. This game continues until 7.00 p.m. 10.00 p.m. We are constantly being shaken about. Looking out of the grille at night, suddenly a terrible jolt; I do a double somersault off the couch, my body is fortunately still in one piece. Tonight we again had planes flying over. After we have apparently been moved to a main track, the wagon remains stationary again the whole night.

Tuesday, 23 June 1942

7.00 a.m. At last we hear the signal for departure, and we are moving again. We think the next stop will be Frankfurt or somewhere near there, but the train goes on

⁸ Word illegible, likely crossed out.

⁹ German in the original: 'depart'.

and on. It is now 11.00 p.m., and we are still moving. At one point we established that we were passing Darmstadt, so we are making good progress.

Midnight. The train stops. We look and see lots of lights around us. We saw lights at the previous station yards as well, which surprised us, but the lights we are seeing now are much brighter. Where could we be?

Wednesday, 24 June 1942

12.10 a.m. More shunting, which lasts until 3.00 a.m. Could we be in Karlsruhe? No one can tell; the train has been moving for such a long time, we could be as far away as Kharkiv.

2.30 p.m. We are startled again. Sanne goes to have a look and suddenly notices that we are in Basel RB,¹⁰ so we are in the German part. We can hardly believe it, but after checking once again, our joy is indescribable. We embrace and congratulate each other. At 3.00 p.m. we arrive in Basel SBB and are therefore definitely in a free country.

We hear Swiss customs and railway officers speak in the typical Swiss-German dialect.

During the day, the wagon is shunted a few times to couple it to the train.

10.00 p.m. Departure from Basel SBB to Bern.

We pass several electric trains, but we are pulled by a steam locomotive.

Thursday, 25 June 1942

1.30 a.m. The train stops, and according to our calculation, we should be in Bern. We shave, we wash with mineral water, put on our best clothes, and decide to leave the wagon at 4.00 a.m. But we find we can't wait any longer and leave the wagon, with all of our luggage, at 3.15 a.m.

The first person we meet is a shunter with a very down-to-earth face, who watches us get off the train as if nothing is up. Sanne talks to him and also pretends there is nothing unusual going on, and asks for the quickest way out of the station yard. The man gives us directions and we reach the exit, where there is also an office for the freight and goods station, and the stationmaster comes out of the building. He asks us a few questions and is completely taken aback by the way in which we have travelled from Amsterdam. He cannot understand how we could get out of a furniture wagon sealed with lead without damaging the customs seal, and we ask him to take a look at it with us. We return to the wagon with him and several railway workers, and show them how we crawled through the hatch. They had never come across anything like this before, and they all seemed to be aware that they had witnessed a very interesting event. We meticulously put the hatch back into place, and no one could guess that a complete family consisting of six people, including a five-year-old child, have made a journey that has lasted eight days in this wagon for moving furniture.

In the stationmaster's small office we ask to call two taxis that can take us to the Hotel Bristol.

10 Basel Reichsbahn. This was the train station immediately on the German–Swiss border, outside the city of Basel, but still in German territory (called Basel Badischer Bahnhof today).

However, the stationmaster also has to take care of some technical railway matters that are far from ordinary: as part of his duties, he has to make sure that, in addition to the freight, the passengers' luggage is also taken off the train. I enter his office and all of this is done. I take the opportunity to look at the railway stamps on the consignment note and see that the German station where we were from Sunday 21 June to Tuesday 23 June was Grüneberg near [...].¹¹ Meanwhile the stationmaster has also phoned the police, who said we could go to the Hotel Bristol, where they will visit us on Thursday. After answering many more questions from dozens of railway people, two taxis arrive, one for the luggage and one for us, and we drive through darkened Bern to the Hotel Bristol.

DOC. 145

On 22 June 1942 Adolf Eichmann informs the Reich Foreign Office about the planned deportation of Jews from Western Europe to Auschwitz¹

Express letter (marked 'secret') from the Chief of the Security Police and the SD (IV B 4a – 3233/41g (1085)), signed p.p. Eichmann,² 8 Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse, Berlin, to the Reich Foreign Office (received on 24 June 1942), for the attention of Legation Counsellor Rademacher,³ Berlin, dated 22 June 1942

Re: labour deployment of Jews from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands

Reference: telephone conversation of 20 June 1942

An initial transport of around 40,000 Jews from the occupied French territory, 40,000 Jews from the Netherlands, and 10,000 Jews from Belgium is planned for mid July/early August on special trains running daily, each carrying 1,000 persons to the Auschwitz camp for the purpose of labour deployment.

11 Content illegible.

1 PA AA, R 100869. Published in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945 (ADAP)*, series E: 1941–1945, vol. 3: 16. Juni bis 30. September 1942 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), pp. 43 ff. This document has been translated from German.

2 Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962), sales representative; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1932; worked at the SD Main Office in Berlin between 1934 and 1938; from March 1938 had a leading role at the SD in Vienna in matters pertaining to the Jews; de facto head of Vienna's Central Office for Jewish Emigration from its establishment in 1938 and in a similar role at the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Prague after the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939; organized the deportation of Jews from the territory of the Reich at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) from 1939; head of section IV D 4 (evacuation affairs and the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration) from the start of 1940; head of the RSHA section IV B 4 (Jewish affairs and evacuation affairs) by March 1941; attended the Wannsee Conference in 1942; imprisoned, unrecognized, in an American detention camp, 1945–1946, and escaped in 1946; in hiding, first in Germany, 1946–1950, then in Argentina, 1950–1960; kidnapped by the Israeli secret service in 1960 and tried in Jerusalem, 1961–1962; sentenced to death and executed in Israel.

3 Franz Rademacher (1906–1973), lawyer; member of the SA, 1932–1934; joined the NSDAP in 1933; worked at the Reich Foreign Office from 1937; head of section D III (Jewish affairs) at the Reich Foreign Office, 1941–1943; joined the German navy as an officer in April 1943; head of a financial press agency after 1945; sentenced to three and a half years' imprisonment by Nuremberg Regional Court in 1952; released early that July and fled to Syria; returned to Germany in 1966; sentenced to five years' imprisonment following a retrial.

The group of people to be included initially will consist of Jews fit for work, insofar as they are not living in mixed marriages and are not citizens of the British Empire, the USA, Mexico, the Central and South American enemy states or of neutral and allied states.

I kindly ask you to take note of the above and assume that there will be no objections to these measures on the part of the Reich Foreign Office.⁴

DOC. 146

On 29 June 1942 Aaltje de Vries-Bouwes writes in her diary about rumours that hundreds of thousands of Jews have been gassed in Poland¹

Handwritten diary of Aaltje de Vries-Bouwes,² entry for 29 June 1942

The E[nglish] Air Force attacked Bremen with around 1,000 planes and later launched an even greater attack.³ The city has suffered dreadfully. That night was frightening here: there were dogfights, a few bombs were dropped, and dozens of cattle were killed at the slaughterhouse. The Russians have launched an attack on one of the largest ports in G[er-many].⁴ Sevastopol is still holding out,⁵ and the battle at Kharkov is dying down;⁶ now 150 km north (at Kursk), a major battle is being fought in order to break through somewhere nonetheless – and to the south of Kharkov, too, the Germans are launching major attacks; it is not easy for the R[ussians]. In Egypt things are going badly; the Eng[lish] must retreat, and R[ommel] has already taken more prisoners, an estimated 15,000 men.⁷ In a concentration camp in G[ermany] the well-known Dutch Jewish woman Rosa Maan⁸ has ... died; how she must have suffered. In Poland, 700,000 Jews have been murdered since May 1940; they had to dig their own graves before their deaths. They died as a result of machine gun fire or in a gas chamber, more or less ninety people at a time.⁹

4 In a reply dated 29 July 1942, Rademacher confirmed that the Reich Foreign Office had no objections to the deportation of Jews: PA AA, R 100869.

1 NIOD, 244/336. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Aaltje de Vries-Bouwes (1902–1990), housewife; married to the national animal husbandry advisor Lammert de Vries (1897–1964); lived in Heiloo (province of North Holland).

3 On the nights of 3 to 4 June and 25 to 26 June 1942, the British launched air raids on Bremen, involving around 700 planes.

4 Wehrmacht reports do not mention any Soviet attack on a German town at this time.

5 The 11th Army had laid siege to Sevastopol (Crimea), the most important Soviet naval base and fortress on the Black Sea. Sevastopol fell to the Germans on 1 July 1942.

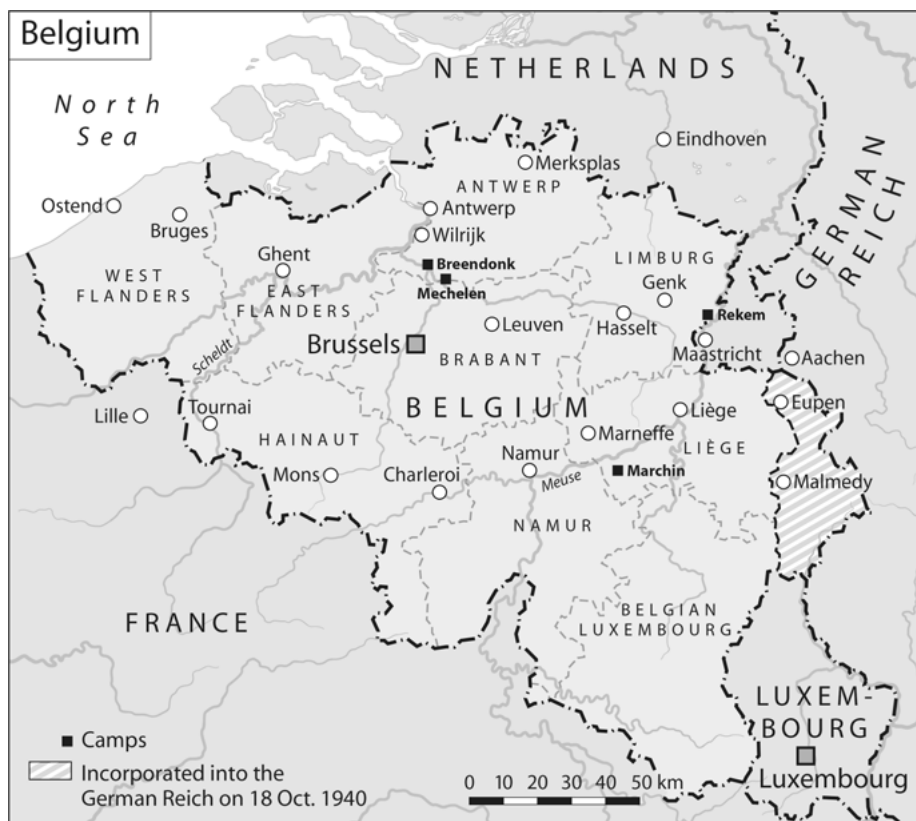
6 Some 240,000 Red Army soldiers were captured during the encirclement battle at Kharkov (12–28 May 1942).

7 Heavy fighting took place in Libya, not in Egypt, in May and June 1942. The troops commanded by General Erwin Rommel (1891–1944) were able to advance to Tobruk, which they seized on 21 June 1942. More than 33,000 Allied soldiers were captured during the fighting.

8 Correctly: Rosette Susanna (Rosa) Manus (1881–1943), publicist and campaigner for women's rights; founded the International Archive of the Women's Movement, based in Amsterdam, in 1935; in 1941 arrested and deported to Ravensbrück concentration camp, thought to have perished in Bernburg in 1942, although the Dutch Red Cross reported her year of death to be 1943.

9 On 2 June 1942, and again on 26 June, the BBC reported on the mass murder of Polish Jews, on the basis of information received from the Warsaw ghetto. It gave the total number of victims as 700,000.

Belgium



DOC. 147

On 8 July 1939 the German Consul General in Antwerp comments on the increasingly anti-Jewish mood in the city¹

Letter from the German Consul General in Antwerp (log no. 574/39), signed G. Schellert,² to the Reich Foreign Office, Berlin, 8 July 1939³

Re: the Jewish question in Antwerp

– 2 carbon copies –

– 6 enclosures⁴ –

Among the population here, one hears more and more voices expressing discontent at Antwerp being overrun by Jews. With great unease, people note that the Jews see Antwerp as the New Jerusalem. In the evenings, the main commercial street, the Keyzerlei,⁵ is the meeting point of the Jewish world, and in all the restaurants and cafés in this district one hears ‘Yiddish’ sounds. Pelikaanstraat, near the station, can almost be compared with the Jewish district in Warsaw. The one and only larger park in the city centre is known colloquially as the ‘Jew park’; the benches are mostly occupied by Jews, with the result that the citizens of Antwerp can barely find somewhere to sit any more. All of this is creating an increasingly anti-Jewish mood, which is occasionally also reflected in the press. The newspaper *Volk en Staat*⁶ (enclosure 1), for example, rightly points out the added tax burden that is made necessary by pro-Jewish welfare measures. A decidedly antisemitic pamphlet is the bi-monthly Flemish language *Volksverweering*⁷ (sample copy as enclosure 2), though it does not have much influence on public opinion at the moment because of its lack of significance. The French-language *L’Ami du Peuple*, which calls itself the ‘Organe mensuel de défense contre l’invasion juive’,⁸ appears monthly (sample copy as enclosure 3). This anti-Jewish tendency has found a visible expression in a resolution of the Flemish association of lawyers in Antwerp to exclude Jewish lawyers.⁹

1 PA AA, R 99406. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Gerhard Karl Otto Schellert (1887–1966), lawyer; worked for the Prussian judiciary, 1909–1914; employed at the Reich Foreign Office from 1919; consul general in Antwerp, 1939–1940; returned in 1946 to Germany, where he was briefly interned; employed again at the Foreign Office, 1950–1953.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

4 Not contained in the file.

5 Correctly: Keyserlei.

6 The daily *Volk en Staat* emerged out of the Antwerp newspaper *De Schelde* and was the paper of the Vlaams Nationaal Verbond (VNV), the far-right Flemish nationalist party. It was closed down at the end of the German occupation.

7 Newspaper published by René Lambricht’s eponymous Flemish-nationalist organization between 1937 and 1944, with a brief pause in 1940. It saw itself as *Der Stürmer*’s Belgian counterpart.

8 *L’Ami du peuple*, the ‘monthly newspaper for the defence against the Jewish invasion’, was issued by the same publisher as the *Volksverweering*.

9 On 26 May 1939 the Association of Flemish Lawyers in Antwerp expelled its Jewish members, though Jewish lawyers were still able to practise.

As a protégé of the Jews, Mayor Huysmans¹⁰ by contrast feels obliged to stand up for the poor Jews in an article in the *Volksgazet*¹¹ (enclosure 4). Mr Huysmans thinks he can refute 'inhuman' racial theory simply by stating that there is just one Semitic race and not a Jewish one alongside it. Jews themselves publish newspapers, including the *Joodsche Gazet voor België*¹² (sample copy as enclosure 5). Also interesting in this context is an article on anti-Zionism among Jews that appeared in the *Nieuwe Gazet*¹³ on 23 June 1939 (enclosure 6). This article explains in detail that Zionists are the worst antisemites of all!

The German embassy in Brussels will receive a carbon copy of this report.

DOC. 148

On 16 February 1940 Gerhard Wolff informs Belgian acquaintances of his daughter's death in detention and appeals for help in returning to Belgium¹

Letter from Gerhard Wolff, 2 Sarphatistraat, Amsterdam, to Miss Blitz and E. L. Kowarsky,² dated 16 February 1940

Dear Miss Blitz, dear Mr Kowarsky,

We are writing these lines to you in an hour of great need and utmost despair, in the hope that you may offer us guidance and support since you have always shown so much interest in us. You asked me to report to you in detail from here about how we are faring. I want to do this today, as things could not have turned out any worse or any more tragic.

We were arrested in Eschen³ and immediately taken into custody, I at the Police for Foreign Nationals, my wife and child at a women's centre. There was nothing we could do to prevent this. On the first day, during the interrogation, they threatened to send us back to Germany immediately – and indeed, this danger has still not been averted up to now. After being imprisoned for eight weeks, our beloved daughter has died as a result of this imprisonment. This innocent little child was murdered, plain and simple, and we are not in a position to call to account those responsible. You can gauge the state of things here from the fact that they even manage to throw women with babies into prison.

10 Dr Camille Huysmans, born Camiel Hansen (1871–1968), teacher; from 1905 secretary of the Second Socialist International; mayor of Antwerp, 1933–1940; in exile in London, 1940–1944; prime minister of Belgium, 1946–1947.

11 The socialist daily *Volksgazet* was founded in Antwerp in 1914. It was banned during the occupation and appeared again from 1944; it was merged with *Vooruit* in 1978 to form *De Morgen*.

12 Correctly: *Joodsche Gazet voor België*. This non-partisan weekly was founded in Antwerp in 1937 and had a circulation of 1,000 copies. In the summer of 1939 it was renamed *Waarheid en Recht*, but it was closed down a few months later because of financial difficulties.

13 This liberal daily was founded in 1897; in 1957, it was merged with the similarly liberal *Het Laatste Nieuws*, which is still published today.

1 JDC, AR 33/44 # 450. This document has been translated from German.

2 Probably E. or A. L. Kowarsky, member of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's refugee committee in Brussels.

3 Correctly: Essen. Small municipality north of Antwerp on the Dutch border.

Our child died on the twelfth of this month; we buried her in the Jewish cemetery on the fourteenth. One day after the child's death we were temporarily released. So, you can imagine the state we were in. Eight weeks' imprisonment and the death and loss of our only joy and all our hope. Our nerves are completely frayed.

The sympathy and sense of guilt on the part of the Dutch authorities lasted only three days, however. Today I was interrogated by the internment commissioner, and we were dealt [a] new blow on top of all our misery. In a few days, I am to go to an internment camp and leave my poor wife alone in this dreadful mental and physical state. If you were to see [her], you [would] not recognize her, and I [am] convinced that she simply would not survive another separation. She knows nobody here and has no one to care for her, especially since the Jewish committee⁴ here does not recognize her because she is a Christian. The only thing that could rescue us from this catastrophic situation would be for us to return to Belgium. I would therefore be very grateful if you could let me know immediately whether this is possible and whether you would undertake what is necessary. In this respect I am also letting you know that after our departure from Brussels, an official from the Sûreté⁵ was at our apartment on rue de la Presse in order to extend our stay. Perhaps you could investigate this. There would also be the possibility of going illegally and of trying to legalize ourselves again in Belgium. Is this advisable?

You will understand that this would represent our last hope and our only salvation. We place this last hope in you, for you promised us that even when we are here you would give us your support, especially since the local committee, goodwill notwithstanding, seems to be pretty powerless. If you do reply, please do so in such a way that I will not get into trouble here, for the authorities will approve a return to Belgium, even, it seems to me, if it is illegal.

I only have a few days to avert the greatest catastrophe [for] us, and ask you to reply directly and with the necessary speed. We thank you warmly and know that you sympathize with our grief and our desperate situation and will try to help us. With best wishes to you, as well as to Miss Kupisanoff,

yours sincerely⁶

4 Probably the Comité voor Joodsche Vluchtelingen (Committee for Jewish Refugees), which coordinated aid for Jewish refugees in the Netherlands.

5 Sûreté Publique: the Belgian security service, to which agencies including the Police for Foreign Nationals were subordinate.

6 No reply has been found.

DOC. 149

In May 1940 Miriam Gretzer records in her diary her family's escape from Belgium¹

Miriam Gretzer's diary,² entries for the period from 10 to 14 May 1940

Antwerp, Friday 10th of May, 1940

Was that only yesterday that we went to the wedding of Maurice and Isa and we were all happy, or was that centuries ago? In good spirits, we went to bed at the usual time and for once, without thinking of the war, which like a Damocles sword was hanging over Belgium. As usual, I fell at once asleep. It was nearly dawn when I awoke. My heart beating and with a strong urgent feeling of great anxiety and danger, I got up and went to the window, trying to control myself. Asher³ awoke and was astonished to see me up at this time. It was four a.m. and this was really the first time he saw me up at night, as usually he was the one who got up [at] night often. He asked me why I was up and if I didn't feel well. I said, it's nothing. But I was terribly agitated and could hardly speak. If it is nothing why don't you come back to bed, he said. I can't, I replied. He got up and asked me what was wrong, so I told him that I had had some horrible nightmare, for the first time in my life. Then tell me said Asher and then we can go back to sleep. It is too terrible to tell, I said. Stop those nonsense he said, or you tell me or we go to sleep. I can't go back to bed I said, because even now that I am awake, I feel that this was more than a nightmare, something I can't explain, but I feel strange, something menacing us, but I don't know what. So I told him what I had seen and lived.

We were both in our pyjamas in our street, trying to run away, but there in front of us were Nazis with their legs and arms spread out, standing in front of us and we could not pass. As we turned to the other side of the street, same thing, only one Nazi held out my sweet little dog on his paws and the dog was dead. I started to shout and cry. I was revolted and terrified. Why did you kill my dog, what has he done to you, I shouted. We were trapped. –

Asher said, that was only a dream, inspired by our unrest, because we know that we will be in it one day. Now come back to bed. I can't, I said because I am well awake and tell you that the feeling of danger persists. As we were talking, we suddenly heard a plane. You hear that I said to him. That's it. Don't be silly Asher said, have you never heard a plane before? I replied: there are a hundred planes and this is the moment. He told me later, that the way I said this, he felt strangely impressed. I don't know myself why I said all those things. Let's open the radio he said and hear if there is anything. It should be closed, as it is only 4.30 a.m. and th[ere] should be nothing before 7 a.m. He opened and the speaker was just saying: At midnight tonight, the Germans have crossed

1 BLHG 1340. The original is missing. The document published here is based on an English transcript by Miriam Gretzer of her diary entries that she donated to the Ghetto Fighters' House museum in Western Galilee, Israel in 1985. Grammar and spelling are as in the typescript, with silent correction where the meaning would otherwise be unclear.

2 Miriam (Melita) Gretzer, née Friedberg (b. 1907), translator and teacher; married Asher Gretzer in 1937; after Belgium fell to the Germans in May 1940, she fled with her family to Britain via France and Portugal; emigrated to Israel in 1948.

3 Asher Gretzer fled from Belgium in 1940 together with his wife and in-laws and enlisted in the British army; his subsequent fate is unknown.

the Belgian and the Dutch borders. We looked at each other and then, we heard more planes. As our [room] is to the back, we went to the next room to the front and opened a window and looked out. We saw more and more planes coming. Then I noticed something and asked Asher. What are those little black balls dropping down? Quick, he said, close the window, those are bombs. We started to tremble and went at once downstairs to wake my parents⁴ and my brother⁵ and then went all together with the dog to the coal cellar. We had only just arrived, when the bombing started and the house shook. There really were a hundred pl[anes] over Antwerp that night and 38⁶ bombed us. Some had sirens which hooted continuously, enough to drive anyone crazy. I hate to think, how it would have affected us, if we were all asleep when the bombing started. Why I had this premonition I don't know and can't explain, but it has helped us.

We went never back to bed in Antwerp. There is my sister Lily⁷ in Holland with her children and Maurice and Ida on their honeymoon. – I had of c[ourse] taken with me to the cellar, the small suitcase, which stood prepared a[fter] one year, with some important papers, photos and other things. How wise t[hat] proved to be. We had all a terrific shock.

Later on in the morning, when it had calmed a little, we went to the street door. All the neighbors were there too, standing at their doors and talking agitated one with another, even if they had never done so before, as they were very reserved people. But now everything was so different. Everybody was trembling and felt cold, although it was a warm day.

Our maid Alphonsine came as usual, but she did not work and we did not expect her to. All was now so meaningless, so futile. There was no daily routine anymore. She was like one of the family. Already 15 years in our house. Since she got married, she went home in the afternoon. She is such a good person and my sincerest friend, I know that for certain. Her husband is at sea and she alone with her little girl. She feels now lost and wants companionship. We are like her family to her. –

Nobody knows what to do. Everything seems upside down and the bombing continues and drives us crazy. We could not eat or sleep or concentrate on anything at all. We felt fear and our nerves all on edge. What were we to do? We had to go back to the cellar all the time. In between, people who passed our street, informed us, that a bomb had dropped on the Asylum which was on fire, and the insane were running in their night shirts on the streets. Our street was well situated for bombing. From the aerial view, we were in between three stations, the Central, the East and a small station. Also near the railway and the Airport. All those were targets and we were right in the middle. – The foreigners were leaving. An English friend called to say goodbye and told us,

4 Bernhard, also Dov Chaim, Friedberg (1876–1961), genealogist, Hebraist, and diamond merchant; moved from Cracow to Frankfurt am Main in 1900, and to Antwerp in 1910. Escaped to France with his wife Rebecca (Riva, also Rivka) Friedberg (1876–1967) and some of the family; later emigrated to Portugal and in 1946 to Tel Aviv; author of the *Complete Bibliographic Lexicon of Hebrew and Jewish-German Literature* (1928–1931).

5 Leopold, also Leon or Yehuda Leibush, Friedberg (b. 1900), diamond polisher; he was arrested trying to cross the French–Spanish border; his subsequent fate is unknown.

6 Figure hard to make out in the original.

7 Lily Friedberg (b. 1897); remained in Amsterdam with her two daughters during the German occupation; they were deported in the summer of 1942; their subsequent fate is unknown.

that the British Embassy was evacuating them. She left the address of a brother in England, in case we should come there. Although we had expected to be attacked, somehow it was a shock just the same. We just don't know, what or how we had expected this attack to be. We had been prepared, and yet, we could not take it. Perhaps because it was so sudden and there was no defense from the Belgians.⁸ Aimlessly we wandered about the house.

Saturday, May 11th

To-day still the same is going on. The Port of Antwerp has been machine-gunned. We did not undress or sleep since the attack Thursday morning. Nobody knows what to do. We hardly ate anything.

We all wait and hope for the British to come to our rescue.⁹ Of course we know that it would be impossible for them to cross straight over to Antwerp. So when they will come, it will be by way of the coast line and then from the other side of the Schelde through the big tunnel. Some one said that one English soldier had already arrived. But of course these are rumours, one does not know what to believe or disbelieve. Some people are packing and then leaving without anything. Others are yet undecided and some have resolved to stay, come what come. –

Sunday, May 12th

To-day it has eased a little, so I went to town with Asher. What has happened? It looks all so different somehow or the town has changed or we have. There were not many about, but those who were seen, seemed all bewildered and terrified, or even not conscious of their mixed feelings. One thing is certain, no one is in a normal state of mind. One asks the other: what are you going to do?

We could not stay very long away from home because of the bombing. When it started again, we preferred to be together with the family. Better be killed all together than to be an only survivor.

What a nice Pentecost we are having, and with that, the weather has not be[en] so warm for years at this time of year.

Monday, May 13th

Things have happened quickly and a decision has been forced on us. Last night, I had a proof of sincere friendship. My friend Lis, who is Jewish, her husband is not, has sent him to warn us. He came on his bicycle in the middle of the night, when no one was allowed on the streets. They lived far away from us, near the Port. Also it was strongly forbidden to spread rumours, right or wrong. But Jef braved all this for us. He told us, that Rosendaal in Holland near the Belgian border was burning and that the Nazis were

⁸ The most important Belgian defence lines were broken right at the beginning of the German attack. Within one week, Liège, Brussels, and Antwerp were occupied by the Wehrmacht; Belgium capitulated on 28 May 1940.

⁹ The British and French troops stationed in Belgium could not contain the advance of the German troops and were forced to retreat to the English Channel. Over 210,000 Allied soldiers were evacuated from Dunkirk.

advancing on their march to Antwerp.¹⁰ We are going to France, he said and you better leave too, before it's too late. How can one ever thank some one for this? –

We talked it over with my parents and decided that it really would be better to leave. Anyway later on in the morning, the Belgian Authorities ordered all men from 14 to 40 to leave the country on their own means.¹¹ Leopold was sent in the morning to my other brother Hershel¹² and was to tell him about this decision. So later on he came with his small van and one suitcase. He did not want to leave yet. He wanted to wait until Wednesday, until the banks would open to draw money. But we did not dare wait that long under the circumstances. I would be separated from my husband or from my family, which was of course an impossible choice for me. My father wanted the family together and decided that we would leave to-day. We were all raking our minds [to see] how and if we could reach my sister Lily and her children. But it was too late, as the Nazis were already there and we could not help them. This was for us a very hard and cruel fact to face. Papa said to me: You don't know my child what it means to me to leave our nice and comfortable home behind. We were terribly upset. Asher went to the garage and came back with the car. Alphonsine was here with her little girl. We wanted so much to take her with us. She cried bitterly, but she was afraid, that if she left, she would never meet her husband again. She was sad for us and for losing us. Then there was another problem. My dog. He loved his house and little garden. We had never been able to take him with us in the car or in the street. He just cried and howled and wanted to go back. He preferred to stay by himself in the house, than be with us anywhere. I remember after uncle Isis' death, my father was grieving and so we went all together on a short holiday to the country and we took the dog with us. Only my brother Leopold stayed in the house. We could not stand it with the dog and when my brother came to visit us on the week-end, he had to take the dog with him. And there in the house the dog was alright. – I nearly broke my heart when Papa said, You know, Miriam you can't take the dog with you as you know how he is outside. Better take him to a vet and have him destroyed. I could not do that. I had left already all I had behind. As we were six persons we could only take each one suitcase. I even don't remember what I put in mine or Asher's. Let me try Papa, I said, perhaps it won't be too bad and I can always find a vet, if it really is impossible. The van and the car had been for hours at the door, since dawn. It was not so easy to leave. We were not going on a picnic. There were so many problems. We had ours with my sister and the dog and my brother who did not want to leave. How our neighbors from the next house are Jews. We know them by sight, but have never spoken to them. They have a few children, one not normal mentally, and an old mother of 90, who lives with them. They also were preparing to leave, but they could not take that old woman, a semi invalid, with them. Seeing our car, he asked Asher would he take his mother to his brother's house. Under those circumstances, who can refuse such a request? Certainly not my father or my husband. It would not be human. So Asher took

10 The Dutch town of Roosendaal in North Brabant was bombed on 11 May 1940 and the centre of the town was badly damaged.

11 On 13 May 1940 the Belgian government ordered the evacuation of all reservists aged between 16 and 35 to France.

12 Hershel Friedberg, diamond merchant; attempted to cross the French-Spanish border together with his brother Leopold in 1943; his subsequent fate is unknown.

the lady to her other son. But oh, what a small tragedy within the big tragedy. This son's wife was expecting a baby soon and they too wanted to leave. So they could not accept the mother and sent her back. Asher took her back to our street. Our neighbor was desperate and begged Asher to take his mother again to his brother and leave her there with his brother, if he liked it or not. This was done. We all cried. To reach that age and to have such a thing happen, is terrible, also for the sons this must not have been very easy. That is why we were late in leaving only at 11.30 a.m. – We were not the only ones. It was a real exodus¹³ and not only Jews. Trains packed with people like sardines in a tin. Thousands and thousands of cars going all in the same direction, the sea side, bordering with France. The sea side from where we had expected in vain, the coming of the British. We had taken our precautions. In the van we had some petrol, stocked already some time before, in case there would not be any for sale. Also the radio had been taken out of the car and the wonderful binoculars had to be left behind by orders. There were wild rumours of parachutists and fifth columnists. The Belgians are very nice people, but also very excitable which is an inheritance from the Spanish occupation, long ago.¹⁴

It was dreadful, all those cars. We could only advance very slowly and we did not get far. We stopped at Bruges and stayed there over night. We were exhausted and so very sad. We had been so happy in Antwerp and liked the people very much and now we had to leave everybody and everything behind. – As there were so many, it was difficult to find rooms and food. [After] we had tried in vain, at last we went to a bakery and asked for some bread and perhaps some coffee. The woman was very kind and felt sorry for us. She asked us to come in in her lovely big and spotless clean kitchen, had us sit down at a huge table. Then she served us with bread, butter, cheese and coffee, as much as we wanted and could not be talked into taking any money from us.

A war is a time to make studies of *Homo Sapiens*. It brings out the best and also the worst of these specimens.

We met many people we knew and all were as upset as we were. Still we were lucky to have the cars, because the trains were full up and were machine gunned and many were killed on the way.

For my dog, I have taken his dog biscuits, his rubber ball and bone. Asher is driving the van with the suitcases. We have spread between us a blanket over the seats and the dog is in the middle of us. It seems that he understands, because he is very quiet and sad, just like we.

Tuesday, May 14th

At noon to-day, we arrived at La Panne, near Dunquerque¹⁵ which is already France. Bruges is a sweet little town. I remember that that was my impression of it, but now already I can't remember it.

13 Memories of air raids and war crimes committed by the Germans during the First World War were still fresh in the minds of many in Belgium; almost half of the Belgian population fled within just a few days of the start of the conflict. Many returned between July and September 1940, after Belgium's surrender.

14 The reference is to the frequently violent period of Spanish rule over most of present-day Belgium and Luxembourg, as well as parts of northern France, southern Netherlands, and western Germany between 1556 and 1715.

15 French spelling of Dunkirk.

We had three rooms at a nice hotel. No bombing here. We feel a little relieved, but the gravity of the situation persists. –

Still more cars and crowds of people on foot or bicycles, or anything with wheels. Some have their old people with them on carts. Some were even dying on the way. Lost children crying. Parents crying for their lost children. What a terrible sight. We were lucky ones with our cars and all together. My father would have loved to help everybody if he only had the possibility.

From Bruges to La Panne it was not very far, but we could only advance very slowly. The cars came from deep in Belgium by the thousands. Often we had to stop. Some times we went at a snail's pace, other times faster. The Nazis came down with their planes and machine gunned the cars and the people on foot. Some cars had mattresses to shield them. But it was not much protection, as when there was an alert, we all went out of the cars to look for a shelter. But on the sea side there was none, not a tree, nothing. We just stood at the side of the road or against some houses, if there were any, and hoped for the best. Some continued and others stayed, dead or wounded. Not one could get out of the row, without being in danger of being left behind. It could not close in again. People would not let them. They were all over excited. No one can go slower or faster at wish. At some moments all cars stand still for a time. But no one dare venture to leave his car, for fear of losing the car or their family. When a move comes, all cars have to move on at once. There was a diplomatic car. In normal times they are privileged. That one went out of the row and wanted to go in front of the other cars. One big and strong looking man got out of his car and said, where do you think you are going? I am a diplomat the man said and who are you, the police?

The big man said, we are all our own police and you are just like me. You better go back in the row because you won't pass me. With that he took out of his pocket a big pocket knife and menaced the diplomat that he would puncture his tires. The diplomat saw that it was serious and he complied without saying anything more.

This is war and it is a fight of life and death for survival. Some to save their hide, are capable to go over dead bodies.

Then there was a nice lady with a lovely fur coat, she did not even have a handbag with her. She had lost her car and on foot she could never get there. She begged people to take her with them, but nobody dared to stop for her. I asked Asher to stop for her and as he did, I took her hand and she jumped up. She was so grateful. At the next stop she was united with her family again. I was so glad I could help.

DOC. 150

**On 4 June 1940 Arthur Czellitzer describes his flight through Belgium
following the German invasion¹**

Diary of Arthur Czellitzer:² 'Journey at Whitsun 1940', entry for 4 June 1940 (typescript)

Tuesday, 4 June 1940

As recently as yesterday, at the local commandant's office we had been assured with certainty that the refugees would get lorries, at least as far as Ghent. All we had to do was turn up in front of the commandant's office very early in the morning. By 7.30 a.m. we have already arrived in our sports car. We are neither the first nor the last. It turns out that unfortunately the lorries are not departing from here, and only after shuttling back & forth several times between the commandant's office and the market square do we find the right place, on the other side of Thielt,³ where a German military policeman & a Belgian policeman are standing in the middle of the street & diverting all the traffic flowing into Thielt southwards into an intersecting street, whereas they are stopping all the outbound vehicles. In the same side street, there is already a long 'procession', three persons wide and around thirty persons long. I join the second group of three, right behind several priests. Some grumbling behind me, naturally, but it soon abates, probably thanks to my grey beard. *Kamlet*⁴ does not dare to stand beside me and goes virtuously to the back of the queue. I hold my little suitcase in my hand. Kamlet brings me my two heavy woollen blankets. A camion⁵ arrives and is stopped. Very high platform without any steps. The priests are lifted up onto it. That is too uncomfortable for me. A short time later, a new lorry. I am one of the first to climb up into it, and I secure a place for myself by putting my things down and sitting on top of them. At the front, the lorry's cab is hermetically sealed with a glass panel. Between this panel & me, a fat, elderly Belgian woman. Her granddaughter is standing right in front of me. Behind this girl, her parents. The father has kidney problems, as I soon hear. On my left, fat countrywomen are squatting, and so I cannot move in any direction. Only a few people are able to sit. Most people stand in the semi-darkness and blistering heat. After many stops, the reason for which is never explained – one especially long one while we are still in a Ghent suburb, because an endless procession of German soldiers & convoy vehicles rolling towards us is blocking the road – we stop in front of the beautiful town hall in *Ghent*.

1 LBIJMB, MM 17. This document has been translated from German.

2 Arthur Czellitzer (1871–1943), ophthalmologist; founded a hospital in Berlin in 1907 and the Society for Jewish Family Research in 1924; emigrated to the Netherlands in 1938; his attempt to escape to France through Belgium was unsuccessful; murdered in Sobibor in 1943. In 1942 Czellitzer wrote a family chronicle covering the period from 1640 to 1942. It includes an account of his evacuation from the Dutch town of Breda in May 1940, his odyssey through Belgium and France, and finally his return to Breda.

3 Correctly: Tielt (West Flanders).

4 Baruch Benno Kamlet (b. 1889), tailor; ran a women's fashion design studio in Berlin from 1922 to 1936; emigrated to Brussels in 1939.

5 French in original: 'lorry'.

I had just managed to call out to Kamlet: 'Whoever gets there first is to wait where the lorry lets people off!' Accordingly, after waiting for a while in the blistering heat at the 'Botermarkt', I walk over into the shade and go into a restaurant, from where I have a view of the arriving vehicles. The really cheap fried egg with plenty of chips tastes superb, but *Kamlet* does not come. As it later turns out, he did not even get off here. Owing to the heat and the anxiety about how to get any further, today I ignore the insouciance with which the Renaissance wing of the town hall is placed beside the old Gothic main building, directly next to my spot on the restaurant terrace, and all the majesty of the 'Beffroi'⁶ right behind it, which so greatly delighted Gre⁷ and myself a few months ago.

German soldiers advise me to go to the local commandant's office. Nothing can be done with respect to either travelling on or a place to spend the night, but at least I am permitted to put my suitcase and the woollen blankets in the corridor. Just in case, I go to the relief committee for refugees' office⁸ and arrange to get accommodation for the night. It consists of merely a layer of straw, but if I am stuck here, it will at least keep me from having to look for a place for the night! Back to St Baafsplein where, between the local commandant's office and the Theatre Royal, there is a monument to Willems, the originator of the Flemish movement,⁹ which is now surrounded by large numbers of Ostjuden. The word is that the camions will depart from this square at 3 p.m. & will actually go both to Antwerp and to Brussels. I perch on the end of a fully occupied bench, with my luggage next to me, and eat an ice cream cone. The Jews gradually go away, an ominous sign. The clock strikes 3. It strikes 3.30, but no vehicle departs from here that might have carried civilians. I am told that there are buses leaving from the Leopold Barracks at St Pietersplein. The way there, through the interminable Sint Pietersnieuwestraat, which offers no shade, is extremely difficult for me, as I must lug the blankets and suitcase while wearing my heavy coat. Shortly before reaching the barracks, I am told by a German guard that it is pointless. No vehicles leave from here, he says. In complete desperation, I am about to return to the Old Town and go to the shelter for réfugiés¹⁰ when a member of the Home Guard¹¹ tells me I must go to the blown-up bridge over the Scheldt River. All vehicles headed to Brussels, he says, must cross the wooden temporary bridge slowly and go past a guard. No sooner said than done! When I cut across the 'King Albert Park', I have no strength left. A few German soldiers come

⁶ The Bell Tower (also Belfry) is a landmark of the city of Ghent.

⁷ Margaret Czellitzer (1883–1969), housewife; emigrated with her husband Arthur Czellitzer to the Netherlands in 1938, became separated from him while on the run in 1940, and reached Britain via Belgium and France along with her daughter and two grandchildren.

⁸ This is presumably a reference to the Belgian Committee for Aid and Assistance to Victims of Antisemitism in Germany (CAAVAA), founded in 1933 and renamed the Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugees (Comité d'assistance aux réfugiés juifs – CARJ) in 1938, not to be confused with the Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR) in France. The committee was an important point of contact for the Belgian government for all matters concerning Jewish refugees. Its chairman was Max Gottschalk.

⁹ Jan Frans Willems (1793–1846), writer and scholar of language and literature; promoted the Dutch language in Flanders; he is considered the 'father of the Flemish movement'.

¹⁰ French: refugees.

¹¹ Landstürmer in the original German: the reference is presumably to an older member of the Wehrmacht.

along; I ask them to carry my blankets a short distance for me. – ‘Unfortunately, we don’t have time!’ I keep trudging along. At a butcher’s shop, I am given a glass of water and the comforting information that the Scheldt is only a few minutes away.

Exhausted, I reach the sought-after spot after crossing the temporary bridge. There are many civilians standing waiting on both sides of the street. I approach the guard, saying that I am a German national living abroad etc. etc. He speaks Silesian dialect. I deal with him as a fellow countryman. A horse transport of several hundred horses almost tramples our suitcases or our feet. An old spinster, a Swiss woman, beseeches me to help her. Finally, an elegant private motor car arrives. In the front, two gentlemen, in the back only one lady, her face made up, powdered, rouged. I do not notice that the seat next to her is not, as it seemed, empty but rather is crammed full of luggage until my Silesian has pushed me into the car, despite lively protest, and I have manoeuvred the old lady along with me. I have to sit at an angle and have the old Swiss lady plus her dog half on my lap! The Belgian woman takes a rather dim view of this, the men an even dimmer view. But I am happy because we are moving, and at a rather fast clip at that. Here in the vicinity of Ghent, a great deal has been destroyed. Huge numbers of wooden temporary bridges ...

The first Brussels trams make an appearance. We are forced to reverse course when we reach a bridge that has been blown up, as the temporary crossing can only carry the weight of pedestrians. Finally, we stop, at around 7.30 p.m., in front of a small café in rue Zérézo, quite close to the Gare du Nord. ‘Je regrette vivement d’avoir été votre hôte non invité, mais néanmoins [néanmoins] je vous remercie infiniment [infiniment].’¹² – My Swiss lady guards the luggage while I check the address of Jean Kroto (-ziner) (-schiner)¹³ once again. It is correct: rue de l’Armée. Unfortunately, the telephone is not working. I deposit the cumbersome & heavy bundle of blankets in a coffeehouse cloakroom and get on a tram, which takes me close to the address, after a long ride and a change of trams. A dreadful street with no trees, no balconies. Typical plebeian neighbourhood. In contrast to it, however, the building and even more so the apartment on the fifth floor. I ring; from the microphone a woman’s voice is heard: Qui est là?¹⁴ I state my name, my origin, my kin ... I am not understood, but finally the street door opens after all. I climb the many stairs: ‘Pourquoi vous ne montez pas par l’ascenseur?’¹⁵ the daughter of the house says to me by way of greeting. Typical sophisticated Frenchwoman with elegant black hair. Her mother is out, her father on a trip, she says. She places a bottle of Spaa [water] and cigarettes in front of me and vanishes, saying she has a guest.

A few minutes later, she returns with her mother. Dyed blonde hair, a bit plump, chic and well dressed, she inundates me with complaints in German (after she has closed the window, so no one could hear the German conversation!) about her husband, saying that he is much too indulgent towards strangers and does not think of her and the children! I emphasize that I plan to leave right away, just want to rest for a bit. She talks on and

12 French: ‘I greatly regret having been your uninvited guest, but nonetheless I am infinitely grateful to you.’

13 Hans Krotoschiner (b. 1876), retailer; second cousin of Arthur Czellitzer; emigrated to Paris, where he called himself Jean Kroto; moved to Brussels after 1914.

14 French: ‘Who is it?’

15 French: ‘Why don’t you take the lift?’

on and finally says that it is now already after 8 p.m., I should spend the night there, have dinner and could also – have a bath! The last item clinches it. No bath for four weeks now. And soooo necessary! I decide to overcome my dislike for this lady until I have enjoyed my bath! I hear that there is however no hot bathwater now, unfortunately, not until after 6 a.m.

I let her talk, complain, and scold. She says she still has an important letter that must be posted at once. I beg her not to let me disturb her, but she keeps talking and, still talking, goes into the kitchen, where she prepares a dish of rice with mushrooms for me and sets a place for me in the dining room, but does not partake of it herself.

She says that Hans Kroto went to Paris with a friend on the very first day of the war. They are in a safe place there, in the home of another friend. First, she describes her fate as if she had been ‘abandoned here’ but finally admits that she & the daughter had refused when asked to come along! She had been sunbathing in the rooftop garden just now, she said. I ought to see how sunburnt her skin was (and feel a bit sorry for her?!), she added. And again and again, the ‘letter of urgent importance’. I am fed up with it: ‘Now, do go ahead and write your letter. In the meantime, I will admire the splendid view.’ It is indeed splendid. Brussels is built on very hilly terrain, and this building apparently was constructed on one of these many hills, and in addition I am five floors above ground level. The sea of houses below, with the colourful rooftops and the green parks sprinkled among them, is magnificent. Likewise, the furnishings of the apartment. Large rooms and many of them, with a great number of good paintings and masses of etchings. Some of the latter, she said, she had already sold. In the library, the room to which I was first taken, several thousand books, mostly on politics and modern literature. She makes her son’s room ready for me for the night. He is in the army, and the first news of his whereabouts has just arrived. She even puts out a bathrobe & a towel for me, in readiness for my bath. In addition, I brought along the novel ‘Hotel Shanghai’ by Vicky Baum¹⁶ to read, and I fall asleep, as always, as soon as it is too dark to read.

DOC. 151

***Die Judenfrage*, 7 June 1940: article on the economic and political situation for Jews in Belgium¹**

The Jews in Belgium

If Belgium, which in the second half of the previous century had slightly more than 2,500 Jews, has more than 100,000 Jews by faith today,² the country owes this unpleasant development, with its catastrophic consequences for the Belgian economy, primarily to

¹⁶ Correctly: Vicki Baum (1888–1960), musician and writer; emigrated to the USA in 1932; among her best-known books is the novel *Hotel Shanghai*, published in exile in 1939, which describes the fate of émigrés in 1937 during the Second Sino-Japanese War.

¹ *Die Judenfrage*, vol. IV, no. 13/14, 7 June 1940. This document has been translated from German.

² In 1830 Belgium had around 1,000 Jewish inhabitants, but their number increased rapidly as a result of immigration from Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1940 approximately 70,000 Jews were living in Belgium. Less than 10 per cent of them, however, were Belgian citizens.

the changing governments which, true to their English 'model', opened the floodgates to the Jews.

This development was particularly pronounced during the past seven years, when the Jews began to emigrate from Germany and Belgium – which should actually have been warned by Germany's precautionary and defensive measures with respect to the Jewish question – welcomed the Jews with open arms. The Belgian minister of labour, *Delfosse*,³ excelled in this respect, displaying the greatest zeal. In consultation with the president of the Jewish Relief Committee, the Jew *Max Gottschalk*,⁴ and the director of the International Labour Office, *John C. Winant*,⁵ he championed the unimpeded immigration of Jews into Belgian industry and commerce. The result of his policy was predictable: the Jews, who sensed a new El Dorado in Belgium, were not satisfied with the extremely liberal Belgian immigration quotas. They migrated illegally in droves to that country – just as to England – in this instance too, with the result that in 1939, according to official Belgian estimates, there were 90,000 Jews by faith in Belgium, 60,000 of whom were present in the country unlawfully. Nonetheless, that did not prevent these Jews from following ancient tradition and securing the best positions for themselves, especially in economic life and commerce. The success with which they did so is demonstrated by a short list of the share of enterprises in Belgium owned or controlled by Jews (expressed as percentages):

	End of 1933	1939
Trade and manufacturing agencies	16.0	61.0
Furniture shops	2.6	38.2
Antiques trade	4.5	19.0
Jewellery trade	6.0	20.8
Handicraft shops	13.2	64.6
Automotive industry	14.0	43.0
Lawyers	1.2	8.0
Banks	11.0	34.0
Brewery items	26.0	78.0
Coffee, tea, delicacies	4.0	16.0
Shoe trade	7.0	26.0
Imported fruit dealers	28.0	67.0
Daily and periodical press	8.5	25.3
Advertising agencies	9.5	31.0

3 Dr Antoine Delfosse (1895–1978), lawyer; held various ministerial posts, including minister of labour, from 1939 until the German occupation; fled to London in August 1942; assumed responsibility for the Department of Justice and Department for Propaganda of the Belgian government in exile; co-founded the francophone Catholic party, the Belgian Democratic Union, in 1945.

4 Dr Max Gottschalk (1889–1976), lawyer; practised law in Liège and Brussels from 1911; Belgian delegate to the International Labour Organization (ILO) in Geneva, 1923–1940; founder and president of the Committee for Aid and Assistance to Victims of Antisemitism in Germany (CAAVAA), 1933–1940; president of HICEM in New York, 1939–1945; president of the Central Consistory of Jews in Belgium, 1956–1962.

5 The International Labour Office is part of the ILO, established in 1919. The correct name of the International Labour Office's director general was John G. Winant (1889–1947), teacher and politician; governor of New Hampshire, 1925–1927 and 1931–1935; head of the International Labour Office, 1939–1941; US ambassador to the UK, 1941–1946.

Wool and cotton import	9.5	31.0
Shirts, cloth, and linen goods	11.0	42.0
Stationery and office supplies	3.8	34.2
Fats and oils trade	28.0	67.0

This Jewish dominance in industry and commerce is most pronounced in the Antwerp *diamond market*, the centre of the world's diamond industry. The traders' and polishers' organizations are consolidated in so-called clubs, among which the '*Diamond Circle*' and the '*Diamond Club*' are pre-eminent.⁶ Of the fourteen directors of the '*Diamond Circle*', ten are Jews; only four are Belgians. Among the sixteen directors of the '*Diamond Club*', we count twelve Jews and four Belgians. Jewish leadership is even more strikingly discernible when one learns that the total membership of this club is 1,725 and that 1,600 of these members are Jews. Of the approximately 1,000 diamond merchants in Belgium, 950 are Jews.

But in other fields, too, we can see the dominant position which the Jews have easily obtained, thanks to the governments' accommodating policies.⁷ Belgium's leading department store chain, *Sarma*,⁸ which has branches nationwide, is purely Jewish. Likewise the *Société Générale*⁹ (for colonial banking operations), the '*Union Numière*'¹⁰ (for the Belgian Congo), the Belgian *Sunlight Company*,¹¹ and the *Compagnie Maritime*.¹² The Jews would never have become dominant in these fields if the members of the government had not included individuals such as the Jewish Minister of Finance *Guttenstein* (actually: Gutte),¹³ the Freemason Minister of War *Denis*,¹⁴ and the Freemason Minister of the Interior

6 In 1898 the Jewish diamond merchant Adolphe Adler founded the N.V. Diamantclub van Antwerpen as a trading centre. By 1930 four additional so-called diamond exchanges had been created, including the Antwerp Diamond Circle. It has not been possible to establish the number of Jewish board members.

7 No evidence has been found to show that there was a majority of Jewish board members in any of the companies listed here.

8 The Belgian department store chain *Sarma*, founded in 1928 by Baron Jean van Gysel de Meise (1885–1956), became the market leader within a few years. It was taken over by the J.C. Penney (USA) department store chain in 1968 and after further changes of ownership was closed down in 2001.

9 The *Société générale de Belgique*, established in 1822, was one of the largest Belgian conglomerates. It provided financial support for industrialization during the nineteenth century and later promoted investment in the Belgian colonies, particularly the Congo. By the start of the Second World War, it controlled 70 per cent of the Congolese economy. In 2003 it was integrated into the energy services company GDF Suez.

10 Correctly: *Union minière du Haut-Katanga* (UMHK), an Anglo-Belgian mining company that was founded by the *Société générale de Belgique* and operated in the present Democratic Republic of Congo between 1906 and 1966. It primarily produced copper.

11 The *Sunlight* soap brand, founded in Britain by William Lever in 1884, entered the Belgian market in 1888. In 1905 Lever Brothers (now Unilever) established a soap factory at Vorst in south-western Brussels, which is still the headquarters of Unilever Belgium today.

12 The enterprise, established in 1895 as the *Compagnie belge maritime du Congo*, operated the shipping route to the Belgian Congo and, from 1930, also operated routes to East Asia and America under the name *Compagnie maritime belge*.

13 Correctly: Dr Camille Gutt, born C. Guttenstein (1884–1971), lawyer; minister of finance, 1934–1935 and 1939–1945; held further ministerial positions in the Belgian government in exile, 1940–1944; after the war, as minister of finance, in charge of the stabilization of the currency in Belgium (Operation Gutt), first president of the International Monetary Fund, 1946–1951.

14 Henri Jean Charles Eugène Denis (1877–1957), professional soldier; general in the Belgian army; minister of defence, 1936–1940; exile in the south of France and Switzerland.

Spaak.¹⁵ Incidentally, this fine government also had a devoted, pro-Jewish press at its disposal. Here, the leading publications were *Le Peuple*¹⁶ (with Pertinax¹⁷ and Jexas¹⁸ as contributors), *Le Matin*,¹⁹ *Ce Soir*,²⁰ *La Flandre liberale*,²¹ *Volksgazetten*,²² and *La Dernière heure*.²³

Not even Jewish scandal trials could make the government see reason. Suffice to mention the Barmat scandal involving the Jewish brothers Julius and Heinrich Barmat, who established themselves in Belgium after their enormous financial misdeeds in Germany, put false bills of exchange into circulation there, used the available funds to gain possession of the majority of the shares in various banks in Brussels, and, in addition, obtained the support of the Belgian National Bank for all these swindles!²⁴ How such trickery was possible without the joint knowledge or at least joint 'suspicion' of the Minister of Finance remains inexplicable.

No less sensational was the trial of the Jew and con artist *Imianitoff*,²⁵ who, along with five associates, began his deceit by posing as a physician and combat veteran, set up a huge practice for performing abortions, became president of various medical associations, and finally even worked for Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Dellatre!²⁶

Popular common sense, which converged primarily in the Rexist Party of Leon *Degrelle*,²⁷ used all means at its disposal to alert the population to the inevitable consequences of such a pro-Jewish policy. But the means were limited. Admittedly, in the news-

15 Paul Henri Spaak (1899–1971), lawyer; minister in various departments from 1935; prime minister of Belgium, 1938–1940; foreign minister of the government in exile, 1940–1944; president of the first General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946; again prime minister, 1947–1949; secretary general of NATO, 1956–1961.

16 The socialist paper *Le Peuple* was founded in 1885 and was published illegally from 1941 to 1944.

17 André Géraud (1882–1974), journalist; wrote for *L'Echo de Paris* and other international newspapers from 1917 under the pen name Pertinax; editor-in-chief of *L'Europe nouvelle*, 1938–1940; fled to London and then the USA in 1940.

18 Pen name of Joseph Saxe (1884–1944), journalist; editor of the newspaper *Le Peuple*; correspondent for the *Daily Herald* and the socialist German news service.

19 The liberal daily *Le Matin* was published from 1894 until the occupation and from Sept. 1944 to 1974 in Antwerp; in 1937 it had a circulation of between 15,000 and 20,000 copies.

20 Correctly: *Le Soir*. The paper has been published since 1887. It was taken over by the German military administration during the occupation and became increasingly anti-communist and anti-semitic. An uncensored edition was published illegally.

21 The daily *La Flandre libérale*, founded in Ghent in 1874, was published until 1974, but not during the German occupation.

22 Correctly: *Volksgazet*.

23 The liberal daily *La dernière heure*, founded in 1906, is still published today.

24 Between 1922 and 1924 the four Barmat brothers were charged with bribery in Germany: see Doc. 53, fn. 6. No activities of the brothers in Belgium could be ascertained.

25 In 1939 the physician Frederic Imianitoff (b. 1902) was sentenced to six years in prison for making false statements about his life. Because Imianitoff was an employee of the Belgian Ministry of Health, nationalist forces used the Imianitoff affair to engage in attacks on the civil government.

26 Correctly: Achille Delattre (1879–1964), miner and politician; minister of labour and social affairs, 1935–1939.

27 Léon Degrelle (1906–1994), lawyer and journalist; founded Rex, the Walloon fascist party, in 1936; from 1941 commandant of the Walloon Legion, which was founded by him and later integrated into the SS on the Eastern Front; fled to Spain in 1945; sentenced to death in absentia in Belgium in 1945.

papers *Le Pays réel*,²⁸ *L'Ami du peuple*, and *Combat national*,²⁹ they had the possibility of reaching the wider public, but the government, with its censorship regulations, protected the interests of its Jewish friends all too well.

While the Jews in Belgium fanned the flames of war and then, after they had helped to start the conflagration, spared no effort to rip the fine gossamer of Belgian neutrality in support of the Western powers, Belgium's population, overloaded with tax burdens, ruminated on ways to obtain the funds to help feed the Jewish immigrants who had not yet found 'employment'.

In the last week of January of this year, a member of the Flemish National Party raised an objection in Parliament to the government's plan to release an additional 8 million francs for the Jews. At that, Minister of Justice *Janson*³⁰ leapt to his feet and declared that he refused to tolerate this 'unwarranted criticism of the wise measures taken by the government'!

During that month, all the Belgian prisons – according to official reports – were crowded with Jews who had broken the law, and in Houthulst³¹ a new internment camp had to be created expressly for this rabble!

These facts alone would suffice to prove what spirit prevailed in the Belgian government and why this government reached the point of throwing itself into England's arms and did everything within its power to make possible an English strike via Belgium on the German Ruhr region.

Germany gave the only possible reply to these intentions.

chb.³²

28 The Rexist Party's Catholic-fascist daily, founded in 1936 and published, with minor interruptions, until 1944. It received financial support from the German Propaganda Department of the military administration in Belgium.

29 Correctly: *Le Combat national*. The monthly newspaper of the Belgian National Movement was published in Antwerp from 1939.

30 Dr Paul-Emile Janson (1872–1944), lawyer; began his career as a legal practitioner; minister of defence, 1920; minister of justice, 1927–1940 with interruptions; prime minister of Belgium, 1937–1938; fled to the south of France in 1940; was arrested there by the Germans in 1943 and deported to Buchenwald concentration camp, where he perished.

31 Presumably Houthulst. However, no evidence could be found of the existence of a refugee camp in this small municipality south of Ostend.

32 Presumably Christian Harri Bauer (b. 1913), writer and journalist; head of cultural features at Berlin Film GmbH.

DOC. 152

Edith Goldapper describes her flight from Belgium to France in May 1940¹

Handwritten diary by Edith Goldapper,² entries for the period 10 May 1940 to mid June 1940

That's right, it's 10 May 1940, and the war in Belgium has started. However terrible it may sound, it's a fact! We're all panicking here.³ Every time a siren is heard from Ruisbroek or Brussels, we rush into the cellar. In every moment of free time, we work on making a trench. It is successful, too, and we use it. In the meantime, Mrs Frank⁴ is trying her utmost to find some way for us to escape. *It is 14 May.* Our things have to be packed quickly, because we will soon have to be at the railway station in Schaerbeek. Unfortunately, we won't be able to take along more than two briefcases. Only the most essential items go inside, and we wear as much clothing as possible. I put my two remaining suitcases, partially packed, back into the attic. By now it is 4 p.m. We all stand at the front door, armed with our meagre luggage. Including Mrs Frank and Miss Lea,⁵ there are approximately thirty-five of us. Oh, it's a sad sight, all of us marching off to the tram and having to bid farewell to our beloved Général Bernheim Home.⁶ After reaching Anderlecht, we first go to the home for boys and fetch the boys, whose headmaster is Monsieur Gaspard Deway.⁷ Together with them, we head towards Schaerbeek. We can't board the train until 11 p.m., so we have to hold out for five more hours in the railway station, which is crammed to bursting. Finally, we get a place, and it is in a splendid livestock wagon. One railway wagon for the boys, another for us. Slowly the train begins to move. We are going somewhere or other, into the unknown, no idea to what country! We have brought along enough food supplies from home, so that we have nothing to fear in this respect. In addition, everywhere, in every town where we stop, there are good people who bring us something to eat. So, we have been travelling for one and a half

1 The original is privately owned. The diary was written from 1943 to 1944 in France and Switzerland. The entry is from Book I, pp. 22–26. Excerpts published in Sebastian Steiger, *The Children of Château de la Hille*, trans. Joyce Hoy (Chicago: Lexographic Press, 2017 [French edn, 1992]). This document has been newly translated from German.

2 Edith Goldapper Rosenthal, née Goldapper (b. 1924); grew up in Vienna; reached Belgium on a Kindertransport in Dec. 1938; lived in children's homes and with foster families until her evacuation to France in May 1940; lived in the children's colony at Château de la Hille in the south of France, 1940–1943; fled to Switzerland in Dec. 1943; emigrated to the USA after the war.

3 At the time, Edith Goldapper was living in the Général Bernheim Children's Home in Zuun, now part of the municipality of Sint-Pieters-Leeuw (French: Leeuw-Saint-Pierre), south of Brussels.

4 Elka Frank (b. 1915); fled from Germany to Palestine, where she married the Belgian Alexandre Frank; returned to Brussels in 1936; ran the Général Bernheim Children's Home from 1939; after the German invasion she accompanied her wards to the south of France and looked after children at Château de la Hille; escaped to Spain in 1941.

5 Léa Gillis; teacher.

6 The children's home was opened in early 1939 on the initiative of the Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugee Children (CAER), and it housed around thirty-five girls. It was named after the inspector general of the infantry of the Belgian army Louis Bernheim (1861–1931).

7 Correctly: Gaspard Dewaay (1910–1989), sport teacher and tram conductor; from Jan. 1939 head of the Herbert Speyer Children's Home in the Brussels district of Anderlecht; together with his wife, Lucienne, accompanied the children from the home to the south of France in May 1940 and looked after them until his return to Belgium in Sept. 1940.

days now, but have just learned that we are going to France. There are no toilets in our splendid railway wagon, so that is one of the hardest problems to solve. It is hard to get off the train, because it stops at very strange intervals. At night I scarcely close my eyes. Especially last night, when we were in *Abeville*,⁸ near Dieppe, and there was a big air raid. Now we are in Dieppe. We have a long stop here. It turns out that a train behind us was damaged. This causes much alarm, but we manage to get through that, too.

We have been travelling for four days and four nights now, but now we're at our destination. We have reached Toulouse. But we are not getting off here. A bit further, in Villefranche-Louragais.⁹ From there a bus takes us on to Seyre par Nailloux.¹⁰ We are going to be housed in a chateau, we are told.¹¹ But how great is our disappointment when we catch sight of a dilapidated old house. The chateau is actually ten minutes away, but it is not destined for us. We enter the house: no table, no chair, no bed. A real wasteland. We put our things in a corner, and then we try to get some wood from the farmer across the way. Soon our boys have built a few tables and benches, and we can eat the supper brought to us by the farmers. Straw is placed in various other rooms. Later we will sleep there. We stay this way for around three weeks. Then we are given boards, and the boys make them into beds. It is all quite primitive, but we are immensely happy. [...]¹²

DOC. 153

On 16 July 1940 Marguerite Goldschmidt-Brodsky asks the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to help Jewish refugee children from Belgium¹

Letter from M. Goldschmidt-Brodsky,² Cahors (Lot département), Terminus, to the American Jewish Distribution Committee (received on 29 July 1940), dated 16 July 1940

Dear Sirs,

In my capacity as President of the Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugee Children in Brussels³ (section of the Refugee Committee⁴ presided over by Mr. Gottschalk) I permit myself to call your attention to the following fact: A portion of the children for

8 Correctly: Abbeville (Somme département).

9 Correctly: Villefranche-de-Lauragais (Haute-Garonne département).

10 The town of Seyre is situated in the Haute-Garonne département.

11 See Doc. 153.

12 In the next part of the diary, Edith Goldapper writes about the transfer of the children to Château de la Hille and their life there, and about her escape to Switzerland.

1 JDC, AR 33/44 #450. The original document is in English. Spelling and grammar as in the original.

2 Marguerite Goldschmidt-Brodsky (1884–1973), president of the Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugee Children (Comité d'assistance aux enfants juifs réfugiés, CAEJR); negotiated with the Swiss Red Cross for the custody of the children she escorted to the south of France to be transferred to Swiss Children's Aid (Secours suisse aux enfants) and obtained additional support for the children through the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC).

3 The CAEJR was founded in Nov. 1938 on the initiative of Max Gottschalk, head of the Belgian Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugees (CARJ). It organized support for Jewish children who had been able to leave Germany or Austria for Belgium without their parents.

4 The reference is to the CARJ.

whom we were responsible since December 1938, that is 92 children, who were staying in the Orphanage 'Foyers', evacuated Brussels on the 14th of May with the Belgium Director, Mr. Dewaay, his wife and two instructresses. After a frightful voyage of four days and four nights in cattle cars they all found asylum in a village in the Department of Haute Garonne, Seyre, situated about 30 kilometers from Toulouse between Nailloux and Villefranche.⁵ They found homes there under miserable living conditions but have had the opportunity of becoming assimilated with other Belgium refugees and of receiving food.

This situation has now become modified by the fact that the Belgium refugees are going to be repatriated, notwithstanding the fact that return to Belgium is neither desirable nor possible for Jewish children from Germany. Certain children among them have their families in the United States and even have authorization to go there, but it is a question of how to make this possible. On the other hand, how can we permit them to remain in France? In any case, they will not continue to be subsidized. The Director, Mr. Dewaay, still has a certain sum of money which we have received in Brussels and which will permit them to subsist for six weeks at the maximum. He himself is very much concerned about the future, and if our organizations will not come to his aid materially and morally, he will perhaps be forced to return to his own country with his family. What will become of the 92 children?

As for myself, unfortunately I cannot do more although this is a heartrending task. I have only been able to go once to see the children at Seyre and cannot return for lack of gasoline. I have referred them to the Toulouse Division of the Belgium Red Cross (rue Ambroise Paré), but in several weeks this entire organization will leave. My husband,⁶ who is Treasurer General of the Belgium Red Cross, and myself will also leave Cahors, and this is why I refer to you the work which has been set up under your auspices and is well known to Mr. Troper,⁷ to whom I would ask you to remember me.

Do not abandon these children, I implore you. I know them well. They are sweet and quite willing to adapt themselves to no matter what life. Ten to twelve larger boys from fifteen to eighteen years are eager and would be capable of agricultural work, and perhaps you can obtain for them permission to stay in France for this purpose. It is necessary for someone to take the matter in hand, and I allow myself to suggest that you send one of your delegates who could perhaps occupy himself, I hope, with two of our larger boys interned at 'St. Cyprien (pyrenees Orientales)'⁸ – Kurt Moser,⁹ protégé of Mr. Heinemann, and Berthold Elkan,¹⁰ protégé of Madame Benedictus,¹¹ of Brussels (but where are their patrons?¹²).

⁵ See Doc. 152.

⁶ Alfred Édouard Goldschmidt (1871–1954), industrialist; treasurer of the Belgian Red Cross, 1914–1940; in summer 1940, on behalf of the Red Cross, organized the return of thousands of Belgians who had fled to France; in Oct. 1940 fled with his wife, Marguerite Goldschmidt-Brodsky, to Switzerland, where he was active in the International Red Cross.

⁷ Morris Carlton Troper (1892–1962), lawyer; worked as a lawyer and an auditor in New York; worked for the JDC from 1920; chairman of the JDC's European Executive Council, 1938–1942; officer in the US Army, 1942–1948.

⁸ St Cyprien was a camp on the Spanish border in which thousands of Belgian refugees, as well as Germans detained in Belgium, were interned in 1940. It was closed on 4 Oct. 1940, and the detainees were transferred to Gurs camp. On conditions in the camp, see Doc. 156.

⁹ Kurt Moser (1922–1943), farmhand; emigrated to Belgium in 1939; interned in the St Cyprien and Drancy camps from May 1940; in 1943 deported from there to Majdanek, where he was murdered.

I take advantage of this opportunity in order to indicate to you that in the same Saint-Cyprien camp there are some very distinguished personalities, such as Professor Fritz Lieben,¹³ chemist, of Vienna, Professor Fritz Feigl¹⁴ of Vienna, Rabbi Ansbacher,¹⁵ and others.

I apologize, dear sirs, for having importuned you and hope for a favorable and prompt response.¹⁶

DOC. 154

On 30 July 1940 the Belgian police report on how German soldiers mistreated Jews at Antwerp market¹

Report (marked 'extremely urgent') from the deputy police commissioner and the market inspector, City of Antwerp, Police Department (H.B. District, no. 62 M.), signed (signature illegible), Antwerp, dated 30 July 1940²

Conduct of German soldiers at the early morning market

This morning, during the early morning market on Oud Arsenaal square, I received the following complaint:

Because we belong to the Jewish faith we were ejected from the market by German soldiers. We come here to buy food supplies for the people. The situation was similar yesterday, but today they acted differently. We were kicked, beaten, mistreated (they pulled our beards) and, after being threatened with a revolver, we ultimately had to flee the market.

10 Berthold Elkan (1922–1943), carpenter; emigrated to Belgium in the 1930s; interned in the St Cyprien and Drancy camps from May 1940; in 1943 deported from there to Majdanek, where he was murdered.

11 Probably Ellen Jeanne Benedictus, née Levy, wife of Maurice Benedictus.

12 In the original, the word 'protectors' is crossed out and replaced with what looks like 'patrons'.

13 Dr Fritz Lieben (1890–1966), chemist; worked at the University of Vienna, 1919–1938; emigrated to France in 1940; emigrated to the USA in May 1941; returned to Vienna in 1953.

14 Correctly: Dr Fritz Feigl (1891–1971), chemist; worked at various universities in Vienna, 1920–1938; emigrated to Switzerland in 1938, and from there to Belgium; fled via France to Portugal, and from there emigrated to Brazil in 1940.

15 Jehuda Leo, born Ansbacher (1907–1998), rabbi; trained in Germany; served as a rabbi in Brussels, 1933–1940; interned in the St Cyprien and Gurs camps, where he also served as a rabbi, 1940–1942; fled to Spain in 1942; member of the Social Council of the JDC in Madrid, 1943–1944; emigrated to Palestine in 1944; from 1957 worked as a rabbi in Tel Aviv, where he established the Ihud Shivat Zion synagogue and community.

16 No reply to this letter has been found. Thanks to the efforts of Marguerite Goldschmidt-Brodsky and her colleague Lily Felddegen, 23 of the children were able to emigrate to the US. The rest lived at Château de la Hille in the Pyrenees from 1942 and were cared for by Swiss Children's Aid. Following the gendarmerie's attempt to transfer all children over the age of fifteen to Le Vernet camp in August 1942, many of them fled across the border or went into hiding. Twelve of the children were deported, of whom just one survived.

1 Stadsarchief Antwerpen, MA 41 726/120. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 On 1 August 1940 the police officer again reported on incidents at the market and stated that a German officer had pledged to inform the authorities in Brussels, although he did not have responsibility for such matters.

The complaint is justified, because it was confirmed by many non-Jewish people who were there. The people present were extremely agitated, as these actions are out of keeping with local customs. Were such incidents to occur again, we cannot rule out that something regrettable might happen one day. I have not located the German soldiers in question. The complainants were given the opportunity to take their purchased goods to their destination.

DOC. 155

On 8 September 1940 the businessman Norbert Vanneste seeks the support of the German military administration to help him regain his ex-wife's shares in a business¹

Letter from N. Vanneste,² Brussels, 56 rue du Marché aux Herbes, unsigned, to the Chief of the Military Administration³ under the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Dept. of Justice, Brussels, 12 rue de la Loi, dated 8 September 1940

After consulting with NSDAP Gauleiter Pöhl,⁴ I venture to submit to you the following report, in the conviction that justice will be done to me.

In 1925 it was my misfortune to make the acquaintance of Miss Emma Pollak, a Czech. At the age of twenty-five and coming from a provincial town, I was still inexperienced, particularly with respect to Jews. I did not give sufficient attention to the idea of race, because, for us Belgians, the issue revealed itself only after we were inundated with these individuals.

In 1927 I started a costume-jewellery wholesale firm, mainly goods from Gablonz.⁵ Because my Belgian name, Vanneste, was not interesting enough (attention⁶) for certain Belgian businessmen, I named my business E. Pollakova.

Within the space of a few years, I generated annual sales of several million francs.

In 1927, when Miss Emma Pollak and her sister Martha came to live in Brussels, I also opened retail shops under the name Paris-Bijoux and also made annual purchases of goods from Germany valued at more than 1,000,000. In 1932 I did the stupidest thing of my life by marrying E. Pollak, against the wish of my parents. In the marriage contract, I bestowed on her half of my businesses without my parents' knowledge. Doing this has caused me a lot of trouble.

1 PA AA, R 99406. This document has been translated from German.

2 Norbert Vanneste (b. 1900), businessman.

3 Eggert Reeder (1894–1959), administrative official; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1938; Regierungspräsident in Aachen, Cologne, and Düsseldorf from 1933; chief of the German military administration in Belgium and northern France from 1940; again Regierungspräsident in Cologne and Düsseldorf, 1944–1945; detained and imprisoned in Belgium from 1945; sentenced there in 1951 to twelve years in prison; pardoned and released soon thereafter.

4 The writer is referring to a Nazi functionary, but the term NSDAP Gauleiter is incorrect.

5 From the eighteenth century the Czech city of Jablonec (German: Gablonz) developed into a centre for the manufacture of costume jewellery made of glass and metal.

6 The German original has the word 'Andacht' in brackets here, which can be translated as 'prayers'. 'Attention' is a plausible interpretation of what the writer might have meant, based on the Dutch word 'aandacht'.

From that moment on, the behaviour of the two Pollaks was utterly changed; their aim was achieved.

As a result of the marriage, E. Pollak became my [business] partner and everything became legal, even stealing. I had given my wife considerable leeway, of which she and her sister made ample use to get rid of good employees, accusing them of all sorts. These intrigues began just a few weeks after the wedding. My wife slept more with her sister than in my bed.

In 1934 I closed the wholesale business, and to make the Jewish name disappear I increased the number of retail shops to fourteen. I had our daughter, born in 1935, baptized – wrath of the mob of Israel. From that moment on, the Pollaks, in a truly Jewish manner, did everything possible to destroy me, so that they could take the lead in running my business.

My parents believed I, their only child, was happy. In reality I was cheated and deceived and robbed.

My wife became more and more estranged from me and even asked me to take a mistress. In this she was supported by our mutual friend Léon Meysmans,⁷ a Social Democratic politician and lawyer, vice-president of the chamber of commerce, whom we met in 1930. I myself have never gone in for politics.

In order to get away from Martha Pollak, Meysmans and his wife had repeatedly approached me about signing an admission of liability, which I did, after refusing for a long while, in the amount of fr. 200,000.

When signing, I asked Emma and Martha Pollakova for a consent form. Instead of providing this, my wife took the paper and gave it to her sister. They refused to give it back to me; that was theft. A few days later, the whole band of Jews went to the seaside, took possession of my villa and left me at home, ill!

On 22 May at 4 o'clock I was caught committing adultery. I went straight to Meysmans to seek his advice. Over the course of the day, I heard:

- 1) that P. had had me under surveillance by the private investigator Meyer since 20 April,
- 2) that my wife was seeking a divorce,
- 3) that she wanted nine of the eighteen shops, half of the goods and [...] contract, half of everything,
- 4) that the lawsuit had been drawn up for a long while
- 5) that M.P. was demanding the sequestration of Paris-Bijoux and the general management of the 18 shops
- 6) a pension of fr. 4,000 monthly for her and 2,000 for E.

I am skipping a great many additional important details, but I want to get the following on paper:

- 1) I retained the management of my business.
- 2) I consented to have Meysmans, at his suggestion, appointed to serve as trustee.
- 3) Meysmans and his wife advised me to consent and to grant the sum of fr. 6,000 for the pensions.

While he was performing his duties as trustee, I was continually discriminated against, and after the divorce suit had been in progress for four months, I learned that

⁷ Dr Léon Lambrecht Meysmans (1871–1952), lawyer.

⁸ A word is illegible.

my friend Meysmans was my wife's secret lawyer. It was the two Meysmans who had prepared the lawsuit and recommended the private investigator Meyer. It was also Mrs Meysmans who applied to the public prosecutor for the writ of execution, in order to thwart me.

A thorough review of the investigator Meyer's files would bring interesting things to light, above all how one can obtain proof of adultery by means of recommendation. That would provide evidence of the intrigues of the two Meysmans and the Pollaks.

I had the trustee brought before the head of the chamber of commerce, where Meysmans had to resign within twenty-four hours, but immediately afterwards he began to oppose me openly. He helped the Pollaks in all their actions, through advice and connections.

The divorce was granted on 30 May, and a few days later I learned:

- 1) that my wife has a lover, and has had him since 1934, in fact,
- 2) that my child is not mine,
- 3) that my accountant was paid by P. to spy on me and ruin my business; he got two months in prison for forgery and theft.
- 4) Even my driver and an employee were doing the same.
- 5) The P. family have brought seven lawsuits against me and my father, but the charges were dismissed.
- 6) They brought a lawsuit for the theft of goods valued at fr. 500,000, with a house search and closure of the shop; forty-eight hours later, Pollak had to appear before the judge and admit that the goods belonged to me and that she must pay a further fr. 72,000; all this at the suggestion of the Meysmans.
- 7) She has also committed perjury in the amount of fr. 60,000 and interest since 1932 that she owes my father (lawsuit pending).
- 8) Martha Poll. is demanding fr. 200,000, although Mr Sylvestre has in his possession a letter from her saying that I owe her nothing.

I was sentenced to pay 30,000 and costs because my lawyer, who was in the army at the time, failed to appear and had not informed me. She had everything seized, and it is only thanks to the help of my friends, especially Mr Schu[...] ⁹ (a German), that I have been saved. In April of this year, I filed a lawsuit against the Pollaks for the stolen goods, *which were concealed in the home of the Meysmans*, in the amount of fr. 100,000. This theft was revealed to me by staff members who had been accused of the theft by the P. family.

As a result of recent events, the P. family feel compelled to convert into money whatever they can (they are doing splendid business with the German troops), in order to be able to default in the case at hand. Despite the legal regulation requiring every owner to list not only the business but also his own name and the commercial register number, the P. family have deliberately refrained from doing so today in order to mislead the public.

I therefore urgently request that my files be examined and a possible confiscation be brought about.

⁹ The rest of the word is illegible.

In anticipation of your decision, I am providing here the addresses of the Pollaks' open shops:

- 1) principal business and head office of Paris-Bijoux – 45 rue des Fripiers in Brussels
- 2) branch – 111 boulevard Adolphe Max in Brussels
- 3) branch – rue des Champs in Ghent.
- 4) branch – rue Pont d'Avroy in Liège

The private address is 18 – rue du Midi – fourth floor.

I am keeping all the documentation and evidence available for you, and I trust your fair-minded judgement.

I was an interpreter for the SS in France for three weeks and a go-between between the German and French authorities & in the refugee service.¹⁰

DOC. 156

**Report for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, dated
26 September 1940, on the situation of refugees from Belgium in St Cyprien camp
in the south of France¹**

Report (translated from French/JO), unsigned,² dated 26 September 1940³

Report on the events from May 10th to July 30, 1940

At dawn on the 10th of May, the population of Belgium was suddenly awakened by the rumbling of hundreds of airplanes, the shrieking of sirens, explosions and bombardments. Everyone knew that a new and brutal German aggression had put an end to Belgian neutrality and that the hour of trial had begun.

Public opinion had confidence in the strength of the Belgian and Allied armies, in the efficacy of the measures long ago instituted for the defense of the country; the only thing they feared recalling the invasion of Denmark and Norway,⁴ was the activity of the Fifth Column.⁵ Feeling ran high, all were exalted.

Since six in the morning, the entire personnel of the Belgian Refugee Aid Committee had been gathered in the office, which was already beset by thousands of anxious refugees.

¹⁰ The correspondence with the military administration continued until August 1941. In the end, the military administration seems to have refused to support Vanneste because there were doubts as to his pro-German stance. Paris-Bijoux was Aryanized by an administrator appointed by the occupation administration.

¹ JDC, AR 33/44 # 450. The French original has not been found. The document reproduced here is the contemporary English translation.

² The report was likely produced by the Belgian Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugees (CARJ) for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC).

³ Handwritten notes in the original.

⁴ Denmark and Norway had been invaded by the Wehrmacht on 9 April 1940. Denmark capitulated after a few hours and maintained its autonomy to a large extent while under German control; in the case of Norway, however, a Reich commissioner was appointed after the country's surrender. See Introduction, p. 31.

⁵ A group within a country at war who support or work for its enemies. In countries attacked by the Wehrmacht, German citizens, among them Jewish refugees, were often suspected of supporting the invaders, which resulted in their being imprisoned as 'enemy aliens'.

In conformity with the decisions which had earlier been taken, we commenced returning their personal documents to the refugees in our office and in collecting records to be burned.

The financial situation of the Committee at the moment of the declaration of the war was, unfortunately, the same as in other months toward the 15th; that is, there were no funds at hand, only but debts toward the Bank and tradesmen. In fact, the monthly subsidy of the government was generally received between the 15th and the 20th, the subvention of the J.D.C. toward the 15th. Meanwhile, the Bank had advanced us money. In view of the Whitsun⁶ holidays, the relief payments which should have been paid out on Monday and Tuesday, May 13 and 14 had been paid the preceding week, which explains why our cash in hand was only about 40,000 fr., which was required for May 10th. In addition, we had about 60,000 fr. in the postal checking account.

The payments were about to commence when we received a telephone call from the chief of police⁷ requesting us to evacuate all the refugees at our office and to suspend work for the time being. He explained that public opinion was rising markedly against the Germans, that incidents were feared and that he himself could not be at ease knowing that hundreds of men of military age were assembled. We got in touch with the Ministry of Justice where it was recommended that assemblies of refugees be avoided and it was announced that measures against enemy aliens would immediately be put into effect.

In the absence of our Chairman, Mr. Gottschalk, who had been called to the colors, Mr. George Wolff⁸ and Mr. Alfred Goldschmidt, together with Miss Blitz and myself, went to the Ministry of Justice early in the afternoon of May 10th, to discuss the situation. We were received by Mr. Poll,⁹ Mr. Beckaert¹⁰ and Mr. Cornil,¹¹ high officials of the Ministry. They advised us that all refugees of military age were to be interned, and that our charges would be the women, children and aged. The refugees in the Centers¹² would remain there under military guard. We were promised that the subsidy of the government would be hastened, so that we could distribute sums, even though very small, to our proteges.

6 Reference to the public holiday at the time of Pentecost, the Christian festival celebrating the descent of the Holy Spirit on the disciples of Jesus after his ascension to heaven.

7 Aimé Gilta (b. 1879), police officer; director of administration at the Belgian police headquarters, 1919–1938; superintendent of the Brussels Police Department from 1938; dismissed by German officials in Nov. 1941.

8 Correctly: Georges Wolff (1896–1984), lawyer; worked with Max Gottschalk and advised refugees on legal matters; spent the war in exile in the USA.

9 Maurice Poll; worked for the Ministry of Justice from 1913 and director general from 1920; served as chief administrator for several justice secretaries, 1920–1937; member of the Belgian High Council for the prison system, 1930–1948.

10 Correctly: Dr Hermann Alphonse Bekaert (1906–1989), lawyer; official in the Ministry of Justice from 1931; professor in Brussels from 1934; public prosecutor at Ghent Court of Appeal, 1945–1962; royal commissioner for penal reform, 1962–1977.

11 Dr Paul Cornil (1903–1985), lawyer; official in the Ministry of Justice from 1931, responsible for the inspection of prisons; professor in Brussels from 1934; secretary general in the Ministry of Justice from 1946.

12 This refers to the camps for foreign refugees set up in 1938 in Merksplas, Marneffe, and Wortel.

Furthermore, we were asked to furnish the *Sûreté Publique*¹³ with a list of those refugees who had been sentenced, and those whom we considered dangerous and undesirable. These persons were to be arrested without delay.

As the news from the front was not very reassuring, the question of assistance to the refugees in the event of German occupation was also considered. The solution which had already been envisaged by the Committee, i.e. the taking over of our charges by the Belgian Red Cross, was recognized as the only possible one, and Mr. Goldschmidt was requested to conclude the arrangements with Mr. Dronsart,¹⁴ General Director of the Red Cross. Our request was considered at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Red Cross which was held the evening of May 10th. It was agreed that the Red Cross would take care of the refugees and would give them material aid from the resources available, whether from the government or the Jewish organizations. For want of time, no agreement was reached concerning the reopening of our office.

On the first day of the war the situation at the front seemed precarious. Many lines of defense had to be abandoned; the exodus of refugees from the Northern and Eastern part of Belgium alarmed Brussels' population. Official information being vague and scarce, every kind of rumor sowed panic. To picture the atmosphere of the day, the German airplane raids and the incessant [air raid] *Alertes* must not be forgotten.

The day of Saturday, May 11th, commenced optimistically due to the arrival of numerous English and French units. In the midst of it all, posters appeared commanding enemy aliens from the ages of 16 to 60 to present themselves within two hours at the police with food and blankets, etc. Those who did not comply were threatened with severe punishment.

The dismay caused by this measure among our refugees can well be understood. We could only advise them to obey. We distributed some help to those families of the arrested refugees which had young children. The same day, the employees of the Committee received advances on their salaries; the offices of the Committee closed that afternoon. A meeting of the Ministry of Justice brought no new developments, the only decision being to have another meeting the following week to examine the situation. Beginning with Sunday morning, there was real panic among the population of Brussels when it was announced that the Germans were approaching Tirlemont (50 Km. from Brussels). Throughout the city one saw only automobiles hastily going toward the French border.

All the members of the Committee still in Brussels left the city on Sunday and I could only follow suit, fearing to be cut off from my wife and child who were in Paris. Unfortunately I could not reach the officials of the Ministry to advise them of my departure. However, I was able to give instructions to several employees of the Committee who did not plan to leave Brussels. I went to the Red Cross to turn over to them the balance in cash, 17,000 frs., as they had promised to carry on our activity.

It was not until several weeks later that I was able to learn of the activity of the Committee up to the occupation of Brussels by the Germans. The archives were burned on

13 The reference is presumably to the *Sûreté de l'État*, the Belgian intelligence and security service.

14 Edmond Dronsart (1889–1965), director of an institution for the rehabilitation of wounded veterans, 1915–1921; director general of the Belgian Red Cross from 1922; arrested for a short period, 1942; removed from his post by the German occupation authorities, May 1943; reinstated as director general after the war.

Tuesday, May 13, in cooperation with the officials of the Ministry of Justice, who took with them the current accounting cards and several other documents necessary to continue the work. On May 14th, the Red Cross returned the money deposited with it to employees of the Committee, who came to ask for aid for women and children without any means of existence. On May 15th, the Red Cross was advised that the Ministry of Justice had completely wound up its affairs and that all questions concerning refugees would be handled by the civil administration which would take care of helping the needy.

Despite all my efforts, I have not been able to obtain any information about the fate of the Committee and the refugees who remained in Brussels since Friday, May 17, the day of the occupation of the city by the Germans.

The refugee Centers, situated for the most part in military zones, had to be evacuated. Beginning May 10th, Mr. Cornil had gone to Merxplas, Marneffe and Marchin¹⁵ to give the necessary instructions. We had sent subsidies, unfortunately very insignificant – (Fr. 10–15,000), to each of the Centers for the purchase of food and other urgent expenses.

Even before my departure, I had lost contact with the Centers as telephone communications were suspended. Afterwards, I learned the circumstances of their evacuation, as well that of the refugees between the ages of 16 and 60, who assembled in the various police stations and were taken to the internment barracks amidst the hooting of the crowd which considered them spies and Fifth Column.

At Merxplas, on Friday (May 10) Mr. Schellekens, director of the center, gave the refugees a choice of letting themselves be evacuated by the government, getting safe passage to Brussels. Most of the refugees chose the former, the several dozens who went to Brussels, were arrested there on Saturday (May 11) in common with all the other refugees. I think it was Saturday, May 11th, or Sunday, May 12th, that the refugees in Merxplas were put on trucks with some baggage and two days' supply of food and were directed toward the French border, where they arrived after a difficult trip.¹⁶

The refugees at Marneffe, according to Mr. Matton, director of the Center, and confirmed by persons I met at St. Cyprien,¹⁷ left the Center on Friday (May 10) evening under the intense bombardment of German airplanes. Because the railway near Marneffe had been destroyed by bombs, and because of the numerous parachutists, the inhabitants of the Center including the women, children and aged, formed a column and succeeded in reaching Charleroi in a group without any losses. In the neighborhood of Charleroi, the column was attacked by machine guns and bombs of the German planes, resulting in a certain number of victims. The column was thus dispersed. Mr. Matton

15 The refugee camp in Merksplas (French: Merxplas) north-east of Antwerp was established on 21 Oct. 1938, initially for 500–700 refugees under the care of the CARJ. The camp in Marneffe, east of Liège, held approximately 1,000 refugees from June 1939. The Marchin refugee camp, located south-west of Brussels near the French border, was established in Sept. 1939. It shared an administration with Marneffe camp and had a capacity of 100–150 refugees.

16 On 11 May 1940, the 446 refugees interned in Merksplas camp were evacuated, first to Ruiselede in the eastern part of Flanders and then to Bergerac in the south of France, after an agreement had been reached with the French government. The train departed on 16 May and the journey lasted four days, during which the refugees received only very few provisions.

17 See Doc. 239, fn. 4.

could find no traces of this group, despite all his efforts. I learned that the remainder of the group reached the frontier, where they were arrested and taken by train to various camps in France.

I have not yet been able to obtain any news, nor to meet any refugee from the Centers in Marchain,¹⁸ d'Exaerde¹⁹ and Marquain.²⁰ Those in Marchin surely fell into the hands of the Germans, the bridges in Huy having been destroyed before their departure, scheduled for Saturday, May 11. According to a conversation with Mr. Cornel²¹ on May 11, those in d'Exaerde must have remained in the Center, which was considered a safe place by reason of its geographic position.²² As to those in Marquain, it must be assumed they all got to France, as the Center was 6 km from the frontier.

The refugees at Hal²³ were all evacuated by train and sent to different French camps. I saw several refugees from this Center at St. Cyprien and they told me they had been maltreated both by the Belgian and the French soldiers. Their train was bombarded several times in Belgium and in France, but only a few were wounded.

All the refugees assembled by the police, including many who had lived for years in Belgium, had good businesses and held important positions, also left Belgium by train. After a terrible trip, lasting some 6 days in cattle cars, without food, without water, without the right to get out for a second, insulted and deprived of everything, they landed, like all the others, in the French camps.

A large number of refugees born outside Germany, and consequently not arrested, as well as the wives and children of the arrested people, also reached France after the most desperate efforts. I cannot help mentioning the dramatic scenes which I witnessed at La Panne, the French border point open to automobiles. More than 200,000 persons came through this small health resort in three days.²⁴ The streets were so crowded that it was almost impossible to pass through. The food was insufficient, the water poor, and there was an epidemic of dysentery among the children.

Belgians and Dutch people crossed the frontier, sometimes after a delay of 48 hours but Poles, Russians, stateless people etc., were only admitted as exceptions. Among the latter, there were large numbers of Jews. I am incapable of describing their despair, their anxiety, and their feelings at being caught in a mousetrap. A large number of them finally succeeded in crossing the frontier too late, just as the allied armies were retreating toward Dunkirk,²⁵ it is said that thousands of these unfortunates perished, caught between the fire of the two armies in battle.

18 Correctly: Marchin.

19 French spelling of Eksaarde, a village west of Antwerp that was the site of a refugee camp established in Oct. 1939.

20 In April 1940 the camp held 174 refugees.

21 Correctly: Paul Cornil.

22 The refugees in Eksaarde were evacuated around one week after the Wehrmacht's invasion of Belgium, first to Roeselare (French: Roulers) in West Flanders and from there in two groups to France.

23 About 300 refugees were interned in the camp in the town of Halle (French: Hal) south-west of Brussels.

24 The Belgian spa resort of De Panne (French: La Panne) is located on the French border, only a few kilometres north of Dunkirk.

25 From 26 May to 4 June 1940 the Allies evacuated 370,000 French and British soldiers from Dunkirk, after which the city was sealed off by German troops.

Having passed the French frontier on May 16th with the group of Belgian Red Cross, I lost all contact with our protégés for a time. In fact, practically all were in camps, under strict guard, unable to send letters, receive visits, etc. My own attempts and those of the Red Cross to find out the location, living conditions – and populations of these camps came to nothing.

I later learned that the persons in these camps were frequently transferred from one place to another; the regime was severe, but the food sufficient and the civil prisoners were in general treated humanely. They took their detention as inevitable, and ached with resignation, and a certain amount of courage. It is estimated that close to 80,000 persons were in the different camps at the time of the armistice.

I pass over in silence the tragic days before the armistice, which saw the collapse of the French army, and the subsequent weeks, which saw the collapse of morale and of the liberal French spirit. Others better qualified than I can tell of that. I can only speak of my great astonishment at the complete change of the 'climate' of France within those few weeks. The democratic ideal which seemed to be the essence of France itself has yielded to xenophobia, to poorly understood totalitarianism, and to low standards.

These profound changes in France have prompted me, like so many others, to seek a possibility of emigrating from Europe. Obtaining visas and other documents have caused me to travel considerably in unoccupied France. It is during these journeys that little by little, I found trace of our refugees and made contact with them, as well as with thousands of those who became refugees since May 1940. In a short time, I was able to ascertain that a very large part of the refugees formerly assisted by the Belgian Committee are now in France, in precarious situations. It was only when I visited the camp at St. Cyprien that I fully realized the disaster which has befallen these unfortunate souls, who had already been so sorely tried. I must add that there are many other camps in unoccupied France, and probably in the occupied part as well. I have not been able to visit these, but according to reliable witnesses, the situation is the same everywhere; if the external conditions in one camp or another are more favorable than at St. Cyprien, the moral distress remains the same and requires immediate help. This, unfortunately, is difficult to obtain.

The camp at St. Cyprien is situated on a beach, about 15 km. from Perpignan and the same distance from the Spanish frontier. It was constructed for the Spaniards interned in France after the victory of Franco, and received the very characteristic nickname, *Inferno* (Hell) of St. Cyprien. It is a beach about 5 km. long and 200–300 meters wide, surrounded and traversed by long rows of barbed wire. The only vegetation, the telegraph poles! The barracks are of planks, poorly jointed, covered with corrugated iron and without boards underneath. Several narrow windows, placed near the roofs, are clearly insufficient to ventilate a barrack where 80 people sleep, at 25 cm. space one from the other, in two rows a meter apart, on straw which is placed directly on the sand. No furniture whatsoever, just a few boxes in the barracks. During summer the heat on this beach, situated between the mountains, and completely exposed to the sun from dawn to dusk, is insupportable. In order to hide from the scorching rays of the sun, there are only the overheated barracks, where one suffocates on entering.

The refugees walk about entirely nude, or wearing only shorts, from morning to night. On the other hand, they shiver at night for it is very cool. Sanitary installations are non-existent. No lights in the barracks, no dining quarters. The refugees eat crouched on their

beds. There are naturally no dishes, but bowls made of tin cans. No library, no newspapers. Except for the few who work in the kitchens and on clean-up squads, the refugees have had nothing to do for months, except play cards. When I visited the camp (July, 1940) the living conditions were by far better than they had been several weeks previously. The food had become somewhat more satisfactory and more abundant; efforts to keep the place clean had been successful, to some extent. After superhuman efforts, I may say, medical service had been organized, and some indispensable medicines had been obtained, so that an epidemic of intestinal grippe,²⁶ from which practically all the inhabitants of the camp had suffered, was checked. The refugees received permission to bathe in the sea and this markedly improved the hygienic conditions of the camp.

But the living conditions at St. Cyprien before the armistice and during the subsequent weeks, were really frightful, according to many witnesses. The food rations were entirely insufficient; a loaf of bread was distributed among ten persons per day (100 gr. per person); coffee in the morning and evening and a bowl of bean soup, most often without meat, at noon. Everyone was terribly hungry; the canteen which is not functioning any too well now, did not exist and the refugees were scandalously exploited by the soldiers of the guard, as well as unfortunately, by some sorry inhabitants of St. Cyprien itself. At that time, a bar of chocolate sold for 50 frs., a cigarette at 20 frs., a newspaper at 50 frs., a loaf of bread weighing 1 kg., at 200 frs., a postage stamp at 20 times its face value, etc, etc. If we add to this the fact that the Belgian franc, the only currency in the possession of most of the refugees was exchanged at the rate of 500 frs. Belg. for 100 frs. French, the picture is complete! It is not surprising that the guards and some refugees, without having to be too enterprising, earned veritable fortunes.

It must be said that while the commander of the camp could not ignore this dishonest traffic, he took adequate measures. Several guards and refugees were arrested; the canteen was opened; the refugees were enlisted, to a certain degree, in the daily administration, the distribution of food, etc.

It is evident that the living conditions of the refugees at St. Cyprien are unbearable and almost surpass the limits of human endurance.²⁷ But all these physical privations, no matter how painful, are nothing compared to the moral distress which reigns at St. Cyprien, as probably at the other camps, too. Of this, more later.

At the time of the armistice, the population of the camp consisted of more than 8,000 persons, of whom a large number were non-Jewish Germans, Italians, Spaniards, etc., etc. The Germans and some of the Italians were freed after the armistice. Some of our coreligionists, especially those born outside Germany or Austria, also obtained their release. On July 15th, there were 5,300 persons at St. Cyprien among them about 4,500 Jewish refugees, in two sections of the camp, called Ilots (Division) I and II. Persons from the most divergent social groups lay side by side in the center: doctors, university professors, rabbis, businessmen, very rich men, very poor ones, gangsters and avowed criminals.

The camp is under the direction of a colonel of the French army, Mr. Borrallo, aided by some officers and non-commissioned officers, and an imposing detachment of soldiers. On my last visit to the camp, I learned that the supervision would hereafter be in

²⁶ Influenza.

²⁷ See Doc. 239.

charge of the garde-mobile²⁸ and that a superior officer of the garde-mobile would replace Colonel Borrallo at the head of the camp.

I had several conversations with Colonel Borrallo, a man of over 60, mining engineer, who gave the impression of a well-intentioned and kind-hearted man, with liberal ideas, but without energy, subject to the influence of his less interested entourage, and above all, tired, harassed and desirous only of quitting his ungrateful and difficult task as quickly as possible. Colonel Borrallo receives his orders from the General-Commandant of the 16th military region at Montpellier.²⁹ He takes charge of the administration of the camp, maintaining order, feeding the refugees and personnel, etc, etc.

Releases from the camp are handled by a special Sifting Commission,³⁰ composed of some officers and officials of the Surete Publique.³¹ There seems to be no appeal from the decisions of this commission, and its activity gives rise to harsh criticism, which seems justified to me. All the refugees at the camp dream only of being released; the Sifting Commission is assailed with requests, pleas, and certainly also with veiled offers of recompense in the event of favorable disposition. In the opinion of all those at the camp, the Commission is far from being insensible to these offers; people who have money and connections get out, while those arbitrarily detained at the camp, remain there and lose all hope of being liberated. I will cite the typical example of Mr. Barjanski,³² 60 years old, a well-known violincellist of Russian nationality (Nansen passport, issued in Belgium³³) who arrived in France several days before the war with his passport duly visaed. While documents were being examined at the railway station at Toulouse, he was arrested and brought to St. Cyprien. Mr. Barjanski's family, living in Toulouse, moved heaven and earth so that his case could be heard by the Sifting Commission. At the end of a month of waiting, which had ruined Mr. Barjanski's health, he was told he was free and that it was incomprehensible why he had been arrested and sent to the camp in the first place.

I can cite many other examples of persons who are still at St. Cyprien, despite their incontestable right to be free. Recently, the Sifting Commission received instructions to liberate no one born in Germany or Austria, regardless of present nationality. On the other hand, natives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc, are freed more easily and regularly if they prove they have means of existence and the possibility of taking up their abode in France (certificate of dwelling).

The French administration of the camp is supplemented, to a degree, by a loosely constructed organization formed by the refugees. Each barrack chooses a responsible per-

28 French in the original: 'mobile guard force'.

29 This could not be verified.

30 Sifting commissions (*commissions de criblage*) were introduced in Dec. 1939 by various ministries to verify whether an interned refugee would have the right to asylum and could potentially serve in the Foreign Legion or the French Army.

31 Presumably the French Sûreté nationale, which oversaw all police departments in France with the exception of the Paris Police Prefecture from 1934/35 until the creation of the Police nationale in 1941.

32 Correctly: Alexandre Barjansky (1883–1961), musician; born in Odessa; emigrated to Belgium in the 1930s.

33 Nansen passports were travel documents for stateless refugees first issued in 1922. They were named after the polar explorer and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930), who had supported stateless persons in his capacity as the League of Nations high commissioner for refugees.

son, to be in permanent contact with the non-commissioned officer in charge of a group of barracks. These, in turn, choose the heads of the Ilots and their assistants. The heads of the Ilots are received each day by the commander or his alternate, and give a detailed report, pointing out their wishes, complaints, etc. Refugees are employed in the kitchen, the canteen, the infirmary, and in the clean-up squads. Some of them get permission from the authorities to go to Perpignan for 24 or 48 hours to shop, to meet their relatives and friends, etc.

At the camp there is an office for sending and distributing mail; there is also an office of each Ilot, where it is my impression that interminable lists of refugees are being drawn up, classified according to their age, their place of birth, their emigration possibilities, etc.

There is no card index containing essential information about each of the refugees, and only the French administration can say whether a given person is at the camp or not. As in most cases, much investigation is necessary in this connection, and it is very difficult to obtain exact information about the population of St. Cyprien.

It is extremely important, for more than one reason, that urgent measures be taken to set up a card index, which should be kept up to date by the refugees.

Under the difficult circumstances at St. Cyprien, it is evident that the refugees chosen to head the Ilots, and all persons working in the office, with rare exceptions, are sharply criticized and suspected, and do not enjoy the confidence of those who have selected them. Those whose duties put them in touch with the French administration are especially reproached that they think only of their own release and neglect the interests of the others. These reproaches are certainly exaggerated, but it is true of certain people that after their release they have immediately lost sight of measures to be taken in favor of their former colleagues, and only occupy themselves with their personal affairs.

There is also a lack of understanding between the heads of the two Ilots, resulting in a rivalry detrimental to all the refugees.

Naturally, the question of emigration preoccupies the refugees, many of whom not only have visas for various countries, but also tickets or sufficient resources to insure their emigration.³⁴ I was told of 200 persons who could emigrate immediately, but due to the lack of necessary organization, they are not released, cannot take the final steps, and thus anxiously see their visas expiring, losing all hope of recommencing their life elsewhere. With the resumption of activity by the Hicem in France, many of these difficulties will certainly be resolved, and some happy ones will be able to leave the camp and Europe.

Another tragedy of the camp is the absence of all contact with families, wives and children, many of whom remained in Belgium, or are in other camps in France. The absence of all news of their families and the impossibility of obtaining news, greatly distresses a large number of the unfortunates detained at St. Cyprien. To think that, about 200 km. from St. Cyprien, there is the Gurs³⁵ camp for women and children, with a population of 20,000 persons among whom are many of the relatives, so eagerly being sought!

³⁴ See Doc. 265.

³⁵ Gurs camp west of Pau in the south of France was established in 1939 for Republican fighters fleeing from the civil war in Spain. In May 1940 thousands of refugees from Belgium, mostly women and children, as well as German refugees from France and French communists, were interned there. See Introduction p. 25 and Doc. 307.

Unfortunately, the administration of the Gurs camp does not even have a list of the persons there, nor do they take the trouble to supply information or to transmit letters for the refugees.

If there were contact between all the camps in France, many of the families could be reunited, and much of the worry could be mitigated. It would be sufficient to bring together and compare the lists of the various camps. I got in touch with the Red Cross of Belgium at Cahors in order to organize with the cooperation of the administration which remained in Brussels, the inquiries about families who remained in Belgium. Due to the help and intervention of Mr. Goldschmidt, I hope that this organization may already be functioning.

In concluding this report on St. Cyprien, I would add that I visited the camp on several occasions for long periods, and I was able to go into the barracks, to speak freely and without witnesses to whomever I wished. I had talks with Colonel Borrallo, with his assistants, with the members of the Sifting Commission. I was able to realize that, no matter what changes might be undertaken regarding the organization of the camp, one could never make it habitable, especially in autumn and winter, when the sandstorms make life in the camp impossible. I intervened on behalf of many refugees whom I know personally, particularly the employees of the Brussels Committee, of whom there are more than 50 at St. Cyprien. Some of them were released immediately, and I was promised that others, born in Germany, would be released as soon as possible.

I could see that the French administration of the camp regard the larger part of those detained, as elements not to be recommended for release, as liberated convicts, etc. I tried to straighten out the situation and my suggestion that a reliable delegate from the Jewish organizations be added to the Sifting Commission, did not meet with objection.

The fate of the persons released from St. Cyprien, should receive full attention. In fact, although they are released only on proof that they have the necessary resources, the majority of those released are absolutely without funds and cannot exist without regular aid on the part of the Committee, for in the present situation in France, it is improbable that they will be allowed to work.

Small units of the refugee aid committees are already functioning at Toulouse, Perpignan, and probably elsewhere, but they lack resources. And those who do not have lodging and food risk being sent back to St. Cyprien in a short time.

It is true that in the Haute Garonne,³⁶ all persons proving that they are refugees from Belgium, without regard to nationality, receive an allocation of 10 to 12 francs daily, and facilities for living. The same help is given to Belgian nationals who are refugees. It appears that in other Departments, one can apply to the Police for the same subsidies accorded to the Belgians to be likewise distributed to the refugees in whom we are interested.

I must also point out that among the persons at St. Cyprien, some possess real fortunes; likewise, several weeks ago, the money and valuables which had been deposited against receipt, were returned to the detained. An aggregate sum of 30,000,000 francs, according to the information of the Administration, was returned to the refugees in St. Cyprien under certain conditions. Part of this money could certainly be used in unoccupied France and reimbursed to the donors through transfer.

36 A département in the south-west of France.

I met a certain number of our proteges who were lucky enough to have remained free since their arrival in France. Most of them live miserably, by begging right and left, but they are all happy to have escaped the camp at St. Cyprien. Generally, they live in small villages and the peasants treat them with kindness and understanding. Because of the peasants, they are not hungry, and that in itself is a great deal.

It is difficult to estimate how many of our coreligionists fled from Belgium, and have not as yet left France; some have not the funds or the necessary documents, and others hope to return to Belgium in the near future.

In fact, there are two diametrically opposed opinions among the people with whom I spoke; there are those who believe that, in returning to Belgium, they will suffer the same fate as the German Jews, and that it is better to try anything than to return to Belgium. There are others who feel it will not be more difficult in Belgium than elsewhere and consider it preferable to return to their country than to undertake a hazardous emigration. If one can believe that the Jews of Belgian nationality will be permitted to return to their country, it is very doubtful whether the numerous foreign Jews, even those who lived in Belgium for many years, will receive the same permission from the German authorities. On the other hand, the day is unquestionably near when the French government will ask all these foreigners to leave France. What will become of them? What can be done in their behalf? I trust that this problem will receive the full attention of the Jewish organizations, that they will attempt to find a solution before it is too late.

Among the refugees in this category, there is hardly anyone who has prepared an emigration possibility. Contacts have not been established with relatives overseas; they have not tried to obtain visas; in short, they have not taken the necessary steps, which the German Jews have been pursuing for years.

It is certain that, among the Jews who have lived in Belgium, France etc., there are many persons who constitute excellent emigration material, but aid from the Jewish organizations is necessary and urgent to effectuate this. It is to be hoped that these organizations will give priority to the refugees in question so that they do not fall into the hands of the Germans.

In the course of my report, I have taken the liberty of making several suggestions concerning measures to be taken on behalf of the refugees. To facilitate matters, I wish to summarize these:

1. *Interned Refugees*

An effort to release them should be attempted with the government in Vichy. If this is unsuccessful, at least they should be transferred from St. Cyprien to more suitable camps with fewer persons.

In camps of 500–600 persons, the refugees at least can participate in the administration, elsewhere this is more difficult. Work for the refugees can only be organized in smaller centers. While awaiting the liquidation of the camp at St. Cyprien, it is necessary that the representatives of the Joint [Distribution Committee] and the Hicem, or the French Committees,³⁷ visit them and give impetus to internal organization on the one hand, and to examination of the emigration cases on the other. It is especially important to

³⁷ Most likely the Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR).

re-establish the confidence of the refugees toward their representatives, and perhaps to bring about some changes in the equipment and some amelioration in the situation of the refugees.

The medical service in the camps should be strengthened and better supplied with medicines and accessories. The French administration should be approached to participate in these expenses. Clearly there can be no illusion that life can be made more bearable at St. Cyprien if the camp cannot be liquidated, there must be intervention without delay.

Re-establishing contact between the families of the refugees is of great importance. With the cooperation of the Belgian Red Cross, part of this problem could be resolved, by reuniting families whose members are interned in different French camps. It is indispensable that a card index of the refugees be established, first within each camp, then centralized.

2. *German Refugees Not Interned*

Help should be extended to many of these, so that they may exist while awaiting the solution of their fate. Particular attention should be given to the wives and children of those detained in the camps. An appeal to the government to obtain allocations for them should not be overlooked. The government must be approached so that its intentions regarding the stay of these people in France may be ascertained.

3. *Refugees who formerly lived in Belgium, Holland, etc.*

It is likewise very important to learn the intentions of the government in this connection. If, as is feared, these refugees will be forced to the territories occupied by the Germans, a special effort for their emigration overseas should be made. In any event, it is desirable that exit visas from France be obtained for those who already have an assured possibility of emigrating. The question of exit visas is equally important for all three categories of refugees of which I have spoken.

It is clear that material assistance must also be extended to these refugees of recent origin, but the organization of their emigration is by far the most important problem. Aid to the refugees in France necessitates considerable expenditures; it is to be hoped that the required resources can be collected from among those who had the good fortune to keep their homes intact, despite all the sacrifices which they had to make up to the present.

In closing, I wish to express the hope that the nightmare of the Jewish people may come to an end; that they may begin to live anew and work in peace and in a dignified human way.

DOC. 157

On 11 October 1940 the Belgian secretaries general refuse to follow the instructions from the German military administration regarding the exclusion of the Jews from economic life¹

Minutes of the Council of Secretaries General, signed (signature illegible) (minute taker), unsigned (chairman),² dated 11 October 1940 (typescript)³

[...]⁴

The third point on the agenda concerns a very serious matter which Mr *Vossen*⁵ explains in detail.

He has met with General von *Craushaar*,⁶ who informed him that the German authorities intend to exclude Jews from the national economy.

1. Jewish nationals would have to register themselves and declare their assets.
2. All businesses under their management would have to display a sign in their shop window indicating that the owner is a Jew.
3. All Jews who have not returned from an unoccupied country by a certain date would be expelled from Belgian territory.

The German authorities intend to call on the secretaries general⁷ to take measures of their own accord to implement their demands. Should the Belgian authorities refuse to do so, the German authorities will instruct the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior to enforce a German decree for this purpose. Should he refuse, the German military authorities will take the necessary measures themselves, but they are reluctant to resort to this approach.

During the discussion Mr *Vossen* emphasized that Art. 7 of the Belgian Constitution guarantees individual freedom and Art. 14 guarantees religious freedom; moreover, the freedom to practise these beliefs in public and the freedom to express opinions on every matter are guaranteed to all Belgians.

After a brief exchange of views, the members reached the unanimous decision that the secretaries general could not bring themselves to carry out the orders issued by the

1 CegeSoma, mic 44. This document has been translated from French.

2 Dr Baron Antoine Ernst de Bunswyck (1874–1943), lawyer; secretary general of the Ministry of Justice; chairman of the Council of Secretaries General from Sept. 1940; pensioned off by the military administration in Jan. 1941.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations.

4 Point 1 of the agenda addressed whether to ask the German authorities to release Belgian soldiers from captivity. Under point 2 a possible change in the status of civil servants was discussed.

5 Dr Jean François Vossen (1893–1974), lawyer; secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior from 1931; dismissed by the German occupation authorities in Feb. 1941; resumed his former post after liberation in 1944.

6 Dr Harry Georg von Craushaar (1891–1970), lawyer; held various administrative posts from 1919; joined the NSDAP in 1933 and the SS in 1939; deputy chief of the military administration in Belgium and Northern France, 1940–1943; in occupied Poland, 1943–1945; in US captivity, 1945–1948; managing director of the Deutscher Familienverband, a non-profit organization for families, from 1955.

7 On the function of the secretaries general, see Introduction, p. 48.

German authorities. Mr Vossen has been instructed to reply accordingly to General von *Craushaar*.⁸

[...]⁹

DOC. 158

On 28 October 1940 the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France issues the First Jew Regulation¹

Regulation on Measures Against Jews (Jew Regulation), 28 October 1940

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army,² I decree the following for Belgium:

Part I

Definition of a Jew

§ 1

- (1) A Jew is someone who is descended from at least three grandparents who are full Jews according to race.
- (2) A person is considered a Jew if they have two Jewish grandparents and
 1. either belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this regulation comes into force or subsequently join this community;
 2. are married to a Jew at the time this regulation comes into force or subsequently marry one.³
- (3) In cases of doubt, anyone who belongs or has belonged to the Jewish religious community is considered a Jew. A grandparent who has belonged to the Jewish religious community is automatically considered to be a full Jew.

Part II

Prohibition on return; Jew registry

§ 2

Jews who have fled Belgium are forbidden to return to Belgium.

§ 3

- (1) The municipal authorities and, for municipalities with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, the district commissioners shall maintain, in the form of alphabetical index cards,

⁸ The Belgian administration did subsequently implement the orders issued by the German military administration, but enacted none itself.

⁹ The secretaries general went on to discuss the provisioning of the Belgian people as well as an offer of help given to the Belgian authorities by the Spanish General Francisco Franco (1892–1975).

¹ *VOBL-BNE*, 20, no. 1, 5 Nov. 1940, pp. 279–282. This document has been translated from German.

² Walther von Brauchitsch (1881–1948), professional soldier; general staff officer, 1914–1918, transferred to the Reichswehr in 1921; brigadier, 1932; commander-in-chief of the army, Feb. 1938–Dec. 1941; military commander in France, 30 June–25 Oct. 1940; promoted to field marshal on 19 July 1940; died in British captivity.

³ The formulation in this section is based on § 5 of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law (14 Nov. 1935). See PMJ 1/210.

registries of all Jews over the age of fifteen who have their residence or habitual abode in their district. The following are to be noted in the registry: last name, first name, place and date of birth, occupation, citizenship, and religious affiliation of the Jew, as well as the name, place, and date of birth of the wife, children, parents, and grandparents. In the case of Jews who have arrived as immigrants from another country, the date from which they have been continuously resident in Belgium and their previous place of residence are also to be recorded.

- (2) Every Jew who has reached the age of fifteen is to report in person to the authority responsible for them (registration authority) by 30 November 1940 for inclusion in the Jew registry; however, registration by the head of the household will be sufficient for the entire family. Anyone who subsequently reaches the age of fifteen must appear in person at the registration authority within three days. In addition, the following must be reported to the registration authority within three days:
 - a) changes in the information recorded on the index card by the Jew or the head of the household,
 - b) births and deaths, by the head of the household or the person required to notify the civil registry office.
- (3) In the event that the Jew changes residence or habitual abode, his or her index card must be sent from the previous registration authority to the one now responsible.
- (4) Entry in the Jew registry must be noted on the identity card of the registered person.

§ 4

Everyone is to be granted access to the Jew registry upon request.

Part III

Registration of businesses

§ 5

Businesses within the meaning of this regulation are:

1. commercial operations that have to be entered in the commercial register,
2. other associations of individuals, as well as institutions, foundations, and other special-purpose funds, if they pursue economic objectives,
3. agricultural and forestry enterprises, as well as horticultural and fishing operations, if they are connected to a commercial business.

§ 6

The registration requirement applies to every business that corresponded to the following definitions as of 1 May 1940 or at a later date:

1. a business that is directly or indirectly run by a natural person, if this person is a Jew,
2. a business that is run by a commercial corporation, if
 - a) at least one personally liable partner is a Jew or
 - b) if at least one of the persons appointed for legal representation is a Jew or
 - c) if at least one member of the administrative board or one of the persons appointed as supervisors under commercial law is a Jew or
 - d) if Jews have a decisive participating interest in the commercial undertaking in terms of capital or voting power. A decisive participating interest in terms of capital is present if more than a quarter of the capital belongs to Jews; a decisive participating interest in terms of voting power is present if the votes of Jews reach half of the total number of votes or if, in the case of distribution of the share

ownership among the general public, the ownership of a block of shares by Jews guarantees an exertion of influence upon the management of the business. If there are votes with preferential rights, a decisive participating interest is also present if Jews are entitled to half of these votes.

3. A business that is operated by an association of individuals, an institution, a foundation or a special-purpose fund within the meaning of § 5, point 2, if one of the prerequisites listed under point 2 above is met.
4. Every business that is actually under the controlling influence of Jews. This applies in particular when efforts at concealment have been made.

§ 7

The registration requirement is not precluded by the obligation to register the assets of the business concerned pursuant to the Regulation Concerning Enemy Assets of 23 May 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 2, no. 7) and its implementing regulation of 2 July 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 5, no. 8).⁴

§ 8

- (1) Branches are required to register
 - a) if the business to which they belong is itself required to register or
 - b) if the business to which they belong is not required to register but at least one manager of the branch is a Jew.
- (2) Branches of a foreign business are not required to register.

§ 9

- (1) In the case of a business that is directly or indirectly run by a natural person, this person is required to register; in the case of businesses within the meaning of § 6, points 2–4, every person appointed to represent the business is required to register.
- (2) If all the persons required under (1) to register a business are permanently or temporarily in a foreign country or are otherwise prevented from exercising their powers, then those persons who are actually running the business are also required to register the business.

§ 10

- (1) At the time of registration, all the domestic and foreign assets of the business that were in existence on the cut-off date stated in § 6 must be declared, separated into assets and liabilities.
- (2) Everything that is directly or indirectly intended or suited to serve the purposes of the business must also be included in the business's assets.
- (3) As a matter of principle, registration must be based on the values on the balance sheet as of 31 December 1939. If a balance sheet has been prepared after this date, its values are to be used as the basis. If a balance sheet is not compiled on a regular basis, the assets are to be valued on the basis of their general value as of the aforementioned cut-off date. At the request of the registration office, an appraisal of the assets by a sworn person must be subsequently submitted.

⁴ Regulation Concerning Enemy Assets in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Enemy Assets Regulation), 23 May 1940, *VOBl-BNF*, 2, no. 7, 17 June 1940, p. 39, and Regulation Concerning the Implementation and Amendment of the Enemy Assets Regulation, 2 July 1940, *VOBl-BNF*, 5, no. 8, 6 July 1940, pp. 112–115.

§ 11

- (1) Registration must be completed by 10 December 1940. An official printed form must be used, prepared in triplicate and submitted to the Registration Office for Jewish Assets⁵ in Brussels, Wet Straat 2/rue de la Loi 2.
- (2) The official form must be obtained from the Ortskommandanturen and Feldkommandanturen.
- (3) If the business becomes subject to the registration requirement only after this regulation comes into force, registration must take place within two weeks of the time the requirement to register arises.

§ 12

- (1) The Military Commander or the offices empowered by him are authorized to delegate a temporary administrator to manage businesses that are required to register if it is to be assumed that compliance with the registration requirement is inadequate or if businesses subject to the registration requirement have performed a transfer of their assets after 1 May 1940 for the purpose of avoiding a requirement to register.
- (2) The provisions of the Regulation of 20 May 1940 on the Orderly Management and Administration of Businesses and Enterprises (*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 2, no. 5) are correspondingly applicable to the powers of a temporary administrator.

*Part IV**Prohibition of transfers for businesses and plots of land; eating and drinking establishments*

§ 13

- (1) Legal transactions concerning the businesses and branches required to register under Section III as a whole or concerning the total assets of Jews or of businesses subject to the registration requirement are permissible and effective in law only with the permission of the Military Commander or of offices authorized by him. The same applies to legal transactions concerning plots of land that are owned by Jews or carried out by businesses subject to the registration requirement.
- (2) Disposals by way of foreclosure are the equivalent of legal transactions.

§ 14

- (1) Eating and drinking establishments or lodging establishments which are owned or leased by Jews or Jewish businesses must by 30 November 1940 be marked as such in a clearly visible place with these words in three languages: 'Jüdisches Unternehmen – joodsche onderneming – entreprise juive'.⁶ The marking is to be performed by the municipal authority, and proprietors must apply to the municipal authority in a timely manner to request that it be carried out.
- (2) Jewish businesses within the meaning of (1) are those which correspond to the provisions stated in § 6, points 2–4, at the time this regulation comes into force.

5 The office was a division of Group XII within the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs, which was responsible for Jewish and enemy assets. Group XII was headed by Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Pichier (1899–1977), lawyer; department head at the Berlin Nitrogen Syndicate before 1940; head of the legal department of Herberts & Co. in Wuppertal, 1955–1970.

6 German, Dutch, and French for 'Jewish business'.

*Part V**Final provisions*

§ 15

Upon request, the chairmen of the Jewish religious communities must make all documents that may be relevant to the application of this regulation available to the authorities in charge of implementing this regulation.

§ 16

The Chief of the Military Administration⁷ will issue the instructions necessary to implement or supplement this regulation. He is authorized to make legally binding decisions concerning unresolved issues that arise from the application of this regulation.

§ 17

Where it is uncertain whether persons or businesses are affected by this regulation, they must fulfil the duties stated in the regulation by way of precaution.

§ 18

- (1) Anyone who deliberately or negligently violates this regulation or the provisions issued for its implementation, particularly anyone who does not submit the prescribed registration forms or does not submit them on time or correctly, will be punished with a prison sentence or a fine or both.
- (2) In addition to the punishment, there may be an order for confiscation of assets. If no specific person can be prosecuted or sentenced, confiscation can be independently ordered.

§ 19

Entry into force

This regulation comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

The Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France.⁸

DOC. 159

On 28 October 1940 the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France issues the Second Jew Regulation, ordering the dismissal of all Jewish public officials from the civil service¹

Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from Public Offices and Appointments, 28 October 1940

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army,² I decree the following for Belgium:

- § 1 Jews (§ 1 of the Jew Regulation of 28 October 1940, *V.O. Blatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 20, no. 1³) cannot hold public office or occupy any other posts in public administra-

⁷ Eggert Reeder.

⁸ Baron Alexander von Falkenhausen (1878–1966), military officer; general staff officer on the Western and Eastern fronts, 1914–1915; served with the German military mission in China, 1933–1938; military commander in Belgium and northern France, 1940–1944; imprisoned in Dachau concentration camp because of his association with the plot to assassinate Hitler on 20 July 1944; extradited in 1948 to Belgium, where he was sentenced to twelve years' hard labour in 1951; released shortly afterwards and deported to Germany.

¹ *VOBl-BNF*, 20, no. 2, 5 Nov. 1940, p. 288. This document has been translated from German.

tions or in associations, foundations, and establishments in which the state, a province, a municipality or another entity regulated by public law has a participating interest; they cannot be lawyers, cannot be teachers at schools and institutions of higher education of any description, and cannot be managers, directors or journalists in press and broadcasting corporations.

§ 2

- (1) Jews are to be dismissed from the offices and appointments listed in § 1 no later than 31 December 1940. Jewish public officials will go into retirement at this time.
- (2) Persons whose Jewish origin is in doubt are to be treated as Jews for the time being until their ancestry has been established.

§ 3 The affairs of the religious associations are unaffected by this regulation. The employment of teachers at Jewish schools and Jewish religious instruction will not be affected by this regulation.

§ 4 The implementation of this regulation is the responsibility of the ministries in charge of the public authorities concerned as well as the Ministry of the Interior. The latter will issue the requisite instructions for implementation.⁴

The Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France⁵

DOC. 160

***Nationalzeitung*, 8 November 1940: article on the reactions of the Belgian press to the first anti-Jewish regulations¹**

Jew Regulation in force in Belgium

Brussels, 7 November (by wire). The Jew Regulation in Belgium, which will provide a uniform solution to the Jewish question in the Flemish and Walloon areas, has now come into force.²

The laws on Jews are being actively welcomed by the populace and throughout the press. *Pay Reel*³ notes under the headline 'Israel is no longer king' that the new laws on Jews are being received with great joy and gratitude by the masses. It reports that one is aware of the decisive role the London Jews have played in the genesis of the current war.

*Nouveau Journal*⁴ likewise welcomes the new regulation most enthusiastically and writes that everyone is aware of the significant extent to which the 'chosen race' has

² Walther von Brauchitsch.

³ See Doc. 158.

⁴ The ministries had previously refused to take steps of their own to dismiss Jewish public officials, but they consented to implement directives issued by the German military administration.

⁵ Alexander von Falkenhausen.

¹ *Nationalzeitung*, vol. 11, no. 311, 8 Nov. 1940, p. 6. The National Socialist-leaning *Nationalzeitung* was established in Essen by Gauleiter Josef Terboven in 1929. It was published until 1945. At its peak, it had a circulation of 167,000 copies. This document has been translated from German.

² See Doc. 158.

³ Correctly: *Le Pays réel*.

⁴ *Le Nouveau Journal*, founded by the journalist Paul Colin (1895–1943), was published from 1940 to 1944 and had a circulation of approximately 43,000 copies.

usurped Belgium's economic, social, cultural, and political institutions. It deems it an incontrovertible fact that Jewish activity has had solely a negative effect on internal and external peace. The sole objective of the Jews before the outbreak of hostilities in Belgium, the paper states, was focused on making the official neutrality of the country unsustainable.

Volk en Staat writes that the Jews have tainted public life in our country in large measure. The Jewish Minister of Finance Gut, whose real name is Guttenshtein,⁵ has done his best to devastate Belgium economically. The newspaper writes, 'The mask has fallen. You gentlemen of the Old Testament, you can go. Make way for our own people.'

DOC. 161

On 19 November 1940 representatives of Belgium's highest courts lodge a protest with the Military Commander against the dismissal of Jewish judges and lawyers¹

Letter from the First President of the Court of Cassation (judge's chambers), signed L. Braffort,² J. Jamar,³ and A. Gesché,⁴ Brussels, to General von Falkenhausen, military commander in Belgium and northern France (received on 20 November 1940), Brussels, dated 19 November 1940⁵

Your Excellency,

The regulations of 28 October 1940 concerning the Jew Regulation in Belgium⁶ have profoundly agitated the legal world.

The undersigned are punctilious in eschewing all debate about principles that form the basis for the institutions of the Reich.

However, the regulations mean applying measures in Belgium that are in conflict with the foundations of our constitutional law and our legislation.

Belgium continues to exist as a nation. As a consequence of the foreign occupation, on the basis of the texts of the Hague Convention of 18 October 1907 the authority of the occupying power indeed supersedes the legal authorities, but within the framework of the measures necessary for maintaining public order and public life.

Now it does not seem as if the presence of Jews in the administration of justice would be likely to disrupt public order and public life.

5 Correctly: Camille Gutt.

1 CegeSoma, mic 198. Published in Betty Garfinkels, *Les Belges face à la persécution raciale 1940-1944* (Brussels: Editions de l'Institut de sociologie de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 1965), pp. 22-23. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Louis Jules Braffort (1886-1944), lawyer; secretary of the Belgian prime minister in 1913; professor in Leuven from 1919; president of the bar association at the Court of Appeal; active in the resistance movement, 1940-1944; shot as a hostage in August 1944.

3 Dr Jean-François-Joseph Jamar (1870-1954), lawyer; public prosecutor from 1907 and later judge at various courts in Liège; appointed to the Court of Cassation in 1923 and served as its president, 1935-1945; honorary president of the Court of Cassation from 1945.

4 Dr Adolphe Gesché (1867-1950), lawyer; chief public prosecutor at the Court of Cassation.

5 The French original contains handwritten annotations. The version that has been translated here was done by members of the military administration and was included in the files.

6 See Docs. 158 and 159.

The number of magistrates of the Jewish race is insignificant; the number of lawyers is small. Every failure on their part to comply with the principles of honour and discretion would immediately be punished in disciplinary proceedings.

To the extent that it excludes Jewish magistrates from the judiciary, the regulation is in conflict with Articles 6, 8, 14, and 100 of the constitution, according to which a judge with a lifetime appointment can be removed from his office only by way of a ruling. As far as lawyers are concerned, they can be disbarred only through disciplinary proceedings.

The undersigned believe it their duty to make Your Excellency aware that these principles are incompatible with the regulation that has been issued, in the hope that you will consider the above before implementing the measures that have been announced.

As you have been able to observe in the exercise of your high office, the Belgian justice system has thus far performed its difficult and complicated duty for the good of the country and without any conflict with the occupation authorities. It is the strong desire of the legal professionals to continue to resolve every difficulty that arises by reconciling opposing views.

Inspired by the desire to inform you thoroughly, in addition, about the import of the constitution and Belgian laws, as well as the important issues raised by the aforementioned regulations, the undersigned have the honour of requesting a meeting with Your Excellency.

We ask Your Excellency to kindly accept the expression of our highest esteem.⁷

DOC. 162

On 3 December 1940 the Belgian secretaries general discuss how the anti-Jewish regulations issued by the Military Commander should be implemented¹

Minutes of the meeting of the Belgian secretaries general on 3 December 1940, unsigned (typescript)

The secretaries general met on Tuesday, 3 December 1940, at 9 a.m., under the chairmanship of Baron *Ernst de Bunswyck*, secretary general of the Ministry of Justice.

All members were present with the exception of Mr *Plisnier*, who was unable to attend on account of professional commitments.

The *chairman* gave the floor to Mr *Adam*,² who, as inspector general, is acting secretary general at the Ministry of the Interior. Mr Adam explained that he had presented the German authorities with the draft circular decree to be sent to the provinces and

⁷ Beneath the original text, a handwritten note in German reads, 'They have no inkling that we were still far too lenient!' In his reply dated 26 Nov. 1940, General von Falkenhausen declined to meet the letter's signatories. He stated that a change in the measures adopted was not possible: CDJC, LXXVIIa-27.

¹ State Archives of Belgium, fonds Oscar Plisnier, 179/2, Procès-verbaux des séances du Comité des Secrétaires Généraux, 15 mai 1940–28 mars 1941. This document has been translated from French.

² Henri Charles Adam (b. 1889); inspector general, then director general of the Ministry of the Interior; performed the duties of secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior as a stand-in for Jean François Vossen from November 1940 until the German military administration removed him from his post in January 1941; worked for the Ministry of the Interior again after 1945.

municipalities regarding the instructions in the German regulation relating to the Jews.³ The circular decree stated that it had been drafted with the approval of the German authorities. He had been told, however, that the Belgian administration is responsible for introducing the measures necessary to implement the regulation in question. Mr *Adam* had protested, pointing out that section 16 of the regulation in question clearly stipulates that it is the Chief of the Military Administration who shall stipulate the measures necessary for its application. The German authorities had eventually agreed to approve the text submitted.

With regard to the registries which have to record the registrations of Jews, the administration will subsequently submit to the German authorities the number of Jews listed and the number of establishments owned by them.⁴

With regard to civil servants who cannot be retired because of the non-application of the law of 1844,⁵ Mr *Adam* proposed that the appropriate provisions concerning the suspension of state officials be applied.

After a brief discussion it was decided that officials would be placed on non-active service *through retirement from office* notwithstanding the wording of the statute on dismissal, which stipulates that individuals be placed on non-active service through retirement from office only if this is in the interests of the service.

Furthermore, all Jewish individuals must register with their municipal administration by 30 November 1940. Mr *Adam* has persuaded the German authorities to extend that date to 31 December 1940.

The members approved the draft circular decree to be sent to provincial and municipal administrations. The text will be communicated to all the secretaries general.

Additionally, Mr *Castiau*⁶ asked whether Jews who had fought in the 1914–1918 war would be exempted from the application of the regulation of 20 October 1940.⁷ The chairman replied that there were no exceptions.

Finally, Mr *Adam* stated that the German authorities had also wanted the burgomasters and the arrondissement commissioners to inform them of the names of all the Jews who have not registered. Following discussion, however, the German authorities had decided not to pursue this plan any further.

[...]⁸

3 See Docs. 158 and 159. The circular decree mentioned here could not be found.

4 The registration of Jews in the various communities and the submission of the lists to the German military administration dragged on until 1943; about 43,000 Jews were registered: see Doc. 171.

5 The law of 21 July 1844 governed the pension entitlement of civil servants in Belgium.

6 Probably Marcel Castiau (1877–1950), engineer; involved in the expansion of the Belgian railway network from 1901; worked at the Ministry for Transport, Post, and Radio from 1927, as secretary general of the ministry from 1931; under pressure from the military administration forced to take a leave of absence from 1940 to 1944.

7 Correctly: 28 Oct. 1940; see Doc. 158.

8 Subsequent discussions concerned the food supply for the population, consultations with the occupation authorities regarding administrative jurisdiction, and the burden placed on the national economy by the occupation regime.

DOC. 163

**Prior to 19 December 1940 the provincial government of Limburg instructs
the municipal government of Genk on how to deal with the Jews expelled
from Antwerp¹**

Letter from the provincial government of Limburg,² Department 3, unsigned, undated, to the municipal government of Genk³ (received on 19 December 1940)

General instructions regarding the arrival and accommodation of refugees⁴ and the supervision to be carried out by the municipal governments

1) Upon the arrival of the refugees, either at the station or in the municipality itself, if transport from the nearest station to the centre of the municipality must take place by bus or other means of transport, the following must be present: the mayor, the municipal clerk, the local police constable, and possibly police officers, who must ensure that the refugees are taken to the place allocated to them.

If necessary, provision must be made for transporting hand luggage. Each person is allowed up to 25 kilograms of hand luggage. The refugees have received food supplies for three days.

2) The refugees are in possession of the following identity documents:

- 1) a Belgian identity card,
- 2) an expulsion order.

The mayor or his representative will be provided with a list, stating for each person:

- 1) surname,
- 2) first names,
- 3) identity card number and the issuing municipality,
- 4) previous place of residence,
- 5) allocated place of residence.

The inspection must take place upon arrival, according to this list, and the municipality must immediately inform Department 3 of the Provincial Government whether all the persons listed have actually arrived.

3) The mayors must ensure that sick people can be taken care of. They must also ensure appropriate accommodation for the refugees, bearing in mind that the family unit must be kept together whenever possible. Where the refugees are not given accommodation in the private homes of citizens, heating and sleeping facilities will have to be provided

1 Stadsarchief Genk, 547/19. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Limburg's provincial governor at this time was Gérard Romsée (1901–1975), lawyer; member of the Vlaams Nationaal Verbond (VNV) party leadership; governor of the province of Limburg; secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior and Public Health from 1941; fled to Austria in 1944; sentenced in Brussels to twenty years' imprisonment in 1948; pardoned and released in 1954.

3 Genk is located in the north-east of Belgium.

4 In Dec. 1940 Feldkommandantur 520 ordered the provincial government of Antwerp to expel all foreigners from the city, especially Jewish refugees. Over 3,000 people from Antwerp and the surrounding area were forced to move to eastern Belgium, where they were divided up between different municipalities: see Doc. 165. However, over the course of 1941 most of the expellees had to return to their previous places of residence.

if they are housed in unoccupied buildings or classrooms. They will also need to be provided with any other essentials if necessary.

4) The refugees are to report daily to the town hall, where a registration list must be kept. The obligation to report daily must be communicated to the refugees by the mayor and be acknowledged by the refugees in writing.

An index card, in accordance with a template yet to be determined, will be produced for each refugee within one week of arrival. Further instructions about this will follow.

5) Where necessary, the refugees must be supported by the Public Relief Committees; if need be, the municipality must make the necessary funds available to the Committees. The question of any repayment or the payment of any compensation to the relevant municipal governments will be settled afterwards.

6) The refugees must be given the ration stamps to which they are entitled. Any traders etc. who disadvantage the refugees compared to local residents when distributing food must be dealt with most severely.

DOC. 164

On 21 December 1940 the German military administration explains the measures to be taken concerning Jewish public officials in Belgium¹

Letter from the Military Administration (J I/11), signed p.p. (initials illegible), to the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories – Commissioner General for Administration and Justice,² The Hague, dated 21 December 1940 (directive)³

Re: handling of Jewish public officials in the civil service

Ref: your letter Z 55/9 Ve/40 dated 3 December 1940⁴

In handling the Jewish question there was a special situation in Belgium, in contrast to Holland and France, in that the Jews, both in commerce and in public administration, did not play anything near the same role as they did in the neighbouring countries (including Germany until 1933). Although more exact figures are lacking, because liberal Belgium viewed any inquiry into a person's religion as an impermissible intrusion into the private sphere of the individual – a racial problem was not even recognized at all – the modest scope of Jewish influence in Belgium soon became clear. There were scarcely any Jewish civil servants. Of the approximately 1,200 professors at the universities, around 40 were Jews. Of 1,300 brokers at the Brussels Stock Exchange, only 30 were Jews; in Antwerp, only 5 of the 400 brokers were Jews.

Because the Belgian secretaries general could not resolve to issue a Jew regulation on account of constitutional concerns, the new order had to be implemented through a regulation issued by the Military Commander.⁵ The aim of the measures that have been taken here is to totally eliminate Jewish influence; but the form adopted has been so

1 CegeSoma, mic 198. This document has been translated from German.

2 Friedrich Wimmer.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations.

4 This document is not in the file.

5 See Doc. 158.

cautious that the outcome has been in line with the political effects. In place of general legal directives, therefore, individual orders have been issued to a greater extent than under other circumstances, and the legal provisions limited to the amount absolutely necessary.

In addition to the Regulation on Measures Against Jews (Jew Regulation) of 28 October 1940 – which essentially stipulates a ban on Jews who have fled the country from returning to Belgium, the introduction of a Jew registry and a registration requirement for Jewish businesses, a ban on the disposition of businesses and land owned by Jews, and a requirement for Jewish eating and drinking establishments to be visibly marked as such – there is the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from Public Offices and Appointments,⁶ dated the same day.

Under this regulation Jews cannot hold public office or any other posts in public administrations or in associations, foundations, and establishments in which the state, a province, a municipality or another entity regulated by public law has a participating interest. Further, they cannot be lawyers, teachers at schools and institutions of higher education of any description, and cannot be managers, directors or journalists in press and broadcasting corporations.

A Jew is someone who is descended from at least three grandparents who are full Jews according to race.

A person is also considered a Jew if they have two Jewish grandparents and

- 1) either belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this regulation comes into force or subsequently join this community;
- 2) are married to a Jew at the time this regulation comes into force or subsequently marry one.
- 3) In cases of doubt, anyone who belongs to or has belonged to the Jewish religious community is considered a Jew. A grandparent who has belonged to the Jewish religious community is automatically considered to be a full Jew.⁷

In particular, with regard to the questions raised elsewhere, you are additionally advised of the following:

On 1) As indicated above, Jews will be excluded from appointment to and employment as public officials.

On 2) A numerical assessment of the number of Jewish public officials has been initiated, but the results are not yet available.

On 3) Jews in the aforementioned offices and appointments are to be dismissed by the end of 31 December 1940 at the latest. Jewish civil servants will go into retirement at this time. Only the religious associations and the employment of teachers at Jewish institutions will be unaffected by this regulation. Each Belgian ministry will be responsible for implementing the measures in its area of operation.

On 4) Regarding the definition of who is a Jew, reference is made to the statements above. The definition corresponds to the provisions of Reich law.⁸

⁶ See Doc. 159.

⁷ The formulation in this section is based on § 5 of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law (14 Nov. 1935). See PMJ 1/210.

⁸ See *ibid.*

- On 5) The regulation applies as expressed to all public service employees with the sole exceptions of the religious associations and the Jewish schools. With regard to members of the liberal professions, thus far only lawyers are included.
- On 6) Those public officials with lifetime appointments will retire and receive the pensions earned until their retirement.
- As in many cases it is by no means certain whether a civil servant is a Jew, those civil servants who wish to enjoy the benefits of a transfer to retirement status must apply for retirement by 10 December 1940. Only these civil servants will receive a pension. If it later turns out that a civil servant who has not applied for retirement is in fact a Jew, he will be dismissed without entitlement to a pension.
- On 7) An extension of the measures affecting lawyers to include physicians, dentists, and pharmacists is currently under consideration. The exclusion of Jews from studying at institutions of higher education is also being considered. The unalterable goal is the *total* elimination of Jewish influence in public life.

DOC. 165

On 16 and 20 February 1941 Ilse Boehm writes postcards to her former teacher and classmates following the expulsion of her family from Antwerp¹

Postcards from Ilse Boehm,² Kermt village,³ province of Limburg, town hall, to G. Janssens, Antwerp/Borgerhout, 35 Sergeyselsstraat (dated 16 February 1941), and to G. Janssens, teacher at the Primary School for Girls no. 2, Antwerp, 14 Duinstraat (dated 20 February 1941)

Kermt, 16 February 1941

Dear Miss,

Last Wednesday I received your card, and I am very grateful for your kind words, which have made me very happy. I have already been going to school for a week, and because they do not learn as much here as in Antwerp, I am already in year seven. Here, two classes always share one teacher. I am trying to learn French with the children in year eight. This is still a bit difficult for me, but I don't know whether I will need this language later, especially if there is a chance that we will reunite with father. Nothing has changed in the castle. The weather has much improved, but I don't have much free time to go for walks, as apart from school there are many other chores to be done. Much of what we badly need is lacking, but we have to trust in God. He will help us when we are in extreme need! In spite of all this, I sometimes feel very desperate and wonder, 'When will this situation end?' I hope that you are well and wish you the very best. Kind regards to you, the headmistress, Miss Brahm, and the children. With thanks, your pupil

1 Kazerne Dossin, A 000 901.02 and A 000 901.03. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Ilse Boehm, schoolgirl; refugee from Germany; expelled from Antwerp with her family in Dec. 1940 and forced to move to the province of Limburg; see Doc. 163. Her subsequent fate is unknown.

3 Kermt is today part of the town of Hasselt.

Kermt, 20 February 1941

Dear Miss, and dear children,

Just as I had sent my previous card I received yours, dear children. I thank you all very much, especially Laura Verachtet, who wrote to me on behalf of the class, and Anna Duchêne, from whom I got a picture postcard two days later. When I look at the pictures, I have good memories of the city where I lived for a year and a half. I am always happy when I get news from the class. You will probably know by now that I go to school here. Life goes on as usual here, and we eat everything that is at all edible, as we are very hungry and there is hardly anything for us to buy. I hope that things are better where you are. Be happy, children, that you have a permanent home and a fatherland. We have none of that, and our future is so uncertain. We do not know how long we will stay here, and what then?? You must think that I am a very discontented child, but you do not know the circumstances under which we live here, and I need to write the whole truth to somebody. I hope that you, Miss, will understand me, and that you will again send me a few words of consolation. Greetings to you and to everybody I know from school, from your pupil and your classmate

DOC. 166

On 10 April 1941 the mayor of the municipality of Wilrijk removes Boris Melamid from the Jew registry¹

Letter from the municipality of Wilrijk (Population – Militia, order no. 285), signed on behalf of the mayor and the aldermen Verschueren² (municipal head) and Rollé³ (mayor ad interim), to the governor of the province of Antwerp⁴ (received on 11 April 1941), dated 10 April 1941

Re: removal from the Jew registry, Melamid, Boris
7 enclosures⁵

Dear Governor,

We are pleased to enclose a copy of a file regarding Melamid, Boris,⁶ born in Smietowka on 10 January 1900. Further to a meeting today, and as agreed with the Verwaltungschef⁷ of Feldkommandantur 520,⁸ we hereby notify you that said person is removed from the Jew registry for the following reason:

1 Kazerne Dossin, A 002 051. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Lodewijk-Emiel Verschueren, administrative official; head of Wilrijk municipality from 1925.

3 Georges Rollé (1875–1942); mayor of Wilrijk from May 1940 to 1941; thereafter retired.

4 Jan Jozef Grauls (1887–1960), linguist and administrative official; worked in various ministries from 1911; governor of the province of Antwerp, 1940–1942; mayor of the greater metropolitan area of Brussels, 1942–1945; sentenced to a fine and five years' imprisonment in 1945; released in 1947; thereafter worked as an editor of school textbooks.

5 These were not included in the file.

6 Boris Melamid (b. 1900), director; emigrated from France to Belgium in 1933.

7 German in the original: 'chief of administration'.

8 Dr Walter Delius (1884–1945), lawyer; mayor of Wesermünde, 1924–1939 and 1942–1945; joined the NSDAP in 1937; head of Feldkommandantur 520 in Antwerp, 1940–1942; died in an Allied internment camp in 1945.

Melamid, Boris, presented himself at the town hall on 19 December 1940. According to his statement, his sole purpose was to obtain information on the Jew Regulation of 28 October 1940.⁹ However, as several Jews had presented themselves at the town hall in a similar manner, we decided we should likewise prepare a Jewish identity card for said person.

Considering that the person concerned is of Russian descent and cannot provide proof of Aryan ancestry, but that we are likewise unable to prove his Jewish origin, we therefore reached the decision, after consultation with the aforementioned Verwaltungschef, that he could be removed from the Jew registry.

DOC. 167

On 24 April 1941 a lawyer from Antwerp enquires into whether her exclusion from the Bar Association is permissible¹

Letter from Régine Karlin-Orfinger,² unsigned, Belgiëlei 192a, Antwerp, to L. van Scharen,³ president of the Antwerp Bar Association, dated 24 April 1941⁴

Dear President,

I have the honour of submitting to you a memorandum with some comments regarding the issue to be decided by the Council of the Bar Association on the 28th of this month. I have taken the liberty of sending a copy of this memorandum to the various members of the Disciplinary Board so that they have the opportunity to take note of it before the hearing on 28 April. Please accept, President, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Memorandum

The following question has been put to the Council of the Bar Association: should Jewish lawyers be removed from the register of lawyers so that the Council can demonstrate that it has complied in all respects with the wording of the occupying government's regulation of 28 October 1940?⁵ The answer to this question is: 'no'.

The regulation expressly stipulates that Jews are no longer permitted to be lawyers as of 31 December 1940, which means they are no longer permitted to practise law; indeed, in French the regulation states: '*ni exercer la profession d'avocat*'.⁶

⁹ See Doc. 158.

¹ CegeSoma, AA 754. This document has been translated from Dutch.

² The document was unsigned; the letter was written by Dr Régine Karlin-Orfinger (1911–2002), lawyer; practised law in Antwerp from 1934; expelled from the Bar Association because of her Jewish background in 1941; active in the resistance together with her husband, Lucien Orfinger (1913–1944); returned to the legal profession after the war.

³ Dr Louis van Scharen (d. 1970), lawyer; practised law from 1906; president of the Antwerp Bar Association, 1939–1941.

⁴ The original contains handwritten annotations.

⁵ See Doc. 159. This regulation prohibited lawyers from practising law.

⁶ French in the original: 'nor practise the profession of lawyer'.

Section 4 of the regulation states: 'The ministries with authority for the public administrations concerned and the Ministry of the Interior in other respects are charged with implementing this regulation. The Ministry of the Interior will issue the necessary implementing regulations.'

As it happens, the Council of the Bar Association is not mentioned as an implementing authority with regard to this regulation.

The Ministry of Justice, which has sole authority, has not taken a decision with regard to the lawyers and has not stripped the magistrates⁷ who, according to the regulation, can no longer practise their profession of their title or their right to a salary.

It is impossible to make a comparison, but in my opinion, it is nonetheless necessary to point out here that civil servants who were given notice upon application of the regulation were only placed on *leave of absence*, and they were only replaced temporarily. They remain civil servants and still receive their salary.⁸

I have complied in all respects with the obligations imposed on me under the regulation; I have not practised my profession since 31 December 1940.

Nevertheless, in all honesty, it did not seem necessary to me to request my omission⁹ from the register of lawyers, as I do not undertake any work that is incompatible with bearing the title of lawyer.

I must repeat here that the regulation that denies me the right to practise my profession does not refer to the register of lawyers. Under these circumstances, it is impossible for me to request my omission from the list without breaking my oath and contradicting my sense of honour.

It is therefore a matter for the Council of the Bar Association to decide whether my name should be removed from the list.

Exclusion and removal are indeed disciplinary sanctions that are only possible in severe cases.

This cannot be regarded as an 'administrative omission', as stated by Mr Stokhouder. The legal precedents are unanimous: exclusion from the register of the Bar Association is an explicit removal, applied either in the case of a disciplinary sanction or in one of the cases of incompatibility, as provided for in Article 18 of the decree of 18 December 1880, amended by the royal decree of 18 August 1889, amended by the royal decree of 13 July 1912.¹⁰

According to a ruling handed down by the Court of Appeal in Brussels on 27 November 1917 (Pas.1918.I.44):¹¹

Une décision du Conseil de discipline qui rejette un demande de réinscription au tableau de l'ordre des avocats porte atteinte aux droits acquis de l'intéressé en vertu de l'inscription antérieure; si elle est basée sur le défaut des conditions de moralité

7 In Belgium, all members of the judiciary are designated as magistrates.

8 In fact, Jewish public officials were forced into retirement and received a pension: see Doc. 164.

9 The original uses the word 'weglating', meaning omission. However, what is meant here is the removal of a name from the register of lawyers, despite the fact that the disciplinary provisions for doing so were not met.

10 This decree governed the rights and duties of lawyers in Belgium.

11 The *Pasicrisie* (Pas.) is the collection of all the decisions of the Belgian Supreme Court, the Court of Cassation in Brussels. The figures refer to the year of publication, the volume, and the page number, respectively.

et de dignité, elle équivaut à la peine de la radiation. A ce double titre elle ne constitue pas une mesure d'ordre administratif mais revêt nettement le caractère le plus grave des sentences disciplinaires.¹²

In the Court of Appeal (15.1.1920.Pas.I.24), the chief public prosecutor, Mr Verlinden, explicitly explained that there can only be a question of acquired rights when a lawyer is still included in the register of lawyers. He distinguishes between omission (omission sollicitée ou renonciation volontaire à un droit¹³) and removal (la radiation suppose une résistance c'est à dire la privation imposée d'un droit¹⁴).

I am still included in the register, and whether my registration should be rescinded is therefore a matter for the Council to decide.

Is it possible to exclude a lawyer from the register of the Bar Association because he no longer practises his profession? No. *Pandectes belges verbo number 563*,¹⁵ 'usages corporatifs des avocats',¹⁶ explains this explicitly.

A decision of the Disciplinary Board of Brussels, dated 14 December 1878, states: 'Dès qu'un avocat est inscrit au tableau, il doit y être maintenu, à moins qu'il n'exerce une profession incompatible avec celle du barreau ou qu'il se soit rendu indigne.'¹⁷

If the Council of the Bar Association (the only higher authority for lawyers) had considered itself responsible for the enforcement and implementation of the regulation in question, it should have notified me before 31 December 1940 that I was not permitted to exercise my profession after the aforementioned date.

The Council has done nothing; it was without its intervention and upon the application of the regulation that I ceased all of my professional activities on 31 December 1940.

The members of the Disciplinary Board must judge, according to their honour and conscience, and on their own initiative, whether they believe it to be appropriate to aggravate a situation which, in my opinion, is already painful enough.

I felt it was my duty to draw the Council's attention to these particularities.¹⁸

12 The passage cited is in French in the original: 'A decision of the Disciplinary Board that rejects a request to be re-entered in the register of the Bar Association contravenes the rights of the individual concerned by virtue of his prior registration; if it is based on the failure to adhere to standards of morality and dignity, it is equivalent to the punishment of disbarment. Taking both of these considerations into account, it does not constitute an administrative measure, but clearly represents the most serious of the disciplinary sentences.'

13 Content in parentheses in French in the original: 'requested omission or voluntary renunciation of a right'.

14 Content in parentheses in French in the original: 'the disbarment presupposes a resistance, namely the imposed deprivation of a right'.

15 The reference is to Edmond Picard, *Les Pandectes belges: Répertoire général de législation, de doctrine et de jurisprudence belges* (Brussels: F. Larcier, 1878–1933).

16 French in the original: 'corporate practices of lawyers'.

17 French in the original: 'From the moment a lawyer has been added to the register, he must be kept in it unless he exercises a profession incompatible with the Bar or has rendered himself unworthy.' Jacques de Cressonnières, *Décisions du Conseil de l'Ordre des Avocats près la cour de Bruxelles* (Brussels: F. Larcier, 1906), pp. 376–377.

18 On 3 July 1941 the Disciplinary Board of the Antwerp Bar Association decided to expel Jewish lawyers from the Bar. Shortly after the liberation of Antwerp on 11 Sept. 1944, the Board repealed its decision and reinstated all Jewish lawyers, giving them full membership rights: Jan Verstraete, *De Jodenverordeningen en de Antwerpse Balie* (Brussels: F. Larcier, 2001).

DOC. 168

On 31 May 1941 the German military administration issues the Third Jew Regulation, which sets out the procedure for the registration and identification of businesses and assets belonging to Jews¹

Regulation on Economic Measures Against Jews (Third Jew Regulation), 31 May 1941

In accordance with Art. 13 of the preceding Supplementary Regulation to the Jew Regulation of 31 May 1941, the following revised version of the provisions concerning economic measures against Jews is announced:

Part I

Registration and identification of businesses

§ 1

Definition of a business

Businesses within the meaning of this regulation are:

1. businesses that must be entered in the commercial register,
2. other associations of individuals, as well as institutions, foundations, and other special-purpose funds, if they pursue economic objectives,
3. agricultural and forestry enterprises as well as horticultural and fishing enterprises, if they are connected to a commercial business.

§ 2

Prerequisites for the requirement to register

- (1) The registration requirement applies to every business that corresponds to the following definitions as of 1 May 1940 or at a later date:
 1. a business that is directly or indirectly run by a natural person, if this person is a Jew,
 2. a business that is run by a commercial corporation, if
 - a) at least one personally liable partner is a Jew or
 - b) if at least one of the persons appointed for legal representation is a Jew or
 - c) if at least one member of the administrative board or one of the persons appointed as supervisors under commercial law is a Jew or
 - d) if Jews have a decisive participating interest in the commercial undertaking in terms of capital or voting power. A decisive participating interest in terms of capital is present if more one than a quarter of the capital belongs to Jews; a decisive participating interest in terms of voting power is present if the votes of Jews reach half of the total number of votes or if, in the case of distribution of the share ownership among the general public, the ownership of a block of shares by Jews guarantees an exertion of influence upon the management of the business. If there are votes with preferential rights, a decisive participating interest is also present if Jews are entitled to half of these votes.
 3. A business that is operated by an association of individuals, an institution, a foundation or a special-purpose fund within the meaning of § 1(2), if one of the prerequisites listed above under (2) is met.

¹ *VOBl-BNF*, 44, no. 2, 10 June 1941, pp. 617–62. This document has been translated from German.

4. Every business that is actually under the controlling influence of Jews. This applies in particular when efforts at concealment have been made.
- (2) The registration requirement is not precluded by the obligation to register the assets of the business concerned pursuant to the Regulation Concerning Enemy Assets of 23 May 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 2, no. 7) and the implementing regulation for it, dated 2 July 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 5, no. 8).²
- (3) The legal consequences attached to the business's obligation to register do not apply if the prerequisites named in 1) are no longer present and the Military Commander has issued the business with confirmation to that effect.

§ 3 Branches

Branches are required to register

- a) if the business to which they belong is itself required to register or
- b) if the business to which they belong is not required to register but at least one manager of the branch is a Jew.

§ 4

Person required to register

- (1) In the case of a business that is directly or indirectly run by a natural person, this person is required to register; in the case of businesses within the meaning of § 2 (2–4), every person appointed to represent the business is required to register.
- (2) If all the persons required under (1) to register a business are permanently or temporarily in a foreign country or are otherwise prevented from exercising their powers, then those persons who are actually running the business are also required to register the business.

§ 5

Content of the registration

- (1) At the time of registration, all the domestic and foreign assets of the business that were in existence on the cut-off date stated in § 2 must be declared, separated into assets and liabilities.
- (2) Everything that is directly or indirectly intended or suited to serve the purposes of the business must also be included in the business's assets.
- (3) As a matter of principle, registration must be based on the values on the balance sheet as of 31 December 1939. If a balance sheet has been prepared after this date, its values are to be used as the basis. If a balance sheet is not compiled on a regular basis, the assets are to be valued on the basis of their general value as of the aforementioned cut-off date. At the request of the registration office, an appraisal of the assets by a sworn person must be subsequently submitted.

§ 6

Form of the registration

- (1) Registration must be completed within two weeks of the time the requirement to register arises. An official printed form must be used, prepared in triplicate and submitted at the Registration Office for Jewish Assets³ in Brussels, 1 Leuvenschen Weg, 1 rue de Louvain.

² Regulation Concerning Enemy Assets in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Enemy Assets Regulation), 23 May 1940, in *VOBI-BNF*, 2, no. 7, 17 June 1940, p. 39, and Regulation Concerning the Implementation and Amendment of the Enemy Assets Regulation, 2 July 1940, in *VOBI-BNF*, 5, no. 8, 6 July 1940, pp. 112–115.

- (2) The official form must be obtained from the Ortskommandanturen and Feldkommandanturen.

§ 7

Visible identification of businesses subject to the registration requirement

- (1) Businesses that are required to register must be marked with these words in three languages: 'Jüdisches Unternehmen – joodsche onderneming – entreprise juive'.⁴ The identification must be made clearly visible
1. on the letterhead and business stamp,
 2. on every business nameplate and sign,
 3. in the case of retail establishments, also on every entrance door to the shop or on the display window next to the entrance. There must be at least as many identification signs as there are entrance doors. White signs measuring 30 cm x 40 cm with black lettering 3 cm to 4 cm high are to be used for identification.
- (2) The identification measures must be carried out by the businesses concerned by 15 July 1941.
- (3) Businesses that have submitted a request for issuance of a certificate under § 2(3) by 1 July 1941 are exempted from the identification requirement, pending a decision to the contrary by the Military Commander.
- (4) The provisions regarding the visible marking of eating and drinking and lodging establishments (§ 14 of the First Jew Regulation)⁵ remain unaffected.

Part II

Registration of land

§ 8

- (1) Plots of land which are owned or co-owned by Jews or by businesses subject to registration as well as equivalent rights to land must be registered within two weeks of the date when the registration requirement comes into force, in the first instance by 15 July 1941, at the Registration Office for Jewish Assets in Brussels, 1 Leuvenschen Weg, 1 rue de Louvain. The official forms available from the commandants' offices must be used for registration.
- (2) The legal owner is required to register; if he is unable to do so, a person who has rights of ownership must register.
- (3) Registration is still required even if the land has previously been registered on the basis of another provision (such as the Enemy Assets Regulation) or in the context of general registration (§ 10 of the First Jew Regulation, § 5 of this regulation).

Part III

Restrictions on disposition and acquisition

§ 9

Restrictions on disposition

- (1) Jews and businesses subject to registration must have the authorization of the Military Commander in order to conclude legal transactions with regard to

3 The office was a section within Group XII of the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs.

4 German, Dutch and French for 'Jewish business'.

5 See Doc. 158.

- a) businesses and branches belonging to them,
 - b) their participating interests in businesses, subject, however, to the special provisions regarding securities (§§ 12–14),
 - c) their total assets,
 - d) plots of land that they own as well as rights equivalent to owning land.
- (2) Disposals by way of foreclosure are the equivalent of legal transactions.
 - (3) The lease of real estate for periods of up to one year does not require authorization.
 - (4) Legal transactions that are concluded without the requisite authorization are invalid. Legal transactions that were concluded before the effective date of the authorization requirement, 1 May 1940, may be declared invalid by the Military Commander.

§ 10

Restrictions on acquisition

Jews and businesses subject to registration must have the authorization of the Military Commander to set up businesses and to acquire businesses or participating interests in businesses as well as plots of land and equivalent rights by means of a legal transaction.

§ 9(4) applies accordingly.

§ 11

Bank deposits

- (1) Banks licensed to deal in foreign exchange are the only credit institutions in which Jews and businesses subject to registration may hold deposits. Existing deposits with other credit institutions must be moved to a bank licensed to deal in foreign exchange by 15 July 1941 unless the Military Commander grants an exemption in individual cases. If the deposits are not payable or redeemable until a later date, the transfer must take place as soon as possible.
- (2) Jews and businesses subject to registration must forthwith provide written notification to the credit institution where they hold deposits that they have been classified as Jews or as businesses subject to the registration requirement.
- (3) The duties under (1) and (2) must be performed by the owners of the deposits or by persons otherwise authorized to draw on the account.
- (4) The deposits of Jews and businesses subject to registration are to be identified as Jewish. This applies even if no declaration within the meaning of (2) is made, but the credit institution knows or must assume on the basis of the circumstances that the owner of the deposits is a Jew or a business subject to registration.⁶
- (5) Upon request, credit institutions are obliged to inform the Registration Office for Jewish Assets about Jewish deposits.

§ 12

Compulsory deposits of securities

- (1) By 15 July 1941, Jews must deposit all their domestic and foreign securities (§ 2(7–9) of the Foreign Exchange Regulation of 17 June 1940, *Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 2, no. 21) in an open deposit account at a bank licensed to deal in foreign exchange. Newly purchased securities must be placed in such an account within one week of the date of acquisition. Persons in possession of securities belonging to a Jew or other persons with the right of disposal over them have the same obligations.

⁶ In many cases, Belgian banks did not carry out this identification of accounts owned by Jews. As a result, many Jews were able to protect their assets from being seized by the German authorities.

- (2) If securities to the benefit of Jews are already in a deposit account at a bank licensed to deal in foreign exchange, the Jews must forthwith notify the bank in writing that they have been classified as Jews. In the case of (1), sentence 3, this statement must be provided to the owner or other person with the right of disposal.
- (3) In the cases of (1) and (2), the bank must be informed for each separate security whether it has already been registered pursuant to the Implementing Regulation to the Enemy Assets Regulation of 2 July 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 5, no. 8).
- (4) The securities deposit accounts are to be identified as Jewish. This applies even if no declaration within the meaning of (2) is provided, but the bank knows or must assume on the basis of the circumstances that the owner of the securities is a Jew.

§ 13

Securities transactions

Legal transactions concerning the securities subject to compulsory deposit under § 12 as well as transfers of securities out of the deposit accounts require the authorization of the Military Commander. § 9(4) applies accordingly.

§ 14

Securities of businesses required to register

- (1) The Military Commander will determine the date from which §§ 12 and 13 also apply to securities belonging to businesses required to register by means of a public notice.
- (2) Until this time, businesses subject to registration can dispose of their securities only within the scope of the ongoing management of their business.

Part IV

Other economic measures

§ 15

Exclusion of Jews from work as administrators

- (1) Jews who are still members of a supervisory board or are appointed as persons with supervisory authority for a business may have all rights deriving from these positions revoked by order of the Military Commander. Jews who are forbidden to return under § 2 of the First Jew Regulation will forfeit the rights mentioned above as of 10 June 1941.
- (2) Businesses must promptly make the exclusion of the Jews known in the usual manner.

§ 16

Temporary administrators

- (1) The Military Commander is authorized to entrust a temporary administration with the running of a business subject to registration. He is further authorized to charge temporary administrators with the administration of the assets or portions of assets owned by Jews, in particular participating interests in businesses. The expenses arising as a result are borne by the business or the total assets under administration.
- (2) The provisions of the Regulation on the Orderly Management and Administration of Businesses and Enterprises of 20 May 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 2, no. 5) apply accordingly to the powers of a temporary administrator.

- (3) If the business is listed in the commercial registry, the appointment of the administrator must be officially entered free of charge.

§ 17

Special directives

The Military Commander may prohibit Jews and businesses subject to registration from continuing to operate the business. Further, he can compel Jews and businesses subject to registration to shut down or dispose of their operations, as well as to dispose of shares in the business and other assets. If these directives are not complied with over a period of time yet to be determined, the Military Commander can charge a temporary administrator with the implementation of the measures ordered.

Part V

General provisions

§ 18

Cases of doubt

If there is doubt as to whether persons or businesses are affected by this regulation, they must by way of precaution discharge the duties set forth in the regulation.

§ 19

Recording of legal transactions subject to authorization

- (1) The courts and other authorities that maintain registers or public books may record legal transactions subject to authorization only if the authorization required under this regulation is on hand.
- (2) It is permissible to record a legal transaction that is subject to authorization with the express addendum that the legal transaction will not become valid until authorization is granted.

§ 20

Conditions

Authorizations of legal transactions can be granted conditionally. Conditions involving a change in the content of contracts which are subject to authorization are directly applicable to both contracting parties.

§ 21

Transfer of powers

Under this regulation the Military Commander reserves the right to transfer the powers due to him to other offices.

§ 22

Fees

Fees may be charged for measures based on this regulation.

§ 23

Implementing provisions

The Chief of the Military Administration will issue the provisions necessary for the implementation or amendment of this regulation. He may make legally binding decisions about unresolved issues arising from the application of this regulation.

§ 24

Sanctions

- 1) Anyone who deliberately or negligently violates this regulation or the provisions issued for its implementation, particularly anyone who does not submit the prescribed

registration forms or does not submit them on time or correctly, will be punished with a prison sentence or a fine or both.

- 2) In addition to the punishment, orders to seize assets may be issued. If no specific person can be prosecuted or sentenced, orders to seize assets may be issued independently.

The Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France.⁷

DOC. 169

***Steeds Vereenigd–Unis Toujours*, late May 1941: article on looting and assaults on Jews in Antwerp¹**

A Taste of the New Order

On Easter Monday the people of Antwerp were given a taste of what is meant by the New Order.

A diverse gang of traitors to our country, consisting of VNV² supporters, SS men,³ and Rexists,⁴ marched through the streets of our city's Jewish quarter.⁵

Shouting slogans such as 'Jews out', these heroes managed to force their way into innocent people's homes, steal and loot all they could shift, and destroy everything that was too big or heavy for them.

These champions of the New Order, aided by their masters, who could not resist lending a helping hand (they used to perform similar chores back in their Heimat⁶), did not spare anything, and we should almost compare them with the vandals from Spanish times,⁷ or from the time of the Vikings.⁸

Fires were started in various places and were put out by our firemen. Synagogues and houses were emptied and set on fire. Like men possessed, shouting angry slogans and

⁷ Alexander von Falkenhausen.

¹ *Steeds Vereenigd – Unis Toujours, voor een vrij België – pour une Belgique libre*, no. 4, p. 8. This document has been translated from Dutch. Although the article is undated, from the content it is clear that it was written in late May 1941. From Jan. 1941, a total of eighty issues of this illegal newspaper were published, with a circulation of up to 3,000 copies. Although initially independent, the newspaper became a mouthpiece of the liberal resistance group Witte Brigade, which played a significant role in the Antwerp area.

² Vlaams Nationaal Verbond, the far-right Flemish nationalist party.

³ This refers to the paramilitary Allgemeene-SS Vlaanderen (General SS Flanders), which was founded on Himmler's initiative in Nov. 1940 and merged with the Germanic SS in Flanders in Oct. 1942.

⁴ The Rexist Party was a Catholic nationalist movement, founded in 1936, that sought the abolition of democracy in Belgium and the introduction of an authoritarian system, and opposed any form of Jewish influence on politics and the economy.

⁵ On 14 April 1941 members of various antisemitic organizations marched through Antwerp following a screening of the film *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew), destroying shop windows and setting fire to two synagogues. The owners of the businesses affected did not receive any compensation for the resulting damage.

⁶ German in the original: 'homeland'.

⁷ See Doc. 149, fn. 15.

⁸ The Vikings were notorious for their raids and plundering during the Early Middle Ages.

profanities, these new cultural beings,⁹ acting like beasts, smashed through doors and windows with the sole intention of looting, as confirmed by the statements they uttered: 'There is nothing to be found here', or 'There is nothing to loot here'.

The party leaders rejoiced in this spectacle, though without getting their hands dirty, and our civil guard and gendarmerie were completely at a loss, or pretended to be, and allowed the bandits to continue their looting spree.

They used the pretext that they were breaking into the homes of 'dirty Jews', but, dear readers, this was only an excuse: after the Jews, when everything has been looted, we real Belgians will be next.

When we Belgians witness such acts, we should feel ashamed to be Flemish. But there will be retribution.

The revenge will be just as cruel.

Dear readers, do not think now that we, the Belgians, support the Jews. No, far from it. But nonetheless, a Jew is also a human being.

'Jews out' is their slogan, but if we think logically for a moment, where can the Jews go? If they want to get rid of the Jews, and the Germans want the same, this can be achieved in a much simpler and more humane manner. But the New Order won't stand for it, as all that is humane is a relic of the past.

And thus we can slowly conjure up an image of the New Order and of the theories of its leader and inventor: *Adolf Hitler*.

Let us hope that all this misery will soon come to an end, and that the day of deliverance – which will also be the day of revenge – will arrive soon. *May woe befall you, ye traitors, who now undertake thy malicious work under protection of the occupier; oh woe, revenge is sure to come!!!*

DOC. 170

***Die Zeitung*, 10 July 1941: article on further economic restrictions imposed on Jews in Belgium¹**

'Aryanization' in Belgium

As early as October of last year, the German Military Commander in Brussels issued a so-called Jew Regulation.² Recently an additional regulation³ was issued, in which the antisemitic measures were made appreciably tougher.

The text was not published in Germany, but it was disclosed that the new provisions refer to the registration requirement and closure of Jewish or 'Jewified' businesses. It is also not beneath the dignity of the Military Commander to decree that special signs must be put on Jewish shops. Controls are imposed on bank accounts and securities belonging to Jews. Judging by experiences from the Reich, such controls are likely to unfailingly end in the confiscation of assets. The final aim of this regulation is to more or less completely exclude Jews from leading positions in economic life.

⁹ The Dutch original uses the term *kultuurmensen*, echoing the German term *Kultur Mensch*.

¹ *Die Zeitung: Londoner deutsches Wochenblatt*, vol. 1, no. 103, 10 July 1941, p. 2. This document has been translated from German.

² See Doc. 158.

³ See Doc. 168.

How does a high-ranking officer⁴ feel when he is forced to act as Streicher's⁵ executive arm? Even someone like Ludendorff⁶ would have been horrified if he had been expected to act in this manner during the [First] World War.

DOC. 171

**Excerpt from the German military administration's annual report,
dated 15 July 1941, about measures against Jews in Belgium thus far¹**

Annual report (marked 'secret') drawn up by the military administration in Belgium and northern France for the first year of operation (no. 1700/41 secret, copy 102), published by the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Chief of the Military Administration, signed Reeder,² pp. A62-A65, place unspecified, dated 15 July 1941

[...] ³

V. Measures against Jews

The Jewish question plays nothing like the same role in Belgium as it does in most other European countries. *In numerical terms, the share of Jews in the total population is small.* Their share in economic life was, on the whole, not significant.

When Belgium was invaded, the politically and economically influential Jews for the most part fled to hostile countries. Their assets were confiscated and treated as enemy assets; they were prohibited from returning to Belgium. This meant that the Jewish influence could be eliminated to a considerable degree from the outset.

Despite their relatively minor significance, however, *systematic action against the Jews* was also necessary in order to make sure matters relating to this question took the same direction in Belgium as in the other countries occupied or influenced by Germany. First, therefore, *the precise number of Jews and their share in economic life* were established, and then the Jews were *eliminated from all public offices and appointments*.

For this purpose, the Military Commander issued the Regulation on Measures Against Jews and the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from Public Offices and Appointments.⁴ These regulations define who is a Jew in accordance with German regulations. The Jews are recorded individually in the Jew registry maintained by the Belgian local authorities. Initially, those authorities carried out this new task only very hesitantly

⁴ The reference is to Alexander von Falkenhausen, who signed these regulations.

⁵ Julius Streicher, editor of the antisemitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*.

⁶ Erich Ludendorff (1865–1937), military officer; with Paul von Hindenburg joint commander-in-chief of the German armies on the Eastern Front in 1914; with von Hindenburg formed the Supreme Army Command that ran the war effort from 1916 to 1918; involved in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923; unsuccessfully ran for Reich president in 1925.

¹ BArch, RW 36/201. This document has been translated from German.

² Eggert Reeder.

³ The entire report is 337 pages long and is divided into sections on policy, administration, and the economy. Within the section on policy, this excerpt is preceded by the following topics: fundamental issues, ethnopolitical issues, the activity of the compensation committee, and the Flemish and Walloon labour service.

⁴ See Docs. 158 and 159.

and reluctantly. The registration of Jewish businesses is handled centrally by a special office under the Chief of the Military Administration.⁵ At present, there can be no question of delegating this task to Belgian authorities because the German interest in Aryanization measures predominates and loyal cooperation by Belgian authorities was not to be expected. A registration requirement already exists if a member of the management board or a member of the supervisory board of a business is a Jew.

The registration of the Jews has revealed that there are *43,000 Jews in all of Belgium*, of whom almost *39,000 do not hold Belgian citizenship*. The number of *businesses* that have been registered is *around 7,000*.

The businesses are mostly medium-sized, small or very small. In the individual sectors of the economy, Jewish businesses account for only a small percentage in each case. The Jewish element is strongest in Antwerp.

In addition, *legal transactions concerning Jewish businesses and real estate were made subject to authorization*. Similarly, the visible identification of Jewish eating and drinking and lodging establishments, later of *all Jewish businesses*, was ordered.⁶ In a number of instances, the Business Management Regulation⁷ was used to *appoint temporary administrators* in cases where there was significant German interest in a business.

Finally, in the field of policing, the confiscation of wireless sets belonging to Jews was implemented in order to put a stop to the whispering campaign emanating from the Jewish side.⁸

In accordance with the Regulation on the Exclusion of Jews from Public Offices and Appointments, as of 1 January 1941 Jews in Belgium can *no longer hold public office*.⁹

Other positions in public administrations or associations, foundations, and businesses in which the state or the public sector has a participating interest also fall under this provision. Further, Jews cannot be lawyers, teachers in schools and institutions of higher education, nor managers, directors or journalists in press and broadcasting corporations.

The relevant Belgian ministries were tasked with implementing the measures, and initially created a number of difficulties. The proportion of Jews in the public service was small, in keeping with their general significance here. Hence, based on the regulation, only sixty-four state and municipal officials had to be eliminated from the public service.

After the registration of the Jewish businesses, *Jewish assets were secured*, which gives the authorities access to these assets at any time. *Similarly*, the exclusion of the Jews from economic life *began*, along with the transfer of Jewish businesses or participating interests into non-Jewish hands (*Aryanization*).

5 This refers to the division for Enemy and Jewish Assets (Group XII) within the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs.

6 See Doc. 158.

7 Regulation on the Orderly Management and Administration of Businesses and Enterprises in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Business Management Regulation), 20 May 1940, *VOBl-BNF*, 2, no. 5, 17 June 1940, pp. 29–30.

8 Supplementary Regulation to the Jew Regulation of 31 May 1941, *VOBl-BNF*, 44, no. 1, 10 June 1941, pp. 607–610.

9 See Docs. 159 and 168.

The legal basis for these measures, some of which had already been set in motion earlier, was created by the Supplementary Regulation to the Jew Regulation issued by the Military Commander.¹⁰ In particular, this regulation includes a registration requirement for Jewish-owned real estate and rights equivalent to owning real estate. Jewish bank deposits may now be held only with banks licensed to deal in foreign exchange. Jews must place all their domestic and foreign securities in an open deposit account with a bank licensed to deal in foreign exchange. A temporary administrator can be appointed not only for Jewish businesses but also for specific assets owned by Jews, in particular for shares in a business. Because all of the more significant legal transactions involving Jewish assets require authorization by the Military Commander, a legal transfer of these assets to third parties is impossible unless it is in line with German interests.

The Jews' *inclination to engage in voluntary Aryanization* was relatively *slight at first*, apart from the sale of real estate. Under the new regulation, *compulsory measures* may be taken *from now on*, wherever this seems advisable.

By order of the Military Commander, Jews can be excluded from the supervisory board of a business or from appointment as acting business supervisors under commercial law. Orders can be given for the continuation of business operations, the closure or sale of businesses, and the sale of shares in a business or other assets.

The Aryanization of businesses has particular significance for economic integration with Germany. Therefore, it was necessary for us to exercise control over developments here ourselves and first to single out and clarify the cases in which a transfer of the Jewish businesses or participating interests into German hands seemed desirable. After that, for the remaining, generally uninteresting cases, the possibility of forcible Aryanization or closure always exists.

In northern France, developments were *concurrent* with the arrangement made for the *rest of occupied France*. The measures are essentially in line with those taken in Belgium.¹¹

[...] ¹²

¹⁰ See Doc. 168.

¹¹ See Doc. 251.

¹² The report subsequently expands on the trade unions; chapters on administration and the economy follow.

DOC. 172

On 29 July 1941 the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior instructs the Belgian administration to stamp 'Jew' in the passports of Jewish citizens¹

Memorandum (marked 'urgent') from the Ministry of the Interior and Public Health, Department of Provincial and Municipal Affairs (1st Division, no. J, 9/ADS), signed by G. Romsée² (secretary general), Brussels, to the district commissioners and the mayors and aldermen of the autonomous municipalities, for the attention of the governors (received on 31 July 1941), dated 29 July 1941³

In my circular of 6 December 1940, Secretariat General, I provided you with excerpts concerning the implementation of the two regulations issued by the occupying government on 28 October 1940,⁴ the first of which was intended to create a Jew registry.

According to the provisions of Section 2(4) of this regulation, a person's entry in the register must be indicated on that person's identity document.

A notification from the occupation government stipulates that, in addition, the identity documents for Jews entered in this registry must include the following specification: 'Jood – Juif'.

You are to ensure that this is added in red ink, just above the relevant person's portrait, using a stamp with block letters approximately 1.5 cm in size.

The persons concerned must report to your offices between now and 15 August for the execution of this measure, about which they will be informed by a press release.

Immediately after this date, you must submit a list to the Office of the Security Police, 453 Louisalaan in Brussels, stating the surname, first names, place and date of birth, occupation, and address of the persons entered in the Jew registry, using a special identifier to specify those who have had their identity document newly stamped on 15 August 1941.

DOC. 173

On 29 August 1941 the Chief of the Military Administration restricts freedom of movement for Jews¹*Regulation Restricting the Movement and Residence of Jews, 29 August 1941*

By virtue of the authority granted by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army,² the following is decreed for Belgium:

§ 1

Jews (§ 1 of the Jew Regulation of 28 October 1940, *Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers*, 20, no. 1) are forbidden to be outside their residences between 8 p.m. and 7 a.m.

1 Kazerne Dossin, A 001 435. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 Gérard Romsée.

3 The original contains handwritten notes.

4 See Docs. 158 and 159.

1 *VOBl-BNF* 54, no. 1, 5 Sept. 1941, pp. 703–704. This document has been translated from German.

2 Walther von Brauchitsch.

§ 2

Jews are forbidden to move to any municipalities other than Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, and Charleroi.

§ 3

Violations of this regulation will be punished with imprisonment or a fine or both.

§ 4

This regulation comes into force at the time of its promulgation.

The Chief of the Military Administration

on behalf of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France.³

DOC. 174

***België Vrij*, 20 September 1941: article on the effect of anti-Jewish measures
on the Belgian population¹**

The real reason for the Jewish persecution

But ... the people will not be misled

Who does not remember Easter Monday, when the fascist scum organized a 'punitive mission' in the Jewish quarter in Antwerp? Who does not remember that disgusting display of sadism unleashed by the cultural purveyors of the New Order? Do you not remember: the furniture destroyed, the synagogue in flames, those maltreated women and old people?² The indignation was so great and universal that the VNV³ and SS bandits have not dared to repeat their heroic acts.

Everyone knows the facts, and no one will forget them. But ... is everyone aware of how the Nazi masters have cravenly and cunningly continued to target Jewish citizens with measures intended to exclude them? Does everyone know how the Jewish citizen is subjected to a variety of blatantly unfair and belittling measures? That he is not allowed to go outside in the evening? That his residence options are being restricted?⁴ That many have been robbed of their possessions?⁵ That war veterans are barred from the legal profession and from schools?⁶ That honourable citizens, because they are of Jewish origin, have been left penniless?

The purpose of all these measures is clear. The Nazis and their Belgian servants are using antisemitism as a diversion! All that stupid, unscientific, and slanderous nonsense

³ Eggert Reeder.

¹ 'De ware ondergrond van de jodenvervolgingen', *België Vrij: Strijdblad voor herovering van 's lands onafhankelijkheid en democratische vrijheden*, 20 Sept. 1941, p. 4. This document has been translated from Dutch. The illegal newspaper *België Vrij* was published by the resistance group Front de l'Indépendance-Onafhankelijkheidsfront in Antwerp. Its editor-in-chief was the Jewish resistance fighter David de Vries (1912–1944).

² On the excesses in Antwerp, see Doc. 169.

³ Vlaams Nationaal Verbond, the far-right Flemish nationalist party.

⁴ See Doc. 173.

⁵ See Doc. 168.

⁶ From 28 Oct. 1940, Jews were generally barred from the legal and teaching professions: see Doc. 159.

about the Jewish problem, and all those Jewish regulations – they serve to mislead the people. They serve the purpose of persuading the people that the Jews are the cause of our misery. That it is the Jews rather than the Nazi lackeys who have sold our country. That it is the Jews rather than the Nazis who are ransacking our country and thriving while we pay the price in misery...

But, viewed propagandistically, all these measures have had an adverse effect. Indeed, we know people who have certainly never been 'philosemites', but who are now outraged about the injustice that is being perpetrated against Jewish citizens.

The population of our country rejects the antisemitic propaganda, as well as the rest of the Nazi 'Kwatsch'.⁷

Our people refuse to bring back medieval morals, refuse to replace humanitarian sentiments with barbarism and science with stupidity.

The people of Flanders and Wallonia have only one enemy: *the occupiers and their lackeys*.

And they are organizing the struggle against this enemy, resolutely and sure of victory.

DOC. 175

On 29 September 1941 the Chief of the Military Administration summarizes the conditions in Breendonk camp¹

File note (fürs.- IX/40) from the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Chief of the Military Administration, signed p.p. Duntze,² Brussels, 12 Wetstraat/rue de la Loi, dated 29 September 1941³

Re: Breendonk camp⁴

1) *File note*

On 24 September 1941, Deputy of the Chief of the Military Administration Dr von Craushaar, Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Leiber,⁵ Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Duntze, and Senior Staff Physician Holm,⁶ together with the head of the Brussels office of the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, SS-Sturmabführer Dr Canaris,⁷ and his administrative officer, inspected Breendonk camp.

The reported occupancy totalled 346 inmates, of whom 59 were in sick quarters and 62 in the infirmary.

7 As in the original. The reference is to the German word *Quatsch*: 'rubbish, nonsense'.

1 BArch, R 70 – Belgien/6. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Johannes Duntze (1901–1987), lawyer; worked for the Baden administration from 1928; joined the NSDAP in 1937; headed the social services division of Group VII of the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs, 1940–1944; prisoner of war, 1945–1946; worked in various ministries in the German federal state of Baden and later Baden-Württemberg, 1949–1953; head of the Department of Social Services at the West German Federal Ministry of the Interior, 1953–1967.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations and underlining.

4 Fort Breendonk, built in 1906, served as a prison camp run by the Security Police and the SD from Sept. 1940; Jewish prisoners were also held there until Mechelen transit camp was established in July 1942. Most of Breendonk's 3,500 inmates were gradually deported to German concentration camps; only around half of them survived. See Patrick Nefors, *Breendonk, 1940–1945: De geschie-*

The guard staff consists of the head

Head: SS-Sturmbahnführer *Schmidt*⁸ (currently on leave)

Deputy: SS-Hauptsturmführer Klamottke,⁹

Admission: SS-Untersturmführer *Wilms*,¹⁰

Criminal investigation: SS-Untersturmführer *Laiss*,¹¹

Accounting: SS-Sturmmann *Müller*,¹²

External Relations: SS-Untersturmführer *Prauss*,¹³

Kitchen: SS-Hauptscharführer *Zimmermann*,¹⁴

Number of German SS men: 5/4.¹⁵

denis (Antwerp: Standaard, 2004 [French edn. trans. Walter Hilger, Brussels: Racine, 2005]), and James M. Deem, *The Prisoners of Breendonk: Personal Histories from a World War II Concentration Camp* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015).

5 Dr Rudolf Leiber (1896–1988), lawyer; worked for the administrative service from 1923; worked for the military administration in Belgium, 1940–1944; head of the police division in the administration department, 1940–1942; chief of police in Mannheim, 1946–1962; Mannheim city councillor for the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), 1963–1975.

6 Dr Kurt Holm (1894–1954), physician; joined the NSDAP in 1933; head of the medical affairs division in the administration department under the Chief of the Military Administration, 1941–1943; prisoner of war and interned, 1945–1947.

7 Dr Constantin Richard Canaris (1906–1983), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1932; worked for the Gestapo, 1937–1940; representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Brussels, 1940 to Nov. 1941 and from Feb. 1944; inspector of the Security Police and the SD in Königsberg, Dec. 1941–Jan. 1944; imprisoned by the Allies, 1945; sentenced to twenty years in prison in Belgium, 1951; released in 1952.

8 Correctly: Philipp Schmitt (1902–1950), bank employee; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1932; worked at the SD Main Office, 1936–1939; commandant of Breendonk camp, 1940–1943; simultaneously commandant of Mechelen transit camp, 1942–1943; dismissed for involvement in black market activities; prisoner of war from 1945; sentenced to death in Belgium in 1949 and executed.

9 Correctly: Karl Lamottke (1895–1973), accountant; joined the NSDAP in 1929 and the SS in 1933; section head with the SD in Berlin from 1934; deputy commandant of Breendonk camp, 1941–1942; avoided prosecution in Belgium by fleeing the country.

10 Franz Wilms (1889–1961), retailer; SA leader in Bedburg; member of the Security Police in Brussels from April 1941 to June 1943; in charge of registering prisoners at Breendonk; joined the Volksturm militia in 1945; imprisoned; extradited to Belgium in Feb. 1946; returned to Germany in Dec. 1948.

11 Correctly: Ernst Lais (b. 1890), police detective; joined the NSDAP in 1933; worked at Breendonk camp, 1941–1942; then head of the Criminal Investigation Department at the Security Police and the SD in Antwerp; responsible for crimes including the deaths of nine Jews who suffocated during a transport to Mechelen; head of the Criminal Investigation Department in The Hague, from Sept. 1944 to Feb. 1945; imprisoned in Belgium until his case was dismissed by the Belgian War Council, 1948–1950.

12 Walter Müller (1900–1978), office worker; joined the SS in 1931; in charge of accounts at Breendonk from 1941; prisoner of war in 1945; imprisoned in Belgium, 1946–1950; later worked as a furrier in Germany.

13 Arthur Prauss (1892–1945), butcher; joined the SS in 1933 and NSDAP in 1937; head of the guard squads at Breendonk from 1941; fled to Germany in 1944.

14 Kurt Zimmermann (1912–2004), tailor; joined the NSDAP in 1931 and the SS in 1936; in charge of provisioning the prisoners at Breendonk, 1940–1942; worked at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) from 1942; thought to have been a postal worker in West Germany after 1945.

15 This presumably refers to the number of non-commissioned SS officers and enlisted personnel.

In addition, four members of the Flemish SS are on hand for supervisory work and interpreting services.

The military guard consists of three non-commissioned officers and thirty-two men, provided by Special Duty Reserve Forces Battalion 625.

The rations for the camp are stipulated by the paymaster of Special Duty Reserve Forces Battalion 625 and are provided by the Antwerp Army Ration Supply Depot. The furnishings are delivered by the municipality of Breendonk upon receipt of a certificate of requisition.

Medical services are provided by the garrison physician in Mechelen, Resident Physician Dr Kröchling,¹⁶ who visits the camp regularly every two days and often even every day to make his rounds of the sick quarters. Two Flemish physicians who live in Villebroeck¹⁷ (Dr de Boer and Dr Schuermans) are available for emergency cases.

The camp's inmates are Jews, communists, and a few remand prisoners who have confessed and are awaiting trial for involvement in the murder of a German soldier in Laeken and the murder of a Belgian national who was a German informant. In principle, the only people admitted are those who are brought in under a preventive warrant issued by the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD¹⁸ and his branch offices. It was ascertained, however, that a large-scale black-marketeer from Mechelen was admitted to the camp on the grounds of a mere referral from a military police officer, although the man is only a remand prisoner. The case is being reviewed in detail.

The provisioning of the prisoners is, in principle, regulated by an order dated 31 May 1941 from the paymaster of Special Duty Reserve Forces Battalion 625, according to which the inmates receive the same amount of rationed foods as the Belgian civilian population, specifically:

Bread	225	g
Potatoes	500	"
Meat	35	"
Barley coffee	13	"
Sugar	33	"
Jam	15	"
Artificial honey	7.5	"
Pulses	6.6	"
Margarine or lard	8.4	"
Oatmeal	4.2	"

Since mid September the rations have been improved by an increase in the bread ration to 500 g per day and an extra portion of vegetables amounting to 100 g per day. In addition, 50 g of brewer's yeast is handed out per head on several days each week. The rationing records for the past few days reveal the following calculation per head and per day:

16 Correctly: Dr Johannes Heinrich Köchling (b. 1914), physician; joined the NSDAP in 1937; member of the SS; medical officer with a Wehrmacht reserve forces battalion; in charge of medical care and hygiene at Breendonk from Sept. 1941.

17 Correctly: Willebroek, a small municipality near Breendonk.

18 Ernst Ehlers.

Date:	Head count:	Protein:	Fat:	Carbohydrate:	Calories:
13th Sept.	404	45 g	12.5 g	317 g	1,646
18th Sept.	392	60 "	13 "	411 "	2,113
19th Sept.	391	73 "	13 "	406 "	2,066
20th Sept.	392	66 "	93 ^{»19}	426 "	2,310
22nd Sept.	391	61 "	11 "	394 "	1,999

Since the middle of the month, the daily routine of the prisoners has taken the following form:

6.30 a.m. reveille, then bed-making, cleaning of quarters, breakfast, morning roll call,
 7.30 " report for assignment to work details,
 8 " work starts (if foggy: instruction on camp rules or similar)
 12 p.m. work ends, followed by roll call,
 12.30 " midday meal in quarters, followed by a break,
 2 " work starts,
 4.30 " work ends, followed by evening roll call
 5.30 " end of evening roll call,
 6 " evening meal in quarters, followed by free time,
 9 " lights out.

Only the camp commandant is authorized to issue punishments. Punishment takes the form of solitary confinement (not in blacked-out cells) for up to two days with full rations and no cancellation of postal privileges. In addition, special assignments and extra work can be imposed as disciplinary measures.

The military guard squads carry out the external and internal guard duties. Information about their tasks is provided in the accompanying copy of the 'Special Guard and Sentry Instructions', which are simultaneously regarded as the 'camp rules'.²⁰

The camp was inspected thoroughly, particularly the living quarters, detention cells, sick quarters, and guard quarters. The head of the camp and his assistants live outside the fort, in the small town of Villebroeck, mostly in shared accommodation.

The lodging conditions of the camp inmates in the casemates of the fort are cramped but tolerable. The detention cells, in which a person can just manage to stand upright without bumping his head, are inadequate and suitable at best for dangerous criminals. The fact that six detention cells are fitted inside a single space, with all the cells open at the top and covered only with heavy barbed wire, gives the inmates the opportunity to speak to each other. In the guardroom there is a cage made of strip iron in which prisoners judged to be suicidal are to be kept under the constant supervision of the guard. This cage is completely unsuitable.

The sick quarters, one area for Jews and another for Aryans, are significantly overcrowded and are, in fact, occupied almost exclusively by prisoners who are seriously ill as a result of starvation. All the patients are extremely emaciated; some have nutritional oedema, while others do not. In addition, there were some finger injuries and leg ulcers and one person with active, bleeding tuberculosis, who had to be transferred at once.

¹⁹ Presumably a typing error.

²⁰ Not included in the file.

The larders for foodstuffs, including the ice box, were carefully maintained and kept in order. They require some improvement for potato storage and for ventilation.

The guard quarters are also in the casemates of the fort. They are roomy and the layout is more or less fit for purpose.

Many of the SS guards and members of the military guard squads have been in the camp for many months without being relieved.

The following orders were given by Kriegsverwaltungsvizechef Dr von Craushaar on the spot:

- 1) Admissions to the camp may take place only on the basis of referrals issued by the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, Brussels office, or its branch offices.
- 2) The camp commandant or his deputy is personally responsible for ensuring that abuse by prisoner functionaries does not occur.²¹
- 3) Subordination of Aryans to Jewish prisoner functionaries must cease at once.
- 4) Immediate transfer of the TB patient to a military hospital must be ensured.
- 5) With regard to supplying the camp with food and coal, Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Duntze must promptly make the necessary contacts.

There was further discussion with SS-Sturmabführer Dr Canaris about the fact that the Military Commander – Chief of the Military Administration²² – will issue a basic organizational order concerning the responsibilities for and purpose of the camp, which groups of prisoners are to be admitted, referral procedures, authority over disciplinary punishment, medical care, remand hearings, and supervision. In this order the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD will be required to establish the camp rules, which include the details of camp life, the daily routine, guard duty and work assignment, receipt of parcels and letters, disciplinary punishments, etc., and which will clearly assign responsibilities. These camp rules must be submitted to the Chief of the Military Administration for his approval. It was further decided that Breendonk is to only have the character of a penal camp and that prisoners who are required to be interned temporarily for security reasons are to be housed in a new camp, to be built as quickly as possible. This new camp is intended to be purely an internment camp, analogous to a prisoner-of-war camp. Contact had previously been made with Lieutenant Colonel von Hauenschild²³ with regard to selecting a suitable location.

In the meantime, a report has been submitted to the chief medical officer Dr Blum²⁴ by Senior Staff Physician Holm, the official in charge of medical affairs in the Office of the Chief of the Military Administration. This report revealed that the chief medical officer has assigned the garrison physician at Mechelen not only to make the rounds in

21 Physical abuse of prisoners – not only at the hands of prisoner functionaries – was commonplace at Breendonk.

22 Eggert Reeder.

23 Wolfgang von Hauenschild (1880–1946), military officer and farmer; on the staff of the quartermasters of the military commander in Belgium and northern France, 1940–1944; quartermaster for the Wehrmacht in Breslau in Sept. 1944; died in Soviet captivity in 1946.

24 Dr August Blum (1889–1952), physician and professional soldier; medical officer from 1908; chief physician of the military administration in Belgium and northern France from Feb. 1941 to 1944; retired in 1944.

the sick quarters but also to provide all medical services, i.e. also to supervise hygiene. If the camp is placed under the authority of the Chief of the Military Administration within the military administration, the camp rules need only state that medical services, including hygiene supervision, fall under the remit of a medical officer who is under the authority of the chief medical officer and whose directives must be complied with. In the event of differences of opinion, he must submit a report to the chief medical officer. The chief medical officer is also in charge of all cases under the care of the military hospital in Antwerp.

The organizational order and camp rules are currently being drawn up and will be presented as soon as possible.

II) To be most respectfully submitted to

Kriegsverwaltungschef *Reeder*

Kriegsverwaltungsvizechef Dr von Craushaar

FYI. III.) Carbon copy of I)

a) to the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, Brussels office, *Brussels*

b) to the 'med' group²⁵

c) to the 'pol' group

FYI.

IV) Follow-up required (re: completion of the organizational order)

²⁵ The military administration's executive office consisted of various departments, known as groups, including those for medical affairs ('med'), policy matters ('pol'), ethno-political questions ('volk'), social affairs ('ges'), finance ('fin'), and political and Jewish affairs ('polit').

DOC. 176

**On 15 October 1941 the German military administration decides to establish
a compulsory association of Jews in Belgium¹**

File note from the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Chief of the Military Administration² (J. II/10), unsigned, by order of Kriegsverwaltungschef Froitzheim,³ place unspecified, to be distributed by: volk group, pol group, and ges⁴ group, dated 15 October 1941⁵

Re: establishment of an association of Jews in Belgium

1) File note:

A meeting took place on 15 October 1941 in the office of Kriegsverwaltungschef Froitzheim. In attendance were Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Löffler,⁶ Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Leiber, Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Duntze, and Kriegsverwaltungsrat Höllfritsch.⁷ There was detailed discussion of the draft submitted by the SD of a regulation for the establishment of an association of Jews in Belgium. The statements filed by the participating groups from the military administration were also discussed. The following is to be taken as the outcome of the meeting:

1. The compulsory creation of an association of Jews in Belgium seems necessary. Its goal is the moral ghettoization of the Jew economy in Belgium, in particular its elimination from social life. There appears to be no other way to attain this goal, which German opinion deems essential. The arguments generally brought forth against this proposal must yield to this goal. Such arguments run along the following lines:
 - a) From the police standpoint, it might seem a dubious course of action to bring the previously amorphous body of Jews together to form an organization and thereby produce unified management and leadership for Jewry, which so far has been fragmented.
 - b) Any association including all the Jews in Belgium will by no means be homogeneous. It would contain religiously oriented Jews, Jews who are indifferent to religion, and baptized Jews. Its social structures would embrace both Jews with no police record

1 CegeSoma, mic 198. This document has been translated from German.

2 Eggert Reeder.

3 Otto Froitzheim (1884–1962), lawyer; internationally successful professional tennis player, 1907–1914; interned in the UK, 1914–1918; returned to his tennis career, 1918–1925; deputy police chief of Cologne from 1923; police chief of Wiesbaden, 1926–1933; forced to resign after refusing to join the SA; with Göring's support, appointed deputy police chief of Aachen, 1933; deputy head of the administration department of the German military administration, 1941–1943.

4 The military administration's executive office consisted of various departments, known as groups, including those for ethnopolitical questions ('volk'), policy matters ('pol'), social affairs ('ges'), finance ('fin'), and political and Jewish affairs ('polit').

5 The original contains handwritten annotations.

6 Dr Eugen Löffler (1883–1979), educationalist; worked as a teacher, 1907–1918; employed in the Württemberg administration from 1918; head of the department for schools in the Württemberg Ministry of Culture, 1924–1951; head of the schools group within the military administration, 1940–1944; chairman of the educational advisory board of the Goethe Institute, 1950–1965.

7 Dr Reinhard Höllfritsch (1909–1944), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1931; Regierungsrat in Eggenfelden district authority, 1935–1938; in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1938–1940; on the staff of the military administration, 1940–1943; conscripted to the Wehrmacht in 1943 and killed in action in the war against the Soviet Union.

and large numbers of criminal Jews, among whom black marketeers, crooks, pimps, and brothel owners must be mentioned above all. This lack of homogeneity will indeed prevent the emergence of a sense of community among those who are Jews by race, but it will give rise to tensions that will also make it doubtful whether such an association can fulfil the tasks which are essential to German interests.

- c) The extensive influence that must be conceded to the synagogue raises the risk that Jewry indifferent to religion will become reacquainted with the synagogue. On the German side, there is no interest whatsoever in such a development.
- d) For its membership, the association will only be able to draw on the Jews who are recorded in the Jew registry. The doubtless relatively high percentage of *Mischlinge* who have been assimilated into the Belgian middle classes will not be included because the population will refuse to cooperate.
- e) Because it was created by the occupying power, the compulsory association created by the military administration will operate only reluctantly. It will certainly not be able to rely on any readiness to cooperate on the part of either the Belgian authorities or its own members, who will have been compelled to join.

Given the goal that has been set, none of these objections have any validity.

2) The legal basis for the association, which is to be created by the military administration, must be configured in such a way that it enables the continued functioning of the Belgian authorities on this basis. The military administration does not have sufficient personnel to be able to resolve of its own accord all the individual issues raised by the existence of the association. The regulation to be issued by the Military Commander must therefore contain all the provisions that Belgian legislation would have had [to enact]⁸ as a basis for the new law on Jews.

3) First and foremost, the question of how the association can become a legal entity must be clarified; it must also have legal capacity under Belgian law. To this end, discussion with the legal experts from the Belgian Ministry of the Interior will be required. (To be arranged by Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Höllfritsch).

4) The wording generally to be used concerning the association's purpose must be kept neutral so that the association can be assigned new tasks that might arise later without recourse to separate legal provisions. The association's objectives set out by the SD are to be used only as a list of possible examples.

5) In as far as they are fundamental in nature, the provisions concerning Jewish schools will be incorporated into the regulations. Apart from these, the implementing provisions will have to be issued by the Belgian Ministry of Education, which will also be in charge of supervising the Jewish school system.

6) The deadlines stipulated in the regulation by which the association is to assume responsibility for the Jewish schools must be substantially extended.⁹ The assignment of Jewish pupils exclusively to Jewish schools cannot take place until the Jewish school system has been fully established.

⁸ A handwritten word that has been added is illegible.

⁹ The regulation only mentions that the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) was to be put in charge of Jewish schools. The date of the takeover is not specified. The actual regulation on the Jewish school system (*VOBL-BNF*, 63, no. 4, p. 801, 2 Dec. 1941) was not issued until 1 Dec. 1941.

7) A comprehensive system is required to establish an obligation for the association's members to pay dues. This system cannot be set up without the cooperation of the Belgian tax authorities. The fin. group must therefore clarify with the Belgian tax authorities which legal prerequisites must be created in order for the latter to be involved in determining the dues owed and maybe also in collecting the dues. (Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Höllfritsch will contact the fin. group.)

Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Löffler will discuss with the Chief Rabbi¹⁰ the unresolved issues relating to the establishment of the Jewish school system. It has become clear that a uniform policy on Jews in Belgium implemented by one specific official of the military administration is highly desirable. Because of the political and cultural significance, it would be appropriate to appoint an official from the polit group or an official from the volk group to this position.

To be most respectfully submitted to Kriegsverwaltungsvizechef von Craushaar with a request for approval and for a decision on the appointment of an official in charge of Jewish affairs.¹¹

DOC. 177

On 25 November 1941 the *Brüsseler Zeitung* comments on reactions of Jewish shop owners to the requirement that their businesses are visibly identified¹

The Jewish Method

In this country, as everywhere in the world, the Jew believed that he could feather his own nest through his dark machinations without being detected. The requirement for Jewish shops to be visibly identified was objectionable to him, and so he attempted to get around it. The sign 'Jüdisches Unternehmen'² was not placed in an easily visible spot with familiar Jewish haste; rather it was put up reluctantly and in an inconspicuous place. Recently, some Jewish businessmen came up with the idea of diluting the effect of the sign and going in for patriotism. In various display windows, next to the sign 'Entreprise juive',³ one can see a picture of the Belgian king, adorned with the black-yellow-red ribbon, by which they want to indicate: 'We are good Belgians'. Other Jews express this even more brazenly by writing in large letters: 'Maison belge'. Revealingly, these signs are written solely in French. They are banking on the population's guilelessness. No one

10 Dr Salomon Ullmann, also Ullman (1882–1966), rabbi; served as rabbi of the Belgian army from 1937; chief rabbi of Belgium, 1940–1957; chairman of the AJB/VJB from Oct. 1941; resigned after the raids in Belgium in Sept. 1942; imprisoned in Breendonk camp for fifteen days immediately afterwards; rearrested and deported to Mechelen in 1944; emigrated to Israel in 1957.

11 The AJB/VJB was finally established by the Regulation on the Establishment of an Association of Jews in Belgium (25 Nov. 1941): *VOBl-BNF*, 63, no. 3, 2 Dec. 1941, pp. 798–799.

1 *Brüsseler Zeitung*, vol. 2, no. 327, 25 Nov. 1941, p. 7. This daily newspaper was published by the German military administration from July 1940 to Sept. 1944 and had an average circulation of 100,000 copies on weekdays and 200,000 copies on weekends. This document has been translated from German.

2 German for 'Jewish business'.

3 French for 'Jewish business'.

objects to a sign that says 'Belgian business' in a non-Jewish shop; it is seen as defence against Jewish competitors. But the Jews still bank on the mentality which was previously cultivated in all nations under their influence. Even though there are sometimes still people here who believe that a Congo Negro is also a Belgian, they are now a vanishing minority. The majority, by contrast, are now aware that a Negro is a Negro and a Jew is a Jew. The Jew can advertise as blatantly as he likes with pictures of the king and national symbols, it does not change who he is. But the fact that these symbols are placed next to the Jewish sign can be interpreted only as an insult by those whom the Jew seeks to deceive. This method is characteristic and self-condemnatory, and it is typically Jewish.

The Jews simply do not willingly announce themselves as Jews. If at all possible, they will deny that they are descended from the chosen people. They know full well why they are doing so, and they get annoyed and angry when they are forcibly unmasked. From that moment on, they will play the role of the wronged, the persecuted, and the ostracized. Whenever the opportunity presents itself, wringing their hands all the while, they will declare that they are suffering an injustice. They simply do not want to be classed as Jews. We have already seen this in Germany when they were being unmasked there. There were countless Jews who swore that they were 'good Germans', said they were 'honest people' or made other devious excuses. It was of no avail to them. The German people had learnt bitterly enough that a Jew will always be a Jew. No matter how long he has been baptized, no matter how long he has been 'naturalized', however cunningly he denies his race, he remains, as Treitschke said, a fermenting agent of decomposition⁴ or, as Dr Goebbels describes him, parasitic.⁵ All sympathy is misplaced and is interpreted only as weakness on the part of those who let themselves be deceived.

wf.⁶

4 This expression originated with Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903): *Römische Geschichte*, 3 vols., vol. 2: *Von der Schlacht bei Pydna bis auf Sullas Tod* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1854–1860), p. 550. It was used by the antisemitic historian Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896) in the Berlin Antisemitism Dispute of Nov. 1880, this time against Mommsen.

5 In the article 'Die Juden sind schuld' ('The Jews are to blame'), Goebbels wrote on 16 Nov. 1941: 'Jews are a parasitic race that feeds like a rotting mould on the cultures of healthy but instinct-deficient peoples': *Das Reich*, no. 46, 16 Nov. 1941, p. 2.

6 The author's identity could not be ascertained.

DOC. 178

**On 17 December 1941 the head of the Commodity Office for Diamonds
justifies the recognition of Jewish diamond brokers¹**

Letter from the Commodity Office for Diamonds² (M./JP.), signed A. Michielsens,³ Brussels, to Dr Betzen,⁴ Brussels, 8 Kleine Zavel, Egmont-Palais, dated 17 December 1941⁵

Dear Dr Betzen,

I hereby hasten to explain to you the reasons that have induced us to recognize a few Jewish brokers.

Until now, around 400 brokers, of whom the majority were Jews, worked in the Antwerp diamond industry. Directive no. 6 issued by the Commodity Office for Diamonds⁶ envisaged that a certain number of brokers would be recognized and sworn in by the Diamond Control Office.⁷ We then established as the first requirement that they must hold Belgian citizenship. We did so because we knew that the vast majority of Jews would be eliminated from consideration as a result. The Control Office then compiled a list⁸ in cooperation with the Diamond Section.⁹ Owing to the importance of the matter, the list was submitted to me. Everyone will acknowledge that many Flemish brokers were included in this list, even though they were far less important than Jews who were not included. That is another reason why I could not oppose the Control Office's decision.¹⁰ In practice, this means that a first step has now been taken towards the de-Jewification of the diamond industry. In particular, it has become clear that the numerous other Jewish brokers who were not recognized now have no role to play in the trade or, at most, a minor one. It will be much easier to eliminate them later. In the long run, this measure has doubtlessly strengthened the Aryan element in the diamond industry.

1 AN, AJ 40/72. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Commodity Office for Diamonds (Warenstelle Diamant) was established on 30 Jan. 1941 on the order of the German occupiers as a department of the Belgian Ministry of Economics. Its brief was to control the entire Belgian diamond trade.

3 Albert Jaak Michielsens (1915–1995), diamond merchant; advisor to the Flemish Business Association; office manager for the secretary general of the Belgian Ministry of Economics from 1940; head of the Commodity Office for Diamonds from 1941; worked in the diamond industry again after 1950.

4 Dr Theodor Betzen (1887–1966), lawyer; worked for trade and business associations including the Farmers' Association until 1945; joined the NSDAP in 1932; worked at the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs in Belgium during the occupation period; at Koblenz regional authority, 1945–1948; worked for the German mail order company Neckermann AG from 1948.

5 The original contains handwritten underlining.

6 Directive no. 6 of 25 Nov. 1941 (published in the *Staatsblad* on 21 Nov. 1941) stipulated that cut diamonds had to be handed in to the Commodity Office for Diamonds.

7 The Commodity Office for Diamonds was attached to the Belgian Ministry of Economics, while in Jan. 1941 the German occupiers set up the Diamond Control Office (Diamantenkontrollstelle) as an additional authority, subordinate to the Reich Office for Technical Products. The Diamond Control Office was to supervise and direct trade in industrial diamonds and to oversee the operations of the Commodity Office for Diamonds in the interests of the occupiers.

8 This document is not included in the file.

9 Located in Idar-Oberstein, the Diamond Section (Fachgruppe Diamant) was a department of the Reich Ministry of Economics.

10 This presumably refers to the German authorities' decision to allow a few Jews to trade in diamonds in order to profit from their extensive connections and professional experience.

I also wish to point out that the swearing-in is a mere formality with little significance. The oath read: 'I hereby declare upon my honour and conscience that I will fulfil my mandate honestly and faithfully. So help me God.' – Just as in the case of the Diamond Control Office, where some Jews have been registered, a small number of Jews have now been recognized as brokers.

Incidentally, so far not a single Belgian regulation has been issued with regard to any Jewish matter.¹¹ As the head of a commodity office, it was impossible for me to deviate from the general guideline set by the secretaries general by implementing a directive. It cannot be the case that each individual commodity office sets the policies for the de-Jewification of the economy. A bolder step on my part in this direction would undoubtedly have meant going beyond my brief. By going only as far as I did, I think I have not exceeded my authority and have gone as far as is currently possible for a Belgian office.

In addition, the experts in Antwerp all take the view that if the diamond industry is to flourish as it once did, certain Jews are needed at the outset. Although I have not yet taken a position on this view, I have indeed noticed how few capable Flemish diamond merchants there are. We are attempting to strengthen the best ones through an appropriate distribution policy.

I am always willing to answer any further separate questions you may have, and I remain respectfully,
your loyal servant

DOC. 179

**On 4 January 1942 the internee Mordchai Max Epstein asks the secretary
of the Association of Jews in Belgium to send money or food¹**

Handwritten letter from Mordchai Max Epstein,² interned at the Etablissement de Défense Sociale/Gesticht tot Sociaal Verweer in Tournai/Doornik,³ 94 rue de l'Asile/Gestichtstraat, to Maurice Benediktus,⁴ dated 4 January 1942⁵

Dear Mr Benediktus,

With today's letter, I venture to send you a few lines again. I sincerely hope that you and your family are enjoying the best of health, which I can generally say for myself as

11 The Belgian administration did implement the anti-Jewish regulations issued by the German military administration but issued none of its own.

1 CegeSoma, mic 41. This document has been translated from German.

2 Presumably Mordchai Max Epstein, possibly also Morduch Epsztejn (b. 1907), mechanic; emigrated from Poland to Belgium; subsequent fate unknown.

3 This institution was used for the preventive detention of psychiatric patients who were regarded as a threat.

4 Correctly: Maurice Benedictus (b. 1907), cigar manufacturer; appointed vice-chairman and administrator of the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) by the German authorities in 1941; briefly imprisoned in Sept. 1942; fled to Portugal in 1943; subsequently fought for the Allies in Africa as a volunteer in the Force Publique, the Belgian colonial army; returned to Belgium in Sept. 1945; emigrated to South Africa in 1953.

5 The document was found without an envelope or address.

well. Nevertheless I am experiencing a terrible and bitter hunger, day in, day out, to the extent that I simply cannot endure this hunger any longer and cannot sleep any more, even at night, because of hunger. I therefore beg you from the bottom of my heart and most earnestly to help me once again and to send me something so that I can buy some food or fruit etc. in our canteen to at least somewhat assuage my bitter hunger a few times. There is no need to mention that the food one is given here – it now consists only of thin soups and our daily bread ration of 225 g, nothing more – is completely insufficient and inadequate for an adult to be able to survive in the long term. It is therefore no surprise at all that I am already severely undernourished, for I am – alas – already dreadfully emaciated and also feel extremely weakened all the time. In addition, I have lost a great deal of weight and unfortunately am continuing to do so. You can hardly imagine, esteemed Mr Benediktus, the tears I have already wept here because of hunger. As I have been interned without interruption since June 1939 – in the summer of 1939 I was incarcerated in Antwerp prison for around two months, and then I was sent here – and probably, I fear, will have to stay here until the war is over, my situation is all the more desperate and miserable. Expelled from Germany as a Jew some years ago and therefore stateless and homeless, hounded from one country to another, I was finally interned here in this state asylum. I can slightly improve my miserable situation only if I might buy myself something to eat now and then in our canteen. That, however, takes money, something I have not had for a long time, unfortunately. Mindful of the numerous charitable acts you have already performed towards me, and for which I once again take this opportunity to thank you today most warmly and sincerely, I entreat you today once more to think of me yet again, and not to fail me, and to help me once again.

Your genuine goodness towards me is something I can value all the more as you yourself have done more for me here than any member of my family. Oh, it's tough! I am completely without family connections here in Belgium and interned in this *gesticht*.⁶ Although I am allowed to receive food parcels here every day, I have no one in Belgium who would send me such a parcel. And there are many internees here who not only receive their food parcels regularly, whether from visitors or by post – today was visiting day here again – but also some who can buy something to eat or tobacco in our canteen every week, as they have money available here. And I am unfortunately deprived of both.

I will conclude my letter for today and beg you to accept my warmest and most sincere regards from

your always grateful and devoted

Mordchai Max Epstein, Doornik

94 Gestichtstraat

Quarters No. 16

P.S. In addition, please convey my best regards to your esteemed brother.⁷

⁶ Dutch in the original: 'institution', usually used in the sense of psychiatric institution.

⁷ No reply from Benedictus has been found.

DOC. 180

**In a letter written after 20 January 1942, the Reich Foreign Office
warns the Reich Security Main Office about a backlash in the Belgian Congo
should measures be taken against Belgian Jews¹**

Letter (excerpt) from the Reich Foreign Office (D III 8380/41 and D III 428/42), unsigned, to the Reich Security Main Office, undated (copy)²

Response to the letters dated 29 September 1941 and 20 January 1942³ – II A 5 no. 1043/41–212

Re: Jews with foreign citizenship

Measures against Jews with Belgian citizenship are problematic, as there are interned Germans and German assets in the Belgian Congo⁴ that could be subject to retaliatory measures;⁵ measures against Jews with Dutch citizenship give similar cause for concern. Measures against Jews with French citizenship should be made known to the Reich Foreign Office prior to their implementation, so that all possible political implications can be examined.

With regard to Jews from other European states, at present the Reich Foreign Office will first have to examine whether each measure is permissible on the basis of existing trade agreements; this means that the Reich Foreign Office must be contacted before any further measures are taken in this respect.

1 PA AA, R 102978. This document has been translated from German.

2 The dating is based on the reference line of the letter, which mentions a letter dated 20 Jan. 1942.

3 Neither of these letters is included in the file.

4 Large parts of the Congo region had been transferred to King Leopold of Belgium personally at the Berlin Conference in 1885. Following riots and after the Congo atrocities (enslavement and mistreatment of the population; economic exploitation of the country) had come to light, the king was forced to sell the country to the Belgian state in 1908. Colonial rule in the Belgian Congo ended in 1960, when the region achieved political independence.

5 In 1941 around 30,000 Europeans were living in the Belgian Congo, of whom fewer than 3,000 were Germans.

DOC. 181

On 31 January 1942 the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD outlines how the Belgian antisemitic movement is organized¹

Special report 'Jewry in Belgium', compiled by order of the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for the sector of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, signed Ehlers² (SS-Sturmabführer), Brussels, dated 31 January 1942 (copy)³

[...] ⁴ *Section III*

The local population's attitude towards Jewry

Ever since it has existed, the country of Belgium has been in the hands of two forces, which are in complete agreement in their attitude towards the Jews. Specifically, these two groups are the Catholic Church and liberalism under the influence of Freemasonry. Under the aegis of such a government, the floodgates were therefore always wide open for Jewry to be fostered and to expand.

Refugee matters too were dealt with extremely sympathetically by the Belgian government. The authorities in charge of residence permits and other issues always tried to accommodate the aforementioned Committee for Jewish Refugees in Brussels.⁵ A supervisory commission created by the government focused on fulfilling the wishes of the Antwerp and Brussels committees and operated on the same basis. – The Belgian government distinguished as follows between three categories of refugees:

- a) persons holding residence and work permits,
- b) political refugees who were recognized as political refugees by the inter-ministerial commission,
- c) refugees who immigrated without a permit and were only granted temporary residence in the country.

A final noteworthy point is the extremely forthcoming attitude shown by the then Belgian government towards the refugee issue presented by the steamship *St Louis*. This steamer, which reached Havana with more than 900 refugees, was prevented from letting its passengers disembark. After fruitless efforts, the steamer finally had to reverse course and return to Europe without its passengers having been able to go ashore. The Belgian government was the first to accept a portion of the refugees on the liner (216 persons), and it granted them the right to temporary residence in Belgium. Following this example, France, England, and Holland then granted the same permission. The American [Jewish] Joint Distribution Committee supported these refugees financially during their stay in the countries of asylum.⁶

Naturally, opposing forces were first mobilized in the country's strongest centre of Jewry, Antwerp. As early as June 1933 an organization was founded in Antwerp under

1 CegeSoma, mic 198. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ernst Ehlers.

3 The original contains handwritten annotations.

4 The first two sections of the 56-page document deal with the history of the Jews in Belgium and the Jewish organizations.

5 The Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugees (CARJ).

6 The events described here took place in May/June 1939. Only around half of the refugees who had left Hamburg on the *St Louis* survived the war: see PMJ 2/290, 292, and 297.

the name 'Les Editions Belges' ('De Belgische Uitgaven'), with the aim of combating the Jews. In September of the same year, this association was restructured, and it continued its operations under the name '*Ligue Nationale Coopérative du Travail*', headquartered in Antwerp (NACO).⁷ Both a French-language journal and a Flemish-language journal were published, namely 'De Stormlopp' for Flanders and 'L'Assaut'⁸ for Wallonia, the former with a circulation of 7,000 copies, the latter with 15,000. The organization disintegrated as a result of internal strife in 1936, and the anti-Jewish organization 'Volksverwering',⁹ which is still active today, was formed in early 1937.

The leadership is in the hands of the lawyer René Lambrichts¹⁰ from Antwerp, who has been involved in anti-Jewish activity since 1939. After its reorganization in 1938,¹¹ this organization now accepts racial concepts and demands that its members unreservedly back the Führer of the German Reich. In addition, 'Volksverwering' now publishes two weekly newspapers, 'L'Ami du Peuple' and 'De Volksche Aanval'.¹² This anti-Jewish movement was relatively slow to gain a solid membership base. Even in the summer of 1941, its registered membership was still only around 700. By December 1941, it had managed to increase this number to more than 1,000. The increased activity, which was mostly expressed in a greater frequency of meetings, was made far easier by the transfer of the central office from Antwerp to Brussels. However, it must be said that it is a tiny minority here that appears receptive to this issue. 'Volksverwering' is presently in close contact with the following organizations:

In Flanders: with the Flemish SS and the German-Flemish association 'De Vlag'.¹³

In Wallonia: with 'L'Association des Amis du Grand Reich Allemagne' ('AGRA')¹⁴ and the 'Rex' organization.

It is noteworthy in this regard that the 'Vlaamsch-Nationaal Verbond' (VNV),¹⁵ by contrast, has so far not been at all sympathetic to the Jewish and thereby also the racial issue. The efforts by 'Volksverwering' to establish contact and cooperation with the VNV have so far been without success.

In addition to the main office in Brussels, 'Volksverwering' maintains a number of branches and cells in all kinds of towns throughout the country. Branches which also

7 Correctly: *Ligue Nationale Corporative du Travail* / Nationaal Corporatief Arbeidsverbond (LINACO/ NACO). The National Corporate Workers' Union was founded in 1933 by Charles Somville (b. 1901) as a nationalist antisemitic organization modelled on the German NSDAP; it disbanded in 1936.

8 Correctly: *De Stormloop*. Both titles translate as 'the assault'. The magazines were published from 1933 to 1936 and were strongly antisemitic.

9 Correctly: *Volksverweering*.

10 René Lambrichts (1900–1993), lawyer; soldier in the Foreign Legion, 1919–1924; member of various nationalist groups from 1932; practised law from 1933; founded and headed the Flemish nationalist *Volksverweering* organization in 1937.

11 In the original, the phrase 'The last number is missing from the text' has been added in brackets in French.

12 *De Volksche Aanval*, the Dutch-language counterpart to *L'Ami du peuple*, was published from 1937 to 1944.

13 *De Vlag* (also *DeVlag*, *Die Flagge*), the journal of the eponymous German-Flemish association, began publication in 1936.

14 The militant nationalist splinter group Friends of the Greater German Reich was founded in 1941 by former members of the Rex movement who championed the incorporation of Wallonia into a Greater Germanic Reich. It had between 1,200 and 2,500 members.

15 Correctly: *Vlaams Nationaal Verbond*, the Flemish far-right nationalist party.

serve as shops for National Socialist and anti-Jewish literature are located in Antwerp, Brussels, Charleroi, and Liège. 'Volksverwering' has so-called cells in eleven other towns.

At the initiative of the local office and with the extensive cooperation of the 'Volksverwering' organization, the '*Anti-Jewish Centre for Flanders and Wallonia*'¹⁶ was set up in Brussels on 1 July 1941.

The Anti-Jewish Centre is a research office for Jewish questions in Belgium. Its head, Director P. Beekmans,¹⁷ has also been involved in anti-Jewish activity since 1933 and is therefore extremely familiar with these issues. In addition, three other full-time staff and thirty volunteer staff contribute to the work of this office.

The Anti-Jewish Centre is engaged first of all in establishing a card index of all Jews in Belgium. As a resource for this purpose, the entire Jew registry was made available to the Centre. The indexing of the anti-Jewish businesses¹⁸ was carried out in the same way. So far, a card index of more than 19,000 persons or businesses has been compiled.

The range of further tasks undertaken by the Centre includes the following:

- a) conducting research into the previous and current influence of the Jews in politics, the economy, government and administration, as well as cultural life.
- b) identifying the property, particularly the real estate, of Jews who have fled.
- c) naming Jews who have failed to record their names in the Jew registry.
- d) naming Jewish companies that have evaded their obligation to register.
- e) detecting Jewish businesses that have disguised themselves as 'Aryanized'.
- f) detecting Jews within individual occupations. In this respect, an examination of all street trading was recently carried out. For this purpose, the 34,000 registrations made available by the Belgian Ministry of Economics had to be checked through. It was possible to ascertain that this total includes 758 Jews. An additional 163 uncertain cases are now subject to the requisite clarification.
- g) continuous monitoring of the visible identification of Jewish businesses. To carry out these inspections, twenty-five reliable members of the Volksverwering organization have been chosen and provided with the necessary credentials by the military administration. During the period from 1 August to 31 December 1941, a total of 2,857 inspections were carried out and logged. In most cases, the inspectors had to intervene and ensure proper identification. In cases of obstruction, this office intervened and imposed fines.
- h) Finally, an important area of activity lies in constantly recording what is going on in Jewish life as a whole.

[...] ¹⁹

16 The Anti-Joodsche Centrale was founded in 1941 as a study and documentation centre modelled on Alfred Rosenberg's Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question. It investigated and reported on whether anti-Jewish measures were being implemented and complied with.

17 Correctly: Pierre Beekmans (b. 1894); soldier, 1914–1919; had various occupations; head of the Anti-Joodsche Centrale, 1941–1944; fled to Germany, 1944; sentenced to death in Belgium, 1945; granted a reprieve in 1952; released in 1960.

18 As in original.

19 Section IV, the part that follows, discusses the measures taken against the Jews by the occupation administration.

DOC. 182

**On 5 March 1942 the management board of the Association of Jews in Belgium
reports on the registration of Jews in Antwerp¹**

Minutes, signed M. Benedictus (secretary) and Dr S. Ullmann (president), dated 5 March 1942²

Minutes of the meeting of the Association of Jews in Belgium

(Founded in accordance with the provisions of the decree issued by the occupying authority on 25 November 1941)

Session on Thursday, 5 March 1942

<i>Members present:</i>	<i>Messrs</i>	<i>S. Ullmann</i>	President
		<i>N. Workum</i>	Vice President
		<i>S. van den Berg</i>	Treasurer
		<i>N. Noyze</i>	Member
		<i>J. Mehlwurm</i>	Member
		<i>M. Benedictus</i>	Secretary

Apologies: *J. Teichman*

The meeting commenced at 2 p.m. and was chaired by Dr S. *Ullmann*.

- 1) Reading of the minutes of the meeting of 26 February 1942, unanimously approved.
- 2) The committee takes note of incoming and outgoing correspondence.
- 3) The committee decides to ask the various regional committees to send it a list of persons who have applied for a position as a teacher.
- 4) The committee decides to ask the local branches to forward to it every Thursday a copy of the questionnaires³ completed in the past week.
- 5) The committee takes note of the list of temporary and permanent employees presented to it by the local branch in Brussels for approval.⁴ A decision will be taken on this matter during a subsequent meeting, after Dr S. *Ullmann* has issued his opinion.
- 6) The committee takes note of the list of temporary and permanent employees presented to it by the local branch in Liège for approval.⁵ A decision will be made on this matter during a subsequent meeting, after Dr S. *Ullmann* has issued his opinion.
- 7) The committee decides to ask the local branches to forward the list of their receipts and expenditures for perusal next week, as well as a statement of the relief work overseen by each of the local branches since 1 January 1942.
- 8) The committee approves the nomination of Mr D. *van den Berg* as a member of the Brussels local branch in place of Mr S. *Pinkous*, who is resigning.
- 9) The committee takes note of the report concerning subscriptions, attached hereto, submitted by the local branch in Antwerp.

1 CegeSoma, AA 1957. This document has been translated from French (points 1 to 9) and Dutch ('Report on the registration').

2 The original contains handwritten notes on the enclosed report.

3 This refers to the questionnaires which had to be completed as part of the compulsory registration with the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) to compile a family record. The questionnaire recorded details of the household, dates and places of birth, marital status, address, profession, religion, nationality, and date of arrival in Belgium.

4 Not included in the file.

5 Not included in the file.

The meeting closed at 5.30 p.m.

Secretary

President

*Report on the registration*⁶

- a) *Preparation*: After a number of ladies and gentlemen had, at the request of several members of the local branch, put themselves forward to provide voluntary assistance during the registration, they, as well as five other workers, who receive a payment of 25 francs a day, were invited to a meeting, which took place on 26 February. During this meeting the registration method was explained in detail and illustrated with many examples of exceptional cases, as far as these could be anticipated. With the aid of questionnaires and receipt books, the tasks to be carried out were explained.

All the assistants signed a 'pledge of confidentiality', which reads as follows:

The undersigned confirm, by means of their signature below their pledge, upon their honour and conscience, to observe full and unconditional confidentiality in the broadest sense of the word with regard to all that they learn through and in connection with the registration of the members of the Jewish Association.

In addition to the verbal explanation, they were given written 'instructions' containing the timetable and the most important details about the registration procedure.

- b) *The procedure*: The Secretariat made the necessary preparations so that the distribution of materials would require a minimum amount of time. The following were put out for each volunteer: 1) a folder with one hundred questionnaires, 2) one receipt book in each colour, 3) two sharpened pencils, 4) a cash box.

The volunteers arrived at 9.15 to collect their materials so that registration could start at 9.30 sharp.

One of the volunteers is in charge of looking after the materials and the general supervision of the proceedings.⁷ To keep any possible errors to a minimum, it has been decided that this supervisor should check each questionnaire against the documents before the questionnaire is signed by the person concerned.

Registration closes at 11.30 and 4.30, after which each volunteer goes through the payments with the adjunct secretary. In the first three days, this process took forty minutes, with an average of fourteen assistants. After 4.30, and following the review of payments, the questionnaires were put in strict alphabetical order, to be copied into lists for the membership fee committee the following day.

- c) *General remarks*: During the first three days, registration ran very smoothly and without disruption. The organizational measures proved to be sufficient in every respect.

Only a very small number of errors were detected, but these also ceased to occur once the volunteer concerned had familiarized themselves with the work after a few

⁶ All Jews in Belgium had to register as members of the AJB/VJB and pay a membership subscription.

⁷ Use of present tense in the original here and in the following.

hours. Exemplary order and quiet prevails in the registration hall, which makes the work much easier.

Since the day of the volunteer meeting, there has been a constant stream of new volunteers, and the disappointment when someone is turned down is so great that it is impossible to refuse offers of assistance. This flood of new volunteers will make it possible to add a volunteer to each group of the membership fee committee, who can complete the forms when people arrive for registration. The members of the membership fee committee are thereby relieved of all administrative work.

d) *Results:*

Monday, 2 March:	Registered	83	heads of household
	totalling	227	persons
	received fr.	1,455	
Tuesday, 3 March	Registered	177	heads of household
	totalling	467	persons
	received fr.	2,300	
Wednesday, 4 March	Registered	183	heads of household
	totalling	804	persons
	received fr.	3,110 ⁸	

DOC. 183

***La Libre Belgique*, 15 March 1942: article on the recently decreed prohibition of all business activity by Jews¹**

The New Civilization

Our protectors have just adopted another antisemitic measure that once again undermines both international law, which prohibits the confiscation of individuals' possessions, and our constitution, according to which all Belgians are equal before the law.

This time they did not even have the courage to use the normal procedure involving announcements and regulations. They resorted to the postal service and bravely sent the following letter to Jews, Belgian and non-Belgian, veterans and non-veterans:

The Military Commander
in Belgium and Northern France
Chief of the Military Administration
Group: XIrI²

Brussels, 2 March 1942

File reference: PI/W/GA 21 g.

⁸ In the last paragraph, the sentence 'The number of persons exempted from payment during these three days ... heads of households' has been crossed out, with the handwritten note 'not yet counted'. A further handwritten note states 'Exemptions (also for those receiving financial support) need to be dealt with carefully. Signed: Oscar Teitelbaum.'

¹ *La Libre Belgique*, Nouvelle Série de Guerre, no. 31, 15 March 1942. This document has been translated from French. The illegal newspaper *La Libre Belgique* was established on 13 August 1940. Its contributors all used the alias 'Peter Pan'. In total, eleven newspapers with different subtitles used the name *La Libre Belgique*; they were published in different regions of Belgium.

² Group XII was a division within the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs and responsible for Jewish and enemy assets.

Pursuant to § 17 of the regulation issued by the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France on 31 May 1941 relating to economic measures taken regarding Jews (Third Jew Regulation),³ which was published in the 'Regulation Gazette',⁴ 44, you are prohibited with immediate effect from continuing the business registered at your address in the commercial register. On the same basis, you are also forbidden to continue your business activities or any other independent economic activity.

With the exception of your real estate, which will be included on a case-by-case basis, your business assets must be liquidated by 31 March 1942 and by that date you must have requested that your business be removed from the commercial register. If you are in possession of a street trader's licence (street trader's card), pursuant to the regulation of 28 November 1930 it must be handed in immediately to the Belgian Ministry of Trade, in Brussels, at 43 rue de la Loi.⁵ If your business assets include real estate, it must be declared to the Department for Economic Affairs of the Chief of the Military Administration, Group XII, Brussels, 47 Cantersteen, by 31 March 1942. Separate regulations will be issued for the liquidation of such real estate.

If your stock of merchandise contains controlled textile goods that fall under the decree of 23 December 1940⁶ issued by the Belgian Ministry of Economics, these must be declared at the Central Textile Office (Rationing Service), 87 rue de la Loi, Brussels, in the form of a list submitted in duplicate by 7 March 1942 at the latest.

The inventory declared on 30 June 1941 must be attached to this list. Until such time as the Central Textile Office decides how the merchandise that must be declared is to be handled, you are prohibited with immediate effect from selling any of this merchandise.

We draw your attention in particular to the penalties for infringement set out in § 24 of the regulation of 31 May 1941 issued by the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France.

On behalf of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France:
The Chief of the Military Administration⁷

Registered post

To the company ...

Business registration no.

City/town

Street and house number

As can be seen, the Boche's⁸ sole aim is to deprive Israelite Belgians of all their resources and ensure they live at the expense of the Community.

³ See Doc. 168.

⁴ The *Verordnungsblatt (VOBl-BNF)*.

⁵ This provision could not be verified.

⁶ The decree governing the production and use of textile goods was published in the Belgian state gazette (*Moniteur Belge/Belgisch Staatsblad*), no. 202, 23 Dec. 1940, pp. 2588–2600.

⁷ Eggert Reeder.

⁸ French pejorative term for the Germans that had been in use since around the time of the First World War.

You must know, gentlemen, that Belgians are for the most part civilized people who are averse to classifying people on so-called racial grounds and depriving their neighbours of an honest livelihood.

They fully agree with the words written by Mr Horace van Hoffel⁹ before he became aware of the financial benefits of racism:

‘Antisemitic persecution flies in the face of science and the Christian conscience; I have personally had several Jewish friends and I have never had cause to do other than praise their loyalty and their generosity.’¹⁰

Nowadays the lovely Horace volunteers anthropological observations in mixed-race De Becker’s¹¹ *Le Soir*.

Belgians, do not be deceived by the pseudo-scientific remarks of those who are antisemites by convenience.

DOC. 184

On 18 April 1942 Joseph Schuermans provides the German military administration with a list of the Jewish companies whose goods he wishes to acquire¹

Letter from Joseph Schuermans, unsigned, Brussels, 34 rue de Nancy, to the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Chief of the Military Administration, Group XII, Brussels, 47 Cantersteen, dated 18 April 1942 (copy)

Re: request to acquire the goods of a Jewish business currently in liquidation

Please find below all the requisite information concerning me personally, my wife, my business, as well as all other necessary information:

Schuermans, Joseph Constant René
 born in *Brussels* on 30 October 1909
 residing in *Brussels* – 34 rue de Nancy
 nationality: Belgian
 occupation: dealer in used goods
 husband of *Baes, Louise*
descent: Aryan
 father: *Schuermans, Jean*
 grandfather: *Schuermans, Guillaume*
 mother: *Van Campenhout, Cathérine*
 grandmother: *Boey, Constance*

9 Correctly: Horace van Offel (1876–1944), writer; appointed editor-in-chief of *Le Soir* by the German military administration in May 1940; replaced in early 1941; fled to Germany during the liberation of Belgium.

10 From an article in the *Onafhankelijk België* newspaper, no. 41, 9 Oct. 1941, p. 3, which was published in London.

11 Raymond de Becker (1912–1969), journalist; editor-in-chief and publisher of *Le Soir*, 1940–1942; dismissed and arrested in Sept. 1943; interned in Bavaria, 1943–1945; sentenced to death in Belgium in 1946, then pardoned and released in 1951; emigrated to France.

1 AVB/ASB, 846 fonds bourgmestre. This document has been translated from German.

Mrs Schuermans, née Baes, Louise

wife of the above

born in *Brussels* on 1 March 1916

residing in *Brussels* – 34 rue de Nancy

nationality: Belgian

occupation: housewife

descent: Aryan

father: *Baes, Jean*

grandfather: *Baes, Jean*

mother: *Gerin, Elisa*

grandmother: *Heeman, Marie*

Below, I have listed for you the Jewish businesses whose goods I wish to acquire:

Lichtman, Peisack – 141 avenue de la Reine – *Brussels* – ready-to-wear clothing

Lubenewski, Sehia² – 86 boulevard Maurice Lemonnier – *Brussels* – ditto

Poznantek, Mordeke³ – 6 rue de l'Economie – *Brussels* – occasion wear

Wolf, Samuel⁴ – rue Coenraets – *Brussels* – clothing for men and adolescents

Uncerowiez, Moszek⁵ – 115 boulevard du Midi – *Brussels* – ready-to-wear clothing

Wolff & Cie, 88 rue de Laeken – *Brussels* – purchase and sale of articles of clothing

I possess capital of 50,000 francs in cash.

I have been a member of the Volksverwering⁶ since 1937.

I am an associate of the Anti-Joodsche Centrale⁷ and head of a cell within the Rexist movement.

I hope that you will consider my request favourably.

Yours sincerely,

2 Sehia (Schia) Lubenewski (b. 1897), retailer; emigrated to Belgium from Germany in 1919; subsequent fate unknown.

3 Correctly: Mordechai Poznantek (1888–1943), shoemaker and retailer; originally from Poland; emigrated to Brussels before the Second World War; thought to have perished in Auschwitz.

4 Samuel Wolf (b. 1883), retailer; emigrated to Belgium from Poland in 1921; subsequent fate unknown.

5 Correctly: Moszek Ungierowicz (1889–1942), retailer; thought to have emigrated to Belgium from Poland in 1926; on 31 Oct. 1942 deported on Transport XVII from Mechelen to Auschwitz, where he perished.

6 Correctly: Volksverweering.

7 See Doc. 181, fn. 16.

DOC. 185

**Under a regulation issued by the Military Commander in Belgium
and Northern France on 22 April 1942, the assets of German Jews in Belgium
fall to the German Reich¹**

Regulation on the Forfeiture of the Assets of Jews in Favour of the German Reich, 22 April 1942²

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I decree the following for Belgium and northern France:

§1

Under § 2 of the Eleventh Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law, 25 November 1941 (*Reichsgesetzblatt* part I, p. 722), a Jew has lost German citizenship if he had his habitual residence in a foreign country at the time this regulation came into force, that is, on 27 November 1941. He will lose German citizenship if he takes up habitual residence in a foreign country after this date as soon as he transfers his habitual residence to a foreign country.

§ 2

(1) The assets of the Jew who loses German citizenship in accordance with the Eleventh Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law are forfeited to the German Reich upon loss of German citizenship. Also forfeited to the German Reich are the assets of Jews who were stateless when the regulation came into force and last held German citizenship if they are habitually resident in a foreign country or take up habitual residence in a foreign country.

(2) The Chief of the Military Administration may grant exemptions from the forfeiture of assets for assets located in Belgium and northern France.

§3

The German Reich is liable for the debts of a Jew whose assets are forfeited to the German Reich only up to the amount of the sales value of those articles and rights of said Jew that have come under the control of the German Reich. Rights to items transferred to the ownership of the German Reich will remain valid.

§ 4

Claims against the forfeited assets must be filed with the Chief of the Military Administration within six months of the effective date of this regulation or, if the asset forfeiture occurs later, within six months of this later date. Satisfaction of claims that are asserted after the expiration of this time period may be denied without explanation.

§ 5

(1) In case of uncertainty, the Chief of the Military Administration will be responsible for determining whether the prerequisites for the forfeiture of assets are met.

1 *VOBl-BNF*, 73, no. 3, 24 April 1942, pp. 872–873. This document has been translated from German.

2 The regulation of 22 April 1942 was the first of the Military Commander's measures to directly target Jews who were German nationals or former German nationals. From 1 August 1942, the Brussels Trust Company was in charge of managing the financial assets of German Jews – like those of all other Jews in Belgium.

(2) Within Belgium and northern France, the Chief of the Military Administration is responsible for the administration and evaluation of the forfeited assets.

§6

This regulation comes into force upon its promulgation.

The Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France.³

DOC. 186

***Volk en Staat*, 23 April 1942: article warning 'Aryans' about Jews¹**

Those poor Jews

Those poor Jews!

I keep having to return to the subject of those poor Jews, as there are still so many people who have common sense, and who are not blind to what is good about the present, who get extremely upset when the Jews are mentioned. And what usually comes to light? That they have never even bothered to read anything about the Jewish question. They know a friendly old Jewess, for whom they were allowed to light the lamp and tend to the fire on the Sabbath in days gone by; they know a Jewish merchant who serves you promptly and has a charming way with words; they know a wealthy Jewish family who are so nice to the maid; they are convinced that Jews are so smart, and moreover are the chosen people; they eat Jewish cake at Jewish Easter;² they live in fear of the Jews without even knowing it.

What they likewise forget or do not want to know is that the friendly old Jewess who was kind enough to make use of their services on the Sabbath interprets the law of Moses in a rather strange way. For the Ten Commandments state that you, the Jew, shall not work on the Sabbath, and not only you, but also your son, your daughter, your servant, your maidservant, your ox, your donkey, and also the stranger within your gates. (The order is not mine, but that of the fifth commandment: the stranger, that is the non-Jew.) But sweet old Rebecca did not understand it in that way. She made sure she did not get her own kosher hands dirty by doing work on the Sabbath. However, she also needed light and warmth. So she dared to use a goy to give that to her, a goy who was not an ox or a donkey or a stranger within her gates, but the boy next door, for whom it did not matter, as he was not a son of the chosen people anyway. And thus Rebecca kept herself clean and warm thanks to the goy's sin.

In addition, one should ask the Aryan maids, by whom Jews always like to be served, whether they ever got a day off on the Sabbath. You can imagine. It was precisely on the Sabbath that they had to work their fingers to the bone, because no one from the chosen family could lend a hand. I do not understand how anyone with an ounce of self-respect

3 Alexander von Falkenhausen.

1 'Die arme Joden', *Volk en Staat*, 23 April 1942, p. 6. This document has been translated from Dutch.

2 The reference is to Passover (Pesach), which commemorates the Jewish exodus from Egypt. During Passover, practising Jews do not eat leavened bread; instead they bake matzo, made of flour and water. Matzo flour can also be used to bake cakes, as long as no leavening agent (such as yeast) is used.

can indulge this, but it seems that Christians will accept any humiliation from the chosen people. And I do not know how the work of 'your maidservant' can be reconciled with the commandments of Moses regarding the Sabbath. There is probably some clever legal interpretation which justifies these crooked practices. When it comes to shady affairs, the Jews are good lawyers. And then the chosen people may well exploit the goy. After all, Barmat and Fanheimer³ must be pure when they cross the threshold of the synagogue.

Enough about friendly old Rebecca, for whom the boy next door was asked to light the lamp and tend to the fire on the Sabbath, so that her hands remained pure. The goy was less important. He did not belong to the chosen people. In fact, the only reason why all of humanity – the 2,000,000,000 people living on Earth – exists is to serve the chosen people, consisting of about 15,000,000 Jews. One billion, nine hundred and eighty-five million (= 1,985,000,000) non-chosen ones merely serve as a kind of padding around the 15 million (15,000,000) chosen ones. An elite is always small; that much is clear yet again.

This is the dream of Rebecca, daughter of the chosen people, when she wants light and warmth on the Sabbath while keeping her hands pure. But this is not just Rebecca's dream, and it is not just about the Sabbath...

Work, you Christian boy, and bow down to keep the Jew warm and pure. Work, you Christian; the Jew will appreciate the sweat on your face and warm himself by the glow of your labour.

The well-meaning, indulgent Aryan is not thinking of this when he remembers the friendliness of the old Jewess from his youth. He is taken in by this, even though it is only in his memory. And that is why he talks so compassionately about those 'poor Jews'.

He also knows a Jewish merchant who serves him promptly and has a charming way with words. At the same time, he forgets that the Jews own a significant portion of wholesale trade. The Jew helps the Jew, and the Aryan can wait and see what is left for him. Hence the Jew has always 'got it in', while someone else does not know how to get hold of these things. An almost invisible net of trade networks links the sons of the chosen people and enables them to get the Aryans' money in a friendly and obliging manner. They hold the hospitable people captive in that net. And as these trade networks extend internationally, the net covers the whole world and holds all peoples captive, in a manner that is friendly and obliging or, if necessary, ruthless. Anyone who wants to break free is boycotted and strangled. And if he does not like it, he will have to fight for his life. War!

What the friend of the Jews mentioned above also forgets is that the Jewish merchant has children, who study, or at least try to. When people from the lower middle classes study, they usually become teachers. This [profession] is relatively close to their experience, it costs little, and it provides – or at least it used to provide – a modest but secure existence. Jewish children also study to become teachers. But the modest teacher's existence turns out not to be all that attractive after all. When the Aryanization of schools was implemented,⁴ there were hardly enough teachers for the Jewish schools. What then did they usually seek to achieve by studying? Everyone knows the answer. With varying

³ Correctly: Mannheimer. See Doc. 53, fn. 6.

⁴ The Regulation on Jewish Education (1 Dec. 1941) barred Jewish schoolchildren from attending state schools: *VOBl-BNF*, 63, no. 4, 2 Dec. 1941, p. 801.

degrees of effort, they became lawyers or physicians: lawyers to get to know the loopholes in the law, physicians to cure Aryan men and especially women. There is music in both professions: the music of the golden calf and of Venus. With a bit of skill, self-promotion, and acting, a Jew can go a long way. Who will deny the Jew his skill, self-promotion, and acting? And so the charming way with words of the Jewish merchant, who serves you so promptly, is passed on to the son, who will be served promptly by your children once he has conquered the key position coveted by every Jew.

Hence the wealthy family mentioned by the friend of the Jews, because they are so kind to the maid. Indeed, there must be a wealthy Jewish family somewhere who treat their maid so kindly. Of course the idea that such kindness occurs only among Jewish families is nonsense. And certainly there are Jews who exploit their staff. However, not every Jew is a vulture. There are some who rest on others' laurels, or who have already made their fortune. But we are not examining individual cases ... we see the Jews as a foreign people that leeches off other peoples and has only one passion: domination and pleasure. Therefore, we do not wish the good Jews any harm. We only ask of them: please go and make each other happy, smart, and rich. We want to make a go at it ourselves, here in Flanders, without you. You are so intelligent that it must be a relief to be rid of those stupid Aryans. You are so incredibly artistic that your Jewish state will no doubt be an artistic heaven. We will just have to make do with Bach, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert, César Franck, Grieg, Richard Strauss, and so many others. Those were just poor Aryans. We also have Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Eyck, Johannes Vermeer, Van der Helst, Potter, Jan Steen, Ruysdael, Pieter de Hoogh, Gerard Dou, and all the other master painters of the nineteenth century. You can keep your Israelis. It must be wonderful for you to make and listen to only Jewish music, to have only Jewish paintings, and to admire only Jewish architecture.

If you then allow yourselves to be served by Jewish maidservants (do they exist?) and organize a completely Jewish workforce (which you should surely have in your state), you can lead the life of a healthy people. However, I assure you in advance that you will look back with nostalgia on the beautiful, rich culture of those stupid Aryans, to whom God has given Bach, Beethoven, Rembrandt, Rubens, Holbein, and Goethe, without including the chosen people.

And you, good friend of the Jews, you have grown up in fear of the Jews. We have all grown up with this. They exploit this, those sly foxes. The dream of the old Rebecca is the dream of the Jewish people: to rule, to take pleasure, and to have others do the work.

Be on your guard!

Dr J. Smit

DOC. 187

On 27 April 1942 the Association of Jews in Belgium explains the structure and activities of the Jewish welfare system to the German military administration¹

Letter from the Association of Jews in Belgium (Secretariat General, no. MB/HE 105), signed M. Benedictus (administrator), Brussels, 18 Handelskaai/18, Quai du Commerce, to the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Chief of the Military Administration, for the attention of Mr von Hahn,² Brussels, 12 rue de la Loi, dated 27 April 1942³

Re: report on Jewish welfare

With reference to the wish expressed by Mr von Hahn during the conversation granted by Dr Löffler and Mr von Hahn to Mr M. Benedictus and Mr S. Van den Berg⁴ on 8 April 1942, we take the liberty of submitting the enclosed general report for the period 1 January 1942 to 15 April 1942 on the activities of the social welfare providers under the supervision of the Association of Jews in Belgium.

For the Association of Jews in Belgium

M. Benedictus

Administrator

1 enclosure

Report

on the activities of the charitable organizations that are under the supervision of the Association of Jews in Belgium

I. General guidelines

1) The Association of Jews in Belgium supervises the existing relief organizations and social services providers through its local branches. These aid organizations have divided the philanthropic activities between themselves. The activities are carried out in two main areas:

a: Direct welfare

This support is distributed either as cash payments or as goods and services (particularly distribution of food vouchers at a small charge, shoe repairs at no charge, as well as distribution and mending of clothes at no charge).

b: Indirect welfare

This assistance is conveyed primarily in the form of a soup kitchen with reduced prices, medical assistance, and medicines.

Other forms of philanthropic work are carried out by specific relief organizations

1 CegeSoma, mic 198. This document has been translated from German.

2 Baron Wilhelm von Hahn (1911–1987), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1937; judge at the Berlin Regional Court prior to 1940; in the administration department of the military administration, 1940–1944, first with the police group, then with the policy group, 1942–1944; in charge of ‘Jewish questions’ there; Gerichtsrat (professional title for a judge) with Hamburg judicial authority from 1946.

3 The original contains handwritten comments and underlining.

4 Correctly: Salomon van den Berg (1890–1955), furniture dealer; emigrated with his parents from the Netherlands to Belgium in 1902; active in the Jewish Community of Brussels; chairman of the Brussels committee of the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) and board member of the association, 1941–1944; went underground after the AJB/VJB disbanded in August 1944.

to fulfil particular needs; most prominently, these are an orphanage (Brussels), a home for the elderly (Brussels), a midwifery association (Antwerp), and child care (Antwerp).

2) *Organization*

The board of the Association of Jews in Belgium has created the Central Department of Social Welfare, which draws its members from all the local branches. In addition, each local branch has created a social welfare committee that supervises the corresponding philanthropic relief organizations and departments, in accordance with the description below.

The supervised relief organizations pass on their monthly budget to the social welfare committee on which they are dependent.

The complete budget for social welfare is worked out within each local branch, which incorporates it into its overall financial plan and presents the plan to the board for approval.

The actual expenditure of the various relief organizations is strictly monitored.

II. *Description of the different forms of philanthropic activity that are under the supervision of the Association of Jews in Belgium*

1) *Brussels local branch*

The social welfare committee of the Brussels branch comprises the following relief organizations:

a) *Œuvre centrale israélite de secours*⁵

This relief organization includes the following departments:

1. *Soup kitchen department*

This department is based at 78 rue de Ruysbroeck in Brussels. It ensures the distribution of meals to all persons in need at the price of fr. 1.75 per meal. Those who are completely without means can receive meal vouchers from the direct welfare department, for which they have to pay fr. 0.25 per meal.

The meals can be either eaten in the dining hall in rue de Ruysbroeck or picked up from the various canteens (Brussels: 78 rue de Ruysbroeck; St. Gilles: rue Vlogaert; Schaerbeek: rue Gendebien).

2. *Direct welfare department*

This department ensures the provision of direct welfare to those in need, in the form of:

a: cash payments to persons completely without means who receive no public welfare assistance

b: goods or services, consisting of:

- 1: meal vouchers that entitle the holders to partake of meals from the soup kitchen department at a price of fr. 0.25,
- 2: shoe repairs free of charge,
- 3: distribution and mending of clothes free of charge.

⁵ The Central Israelite Welfare Organization was founded in 1926. In the mid 1930s it joined the umbrella organization known as the Council of Jewish Associations in Belgium.

3. *Loan office department*

This department grants loans to persons in need. In cases where the loan application is accompanied with a genuine and adequate guarantee, its work undeniably provides an important social service.

4. *Child welfare department*

This department arranges food aid for children who are sick or in need, either by housing them in families or by providing meals through the soup kitchen.

5. *Medical assistance*

The services provided by this department consist of:

1. Medical consultations three times per week for those in need. In connection with these consultations, drugs are dispensed free of charge.
2. Home visits by doctors to patients in need.
3. Baby clinics, which are accredited by the *CŒuvre Nationale de l'Enfance*⁶ and take place every Thursday.

b) *Jewish orphanage, Brussels*

The purpose of this institution is to take in impoverished children who have lost both parents, without excluding those who still have one parent, as well as abandoned children, or children whose parents are in a foreign country and cannot be reached. The minimum age of children admitted to the orphanage is six and the maximum age is fifteen. At the moment there are eighteen children in the orphanage.

c) *Home for the elderly*

The purpose of this home is to take in paying and non-paying pensioners. At the moment there are fifteen persons there.

2) *Antwerp local branch*

The Antwerp local branch's social welfare committee includes the following relief organizations:

a) *Soup kitchen*

The kitchen provides an inexpensive midday meal to the poor; they can have the meal in the dining hall or take it home with them. In general, those who use the kitchen have no cooking facilities at home or require kosher food.

b) *Beth Lechem*⁷

The Beth Lechem relief association supports people in temporary distress by providing them with monthly loans. In addition, it sells bread vouchers at the price of fr. 0.50, which can be exchanged for bread after handing in the officially required number of vouchers at the bakery.

Beth Lechem has taken over the organization of midday meals for undernourished children.

c) *Midwifery association*

This association provides assistance to mothers in need before and after delivery, and to infants. As a result of the changed circumstances, since the outbreak of the war the work of the association has been limited to providing minor material support to mothers. Since the war began, the mothers have received only cash assistance because,

⁶ A child welfare association, founded in Belgium in 1919.

⁷ Relief association founded in 1936 to assist destitute Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

as a result of rationing, the association is no longer able to obtain milk, eggs, and baby linen. The association's work is very limited at present.

d) *Bikur Cholim*⁸ (care for the sick)

This association offers a broad range of assistance to those who are unwell, specifically by providing medical assistance, dispensing drugs, and providing nurses. The association has its own building at 411 Herenthalsche Baan, where until 10 May 1940 physicians held consultations and minor operations could be performed. Because this building was occupied by the military administration and the equipment was confiscated by the Red Cross, this work has been suspended. A nurse holds daily consultations, during which those who are unwell can obtain advice and information. A physician is available in cases of emergency.

e) *Isr. Relief Fund*⁹

The work of the Isr. Relief Fund is limited to a very few cases of people who are said to be 'ashamed of their impoverished status'. The cases are handled very discreetly.

f) *Child welfare*

At the end of May 1940, when most people who had fled returned, it turned out that a number of children had been made homeless as a result of the war. Their parents were either still in Germany or had already emigrated from Germany, and the children came here through a special children's project, with the consent of the German and Belgian authorities, to be taken in by private individuals until they could be reunited with their parents. Most of these children were housed with foster parents, but since the outbreak of the war the latter had not been receiving assistance from any office. Arrangements were made for the homeless children to be taken in and for the foster parents to receive a subsidy. Upon request, some of the children received a permit to return to Germany, provided that their parents or other family members there had declared themselves willing to accept the children. The other children are still under our protection. The foster parents now receive a monthly subsidy from the local branch in Antwerp. The children are supervised and visited on a regular basis.

Information, advice and, if necessary, interventions, if they relate to welfare and social services, are provided and facilitated by the office of the local branch in Antwerp.

3) *Charleroi local branch*

The social welfare committee of the local branch in Charleroi encompasses the following relief organizations:

a) *Social welfare*

This assistance in the form of cash payments is granted only to persons who submit a written request.

It is granted mainly in the following cases:

- A) for rent payments
- B) for persons who are temporarily out of work
- C) for families that have no head of the family
- D) for the elderly and orphans

⁸ Traditional Jewish association that devoted itself to caring for the sick.

⁹ The Israelite Relief Fund (Israëlitisch Hulpkas) had been providing financial aid to Jewish immigrant families since the 1920s.

b) *Soup kitchen*

The assistance given by the kitchen is granted primarily to unmarried workers who have no opportunity to run a household themselves. The kitchen also admits poor families with no income and abandoned children who have been classified as needing assistance by the supervisory committee.

c) *Medical and pharmaceutical aid*

The work of the medical aid organization continues to be very limited. So far, the help provided in this respect has consisted of:

- A) medicines
- B) doctors' fees
- C) special treatments
- D) food for invalids

d) *Women's association*

The activities of this association consist mainly of practical work. It sees to the running of the public soup kitchen, the distribution of soup, visits to the sick, housing and supervising impoverished children, collecting used clothing, i.e. any kind of practical work.

e) *Clothing bank*

This year, the clothing bank has been run as part of the social services system. Its work involves mending old clothes and shoes and distributing these items to the poor.

4) *Liège local branch*

The social welfare committee of the local branch in Liège includes the following relief organizations:

a) *Donations to people in need*

All persons in need who no longer have a means to support themselves or their families can submit an oral or written request to the committee.

b) *Donations in cases of emergency*

Rent subsidies

Subsidies to cover hospital costs of the public welfare system of Tilff.¹⁰

c) *Parcels for prisoners*

If camp regulations so permit, the department sends parcels to civilian prisoners from the town.

d) *Child welfare department*

To meet the immediate need of those in distress, collections of bread and jam rationing stamps have been organized very successfully. The foodstuffs and some of the clothing items have been distributed to the poor. Such collections have been organized every month.

e) *Medical service*

This service is headed by Dr Bulanski from Liège.

5) *Ghent local branch*

The social welfare committee of the local branch in Ghent includes the following relief organizations:

¹⁰ A small town south of Liège.

a) Assistance

A certain number of persons in need in Ghent receive weekly assistance or a one-off grant.

As Ghent is quite an important centre, Jews from other parts of the region also often receive assistance there, for example in the hospitals and in the city's university clinic, where the department organizes visits and assistance to patients in general.

b) *Spiritual guidance*

Rabbi and cantor Lustig has been appointed to provide spiritual guidance for the following institutions:

A) Ghent prison

B) the mental asylum in Tournai¹¹

C) Tournai prison

D) Oudenaarde prison

E) Termonde prison

F) the youth offenders institute in Ruisselede¹²III. *Conclusions*

The social services providers listed above currently address all the needs of the destitute Jewish population. At this time, we are unable to expand the scope of social welfare provision any further, as the resources of our budget are extremely limited, particularly since a great number of Jewish businesses have been closed.

DOC. 188

***Jewish Bulletin*, April 1942: writing from London, Belgian Prime Minister Pierlot stresses the equality of all Belgian citizens before the law¹**

Belgium and the Jews

by Hubert Pierlot² (Prime Minister of Belgium)

The Constitution of Belgium guarantees freedom of opinion and belief.

Furthermore, the laws and customs of our country have never allowed any distinction between its citizens, according to the race to which they belong or in which others claim to place them. All Belgians are equal before the law.

¹¹ This refers to the Établissement de défense sociale/Gesticht tot Sociaal Verweer: see Doc. 179, fn. 3.

¹² Correctly: Ruisselede.

¹ 'Belgium and the Jews', *Jewish Bulletin*, no. 8, April 1942, p. 1. The *Jewish Bulletin* appeared monthly from 1941 to 1945 in London and had its office at Woburn House, which served as a home for many British aid organizations for Jewish refugees from Germany and the German-occupied territories. The bulletin's header reads: 'The purpose of this Bulletin is to provide readers abroad with information and views of Jewish interest on present-day issues, especially from the spiritual point of view. It is intended for personal use, and for press reproduction overseas.'

² Hubert Marie Eugène Pierlot (1883–1963), lawyer; worked in various government offices and held numerous ministerial positions from 1918; prime minister of Belgium, 1939–1945; fled in 1940 with other members of the government to London, where they established a government in exile; worked as a lawyer after 1945.

Those are the principles in the shelter of which the Jews of Belgium lived peaceably until the German invasion. These principles are of a permanent character. They are at the very foundation of Belgian legislation, and re-establishment of them and respect for them are among our war aims.

It is well known that the Belgian Government, unanimously supported by public opinion, did all in its power, in the years immediately preceding the war, to alleviate the great distress into which Nazi persecution had plunged the Jews.

Only the victory of the Allies will put an end to the injustices of which they are victims.

(signed) Hubert Pierlot

DOC. 189

On 4 May 1942 Sznierel Gecel writes to Salomon Ullmann, chairman of the Association of Jews in Belgium, asking to be released from Rekem internment camp¹

Handwritten letter from Schmerel Gecel,² Internment Camp, Rekem, province of Limburg, 2 Place Verte, to Chief Rabbi Ullmann,³ dated 4 May 1942

Dear Chief Rabbi Ulman I am appealing to you to be so kind and grant me freedom so that I should be able to go back to my sick wife and small child to help them I have been innocently imprisoned here in this gloomy hunger camp for 11 months now I am completely innocent my files also say that I have been innocently imprisoned and nevertheless I no longer have a right to live on the earth which God has created I have been in Belgium for 25 years I am appealing to you to exercise humanity and justice towards me so that I should be released from the camp seeing as how you represent the interests of all jews in all of Belgium I also do not want to be excluded from others I have never been punished by the court and never been imprisoned I was taken directly to the camp without a trial I thank you in advance for freeing me from here respectfully Chief Rabbi Ulman your devoted co-religionist Schmerel Gecel.

1 CegeSoma, mic 41. This document has been translated from German (the spelling and style of the original are heavily influenced by spoken Yiddish).

2 Presumably Sznierel-Chaim Gecel (1892–1942), cobbler; emigrated from Poland to Belgium in 1921; lived in Liège and Brussels; deported on 10 Oct. 1942 from Mechelen to Auschwitz on Transport XIII; perished in Auschwitz.

3 Correctly: Salomon Ullmann.

DOC. 190

On 8 May 1942 the Rosenberg Task Force's head of operations for Belgium summarizes plans for the use of furniture stolen from Jews¹

File note (M/Mdt.), signed Mader² (trainee SS leader, Feldpost no. 43 071), Paris, dated 8 May 1942

Re: Furniture Operation in Belgium – making the containers stored in Belgium available to the victims of bombing raids in the West

In my conversation with Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Scheerer³ (Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Brussels, Shell building), I was able to determine that a decision had been reached by the Reich Minister of Finance⁴ at the urging of this office to the effect that the German Jews' containers stored in Belgium, primarily in Antwerp (around 2,000 pieces of cargo, according to Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Scheerer) should be taken to Düsseldorf by barge as quickly as possible, from there no further than Lüneburg, and then stored there. The Reich Ministry of Finance, Ministerial Director Dr Eilert⁵ (official in charge: Dr Schwarzat),⁶ has authority over the containers in question on the basis of an extended ordinance concerning Jews, according to which all relinquished Jewish property is to be confiscated for the benefit of the Reich.⁷

No ordinance making the Jewish furniture stored in the containers available to the victims of bombing raids has been enacted thus far, but vigorous efforts are being made to this end on the part of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Regierungspräsident Dr Reeder, as well as his aide, Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Heym.⁸ As Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Heym told me, he has already made repeated suggestions to this effect to the Reich Ministry. Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Scheerer told me in our talk that the Military Commander is the driving force behind the accelerated removal of the containers because the management of these containers presents a significant additional burden to his office in terms of personnel; additionally, there is pressure, above all from the navy, to clear the port in Antwerp more quickly. Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Scheerer explained to me that the regional tax director in Berlin, or the regional tax director in Düsseldorf acting on his behalf, had been put in charge of the practical implementation of the removal. He expects the order from the regional tax director in Düsseldorf this

1 Wiener Library, P III/i/279. This document has been translated from German.

2 Presumably Franz Mader (1914–2001), policeman; joined the SS in 1939; wounded in battle as a member of the Waffen SS at Riga in 1944; discharged from the SS in Feb. 1945.

3 Correctly: Dr Georg Scherer (1900–1959); worked in the division for Enemy and Jewish Assets within the military administration's Department for Economic Affairs.

4 Count Johann Ludwig (Lutz) Schwerin von Krosigk (1887–1977), Reich minister of finance, 1932–1945.

5 Correctly: Dr Konrad Eylert (b. 1889), lawyer; worked for the Reich Tax Authority from Sept. 1920 and later as a ministerial director in the Reich Ministry of Finance.

6 Presumably Dr Friedrich Schwarzat; Regierungsrat with the Reich Ministry of Finance; worked for the department for the management of Reich assets.

7 See Doc. 185.

8 Dr Hans Günther Heym (1907–1979), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1930; worked in the administration of various district and state governments, 1934–1940; personal aide to Chief of the Military Administration Reeder, 1940–1944; held the rank of Oberregierungsrat (a senior civil service position) when he was dismissed in 1945; worked as a lawyer from 1961.

week or at the beginning of the next, and he will begin having the containers shipped without further ado if we are unable to obtain a counter order from Berlin. In a personal conversation with the Military Commander's personal aide, *Kriegsverwaltungsrat* Dr Heym, I was assured that the shipment will be stopped until a clear decision has been reached on our part.

(Time of the relevant discussion with *Kriegsverwaltungsrat* Dr Heym – 7 May 1942, 12.35 p.m.)

Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Scherrer⁹ also noted that the accumulated cost of storage and haulage to date has reached around RM 500,000 to 600,000, which the Reich Finance Minister has agreed to bear as part of the ordinance. I referred *Kriegsverwaltungsrat* Dr Scherrer to the decision by the Führer on this point, according to which the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories will also certainly be capable of bearing the cost.

In this context, I was able to learn that more or less 100 per cent of the abandoned Jewish homes have reportedly been seized by the Wehrmacht as quarters or reserve quarters, which means that a survey can be undertaken, but the removal of the furniture will not be possible in the foreseeable future. I would like to take this opportunity to note the difficulties that will arise for us if, as originally planned, the containers have to be inspected for pieces of art while still in Belgium and therefore unpacked in each individual case. If at all possible, I request a decision be made that the containers are to be shipped to the Reich as they are, in this case to Frankfurt/Oder, and the inspection for pieces of art should be conducted there by members of the Rosenberg Task Force, in the distribution centre already planned for central [...].¹⁰ In any case, the original plan had been to unpack the containers in Frankfurt/Oder and to send back the empty packing materials from there, partly to Belgium and partly to France. The removal would then be carried out, as originally planned, in part by train to the extent that railway cars are available, and in part by inland waterway.

⁹ Correctly: Georg Scherer.

¹⁰ Word added by hand, illegible.

DOC. 191

**On 15 May 1942 the Brussels Trust Company comments on the liquidation
of Marcel Halpern's company in Antwerp¹**

Letter from the Brussels Trust Company S.P.R.L.² (p 267/s.Ha./019/JH.), signature illegible, Brussels, 47 Cantersteen, to the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France, Chief of the Military Administration, Group XII (received on 16 May 1942), Brussels, dated 15 May 1942

Re: Marcel Halpern,³ Antwerp, 2 Courte rue des Claires

File ref.: 4/Eb C 5-1003

We hereby return the documents conveyed to us with a letter of 16 March 1942, and comment as follows on the liquidation report submitted by Mr Dierckx to Mr Adolf Scheuermann:⁴

1) The statement submitted on 24 December 1941 under the header Balance Sheet is an extract from the general ledger, as the accounts summarized therein are taken from the balance sheet as well as the profit and loss statements. It thereby follows that this statement does not provide sufficient insight into the situation. The liquidation is not yet complete, and Mr Dierckx only wanted to provide an interim report.

2) A comparison of the submitted statement from the general ledger with the company's earlier balance sheets is not possible due to a lack of documentation. Nevertheless, from the available documents it can be seen that the company no longer has at its disposal any objects or goods to be converted into cash; its assets comprise only bank deposits and cash, which must be assumed to have been properly identified. Can the bank deposit at the Banque des Céréales *in Liqu.*⁵ of approx. 120,000.00 BEF be accessed? Where is this bank domiciled?

3) On the 'Balance Sheet' the current account balance entered under liabilities is of particular interest. After foreign currency conversion at the market rate as of 24 December 1941, this account shows a balance of 162,184.19 BEF. This balance was arrived at by offsetting

liabilities amounting to:	2,932,224.58
against receivables amounting to	2,770,040.39
	162,184.19 BEF

1 AN, AJ 40/255. This document has been translated from German.

2 Société privée à responsabilité limitée, Belgian legal term for a company broadly equivalent to a private limited company.

3 Marcel Halpern is thought to have fled to France in 1940 and to have emigrated to Brazil via Portugal.

4 The documents mentioned here are not in the files. J. Dierckx, accountant for the Halpern company, was entrusted with the liquidation of the company in Jan. 1941. On 24 Sept. 1941 the military administration instructed Adolf Scheuermann to carry out an audit of Marcel Halpern's company, presumably because by that date the outcome of the liquidation was unknown: letter from Division 4, Group XII of the military administration to Adolf Scheuermann, Hotel Atlanta, Brussels, dated 24 Sept. 1941, AN, AJ 40/255.

5 Short for 'in liquidation'. It follows from the files that the Banque des Céréales in Antwerp was liquidated in 1939 and taken over by the Société des Céréales S.A., Ghent, which itself was liquidated in 1942.

However, included among the receivables is Marcel Halpern's private account, which was in debit to the amount of 2,613,591.82. *This means that the debts of 2,932,224.58 are offset by actual receivables of only 156,448.57!* The company's principal debts are to:

Granimex, Braila ⁶	2,349,020.25 BEF
and Fratii Halpern, Braila	570,955.18 BEF

which arose because Halpern performed collections for these companies for a fee. We suspect that Halpern took this money with him when he fled, on debit from his private account. This may well be embezzlement; certainly it can hardly be assumed that Halpern sent on these funds to Braila as he fled!⁷ For the continued execution of the liquidation it is important to learn everything about this, what is known or suspected. Apart from that, we have to wait to see what Dierckx can recoup of the individual receivables.

4) We found nothing remarkable in reviewing the statements of expenses. In 1941 Dierckx withdrew 500.00 BEF per month for his work, which would not have been too much.

5) The calculations in the documents were checked and found to be correct.

6) According to information provided by Dierckx in his letter to the registration office for enemy assets dated 16 December 1940,⁸ the company declared itself bankrupt in September 1939. Whether the procedure was initiated cannot be determined from the files. As the claim on Halpern (personal) cannot be recovered, the company is now heavily indebted, and in terms of enemy assets, there is interest in this business only to the extent that the books record that some liquid funds are available, which are still available only because of difficulties with transfers, as the principal creditors are foreigners.

In our view, it should be determined:

- a) whether the enterprise is bankrupt according to Belgian law and any further effort on the part of the German authorities is unnecessary,
- b) whether the identified deposits (see point 2) still present real assets, or if the assets still on the books are in reality so minimal that it would not be worth the trouble to do anything with this company.

In closing, we would like to stress that our position is based only on the files available, and an examination on-site that would draw on the books and sales records could reveal further information.⁹

⁶ Brăila is a city in Romania.

⁷ The money had already been lost earlier through 'unlucky speculation': letter from Jos. Dierckx to Adolf Scheuermann dated 30 Oct. 1942: AN, AJ 40/255.

⁸ Not in the file.

⁹ In the file is a letter dated 19 May 1942 from the military administration to Adolf Scheuermann, in which he is asked to proceed according to the standards of the Brussels Trust Company. It stated that further supervision of the company by the German authorities would not be necessary.

DOC. 192

On 2 June 1942 Henry Strauß asks the Association of Jews in Belgium whether he is required to register¹

Handwritten letter from Henry Strauß,² Brussels, 31 rue de la Serme,³ to the Association of Jews in Belgium (received on 4 June 1942), Brussels, dated 2 June 1942⁴

I would like to ask you to kindly answer the following query for me: I was married to an Aryan.⁵ The marriage ended in divorce in 1933 for purely private reasons. This marriage produced two children who were raised as Christians and who still live in Germany. My son, 27 years old,⁶ is currently serving in the war. Do I need to register with the above association? (I did register at the time.) And if no registration is required, am I also exempt from wearing the star? I thank you very much in advance for your answer + remain respectfully,⁷

DOC. 193

On 4 June 1942 the mayors of Brussels refuse to distribute yellow stars¹

Letter from the City of Brussels, mayor's office, unsigned (the president on behalf of the mayoral conference of the Brussels agglomeration),² Brussels, to Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Jentzke,³ Brussels, 1 place du Trône, dated 4 June 1942 (copy)

The regulation enacted to implement the regulation obliging Jews to wear a star in public⁴ obliges the municipal administrations to hand out the identifying badges to those affected. It is not for us to debate the appropriateness of measures adopted against the

1 Kazerne Dossin, A 007 505. This document has been translated from German.

2 Henry Strauß (1886–1942), businessman; worked as a banking and insurance consultant in Frankfurt am Main, 1920–1933; emigrated to Brussels in 1939; deported on 11 Aug. 1942 on Transport II from Mechelen to Auschwitz, where he perished.

3 Presumably correctly: rue de la Senne.

4 The original contains handwritten annotations.

5 Olga Strauß, née Köpke (1892–1957).

6 Kurt Strauß (b. 1915).

7 No response to this letter has been found.

1 AVB/ASB, 846 fonds bourgmestre. This document has been translated from German.

2 Jules Emile François Coelst (1870–1946), pharmacist; member of various municipal councils and provincial assemblies from 1908; member of the Catholic Party; mayor of Brussels, July 1941 to Sept. 1942.

3 Correctly: Dr Arnold Hans Gentzke (1902–1944), lawyer; probationary judge in Neustrelitz, 1929–1931; worked for the Mecklenburg-Strelitz regional church's legal department, 1931–1934; joined the NSDAP in 1933; at the Higher Regional Court in Rostock, 1936–1942; head of the police and judiciary group at Oberfeldkommandantur 672 (Brussels), 1940–1944; drafted into the Wehrmacht in 1944; declared dead in 1956.

4 Regulation on the Visible Identification of Jews (27 May 1942), *VOBl-BNF*, 79, no. 1, 1 June 1942, pp. 943 f., and Implementing Regulation to the Regulation on the Visible Identification of Jews (27 May 1942), *VOBl-BNF*, 79, no. 2, 1 June 1942, p. 945.

Israelites, but it is our duty to inform you that you cannot require our cooperation in their implementation.

A large number of Jews are Belgian, and we cannot endorse a provision that directly harms the dignity of any person, whoever he may be. The harm done is all the greater in that it bans whoever is affected by it from wearing national medals.

We are convinced that you will recognize the legitimacy of our feelings.

Yours faithfully,

DOC. 194

***L'Ami du peuple*, 13 June 1942: article on the unwillingness of many communities to distribute the yellow star¹**

Sabotage of Anti-Jewish Regulations. Passive Resistance.

It was to be expected. It was a rigged game.

Jews did not wear the yellow star on 7 June, the effective date!²

That Sunday, strain our eyes as we might, not a single seal of David! We did see one or two yids, because despite all their audacity they were slightly concerned, but not a single one of them was wearing the emblem of the chosen race (sic)!³

We did not understand the reasons for this violation of the latest regulation.

Now we understand, we know that those 'poor Jews' are innocent, as always, because, with supreme skill, they made others – those under their spell, their bleating lackeys – responsible for this new mischief.

The Jews are certainly not to blame. We proclaim it loud and clear. At most they could be accused of instigating the boycott of the measures taken against them.

But who is really to blame? The instigator? Or rather the unutterable cretin who gives in to the arguments of the Jews?

The higher authorities had ordered the municipal administrations to distribute the famous yellow stars.

Do you think the zealous Anglophiles in our administrations acted on their instructions?

Not that stupid! It was not only a good trick to play on the military authorities, but also an excellent chance to do the yids a favour.

All kinds of excuses were used as a defence: lack of yellow fabric, lack of instructions as to the size and type of star, shortage of labour, lack of appropriate services to carry out the distribution, etc., etc.

In short, our good municipal officials patted the fearful Jews who came for information fraternally on the shoulder and reassured poor Isaac or Rebecca, who had burst into tears, saying: *'Don't worry. Nothing has been prepared. We have no stars for you and believe us, we will not have them any time soon!'*

1 'Le sabotage des ordonnances anti-juives. Résistance passive', leaflet from the newspaper *L'Ami du peuple*, 13 June 1942. This document has been translated from French.

2 The Regulation on the Visible Identification of Jews (27 May 1942), *VOBl-BNF*, 79, no. 1, 1 June 1942, pp. 943–944, made it compulsory for all Jews to wear a yellow star in public as of 7 June 1942.

3 'Sic' as in the original.

Cheered up by these kind words, the yid turned around, puffing out his chest and scorning the stupid goy, who once again was very kindly acting as his accomplice.

And that's why the yids here have not been wearing the star.

Fortunately, the military authority then spent two days, Tuesday and Wednesday, undertaking the much-desired distribution itself. All contrite, our 'poor yids' had to queue (it's certainly their turn) to obtain the valuable badge, which will distinguish them from the horrible goyim. All's well that ends well.⁴

But what to do, what to say about the culpable foolhardiness of our own compatriots?

There is nothing to be done, they are incurable!

But this latest unfortunate episode leads us to some salutary reflections.

This new failure – because it was a failure! – due to the all-powerful passive resistance of our good municipal administrations, encourages us to call more loudly than ever for the *creation of a Commissariat for Jewish Affairs*⁵ and, alongside it, the *creation of an anti-Jewish police force*.

All posts should be entrusted to proven antisemites, men from our ranks who have shown their worth and who have shown time and again that misappropriation of public funds and corruption have no hold over them.

Antisemites should be responsible for ensuring that anti-Jewish orders are obeyed! Even the smallest decree establishing a Commissariat for Jewish Affairs would already significantly improve the atmosphere here.

By appointing responsible anti-Jewish people, we would avoid passive resistance and give them the opportunity to show their devotion to the cause by quickly solving the Jewish question for the greater good of our national community.

When will a Commissariat for Jewish Affairs finally be established?

DOC. 195

On 19 June 1942 the president of the mayoral conference of Brussels refuses to send Jewish students to separate schools¹

Letter from the City of Brussels, mayor's office (B.7.088), signed J. Coelst (on behalf of the mayoral conference of the Brussels agglomeration, the president), to Oberfeldkommandantur 672, Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Dr Callies,² Brussels, 1 place du Trône, dated 19 June 1942 (copy)

Dear City Commissioner,

We have taken note of the content of your letter dated 4 June in response to our communication dated 30 May of this year regarding the establishment of Jewish schools.³ You seem to have mistaken the meaning of our communication, because you

⁴ The initial plans for the distribution of the Jewish stars by the municipal administrations had provoked resistance: see Doc. 193. As a result, on 9 and 10 June 1942 the German military administration itself assumed responsibility for the distribution; the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) was put in charge of the distribution from 12 June 1942.

⁵ The Belgian administration did not set up a commissariat such as the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs in France.

¹ AVB/ASB, 846 fonds bourgmestre. This document has been translated from German.

write that you gather from it that the municipality of *Brussels* would deal with sending all Jewish children of school age to schools designated for Jews, starting at the beginning of the 1942/1943 school year. Allow me to point out to you that this was never our thought nor our intention. In our letter it was stated that in view of the distressing measures against the Jews, many of whom are our compatriots and many of whom are unfortunate, they deserve our care. However, we have neither the desire nor the capacity to create schools exclusively reserved for them. The only available premises that have been placed at the disposal of the Association of Jews and those premises that subsequently become available do not suffice to accommodate the thousands of primary school students whose admission to our schools is forbidden.

Yours sincerely,⁴

DOC. 196

Salomon van den Berg reflects in his diary on the period from the start of the occupation of Belgium up to 30 June 1942¹

Diary of Salomon van den Berg, entries for June 1942, pp. 33–43 (copy)²

The occupation of Belgium since our return. Diary.

We had left our dear country when it was still free and independent, though seriously threatened, and we returned³ to a country occupied by foreign troops, as it had been twenty-five years ago. I felt like I had been asleep for twenty-five years or that I was having a bad dream. I was constantly reminded of the 1914/18 period, and I kept telling myself that that war was still going on, since it was the same Germans I was seeing again, occupying the same barracks, the same buildings. I saw the German flag flying from the tower of our town hall and the queues outside the food shops. However, on closer inspection there were changes, though it was still more or less the same thing. The soldiers'

2 Dr Hermann Callies (1900–1970), lawyer; Regierungsassessor in Prussia, then municipal official and city councillor in various cities; Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat with Oberfeldkommandantur 672 (Brussels), 1942 to Sept. 1944; city commissioner of Brussels, 1942; after 1945 to 1965 board member of the South German Railway Company.

3 Both letters are in the same bundle of files. On 30 May Coelst confirmed that Brussels City Council had supported the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) in its search for buildings to house Jewish primary schools, but refused in principle to participate further in the segregation of Jewish students. He stated that, on the contrary, the council would do everything in its power to mitigate the hardships brought about by the measures imposed on Jews. Subsequently, on 4 June, Callies stated emphatically that from the 1942/43 school year, Jewish students would only be allowed to attend exclusively Jewish schools.

4 The Regulation on the Jewish School System (1 Dec. 1941), *VOBl-BNF*, 63, no. 4, p. 801, 2 Dec. 1941, was later also implemented in Brussels.

1 Wiener Library, P III i/275. This document has been translated from French.

2 Salomon van den Berg continued the diary of his daughter Nicole (b. 1924) from 10 May 1940, the day of the German invasion of Belgium. In June 1942 he wrote about the occupation of Belgium to date; new entries followed on an almost daily basis, and he wrote his diary up until 1945. The handwritten original is owned by the family.

3 Salomon van den Berg fled to the south-west of France with his wife and daughter on 12 May 1940. The whole family returned to Brussels in Sept. 1940.

uniforms were not the same and neither was the flag; the fifes that had played when the troops marched had been replaced by singing, and gas masks had been added to their kit. Brussels had a gloom about it and its inhabitants seemed dejected and completely dispirited. The shops were virtually empty, especially the food, tobacco, and cigar shops. Few friends had returned and it took some time to get used to this new life.

But one gets used to everything. After a few days I became fully preoccupied by business; I went back to see my usual suppliers, who had all returned. To get to Mechlin, the electrified train stopped just before the town, and from there one had to cover a long stretch on foot because the bridge had been blown up, as had the bridges over the Brussels canal. The English had blown them up as they left the city in order to slow down the German army's advance towards Ghent. To judge by the effects, they had used plenty of explosives, because all the houses around the bridges were damaged and without windows.

Regarding the furniture in which I trade, prices had at that time increased by around 10 per cent and merchandise was still fairly abundant. If I had stayed where I was, I would certainly have made some good purchases, but the crisis before the war had lasted a long time and most businessmen were very low on funds. However, little by little stock was starting to sell; what had been unsaleable before the war was being bought at much higher prices than one would have expected and could be replaced with new merchandise. From the start I was struck to see that every business, even the smallest, had its business registration number displayed in clear view, as was compulsory. It was decreed that all items were to be sold at 10 May 1940 prices. To sell anything at a higher price, one had to request authorization from the Price Setting Office, but few traders did so. Officially, goods were sold at 10 May prices, but the difference was paid in cash. This way of proceeding was popular for fabrics of all kinds. It was the beginning of what was known as the 'black market', in other words anything that couldn't be sold publicly. Gradually, black-market trading spread to food, which was much more serious. One needed a lot of money to eat more or less acceptably. At the time eggs cost 5 fr. each; meat cost 60 fr. per kg, butter the same, fat too. A kilo of sugar was 30 fr. etc., but that was just the start.

Since returning, I have also taken care of my brother's⁴ and D. vd B.'s belongings. As I was planning to move the contents of the apartment, it was requisitioned by '*le quartierand*'⁵ and I haven't been able to set foot in it since that day. I was more fortunate at D.'s home, as I managed to empty the whole house and get the contents to safety, as I also did for my friend V. Having lived here again for some time, we hoped that all our fears about the persecution of Jews were unjustified and that everything we have been told about Germany on that subject was very much exaggerated; up until that point, nothing was being done to Jews. I even went so far as to allow myself to be appointed vice-chairman of the Israelite Community, since I was one of the oldest members in Brussels and was Belgian, which was fairly rare in these times.⁶ However, gradually, little by little, we began to realize that our fears were justified. These are the measures against the Jews in roughly the order they were taken:

4 Arnold van den Berg (1892–1965) emigrated with his family from the Netherlands to Belgium in 1902; in May 1942 he fled with his family to Paris, and from there emigrated to the USA.

5 This is presumably a misspelling of the German term *Quartieramt*, the organization responsible for billeting soldiers, which was subordinate to the German military administration.

- 1) Ban on running a business, hence the liquidation of a large number of businesses or the appointment of a trustee;⁷
- 2) In Antwerp, ban on going out between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m., stopping in the street, going for a walk in the public parks; these measures did not apply at that time in Brussels;⁸
- 3) Handing in of radio sets;⁹
- 4) Curfew between 8 o'clock [p.m.] until 7 o'clock [a.m.];¹⁰
- 5) A number of cafés (Palace) forbidden;¹¹
- 6) Ban on smaller and larger business proprietors continuing to run their businesses and closure of their establishments;¹²
- 7) Requirement that Jews accept all work offered, without the right to the same benefits as the [...];¹³
- 8) Obligation to work separately from [...];¹⁴
- 9) Ban on [Jewish] pupils going to school and requirement to create separate schools;¹⁵
- 10) Obligation to wear the Star of David as of 8 June 1942.¹⁶

All these humiliating measures outraged right-minded Belgians, and there were many of them. I forgot to mention the registration of Jews and the marking of identity cards with the word Jew.¹⁷ To give the Belgian authorities credit where it is due, I must note that they firmly refused to assist with each new measure,¹⁸ but every time the occupiers were able to impose their will, albeit with a short delay. I myself have to deal with these measures, since following the establishment of the Association of Jews in Belgium I was appointed, along with six others, a member of the association's management board¹⁹ and as chairman of the local Brussels committee, and I was officially banned from stepping down without the authorization of the occupying forces. The official aim

6 Following his return from France, van den Berg assumed various functions in the Jewish Community; he became vice-chairman of the board of the Community in Oct. 1940.

7 See Docs. 158 and 168.

8 The nightly curfew entered into force in Antwerp on 21 April 1941, though the regulation for the entire occupied territory was not published until 21 August 1941: see Doc. 173. A German police regulation meant that the public parks of the Antwerp region could no longer be accessed by Jews from 25 Sept. 1941: notice from Walter Delius, 25 Sept. 1941, Stadsarchief Antwerpen, MA 58 080.

9 Supplementary Regulation to the Jew Regulation of 31 May 1941, *VOBl-BNF*, 44, no. 1, 10 June 1941, pp. 607–610.

10 See Doc. 173.

11 This could not be verified.

12 See Doc. 168.

13 A word is missing in the copy: Regulation on the Employment of Jews in Belgium, 11 March 1942, *VOBl-BNF*, 70, no. 2, 18 March 1942, p. 857.

14 A word is missing in the copy.

15 Regulation on the Jewish School System, 1 Dec. 1941, *VOBl-BNF*, 63, no. 4, 2 Dec. 1941, p. 801.

16 Regulation on the Visible Identification of Jews, 27 May 1942, *VOBl-BNF*, 79, no. 1, 1 June 1942, pp. 943–944.

17 See Doc. 158.

18 See Docs. 193 and 195.

19 Along with van den Berg, Salomon Ullmann, Maurice Benedictus, Niko David Workum, Jules Mehlwurm, David Lazer, and Noé Nozice were on the board of the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB).

of the association was to care for the poor, to prepare for emigration, and to establish the separate schools. Up until the time of writing, in June 1942, the association has carried out good social work²⁰ and has never had the slightest involvement in any political issue.

In October 1940 the D. vd B. and family, who had said their goodbyes to us in Agen²¹ believing they would be going abroad, returned to Brussels, just a fortnight after I had emptied their house, so they rented a furnished apartment. In the meantime, I went to Holland several times, which was very difficult given the difficulty in getting a visa, especially as a Jew. The anti-Jewish measures are much more draconian there than here,²² causing great indignation among Aryan Dutch people just as they have with the Belgians. Seeing Jews in Brussels running around with the Star of David sewn onto their clothes, yellow fabric with the letter J in the middle, was the saddest of sights. But the Belgians behaved magnificently, they pretended to see nothing and they showed a good deal of consideration for those who were obliged to wear the badge.

In the meantime, prices had kept rising and butter cost 280 fr. per kg, meat 125 fr., fat 250 fr., coffee 800 fr. per kg, and tea 1,200 fr.; chocolate was nowhere to be found and sugar cost 75 fr. Vegetables were also difficult to get. I went to Mechlin every week and with a great deal of difficulty I sometimes managed to get hold of two cauliflowers and two bunches of asparagus. A kilo of flour costs 60 fr. and a loaf of bread 25 to 30 fr. But by contrast everything one got with food stamps was about 10 to 20 per cent more expensive compared with the prices as of 10 May 1940. Potatoes cost 15 fr. per kg. One got 150 kg of coal per month and per household and so people are very apprehensive about the arrival of winter 1942.

In June 1942 business, which had been excellent until then, dried up suddenly, and no one knew why. The stock market is also crumbling bit by bit each day. Nevertheless, everyone is optimistic and envisages the war ending in September 1942.

Following its entry into the war,²³ all correspondence with America has been suspended and news from my brother arrives rarely, via Switzerland or Portugal. From the latter country we quite often receive small parcels of figs or sardines, which supplement our evening meals a little, for though lunch is already difficult enough to put together, the evening meal is much more so as a result of the limited bread ration: 225 g. per day per person, around four slices. I have always wondered how workers and people on low salaries could withstand such a diet. However, some restaurants had everything and 300 to 500 fr. could still buy you an acceptable lunch.

In France, where I went fairly often, a bottle of mediocre wine cost 100 to 150 fr. It was a curious fact that one saw more wine in Belgium than in France. Gas was only available at certain times of day and the pressure was low.

As we no longer had a radio and were forbidden to go out, we spent our evenings playing bridge with friends, playing the piano, and reading a lot.

Today, 16 June, continuation of the war diary on a daily basis.

²⁰ See Doc. 187.

²¹ City in the Lot-et-Garonne département in the south-west of France.

²² See Doc. 104.

²³ On 7 Dec. 1941 Japanese planes attacked the US Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbour. The USA subsequently entered the war.

17 June: Calm day, saw an officer in a German uniform with a badge with the Walloon coat of arms on his sleeve.²⁴ A fake Belgian. A lady sent an anonymous donation of 25,000 fr. to the association out of solidarity with the Jews and their current misfortune. Absolutely no business. 200 Jewish workers depart for forced labour in northern France.²⁵ Raised 50,000 fr. in one hour to get them bread, cigarettes, and money. Solidarity still exists.

18 June: Calm day, without incident.

19 June: Eventful day. There is serious discussion of a plan to send men between the ages of eighteen and sixty to work in France. Hence, constant trips to and from the A.J.B. for information. There is real panic among the Jewish population, but it seems the matter is not as bad as people say. We must wait a few days for the outcome of the steps that have been taken. Played bridge in the evening with the Goldsches.

20 June: Saturday. Problem-free day. Visited the Daafs.

21 June: Very full day, despite it being a Sunday, due to discussions with the teachers from Cymering school,²⁶ in the afternoon too, then played bridge with Julie, Charles.

Learned of the fall of Tobruk.²⁷ However, this in no way dampens our optimism about a quick end to the war. We expect it in September. Business is still very slow.

22 June: Continuation of school discussions, meeting of management board of the A.J.B. News regarding the workers is more reassuring. Those who work will be able to continue their trades. Splendid weather, a pity not to be able to go out after 8 p.m.

23 June: Day in Mechlin. Business is very quiet. As arrogant as the manufacturers may have been three weeks ago, they were as pleasant as can be; such is the mentality of the town. However, there is not much stock to buy and prices remain very high. The price of vegetables too. Brought back four bunches of asparagus at 11 fr. and several bunches of carrots at 4.75 fr. per bunch. Not a single client in the office. Dead calm, it's as if everything is frozen and people are waiting for some important event.

24 June: The matter of forced labour is calming down a little and seems less worrying. Spent the morning in the office, afternoon at the A.J.B. Lovely day. Nothing more.

25 June: Received letter from Arnold.²⁸ Visit to nursery school in Uccle with Mrs Perelman.²⁹ Gave sweets to the children. There is talk of peace negotiations between England,

24 Member of the Walloon Legion, a battalion of Belgian volunteers founded in August 1941, who fought in the war against the Soviet Union under the command of the Wehrmacht. On 1 June 1943 the Walloon Legion was brought under the control of the Waffen SS as the SS-Sturmbrigade Wallonia.

25 According to the regulation of 6 March 1942, in *VOBI-BNF*, 68, no. 2, 7 March 1942, pp. 844–845, Belgians across the occupied territory were liable for forced labour. A subsequent regulation for Jewish forced labour was issued on 11 March: *VOBI-BNF*, 70, no. 2, 18 March 1942, p. 857. In May 1942 employment offices received the order to send Jews to the labour camps of Organization Todt in France. All Jewish men between the ages of 18 and 60 and all Jewish women between 20 and 55 were forced to accept any work assigned to them by the employment office. A total of 2,252 Jews were deported to these labour camps: see Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry, 1932–1945*, trans. Ina Friedman and Haya Galai (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) [Hebrew edn, 1987], p. 393.

26 This could not be verified.

27 The Allied troops who had defended the city surrendered after heavy fighting on 21 June 1942.

28 Arnold van den Berg.

29 Félce (Fela) Perelman, née Liwer (1909–1991), historian; married to Chaim Perelman (1912–1984), professor of philosophy in Brussels; active in the Brussels committee of the AJB/VJB. From April 1942 Fela Perelman organized Jewish nursery schools and hideouts for Jewish children. The nursery school referred to here was founded by her and located on Victor Allardstraat.

America, and Japan. They say that's why Churchill has gone to America, along with Queen Wilhelmina, in order to decide what part of India could be handed over to Japan.³⁰ England's policy is always the same, to give away that which does not belong to it anyway. Bought twenty-seven eggs at 8.50 fr. and 5 kg of jam for 300 fr. Spent the afternoon at the A.J.B. The issue of the workers is still worrying. In the next two days 450 people will be leaving for Boulogne. Calm evening.

26 June: Third week without potatoes. Too late for old, too early for new. Spent the whole day at the A.J.B. because of the workers issue. Attended the departure of one column; a sad sight, and to think that we are threatened with that too. Met the director of the O.N.J.³¹ d'Hoedt, a decent chap who is doing what he can to remove as many people as possible [from the lists], but harsher measures are to be feared as a result of their being removed.

27 June: As an exception, spent this Saturday at the A.J.B. given the urgent question of the workers.

Journey by taxi to try and save some of them. Thanks to D.E.,³² an extraordinary man, managed it for around thirty. Spent afternoon at Cyfer's, also grief-stricken because son has received notice to report for examination. Reassured by the hope that as a Belgian veteran he will be exempt. Visit from Metter in the evening regarding the same matter. Everyone is very worried, especially since Boulogne, where people are being sent, is being bombed heavily. The rumours of peace between Japan, America, and England do not seem to be true. Went to someone living at Mr Leek's house regarding the same problem of the workers. Constantly on the telephone.

28 June: Meeting of the board of the synagogue, very calm at the beginning, ended stormily, disagreement Blum – Rothel³³ because of underground work against the A.J.B. Afternoon tea at the Levys, av. Longchamps.

29 June: Marso Moerouk³⁴ taken by the air force, Egypt in danger.

Fairly busy day, the A.J.B. still crowded because of the forced labour issue.

However, prospects are a little better in this respect, and so the cases will be handled with a little less concern.

Nothing out of the ordinary.

30 June: So the month of June ends without anything having happened in our immediate vicinity.

30 The British prime minister, Winston Churchill, discussed the creation of a second front in Europe with US President Roosevelt (1882–1945) and other government representatives at a conference in Washington from 18 to 26 June 1942; Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands travelled to Canada and the United States from 17 June to 26 August 1942 to request increased war efforts by the Allies.

31 Correctly: ONT (Office national du travail, National Employment Office). During the summer of 1942 the director of job placement within the Brussels branch of the ONT was Marcel d'Hoedt (b. 1908), lawyer; civil servant at the Ministry for People's Health and Families.

32 David Ferdman (1899–1990), journalist and diamond merchant; emigrated from Poland to Belgium in 1939; active in the AJB/VJB, 1940–1944; served as a go-between for the resistance during trips to Switzerland.

33 Correctly: an argument between Marcel Blum, chairman of the Jewish Community, and Eduard Rotkel, community secretary, about the relationship between the Community and the AJB/VJB.

34 This probably refers to events in Mersa Matruh, an Egyptian city that was seized by the German Africa Corps on 28 June 1942 on its way from Tobruk to El Alamein.

On the various battlefields the fight has become fiercer, but the thing that concerns us most is not happening, the liberation of Belgium. Day in Mechlin, business quiet. Stock is building up as a result of the increasing threat that has emerged over the last four weeks. It's the opposite of what's happening in France; there, there is a shortage of furniture and one can sell anything, but exporting requires a lot of formalities. Above all one requires a compensation: e.g. if I want to export merchandise for a given amount, another firm must import other merchandise worth the same amount. The issue of transport is also becoming very difficult. Irène³⁵ was really happy to have got a bunch of asparagus at the fixed price of 10.50 fr. Vegetables are very scarce. The ration of potatoes for the month of June has been set at 200 g per person per day.

According to a German communiqué Sebastopol seems to be seriously threatened.³⁶

DOC. 197

**An unknown author reports to the World Jewish Congress on forced labour
and anti-Jewish measures in Belgium from the start of the occupation
to the summer of 1942¹**

Report (unsigned) dated 29 August 1942 (typescript)

Situation of the Jews in Belgium

Report sent to the World Jewish Congress – from Geneva on August 29, 1942.

Several days ago a refugee arrived from Belgium and on the basis of his information, I submit the following report concerning the situation of the Jews in Belgium:

My informer was in Belgium during the entire period between the invasion by the Germans until very recently, so that he is in a position to speak about Belgian affairs with some measure of authority.

In May 1940, as soon as Belgium passed into German control, the Nazis began to enact anti-Jewish decrees. The first step was the confiscation of all Jewish-owned radios.² Next, all Jewish-owned stores and businesses were ordered to display prominently the words 'Jewish Business' so that the sign could be seen at a distance.³ These were, so to speak, the initial steps. From that moment on, the Jews were prepared for the worst, which was not long in coming.

35 Sarah van den Berg (b. 1891), née Fischmann, called Irène by her husband; married to van den Berg since 1918.

36 The battle for the Russian city of Sevastopol lasted from Nov. 1941 to July 1942; German troops entered the city at the end of June 1942; the remaining Red Army forces were forced to surrender on 4 July 1942.

1 AJA, The World Jewish Congress Collection, Series A, Subseries 1, box A7, file 10. The original document is in English.

2 All radios owned by Jews were to be handed in by 1 July 1941: see Doc. 196.

3 The Regulation on Measures Against Jews (Jew Regulation) issued on 28 October 1940 ordered the visible identification of all Jewish restaurants and hotels: see Doc. 158. The mandatory identification of all other Jewish businesses was ordered in the Regulation on Economic Measures Against Jews (Third Jew Regulation) of 31 May 1941: see Doc. 168.

The greatest blow for the Jewish community was the liquidation of all Jewish associations.⁴ This was tantamount to the suspension of all Jewish social life in Belgium. The only organization which defied the ban and which still displayed a few weak signs of life was the Zionist Organization.⁵

The only other manifestation of Jewish life in Brussels was the Oneg Shabat,⁶ conducted every Saturday in the Brussels Synagogue and regularly attended by great numbers of the Jews of the city who gathered together for the purpose of forgetting for a few hours the misery and tragedy hanging over them all week long. The slightest infraction of the Nazi decrees is punishable with concentration camp.

The concentration camps are not the harshest punishment. The forced labor has also taken its toll of lives. Many Jews have died at their tasks, unable to cope with the severe regime imposed on them.

The first to be assigned to forced labor were the Jews of Antwerp, commencing the summer of 1941. At that time it was proclaimed that all Jews who had arrived in Antwerp after 1933 were to be condemned to forced labor.⁷ One can well imagine the panic which befell the Jews of that city. Wealthy families were forced to leave behind all their possessions and report at designated places – many of them carrying small children in their arms.

Brussels was then regarded as a heaven, since this decree only applied to the Jews of Antwerp. There then began a migration of Jews to Brussels where they hoped to evade the Antwerp measures.

At the beginning of 1942, after all these ‘preliminaries,’ the Nazis set about robbing the Jews of their last bit of bread. An order was issued to all Jewish businessmen requiring them to bring all their merchandise to a designated place, where it was then turned over to the Nazis.⁸ Everything was conducted with typical Teutonic ‘punctiliousness’ – that is, exact inventories were compiled and receipts were issued to the owners for so much and so much stock at such and such a price. Naturally, in computing the prices, the Nazis did not abide by the current market-rates but recognized those prices which prevailed before May 10, 1940 – which reduced the value of the Jewish-owned stock to one tenth of its real value.

By this decree the Jews were deprived of their means of livelihood. Crowds of hungry Jews gathered before the Jewish Consistory⁹ building and cried pitifully, ‘Give us bread.’

4 The liquidation of Jewish associations was followed by a decree which ordered the establishment of an association of Jews in Belgium with compulsory membership, after the example of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany: see Doc. 176, fn. 10.

5 The reference here is most likely to the Zionist Association of Belgium, which still exists today.

6 Correctly: Oneg Shabbat, Hebrew for ‘Joy of the Sabbath’, an informal gathering to mark the Sabbath.

7 There were instances of forced labour being imposed on Jews at local level in 1942, though Jews throughout Belgium were not subject to forced labour until the enactment of the Decree on the Labour Deployment of Jews in Belgium, 11 March 1942: *VOBI-BNF*, 70, no. 2, 18 March 1942, p. 857.

8 This could not be verified. It is most likely a reference to the anti-Jewish measures excluding Jews from economic life, which included the forced registration of Jewish businesses: see Doc. 168.

9 The Israelite Central Consistory of Belgium was established in 1832, shortly after the establishment of the Belgian state, and followed the model of the consistory created for the French territories under Napoleon: see Introduction, p. 22. No records of protests outside the Consistory’s building have been found.

By miraculous chance, there was at this time a Polish Jew in Brussels who placed all of his considerable wealth at the disposal of the Jewish community. He promptly met every appeal made directly to him. This man, who refused to disclose his real name and was known simply as 'David,' was personally instrumental in saving the lives of hundreds of Jewish families. He never refused a request for help and personally made a house-to-house survey to discover the most needy in the Jewish Quarter.

After robbing the Jews, the Nazis now commenced to send them to various concentration camps. Once again, the Jews of Antwerp were the first victims. An ordinance was issued in Antwerp, forbidding more than two Jews at a time to walk through the streets.¹⁰ Whenever three or more young men were found walking together, they were summarily dispatched to concentration camps. A 7 p.m. curfew was also forced on the Jews. If by any chance a Jew was found to be visiting the home of a friend after that hour, he was sent to the camp. These regulations which were originally intended only for the Jews of Antwerp were later applied to all of Belgium with the only modification that the curfew was extended to 8 p.m.¹¹ Woe betide the man who was not to be found in his own home at that hour!

Another decree required the Jews to turn over all their possessions – not only those they had in Belgium but all the assets they had abroad, as well. Every slightest possession was to be accounted for. The Jews were permitted to retain for their own use the sum of 5,000 francs.¹²

Although no official ghettos have been established in Belgium, the Nazis decreed that Jews can live only in the following cities: Brussels, Antwerp, Lieges, and Charleroi. This latest measure was adopted in the spring of this year and is regarded by the Jews as a precursor of the ghetto in Belgium.¹³

From that moment on, Jewish life in Belgium became intolerable. Anti-Jewish ordinance after ordinance was published. Jews were barred from all the liberal professions. Even those few who had heretofore been able to pursue their professions were now ousted from them.¹⁴

Next came the exclusion of Jewish children from the schools.¹⁵ There were many cases where young people of 16 and 17 had only a few more months to finish their school courses. Their parents pleaded in vain that their children be permitted to finish their studies and receive their diplomas.

The Yellow Badge also soon made its appearance. A few months ago, all Jews above the age of 6 were ordered to display the Yellow Star of David on their left breasts. As soon as these signs appeared in the streets, Jews were barred from a number of restaurants, cafes and movie-houses. The Belgian Nazi organ, 'L'Ami du Peuple',¹⁶ now let its voice be heard. In the coarsest of terms, it now began to conduct revolting anti-Semitic

¹⁰ This could not be verified.

¹¹ See Doc. 173.

¹² See Doc. 168. Jewish owners of blocked accounts required permission from the military administration to withdraw limited sums from their accounts.

¹³ See Doc. 173.

¹⁴ See the measure excluding Jews from the medical professions: *VOBl-BNF*, 79, no. 3, 1 June 1942, pp. 947–948.

¹⁵ See Doc. 176, fn. 9.

¹⁶ See Doc. 194.

propaganda. To the credit of the Belgian people, it must be stated that the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the gentiles was one of sympathy and understanding toward the Jews. There have been many cases where gentiles stopped in the streets to talk to Jews, encouraging them and greeting them in a most friendly fashion. Many Jews have gentiles to thank for the little bread they are able to get.

We are told of cases where Nazi soldiers, meeting Jews on the streets, stopped them and amused themselves at their expense. Jews were forced to their knees in the street and were then mercilessly beaten. These barbaric acts on the part of the 'Masters of the New Order' elicited only contempt and revulsion from the Belgian populace.

When the Nazis realized that their efforts to implant anti-Semitism in the minds of the Belgians were unsuccessful, they strengthened their attack against the Jews. They began to treat the Jews like cattle. At the end of May, they began to send the Jews to Boulogne and Calais to work on the fortifications there. Hundreds of Jews have fallen victims in these two cities which are the constant targets of the R.A.F. aerial bombardments.¹⁷ The object of the Nazis in sending the Jews here is not so much for the work they can do as in the hope that they will be killed by the bombings. They send men of 17 to 60 years of age for this work. There were several thousand of these 'workers' in the first transport which departed at the beginning of June.¹⁸ The Nazis have declared that all Jewish males of the indicated ages will be sent away for this work except for those who are in the employ of Belgian firms working for Nazis. Of course, this only applies to those who have been connected with certain firms for many years, since no new Jewish employees are engaged.

Another way to evade being sent to Boulogne and Calais for hard labor is to work on farms. In order to save a number of people from the almost certain death which awaits them in those cities, the Jewish organization 'Ezra'¹⁹ obtained great tracts of land outside of Brussels, which were then farmed by a number of Jews who could no longer work in their own particular fields. Among them were doctors, lawyers, bankers, artists, merchants, etc. Since no more than 2,000 could be employed on the farms, all the other Jews of Belgium are doomed to deportation.

Not one word has been heard from any of the Jews sent away for hard labor. Husbands have been sent away from their wives, fathers from their children – Jewish family life in Belgium is being completely disrupted.

Naturally, the Jews sought about wildly for any means to evade the deportation orders. The Nazis immediately imposed a strict surveillance on all trains, homes and even on the streets. Whenever a Jew was found, he was immediately deported to Boulogne or Calais and nothing more was ever heard from or about him.

17 The Royal Air Force (RAF) bombed German military positions and important strategic targets in north-western France, especially on the coast, in order to prevent an invasion of Britain by the Wehrmacht.

18 See Doc. 196.

19 The Ezra aid organization was established in 1902 in Antwerp primarily to help immigrants from Eastern Europe. From 1920 it was part of the De Centrale relief organization; it was overseen by the Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) from 1942 until the autumn of 1943, then disbanded. The De Centrale organization was re-established after the end of the occupation and still exists today.

The Nazis were not content with deporting the Jews to Boulogne and Calais. Soon they commenced deporting the Jews to the ruined areas of Nazi-occupied Russia. Men, women, children, the old and young and the ailing, whosoever had a drop of Jewish blood in his veins, were shipped to Russia.²⁰ Most tragic is the situation of the young Jewish girls who are sent to Nazi military brothels at the Russian front.²¹ It is impossible to describe the depression of the Jews of Belgium. They feel that our people are being wiped out. Young girls by the score commit suicide rather than be defiled by the Nazi beasts.

The edict consigning young girls to houses of prostitution has had a profound effect on the Belgian people. It is claimed that the Queen Mother herself intervened with the Nazi authorities. She only succeeded in saving the girls below sixteen years of age.²² The Belgian King can do nothing in the matter since he himself is a prisoner in the Nazis' hands.²³

The Jews who are to be deported to Russia are gathered together in Malines, a town not far from Brussels. All those who are ordered to convene at Malines are told to bring along a two-week's food supply. This supply is never adequate for the journey, and many die of hunger on the way.

Great numbers of Jews have been escaping to France, to Switzerland, wherever they can hope for refuge. These escapes have also taken their toll of human lives. Thus the Jewish community of Belgium is being decimated. Is there any power in the world today which can save our people in Belgium from complete destruction? Our friend from Belgium was very doubtful, as he gave us his tragic report.

20 Jews from Belgium were not deported to the Soviet Union, but rather to Auschwitz extermination camp on twenty-three transports between August 1942 and July 1944. One further transport went to the Buchenwald and Ravensbrück camps, two to Bergen-Belsen, and one to Vittel.

21 This statement is likely based on rumour. While brothels for Wehrmacht soldiers did exist in the occupied Soviet territories, there is no proof that Jewish women from Belgium actually had to work there.

22 Queen Elisabeth of Belgium (1876–1965), mother of the Belgian king Leopold III, was again named queen in 1935, after the death of Leopold III's wife, Astrid, and remained on the throne until 1951. She personally wrote letters intervening on behalf of several Jews.

23 King Leopold III of Belgium (1901–1983) gave himself up to German captivity on 28 May 1940 and remained under house arrest during the German occupation of Belgium.

Luxembourg



DOC. 198

On 9 July 1940 a night watchman discovers antisemitic slogans on Luxembourg's synagogue¹

Report by Johann Zeimet,² police brigadier of Luxembourg City, to the Police Commissariat of Luxembourg City, no. 01 739, nationalized local police,³ dated 9 July 1940

Regarding the posting of antisemitic notes, with language specified in the text below, on the main doors to the synagogue and on the building at no. 38 Liebfrauenstrasse by unknown perpetrators.

The undersigned *Johann Zeimet*, police brigadier of *Luxembourg City*, has the honour of most respectfully reporting the following to the *police inspector* of this municipality:⁴

At around 4 a.m. this morning, *Alfons Koenig*,⁵ aged 59, night watchman, residing in Limpertsberg,⁶ 6 Johann der Blindestrasse, appeared and filed the following report:

At around 3.10 a.m. this morning I was doing my required rounds or patrol on Liebfrauenstrasse, as well as at the synagogue. While doing so, I found that several printed notes had been pasted to the entrance to the synagogue. On the stairs to the above-mentioned synagogue door I then found a flyer of similar content, which I present to you for your consideration. Upon surveillance of building no. 38, owned by *Roedelheimer* and Co., I found that there was also a note pasted on the front door to this property. I cannot report who posted them.

The note presented to us by Koenig is printed on red adhesive paper and the content reads as follows: 'We no longer want to be politically and economically exploited by the Jew and his clique.' In the investigation that we conducted on the premises, we found that five (5) flyers with the above-mentioned content were pasted to the entrance to the synagogue. A flyer with the same wording hung on the *Roedelheimer* office building, on the entrance door to the property. A sixth note on the synagogue door had the following printed on it: 'Out with the Jews and their associates.' In addition, the words 'Jews out' were written on the steps of the church (synagogue) with red chalk. Police Agent Ney and the reporting officer endeavoured to remove the notes in question from the places where they were affixed. As this was impossible, however, we limited ourselves to scraping off the notes using pocket knives.

We could not determine who carried out the act.

Because of the current unusual darkness, it was easy for the perpetrator or perpetrators to affix the specified adhesive notes.

1 ANLux, AE 3999 (17), Mesures prises à l'encontre des juifs résidant au Grand-Duché – Propagande anti-juive 1940, Bl. 231 f. This document has been translated from German.

2 Johann, also Jean, Zeimet (1901–1966), police officer.

3 Local police forces that had previously been subordinated to municipal authorities were consolidated and nationalized in 1930. The national police force was dissolved during the German occupation of Luxembourg.

4 J. P. Kaiser.

5 Alfons Koenig (b. 1881).

6 District of Luxembourg City.

Attached here is a sample of one of the above-mentioned notes, which was also already pasted, as its reverse shows.⁷ On the reverse side in question, half of the adhesive is already gone. The ongoing investigation should determine whether the attached note was printed by a local printer.

Police brigadier.⁸

DOC. 199

On 5 September 1940 the provisions of the Nuremberg Blood Protection Law prohibiting marriage and extramarital relations between Jews and non-Jews are introduced in Luxembourg¹

Regulation on Measures Related to Legislation Pertaining to Jews, 5 September 1940²

By virtue of the authority vested in the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg,³ the following is decreed for the territory under his authority:

§ 1

- 1) Marriages between Jews and subjects of the state of German or kindred blood are prohibited.
- 2) Marriages contracted in violation of this prohibition are invalid, even if they have been contracted outside the territory subordinated to the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg in order to circumvent this law.
- 3) Prohibited marriages also include those between Jews and Jewish Mischlinge who are subjects of the state with only one fully Jewish grandparent.
- 4) Jewish Mischlinge who are subjects of the state with two fully Jewish grandparents require authorization from the Chief of the Civil Administration of Luxembourg to marry subjects of German or kindred blood or Jewish Mischling subjects of the state who have only one fully Jewish grandparent. Regulations for the implementation of this authorization procedure will be issued by the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg.⁴

⁷ Included in the file. The text reads: 'End the whispering propaganda of the German-haters and Jews[!] Out with the associates of Lévy, Dupong, Clement, Bodson, and other traitors!'

⁸ Underneath is a typewritten addition: 'Most respectfully consigned to the public prosecutor's office, Luxembourg, 9 July 1940. The police inspector', with an illegible signature alongside.

¹ *VOBl-L*, no. 2, 24 Sept. 1940, p. 10. The regulation was published in the press much earlier, on 7 Sept. 1940. This document has been translated from German.

² The regulation follows the provisions laid out in the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour of 15 Sept. 1935. See PMJ 1/199.

³ Gustav Simon (1900–1945), business studies teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1925; district leader of the NSDAP for Koblenz-Trier in 1929, from Sept. 1930 member of the Reichstag, from 1931 Gauleiter of the Gau of Koblenz-Trier; appointed Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg on 2 Aug. 1940; apprehended as he fled after the end of the war; committed suicide in British custody before he could be extradited to Luxembourg.

⁴ The Regulation on the Introduction of Reich Legal Provisions in the Field of Civil Status Law and Marital Law was enacted on 31 Jan. 1941: *VOBl-L*, no. 16, 25 Feb. 1941.

§ 2

No marriages shall be contracted between Jewish Mischling subjects of the state who have only one fully Jewish grandparent.

§ 3

The impediments to marriage caused by Jewish blood are exhaustively regulated by § 1 and § 2 of this regulation.

§ 4

Further, no marriage shall be contracted when it can be expected to result in offspring that would endanger the purity of German blood.

§ 5

Extramarital relations between Jews and subjects of the state of German or kindred blood are prohibited. This also applies to extramarital relations between Jews and Jewish Mischling subjects of the state who have only one fully Jewish grandparent.

§ 6

Jews are not permitted to employ female subjects of the state of German or kindred blood who are under the age of 45.

§ 7

Subjects as defined by this regulation are subjects of the state of Luxembourg.

§ 8

- (1) A Jew as defined by this regulation is someone who is descended from at least three grandparents who are full Jews according to race. A grandparent who has been a member of the Jewish religious community is automatically considered to be a full Jew.
- (2) A Jewish Mischling who is a subject of the state of Germany or Luxembourg and descended from two grandparents who are full Jews according to race is also considered a Jew
 - a) if he or she belonged to the Jewish religious community on 19 September 1935,⁵ or subsequently joined this community;
 - b) if he or she was married to a Jew on 16 September 1935 or subsequently married one;
 - c) if he or she is the offspring of a marriage to a Jew within the meaning of (1) that was contracted after 17 September 1935;
 - d) if he or she is the offspring of extramarital relations with a Jew within the meaning of (1), and was born out of wedlock after 31 July 1936.⁶

§ 9

A Jewish Mischling is anyone who is descended from one or two grandparents who are full Jews according to race, provided that he or she is not considered to be a Jew according to § 8(2) of this regulation. § 8(1) sentence 2 applies here.

§ 10

Anyone who contravenes the prohibitions in § 1(1) to (3) will be punished with penal servitude.

⁵ Probably a printing error. In the Regulation on Jewish Assets in Luxembourg (5 Sept. 1940), the date at this point is 16 Sept. 1935. See Doc. 200.

⁶ This formulation is based on § 5 of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law (14 Nov. 1935). See PMJ 1/210.

- (2) Any man who contravenes the prohibition in § 5 will be punished with a prison term or penal servitude.
- (3) Anyone who contravenes the prohibition in § 6 will be punished with a prison term of up to one year and a fine, or with one of these penalties.

§ 11

Legal and administrative provisions necessary for the implementation and supplementation of this regulation will be issued by the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg.

§ 12

This regulation will come into force the day after its promulgation. § 6, however, will not come into force until 1 January 1941.

Luxembourg, 5 September 1940⁷

Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg

Gustav Simon, Gauleiter

DOC. 200

**A regulation dated 5 September 1940 requires Jews to register their businesses
and prevents them from disposing of their assets freely¹**

Regulation on Jewish Assets in Luxembourg, 5 September 1940

By virtue of the authority vested in the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg, the following is decreed:

§ 1

Every Jew residing in the territory under the authority of the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg has to register and assess the value of his total domestic and foreign assets as they stand on the day that this regulation comes into force. Jews who are neither German nor Luxembourg nationals have to register and assess the value only of those assets located in the territory under the authority of the Chief of the Civil Administration of Luxembourg.

§ 2

- (1) The sale or leasing of a commercial, agricultural, or forestry enterprise, as well as the granting of usufruct in such an enterprise, requires authorization if a Jew is involved as one of the signatories in the legal transaction. The same applies to obligations to perform such legal transactions.
- (2) The required authorization cannot be circumvented through abuse of the form and scope of civil law.

§ 3

- (1) The opening of a Jewish commercial operation or branch office of a Jewish commercial operation requires permission.

⁷ Luxembourg was the first West European country to introduce the provisions of the Blood Protection Law, enacted in Nuremberg in 1935. Chief of the Civil Administration Gustav Simon had received permission to introduce anti-Jewish legislation from Hitler: see memorandum from the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 6 Sept. 1940, NG-2297.

¹ *VOBl-L*, no. 2, 24 Sept. 1940, pp. 11–13. The regulation was published in the press on 7 Sept. 1940, more than two weeks earlier. This document has been translated from German.

- (2) The owner of a Jewish commercial operation can be ordered to sell or liquidate the operation within a certain period. Conditions can be linked to this order. In Jewish commercial operations in which owners have been tasked with sale or liquidation, a trustee can be appointed for the interim continuation of the operation and the implementation of the sale or liquidation.

§ 4

- (1) A Jew can be ordered to sell his agricultural or forestry enterprise, other agricultural or forestry assets, other real estate or other parts of his assets within a certain period. Conditions can be attached to this order.
- (2) Additionally, commissioners can be appointed for the assets or parts of the assets, with the proviso that these commissioners have the exclusive right of disposal.

§ 5

- (1) Jews cannot acquire land, rights equivalent to owning land and rights to land through legal transactions.
- (2) The sale or lease of land and of rights equivalent to owning land by Jews requires authorization to become effective. Disposal of other types of asset requires authorization to become effective in cases where the sale is compulsory pursuant to § 3(2) or § 4(1) of this regulation.

§ 6

- (1) Within a week of this regulation coming into force, Jews must deposit all of their stocks, Kux certificates,² fixed-income securities and similar securities into a security account at a bank licensed to deal in foreign exchange.
- (2) If a Jew already holds securities in a security account at a bank licensed to deal in foreign exchange, or has debt register claims registered in his name, or callable bonds deposited at an administration office, on the basis of which enhanced annuities are granted, he must immediately declare his status as a Jew to the bank, debt management, or administrative office in the form of a written statement.
- (3) The securities and debt register accounts are to be designated as Jewish.
- (4) Disposal of the securities deposited in a Jewish account, as well as sales of securities from such accounts, requires authorization.³
- (5) The provisions of this section do not apply to Jews who are of neither German nor Luxembourg nationality.

§ 7

- (1) It is forbidden for Jews to acquire, pawn, or sell on the open market objects made of gold, platinum or silver, as well as precious stones and pearls. Such objects may only be acquired from Jewish possession by public purchasing agencies that have yet to be identified. The same holds for other jewellery and pieces of art, provided the value of the individual object exceeds 1,000 Reichsmarks.

² Shares in a mining company.

³ The restrictions on the disposal of Jewish property were extended to bank accounts soon afterwards. With a security order dated 19 Sept. 1940, the Foreign Exchange Office ordered that Jews' accounts were to be converted into restricted access security accounts. See Commission spéciale pour l'étude des spoliations des biens juifs au Luxembourg pendant les années de guerre, 1940–1945, *La Spoliation de bien juifs au Luxembourg 1940–1945: Rapport final* (Luxembourg: La Commission, 2009), p. 18.

- (2) This provision does not hold for Jews with the nationality of a country other than Germany or Luxembourg.

§ 8

- (1) A Jew as defined by this regulation is someone who is descended from at least three grandparents who are full Jews according to race. A grandparent who has been a member of the Jewish religious community is automatically considered to be a full Jew.
- (2) A Jewish Mischling who is a subject of the state of Germany or Luxembourg descended from two grandparents who are full Jews according to race is also considered a Jew
- a) if he or she belonged to the Jewish religious community on 19 September 1935,⁴ or subsequently joined this community;
 - b) if he or she was married to a Jew on 16 September 1935 or subsequently married one;
 - c) if he or she is the offspring of a marriage to a Jew within the meaning of (1) that was contracted after 17 September 1935;
 - d) if he or she is the offspring of extramarital relations with a Jew within the meaning of (1), and was born out of wedlock after 31 July 1936.⁵

§ 9

- (1) A commercial operation counts as Jewish if the owner is Jewish.
- (2) The commercial operation of a general partnership or a limited partnership counts as Jewish if one or more personally liable partners are Jews.
- (3) The commercial operation of a legal entity counts as Jewish:
- a) if one or more of the people appointed for legal representation or one or more members of the supervisory board are Jews;
 - b) if Jews have a decisive participating interest in the operation's capital or voting rights. This is the case if more than a quarter of the operation's capital is held by Jews, and if the voting rights exercised by Jews reach half of the total number of votes.
- (4) A commercial operation also counts as Jewish if it is effectively under the controlling influence of Jews.

The branch office of a Jewish commercial operation counts as a Jewish commercial operation.

The branch office of a non-Jewish commercial operation counts as a Jewish commercial operation if the director or one of several directors of the branch office is a Jew.

§ 10

- (1) Legal and administrative provisions necessary for the implementation and amendment of this regulation will be issued by the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg.
- (2) Authorizations required according to this regulation will be issued by the Chief of the Civil Administration or the office determined by him.

4 Probably a printing error. In the Regulation on Jewish Assets in Luxembourg (5 Sept. 1940), the date at this point is 16 Sept. 1935. See Doc. 200.

5 This formulation is based on § 5 of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law (14 Nov. 1935). See PMJ 1/210.

§ 11

- (1) Anyone who deliberately or negligently violates the above provisions or the legal provisions issued in accordance with § 10, or who does not fulfil, does not correctly fulfil, or does not punctually fulfil the obligations established according to these provisions, will be punished with a prison term and a fine or with one of these penalties. Especially serious cases of deliberate violation may be punished with penal servitude. Perpetrators are also liable to punishment if they commit the act outside the territory under the authority of the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg. In appropriate cases, perpetrators can be punished with imprisonment or a fine or one of these penalties directly by the police rather than through the judicial process.
- (2) Any attempt to contravene this regulation entails criminal liability.
- (3) Apart from the penalties listed in sections 1 and 2, the court can order the confiscation of assets in cases where the assets were the object of the offence; the assets of those sentenced to penal servitude are to be confiscated. If no specific person can be prosecuted or sentenced, the court can independently order the confiscation of assets if the conditions for the confiscation of assets are otherwise fulfilled.

§ 12

This regulation comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

Luxembourg, 5 September 1940

Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg

*Gustav Simon, Gauleiter*⁶

DOC. 201

On 5 September 1940 the Chief of the Civil Administration calls for the Luxembourg Administrative Commission to dismiss all Jewish public officials¹

Letter from Gauleiter Gustav Simon, Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg, to the Administrative Commission² in Luxembourg, dated 5 September 1940

In order to eliminate Jewish influence on public life in the territory under my control as Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg, I request immediate implementation of the following measures:

I

- (1) Jewish holders of public office are to cease their activity at once.

⁶ Gustav Simon, the chief of the civil administration in Luxembourg, began to introduce antisemitic measures in mid August 1940. The measures were based on those that had been decreed for the Reich. See, for example, PMJ 2/29, 143, and 193.

¹ ANLux, AE 3999 (17), Mesures prises à l'encontre des juifs résidant au Grand-Duché – Propagande anti-juive 1940, Bl. 226–228. This document has been translated from German.

² After the Luxembourg government went into exile on 10 May 1940, the German military administration pressured the government's secretary general, Albert Wehrer (1895–1967), to form a provincial administrative commission made up of four senior civil servants. This commission acted as representative of the Luxembourg state authorities. At the end of 1940 the chief of the civil administration, Gustav Simon, ordered the dissolution of the administrative commission because it opposed the incorporation of Luxembourg into the German Reich.

- (2) Holders of public office as defined by this ordinance are all people who are appointed to perform official or sovereign tasks.
- (3) Public officials in this sense also include employees of corporations under public law, notaries, teachers at state schools, as well as employees of social insurance agencies who have the rights and duties of public officials, in addition to senior physicians in public hospitals as well as independent charitable hospitals.
- (4) If there is doubt as to whether the post concerned is a public office in the sense of this ordinance, my decision is to be obtained immediately.

II

- (1) Jews, in particular Jewish physicians, dentists, veterinarians, and pharmacists, must cease the practice of medicine immediately.
- (2) Licences to practise as a doctor, dentist, veterinarian, and pharmacist can no longer be granted to a Jew.
- (3) I reserve the right to issue temporary licences, valid until revoked, for Jewish physicians, dentists, veterinarians, and pharmacists to practise their professions; however, a Jew who has been temporarily licensed to practise medicine is only allowed to treat Jews, aside from his wife and his legitimate children.

III

- (1) Jews, in particular Jewish lawyers, must cease to execute legal affairs on behalf of others immediately.
- (2) I reserve the right to authorize the judicial administration to license Jewish legal consultants to provide legal counsel and representation for Jews to the extent that there is a need; these licences will be valid until revoked. If possible, Jewish consultants should be recruited from lawyers who ceased their activity according to subsection (1) above. Jewish consultants are permitted to deal professionally only with the legal affairs of Jews and of Jewish commercial operations, Jewish associations, foundations, institutions, and other Jewish enterprises; in particular, they are allowed to undertake legal counsel, judicial or extrajudicial representation and the recovery of claims exclusively for these parties.
- (3) Jewish consultants are subject to supervision by the judicial administration.
- (4) If the lawyer for a party in a civil case is incapable of continuing to represent that party on account of the above measures, the proceedings will be halted. A party who misses an appointment or a fixed-term legal action in a civil case or criminal case is to be granted *restitutio in integrum*³ upon request if the above measures prevented that party from appearing punctually for the appointment or from executing the legal action punctually.

IV The definition of a Jew for the purposes of this ordinance is determined by § 8 of my Regulation on Jewish Assets in Luxembourg dated 5 September 1940. The term Jewish commercial operation or enterprise⁴ is defined by § 9 of the same regulation.

V I reserve the right to issue further instructions for the execution of the above ordinance.⁵

³ Restoration to the original or pre-contractual position.

⁴ See Doc. 200. The section concerned uses the term 'commercial operation' (*Gewerbebetrieb*) but not enterprise (*Unternehmen*).

⁵ In practice the ordinance affected only a very small number of Jews.

DOC. 202

**On 16 September 1940 the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community
of Luxembourg comments on plans to expel all Jews from Luxembourg
within two weeks¹**

Memorandum by the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg,² unsigned, dated 16 September 1940³

On Thursday, 12 September 1940, Security Police officers ordered Chief Rabbi Dr Robert Serebrenik⁴ to ensure that all Jews residing in Luxembourg emigrated within two weeks; otherwise they would be removed in group transports after the expiration of this deadline.⁵

During a meeting on Friday, 13 September 1940, this message was repeated to a delegation from the Israelite Consistory and strict adherence to the two-week deadline was emphasized.

Should this measure be realized, it would be tantamount to an expulsion unprecedented in history and would affect a Jewish community which has always been part of the independent and neutral state of Luxembourg and which despite being completely blameless would be treated with a severity and comprehensiveness that has not been applied to any other group. In the German Reich emigration has been encouraged since 1933, and use has been made of all instruments available in peacetime.⁶ The same has held true for the Ostmark since 1938 and finally for the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. As a result of the outbreak of war, however, it has been necessary to suspend the overall emigration efforts being undertaken by the communities and committees until peace is concluded. There are currently still 300,000 Jews living in the Old Reich, roughly 80,000 in the Ostmark and 150,000 in the Protectorate.⁷ All of these persons, whose emigration plans were thwarted by the outbreak of war, continue to enjoy the

1 The original has been lost. Published in Paul Cerf, *Longtemps j'aurai mémoire: Documents et témoignages sur les Juifs du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg durant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Luxembourg: Editions du Letzeburger Land, 1974), pp. 141–146. This document has been translated from German.

2 The Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg had been the official representative body of Luxembourg's Jewish community since the country's independence in 1839. It had to change its name to the Jewish Council of Elders on 15 April 1942, after all Jewish institutions had been forced to disband.

3 After being signed by both Paul Cerf and Albert Nussbaum, the memorandum was sent to the German occupation authorities. A copy was sent to the head of the Luxembourg Administrative Commission, Albert Wehrer. See Paul Cerf, *L'Étoile juive au Luxembourg* (Luxembourg: RTL Edition, 1986), p. 235.

4 Dr Robert Serebrenik (1902–1965), rabbi; chief rabbi of Luxembourg, 1929–1946; went into exile in May 1941 and in 1942, with other refugees from Luxembourg, co-founded the Ramath Orah congregation and the Luxembourg Jewish Information Office in New York; long-term member of the World Jewish Congress.

5 By order of the chief of the civil administration, Gustav Simon, the Gestapo official Paul Schmidt had instructed the Consistory to take all necessary steps to facilitate the departure of all Jews from Luxembourg within two weeks: Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, p. 54.

6 On the situation for refugees from the Reich who succeeded in reaching Luxembourg, see PMJ 2/271.

7 A census conducted in May 1939 found that 233,973 'Jews by race' (*Rassejuden*) were still living in the Old Reich: see PMJ 2, p. 49.

protection of the German authorities. Only after peace has been concluded will it be possible – according to statements by leading personalities in the Reich that were made official several weeks ago – to come closer to finding a ‘conclusive solution’! to the Jewish problem by resuming organized emigration efforts more intensively and preparing overseas territories for settlement.⁸

Therefore, the implementation of the measures now being taken precisely against the Luxembourg Jewish community in the midst of war therefore presents the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg with a completely unsolvable problem, created as much by the general character of these measures as by the current circumstances.

This is not because the Jews of Luxembourg have failed to understand the spirit of the times and the state of affairs. Quite the contrary! For weeks and even months, the unceasing efforts of the Consistory have been directed at supporting emigration, expediting resettlement, and making painstaking efforts to remove the innumerable and most diverse obstacles impeding an orderly emigration.⁹ The difficulties which stack up against a solution to this problem are not self-made, but are foreign, external ones which paralyse our purposeful work with the weight of a superior force: a) With the disappearance one after another of connections to overseas countries, which alone are capable of receiving new immigrants, only Portugal’s ports remain open. For entry into Portugal, however, possession of a valid overseas visa and proof of an opportunity for embarkation in the near future are required. – b) The consulates of the United States as well as those of nearly all other overseas countries have essentially suspended the issuing of further visas for the duration of the war. – c) Tickets for crossings can be purchased in Portugal only with foreign currency; in addition, most overseas immigration destinations require proof of means and landing money in large sums of foreign currency. Additional, nearly insurmountable difficulties arise as a result of Luxembourg being a domestic currency area in relation to the Reich.¹⁰

Despite all this, since 10 May 1940 the Consistory has, without any outside prompting, employed all legal means at its disposal to support emigration within the existing possibilities, which are naturally limited by the prevailing war conditions. Apart from emigration by individuals to Belgium and occupied French territory, which has become more extensive in the past few weeks, a transport of fifty persons was approved by the German authorities and on 14 August 1940 left Luxembourg for Portugal as an interim destination.¹¹ Mr Albert Nussbaum,¹² chairman of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, accompanied this transport and in the course of detailed negotiations

8 This probably refers to the so-called Madagascar Plan, which was drawn up by the Reich Foreign Office and the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in the summer of 1940. The plan foresaw the resettlement of 4 million European Jews to the French colonial island of Madagascar: see PMJ 3/91, 92, 94, 99, and 101.

9 During the 1930s and also during the first year of the occupation, the Consistory, with the support of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), had helped refugees from the Reich and Jews from Luxembourg with their emigration by organizing visas and financial aid for entry into countries willing to accept them.

10 Luxembourg was integrated into the German economic area on 1 August 1940 following an order from Hitler.

11 Two transports carrying a total of 105 Jews left Luxembourg on 8 August and 14 August 1940, accompanied by a non-commissioned officer of the military police. They were taken by bus through France and Spain to Lisbon, from where they were able to depart for overseas destinations.

with the Jewish emigration offices in Lisbon investigated the possibilities for orderly and legal emigration to overseas countries. After his return on 9 September, we proceeded to make extensive and comprehensive efforts in this respect in order to compile dossiers on the Jews of Luxembourg, which are to be taken to Lisbon as quickly as possible in order to be processed there by the relevant migration offices and successively wound up.

According to the assessments carried out in Lisbon, the following possibilities exist: a) USA: for individuals through the intercession of relatives residing there who can provide sponsorship in cooperation with Jewish institutions; b) Uruguay, Chile, and other South American countries: the same holds for these destinations; c) Brazil: a considerable number of workers trained in agriculture could be considered there; d) Mozambique: offers employment opportunities for engineers; e) Congo: destination or transit country for persons who can prove they have 10,000 Belgian francs; f) Palestine: through a request from relatives residing there; etc. – All of these possibilities will be thoroughly investigated as soon as the dossiers arrive in Lisbon and will then be realized according to each particular case.¹²

This orderly and purposeful work, which serves to secure legal emigration for a large number of Jews residing in Luxembourg and to enable them to rebuild their lives in countries overseas, is now – under the pressure of the threatened forced deportation – at risk of being nipped in the bud and destroyed entirely!

And this work represents only a part of the efforts recently undertaken by the Consistory to facilitate emigration!

Just as the Consistory has, of its own accord, proved its goodwill in organizing emigration thus far, it continues to be ready and able to do the same even more intensively and on a greater scale. Hundreds of our co-religionists have already registered, and once they have their tickets for a passage and have been cleared by the Foreign Exchange Control Offices or the Foreign Exchange Protection Commando, some will depart for Belgium and others for occupied or unoccupied France, where they will either be able to find support from relatives or have the possibility of eking out a meagre existence during the transitional period by means of assets deposited there. Finally, approximately 200 persons will receive their visas for the Dominican Republic in the next days and will be able to make a stop-over in Portugal once their options for embarkation have been reviewed.

In the midst of these wide-ranging efforts, the announcements on 12 and 13 September 1940 hit us like a bombshell. The Consistory's entire organizational work has been thrown into disarray by the looming implementation of that measure. Panic has taken the place of orderly work, everyone's ability to act and make decisions has been paralysed!

12 Albert Nussbaum (1898–1978), textile trader; treasurer of the Jewish aid organization ESRA, 1929–1940; elected to the Consistory in 1937; served as its president from June to August 1940; worked for the JDC in Lisbon from May 1941 and organized the emigration of Luxembourg's Jews in his role as an authorized representative of the Luxembourg government in exile; emigrated to the United States in Jan. 1942.

13 Some 463 Jews from Luxembourg found refuge in the United States and another 102 were able to reach Cuba. No exact figures could be obtained for the other countries named. At least 890 of the Jews living in Luxembourg in May 1940 were able to escape from the German sphere of control.

The deep despondency and the dull sense of despair and discouragement felt by the whole community are only too understandable! Luxembourg's Jews are not aware of any wrongdoing for which they should be consigned to a fate which would be unimaginable to their German co-religionists. After the laws concerning Jews were introduced on 5 September 1940,¹⁴ they were placed on an equal footing with German Jews in constitutional and economic terms. Today, it is the humble desire of the Jews of Luxembourg to be allowed, like their German co-religionists, to keep their hearth and home until they are able to emigrate under more peaceful and more orderly circumstances.

The Jewish Community of Luxembourg currently consists of approximately 2,000 souls, of whom roughly 1,300 reside in Luxembourg City and the remaining 700 in rural towns. The basis is formed by long-established Luxembourg families who have resided in the country since 1792,¹⁵ have lived among the locals for several generations and have assimilated in language, customs, and traditions to such an extent that they are not perceived as foreign elements by the native population. We can rightly add to them those Jews who have lived in Luxembourg for decades and have at all times faithfully and honestly fulfilled their obligations to the authorities and their fellow citizens. They all have neither been involved in political life nor been active in the press, but rather have lived their lives as peaceful and quiet citizens.

We cannot and should not believe that Luxembourg Jews who have lived and worked on Luxembourg soil for generations, who think as Luxembourgers and speak the Luxembourgers' language, will be driven from house and home without being afforded the opportunity, on the basis of the announced security orders and the allotment of monthly sustenance payments from their frozen accounts,¹⁶ to scrape by here until peace has been concluded!

We cannot and should not accept that elderly men and women who have reached 70 and 80 years of age and have earned the right to spend the last years of their lives in peaceful retirement will be meted out the fate of expulsion.

We cannot and should not accept that children and infants will be denied the right to experience something of life by such a tragic fate!

In view of the war conditions, which have generally caused all countries to close their borders and have rendered mass emigration by means of transports impossible, the Consistory, fully aware of its tremendous responsibility, requests that it be allowed to continue its work in an orderly manner as planned. For there is no doubt that a forced deportation of Luxembourg Jews over the demarcation line will lead to a horrible catastrophe. Xenophobic and impoverished as a result of its defeat, France will neither want nor be able to take in 2,000 Jews. These people will be hounded back and forth between border posts, ending up in internment camps, where hunger and cold, disease and death await them.¹⁷

The measures taken against the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine¹⁸ can by no means be held up as more severe or even as severe as those imposed on us. For it is impossible to

¹⁴ See Docs. 199 and 200.

¹⁵ The Austrian Netherlands, to which the Duchy of Luxembourg belonged from 1714, was first conquered by French revolutionary troops in 1792; Luxembourg was part of French territory from 1795 to 1815. The legal equality granted to Jews in France thus also applied to Luxembourg.

¹⁶ See Doc. 200, fn. 3.

¹⁷ On the situation of Jews interned in French camps, see Docs. 242, 262, and 307.

compare the situation of Luxembourg Jews with that of the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine in any way. There, it is a matter of measures against a defeated country, whereas here these measures are directed against the inhabitants of a neutral territory. There, most of the Jews were evacuated, whereas here nearly the entire Jewish population is still present. There, the measures affected solely French citizens who, after being deported to the interior of France, are still French citizens and consequently enjoy the associated legal protections and have the right to residence, work and assistance. Luxembourg Jews, on the other hand, would not be French citizens, but foreigners who, with a beggar's staff in hand, would not find refuge anywhere and would meet a gruesome fate.¹⁹ An irreversible calamity can only be averted through well-organized emigration efforts undertaken by the Consistory in cooperation with the large Jewish institutions, efforts which must be adapted to the respective circumstances and the political situation.

Over the next two weeks, thanks to the cooperation of the German authorities, several hundred persons will be able to leave the country via the routes described above, which, together with the 200 candidates for immigration to San Domingo,²⁰ will amount to an exodus of a substantial portion, as much as one third, of Luxembourg's Jewish population. We ask to be given the opportunity to carry out our work according to the given circumstances in the period after that. We would also like to express our hope that Luxembourg's Jews, as well as those of our co-religionists who have resided in the country for decades, and finally the elderly and persons unfit for travel due to illness or physical handicap, will be given special consideration until the conclusion of the war. Knowing that you will remove the Damoclean sword of expulsion hanging over our heads will allow us to carry out our work in the coming days in a calm and orderly manner. Our faith in God strengthens our resolve as does our confidence that in consideration of our statements and in full appreciation of our extraordinary situation you will revoke the short-term deportation measure.²¹

18 On 16 July 1940, the approximately 3,000 Jews still remaining in Alsace were expelled so that the Gau of Baden-Alsace could be declared to be 'free of Jews' (*judenrein*). A month later, the Jews were expelled from the Moselle département (Lorraine) which, along with the Saarland and the Palatinate, had become part of the Gau Westmark from 1941, after its annexation to the Reich; see also Doc. 255.

19 During the war, at least 1,374 Luxembourg Jews reached France but were unable to emigrate further. From 1942, at least 475 of them were deported to extermination camps from France; only 20 survived: Commission spéciale, *La Spoliation des biens juifs*, pp. 13–14.

20 This is a reference to Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic, which in 1938 at the Evian Conference had expressed its readiness to admit Jewish refugees. Chief Rabbi of Luxembourg Serebrenik reported in 1961 that 52 Jews went to Santo Domingo in July 1942 [correctly: 1941] to work in the agricultural sector: memorandum from Robert Serebrenik, 'Les Juifs sous l'occupation allemande, 10 mai 1940–26 mai 1941', New York, 3 Nov. 1961. Published in Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, pp. 248–254, here p. 253.

21 The German authorities relinquished their demand that emigration take place within two weeks, but Jewish institutions and the German authorities continued to expedite emigration plans. The last transport left Luxembourg for Portugal on 15 Oct. 1941. The deportation of the remaining Jews to Poland and Theresienstadt began the following day: see Doc. 218 and Introduction, p. 58.

DOC. 203

On 6 October 1940 Rosa Steinberg recounts her plight to the Jewish Community of Luxembourg¹

Handwritten letter from Rosa Steinberg,² Esch-sur-Alzette, 6 Burenstrasse, to the Jewish Community of Luxembourg, dated 6 October 1940

Please allow me in all courtesy to present to you my more than desperate situation. Given the circumstances, I submitted our documents to you on 17 September with the comment that my children and I have no means of subsistence whatsoever. In addition, I owe five months' rent – a total of 450 francs – and the building's managers, who do not tolerate Jews in the building, are threatening me with the German authorities. Both of my sons, 17 and 11 years old, no longer have any school supplies or clothing, because we lost almost everything during the evacuation.³ From sheer necessity I sold my bed for 100 francs – this can be verified – and sleep on the stone floor. Our whole situation is such that if we do not receive assistance, we will be left with only one choice: to put an end to this utterly wretched life. The advice from your end was that I should contact Mayor Heislen of Esch.⁴ I ask you what I, as a Jew and a foreigner, can hope to achieve by approaching this gentleman, and if one actually believes that Mayor Heislen, who bows before the German authorities solely for the sake of his office, will go against his instructions and help me of all people. Mr Heislen has been brought into line politically and would not dare to help Jews financially with the funds for poor relief; that is absolutely ludicrous. I ask you in all seriousness what I should do. I have no other option but to pack up my few belongings and make my way to you in Luxembourg [City] if we do not want to starve and end up on the street one day. I'd like to make you aware that our housekeeper is German and is constantly making threats. Perhaps you'll think of another alternative after all, because it cannot go on like this.

Respectfully⁵

1 ANLux, FD-261:7, Consistoire israélite – correspondance diverse (R-Z), 1940–1942. This document has been translated from German.

2 Rosa, or Ruchla, Steinberg, née Zuchowska (b. 1894); born in Chęciny (Poland); emigrated to Luxembourg with her husband and son Max in 1927; resided in Esch-sur-Alzette; on 7 Nov. 1940 deported to unoccupied France with her two sons, Max and Luxembourg-born Heinrich. Her subsequent fate is unknown.

3 As a result of the Wehrmacht attack on 10 May 1940, approximately 90,000 Luxembourgers were evacuated from the southern parts of the country.

4 Correctly: Jules Heisten (1885–1967), trader; city councillor in Esch-sur-Alzette, 1919–1945; from Jan. to June 1935 served as mayor for the right-wing Rechtspartei; reappointed interim mayor from 3 July 1940 to 18 April 1941 by Luxembourg's Administrative Commission.

5 A handwritten note at the bottom of the letter reads: '150 francs'.

DOC. 204

Aufbau*, 7 February 1941: in a letter to the editor, Albert Nussbaum requests assistance for emigrants detained in France¹Between borders. The unfortunate Luxembourgergers**We have received this report from Lisbon:*

In the *Aufbau* of 20 December 1940, vol. VI, no. 51, you published an article by Eugen Tillinger² titled 'You came from Lisbon? ... Tell us about it!'

The last part of a paragraph in this article, with the subtitle 'The poor Luxembourgergers', unfortunately runs counter to the facts. Despite the intervention of the Jewish Committee of Lisbon, the forced transport³ of babies and the elderly was *not* allowed to enter Portugal, but instead, after being held for eight days in Vilar Formoso, was routed via Spain back to Bayonne (occupied French territory).⁴ From here the Gestapo attempted on two occasions to send the transport to Gurs,⁵ but both times it was returned to Bayonne by the French, and the 286 transportees (one woman died due to the hardships suffered during their stay in Vilar Formoso)⁶ are still there.

These unfortunate persons are housed in a camp,⁷ exposed to hunger and cold, and live in constant fear that they will in the end indeed be taken to Gurs. It is unfortunately not possible to help them from here, for the Portuguese government grants entry only to those persons in possession of a valid landing visa that permits entry to a country overseas. Many of these people are in possession of all the documents necessary to obtain such a visa; however, they cannot make use of them because, as is well known, the consulates in the occupied territory have closed their doors.

Contact the relevant authorities to try to have them authorize the American consulates in Antwerp and Bordeaux to issue visas again. Arrange for friends and acquaintances to

1 *Aufbau*, no. 51, 7 Feb. 1941, p. 8. *Aufbau* was a German-language newspaper published in New York by the German-Jewish Club. It first appeared in 1934/35 on a monthly basis before shifting to weekly publication in 1939. It became one of the most important émigré newspapers and reached a circulation of 26,000 copies by 1943. It has been published in Zurich as a monthly since 2005. This document has been translated from German.

2 Eugen, or Eugene, Tillinger (1907–1966), journalist; emigrated from Berlin to the United States via Vienna, Prague, and Paris. Once in the United States, he worked for various news agencies.

3 Under pressure from the German authorities, the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg was repeatedly required to urge members of the Jewish community to emigrate.

4 The transport, accompanied by Gestapo officials, had left Luxembourg on 7 Nov. 1940 carrying 291 persons, some of whom had been coerced to leave. Albert Nussbaum was supposed to accompany the transport from the Spanish-Portuguese border. The Gestapo officials tried to arrest Nussbaum, causing a confrontation with the Portuguese border police. Negotiations about the fate of the passengers, who were not allowed to disembark, produced no agreement and the train was forced to turn back.

5 Gurs camp was set up in March 1939 west of Pau in the south of France to accommodate Republican fighters fleeing from the civil war in Spain. From Sept. 1939 members of the banned French Communist Party (PCF) and enemy aliens were also interned there. From the summer of 1940 it was mainly used to house foreign Jews. See Introduction, p. 25, and Docs. 250, 262, and 307.

6 The person referred to here was Hersch Greif, a male passenger.

7 French officials prohibited the transport from entering unoccupied France; the members of the transport were kept in a provisional camp in Mousserolles, a town near Bayonne. As the provisioning was entirely insufficient, the Consistory made a request on 6 Feb. 1941 to Chief of the Civil Administration Gustav Simon to be allowed to send aid packages: ANLux, FD-261:8, Correspondance entre le 'Ältestenrat der Juden' et l'administration civile allemande, 1941–1943.

provide affidavits for those who have no relatives over there. Set all the wheels in motion, for 300 lives are at stake. Speed is of the essence.

Albert Nussbaum,

Attaché in the Ministry of Justice of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.⁸

DOC. 205

**On 8 February 1941 the government in exile's Minister of Justice requests
that the ambassador of Luxembourg in Washington DC help persecuted Luxembourg
Jews find asylum¹**

Letter from Victor Bodson,² Montréal, to Hugues Le Gallais,³ Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Washington DC, dated 8 Feb. 1941 (copy)

Dear Minister,

We have been informed by news coming directly from Lisbon from a Luxembourg source that all *Luxembourgers* of Israelite origin must leave the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by the thirtieth of April this year. This applies to a maximum of 500 people in total, including men, women, and children. Some have already been expelled from Luxembourg and around 150 are in the Gurs concentration camp⁴ that I described to you in my letter of 7 December 1940, which you sent to Brazil's chargé d'affaires on 10 December. Asylum will need to be found for these people for the duration of the war.

I have been in contact with Jewish aid organizations in America and I obtained firm promises regarding payment guarantees for the crossing and maintenance in cases where these are required.

I therefore ask you to compose a memorandum regarding the situation of our unfortunate compatriots who have been stripped of everything and have to languish in concentration camps facing death, their only crime being that they are of the Jewish religion. Please ensure this memorandum reaches the diplomatic representatives of South American and Central American countries, of Mexico, Belgium, and of the Netherlands who

⁸ Some passengers later succeeded in emigrating; others fled to Italy. Approximately forty people stayed behind in France and were imprisoned in the Gurs or Les Milles camps; many of them were deported from France to Auschwitz.

¹ ANLux, AEGTEx-569b, Légation du G.-D. à Washington. Correspondance H. Legallais/Gouvernement en exil et gouvernements étrangers: situation internationale et nationale; problème des réfugiés juifs, 1940–1942. This document has been translated from French.

² Victor Bodson (1902–1984), lawyer; member of the Luxembourg Chamber of Deputies (parliament) from 1934; minister of justice, transport and public works, 1940–1947; went into exile with the government and the Grand Duchess in 1940; minister of justice for a second time, 1951–1959; state councillor, 1962–1964; president of the Luxembourg Chamber of Deputies, 1964; appointed to the European Commission in July 1967; recognized as Righteous among the Nations by Yad Vashem on 14 July 1971 for his work organizing and operating an escape route for Luxembourg Jews after 1933, which saved around 100 Jews.

³ Hugues Le Gallais (1896–1964), diplomat; worked for the Comptoir Métallurgique Luxembourgeois sales company from 1919; head of its branch office in Tokyo, 1927–1938; Luxembourg's chargé d'affaires in Washington, April 1940 to 1958; simultaneously accredited representative of Luxembourg to Canada; worked for the International Monetary Fund from 1956.

⁴ See Docs. 250, 262, and 307.

are accredited in Washington, as you did with the memorandum you sent to the representative of Brazil on 10 December 1940.

Could you please also ask your colleagues to enquire with their respective governments as to how many visas would be granted and what the admission criteria would be for some of these unfortunate souls. Needless to say, visas would not be issued without a written guarantee, possibly supported by a cash deposit, declaring that the person admitted will not attempt to settle permanently in the country and will never become a burden on the government which chooses to grant them a visa. Moreover, in all cases the Luxembourg government will undertake to readmit the emigrant as soon as the government is reinstated in Luxembourg.

Please inform me of the names of the states to which you send the memorandum and of the responses you receive.⁵

Yours faithfully

DOC. 206

On 27 February 1941 representatives of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg call for the Courthéoux company to pay compensation to a Jewish employee who has been dismissed without notice¹

Letter from the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, signed Siegmund Leib,² office manager, and Louis Sternberg,³ president, to the Courthéoux company,⁴ Luxembourg, dated 27 February 1941 (carbon copy)

On 22 September 1940 you summarily dismissed the Jewish employee Edith Levy.⁵ According to the Salaried Employees Law, she is entitled to claim compensation amounting to four months' salary. When we previously enquired about this claim, you referred us

5 In his reply dated 3 March 1941, Le Gallais informed the minister of justice that only the ambassador of Cuba had shown a willingness not to discriminate between Aryans and Jewish refugees in granting visas. He suggested that the memorandum to Latin American countries be drawn up by the representatives of Luxembourg in London: ANLux, AEGtEx-569b, Légation du G.-D. à Washington. Correspondance H. Legallais/Gouvernement en exil et gouvernements étrangers.

1 ANLux, FD-83:40, Consistoire israélite – instructions diverses (1940–1942). This document has been translated from German.

2 Siegmund, or Siegismund, Lennon, born S. Leib (1898–1962), retailer; office manager of the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg and the Jewish aid organization ESRA from 1938 to 1941; designated by the Gestapo as the intermediary between the Consistory and Dept. IV A, which was in charge of Aryanization under the Chief of the Civil Administration, as well as between the Consistory and the police Einsatzkommando from August 1940 to Oct. 1941; left Luxembourg with the last emigration transport to France on 15 Oct. 1941; eventually made it to Cuba and from there emigrated to the United States, where he became active in the World Jewish Congress.

3 Louis Sternberg (1880–1948), garment trader; emigrated to Luxembourg from Silesia; president of the Consistory from Jan. to Oct. 1941; emigrated on 15 Oct. 1941, travelling via France and Cuba to the United States; returned to Luxembourg in 1945.

4 Probably the Luxembourg branch of the Courthéoux food company, based in Couvin, Belgium. The company still exists today in Luxembourg.

5 Edith Levy (b. 1917); clerical worker at Fünfbrunnen camp from 19 Nov. 1941; deported on 6 April 1943 to Theresienstadt, where she married Gert Edelstein; deported on 6 Oct. 1944 to Auschwitz, and two weeks later to the Merzdorf satellite camp of Gross-Rosen concentration camp, where she was liberated by Soviet troops on 8 May 1945; returned to Luxembourg in 1945.

to the Chief of the Civil Administration.⁶ We contacted the Reich Trustee of Labour⁷ in Luxembourg about this matter.

Today we received the decision of the Chief of the Civil Administration that the summary dismissal of a Jewish employee constitutes a purely legal matter, with each individual case to be heard in the ordinary courts. It is apparent from the details provided that the dismissal of Jewish employees at the time in question was to be treated exactly the same as the dismissal of a non-Jewish employee. The relevant law is the Luxembourg Salaried Employees Law of 31 October 1919, amended by the law of 7 June 1937.⁸ As you had no grounds for summarily dismissing the employee in question, but rather dismissed this employee because she is a Jew, she is to be paid the statutory compensation.

We therefore ask you to pay this compensation in the form of four payments of 990 francs to Edith Levy, in acknowledgement of this letter, to the Israelite Religious Community, so that recourse to the courts as advised by the Chief of the Civil Administration can be avoided.

Respectfully,
Office Manager
President⁹

DOC. 207

**On 25 April 1941 Berthold Storfer and Paul Eppstein record Eichmann's orders
for expediting the emigration of Jews from Luxembourg¹**

File note, signed Berthold Israel Storfer² and Dr Paul Israel Eppstein,³ Berlin, dated 25 April 1941

Consultation at the Reich Security Main Office with Sturmbannführer *Eichmann*
by Dr Paul Israel Eppstein
and Berthold Israel Storfer, Vienna
Also in attendance
Dr Robert Serebrenik, Luxembourg

⁶ The correspondence mentioned here is not included in the file.

⁷ The Reich Trustees of Labour were subordinate to the Reich Minister of Labour; their responsibilities included establishing legally binding collective labour regulations and maintaining industrial peace.

⁸ Law of 7 June 1937 concerning the Reform of the Law of 31 Oct. 1919 on the Statutory Regulation of Employment Contracts for Private Employees, *Mémorial du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, no. 44, 16 June 1937.

⁹ No reply from the Courthéoux company could be found.

¹ ANLux, FD-083:23, Consistoire israélite, Protokollbuch/Jüdisches Altersheim Fünfbrunnen; Manuscrit; (persécution juive); Emigration des juifs; Divers, 1941–1942. This document has been translated from German.

² Berthold Storfer (1880–1944), businessman; awarded the title of Kommerzialrat for his contribution to business life, 1928; co-owner of several companies until 1938; delegate of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna (IKG) at the international refugee conference in Evian, 1938; as head and founder of the Committee for Jewish Overseas Transports, based in Austria, he organized illegal immigration into Palestine; in the summer of 1943 deported to Auschwitz, where he was shot dead in Nov. 1944.

Louis Sternberg, Luxembourg⁴
on 25 April 1941, 3 p.m.

Re: emigration of Jews from Luxembourg⁵

Sturmabführer Eichmann takes note of the submitted report.⁶ After a presentation on the current situation, in particular the measures to overcome the difficulties that have now arisen as a result of the Portuguese ban on visas, Sturmabführer Eichmann orders the following:

1. The emigration of the sixty Luxembourg Jews who are in possession of American visas and have confirmed bookings should take place via the transports in May and June.
2. For the rest, the ratio of Jews emigrating from the Old Reich, the Ostmark, and the Protectorate to Jews emigrating from Luxembourg should be 10:1.
3. With respect to the travel route via Marseilles and Martinique to the United States, an application for permission to transit through France can be submitted as soon as appropriate opportunities arise.
4. With respect to the funding of the Jews' emigration from Luxembourg, which is to come solely from their own resources, applications can be filed for the Altreu transfer procedure⁷ in Luxembourg or for any other method of drawing on Reichsmark assets held by Jews in Luxembourg.
5. The written correspondence between the Reich Association's emigration department and the Jewish Community of Luxembourg is to be limited to emigration-related matters.

Berlin, 25 April 1941

3 Dr Paul Eppstein (1902–1944), sociologist; Zionist; adjunct professor at Mannheim Commercial College from 1926 until his dismissal in 1933; from 1935 head of the social welfare department at the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany and its liaison with the Gestapo; taught at the Higher Institute for Jewish Studies in Berlin in the 1930s; deported in 1943 to Theresienstadt, where he was Jewish elder from Jan. 1943 to 27 Sept. 1944; murdered the following day.

4 Serebrenik and Sternberg had been taken from Luxembourg to Berlin by two Gestapo officials specifically for the talks with Eichmann: see Introduction, p. 57.

5 At an initial meeting with Storfer, Eppstein, Serebrenik, and Sternberg the previous day, Eichmann had ordered that 500–600 Jews were to emigrate from Luxembourg as soon as possible. He had also stipulated that the Jews were to leave the country peacefully and quietly in small groups, and that responsibility and supervision fell to Storfer and the Reich Association of Jews in Germany: memorandum on SS-Sturmabführer Eichmann's order regarding the Luxembourg Jews, 24 April 1941, ANLux, FD 083–62.

6 Storfer, Eppstein, and the Luxembourg representatives had prepared a report about the talks held the previous day, which included a summary of the emigration prospects for the Luxembourg Jews. It stated that approximately 230 people could emigrate to the United States and that those who had no chance of being admitted there should leave the country and stay with relatives in southern France: report regarding the emigration of Jews from Luxembourg, 25 Apr. 1941, ANLux, FD-083:23. According to a memorandum by Robert Serebrenik, most of the statements in the report were fabricated but were accepted by Eichmann: Serebrenik, 'Les Juifs sous l'occupation allemande', p. 252.

7 As part of this procedure, emigrants deposited Reichsmark assets in an account with the General Trust Agency for Jewish Emigration (Altreu), in return for which they received foreign currency at a substantial markdown. The Agency then made the proceeds from this procedure available to the Reich Association of Jews in Germany to provide loans to impoverished Jews in order to help fund their emigration.

DOC. 208

On 7 May 1941 a Jew from Ettelbruck asks the office manager of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg for advice following the theft of his furniture¹

Handwritten letter,² Ettelbruck, to Mr Leib,³ dated 7 May 1941

Dear Mr Leib,

Please inform the deliverer of this letter, Mr Loew,⁴ how I should act in the following matter and what I may need to do:

Last Wednesday I received a visit from an SA man, accompanied by a local gentleman, who inspected my dining room, but did nothing else. – On Friday he returned, accompanied by an SA officer and another gentleman, to look at a bookcase. The SA officer – I was told this was a certain Sturmbannführer Thebes or Theves – informed me that ‘the contents of the room are being confiscated’ – and had his subordinate note down the items, including the heating stove.

The contents were collected yesterday in my absence, even the lamp that was not recorded. When [...]⁵ mother-in-law asked for an acknowledgement of receipt, the SA man told her that he was not authorized to issue one. – It concerns a very beautiful, heavy set of polished Macassar⁶ furniture, comprising: 1 sideboard – 1 cabinet – 1 extendable table – upholstered chairs, and 2 upholstered armchairs, as well as a very fine heating stove and a 5-bulb chandelier. –

If it is possible in this case to claim or receive compensation, do I need to come to discuss this further with you in person or could you possibly settle the matter as is? I am of course willing to provide you with any information that you might need, & would like to conclude by saying that because the balance in our security account⁷ is no longer very high & also in order to move forward with our emigration, we could certainly do with the compensation.

I await your kind answer & send best regards.

Respectfully

1 ANLux, FD-o83:37, Consistoire israélite – Correspondance diverse. This document has been translated from German.

2 The signature is illegible.

3 Siegmund Leib, office manager of the Israelite Religious Community.

4 Heinrich Löw (1882–1956?), teacher and cantor; taught the congregation of the Viernheim synagogue in Hesse in the 1920s and 1930s; imprisoned at Dachau concentration camp for a month from 14 Nov. 1938; emigrated with his family to Luxembourg in March 1939; thought to have emigrated to the United States on 27 May 1941.

5 The missing word is illegible; perhaps ‘my’.

6 A type of ebony from Indonesia.

7 Jews had to deposit their money in a security account (*Sicherungskonto*), to which they had only limited access; see Doc. 200, fn. 3.

DOC. 209

On 13 May 1941 the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg requests permission from the Gestapo to hold services undisturbed¹

Letter from the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, signed by the chief rabbi,² the president,³ the office manager,⁴ the vice president,⁵ and members of the Consistory, to the Luxembourg Gestapo, for the attention of Gestapo Chief SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Hartmann,⁶ Luxembourg, dated 13 May 1941 (carbon copy)

In connection with the incidents that occurred in the synagogue on Friday, 9 May 1941, at 7.30 p.m.,⁷ of which your Einsatzkommando⁸ has been informed, the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg takes the liberty of submitting the following observations to you:

- 1) We request most respectfully that the necessary measures be taken to ensure that in the future our services can be held in the synagogue without disturbance.
- 2) We would like to point out that in the Old Reich, on the basis of special orders issued by the authorities and the Gestapo, with the latter having been given sole responsibility for Jewish affairs, the Jews are able to conduct their services and religious practices undisturbed, and this is guaranteed by special directives. We hold out hope that we shall not be treated any differently.
- 3) Moreover, the Jews in the Old Reich are afforded the opportunity, under the auspices of the Jewish Culture League⁹ and upon receiving official approval, to hold film screenings and stage musical events and theatre performances among themselves. All of these

1 ANLux, FD-o83:38, Consistoire israélite – Correspondance, 1940–1942. This document has been translated from German.

2 Robert Serebrenik.

3 Louis Sternberg.

4 Siegmund Leib.

5 Alex Bonn (1908–2008), lawyer; vice president of the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg from May 1940 to April 1941; emigrated to the United States in April 1941; president of the Luxembourg Bar Association, 1958–1960; president of the Council of State of Luxembourg, 1979–1980.

6 Dr Fritz Hartmann (1906–1974), lawyer; SS-Obersturmbannführer; head of the Gestapo office in Koblenz from 15 Jan. 1940; leader of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg and head of the Gestapo office in Trier from 8 March 1941 to 9 April 1943; subsequently transferred to the Waffen SS; arrested in 1946; sentenced to death in Feb. 1951 by a war crimes tribunal in Luxembourg; later pardoned; on 19 Dec. 1957 expelled to the Federal Republic of Germany, where he worked as a lawyer in Düsseldorf.

7 On 9 May 1941, members of the National Socialist Motor Vehicle Corps disrupted the Sabbath service at the Luxembourg City synagogue, threatening the worshippers, destroying the synagogue's furnishings, and declaring that they intended to blow up the building. A few days later, Chief Rabbi Serebrenik was threatened and severely assaulted in the street. The Gestapo closed the synagogue shortly thereafter.

8 The Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg was established on 15 August 1940. It was headed by Wilhelm Nölle, who headed the Gestapo office in Trier until March 1941.

9 The Jewish Culture League created employment opportunities for Jewish artists and organized theatre and opera performances, concerts, film screenings, lectures, and exhibitions: see PMJ 1/71 and 84. It was disbanded in Sept. 1941.

events are announced in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*,¹⁰ which is approved by the Gestapo. We have made no claim to this authorized opportunity to exercise a Jewish cultural life.

4) The facts stated above are the result of the right conferred on the Jews to assemble not only for religious practices and worship-related activities, but also for presenting and performing Jewish culture. The ban on assembly applies only to purposes beyond the merely religious or cultural.

5) Pursuant to a directive issued by the Chief of the Civil Administration, the Jewish faith, like all other religious faiths, is granted the right to assemble in its places of worship for religious practices.

The Consistory can use the synagogue located at 40 Liebfrauenstrasse for religious purposes, while the facilities in the building at 71 Neypergstrasse, which have been approved by the Gestapo, are used for emigration and social welfare work.

In view of what has been outlined above and in light of the fact that only the synagogue is left to us to maintain our religious life, we hope that you will examine what we have submitted and ensure that we can hold our services in the synagogue at 40 Liebfrauenstrasse as well as carry out our work undisturbed in our office facilities at 71 Neypergstrasse.

With the highest esteem¹¹

DOC. 210

***Die Judenfrage*, 31 May 1941: article on the expropriation of the Jews in Luxembourg and the Aryanization of the economy¹**

The administration and utilization of Jewish assets in Luxembourg

On 5 September last year, the chief of the civil administration of Luxembourg, Gauleiter Simon,² issued a *Regulation on Jewish Assets* which set out the future management of Jewish assets, Jewish businesses, and Jewish agricultural and forestry property, as well as other real estate.³ The *question* that interests us today is *what, in practical terms*, has *been done* with regard to this regulation. That autumn, Gau Inspector Ackermann⁴ was entrusted with the task of managing Jewish assets located in Luxembourg, as he had

10 The *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* appeared twice weekly from Nov. 1938 to 1943, censored by the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. As the only Jewish newspaper permitted following the pogroms of November 1938, it served as the official bulletin of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany and informed the Jewish population of new antisemitic laws and regulations as they were issued.

11 No record exists of a response to this letter.

1 *Die Judenfrage*, 31 May 1941, p. 97. This document has been translated from German.

2 Gustav Simon.

3 See Doc. 200.

4 Josef Ackermann (1905–1997), retailer; joined the NSDAP and the SA in 1925; Gau inspector in the Gau of Koblenz-Trier from 1936; head of Dept. IV A (responsible for managing Jewish and emigrant assets) under the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg from Dec. 1940 to Sept. 1944; arrested in Sept. 1945; sentenced to ten years of hard labour in Luxembourg in 1950; sentenced reduced in 1951 to seven years of penal servitude; returned to Germany in the 1950s.

previously carried out the Aryanization of the Gau Moselland⁵ with great success and brought a wealth of experience to his new assignment.

Before 10 May 1940 around 3,500 Jews were living in Luxembourg.⁶ First, the *Jewish population* was registered, which also involved registering all Jewish assets so that they could be managed according to regulatory and business principles. Only the Chief of the Civil Administration has the right to dispose of these assets. It was established that there were 335 Jewish *businesses* in all of Luxembourg. Since some business sectors were overcrowded because of the Jewish competition, a number of Jewish companies were closed down in consultation with the head of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, which resulted in a gratifying cleansing of these sectors. As a result, only seventy-five of all the Jewish companies were Aryanized, while the remaining ones were eliminated. The Jewish accounting practices were very poor, if they existed at all, and tax records were opaque. *Aryanization* created clarity in this area as well. Luxembourg Germans were appointed as temporary administrators and entrusted with ensuring proper management.

To a considerable extent, Jewish *private assets* consisted of securities. A large number of the assets which had been transferred to supposed safety in neighbouring countries could be recovered as a result of the quick advance of German troops. A total of 380 plots of developed Jewish-owned *real estate* as well as 155 hectares of undeveloped Jewish-owned land were found. Most of the arable farmland was leased immediately. The rest will be offered for sale to Luxembourg ethnic German farmers whose land borders on Jewish property, enabling them to extend their landholdings. During their flight on 10th May last year, many Jews had to leave behind a considerable amount of *furniture*, which was given to families in need in exchange for appropriate compensation. The value of the items had to be determined by appraisers. Neither Reich Germans nor anyone entrusted with the appraisal of Jewish assets was allowed to acquire any of the items for their personal use. For the most part, Jewish-owned *houses* were put at the disposal of the authorities, namely the Civil Administration, the Reich Railway, the Reich Post Office or the Hitler Youth or other organizations; a small portion of the property was sold to local Germans. No matter the type of plunder the Jews had scraped together over all those years, it will now be used for *völkisch* and social purposes for the benefit of the German population in the territory of Luxembourg, which has now been freed from Jewish economic pressure.⁷

5 On Hitler's orders, the Gau of Koblenz-Trier was renamed Gau Moselland on 24 Jan. 1941.

6 Approximately 3,900 Jews were living in Luxembourg when the Wehrmacht invaded the country on 10 May 1940.

7 On the expropriation of Jews in Luxembourg, see Commission spéciale, *La Spoliation des biens juifs*, pp. 16–84.

DOC. 211

On 15 July 1941 the head of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg reports on progress regarding the expulsion and persecution of the Jews¹

Reports from Luxembourg (marked 'confidential'), Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg, signed p.p. SD-Führer Grünzfelder,² to Koblenz SD district, dated 15 July 1941

[...]³

Emigration of Jews

There were approximately 3,800 Jews in Luxembourg prior to 10 May 1940. Of these, approximately 3,000 emigrated before 1 July 1941, which means that at present there are still 796 Jews in Luxembourg.

As a result of the closing of the American consulates, only 79 Jews still have the opportunity to emigrate to the United States of North America. Their removal will take place in the coming days. On 22 June 1941 the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg detained approximately twenty Jews as part of the Russia operation. A request for their transfer to a concentration camp for the duration of the war has already been submitted.⁴

At the moment, negotiations aimed at opening up new emigration opportunities to overseas destinations (South America) are still taking place in Berlin. As per a Reich Security Main Office decree dated 21 June 1941,⁵ the evacuation of Jews residing in the Reich or the occupied territories to Serbia, the Balkans or the General Government is not likely at present due to the military situation.

The Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg has listed 305 Jews as infirm or suffering from illness. These Jews are presently being examined by public health officials to determine their fitness for transport. The Jews officially declared unfit for transport are slated to be housed in the Jewish mental asylum in Bendorf/Sayn,⁶ which, however, only has twenty free beds available at the moment. Until their final transfer, the Jews

1 LHA Koblenz, 662,6/501. Published in Peter Brommer (ed.), *Die Partei hört mit: Lageberichte und andere Meldungen des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS, der Gestapo und sonstiger Parteidienststellen im Gau Moselland 1941–1945*, part 1: 1941–1943, vol. 2 (Koblenz: Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz, 1992), pp. 70–92, here pp. 80–82. This document has been translated from German.

2 Franz Grünzfelder (1909–1942); joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1933; served in the Koblenz SD district from April 1937 and from 1938 in Trier; SD commander with the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg from Aug. 1940; from Nov. 1941 head of the Baranovichi office of the Commander of the Security Police and the SD in Belarus; killed in an anti-partisan operation.

3 The report's first section, 'General', covers the first year of the Ethnic German Movement (Volksdeutsche Bewegung), the reactions of the Luxembourg population to the German attack on the Soviet Union, and incidents of anti-German behaviour. This excerpt is part of 'Section II: Religious life', which also covers the survey on ecclesiastical property and on the Carmelite convent in the Cents quarter of Luxembourg City.

4 Following the Wehrmacht's attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, numerous alleged Soviet sympathizers were arrested in the Reich and in German-occupied countries. In Luxembourg, these included a number of Jews of Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish or Russian origin.

5 This decree could not be found.

6 From Dec. 1940 all Jewish patients with mental illnesses who required institutional care were to be taken to the Jacoby Hospital for Jewish Neurological and Mental Patients (Jacoby'sche Heil- und Pflegeanstalt für jüdische Nerven- und Gemütskranke), founded in 1869 by the Jewish Jacoby

unfit for transport are to be housed as a group in the two Jewish homes for the elderly in Luxembourg.⁷ These measures will ensure that these Jews will be eliminated from public life in Luxembourg.

Excluding the aforementioned allegedly elderly and sick Jews, there are still 425 Jews in Luxembourg who are fit for work but not able to emigrate. Some of these Jews have already been conscripted into labour service (in Saarburg and Trier).

The Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg intends to transfer these 425 Jews, including their family members, to Hinzert SS special camp, where they are to be assigned to a segregated work detail until another opportunity for evacuation or emigration presents itself. Approval from the Reich Security Main Office has already been requested.⁸

With this arrangement the Jewish question in Luxembourg can be considered resolved.

The synagogue in Luxembourg City will be demolished in the coming days. The synagogue in Esch-sur-Alzette – Activity Report dated 10 June 1941⁹ – has already been demolished. A large children's playground is being built on its former site.

The Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg has proposed to the Chief of the Civil Administration that a regulation concerning the conduct, visible identification, and behaviour of the Jews in public be issued.¹⁰ This regulation is urgently needed for the period before the aforementioned measures can be fully implemented. The 'General' section of the report dated 8 July 1941 has already reported the provocative conduct of the Jews in northern Luxembourg, particularly in Ettelbruck, and conspicuous rapprochement between the Jews and anti-German members of the clergy. It has since come to our attention that the Jews still shop at all weekly markets and shops in Luxembourg, without any exception. Therefore, Luxembourg's daily newspapers have again expressly notified the public that, under threat of punishment, Jews are only allowed to shop in stores expressly designated for this purpose. According to another report, the Jews in Ettelbruck have lately been exhibiting insolent behaviour. The consciously German population in Ettelbruck has protested that the Jews are still allowed to frequent public promenades and parks and that it is impossible to relax at these places without encountering Jews at every turn.

[...]¹¹

family: see PMJ 3/127. When the deportation of German Jews began, the patients were deported along with the Jews from Koblenz. The plan to transfer Jews from Luxembourg to the psychiatric hospital was never realized.

7 At this date the Consistory was operating at least five Jewish homes for the elderly, which it had set up in private homes belonging to Jewish families.

8 Chief of the Civil Administration Gustav Simon introduced compulsory labour service in Luxembourg on 23 May 1941. Hinzert camp, located approximately 30 kilometres outside Trier, had been built in Oct. 1939 as a police detention camp. From July 1940 it served as a detention and transit camp mainly for prisoners from France and the Benelux countries. Some 13,000 to 14,000 prisoners were held there between 1939 and 1945.

9 The report has not been found. Esch-sur-Alzette, Luxembourg's second largest city, is situated in the south of the country. Its synagogue was destroyed on 3 June 1941.

10 See Doc. 212.

11 The remainder of the document contains sections III, 'Cultural areas'; IV, 'Law and administration'; V, 'Economic life'; and VI, 'Opponents'.

DOC. 212

On 29 July 1941 Chief of the Civil Administration Gustav Simon curtails Jews' freedom of movement and requires them to wear a yellow armband¹*Regulation Concerning the Rules for Jewish Life in Luxembourg**29 July 1941*

By virtue of the authority vested in the Chief of the Civil Administration in Luxembourg, the following is decreed for the area under his administration:

§ 1

Jews are forbidden from entering eating and drinking establishments of any sort, cinemas, theatres, public events of a political, cultural, or any other nature, as well as bathing facilities and public sports grounds.²

§ 2

Jews are barred from being present in the streets from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m.

§ 3

Generally, and particularly for shops and at markets, shopping hours for Jews are 9 a.m. to 11 a.m.

§ 4

Jews are required to identify themselves by wearing a yellow armband on the left arm when in public.³

§ 5

- 1) Infringement of this regulation is punishable by detention or a fine of up to RM 150.
- 2) In severe cases, persons may be sentenced by a court to a term of imprisonment and a fine or to one of these punishments.

§ 6

This regulation will come into force three days after its promulgation.

Luxembourg, 29 July 1941

The Chief of the Civil Administration
in Luxembourg
Gustav Simon
Gauleiter

1 *VOBl-L*, no. 51, 7 August 1941, p. 325. This document has been translated from German.

2 Such bans were also discussed and introduced in the Reich (see, for example, PMJ 2/146 and 215) as well as in other German-occupied countries; for Poland: see PMJ 4/90, 286, and 291.

3 From 14 Oct. 1941 all Jews in Luxembourg were required to wear the yellow star. From 19 Sept. 1941 all Jews aged six and over resident within the Reich were required to wear the yellow star: see PMJ 3/212, 217, 219–226, and 229. In occupied Poland the visible identification of Jews was ordered as early as Nov. 1939: see PMJ 4/35 and 49. Similar regulations were issued in the Netherlands on 29 April 1942 (Doc. 130), in Belgium on 27 May 1942 (Doc. 193), and in France on 29 May 1942 (Doc. 323).

DOC. 213

On 16 September 1941 the musician Kurt Heumann asks the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg for help in obtaining an exemption from forced labour in road building¹

Handwritten letter from Kurt Heumann,² Greimerath camp,³ to Mr Bonem,⁴ dated 16 September 1941

Dear Mr Bonem,

Would you be so kind as to send me a yellow armband, since I lost mine on the way and we're required to wear armbands here?⁵ I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely request that you help me obtain my release from here and, if possible, that I be assigned to less strenuous work. The work here is awfully hard, and the conditions under which we must perform the work are even harder. This tough lot is now, of course, shared by many. But my situation is aggravated by an additional factor: the requirements and fundaments of my profession as a musician. My skilled hands, into which I have invested a lifetime of work and upon which my future livelihood depends, are being completely ruined and wrecked by the work demanded of me here. You will certainly understand why, as a result of this desperation, I am appealing to you with the request to help me if at all possible.

With the highest esteem and devotion

1 ANLux, FD-o83:42, Consistoire israélite – Divers. This document has been translated from German.

2 Kurt Heumann (1902–1942), musicologist and pianist; emigrated from Germany to Luxembourg in Oct. 1933; worked as a musician and conductor until he was banned from practising his profession; conscripted as forced labour from 11 Sept. to 11 Oct. 1941 for a motorway construction project near Wittlich; imprisoned on 18 June 1942 on the grounds that nine years earlier he had purportedly behaved improperly at a German government office; deported on 1 August 1942 to Mauthausen, where he was shot dead a few days after his arrival while allegedly trying to escape.

3 Prisoners held at the forced labour camp in Greimerath near Wittlich (Eifel) were put to work building the Reich motorway.

4 Moritz Bonem (b. 1879), sales representative; member of the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg from Jan. 1941; emigrated via France and Cuba to the United States on 15 Oct. 1941.

5 See Doc. 212.

DOC. 214

**On 5 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg announces
the imminent deportations to the East¹**

Announcement issued by the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, Luxembourg, 71 Neypergstrasse, dated 5 October 1941

Important announcement for the Jews in Luxembourg

The Consistory unfortunately sees itself compelled to issue the following announcement to all brothers and sisters in faith:

Jewry in Luxembourg faces an extremely grave situation.

We have been informed by the German authorities that all Luxembourg Jews must leave the country soon.²

We were not provided with specific details as to where the Jews will be housed, but we believe we can assume that the destination will be in the East.

We are fully aware that the ordeal that we are about to undergo will be difficult.

Nevertheless, we call upon all co-religionists to not sink into despair, to carry their heads high, and to not lose their nerve. It is precisely in times of greatest danger that we must stand together and place our fate in God's hands.

We will not be alone, for 20,000 of our brothers and sisters in faith in the Reich will share our lot.³

Who must leave Luxembourg is beyond our knowledge, as the instruction to do so will be given by the German authorities. After tremendous difficulty, the Consistory was able to ensure that special consideration will be given to the elderly and the sick and that they will for the most part be excluded from the operation.

Individual cases, however, will be closely scrutinized by the German authorities.

It goes without saying that the Consistory will do everything humanly possible to seek understanding from the authorities.

Yet unfortunately the resources at its disposal are extremely limited.

The Consistory is responsible to the authorities for carrying out to the letter all directives issued to it, and the members of the Consistory will have to stay behind until everything is completed.

With regard to the elderly and the sick who will be staying behind, they will be housed humanely, and administrative personnel will remain here to look after all their

1 ANLux, FD-083:26, Transfert de ressortissants juifs à Litzmannstadt/Pologne: Instructions diverses (16 Oct. 1941); contacts à établir; Listes des déportés vers la Pologne, 1941–1943. The original document is in German. Published in French in Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, pp. 95–96. This document has been translated from German.

2 On 18 Sept. 1941 Himmler informed the Gauleiter of the Reichsgau Wartheland that Hitler had instructed that Jews should be deported from the territory of the Reich as soon as possible. Himmler devised the plan to send the Jews to the Lodz ghetto: see PMJ 3/223.

3 The systematic deportation of Jews from the Reich began in Oct. 1941; between 15 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1941 nearly 20,000 Jews were deported from the territory of the Reich to the Lodz ghetto. The Gestapo in Luxembourg had informed the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of the planned deportations and ordered it to communicate these plans to the Jewish population.

needs.⁴ We will receive instructions for the implementation of the transport in a few days and will then immediately disseminate this information.⁵

So, dear brothers and sisters in faith,
*Keep your spirits up!*⁶

DOC. 215

On 7 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg informs the Jewish population of the Einsatzkommando's instructions for the deportation to the Lodz ghetto¹

Announcement² issued by the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, Luxembourg, 71 Neypergstrasse, dated 7 October 1941

The Einsatzkommando of the Security Police has told us to announce the following instructions concerning the implementation of the transport which will leave Luxembourg on 17 October.

It was expressly called to our attention that all instructions must be followed to the letter and that anyone missing at roll call will face the severest penalties.

Roll call will take place two days prior to departure at a location still to be determined, and it will be decided on this occasion who the transportees will be and who will serve as transport leaders.³

The transport will depart at 00.12 a.m., and will arrive at its destination, Litzmannstadt (Lodz),⁴ two days later at 11 a.m.; the total journey time will thus be approximately one and a half days.

4 Approximately 400 elderly and sick Jews as well as care personnel and domestic workers were assembled in the former Jewish home for the elderly at Cinfontaines Abbey (Fünfbrunnen), near Troisvierges (Ulflingen). The home had been closed by the Gestapo in March 1941. See Docs. 217 and 220.

5 See Doc. 215.

6 Between 16 Oct. 1941 and 17 June 1943, seven transports left Luxembourg for Lodz, Izbica, Auschwitz, and Theresienstadt. Of the 677 persons deported directly from Luxembourg, 624 perished in the ghettos or extermination camps; only 53 survived the war.

1 ANLux, FD-o83:26, Transfert de ressortissants juifs à Litzmannstadt/Pologne: Instructions diverses (16 Oct. 1941); contacts à établir; Listes des déportés vers la Pologne, 1941–1943. This document has been translated from German.

2 Some of the anti-Jewish regulations issued by Chief of the Civil Administration Gustav Simon were promulgated via the usual channels, while others had to be communicated by the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community.

3 The roll call mentioned here did not take place. The individuals designated for deportation were ordered to assemble on 16 Oct. 1941 in the customs building at the main railway station or were taken there by bus.

4 In April 1940 a ghetto was set up in the second-largest city in Poland, Łódź (renamed Litzmannstadt during the German occupation). More than 160,000 persons were temporarily confined there in close quarters. The vast majority of the ghetto's inhabitants were murdered in 1942 and 1943 in the Chelmno (Kulmhof) and Auschwitz extermination camps. See the Introduction to PMJ 4.

Further points are as follows:

1. Each person is entitled to bring up to RM 100.
2. Each person is allowed to bring 50 kg of luggage which, if possible, should be packed into only one suitcase. The luggage should contain a complete supply of clothing. Each person may additionally bring: one pillow, one bed sheet, one quilt and one woollen blanket.
3. Provisions for four to five days.
4. In terms of jewellery, only a wedding ring is allowed.
5. Food ration cards must be handed over to the Israelite Religious Community before departure.

It was also expressly called to our attention that carrying any kind of weapon or poison is strictly prohibited and that the Security Police will carefully inspect each person's luggage before the train's departure.

The Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community, which will continue to the last moment its efforts to ease the lot of our brothers and sisters in faith who are participating in the transport, has already been assured that we have the full understanding of the offices under whose supervision the transport is taking place and that the transport will be carried out as humanely as possible. This provides great reassurance for those affected as well as for the Consistory. It is our most fervent wish that with God's help this trying ordeal too will come to an end. May God bless everyone who must leave us, and may God ease their lot and be with them on their journey.

Those staying behind will use all resources at their disposal to see that they are granted material assistance, and the Consistory confidently hopes to bring the negotiations already under way on this matter to a favourable conclusion. The summons will be delivered personally by the Security Police.

The Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg

DOC. 216

On 10 October 1941 Gisela Kahn explains her emigration plans and asks to be exempted from the announced deportation to Łódź¹

Handwritten letter from Gisela Kahn,² Luxembourg, to the State Security Police, Luxembourg, dated 10 October 1941

The undersigned, Gisela Kahn, née Süsskind, entreates the following: I am planning to emigrate soon. One year ago, my brother Sig. Süsskind of Cincinnati, Ohio (USA), 353 Rockdale Avenue, deposited a financial guarantee at the consulate in Marseilles for me, my child,³ and our parents, Mr and Mrs Sigmund Süsskind,⁴ who live with me. Since

1 ANLux, FD-o83:26, Transfert de ressortissants juifs à Litzmannstadt/Pologne: Instructions diverses (16 Oct. 1941); contacts à établir; Listes des déportés vers la Pologne, 1941–1943. This document has been translated from German.

2 Gisela Kahn, née Süsskind (b. 1903); born in Lorraine; emigrated to Luxembourg in 1927; on 28 July 1942 taken from Fünfbrunnen camp to Theresienstadt; on 29 Jan. 1943 deported to Auschwitz, where she perished.

my parents are over 68 years old, they had always been against emigrating & so, sacrificing myself and my child, I stayed at their side to take care of them. Because a separation is possibly imminent, I have been able to persuade my parents to emigrate with us to the USA. Yesterday I wired my aforementioned brother, whose financial circumstances are very good, to make all necessary arrangements so that we can emigrate as soon as possible. I myself have 3,956 dollars in the USA at The Capital Bank, 1011 Huron Road,⁵ as stated in the declaration of assets I submitted to Dept. IVa.⁶ My child & I have a Luxembourg passport. My parents' state of health does not allow them to emigrate on their own, & it would only be possible if we could depart from here together, therefore I kindly request that you either allow me and my little daughter to stay with my parents in a home for the elderly until then or to grant us permission to travel with my parents to the unoccupied part of France, so that we can wait there until we can emigrate to the USA for good.

Since what I have stated is genuinely the truth, I hope that my request will be granted.
Respectfully,

DOC. 217

On 13 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg proposes to the Gestapo that the elderly and the sick be housed in Fünfbrunnen Abbey¹

File note by the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, unsigned, dated 13 October 1941

By order of the Secret State Police, the Luxembourg Jews, with the exception of the elderly and the sick, must leave the territory of Luxembourg on 17 October and are to be transported to Poland.²

The number of Jews in Luxembourg prior to 10 May 1940 amounted to approximately 4,000.

The efforts of the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg have succeeded in carrying out emigration on such a scale that the number of Jews still residing in Luxembourg today is only approximately 750.³

3 Juliana Kahn (b. 1928); on 28 July 1942 taken with her mother to Theresienstadt and on 29 Jan. 1943 deported to Auschwitz, where she perished.

4 Siegmund Süsskind (1870–1942); born in Lorraine; fled with his wife to Luxembourg in 1938; deported on 28 July 1942 from Fünfbrunnen camp to Theresienstadt, where he perished; Regina, also Régine, Süsskind, née Hoffmann (b. 1874); born in Steinach/Saale; survived, and took up residence in Bamberg in 1945.

5 The bank was located in Cleveland, Ohio.

6 This reference is to the Department for the Administration of Jewish and Emigrant Assets, also called the Department for the Administration of Jewish and Other Assets, which was established in Dec. 1940 under the chief of the civil administration. It was responsible for the Aryanization of the Luxembourg economy and the liquidation of Jewish assets. See also Doc. 210.

1 ANLux, FD-261:9, Correspondance entre le 'Ältestenrat der Juden' et le 'Einsatzkommando der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD': Concerne: – Cinqfontaines: Personnes internées – Juifs séjournant encore au Luxembourg – Transports vers Theresienstadt – Listes des personnes évacuées et émigrées, 1941–1943. This document has been translated from German.

2 See Docs. 218 and 221.

3 On the number of Jews who remained in Luxembourg, see Doc. 211.

Logically, it is almost exclusively the younger elements that have emigrated, with the result that 80 per cent of the Jews remaining here are composed of the elderly, the sick, and children. Proof of this fact was delivered by an examination performed by government-designated physician Dr Wiegand,⁴ which all male Jews up to the age of 60 were required to undergo. The result of the examination showed that 13 per cent of Jews were fit enough for labour deployment. They were put to work immediately at the Reich motorway construction camp in Greimerath (Wittlich)⁵ or in the stone quarry in Nennig.

Over the course of this week, nearly 200 Jews will be leaving Luxembourg through emigration.

Approximately 150 additional persons could also emigrate within probably the next four to six weeks.

This thus leaves approximately 400 Jews in the entire territory of Luxembourg, composed exclusively of the elderly and the sick, care personnel, a few domestic workers, and administrative staff.

In view of these circumstances, the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg proposes that all Jews remaining in Luxembourg be housed together in Ulflingen (Fünfbrunnen Abbey).

Since the available facilities are presently insufficient to accommodate the Jews, the Consistory is requesting to erect barracks next to the existing building, using its own personnel and its own funds, so as to provide accommodation for all the Jews of Luxembourg, without exception.

The Consistory hopes and believes that by bringing this project to fruition, it will be possible to prevent the transport of Jews from Luxembourg, and it takes the liberty of courteously pointing out that in every respect the resettlement in Poland of Jews from Luxembourg can entail only a burden for the German authorities, as it can be statistically proven that only a very small percentage of these 400 Jews are fit for labour service.

The concentration of all the Jews of Luxembourg would solve the problem in the interests of the German authorities.

The Consistory takes the liberty of courteously pointing out that among the remaining 400 Jews are a large number whose emigration formalities were begun some time ago and for whom there is good reason to hope that their emigration will take place in the foreseeable future, so that in time the number of 400 would decrease again significantly.

4 Dr Oskar Wiegand (b. 1907), physician; member of the SS; served as a German public health officer in Luxembourg; public health officer in Poznań, 1944.

5 Prisoners held at this forced labour camp in the Eifel region of Germany were put to work building the Reich motorway.

DOC. 218

On 19 October 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg expresses the hope that it can still help recently deported people to emigrate to the United States¹

Letter from the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, signed President Alfred Oppenheimer² and Consistory member Leo Levy,³ Luxembourg, to the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, Emigration Department (Relief Association), Berlin N. 4, 31 Artilleriestrasse, dated 19 October 1941 (carbon copy)

As you may be aware, approximately 350⁴ members of our community were resettled from here to the East (Litzmannstadt) on 16 October. Among them are a sizeable number of persons for whom we have been pursuing emigration to North America for several months now. With the help of our former rabbi,⁵ who is very busy on our behalf in New York, arrangements were made for around 130 persons to leave this country for New York this very week. If the transport to Poland had been delayed by just a few days, many more people could have joined the ranks of those aspiring to emigrate to America. Even in recent days, up to this hour, telegrams have been arriving from New York with word that the documents have been submitted in Washington, in particular for a number of those who have been transported to the East. It is now very important to us to help our brothers and sisters in faith who are so adversely affected to proceed with their emigration as quickly as possible. We therefore ask you what must now happen in practical terms and how the processing can take place, and in particular whether there already exists in your country an organization to arrange the emigration of the emigrants located in the East, one that will concern itself also with those who were previously members of our community.

In addition, we wish to note that the German authorities in Luxembourg have continued to allow the emigration of those who have been resettled in the East.⁶

We would be much obliged for a prompt response, and we thank you most sincerely in advance for your efforts.

Yours faithfully

1 ANLux, FD-o83:60, Émigration de ressortissants juifs, 1940–1941. This document has been translated from German.

2 Alfred Oppenheimer (1901–1993), businessman; born in Metz; lived in Luxembourg from 1926; from 15 Oct. 1941 president of the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg; retitled 'Jewish elder' by the Gestapo in April 1942; in June 1943 deported to Theresienstadt; in Oct. 1944 deported to Auschwitz; in Jan. 1945 liberated from Blechhammer camp by Soviet troops; in May 1945 returned to Luxembourg; in 1961 testified at the Eichmann Trial.

3 Leo Levy (b. 1886), warehouse clerk; from Oct. 1941 member of the Consistory; fled to Belgium; on 26 Sept. 1942 deported on Transport XI from Mechelen to Auschwitz, where he is thought to have been murdered on arrival.

4 On 16 Oct. 1941, 325 Jews from Luxembourg and 196 from Trier were deported to the Lodz (Litzmannstadt) ghetto.

5 Robert Serebrenik.

6 The authors are presumably referring to the emigration overseas of Jews from Luxembourg, which had previously been encouraged by the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA): see Doc. 207. In fact, as recently as Oct. 1941 the RSHA had prohibited all emigration by Jews from German-controlled territory: see Doc. 286.

DOC. 219

**On 17 November 1941 the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community
of Luxembourg warns the Jews against personal contact with non-Jews¹**

Announcement by the Consistory, Luxembourg, 17 November 1941

Announcement

By order of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police, we inform you of the following: It still occurs that Jews associate with Aryans on friendly terms and even converse with them on the street.² Should such violations of the existing provisions³ be detected, both the Aryan and the Jewish parties will immediately be transferred to a concentration camp. The Consistory

DOC. 220

**On 20 November 1941 Ester Galler writes a postcard to her son
from Fünfbrunnen Abbey¹**

Handwritten letter from Ester Galler,² Fünfbrunnen Abbey near Ulflingen, to her son Ansel,³ dated 20 November 1941; below it, handwritten, a censored version of the letter

My dear son Ansel,

Received your postcard. Life here is like being in a prison camp. If one is blind and lame and has no one to provide help, it's bad. Don't believe that we'll see each other alive again.

Love and kisses to you all,
your loving mother
Ester Galler⁴

Sender: Ester Galler
Fünfbrunnen Abbey
near Ulflingen/Luxbg.

1 ANLux, FD-083:41, Consistoire israélite – Papiers divers, 1940–1944. Published in Cerf, *Longtemps j'aurai mémoire*, p. 179. This document has been translated from German.

2 See Doc. 227.

3 A corresponding regulation banning such contact could not be found.

1 ANLux, FD-083:53, Consistoire israélite – Dossiers personnels (F-G), 1941–1943, Dossier 'Frau Wwe Esther Galler, Altersheim Ulflingen'. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ester, also Esther, Galler, née Schupak (1868–1943); born in Belchatów (Poland); thought to have emigrated to Luxembourg in 1901; widowed in 1933; from autumn 1941 in Fünfbrunnen (Cinqfontaines) camp; on 6 April 1943 deported to Theresienstadt, where she perished.

3 Ansel Galler (b. 1897), wholesaler of haberdashery and knitted goods; born in Tomaszów (Poland); emigrated to Luxembourg. Ansel Galler stayed with his sister in Lyons before emigrating to the United States.

4 The original letter from Ester Galler was crossed out, and the following part was written in a different hand. Overleaf, also in the second hand, is the note: 'We have forwarded the accompanying message in the modified version below.'

Addressee
 Mr Ansel Galler
 Lyon-Mouchot⁵
 6 cours Richard-Vitton
 (Rhône) France (libre)⁶
 My dear Son Ansel,

Received your postcard – Life is no longer very pleasant for people who are old and infirm – Not for us here either – Nonetheless, am hopeful
 Love and kisses to you all – your loving mother
 Ester Galler⁷

DOC. 221

On 8 December 1941 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg provides information about ways to make contact with persons deported to Litzmannstadt (Łódź)¹

Announcement by the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, signed The Consistory, The President,² Luxembourg, 47 Trevererstrasse, dated 8 December 1941

To the members of our community:

Since the departure of our Poland transport on 16 October 1941, the Consistory of the community has made the most strenuous efforts to ease the lot of those so grievously afflicted and to make contact with our brothers and sisters in faith. Thus far our efforts have yielded no result. We know that the transport arrived in Litzmannstadt on 18 October. Our hope that we could arrange for sums of money to be sent to those who still hold security accounts here³ has not been fulfilled and our efforts to that end are continuing.

Today we received postcards from a few of those who have been resettled, with the sender ‘The Elder of the Jews in Litzmannstadt Ghetto’,⁴ which gave the address and

⁵ Correctly: Montchat.

⁶ *Libre* (in French in the original) means ‘free’, a reference to the non-occupied part of France. Lyons is in southern France, which was not occupied until Nov. 1942.

⁷ Alongside is the note: ‘Dealt with on 24/XI/41’.

¹ ANLux, FD-o83:26, Transfert de ressortissants juifs à Litzmannstadt/Pologne: Instructions diverses (16.10.1941); contacts à établir; Listes des déportés vers la Pologne, 1941–1943. Published in Cerf, *Longtemps j’aurai mémoire*, pp. 180–181. This document has been translated from German.

² Alfred Oppenheimer.

³ See Doc. 200, fn. 3. The Chief of the Civil Administration had prohibited transfers from the ‘security accounts’ to Jews who were located outside Luxembourg: letter from the Chief of the Civil Administration, dated 4 Nov. 1941, Department for the Administration of Jewish and Emigrant Assets, to the Stadtsparkasse Luxembourg, a municipal savings bank, published in Cerf, *L’Étoile juive*, p. 103.

⁴ Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski (1877–1944) had been appointed ‘Jewish elder’ in the Lodz (Litzmannstadt) ghetto by the German occupation authorities. In response to an enquiry from the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, he had written a letter on 13 Nov. 1941 to confirm the arrival of the Jews from Luxembourg in the Lodz ghetto on 18 Oct. 1941: published in Cerf, *Longtemps j’aurai mémoire*, p. 101.

made a request for cash remittances and for news. The Consistory immediately made contact with the relevant authority at the main post office here. It was made clear that postal orders sent to Litzmannstadt *are accepted*. If no more specific address is available, the recipient's date of birth, as well as the identifier of the transport, must be given. For example:

Walter Israel Kahn, born 12 August 1896

Luxemburg-Trier transport

Litzmannstadt-Warthegau, Jewish ghetto.

Parcels are *not* accepted, but one can try to send large registered letters with a gross weight not exceeding 250 grams. The items desired are primarily cigarettes, stock cubes, and foodstuffs suitable for this sort of packaging.

In the interest of those who have been resettled and to spare their family members extra work, our Community Office is happy to take on the task of sending the postal orders. We ask the members of our community to turn to us as necessary.

In addition, as a *community* we also want to send a sum of at least RM 10 to each evacuee, without delay. The Luxembourg group in Litzmannstadt includes a sizeable number of persons who have no relatives here. Our means are only small; we also know the constraints which each and every one of us must suffer, but nonetheless we do not want to just stand back, and [we want] to show that we too are always willing to give.

Let us not forget the danger which we have escaped.

Therefore, the Consistory is issuing to all members of the community a request to contribute to the cash remittances being sent to Litzmannstadt. With 350 resettled persons, remittance of just RM 10 per person already requires the sum of RM 3,500. Our community today has only 340 members remaining, many of whom are without means.⁵

Everyone must give: No one may exempt himself.

The Consistory

The President

DOC. 222

By order of the Gestapo, on 7 January 1942 the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg instructs its members to hand in articles of warm clothing¹

Announcement by the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, signed the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community, Luxembourg, 47 Trevererstrasse, dated 7 January 1942

To the members of our community:

By order of the Secret State Police, we announce the following:

All Jews over the age of six must hand in the following items:

⁵ Between May 1942 and March 1943, members of the Jewish community transferred RM 29,024 to those who had been deported to the Lodz ghetto.

¹ ANLux, FD-083:9, Obligation faite aux ressortissants juifs de remettre leurs fourrures et vêtements d'hiver aux autorités allemandes, 6-7 Jan. 1942. Published in Cerf, *Longtemps j'aurai mémoire*, pp. 181-182. This document has been translated from German.

fur coats
fur goods of all kinds and with no exceptions
woollen scarves
men's woollen cardigans and jumpers
men's woollen undergarments
men's and women's woollen gloves and lined leather gloves
men's woollen stockings and socks
women's woollen stockings
earmuffs
chest and knee protectors
skis and ski boots

(Some woollen undergarments may be retained: two woollen vests, two pairs of woollen long johns and two pairs of long socks.)

None of the items to be handed in may contain any indication of the previous owner.

The delivery, with a list in triplicate of the items handed in by each individual, must be made by

14 January 1942

to the offices of the Religious Community, Luxembourg, 47 Trevererstr.

Those living out of town² must send in the items along with the lists in time for them to reach us by 13 January.

Attention is called to the fact that the items must be delivered in a clean and wearable condition.

Failure to hand in the items or a delay in handing them in as well as damage to the items to be handed in will be *subject to the most severe State Police measures. In addition, observance of the foregoing directive will be verified by inspections.*

The Consistory

of the Israelite Religious Community³

² This particularly concerned the mainly elderly or infirm residents of the Jewish home for the elderly at Fünfbrennen that served as an assembly and transit camp.

³ In total, around 4,000 pieces of clothing were handed in. They were intended to be used primarily to supply Wehrmacht soldiers on the Eastern Front.

DOC. 223

**On 16 April 1942 the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD
in Luxembourg issues instructions regarding preparations for deportation
to the General Government¹**

State Police order of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg (B.Nr. 609/42 II B 3), Luxembourg, dated 16 April 1942²

For the purpose of resettlement to the territory of the Reich, you – and, if any family members are present, they too – are to report ready for departure *on Thursday*, 23 April 1942, at 10 a.m.,³ to 57 Petrusring, Villa Pauly.⁴ The following is to be noted:

- 1) These can be taken along:
 - a) per person, one suitcase or one rucksack
 - b) two woollen blankets, one pillow, and one dish and spoon per person,
 - c) cash in the amount of RM 50 per person – in Reichskreditkassenscheine⁵
 - d) a complete set of clothes, if it can be worn,
 - e) food supplies for three days.
- 2) You must duly inform the authorities of your departure by presenting this order to the police registration authorities and the responsible rationing office.
- 3) The current residence must be tidied and cleaned and it must be locked upon being vacated. The key must have a labelled tag and be handed in at the office of the Security Police.
- 4) Males are to arrive clean-shaven and with a short, military haircut; females' hair is to be cut according to the regulations.

In the event of non-compliance, you will be subject to the most severe State Police measures.

1 ANLux, FD-o83:24, Déportation de ressortissants juifs vers Izbica/Pologne (23.04.1942), 1941–1942. This document has been translated from German.

2 The document is a standard letter that has not been personalized.

3 The second deportation train left Luxembourg on 23 April 1942. In Stuttgart it was coupled to a transport that left on 26 April 1942 for Izbica in the General Government, where a transit ghetto had been created as part of Operation Reinhard. Most of the inmates were deported again, this time to Belzec and Sobibor. Of the twenty-four persons deported from Luxembourg to Izbica, none survived.

4 The location of the office of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD from August 1940 to Sept. 1944.

5 'Reich credit notes', transitional currency introduced in German-occupied countries during the Second World War.

DOC. 224

On 16 April 1942 Alfred Oppenheimer, Jewish elder in Luxembourg, delivers a speech in advance of the impending deportation¹

Handwritten master copy of the speech by Alfred Oppenheimer to the residents of the Ufflingen Home for the Elderly (Fünfbrunnen), dated 16 April 1942

A dreadful fate hangs over our community again. The worst that can happen has now happened & the Poland transport is a certainty.

At around lunchtime on Monday, at 11 a.m., I was summoned to the Gestapo & informed that 124 Jews must comply with the order of the authorities for transport to the General Government. Of this number, 74 would go on the first transport, which must be in Stuttgart on 24 April, while the remaining 50 would leave eight days later but are to travel to the same destination.

I was told that the first transport is to be composed primarily of all those who were absent last time or were deferred on account of illness. Next come all single persons & finally all those who have already been interrogated at the Gestapo office at some point or who have made themselves unpopular in some other way at some point.

The transport of the first group is to be combined with the Trier group again, as was the case the first time,² and the food supplies will also be provided by the Trier office. I was unable to learn anything about an age limit, but it unfortunately looks as if the age limit of sixty-six that is sometimes observed in Germany is not under consideration for us here. All the exemptions granted for the last transport have been revoked: only severely disabled ex-servicemen or holders of the EK I³ are not subject to this measure. After long & very unpleasant negotiations, during which I pointed out to the heads of the department for Jewish affairs that the measures here were far crueller than in Germany, where a longer period for preparation was granted, I succeeded in getting the number of persons leaving on the first transport reduced from 74 to 24. In addition, I was also able to determine that of these 124 persons a number will be Jews who do not belong to our community & never wanted to have anything to do with us. This was a very hard fight & I accomplished a great deal, but no more could be achieved, despite all my efforts.

A portion of this unavoidable disaster will affect you too, my dear fellow brothers & sisters. I do not yet know who specifically will be affected, but unfortunately it will include almost a third of the local staff. The final decision will be delivered to you by the Gestapo, which is also responsible for this measure.

I believe I can promise you that we will be granted an age limit of 70, in other words, that we can protect co-religionists over the age of 70. We recommend that all others prepare themselves for all contingencies, unless they are unfit for transport.⁴

1 ANLux, FD-o83:24, Déportation de ressortissants juifs vers Izbica/Pologne (23.4.1942), 1941–1942. This document has been translated from German.

2 The first deportation train to the Lodz ghetto, which had left Luxembourg on 16 Oct. 1941, had been combined with a transport of Jews from Trier.

3 Eisernes Kreuz 1. Klasse, the Iron Cross 1st Class.

4 Later added at this point: 'The only consolation I can give you is that the transport will not go to Litzmannstadt, which is considered the worst ghetto, but rather to Regierungsbezirk Lublin, which is said to be the best!' Below is written: 'New appeal'.

It is terrible for me to have to come before you for the second time in order to bring you such news. Please believe that this task is almost beyond my power & only the thought that I can perhaps still alleviate circumstances in some way gives me the courage to keep working on your behalf.

In the millennia of Jewish history, we have already had to endure so many trials & have survived. May the hope that we will survive even these dark days give us the courage to keep on living and endure everything & with trust in God, let us hope that we will meet again in the not-all-too-distant future.⁵

DOC. 225

**On 22 April 1942 Gertrud Cahen asks Gauleiter Gustav Simon to exempt
her mother-in-law from deportation¹**

Handwritten letter from Gertrud Cahen², Differdange, to His Excellency Gauleiter Simon,³ Chief of the Civil Administration, Luxembourg, dated 22 April 1942

Dear Gauleiter,

The undersigned, an Aryan Reich German by birth, most respectfully ventures to submit the following for your valued assessment.

As you can see from the enclosed letter from the Secret State Police, my 62-year-old mother-in-law,⁴ who has lived here in good standing for 42 years, is to be resettled. As she never had anything to do with Jewish concerns of any kind whatsoever, which all the Reich and ethnic German authorities here can only confirm to you, I ask that you consider the following favourably.

My husband,⁵ as her only son, would understandably feel obligated to leave the country with her, as she would scarcely be able to take care of and provide for herself. In this case, I would be left here with four children in a rather dire situation, as we are dependent on my husband's earnings. My eldest son,⁶ born in 1924, from whom I got a few marks each week, also received a summons, and I am likely to lose this small household subsidy soon too.

Esteemed Gauleiter, I ask that you examine this case and that you might obtain a positive response from the Secret State Police.

⁵ On the deportation of the Jews from Luxembourg on 23 April 1942, see Doc. 223, fn. 3.

¹ ANLux, FD-o83:24, Déportation de ressortissants juifs vers Izbica/Pologne (23.04.1942), 1941–1942. This document has been translated from German.

² Gertrud Cahen, née Schlichting (1905–1992); born in Berlin; married Joseph André Cahen; after the war lived in the municipality of Differdange.

³ Gustav Simon.

⁴ Isabelle Cahen, née Reh (1880–1942); born in Alsace; lived in Differdange and widowed in 1928; deported to Izbica on 23 April 1942, presumably murdered in Belzec or Sobibor: see Doc. 223, fn. 3.

⁵ Joseph André Cahen (b. 1902); business representative; deported to Izbica on 23 April 1942 and presumably murdered in Belzec or Sobibor.

⁶ Alfred Cahen (b. 1924) was not deported.

DOC. 226

**On 5 June 1942 the deportee Josy Schlang implores the Jewish Consistory
in Luxembourg not to abandon him¹**

Handwritten letter from Josy Schlang,² Posen (received on 9 June 1942), dated 5 June 1942³

Dear Sirs,

I am quite astonished to hear nothing more from you.⁴ What is going on in Luxembourg, anyway? I hope your long silence does not mean anything. Today I celebrated my *18th birthday*, but very sadly. I worked very hard and had nothing to eat. I hope I can spend my next one with my dear parents.⁵ Please send me something to eat again as soon as possible, because I am really, really in need of it as never before and have already lost a lot of weight. So, help me, please, please, don't let me down. Also send me, if possible, some clothing, because I have virtually nothing left to wear and am now going about in rags. Above all, I need trousers and shirts. So, please send me the same. I would also be very glad to have a letter from you, also with a postcard with a photo of Luxembourg. So, please don't abandon me or else I'll become desperate. I've just got back from hard labour and am tired. I'm going to get into my rock-hard *bed* right now. So, please, just don't abandon me, and think of me as soon as possible.

God protect you. Please accept my very warm regards.

Your grateful

1 ANLux, FD-083:14, Consistoire de Trèves: Informations sur la situation à Luxembourg; Consistoire de Francfort/Main; Berlin; Cologne; Izbica a.d. Wieprz et Charleroi: Demandes de renseignements; Informations diverses sur des ressortissants juifs, 1940–1942. The original document is in German. Published in French in Cerf, *L'Étoile juive*, p. 104. This document has been translated from German.

2 Joseph 'Josy' Schlang (b. 1924), hairdresser; arrested on 15 May 1941 for anti-German statements and detained for two weeks; deported to the Lodz ghetto on 16 Oct. 1941; from 1941 forced labourer in Jewish forced labour camp no. 13, a German Labour Front camp in Zabikowo, near Posen; from 1943 in Auschwitz concentration camp and its satellite camps; in Jan. 1945 survived the death march to Mauthausen, where he was liberated in May 1945; returned to Luxembourg after the war.

3 The envelope containing the letter has not survived and the addressee is therefore not known. However, because the letter was found in the holdings of the Consistory of the Israelite Religious Community of Luxembourg, it was presumably addressed to the office of the Community.

4 During his time in the Lodz ghetto, Joseph Schlang had been able to correspond with the Consistory in Luxembourg on a number of occasions.

5 Tobias Schlang (1902–1943) and Anna Schlang, née Glaser (1896–1943), arrested in May 1941 for anti-German statements; deported on 16 Oct. 1941 with their son Joseph and daughter Sophie (1922–1943) from Luxembourg to the Lodz ghetto; both parents and their daughter perished in Majdanek concentration and extermination camp.

DOC. 227

**On 20 June 1942 Siegmund Leib reports to the Luxembourg government in exile
on the German measures against the Jews¹**

Report by 'Siegmund' Leib, dated 20 June 1942 (typescript)²

[...] ³

As for businesses in the textile industry, everybody knows that most of them were owned by Jews. Immediately after the Gauleiter's⁴ arrival in Luxembourg, everything the Jews owned was confiscated. All Jews were ordered to register their possessions.⁵ For this purpose, the head of the civil administration, set up the *Verwaltung des jüdischen und feindlichen Vermögens*, Abteilung IVa,⁶ headed by the infamous Gauinspekteur⁷ Ackermann. The assets of Aryans who had left the Grand Duchy on 10 May 1940⁸ were also confiscated and classified as enemy assets. The new administration was made up of several departments, including: real estate; furniture; commodities; accounts with banks, the post office or savings banks; securities, mortgages and other receivables; holdings, etc.⁹ Each department was headed by a director. Mr Reuter-Reding,¹⁰ whose Nazi sympathies are common knowledge, was made director of the real estate department. But it seems that his boss, Gauinspekteur Ackermann, was not satisfied with his work, as he was dismissed after a few months. The rumours circulating in the city that Reuter-Reding had lined his own pockets seem to have been true. Another Luxembourger who was in charge of the department for holdings and businesses in liquidation, and who

1 ANLux, AE Gt EX 380, Rapports sur la situation au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1940–1942, pp. 102–115. This document has been translated from French.

2 Siegmund Leib sent this report to the Luxembourg government in exile after his escape, probably on his own initiative. The words 'Report by Siegmund Leib' were added later by hand at the top of the typed report.

3 On the first six pages of the report, Leib describes events in Luxembourg after the German invasion and the flight of the Luxembourg government. He lists the most important officials, outlines the structure of the German civilian administration, and recounts the 'Germanization' measures, as well as the dismissal and arrest of Luxembourgers hostile to the Germans.

4 The chief of the civil administration in Luxembourg, Gustav Simon, was also Gauleiter of the Gau of Koblenz-Trier.

5 See Doc. 200.

6 German in the original: 'Administration of Jewish and Enemy Assets, Department IVa'. The reference is to the Department for the Administration of Jewish and Emigrant Assets, also called the Department for the Administration of Jewish and Other Assets, which was established in Dec. 1940 under the chief of the civil administration. It was responsible for the Aryanization of the Luxembourg economy and the liquidation of Jewish assets.

7 German in the original: 'Gau Inspector'; official appointed to each Gau to oversee the implementation of policy and to carry out special duties for the Nazi Party.

8 This was the day German troops occupied Luxembourg.

9 The official designations of the subsections within Department IVa were: Household, Personnel, Salaries, Commercial Assets, Liquidation Department, Private Assets (Accounts), Real Estate Administration, Furniture Reutilization, Real Estate Utilization, and Legal Department.

10 Franz-Joseph Reuter, also known as Joseph Reuter-Reding (b. 1885), engineer and industrialist; from Sept. 1940 tasked by the chief of the civil administration with administering property and apartments belonging to Jews; joined the NSDAP in 1944; sentenced to four years in prison for collaboration in 1949.

had been given this new position by the Nazi regime after he had squandered a huge fortune, was a man named Jost.¹¹ But the biggest criminal among this gang of thieves is the supposed architect Willy Brauckmann,¹² a German national married to a woman from Luxembourg, who enjoyed the Grand Duchy's hospitality for ten years. He drove up to every Jewish house in his flash car to loot the furniture. This individual, who was barely able to make a living for himself before the occupation of the country, is now considered one of the Grand Duchy's richest men. One day, the Luxembourgers will give him a very special reward for all his merits in the fields of theft and aggravated robbery. Dr Woreschke's¹³ task was the administration of Jewish businesses. He was the one who appointed the temporary administrators for Jewish businesses and was in charge of selling off their stock. Dr Neugebauer¹⁴ was in charge of the accounts with banks, the post office, and savings banks. He directed the sale of real estate owned by enemy nationals and Jews. On his orders, enemy and Jewish accounts were transferred to the Bank der Deutschen Arbeit.¹⁵ Of course, all of these accounts were blocked, and no withdrawals could be made without special permission from Dr Neugebauer. In total, each individual could not withdraw more than 125.00 marks to pay for their own upkeep. This sum was staggered depending on the number of people in a household, i.e. one person was permitted to withdraw 125.00 marks every month, two people were allowed 200.00 marks, three people 250.00 marks, and the maximum, irrespective of the actual number of people in the household, was set at 350.00 marks per month. Later these sums were reduced considerably, and from then on, [...] ¹⁶ Jews were only allowed 0.62 marks per person per day for their own upkeep. By 15 July 1941 the well-known institution called the Verwaltung des jüdischen und feindlichen Vermögens, Abteilung IVa, had amassed the enormous sum of 70,000,000.00 marks.¹⁷ This sum was solely made up of the cash assets held by banks,

11 Emil Jost (b. 1890), sales representative; member of the Luxemburg National Party (LNP), which was founded in 1937; author of antisemitic articles; secretary of the antisemitic Luxemburg National People's Party (LNVP); worked in the liquidation department under the chief of the civil administration; arrested in Nov. 1944; released in July 1945.

12 Wilhelm Brauckmann (b. 1900), architect; head of Subsection V: Furniture Reutilization, under the chief of the civil administration; sentenced to six years in prison by the Luxembourg War Crimes Court in 1950.

13 Probably Dr Hans Worreschke, economist; deputy head of Dept. IVa under the chief of the civil administration from August 1940 to early 1941; later head of Subsection II: Commercial Assets, which was in charge of administering Jewish-owned companies.

14 Dr Ernst Christian Neugebauer (b. 1906), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1933; deputy head of Dept. IVa under the chief of the civil administration from early 1941 to Sept. 1944; head of Subsection III: Private Assets (Accounts) and Subsection VII: Legal Department; arrested in April 1945; sentenced to three years in prison by the Luxembourg High Court.

15 The Bank der Deutschen Arbeit (BdDA, literally Bank of German Labour), founded as Deutsche Kapitalverwertungsgesellschaft (German Asset Management Agency) by the General Federation of German Trade Unions and the General German Association of Civil Servants; owned by the German Labour Front from 1933; profits from the liquidation and Aryanization of Jewish-owned companies and private assets were paid into the Luxembourg branch of the BdDA from Dec. 1940; the bank was liquidated in August 1945.

16 Illegible word in the original.

17 In fact, the total assets confiscated from Jews and émigrés during the German occupation of Luxembourg amounted to at least 30 million Reichsmarks; see Commission spéciale, *La Spoliation des biens juifs*, p. 110; see also Doc. 200, fn. 3.

post offices, and savings banks, mortgages, and all other receivables, as well as stocks and commodities owned by the Jews of the Grand Duchy and the money from completed real estate transactions. We learned of this sum only because a dutiful Luxembourg employee was willing to disclose it to us. By now, the total stolen from the enemies of the regime and the Jews is likely to amount to at least one billion Luxembourg francs, without taking into account the mental and physical damage that the Luxembourgers and foreigners living in the Grand Duchy have had to suffer.

We believe that this will be one of the most difficult problems that will have to be solved after the end of the war, and it requires a good deal of scrutiny. We believe the government¹⁸ should investigate this issue now, so as not to delay the normal course of operations for too long. Otherwise, this situation could result in incalculable damage to our country's economy. We are well aware that it will not be possible to do justice to every single individual, and that we must differentiate carefully between the different cases at hand. By the same token, however, a basis for a general regulation must be found at all costs. As far as we are aware, there are inventory lists of all businesses belonging to enemy nationals or Jews. They had to be provided to the various German administration authorities by the temporary administrators. In addition, Captain Jacoby,¹⁹ whom we greatly miss, informed us before his departure that, as the LPL²⁰ commander, he had drawn up a plan to resolve this issue and had also compiled the necessary data, in collaboration with his friends. We believe that Luxembourg nationals should be compensated first for the losses they incurred at the hands of the Germans.

[...] ²¹

Kindly forgive the insistence with which we address the cause of the Jews in the Grand Duchy; it is because, in this instance, it is a subject with which we are deeply familiar, having lived it from the first to the last moment.

In August 1940, a few days after the arrival of the Gauleiter in Luxembourg, Dr Serebrenik, the chief rabbi, was summoned to the offices of the Gestapo. The notorious Lieutenant Schmidt,²² who was in charge of Jewish affairs, disclosed to him that within two weeks all the Jews of the Grand Duchy would have to leave the country. They would only be allowed to take with them the sum of 50 marks and 50 kilos of luggage. The chief rabbi replied that he could not understand this measure against the Luxembourg Jews, since there were still apparently about half a million Jews living in the Reich. He

18 The reference here is to the Luxembourg government in exile.

19 Aloyse Jacoby (1895–1965), military officer; commissioner general for evacuation and repatriation from 11 May 1940; member of the Luxembourg Patriots' League (LPL) resistance group; arrested in Nov. 1941; interned in Hinert SS special camp and subsequently in other camps; interned in Dachau from April 1943; returned to Luxembourg after the liberation of Dachau; appointed commander-in-chief of the Luxembourg Armed Forces on 22 July 1946.

20 Two independent resistance groups called Letzeburger Patriote Liga were founded in Sept. 1940 in Clervaux and in Nov. 1940 in Echternach respectively.

21 In the following section, Leib describes the confiscation of assets owned by churches, religious institutions, and daily newspapers. He suggests that the government in exile should prepare measures that would allow a speedy return to economic and cultural normality after the end of the war. He further describes the Nazi indoctrination of children and numerous arrests of both blue-collar and white-collar workers, farmers, and church representatives.

22 Paul Schmidt, detective sergeant; from Aug. 1940 to spring 1941 Luxembourg Einsatzkommando official in charge of Jewish affairs.

was told that the Gauleiter's decision was final. The Consistory of the Jewish Community of Luxembourg found itself forced to communicate the terrible news to its co-religionists.²³ All contact made with the German authorities with a view to abandoning this terrible act of brutality towards innocent people who had already lost their possessions was in vain, and soon the terrified Jews began to leave the Grand Duchy for non-occupied France or Belgium.

Before 10 May 1940, the Jewish population of the Grand Duchy had consisted of 4,000 people: women, men, and children.²⁴ By 10 May 1940 around half of them had left the country. The figure of 2,000 – those who had stayed – was made up mainly of the elderly, the sick, and children. In particular, families who lived in the countryside and had been Luxembourg citizens for generations were unable to bring themselves to leave their homes because they could not believe that the same measures the Nazis had applied to the German Jews could be used against them.

When only 1,000 people were left in the Grand Duchy, around March 1941, Chief Rabbi Dr Serebrenik, whose service to his community will never be forgotten, and Dr Alex Bonn, a member of the Consistory, insisted that the German authorities should put an end to the expulsion of the Jews from the Grand Duchy. They managed to obtain authorization for people over the age of sixty-five and the sick to stay in the country. Emigration to overseas countries, which was the only definitive solution for the Jews, became increasingly difficult. Thus only unoccupied France was left, but the situation there was uncertain as well, and everyone who entered the country illegally had to expect to be put into a concentration camp.²⁵ A little later the Gestapo, in collaboration with Gauinspekteur Ackermann, ordered the Jews who were still in Luxembourg to leave their houses within twenty-four hours. What's more, furniture, linen, etc. were to be left in the houses.

The Consistory was ordered to concentrate all the Jews in a few houses – obviously Jewish houses. Several houses were made available for this purpose, including that of Dr Alex Bonn.²⁶ But this was only a provisional solution, and in July 1941 the Gestapo found a convent (Kloster Fünfbrunnen²⁷) near Troisvierges where all Jews who were still in the Grand Duchy had to be concentrated. The building in question offered room for 120 people at the very most, and the Gauleiter, who was desperate to be able to tell his masters in Berlin that Luxembourg had got rid of its Jews, already had other ideas about the realization of his fatal plans. Towards the end of September, 130 people had found refuge in the Fünfbrunnen convent, and every inch of the building had been put to use. One day the Gestapo chief, Commander Hartmann,²⁸ together with Gauinspekteur Ackermann, came to inspect the premises and ordered us to put up another fifty people in the abbey's chapel. We refused, explaining to them that this was a house of God,

²³ See Doc. 202.

²⁴ Around 3,900 Jews were living in Luxembourg when the Wehrmacht invaded on 10 May 1940.

²⁵ On 4 Oct. 1940 the Vichy government had enacted a law which allowed all département prefects to imprison foreign Jews in concentration camps. This law was applicable in both the German-occupied north and the unoccupied south of France. See Doc. 242.

²⁶ Before emigrating from Luxembourg, Alex Bonn had left the house owned by his mother, Helene Bonn, to the Jewish community to be used as a home for the elderly.

²⁷ German in the original.

²⁸ Fritz Hartmann, leader of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD in Luxembourg.

and that under no circumstances would we dishonour the Catholic religion. Meanwhile, hardly a day passed without a new decree against Jews appearing in the local newspapers. From August the Jews had to wear a yellow armband on their left sleeve in order, it was said, to distinguish them more clearly from the Aryans. They were banned from using trams and cars; the hours for doing household shopping were set at 9.00–11.00 a.m. and 3.00–4.00 p.m. They were banned from visiting public places, cinemas, cafés, patisseries, and sports grounds, and anyone found in breach of this decree would immediately be taken to a concentration camp.²⁹ All men up to the age of 60 had to work in the quarries of Nennig, near Remich,³⁰ and no Jew was allowed to leave their house between 7.00 in the evening and 7.00 in the morning. Their ration coupons for clothing were withdrawn, and in future Jews will no longer have access to rice, sugar, chocolate, or butter. It was a great comfort for the Jews in their unhappy situation that the decent and courageous Luxembourg Catholics encouraged them in every respect and even brought them large quantities of food. Despite the ban on visiting Jews and engaging in conversation with them in the street, the Luxembourg Catholics, defying the danger, did not hide their friendliness towards the Jews and always considered them to be their equals.³¹ The Jews will never forget the admirable way the Luxembourg Catholics behaved towards them, and more than ever, the Jews will be loyal subjects of their sovereign, Grand Duchess Charlotte,³² and her government, as was always the case in the past.

For the Jews, the month of October 1941 was to bring the most appalling catastrophe in their history. By order of the Gauleiter,³³ the synagogue, the Jews' house of worship, was to be demolished. A single cry of indignation was heard, not only from the Jews, but also the Catholics; but despite all protestations, this act of brutality was carried out. Hengst,³⁴ the Oberbürgermeister,³⁵ asked all of the construction companies in the city to demolish the magnificent building; but apart from one contractor, Lucius de Bonnevoie, they all refused. The Jews will never forget that. But the series of catastrophes continued. By order of Himmler, all the Jews still living in the Grand Duchy, all 800 of them, were to be deported to Poland.³⁶ There was general unrest because everyone was aware of what Poland, which had just been through the horrors of war and was lacking in everything, would mean for these unfortunate people. The Consistory immediately contacted the German authorities, reminding them of the promise they had made to the

29 See Doc. 212.

30 Nennig, which was in the Regierungsbezirk Trier in Germany at that time, and the Luxembourg town of Remich are located on opposite sides of the Mosel River.

31 See Doc. 219.

32 Charlotte of Luxembourg (1896–1985); grand duchess of Luxembourg, 1919–1964; fled Luxembourg on 10 May 1940; travelled through France, Portugal, and the US to Canada, and then on to London; returned from exile on 14 April 1945; abdicated in favour of her son on 12 Nov. 1964.

33 Gustav Simon.

34 Dr Richard Hengst (1903–1982), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1932 and the SA in 1933; city commissioner of Luxembourg from August 1940; mayor of Luxembourg from July 1942 to July 1943; mayor of Liegnitz (Lower Silesia) from Nov. 1943.

35 German for 'mayor'.

36 Could not be verified. All that is known in this respect is that Himmler wrote to Greiser, Gauleiter of the Reichsgau Wartheland, with copies sent to Heydrich and to the Higher SS and Police Leader of the Warthegau, Wilhelm Koppe: 'It is the Führer's wish that the Old Reich and the Protectorate should as soon as possible be emptied and freed of Jews from west to east': see PMJ 3/223.

chief rabbi, that everybody over the age of sixty-five, as well as the sick, would be allowed to stay in the Grand Duchy. After several days of talks, the Gestapo finally acknowledged its pledge. Nevertheless, on 16 October, 369 Jews – women, men, and children – were ordered to be at the station at 7.00 a.m., to leave for Poland at midnight.³⁷ It was a veritable catastrophe. Many of them attempted to commit suicide, but nothing in the world could change their sad fate in the least. With 50 kilos of luggage and 100.00 marks per person, these unfortunate people had to follow the path to their certain ruin. At the time we left, only 350 Jews remained behind, namely the elderly and the sick in Fünfbrunnen convent. And God alone knows what the future may hold for them [...]³⁸

³⁷ See Docs. 214, 215, and 218, fn. 4.

³⁸ In the final section of the report, Leib discusses the Ethnic German Movement (Volksdeutsche Bewegung) and the collaboration between Luxembourgers and the German occupying forces.

France



DOC. 228

On 11 April 1933 the French chargé d'affaires in Berlin proposes that visas be granted only to carefully selected refugees¹

Telegraphic report no. 338 from the French chargé d'affaires in Berlin, Pierre Arnal,² to His Excellency Mr Paul-Boncour, foreign minister,³ 11 April 1933 (carbon copy)

Re: visas for German political refugees and German Jews

Hitler's rise to power and the persecution of the Jews and left-wing parties which this event ushered in have resulted in many important German people wanting to leave the country and take refuge abroad. The growth of the anti-Jewish movement in particular has given fresh impetus to this exodus over the past two weeks.⁴ Some of our consulates have been literally besieged by German citizens who are anxious to leave as quickly as possible. Moreover, the German authorities are concerned about the panic, which has emerged particularly in circles that formerly played a leading role in society. They have made it obligatory for all Germans to apply for an exit visa and have let it be known that such visas would be denied in most cases. This measure, implemented on 5 April, resulted in an immediate slow down of departures, at least for a few days. I took advantage of this opportunity and instructed all our consuls to inform me of the number of visas they had granted between 5 March, the date of the elections which sealed the triumph of the Hitler movement,⁵ and 5 April, the date of the introduction of the exit visa requirement, and to mark the difference between the usual averages and the surge in applications brought about by the current political circumstances.

The figures given to me are of course approximate. But it is already possible to say that the number of people who – owing to either their political past or their Jewish origin – have requested authorization to enter French territory has risen to about four thousand over the course of one month. This number comprises the following:

1 MAE, Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, Berlin (Embassy), Série A, 423. This document has been translated from French.

2 Pierre Albert Arnal (1892–1971), diplomat; in the foreign service from 1919; counsellor in the French embassy in Berlin, 1932–1937; worked at the Council of the League of Nations, 1937–1940; head of the department for economics in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1940–1944; head of administration within the French military government in the state of Baden, 1945–1946; consul general in Düsseldorf, 1946–1953; French ambassador to Venezuela, 1952–1955; administrative director of the Société financière et industrielle des pétroles from 1957.

3 Joseph Paul-Boncour (1873–1972), lawyer; elected to the Chamber of Deputies on a number of occasions from 1909; minister of labour, March to June 1911; minister of war, June to December 1932; prime minister of France, 1932/33; foreign minister, 1932–1934 and March to April 1938; withdrew from public life, 1940–1944; co-signatory of the Charter of the United Nations in 1946.

4 On 1 April 1933 SA men stationed themselves in front of Jewish shops, lawyers' offices, and medical practices across Germany and called on people to boycott these businesses: see PMJ 1/17, 21, 22, and 25.

5 With 43.9 per cent of the votes, the NSDAP emerged by a wide margin as the largest party in the Reichstag election of 5 March 1933. The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) was the second largest party, with 18.3 per cent, and the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), which had already been banned, the third strongest party, with 12.3 per cent of the vote.

Berlin	1,000
Leipzig	600
Cologne	600
Frankfurt	525
Karlsruhe	400
Mainz	400
Munich and Nuremberg	170
Düsseldorf	160
Stuttgart	75
Hamburg	50
Dresden	30
Bremen	20
Königsberg	10

In order to accurately assess these numbers, the following should be taken into consideration:

1. A certain number of important political figures and a very high number of Jewish business people already possess long-term visas for France and have not needed to request new ones in light of recent events in order to enter our country;
2. Not all persons who have recently applied for a visa have necessarily made use of it, either because they were prevented by circumstances from doing so, or because they thought they would be able to forgo emigration at least for now, or lastly because they were prevented from doing so by the new regulation which requires having a German exit visa.

Finally, it should be noted that a good many people have travelled to countries for which they do not need a visa, such as the Netherlands, Britain, Switzerland, and Austria; further, that many Jews have gone to Czechoslovakia or Poland; that a number of political refugees have been reported in Denmark, and finally that Belgium and Spain have also taken in a number of refugees.

Furthermore, it seems that after a brief lull the demand for visas is now rapidly increasing once again.⁶ Indeed, exit visas are granted without any problems by the German authorities provided that the applicant can prove that he has paid all of his taxes.

I saw it as my duty to inform Your Excellency about the extent of the departures of German citizens to France because this exodus is bound to create problems, even if it does not develop further for the time being. For now, at least, most emigrants certainly possess the necessary means to ensure their existence for a period of time. Many of them are even quite wealthy. As for their occupations, these people of course belong to the intellectual elite, with many physicians and lawyers among them. For this reason alone we could be facing some difficult questions relating to professional competition.⁷ We

⁶ The most recent reason for the increase in the number of German refugees in France was the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (7 April 1933), which resulted in the dismissal of a large number of Jewish or politically undesirable civil servants and public sector employees: see PMJ 1/29.

⁷ In the period that followed, the French government passed various legal regulations restricting access to certain professions for Jewish immigrants: see Introduction, p. 24.

must also anticipate that a certain number of Jews employed in less important positions or with more limited financial resources will want to settle in our country. The permanent settlement of carefully selected refugees, most of whom will want to become French citizens in the longer term, may be advantageous to us; however, it is surely advisable to put in place a thorough selection process for less well-to-do Jewish people, most of whom only moved to Germany very recently. The ministry will surely consider it appropriate to review this issue and to give me instructions that I can pass on to our consuls. Such instructions will certainly be needed if the emigration caused by antisemitic agitation persists at the present rate.

DOC. 229

***L'Univers israélite*, 3 February 1939: article marking the 150th anniversary of the French Revolution with a look back at the history of the Jews in France¹**

One Hundred and Fifty Years

On the occasion of the opening of parliament in 1939, President Herriot² invited all French nationals to celebrate the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution.

In his magnificent speech, from which we have reproduced an essential passage relating to freedom of conscience, the President of the Chamber of Deputies emphasized that in the current circumstances – where some are seeking to set racist concepts of purity and pedigree against the ideal of the rights of men – the planned ceremony will be much more than a mere formality; it will be an act of faith in the immortal French nation's noblest traditions.

Every Frenchman can and should subscribe to this idea now. Faced with an ideology that, alas, becomes more dangerous every day, which persecutes both religion and the free thought of philosophers, all those who wish to defend the sacred heritage of humanity should unite without fear. During a recent lecture did not Cardinal Verdier³ utter the following words, which refer to exactly this?

In light of current events France must recognize that its most essential interests, its eternal mission, compel it to create together with the Church – and forgive me this word – a new '*axis*' to defend the spiritual values that France cherishes and that constitute its best heritage. And the bewildered world looks upon this evocative spectacle with interest, with the great Roman Pontiff declaring to everyone that amidst the bitterness with which so many nations shower him, the news which consoles him

1 'Cent cinquante ans', *L'Univers israélite: Journal des Principes conservateurs du Judaïsme*, no. 20, 3 Feb. 1939, p. 1. This document has been translated from French. The weekly *L'Univers israélite* was founded in 1844 and published until 1940.

2 Édouard Herriot (1872–1957), politician; advocated the release of Alfred Dreyfus during the Dreyfus affair; mayor of Lyons, 1905–1940 and 1945–1957; prime minister of France, 1924/25, 19 to 21 July 1926 and June to December 1932; president of the Chamber of Deputies, 1925/26 and 1936–1940; placed under house arrest in 1942; interned in Germany in 1944; president of the French National Assembly, 1947–1954.

3 Jean Verdier (1864–1940), priest; archbishop of Paris and cardinal from 1929.

comes above all from France! That is a fact. It is real and plain for everyone to see. And for us it is so full of promise!⁴

We, the French Israelites, who owe a veritable second birth to the generosity of the lawmakers of the Revolution,⁵ consider it our duty to celebrate this anniversary out of gratitude and love for our fatherland.

What was life like for Jews in France and in the world on the eve of the Revolution, in 'this age of enlightenment and tolerance'? It was precarious and miserable: both the right of abode and the right to own property were restricted. There was strict police surveillance. It was impossible for Jews to possess land or real estate unless as part of a commercial transaction. Most of the professions controlled by the guilds were closed to Jews. The need to make a living forced them to be merchants, and often merchants of the most sordid kind – moneylenders, since money was the sole asset that Jews could possess. This asset was certainly much coveted, both by farmers overburdened by taxes who did not hesitate to borrow but would suffer in repaying it, and by the state, which saw in all this wealth, so easy to confiscate, hidden reserves of money it could acquire when needed without too great a cost.

A despised group, who find some dignity and a reason to live in the observance of their religious traditions and in their own laws. Who draw inspiration from faith and the memory of their wise men and their martyrs. The life that these people lead sets them apart from everyone else living in the same country and creates barriers and chains of a material and moral nature.

This was the Jewish problem on the eve of the Revolution, a problem which can still be found in the countries where the Jews have not yet been granted full citizenship and the right to live like other people.

To quote Sieyès:⁶ 'Jews are human beings. They must therefore be regarded as all other human beings are regarded.' Such is the doctrine of the great revolutionaries, who opened the gates of the ghettos. They gave the Jews, like all other citizens established in France, the chance to contribute to the greatness of the commonwealth, of the common fatherland, with the same rights and duties.

A splendid date and a splendid example. And a splendid experience as well.

We recently read a book written in 1845, about sixty years after the Revolution, by a writer who was defending himself against charges of antisemitism.⁷ This is not a pleasant book. It attempts to show that, despite the generosity of the revolutionaries, the Jews of Alsace remained attached to their traditions and secular customs. They continued to live apart from the French community and to incur the hatred of their compatriots be-

4 Cardinal Verdier's lecture, delivered on 20 Jan. 1939 at the Théâtre Marigny in Paris and titled 'Ce qu'il faut à l'humanité à l'heure actuelle' (What Humanity Needs at Present) was published in *La Documentation catholique* 30 (1939), columns 167–174.

5 On 28 Jan. 1790 Jews in France were granted civil rights. The remaining special regulations against Jews were revoked on 27 Sept. 1791 by a decree of the National Constituent Assembly.

6 Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, known as Abbé Sieyès (1748–1836), priest; deputy of the Third Estate at the Estates General Assembly from 1789; author of the pamphlet *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?* (What is the Third Estate?).

7 Alphonse Toussenel, *Les Juifs, rois de l'époque: Histoire de la féodalité financière* (Paris, 1845).

cause they pursued particularly detested money-related occupations and compelled the peasants to take out crippling loans with them.

What do we see today after one hundred and fifty years of civic liberty in precisely these eastern départements? We declare openly: not one of the practices the Jews were reproached for exists any longer. There are no longer any usurers, no more small-scale merchants living, as used to be the case, at the expense of the peasants. Relationships between all citizens – whatever their heritage and beliefs – are no longer tarnished by irreconcilable interests. There is no longer a trade exercised exclusively by Christians, no occupation of which our co-religionists are not also part, and they have gained the appreciation and esteem of everyone.

There is no need to mention the restrictions established by Napoleon in 1808 by means of strict decrees.⁸ Today these conjure up only a bygone era.

France has among its Jewish community citizens who are truly aware of their duty towards their fatherland as well as their rights. Eight thousand five hundred French nationals of the Jewish faith sacrificed their lives during the 1914–1918 war, their tribute to France. Thousands upon thousands of Israelites of all classes in French society have honoured their country and still do so, both in the humblest of ways and as holders of the highest positions in society.

This success was not achieved overnight. We must thank the Frenchmen of the nineteenth century for having understood that the integration of the Jewish people into French society was a long-term undertaking, for while legal barriers can be abolished by law, secular customs and habits can change and evolve in new circumstances only with great patience, under the auspices of tolerance and friendship.

The promise given by the men of the Revolution was kept by all those who succeeded them: the Empire of Napoleon I, the reigns of Louis XVIII and of Charles X, the July Monarchy, the Second Empire, and the Third Republic. No government revoked the trust placed in the Israelites who have honoured the freedom that was so rightly granted to them.

It is at the end of those years that a great man, Henri Bergson,⁹ whom the Jews honour and whose universal renown reflects back onto his homeland, France, was able recently, when celebrating the memory of his Christian compatriot Charles Péguy,¹⁰ to call his country ‘beloved France’.

P. Geismar¹¹

8 On 17 March 1808 Napoleon I issued the *décret infâme* (Infamous Decree), which remained in force until 1817. It imposed economic restrictions predominantly on Jews from Alsace, who were also forbidden from resettling within France: see Introduction, p. 23.

9 Henri Bergson (1859–1941), philosopher; professor in Paris from 1900; admitted to the Académie française and became an Officer of the Legion of Honour in 1914; awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1927; in 1940 he renounced all the honours he had received in response to the Vichy government’s anti-Jewish policy.

10 Charles Péguy (1873–1914), author; member of the French Socialist Party, 1895–1899; editor of the independent literary journal *Cahiers de la quinzaine* from 1900; killed in the First World War.

11 Pierre Geismar was a member of the Central Consistory and president of the Union des sociétés israélites de secours mutuels, a union of Jewish welfare organizations.

DOC. 230

New York Times, 28 November 1939: letter to the editor regarding the situation for foreign refugees in France¹

German Exiles Interned. Plight of Those in France Is Reported As Unhappy.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I was amazed to read the article of your correspondent Lansing Warren² in your edition of Nov. 26 under the heading 'France is host to exiles from land she is fighting.'³

I have lived in France for the last five years and came back quite recently. Although I am a great admirer of that country, I am compelled to say that the correct state of affairs, as far as German exiles are concerned, has escaped your correspondent's notice.

When he says that 'persons of German origin, no matter to what group they claim to belong, are now under investigation', he certainly puts the matter in a euphemistic way. The fact is that all persons of German origin are at present held in French concentration camps.⁴

On Sept. 5 the government order was issued that all persons of German origin were to present themselves in the stadium of Colombes, thirty minutes from Paris, to be held there for 48 hours. They actually remained for ten days, sleeping in the open, and were finally driven off to different parts of the country. There are about sixty camps.⁵

Examination Delayed

The interned are waiting for their cases to be examined, but so far very little has been done in that respect. Many among the interned had lived in France for several years. They had been given refugee passports,⁶ documents which place them under the protection of the French Government, and their dossiers had been thoroughly examined before these passports were granted. Consequently there is little point in saying that the French Government did not know anything about the status of these people.

When stating that a number of organizations with Communist affiliations had been dissolved,⁷ your correspondent omitted to mention that all members of such organizations, without exception, are detained in the Santé prison.⁸

As regards facilities for obtaining French citizenship, I am sorry to disagree with your correspondent's views. I know of a single case where such facilities were afforded, that

1 *New York Times*, 3 Dec. 1939, p. 9.

2 Lansing Warren (1894–1987), journalist; worked for the European edition of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1922; worked at the Paris office of the *New York Times* from 1926; arrested by the German occupation authorities in Nov. 1942; interned in Lourdes and Baden-Baden until March 1944; worked as a correspondent in Paris again after 1945.

3 'France is Host to Exiles from Land She Is Fighting', *New York Times*, 26 Nov. 1939, p. 5.

4 In his article Warren had reported that all known National Socialists had been interned in France on 5 Sept. 1939, but he did not mention the internment of Jewish and political refugees.

5 In Dec. 1939 between 15,000 and 18,000 refugees from Germany and Austria were interned in these camps.

6 The reference is to the so-called Nansen passports, which were travel documents for stateless refugees first issued in 1922. They were named after Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930), who had supported stateless persons in his work as the League of Nations high commissioner for refugees.

of conductor Bruno Walter.⁹ On the other hand, I happen to know of innumerable cases of people who for many years have made every imaginable effort to become naturalized, without success – people whose children were born in France, people who had married French women, people who offered their services in the French Army. French citizenship is one of the most difficult to obtain.

Edith Peters. New York. Nov. 28. 1939.

DOC. 231

***Revue OSE*, January 1940: article on the care of Jewish children evacuated from Paris by the Œuvre de secours aux enfants (OSE)¹**

Visiting the three hundred children evacuated from Paris through the efforts of the OSE
By J. Chomsky

I

Three hundred Jewish children from Paris have been sent to central France and housed in the Creuse département.² The OSE undertook their evacuation and has also assumed responsibility for their care throughout the war. The OSE is also looking after another group of three hundred children in its children's homes in Montmorency³ near Paris. Right from the beginning of the war, the fate of the hundreds of Jewish children who could not be evacuated with the French children had been a serious concern.⁴ With the assistance of the *Joint [Distribution Committee]*, the OSE embarked upon the immense task of transporting thousands of Jewish children to safe havens and looking after them for the duration of the war. The OSE is experienced in this field. During the last war its activities in helping the Jewish people were very successful and it did its utmost to relieve their misery. Similarly, this time here in France and with the support of the *American Joint [Distribution Committee]*, the OSE has initiated a project which is already showing positive outcomes. It is true that we have not yet achieved everything we wanted to, but war causes particular difficulties that complicate even the simplest undertaking; in view

7 On 26 Sept. 1939 the government ordered the dissolution of the French Communist Party (PCF) as well as all the communist organizations: *Journal officiel*, 27 Sept. 1939, p. 11770.

8 Established in 1867, the de la Santé prison is located in the 14th arrondissement in Paris.

9 Bruno Walter (1876–1962), conductor; musical director at the Städtische Oper in Berlin, 1925–1929; conductor of the Gewandhausorchester in Leipzig, 1929–1933; emigrated to Austria in 1933; fled to France in 1938; emigrated to the USA in 1939.

1 J. Chomsky, 'Chez les trois cent enfants de Paris évacués par les soins de l'Union OSE', *Revue OSE*, no. 15, Jan. 1940, pp. 21–24. This document has been translated from French. The monthly journal *Revue OSE, Organ mensuel de l'Union des sociétés pour la protection de la santé des populations juives* (OSE Review, Monthly Journal of the Union of the Associations for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population), was established in 1926 and was published until 1940.

2 In 1939 the OSE set up three children's homes for the evacuated children in the Creuse département.

3 The children's home La Petite Colonie in Montmorency, in the Val d'Oise département, was established in 1939 and evacuated in June 1940.

4 From Sept. 1939 French children, together with their teachers, were evacuated from potential war zones, including the capital, to the interior of the country. Non-French children were not included in these measures.

of these circumstances the achievements accomplished so far show that all the projects will soon come to a successful conclusion.

The OSE recently sent a commission led by the president of the French section, *Dr E. Minkowski*,⁵ to the children's homes in the Creuse département. For nearly a week the commission lived alongside the three hundred Jewish children from Paris. It was not one of those carefully planned 'official' visits. On the contrary: the commission tried to find everything that was not 'perfect' with a view to improving the lives of the children separated from their families; children whose fathers are for the most part in the barracks or trenches while their mothers, left alone, are now completely reliant upon themselves.

The first house we visited was the one in Chaumont.⁶ This is a chateau perched at 700 metres. To reach it we had to follow narrow winding paths through a dense forest of pine trees. The air there is so pure that it is a pleasure to breathe it in. The chateau is surrounded by tall trees. In the spring and summer this spot would be paradise. Our car slowly approaches the large, well-lit house and suddenly we hear laughter and cries of joy. Some children who are playing and running around stop when they notice us. Health and joy light up all these small, happy, and refreshed faces with their full rosy cheeks. How marvellous it is to see in the depths of winter these bright colours gleaming on these little faces which, as they left Paris a month or two ago, looked so pale and tired. There we are, surrounded by a crowd of lovely children. We can hardly keep them off us, and we do not really wish to. All worries are forgotten in this kingdom of children, where the sun shines and spreads a soft warmth reminiscent of spring. The air is pure, light, and invigorating.

We visit the house. Everything is bright, clean, and new. The walls have just been freshly painted. This house had not been inhabited for twenty years. Everything has been rebuilt and redecorated, and the abandoned chateau has been transformed into a modern children's home, with spacious, bright, and well-ventilated dormitories. The children organize games and competitions. A journal produced by the children themselves hangs on the wall. It also contains a humorous article. The director of this house⁷ is a qualified educationalist. She has managed to create a genuine large family of children here. None of this has been easy. The war poses a number of problems which do not exist in peacetime. It is hard to find workmen, building materials, and transport vehicles. In order to prepare the grounds and to allow the children to play outside without getting stuck in the mud, a large lorry therefore had to be found to carry up what was needed to the chateau. And most lorries had been requisitioned. A great number of obstacles also had to be overcome in order to install heating and running water. It is hard to imagine how much water is needed to ensure that a hundred children are always clean and well groomed. An abandoned old mansion in a remote corner of central France is not like a house in Paris, where to get running water one simply turns on a tap. Yet, gradually everything was sorted out and they have created here a magnificent children's

5 Eugène Minkowski (1885–1972), physician and psychiatrist; emigrated from Russia to France in 1915; president of the executive committee of the OSE in France from 1933; head of the OSE committee in the occupied zone from the summer of 1940; arrested on 23 Aug. 1943 and released following the intervention of physicians and academics.

6 Château de Chaumont is located near the village of Mainsat in the Creuse département.

7 Lotte Schwarz.

home which houses nearly one hundred Jewish children from Paris. They are happy, they eat well, they play, and they are given a good education.

II

Another group of nearly one hundred Jewish children from Paris has been put up in the village of Chabannes. This children's home is called the 'Château de Chabannes'.⁸ It is a delightful house, clean, bright, and cheerful, and is run by an energetic young French educationalist,⁹ who is full of enthusiasm and lives alongside the children. This chateau was also empty and abandoned before the arrival of all these children, who fill it with their laughter and singing. The most advanced and modern educational methods are followed here. The teachers, who are very dedicated, devote themselves to their task with love, as is the case in the other children's homes. The director¹⁰ had arranged a lovely evening for the Jewish children to celebrate Hanukkah.¹¹ Incidentally, a lovely little non-Jewish boy, a Protestant, is living among these Jewish children, and the others organized a Christmas party as a treat for him. We happened to arrive just as this party was under way, and we were laden with toys and sweets.

It was delightful. Two mothers who had come to visit their children wept with joy. The children sang a lot and they went on to stage an improvised concert where each showed what they could do. A very pretty little Jewish girl who is already a well-known actress in France sang several songs. Another little girl – a pretty little blonde girl – sang Jewish songs in her French accent. A little boy began to cry while singing because he had forgotten how the song went. One child, whose father, a German refugee, is in a concentration camp, played the accordion and the little girls danced to the music. Then the older children gave out fruit and cake to the younger ones while helping themselves to some as well. The children did not want to distribute the toys among themselves before they broke up; instead they decided to wait until the next day and thereby prolong the party ...

We inspected the entire house with its big, spacious rooms and its two large terraces; we admired the splendid view, the huge fields, and the beautiful gardens, which seem to be waiting for spring to arrive in order to come alive again. This house is reminiscent of a children's republic. Efforts are made to teach horticulture to the older children, while the younger ones rear rabbits with indescribable enthusiasm. A swimming pool is currently being put in, where the children will be able to bathe safely next summer. A nursery school is being set up on a glassed-in veranda. Many children already go to school, while the younger ones learn at the house.

It is warm in the house. The walls are decorated with pictures painted by the children. Everything is clean and shiny. The children are truly at home here.

We spent three days in the third children's colony operated by the OSE, at Château Masgellier.¹² Situated on a hill and surrounded by a huge garden, this sixteenth-century

⁸ The Château de Chabannes is located near the village of Fursac in the Creuse département.

⁹ Renée Paillassou.

¹⁰ Félix Chevrier.

¹¹ Hebrew for 'consecration' or 'inauguration'; also known as the Festival of Lights. Eight-day Jewish festival commemorating the victory of the Maccabees over the Seleucids (167–160 BCE). The festival begins on the 25th day of the Jewish month Kislev (November/December).

¹² Correctly: Masgellier. The children's home near the village of Grand-Bourg in the Creuse département was run by Hélène and Jacques Bloch.

chateau is the most beautiful of the three but also the hardest to rebuild and fit out. It will soon have been converted into a children's paradise. Because it is impossible to find houses in the countryside that are ready to accommodate a large number of children, such houses must first be created, so to speak. Here the walls are one and a half metres thick in places and one has to drill through them in order to install central heating. At present two teams of workmen are working non-stop on the inside and the outside of the house and it is becoming noticeably more beautiful and more comfortable. Neighbours come and admire the work, as if watching a miracle unfurl. For the time being the children are staying in a few rooms that already have heating, but soon the whole chateau will be at their disposal. It will then be a model children's home.

The director, who is a physician, and her colleagues currently have quite a hard life, but they think only of the children and do everything so that the children do not suffer a lack of comfort while the works are being completed. Moreover, the hardest work has already been done and the house will soon be ready. At the beginning of the war it was necessary to act quickly because it was uncertain what the future would bring in Paris, and every alarm suggested it was time to escape. People were in a hurry to get the children away and were then confronted with great difficulties, but these have mostly been overcome now. This children's home will soon be extraordinarily beautiful, and it can continue to be used even after the war. For the time being the children have not noticed anything, for the staff indefatigably invest all their energy in their work. Dedicated and spurred on by love for the children, they never tire. The president of the French section of the OSE, Dr Minkowski, expressed all his admiration and all his gratitude to them. The children are doing very well, but we cannot yet give them all that we would wish, all that we will be able to give them before long.

They are well fed, they live in well-heated rooms, and a representative from the Ministry of Health, visiting this chateau, said in this regard: 'We should wish for all evacuated French children to be living in such good conditions.'

III

The commission appointed by the OSE spent nearly a week in the children's evacuation camps in the Creuse département and closely inspected the smallest details, in order to improve everything that should be improved. The creation and administration of children's evacuation camps is, indeed, quite a difficult and delicate task, especially in war-time. One of the most serious problems is that of training. A number of children have already completed school and now must be taught a trade; given that there is no vocational school in the area, what is to be done so that these thirteen- and fourteen-year-old children are not left without a profession? Local tradespeople have been approached, but the parents' consent must first be obtained before the children can be placed with them. Moreover, the parents are forced to choose from among the few trades being practised in neighbouring villages. In order to rectify this situation, the OSE plans to set up workshops at Château Masgellier, so that the children may work there.

The issue of school is equally serious and even more difficult. Even when there is a nearby school, there are only a limited number of places available, and the school cannot accommodate all the children. In some places the school is too far away from the children's home to allow the little ones to make the trek every day on foot, and in these times of war, it is unlikely that a bus or a lorry could be found, even if we were prepared

to spend a lot of money. So let's have a little patience and not forget that there is a war on, and that evacuation creates a series of complicated problems which we are only gradually learning to solve over time. All the children in the country can feel these problems, and all the parents, whether French or Jewish, suffer from them. We cannot solve everything all at once.

But we are doing everything we can in order to make the lives of the evacuated children better and easier. We are also trying to find a way of letting the parents see their children in the countryside from time to time, because both the children and the parents want this. A woman whose husband has been called up to fight and whose child has been evacuated must feel terribly lonely and must worry all the time. She could see her little one, if only the trip were not so expensive. What is to be done? This is not the time to organize low-cost trips up and down the country, but we will do everything to make it easier for the parents to undertake these much-desired trips.

One of the upsides of this cruel war is that the children from the overcrowded Parisian neighbourhoods have, for some time, left their hovels and dark, narrow little streets to live in healthy conditions where they can benefit from the fresh air of the countryside, as well as an appropriate moral and physical education.

DOC. 232

On 17 August 1940 the German ambassador in Paris proposes anti-Jewish measures to the military administration in France¹

Note by the Administration Department of the Chief of the Military Administration in France's Administrative Staff (Dr/B/H), p.p. Best,² dated 19 August 1940³

Re: the handling of Jews in the occupied territory

1. Recorded for Group 1.
2. Memorandum:

Ambassador Abetz,⁴ in a meeting on 17 August 1940, suggested the military administration in France should

¹ AN, AJ40, vol. 548, fol. 2. Originally published in Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz: 'Die Endlösung der Judenfrage' in Frankreich* trans. Ahlrich Meyer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007 [French edn, 2001]), p. 375. This document has been translated from German.

² Dr Werner Best (1903–1989), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1931; state police commissioner in Hesse, 1933; head of the SD's organizational department, 1933–1934; deputy chief of the Prussian Gestapo Central Office (Gestapa), 1935–1939; head of Department I at the Reich Security Main Office, 1939–1940; involved in the planning of the first Einsatzgruppen; chief of the military commander in France's administrative staff, 1940–1942; Reich plenipotentiary in Denmark, 1942–1945; sentenced to death in Copenhagen in 1948; sentence commuted to five years' imprisonment, amnestied and released in 1951; subsequently legal advisor to the Stinnes corporation in Mülheim a.d. Ruhr.

³ The document bears undated notes added by hand: 'Urgent!' and 'obsolete!'

⁴ Otto Abetz (1903–1958), art teacher; joined the SS in 1935 and the NSDAP in 1937; worked at the Bureau Ribbentrop, Oct. 1934–April 1940; at the Reich Foreign Office, 1940–1945; Reich Foreign Office representative in Paris and Sigmaringen, June 1940 – Dec. 1944; appointed ambassador on 15 August 1940; sentenced to twenty years of hard labour by a French military tribunal on 22 July 1949; pardoned in 1954.

- a) order with immediate effect that no more Jews will be allowed to enter the occupied territory;
 - b) prepare for the removal of all Jews from the occupied territory;
 - c) determine whether Jewish property in the occupied territory can be expropriated.
3. To be sent to Group 1 to examine the issues arising from the suggestions made by Ambassador Abetz, with the participation of Groups 2 and 8.⁵

DOC. 233

On 20 August 1940 the German ambassador in Paris asks the Reich Foreign Minister to consent to the introduction of anti-Jewish measures in France¹

Wire report no. 413 (marked 'confidential') from the German Embassy in Paris, signed Abetz, to Reich Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop² (received on 20 August 1940, 8.10 p.m.), dated 20 August 1940

I request approval of immediate antisemitic measures that can serve as a basis for the subsequent removal of Jews from unoccupied France as well.³

- 1) Prohibition of Jewish return migration across the demarcation line⁴ into occupied France
- 2) Compulsory registration of Jews resident in the occupied territory
- 3) Visible identification of Jewish shops in occupied France
- 4) Appointment of trustees for Jewish shops, enterprises, stock, and department stores whose owners have fled. The stated measures can be justified as in the interest of the safety of the German occupying power and can be carried out by French authorities.⁵

⁵ Group 1 of the Administration Department (General and Internal Administration) submitted a response a few days later: see Doc. 236. Groups 2 (Police) and 8 (Judiciary) followed suit on 27 and 26 August 1940 respectively, expressing agreement with Group 1 in principle: AN, AJ40, vol. 548, fols. 7–10. On the implementation of the anti-Jewish measures planned by the military administration and the embassy, see Doc. 238.

¹ PA AA, R 29587, fol. 228. Originally published in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918–1945*, series D: 1937–1945, vol. 10, no. 368. Also published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 375. This document has been translated from German.

² Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893–1946), salesman; joined the NSDAP in 1932 and the SS in 1933; foreign policy advisor to Hitler (Bureau Ribbentrop) from 1934; ambassador to Britain, August 1936 – Feb. 1938; Reich foreign minister, Feb. 1938 – May 1945; sentenced to death on 1 Oct. 1946 at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg and executed.

³ On 17 August 1940 Abetz had already submitted to the military administration proposals for anti-Jewish measures by the German occupiers: see Doc. 232.

⁴ After the armistice took effect the demarcation line separated Northern France and the Atlantic coast of France, which were occupied by German troops, from the unoccupied southern part of the country.

⁵ The Reich Foreign Office replied that Abetz's proposals were judged favourably there, but that the matter would be 'decided in a higher place': telex from Sonnleithner to Abetz, 21 August 1940, PA AA, R 29587, fol. 227.

DOC. 234

On 22 August 1940 the sub-prefect of Aix-en-Provence reports on clashes between German Jews and French soldiers in Les Milles internment camp¹

Letter from the sub-prefect of Aix-en-Provence, Henry Soum,² to the prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône département, Frédéric Surleau³ (received on 23 August 1940), dated 22 August 1940⁴

Further to my earlier reports, I have the honour of reporting new incidents that have occurred in the township of Les Milles (Aix commune) between French soldiers and German subjects who are still interned in the camp at this locality.

Les Milles concentration camp, which is wholly under the control of the military administration, currently numbers roughly 1,000 German subjects, most of whom are Jews.⁵ It has been some time since General *Arlabosse*,⁶ the military commander of the département, granted permission for these prisoners to leave the camp between 6.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m. I should add that the staff responsible for the custody of these foreigners has been reduced to the bare minimum.

In addition, the hamlet of Les Milles has been selected as an assembly point for demobilized French soldiers. Those who are about to leave number roughly 1,500. Such proximity can obviously create frequent incidents.

On 21 August, in particular, following an argument, a brawl nearly broke out in the square in Les Milles. A little later, at around 10.45 p.m., a fight broke out between French soldiers and German prisoners, in which blows were exchanged.

It is highly desirable that the situation of the German Israelite prisoners be resolved as quickly as possible. According to the camp commandant, at the last camp census, which was carried out by a German military commission,⁷ the latter apparently told this

1 Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseilles, 76 W 105. This document has been translated from French.

2 Henry Soum (1899–1983), lawyer; sub-prefect of Aix-en-Provence, 1936–1942; deputy prefect of the Côte d’Or département, 1942–1943; prefect of Doubs, 1943–1945; secretary general of the general government of Algeria, 1950; prefect of the Alpes-Maritimes département, 1951–1953; head of the government of the Principality of Monaco, 1953–1958.

3 Frédéric Surleau (1884–1972), engineer; worked in the government department overseeing bridge-building and road construction, 1919–1937; director general of the French National Railway Company (SNCF), 1937–1939; special administrator of the City of Marseilles, 1939–1940; prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône département, 1940–1941; again oversaw government bridge-building and road construction projects, 1941–1944; member of the French Council of State, 1944–1954.

4 Handwritten note in the original, probably referring to the registrar’s office: ‘Camps Allemands Les Milles’ (German camps Les Milles).

5 Les Milles was an internment camp near Aix-en-Provence, set up in September 1939. By the summer of 1940, the number of prisoners had risen to over 3,000.

6 Paul-Hippolyte Arlabosse (1886–1970), professional soldier; commander of the 11th Infantry Division, 1937–1940; military commander of the Bouches-du-Rhône département, 1–10 July 1940; deputy commander of the French troops in the mandate of Syria and Lebanon, July 1940–Nov. 1941; division commander in Limoges and elsewhere, Nov. 1941–Dec. 1942; subsequently demobilized.

7 On 1 Aug. 1940 a commission headed by Legation Counsellor Dr Ernst Kundt visited Les Milles camp in order to secure the release of German inmates loyal to the Nazi regime from there – as from other French camps in the unoccupied zone – and also to arrange for the extradition of certain opponents of National Socialism.

category of prisoners that their case was of no interest to it and that it would be dealt with by the French government.

In terms of policing and maintaining public order in Les Milles, the Aix police, which has jurisdiction, does not have sufficient staff to be available at all times.

The military administration has only a few armed men at its disposal to ensure surveillance within the camp, and up until now the gendarmerie, with no permanent base, has only been able to carry out night- and daytime patrols. The permanent guards of the gendarmerie established at Luynes near Aix have become superfluous following the closure of another demobilization centre in this area. Upon my intervention, the captain of the gendarmerie there made it known that he is prepared to establish a permanent base (with one brigade chief and three gendarmes) in the town of Les Milles with immediate effect.

In any case, it would perhaps be desirable if, until the liquidation of Les Milles concentration camp, the military administration was to consider the possibility of gathering the troops at a different location for demobilization proceedings.

The Sub-Prefecture of Aix

DOC. 235

On 22 August 1940 General de Gaulle assures the Jewish World Congress that the anti-Jewish regulations will be repealed after the liberation of France¹

Letter from General de Gaulle,² general staff, London, to Albert Cohen,³ political advisor to the Jewish World Congress, 612 Endsleigh Court, Upper Woburn Place, WC1,⁴ dated 22 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated the 20th of this month, and am pleased to confirm that I too for my part was delighted to have had the opportunity to speak with you during your visit.⁵

I would also like to take this opportunity to convey once again the sympathy that I feel for the Jewish communities subjected to oppression by totalitarian regimes.

It is indeed my profound conviction that once France has regained its liberty, thereby ensuring the free rein of its traditional democratic institutions, all French citizens – whatever their religion – must enjoy true equality of rights.

1 AN, AJ40, vol. 548, fols. 2–6. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 375–377. This document has been translated from German.

2 Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970), soldier and politician; general secretary of the French National Defence Council, 1932–1936; state secretary for national defence, June 1940; exiled in London, 1940–1944; commander-in-chief of the Free French Forces; head of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, June 1944–Jan. 1946; prime minister of France, 1958–1959; president of France, 1959–1969.

3 Albert Cohen (1895–1981), writer; employed at the International Labour Organization (ILO) in Geneva, 1926–1932; representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London, 1940–1946; worked at the UN on refugee issues, 1947–1954.

4 The address is in the postcode district of West Central 1 in London.

5 De Gaulle and Cohen met on 9 Aug. 1940 in London.

On the day of victory, in which I firmly believe, a liberated France cannot fail to take measures to redress the wrongs committed against the communities that were victims of Hitler's domination, including the Jewish communities, who, in the countries presently under German domination, are regrettably subjected to intolerance and persecution.

Since, as you mentioned to me, the Reverend M. L. Perlzweig⁶ will soon be travelling to the United States, I think that he could explore this opportunity to make contact with my representative there: Mr Jacques de Sieyès,⁷ 730 Fifth Avenue, New York City. I believe that such contact cannot fail to prove itself fruitful for the, as I hope, very near future.

Yours faithfully,

DOC. 236

On 22 August 1940 the German military administration emphasizes the necessity of measures against Jews in the occupied zone of France¹

Note by the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France's Administrative Staff, signed Kriegsverwaltungsrat Mahnke,² dated 22 August 1940³

Re: the handling of Jews in the occupied territory

1. Record for Group 1

2. Note: A) *Basics*

In the guidelines for the military administration – O.K.H.- Gen. St. d. H. / Gen. Qu.⁴ no. 800/40 – guaranteeing the interests and safety of the Wehrmacht is given as the principal task of the military administration. The guiding principle for all of the military administration's activities is that only those measures which are necessary to attain the military objective of occupying the territory are to be undertaken. However, it is not the military administration's business to intervene in order to correct the domestic political situation in France. For all administrative measures, the military administration should as a rule make use of the French authorities. These authorities are to be provided with the requisite instructions. The execution is to be left to them and merely supervised. Only if this does not produce the desired result should immediate intervention occur. Any action that could suggest a plan for annexation is to be avoided. Because an intended

6 Maurice Louis Perlzweig (1895–1985), rabbi; founding member of the Jewish World Congress, 1936; chairman of its British section, 1936–1942; department head at its headquarters in New York, 1942–1947.

7 Jacques Edouard de Sieyès (1891–1949), entrepreneur; head of the foreign branch of the Patou perfume company in New York; representative of Free France in the USA from July 1940.

1 AN, AJ40, vol. 548, fols. 2–6. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 375–377. This document has been translated from German.

2 Ludwig Mahnke (1910–1943), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1937; worked in the Gleiwitz, Aurich, and Oberwart/Burgenland district and regional administrations, later at the Oberlandrat's office in Brünn (an administrative and supervisory authority); at the Office of the Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia, 1936–1940; at the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France, June 1940–June 1941; back in Brünn, 1941–1942; in Náchod (Protectorate) from June 1942; from Nov. 1942 in North Africa, where he was killed in action.

3 The original contains handwritten corrections.

4 Army High Command, Army General Staff, Quartermaster General.

annexation can be inferred if the race question is brought up, measures in this area are to be refrained from.

The suggestions made by Ambassador Abetz⁵ conflict with the instructions contained in the guidelines. Implementing these suggestions would mean abandoning the course pursued thus far.

Such a departure is justified and necessary if the situation has changed in the meantime, i.e. if one concludes on the basis of experiences thus far that the interests of the German Wehrmacht will be endangered if Jews continue to be tolerated in the occupied territory.

In political terms, there is a danger that the Jews, as a result of their anti-German attitude and their various connections with the unoccupied part of France and with other countries, will actively aid and abet anti-German espionage or anti-German machinations, or will at least support such intrigues. Moreover, the presence of Jews also leads to disturbances of public order, as the demonstration in Paris on 20 August 1940 proves.⁶

In economic terms, one must note that many enterprises whose partial integration into the German economic apparatus is essential to Germany's conduct of economic warfare are in Jewish hands. It will be necessary to eliminate the Jewish proprietors because if they remain in their positions of economic power, Germany's economic war effort will be under threat.

German measures against Jews in France as such are hardly likely to have foreign policy repercussions, because they represent nothing new in German policy.

However, it must be taken into account that the implementation of measures by the German military administration against the Jews in a certain region might suggest that Germany intends to keep this region permanently.

Measures that might indicate a planned annexation, however, must be eschewed, in accordance with the instructions given in the guidelines for the military administration.

Measures against the Jews in the occupied territories must therefore be taken in such a way as to avoid the conclusion that the German military administration is preparing for an annexation of these territories because it is implementing the solution to the Jewish problem along the same lines as in the Reich. This conclusion will most easily be averted by refraining from general measures against the Jews as a whole. In addition, according to the aforementioned provisions in the guidelines for the military administration, the implementation of such measures would have to be left to the French authorities, which would call into question the success of the measures. For these reasons, we must limit ourselves to measures against individual Jews where they can be justified by the aforementioned political or economic reasons. Over time, these individual measures can become consolidated to such a degree that to all intents and purposes they are tantamount to general measures.

Measures against the Jews seem especially necessary in areas that are of particular interest to German policy. These are firstly the regions in which a particularly strong German influence must be established (such as the Channel coast including Brittany,

⁵ See Doc. 232.

⁶ In August 1940 there were several incidents of antisemitic rioting in Paris. On 20/21 August 1940 supporters of right-wing extremist groups smashed the windows of Jewish shops on the Champs-Élysées.

the Lille basin, and Burgundy). The next regions to be considered are those where there are burgeoning autonomist or separatist tendencies, so as to avoid interference with these tendencies through intervention by the Jews. In the regions where the occupation will later come to an end, there is only limited German interest in solving the Jewish question, because it is debatable whether the German measures will continue to have an effect once the occupation is at an end. However, the issue of whether flashpoints for tendencies hostile to the Greater German Reich remain in areas adjacent to the Reich is not irrelevant. These tendencies must be rendered harmless wherever possible, at least in the regions that are currently under German control, i.e. in the occupied heartland of France.

Nevertheless, the anti-Jewish measures would remain piecemeal unless the same measures are taken in the unoccupied French territory. That can happen only through the French government. However, to exert corresponding pressure on the French government with the purpose of inducing it to take these measures would not be feasible, and would hardly have the desired result. Therefore, the only thing left is to trust in the propagandistic effects of the German measures. People will now be receptive to these effects in France, because, after the collapse,⁷ they are seeking reasons for it and will observe that many important positions in the government were in the hands of the Jews. Other than that, German policy will have to grant support chiefly to parties and movements among the French people that have an antisemitic outlook. In so doing, however, it must not abandon the required reserve, so as to avoid entering into any unnecessary political commitments.

B. Details

The suggestion that with immediate effect no more Jews be allowed into the occupied territory can be easily implemented. All that is needed is a directive for the permit issuing authorities that instructs them to reject applications by Jews for permits to cross the demarcation line. As a result of this directive, the permit issuing authorities will in future have to verify the descent of the applicants. That will mean a certain amount of extra work for the permit issuing authorities, but this will be manageable. Although many applicants will find it difficult to prove non-Jewish descent, the German side does not need to be overly concerned about this. Many French people who have travelled abroad are already in possession of their proof of descent as some countries were previously already checking descent in the case of border crossings.

In order that the closure of the demarcation line for Jews should not appear to be a general measure against the Jews, it should first be ordered that the Jewish descent of the applicant may not be cited as a reason for denying the application for a permit. Second, in very special, exceptional cases – for example, if the integration of a Jewish enterprise into the German war economy is required urgently – Jews could be permitted to enter the occupied territory.

The removal of all Jews from the occupied territory in a single, coordinated operation does not appear feasible in light of the above. Instead, individual orders must be used. They would have to be carried out by the office of the German military administration,

⁷ The reference is to the defeat of the French army.

because their outcome would be called into question if implementation were to be left to the French authorities. Legally there are no objections to expulsions. The occupying troops in the Rhineland also undertook expulsions on a large scale.⁸

A general expropriation of Jewish assets has not been carried out in this form, even in the Reich. General measures must be avoided for the reasons stated above; instead, it will be the task of the German military administration to facilitate the transfer of Jewish assets into Aryan hands on an ad hoc basis. Here, too, the outcome of the requisite measures would be called into question if one were to leave the requisite measures to the French authorities. A transfer must be considered with particular urgency in the case of businesses and enterprises that are important to the German war economy.

As this represents a departure from a principle dictated in the guidelines, the consent of the O.K.H. – Gen Qu to the intended measures must be obtained.⁹

3. To Groups 2 and 8
with a request for comment.¹⁰

DOC. 237

On 1 September 1940 Gabriel Ramet sends his first postcard from Drancy camp to his family¹

Postcard from Gabriel Ramet,² Drancy concentration camp, stair 13, room 3, to his family, 128 rue Saint-Maur, Paris, 1 September 1940

Dear Maman, dear little sis,

I am writing the 1st official postcard to let you know that I am in good health, that spirits are good and that I am with Papa³ in the same bed we sleep together you can send one postcard every fortnight for me and another for Pappa be sure to put our first names on the package you can come yourselves and bring them you need to put my full address very legibly. Tobacco is forbidden but you can still keep it for when we come back, nor is food you need to send everything I need for washing, blankets one more if you can since it is starting to get cold. You can put all of that in my camping bag with

8 On the grounds of outstanding reparations payments owed by the German Reich, Belgian and French troops occupied the Ruhr region and the left bank of the Rhine from 11 to 16 Jan. 1923. They expelled around 150,000 Germans from the occupied territory. The troops were not withdrawn until August 1925.

9 On the implementation of the anti-Jewish measures planned by the military administration, see Doc. 238.

10 Groups 2 (Police) and 8 (Judiciary) submitted their comments on 26 or 27 August 1940, expressing agreement with Group 1 in principle: AN, AJ40, Bd. 548, Bl. 7–10.

1 CDJC, DCCCXCI-3. This document has been translated from French. Syntax as in the original.

2 Gabriel Ramet (1920–1995), aircraft engine fitter; arrested on 20 August 1941 and interned in Drancy camp, where he worked in the infirmary; deported to Auschwitz on 23 June 1943 and liberated from Bergen-Belsen camp at the end of April 1945; returned to France on 1 May 1945; married Hélène Fenster in Jan. 1946; subsequently lived in Vichy.

3 Léon Ramet was arrested and interned together with his son, but was released on grounds of ill health.

the address very visible you can send me Armoise packets for my throat⁴ and some black pills for going on the Water Closet.⁵

Lots of love to you all

DOC. 238

The Military Commander in France's First Regulation on Measures Against Jews, issued on 27 September 1940, contains provisions to control the Jews and prohibits the return of Jewish refugees to the occupied zone¹

Regulation on Measures Against Jews
27 September 1940²

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Führer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht, I decree the following:

§ 1

In the occupied territory of France, a Jew is defined as a person who is or has been a member of the Jewish faith or is descended from more than two Jewish grandparents. Grandparents are considered Jews if they belong to or have belonged to the Jewish faith.³

§ 2

Jews who have fled from the occupied territory are prohibited from returning to it.

§ 3

By 20 October 1940 all Jews must report to the sub-prefect of the arrondissement in which in which they are resident or have their usual abode in order to be entered in the Jew registry. Registration by the head of household suffices for the entire family.

§ 4

Businesses (that is, commercial enterprises of all kinds) which are owned or leased by Jews must be visibly identified as Jewish businesses in German and French by 31 October 1940.

§ 5

If required, the heads of the Israelite communities must hand over to the French authorities all documents that may be relevant for the implementation of this regulation.

⁴ The reference is to a type of throat lozenge.

⁵ In English in the original.

¹ *VOBl-F*, 30 Sept. 1940, pp. 92–93. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 381, and in English in Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Washington: Carnegie, 1944), p. 399. The regulation was published in German and in French. This document has been translated from German.

² The regulation was based on a proposal submitted by Otto Abetz, the German ambassador in Paris, on 17 August 1940, parts of which were subsequently modified by the military administration: see Docs. 232, 233, and 236.

³ Out of consideration for the semi-autonomous Vichy government, the military administration's definition of a Jew deviated slightly from the definition applicable in the Reich under the terms of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935: see PMJ 1/210. After France issued its Statute on Jews on 3 Oct. 1940 (Doc. 241), the German military administration's definition was adapted to largely conform to the provisions of Reich law: see Doc. 266.

§ 6

Contraventions of this regulation will be punished with imprisonment or a fine or both. In addition, seizure of assets can be imposed.

§ 7

This regulation comes into force upon its promulgation.

For the Commander-in-Chief of the Army⁴

The Chief of the Military Administration in France.⁵

DOC. 239

In a poem composed in September 1940, the writer Walter Mehring records his experiences in St Cyprien internment camp in the south of France¹

‘Odyssey out of Midnight VII (Camp St. Cyprien, September 1940)’, poem by Walter Mehring²

My dreams are hexed with ardent errantry;
But a hedge of cattle wire encircles me. ...
I cannot ride to you. Like stone I stand
Irresolutely on the loamy sand. ...
Only the clouds move on. A fervent wind
Heats up the blood impatient time has thinned.
I paused to search the heavens for your face,
And found myself imprisoned in this place.

Again I dream how in a thousand stalls,
Cattle herds are packed to bulge the walls;
A phantasy where beast and human clod
Alike are imaged with the face of God.
But caught within a witch’s trancing spell
And fenced in tautly by these barbs, no hell
Designed for the foulest deeps of infamy,
Has held such beasts and bestiality.

4 Walther von Brauchitsch.

5 Alfred Streccius (1874–1944), professional soldier; Reichswehr officer and later military advisor in China, 1919–1931; commander of German troops in the Netherlands, June 1940; subsequently chief of the administrative staff in the military administration in France until 25 Oct. 1940; commander of Wehrkreis XVII in Vienna, Oct. 1940–Aug. 1943.

1 Published in Walter Mehring, *No Road Back: Poems by Walter Mehring*, trans. S. A. De Witt (New York: Samuel Curl, 1944), pp. 55–61.

2 Walter Mehring (1896–1981), writer, translator, and illustrator; composed texts and chansons for the Berlin cabaret theatre; correspondent for *Die Weltbühne* in Berlin and Paris, 1921–1924; emigrated to France in 1933; journalist in Vienna, 1934–1938; interned in the Falaise camp in Normandy, Sept. 1939–Feb. 1940, then worked as a translator in Paris; fled to the south of France in June 1940; arrested in Perpignan; confined for two months in St Cyprien camp; emigrated to the USA in Feb. 1941; returned to Germany in 1953; spent his final years in Switzerland.

On every side they loll and prod and peer ...
Here they lurk, and there they smirk and leer ...
Their mouths are shaped to imbecilic grins;
Their faces pocked by the scourge of nameless sins. ...
Lemur masks on elongated necks,
Make up a curious play with tears and becks:
Demoniac pantomime ... until it seems
You too are part of all these depthless dreams.

I grope about within the clammy fold
Among the bodies strewn on hay and mold ...
The starved flesh fevers and exudes a sweat;
This human mist, acidulously wet,
Keeps rising and corrodes the very air. ...
A rat I graze in passing, halts to stare
At my intrusion, then resumes its round
For food, despite a sentry and his hound.

Within a sudden flash, I see them all
Again. Just where and how? Ah ... I recall
When these made up the play ... 'Society' ...
Bright patrons of the arts ... in library,
At concert hall, and writer's ball, they made
The world of progress strutting on parade.
Sad mockery! The savants might at least
Have known why man preferred to be a beast.

Driven out in pairs by push and blow,
We balk at slaving but like slaves we go ...
We fret and squabble over sticky stew;
We sleep with plagues; and those who will not brew
The rancid water, yield to thirst instead ...
And in the dawn these lie among the dead. ...
All this I see and know ... and it is vain
To drug the wrack and terror in my brain.

My visions range about a dungeon cell
With Europe flung therein ... and guarded well.
The dreams expand: the treachery of France
Blots out the date of all deliverance.
And thanks to spies and slick 'La Surêté'³
The Sorbonne toasts its own awaited Day.

³ Accent incorrect in original. This is a reference to the French Sûreté nationale, which oversaw all the police departments in France, with the exception of the Paris Police Prefecture, from 1934/35 until the creation of the Police nationale in 1941.

All rights of refuge raped, I mark how we
Are packed in cells to find equality.

All this a dream? Ah no, the truth we see
Is fashioned out of sickened phantasy. ...
Three days I hid in holes at Perpignan
With loafing bibbers. On the walls I'd scan
The curses scrawled by those who fought and lost
Their red, resurgent Spain. Now caught and tossed
Again behind barbed wire, these days I dwell
In what is named the Pyrenean Hell.

St. Cyprien⁴ ... Ilot Spécial,⁵ they call
Our prison camp. With what satanic gall
This torture hole was planned! A stroke of a pen
Dipped deep in hate can damn free living men
To perish in a bottomless despair.
We weep ... we shriek ... deliver us! Oh where
Are saint and Deity? No heart ... no ear!
Four thousand Jews are slowly rotting here.

Again the dream of finding you ... and lo!
Your kisses cover me. Enchanting glow
Pervades me. Now I reach your febrile being
Through the walls of wire, one moment freeing
Every bond and bar within. ... But when
Your laughter fades and I am dragged again
Behind the mesh, I know no word or cry
Will penetrate the steel about this sty.

4 St Cyprien camp on the Spanish border was set up in Feb. 1939 to provide accommodation for refugees arriving from Spain. On the day of the German invasion of Belgium (10 May 1940), the Belgian police arrested 5,000 to 8,000 Jewish refugees with German citizenship and had them taken to St Cyprien. On 4 Oct. 1940 the camp was closed and 3,858 inmates were transferred to Gurs camp in France: see also Doc. 156.

5 French: 'special block'.

DOC. 240

***New York Times*, 2 October 1940: article on the Vichy government's plans to enact a law against the Jews¹**

Vichy drafts Plan to Deal with Jews. Law Expected Soon to Set Up Categories – An increase in Anti-Semitism Noted. Some Curbs are Applied. Various Newspapers Declaim – One Presents itself as a Copy of the Nazi Variety.

By Lansing Warren.

Vichy, France, Oct. 1 – In a communiqué published after a ministerial council tonight, it is stated that the discussion of the Cabinet turned on fixing a definite status for Jews in France. This subject has been under consideration for some time. The proposal was prepared under Adrien Marquet² as Minister of the Interior but was put aside and then brought forward again by Marcel B. Peyrouton,³ present Minister of the Interior. The fact that this project was mentioned officially indicates the probability that a law may be promulgated soon.⁴

Whether a general status for Jews will be established for all France or whether the status in the free zone will differ from that to be applied in the occupied territory has not yet been elucidated. Admission with other refugees returning to occupied districts has been denied to Jews.⁵

Among those persons of French nationality who have suffered 'sanctions' are numerous prominent Jews, and several of those placed under administrative internment are also Jews. But despite a few unimportant outbreaks of anti-Semitism, there has been a tendency hitherto to confine government action to individuals and take no discriminatory measures on religious lines.⁶

Anti-Jewish Incidents

However, in Marseilles recently a ruling permitting lawyers from Paris to enroll for practice was withdrawn owing to opposition to Jewish lawyers. Several different advanced youth groups have been scribbling walls with anti-Semitic slogans, and one or

1 *New York Times*, 2 Oct. 1940, p. 8.

2 Adrien Marquet (1884–1955), oral surgeon and politician; mayor of Bordeaux, 1925–1944; minister of labour from Feb. to Nov. 1934; minister of the interior of the Vichy government, June to Sept. 1940; on 28 Jan. 1948 the Haute Cour de justice sentenced him to the loss of his civil rights for a period of ten years; pardoned in 1953.

3 Bernard Marcel Peyrouton (1887–1983), politician; secretary general of French Algeria, 1931–1933; resident general of Tunisia, 1933–1936 and 1940; French ambassador to Argentina, 1936–1940 and 1941–1942; minister of the interior of the Vichy government, Sept. 1940–Feb. 1941; governor general of French Algeria, Jan. to June 1943; arrested in December 1943; acquitted by the Haute Cour de justice on 22 Dec. 1948.

4 See Doc. 241.

5 See Doc. 238.

6 On the legal measures taken by the Vichy government against the Jews in the summer of 1940, see Introduction, pp. 61–62.

two publications, including *Gringoire*, *Action Française* and Jacques Doriot's *Émancipation Nationale*,⁷ contain violent attacks on Jews.

The weekly newspaper *Évolution Nationale*,⁸ printed in Marseilles, calls itself an organ directed against 'Judeo-Masonic' influence and is adopting the style of the Nazi anti-Jewish press, devoting itself entirely to anti-Jewish propaganda.⁹

But in the free-zone press, generally, there has been a marked tendency to urge moderation. The *Catholic Croix*¹⁰ condemned incidents in which show windows of Jewish shops were shattered, saying there were a 'good many millions who have had enough of destruction.' The *Petit Parisien*¹¹ said recently about anti-Jewish slogans:

'We are in the midst of an effort to bring about a national rebirth. The Supreme Court¹² has been created to seek out and punish those responsible for the present situation. This country has need of calm and forgetting.'

An article in yesterday's *Temps*¹³ forecast that the government would transfer foreigners, and among them Jews, to some French colonies. A commission has been appointed to revise naturalization papers,¹⁴ notably those issued during the regime of Léon Blum.¹⁵ And there is evidence to indicate that even wider efforts at a general European decision on Jews are being agitated.

Work camps for the unemployed foreigners unable or unwilling to return to their homelands will be established in France under a decree published today. Foreign male residents between the ages of 18 and 55 may be assigned to such camps if they cannot, under new restrictions on foreign labor, be absorbed into the French economy.¹⁶

7 Jacques Doriot (1898–1945), metalworker; member of the French Communist Party (PCF) and communist delegate in the French Chamber of Deputies, 1924–1934; until his exclusion from the PCF in 1934; councillor for the Seine département, 1924–1936 and 1937–1940; co-founded the extreme right-wing Parti Populaire Français (PPF) in 1936 as well as the Legion of French Volunteers against Bolshevism (LVF) in 1941; deployed in the war against the Soviet Union several times up to 1944; fled to Germany in 1944; died during an air raid.

8 The extreme right-wing weekly newspaper *Gringoire* was published from 1928 to 1944 and had a circulation of 500,000 copies in 1940. The daily newspaper *L'Action française* appeared from 1908 to 1944 and had a Catholic-monarchist and anti-republican stance. It had a circulation of 60,000 copies in 1941. The weekly newspaper *L'Émancipation nationale*, which emerged from the communist newspaper *L'Émancipation*, was the official publication of the PPF and according to estimates by the party had a circulation of around 300,000.

9 Correctly: *Révolution nationale*. The weekly newspaper of the extreme right-wing social revolutionary movement was founded on 12 Oct. 1941 by Eugène Deloncle and was published until 1944.

10 In the interwar period, this daily newspaper, still in existence today, had a circulation of 160,000 copies.

11 This daily newspaper appeared between 1876 and 1944 and was controlled by the occupation administration from Feb. 1941.

12 A law of 30 July 1940 established a Supreme Court of Justice to sentence people who were deemed responsible for France's defeat: *Journal officiel*, 30 July 1940, p. 4598.

13 The pro-government newspaper *Le Temps* was published between 1861 and 1942 and had a circulation of between 50,000 and 80,000 copies.

14 According to the law of 22 July 1940 revising naturalization (*Journal officiel*, 23 July 1940, p. 4567), the commission had to review all naturalizations carried out since 1927: see Introduction, p. 62.

15 Léon Blum (1872–1950), lawyer and politician; France's first socialist and first Jewish prime minister, 1936–1937 and March/April 1938; indicted by the Vichy government on charges of war guilt, 1940; tried in 1942; imprisoned in Buchenwald camp by the German occupation government; liberated by Allied troops, May 1945; headed the month-long interim French administration, Dec. 1946; retired from public life in 1947.

Reports Draft Approved

Vichy, France, Oct. 1 (UP)¹⁷ –The Council of Ministers today completed and approved a final draft of law setting forth the status of Jews in France.

The statute, which will not be published now,¹⁸ creates categories of Jews according to birth. French-born Jews who have served with the armed forces will receive the most-favored treatment. The newly arrived foreign Jewish émigrés will not have professional or other privileges.

DOC. 241

In the Statute on Jews of 3 October 1940 the Vichy government defines the term ‘Jew’ and bans Jews from certain professions¹

Law on the Statute on Jews

We, Marshal of France, Head of the French State,
in consultation with the Council of Ministers, decree the following:

- Art. 1. – To be considered a Jew, for the purposes of this law, is any person who is descended from three grandparents of the Jewish race or from two grandparents of the same race, and whose spouse is also Jewish.²
- Art. 2. – Jews are barred from accessing the civil service and from undertaking duties in the civil service or in any of the public offices and appointments listed below:
1. Head of state, member of government, Council of State, Council of the National Order of the Legion of Honour, Supreme Court of Appeal, Court of Auditors, Mining Engineering Corps,³ Civil Engineering Corps, Tax Inspectorate, Court of Appeal, lower courts, justices of the peace, all professional tribunals, and all elected assemblies
 2. Officials within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, secretaries general of ministerial departments, directors general, directors of central government departments, prefects, sub-prefects, secretaries general of the prefecture, inspectors general of administrative services for the Ministry of the Interior, civil servants of all ranks attached to any police services.

16 According to a law of 27 Sept. 1940, the French administration could assign foreign workers without an occupation to labourer groups (*groupements de travailleurs étrangers*): *Journal officiel*, 1 Oct. 1940, p. 5198. Special details made up of Jewish forced labourers were interned in camps in France and North Africa and assigned to carry out public works.

17 United Press.

18 The law was published on 18 Oct. 1940: see Doc. 241. Although the German military administration did not agree with all the provisions of the law, it did not raise any objections.

1 *Journal officiel*, 18 Oct. 1940, p. 5323. This document has been translated from French.

2 This definition, prepared by the French government, included a larger group of people than the almost contemporaneous decree introduced by the military administration, which – unlike the Statute on Jews – had the force of law only in the occupied zone: see Doc. 238.

3 Corps here refers to *grands corps*, France’s administrative elite, the members of which have been trained at one of the country’s prestigious *grandes écoles*. The *grands corps* cover both technical and non-technical professions.

3. Residents general, governors general, governors, and secretaries general of colonies, inspectors of colonies.
 4. Members of the teaching profession.
 5. Officers of the army, navy, and air force.
 6. Directors, managers, and secretaries general of enterprises benefiting from concessions or subsidies granted by a public authority; government appointees to public enterprises.
- Art. 3 – Access to, and the undertaking of duties in occupations in the civil service or other public offices, other than those listed under Article 2, is not open to Jews unless they meet one of the following conditions:
- a) ownership of the combatant's card 1914–1918 or an honorary mention during the 1914–1918 war;
 - b) receipt of a mention in dispatches during the 1939–1940 campaign;
 - c) decoration with the Legion of Honour for military service or with the Croix de Guerre.
- Art. 4 – Access to, and the exercise of, the liberal professions, independent professions, the responsibilities of a public or ministerial official, or the functions of a legal official permitted to Jews, unless public administration regulations have specified a maximum quota of Jews allowed to be employed in such capacities. In this case, the same regulations will establish the terms by which the surplus Jews are to be excluded.
- Art. 5 – Jews may not, under any circumstances, practise any of the following occupations:
- Directors, managers, editors of newspapers, magazines, press agencies, or periodicals, with the exception of strictly scientific publications.
- Directors, administrators, managers of enterprises involved in the manufacture, printing, distribution or presentation of films for cinema; producers and cinematographers, scriptwriters, administrators, theatre or cinema managers; impresarios; directors, administrators, or managers of any corporation related to radio broadcasting.
- The conditions under which public authorities can ensure the affected parties' compliance with the bans announced in this article, as well as corresponding punitive measures, are stipulated for each category by public administration regulations.
- Art. 6 – Under no circumstances may Jews belong to organizations responsible for representing the professions specified in Articles 4 and 5 of this law or enforce regulatory control of said professions.
- Art. 7 – The Jewish civil servants referred to in Articles 2 and 3 shall cease to undertake their duties within two months of the promulgation of this law.⁴ They shall be permitted to assert their pension rights if they are able to fulfil the conditions regarding length of service; they shall have the right to a partial pension if they have at least fifteen years' service. Those who are unable to fulfil either of these conditions shall receive their salary for a period of time which will be stipulated, for each category, by an administrative regulation.⁵

⁴ The Statute on Jews was published on 18 Oct 1940.

⁵ Those who had been employed in the civil service for less than fifteen years received double their monthly salary for each year of service.

Art. 8 – Those Jews who have rendered exceptional service to the French state in the field of literature, science or art may be exempted from the prohibitions stipulated by the present law through an individual decree, issued by the Council of State and duly stating the reasons upon which it is based.⁶

These decrees and the reasons justifying them will be published in the *Journal officiel*.

Art. 9 – The present law is applicable in Algeria, the colonies, and the countries under protectorate status, as well as in mandated territories.

Vichy, 3 October 1940.⁷

*Ph. Pétain*⁸

Marshal of France, Head of the French State

Vice President of the Council

*Pierre Laval*⁹

Minister of Justice

*Raphaël Alibert*¹⁰

Minister of the Interior

Marcel Peyrouton

Minister of Foreign Affairs

*Paul Baudouin*¹¹

Minister of War

*General Huntziger*¹²

⁶ These applications were checked thoroughly by the Council of State. By the end of May 1941 only eighteen out of several hundred applicants were granted exemptions in accordance with Article 8.

⁷ On the implementation of the law, see Doc. 256.

⁸ Philippe Pétain (1856–1951), military officer and politician; commander at the Battle of Verdun, 1916/17; commander-in-chief of the French Army, 1917/18; appointed marshal in 1918; inspector general of the army, 1922–1931; minister of war from Feb. to Nov. 1934; ambassador in Madrid, 1939/40; prime minister of France from 16 June to 10 July 1940; head of state of the Vichy regime from 11 July 1940 to 20 August 1944; in exile in Sigmaringen, August 1944–April 1945; sentenced to death by the Haute Cour de justice on 15 August 1945; President de Gaulle commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.

⁹ Pierre Laval (1883–1945), lawyer; held various ministerial posts from 1925; senator, 1927–1940; prime minister of France, 1931–1932 and 1935–1936; played a crucial part in the transfer of executive powers to Marshal Pétain in July 1940; deputy prime minister from 23 June to 13 Dec. 1940; head of the Vichy government from April 1942 to August 1944; in exile in Sigmaringen, August 1944–April 1945; fled to Spain in 1945; extradited to France; found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death by the Haute Cour de justice on 9 Oct. 1945; executed.

¹⁰ Raphaël Alibert (1887–1963), lawyer; member of the Council of State, 1911–1924; professor in Paris, 1924–1933; undersecretary in the prime minister's office from 17 June 1940; minister of justice from 12 July 1940 to 27 Jan. 1941; member of the Council of State from 24 June 1941 to 8 Sept. 1944; subsequently fled to Belgium; sentenced to death in absentia on 7 March 1947; pardoned in 1959.

¹¹ Paul Baudouin (1894–1964), engineer; deputy head of department under various ministers, 1924–1926; employee and later director of the Banque de l'Indochine, 1926–1940 and 1941–1944; minister of foreign affairs from 16 June 1940 to 28 Oct. 1940; condemned to five years of hard labour by the Haute Cour de justice on 3 March 1947; released in Jan. 1948.

¹² Charles Huntziger (1880–1941), professional soldier; commander of the French troops in the mandated territory of Syria and Lebanon, 1933–1938; member of the Superior Council of War, 1938–1940; army commander in Northern France, 1940; minister of war from 6 Sept. 1940.

Minister of Finance

*Yves Bouthillier*¹³

Chief of the Naval Staff

*Admiral Darlan*¹⁴

Minister for Industrial Production and Labour

*René Belin*¹⁵

Minister for Agriculture

*Pierre Caziot*¹⁶

DOC. 242

On 4 October 1940 the Vichy government resolves that foreign Jews can be interned by order of the prefect in charge¹

Law on Foreign Nationals of the Jewish Race

We, Marshal of France, Head of the French State,
in consultation with the Council of Ministers, decree the following:

- Art. 1. – From the date of the promulgation of the present law, foreign nationals of the Jewish race may be interned in special camps upon the decision of the prefect of the department in which they reside.
- Art. 2 – A commission is being set up within the department of the Minister of the Interior to oversee the organization and administration of these camps.
This commission comprises:
An inspector general of administrative services;
the head of the local police and the Police for Foreigners or his representative;
the head of civil affairs at the Ministry of Justice or his representative;
a representative of the Ministry of Finance.
- Art. 3 – Foreign nationals of the Jewish race may at any time be assigned a forced residence by the prefects of the departments in which they reside.²

13 Yves Bouthillier (1901–1977), engineer; state secretary in the Ministry of Finance, 1938–1940; minister of finance, 1940–1942; procurator in the Court of Audit, 1942–1944; arrested and deported to Germany in Jan. 1944; sentenced to three years' imprisonment by the Haute Cour de justice on 3 July 1948.

14 François Darlan (1881–1942), naval officer; deputy head and head of the Ministry of Naval Affairs, 1926–1934; commander of the navy from 1937; appointed admiral, 1939; minister of the navy, 1940–1942; deputy prime minister, 10 Feb. 1941–18 April 1942; ordered an armistice on 8 Nov. 1942 after the Allied landing in North Africa; murdered in Algiers.

15 René Belin (1898–1977), postal worker; member of the central office of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) trade union from 1933; minister for industrial production and labour, 1940–1942; founded the General Confederation of Independent Syndicates in 1947.

16 Pierre Caziot (1876–1953); farmer; inspector at the mortgage bank Crédit Foncier from 1924; minister for agriculture, 1940–1942; civil rights revoked by the Haute Cour de justice on 21 March 1947.

1 *Journal officiel*, 18 Oct. 1940, p. 5324. This document has been translated from French.

Art. 4 – This decree will be published in the *Journal officiel* and shall be applied as state law.

Adopted at Vichy, 4 October 1940

Ph. Petain

Marshal of France, Head of the French State.

Minister of the Interior

Marcel Peyrouton

Minister of Finance

Yves Bouthillier

Minister of Justice

Raphaël Alibert

DOC. 243

**In his diary Jacques Biélinky describes life for the Jews in Paris
from 19 July to 6 October 1940¹**

Handwritten diary of Jacques Biélinky;² entries for 19 July to 6 October 1940

19 July. Visit to the welfare centre 'Pour Nos Enfants',³ reopened under the management of Dr Rozenberg and Lobermann.

Montparnasse now deserted. In the Dôme a sheet of white paper in German handwriting: 'Entry forbidden to German civilians and military personnel'. La Coupole utterly deserted.⁴ A lot of abandoned workshops, dead calm.

20 July. Synagogue on rue de la Victoire.⁵ The service, which had begun in the oratory next door, continued in the large room. Lots of people. Two neighbours talking to each other in Yiddish, noting that soon the whole of Europe will become uninhabitable for Jews. They are delighted about the new Romanian law which bans the conversion of

2 The laws of 2 May and 12 Nov. 1938 had already permitted the French administration to allocate mandatory places of residence (*résidences assignées*) to foreign refugees: *Journal officiel*, 3 May 1938, pp. 4967–4969, and 13 Nov. 1938, pp. 12920–12923. After the prefects of the unoccupied zone demanded further administrative powers in handling Jewish refugees, the government decreed on 9 Nov. 1942 that foreign Jews could only leave their places of residence with official authorization: *Journal officiel*, 8 Dec. 1942, p. 4026.

1 YIVO, RG 239. Published in Jacques Biélinky, *Un journaliste juif à Paris sous l'Occupation*, ed. Renée Poznanski (Paris: Le Cerf, 1992), pp. 37–57. This document has been translated from French.

2 Jacques Biélinky (1881–1943), journalist; emigrated to France in 1909; correspondent for Russian newspapers; arrested on the night of 11 Feb. 1943; deported to Chelm on 23 March 1943, and subsequently to Sobibor, where he was murdered.

3 Jewish charitable organization, founded in 1930, which ran schools and orphanages for Jewish children in France.

4 Le Dôme and La Coupole were well-known artists' cafés on boulevard Montparnasse.

5 The Grande Synagogue de la Victoire is the main synagogue in Paris and the seat of the chief rabbi of France.

Jews to Christianity.⁶ The rabbis are still away.⁷ Camhy and Madame Ovadia have returned from the Sephardic Community; their material situation is precarious.

Antisemitic unrest in Boulogne-sur-Seine.

21 July. Prayer in French for France in the synagogue.

22 July. Welfare centre of the Colonie scolaire,⁸ quiet; business as usual. Lecture by Charles Brun on Mistral at the Société des gens de lettres.⁹ Huge audience. A German officer was there.

Lecture preceded by an exchange of views on dagos.

24 July. In the queues (milk, meat) animated conversation, no trace of antisemitism. At Madam Del's. She is well disposed towards the Germans because of various administrative circumstances, assistance, etc. The present chaos has got a lot to do with it. It is generally thought that the wealthy Jews will be stripped of their millions and high-up social positions while poor working people need not fear any persecution.

25 July. In rue Châteaudun opposite the church there are several sheets of white paper on the windows of a café with the wording: 'No entry for Israelites'. But it is empty. I saw only one single customer at an outside table.

On the boulevards opposite Le Matin, the Rex cinema is decorated with posters in German. On the door it says: 'No entry for civilians.'

The expelled Alsatian Jews are pouring into Paris.¹⁰

26 July. Butter plentiful, to be found everywhere. But cheese and eggs have completely disappeared. You can find milk, but you have to queue, and there's only half a litre per person.

27 July. Manuel¹¹ made an appearance at the Synagogue de la Victoire, where the services attract many people. But the rabbis have still not returned.

28 July. 'I would be happy to see you die from hunger and cold in the coming winter.'

29 July. Spent the whole morning looking for coffee (at Darmoy, Potin, etc.¹²). In vain. Coffee has completely vanished from Paris.

30 July. German concert in the Tuileries. The French raise their hands and so do the Germans. Photo.

31 July. Outside a dairy shop in rue Mouffetard, a soldier shoves his way through to the front of the queue and wants butter. The owner says: 'Queue up like everyone else.' The soldier stands in the queue meekly and waits, resigned, until it's his turn.

6 On 8 August 1940 a Statute on Jews was issued in Romania. This contained extensive bans on Jews exercising certain occupations and regulated matters of citizenship.

7 The chief rabbi of France, Isaïe Schwartz, and other spiritual leaders of the Jewish community had left Paris on 10 June 1940, before German troops occupied the city.

8 Jewish charitable organization founded in 1926 that supported children from socially deprived Jewish families.

9 The Société des gens de lettres was founded in 1838 at the suggestion of the writer Honoré de Balzac to represent the interests of authors. The correct name of the speaker referred to here was Jean Charles-Brun (1870–1946), French poet and proponent of French regional autonomy; the lecture was on Frédéric Mistral (1830–1914), French author and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature.

10 On 13 July 1940 the chief of the civil administration in Alsace, Robert Wagner, had ordered the expulsion of the Jews to France.

11 Albert Manuel (1871–1969), rabbi; general secretary of the Central Consistory, probably from 1901.

12 Grocery shops.

1 August. At the market in Fontenay-sous-Bois, a few street vendors are selling *Au Pilon* and shouting: 'Newspaper against the Jews'.¹³ A hawker shouts back at them; he's a former combatant. They hit him. The German police turn up and arrest the disturbers of the peace.

2 August. In the Manufacture nationale de Sèvres,¹⁴ the artist Jane Lévy¹⁵ has resumed her work after coming back. However, the commercial director Lippman evidently doesn't dare return. He is afraid of being dismissed.

3 August. There is talk of the disappearance of the bookseller Lipschütz; the bookshop is officially sealed off.¹⁶

4 August. Visited the canteens at 110 rue Vieille-du-Temple and 8 rue Saintonge.¹⁷ Lots of 'clients'. Supplies have almost run out; closure threatens unless aid packages arrive.

5 August. All Jews have been expelled from Alsace-Lorraine. A large number of them are coming to Paris.

6 August. Census.¹⁸

7 August. Organize Professor Ruppert's lectures,¹⁹ one of which will be dedicated to Jewish Palestine.

8 August. Brawls in the alleys of the Carreau du Temple between Jewish stallholders, who are combat veterans, and the vendors of *Au Pilon*.

10 August. The synagogue in rue Pestalozzi is open, but Rabbi Slobodziansky is not back yet.

11 August. Report by a demobilized chansonnier; gang of drunkards at the table for three hours, champagne with all meals. I couldn't care less. Splendid.

12 August. Jews prohibited from selling their property.²⁰ Rabbis have fled to Vichy (Liber,²¹ Schwartz, Kaplan,²² etc.).

13 August. With the help of an Austrian refugee and the German authorities, the Committee for Assistance to Refugees at 60 rue Jouffroy has resumed operations. Anyone from Germany is received there without distinction. The former management has disappeared.

13 The weekly paper *Au Pilon* was founded in July 1940 with German support and had a circulation of 90,000 copies. Fontenay-sous-Bois is a suburb in eastern Paris.

14 Renowned porcelain manufacturer.

15 Jane Lévy (1894–1943), painter; dismissed in Dec. 1940 due to the Statute on Jews; arrested at the end of Nov. 1942; deported on 31 July 1943 to Auschwitz, where she was murdered.

16 The long-established bookshop Lipschütz on the place de l'Odéon had a valuable Jewish section.

17 Jewish welfare associations organized the distribution of free meals to people in need, mostly financed by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

18 On 28 July 1940 the Paris police prefect ordered the registration of all foreigners over the age of fifteen who were staying in the Seine département.

19 Jacques Ruppert (b. 1872), historian and archaeologist.

20 This could not be verified.

21 Maurice Liber (1884–1956), rabbi; served as a rabbi at the Grande Synagogue de la Victoire in Paris from 1920; lecturer at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, 1927–1954; head of rabbinic seminary in Paris, 1931–1951; interim chief rabbi of France, 1932–1951.

22 Jacob Kaplan (1895–1994), rabbi; served as a rabbi in Mulhouse, 1922–1928; rabbi of the Nazareth Synagogue in Paris, 1928–1936; at the Grande Synagogue de la Victoire in Paris from 1939; acting chief rabbi of France in 1944; chief rabbi of Paris, 1950–1955; chief rabbi of France, 1955–1980.

14 August. In Sceaux two captains bet on the English victory (twenty bottles of champagne). The Luxembourg maid protests against the occupation of her little country.

15 August. Jews and coloured people are barred from travelling to Paris and the whole occupied zone.²³

16 August. Bois de Boulogne, two theories.²⁴

17 August. Lots of people in the Synagogue de la Victoire. Chief Rabbi Julien Weill²⁵ is back; he wears religious dress when he holds the service. On rue Saint-Georges a large garage near the synagogue is occupied: 'No entry for civilians'.²⁶ In front of the door a vehicle with a loudspeaker on the roof plays infernal music, disturbing the peace in the neighbourhood and the services in the synagogue.

18 August. Queues everywhere, especially for milk. Signs are posted on the grocers' shops: no oil, salt, cheese, butter, coffee (not to be found anywhere); butchers sell only beef; not queues everywhere. Queues again for potatoes.

In the prix uniques²⁷ the food aisles are completely empty. All you can find are a few jars of mustard, sweets, biscuits (on the authorized days). No more tinned food or pasta.

19 August. Over 50,000 people have registered at the Soviet consulate in order to be repatriated. These are Jews who have become Soviet citizens automatically as a consequence of the Russian annexation of half of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bessarabia, and Bukovina.²⁸ It looks like repatriation will start on 1 September.

20 August. It seems that the Germans have released from the concentration camps all of the German Jewish refugees interned before the defeat.²⁹

4th arrondissement, half a dozen dishevelled, dirty teenagers pass through the Jewish quarter shouting: 'Read the antisemitic paper *Au Pilon* to support the struggle against the Jews.' The passers-by vigorously rebuke them, but the young street vendors are wary of acts of violence. The quickening of their step makes you think that they are afraid of brawls (as happened in the districts of Belleville and Carreau du Temple).

21 August. The prominent Jewish antiquities dealers Bacri and Seligmann have moved premises.

22 August. During the distribution of soup to the poor by German troops, a few Jewish people draw attention to themselves in the queue. One person insults them and demands that they leave. The German soldiers intervene to protect the Jewish people and ensure they are left undisturbed.

In rue Châteaudun a young Jew enters the café which has a sign banning Jews from entering, and orders a glass of beer. When he notices the sign, he says to the café propri-

23 The German military administration sought to prevent Jews who had fled to the occupied zone from returning, but it did not issue a regulation on this until September 1940: see Doc. 238.

24 After a German guard was shot at in the Bois de Boulogne, the French were temporarily refused entry. People debated whether the incident was an accident or whether it was a deliberate attack.

25 Julien Weill (1873–1950), rabbi; served as a rabbi in Dijon, 1924–1926; interim chief rabbi of Paris, 1931–1933; chief rabbi of Paris, 1933–1950.

26 The garage of the Military Commander in France's propaganda unit was located here.

27 'One price shop': shops established in the interwar period in Europe selling ranges of goods at one price or at tiered prices.

28 On 17 June 1940 the Soviet Union had annexed these areas in accordance with the secret supplementary protocol to the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 23 August 1939.

29 This could not be verified.

etor: 'I'm Jewish.' He is rudely told to leave the premises, but refuses. The police are called, but the German policemen ask the proprietor whether he has an order from the German authorities to expel Jews from the premises. Of course the proprietor does not have this, so the Jew leaves the premises voluntarily, quietly, and without making a fuss. 23 August. In rue Croulebarbe several Communist Party posters on the walls: 'Thorez³⁰ to Power', appeals to French families, to young people, etc. Colour of these posters: yellowish, imitating perfectly the colour of the posters from the authorities since the occupation.

In rue Mouffetard a notice on a white sheet of paper stuck to the shop front, announcing that the shop is shut for a week due to unauthorized price increases.

24 August. Absolutely impossible to find coffee, salt, oil, cheese, soap, etc. I have found one packet of 250 grams of 'national coffee', 50 per cent coffee, 50 per cent roasted chick-peas.

It appears that people in the non-occupied zone are claiming that famine prevails in Paris and that bread – which is scarce – is sold at 14 francs per kilo.

Despite the lack of many products, no famine. According to the tariff, bread costs three francs and 15 centimes per kilo; it is not rationed.

The queues are getting longer outside groceries, dairy shops, and butchers' shops.

In the grocery shops, the food aisles are completely empty. You can only find jars of mustard, stock cubes, and packets of flour.

25 August. Gendarmerie patrols roam the streets, rue des Canettes, rue des Rosiers, rue Ferdinand-Duval, etc. to prevent attacks on the Jewish population in the 4th arrondissement. This makes a clear impression on the incredibly harassed Jewish people.

26 August. In rue Mouffetard a two-page poster printed by the Communist Party has been put up: 'To the youth of France'. A lot of people stop to read it. The police pass by without noticing it.

I walked past it two hours later; it's still there but has been ripped.

28 August. I went to the Consistory on rue Saint-Georges 17³¹ to meet Chief Rabbi Julien Weill, who has returned. The offices are shut, no one to be seen. We sit down in an empty office. The house has a sad air about it; only the synagogue is being maintained as per usual.

29 August. On rue des Rosiers a group of street-sellers with the paper *Au Pilon* shouting 'Read ... the anti-Jewish newspaper' bump into a Jewish woman whose three conscripted sons are prisoners of war. She protests against the gang and tears up their newspapers. A crowd gathers, everyone is led to the police station and then released. Gendarmes now patrol the 4th arrondissement in order to avoid such incidents.

30 August. A few bus lines are operational again at last, but mainly the ones in the immediate suburbs. People crowd around the posters which announce that these lines are running.

Lunch at the Foyer Amical³² on rue Richer, where (philanthropic) meals cost 2 francs and 50 centimes or nothing. (About 30 per cent of customers pay nothing at all.)

30 Maurice Thorez (1900–1964), general secretary of the French Communist Party (PCF), 1930–1964.

31 The Consistoire central des Israélites de France was established in 1808 as the official representative body of the Jewish religious community.

32 A public soup kitchen run by Jewish welfare associations.

Lots of customers. Rapid service, people dressed appropriately, probably many newly poor. Young women, who are not lacking in elegance, old men who look like provincial teachers. German, Yiddish, Russian, Polish, and even Hungarian are spoken, but very little French. The meals: soup and a piece of boiled beef (thin slice) with potatoes and ... as much bread as you like.

The customers devour the bread with visible appetite. Some even slip a few slices into their pockets.

The relief organization is very busy, the number of 'clients' increases constantly – corresponds to the growing poverty in this 'bourgeois' district.

But the president, N. Aronson,³³ is still in Portugal, and the secretary, Fenster, has stayed in the non-occupied zone.

31 August. Jewish musicians, opera singers and popular singers are being dismissed. This has given rise to protests from the trade union which has just been dissolved.

However, a few Jewish-Russian artists keep their positions and are respected, apparently because of the Russian-German agreement.

A communist relief centre is going to be set up in the house at 5 rue de la Durance, which belongs to the Jewish community.³⁴

1 September. The anti-Jewish signs are being removed from the Grand Café-Restaurant on rue Châteaudun. The menus are in German.

2 September. At the market a woman asks the fishmonger about the provenance of his fish, which are so big. 'My fish come from the English Channel,' he says ... 'Give me a kilo ...'

3 September. The Committee for the Welfare of Jews³⁵ at rue Rodier 60 has begun its operations, and the Fourneau économique³⁶ on rue Ferdinand Duval is also opening its doors.

4 September. In the morning Chief Rabbi Julien Weill receives visitors at the Consistory. Most visitors are people looking for help. However, there is talk of the imminent closure of all Jewish and non-Jewish relief organizations.

At Porte Saint-Cloud naked soldiers sunbathe on the roofs of the modern houses which are occupied by the German troops.

5 September. Boulevard Beaumarchais, a broken window of the warehouse for an anti-semitic paper. On it the words 'This glass pane was broken by Jews'. Possible, but still other shop fronts on the Champs-Élysées bear the wording: 'This shop window was broken by antisemites'.

In the district of Faubourg Saint-Denis a fruit and vegetable seller starts a quarrel with a Negro. Having run out of arguments, the irate woman shouts: 'Filthy race, filthy race, filthy Negro, go home.' The Negro replies, smiling calmly and proudly: 'Me, filthy race, France took us away from Central Africa to defend it in 1914–1918.'

33 Naoum Aronson was president of the relief organization Foyer ouvrier juif en France.

34 The relief centre was supported by the children's welfare organization Oeuvre de secours aux enfants (OSE).

35 The Comité de bienfaisance israélite de Paris was founded in 1809 as a charitable organization for destitute Jews.

36 Fourneau économique was founded to supply food to destitute Jews.

6 September. In Enghien-les-Bains³⁷ by the lakeside a chic restaurant bears the Hebrew inscription 'kosher'. Some German officers eat there every day. The proprietor turns to his new customers: 'Do you know where you are?' and points to the letters in Hebrew. 'Of course we know, but we still come because we enjoy the food so much ...'

7 September. At the border of the occupied zone the Germans allow the Russians to return to Paris, but prevent the Polish Jews from doing so. Two Polish Jewish brothers appear. By chance one of them had the word 'Russian' in his passport. He is allowed through. The other brother whose passport said 'Polish' is refused entry.

8 September. On boulevard Ménilmontant the windows of a prominent electronics shop (Robert Bahsti) were broken twice on two consecutive days. A few people were arrested and then released.

9 September. There is mention in the Jeu de Paume Museum of the imminent opening of a music salon, where the works of Jewish artists will not be accepted.

10 September. On rue Mouffetard a crowd gathers in front of a small blue poster, affixed to the shop window of a closed shop; the beginning reads 'People of Paris'. A policeman draws near, takes out a pocket knife, and vigorously scratches the poster. The crowd disperses.

11 September. Several small posters with the appeal: 'To the people of Paris' have been put up in the 4th arrondissement. They are from the Communist Party.

12 September. A new paper, *Aujourd'hui*,³⁸ has appeared, a sort of tabloid newspaper, somewhat superficial and not very antisemitic. That's probably why the Jews won't read it either. Another paper, which had appeared after the start of the occupation, has vanished. It was the *Nouvelles Dernières de Paris*.³⁹

13 September. The queues are lengthening, spreading throughout Paris. Without a food ration card, I get a quarter of a litre of milk after a long wait, while the chattering slowly grinds to a halt. Everyone is complaining, but mostly about trivialities. Just once I heard a short speech against capitalism delivered by a little old man who looked poor. Not a single antisemitic comment.

14 September. Professor J. Ruppert recounts the events in Pantin, based on what he heard from a friend who lives there.⁴⁰

15 September. In spite of the rumour that Jews are forbidden to return to Paris, I learn of the return of many Jews, either demobilized or coming back to Paris after the panic in June.

16 September. The announcement of new restrictions on food supplies leads to a siege on all grocery shops, butchers, and dairies, etc. where products have not been in plentiful supply for a long time. A queue of 350 people forms outside a dairy shop which has 60 quarters of butter to distribute.

17 September. Went to the Manufacture des Gobelins,⁴¹ not in order to attend the opening of an exhibition but ... to receive two extra food ration cards with vouchers for the

³⁷ A small town, north of Paris.

³⁸ The first edition was published on 10 Sept. 1940 and had a print run of 30,000 copies.

³⁹ Correctly: *Dernières nouvelles de Paris*. This pro-German daily appeared between 20 June and 16 Sept. 1940 and had a circulation of 110,000 copies.

⁴⁰ This village, situated north-east of Paris, was partly destroyed during the advance of German troops.

⁴¹ Tapestry producer in Paris.

following products: bread, 350 grams per day per person. Cheese, 20 g ten times a month. Meat and sausages, 60 g for 24 days. Fat (butter, oil, margarine, or lard), 25 g per day for 20 days.⁴²

When leaving the shops, people start commenting and complaining in the usual way. 18 September. People spend their whole day in queues, which continue to grow and in just a few places are broken up to allow pedestrians to pass. A woman queued for five hours for a quarter of butter. It takes hours to get two kilos of potatoes, or a packet of pasta (250 grams), or a small slice of cheese (Gruyère), or two or three eggs, etc.

19 September. You can find sausages easily, but no salami or ham. No more margarine or lard. Fat disappears before your eyes. Red wine is rare, white wine is unavailable.

It's pointless looking for oil or coffee. Instead of coffee there's roasted barley. Even tea has vanished from the shelves.

The butcher still has plenty of beef, but there's no more veal at all.

I queued an hour for a slice of ... brawn.

Visit to the Foyer Amical at 41 rue Richer, where I had a sample meal. Meal inadequate: soup and a plate of mince and potatoes. Luckily there was as much bread as you like. I sat at a small table and had two neighbours: a smartly dressed young man, who slipped a few slices of bread into his yellow leather briefcase; a very old and scruffy man, a sort of old comic actor, devoured the bread before the soup was served, continued to consume it while eating the soup, and then devoured it while waiting for the main course of meat and continued while eating the main course; all this while skilfully slipping several slices into his pockets. The young girl, who went about the room with a bread basket, indifferently filled up the plate of bread at our table; the plate rapidly emptied due to excessive consumption, as was probably the case at all the tables.

20 September. An amusing story about the 'little hen' from Neuilly. The bills for flowers (300 francs), dresses, and coats (7,000 francs) were submitted to Neuilly town hall and paid. Maurice Lévy, chief librarian of the library and Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, has come back from Bayonne and was given 48 hours to remove the furniture from the apartment which he occupied in the library.

21 September. The Jewish shopkeepers are visited by the inspectors of the prefecture, who are carrying out some kind of census of Jewish shopkeepers in Paris.

It's the first time since 1874 that notes regarding denomination have appeared on administrative documents.⁴³

22 September. Interminable queuing at the potato stalls. You have to stay in the queue for over three hours to get two and a half kilos. Totally exhausted women sit down on the kerb.

23 September. First day of the new restrictions coming into force (meat, sausages, cheese, butter, lard, etc.). To buy pasta you have to detach a voucher from the booklet, 250 g per person. Contrary to what had been hoped, the new food rationing cards with vouchers have not put an end to queuing. The only novelty is that you queue with the vouchers in your hand.

42 On 17 Sept. 1940 food rationing in France was expanded; the new food ration cards had to be used from 23 Sept. 1940.

43 No information regarding religious denomination had been included on French birth, death and marriage certificates up to that time.

24 September. First a 9 p.m. curfew, then 10 p.m., and then 11 p.m. You are now allowed to be out and about on the streets until midnight.

25 September. An interminably long queue on rue Mouffetard for three pounds of potatoes. I waited for an hour and a half to get these. In front of me an old woman accidentally runs into a young blonde woman who, incandescent, turns round and raises her hand against the old woman: 'I'm Italian, you know. Be careful!' But the gesture went no further.

26 September. Throughout the 13th arrondissement, avenue des Gobelins, boulevard Arago, rue Nationale, etc. there are communist posters: 'Thorez take over', 'Release the communists', 'Read L'Humanité',⁴⁴ 'Liberate Le Gall',⁴⁵ etc. There are even big red letters on the pavements: 'L'Humanité has been banned by Daladier⁴⁶ because it demands peace' can be read on one of these posters.

27 September. Three or four Jewish actors at the Comédie Française have been dismissed. But the non-Jewish actors have held a strike in solidarity. It came to an end after the threat to replace the strikers with other actors.

28 September. Jane Lévy continues her work at the Sèvres porcelain manufactory without interference. Only when some officers visited the establishment was she requested to step out. The officers also inspected her studio.

29 September. In October every person will be voluntarily entitled to 500 g of sugar, 300 g of coffee, of which 100 g of real coffee, 250 g of pasta, and 200 g of soap. Workers will receive 100 g of rice in addition.

30 September. At place Blanche in Montmartre a famous restaurant has been converted into an establishment for officers. Decked out with large swastikas, the inscription at the entrance reads: 'No entry for civilians'.

2 October. The first decree against Jews is published with the announcement of the registration of Jews, starting on 3 October, set on the first day of Rosh Hashanah. Is this a coincidence or was the date chosen deliberately?⁴⁷

3 October. First day of Rosh Hashanah. The synagogue on rue de la Victoire is full of people. Sermon by Chief Rabbi Julien Weill, who spoke of the martyrdom of Israel. Leaflets about the registration are distributed. Service in the evening in the synagogue on rue Saint-Lazare. Lecture by Amar⁴⁸ on the persecution of the Jews.

4 October. The synagogue on rue Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth was overcrowded, mostly immigrant Jews. Outside a lot of security guards, but the disturbers of the peace stayed away.

⁴⁴ Established in 1904, the daily paper *L'Humanité* had been the official newspaper of the French Communist Party (PCF) since 1920. It was banned on 27 August 1939 because the editors welcomed the adoption of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 23 August 1939. Thereafter it was published as an underground newspaper until 21 August 1944.

⁴⁵ Jules Le Gall (1881–1944), coppersmith; worked for various anarcho-syndicalist newspapers; arrested repeatedly by the French police from August 1940; taken to Compiègne in April 1943; deported on 19 Jan. 1944 to Buchenwald, where he perished.

⁴⁶ Édouard Daladier (1884–1970), politician; president of the Parti Radical, 1927–1930 and 1936–1938; held various ministerial posts, 1924–1932; prime minister of France from Jan. to Oct. 1933, from Jan. to Feb. 1934, and from April 1938 to March 1940; arrested in Casablanca in June 1940; interned in Germany, 1943–1945; member of the National Assembly, 1946–1958.

⁴⁷ See Doc. 238.

⁴⁸ Rabbi of the synagogue on rue Saint-Lazare.

After the service I went with a friend, the dentist B., to a café in the neighbourhood. The proprietor, an out-and-out French Catholic, vociferously expressed his displeasure over the persecution of the Jews. He explained that the local people, the real French and real Parisians, were indifferent to the fate of the Rothschilds,⁴⁹ whereas they openly supported Jewish people of modest means.

5 October. Great agitation among Jewish shopkeepers, who were ordered to put up the inscription 'Jewish business' on their doors and shop windows.⁵⁰ One of these shopkeepers, a disabled ex-serviceman, placed another note next to this sign displaying his war decorations and his honourable mentions in dispatches. All former Jewish servicemen follow his example.

6 October. An odd procession. Near avenue d'Orléans housewives spot a car loaded with potatoes. They run after it in a crowd, without knowing exactly where it is going to stop. The crowd behind the truck grows and grows. Fortunately, the procession – which has something of a funeral procession about it – stops in a side road off avenue d'Orléans. A queue forms quickly in front of the shop, which gets the delivery of the much sought-after, precious tubers, and after a wait of 40 minutes, I get 5 pounds of potatoes for 4 francs and 75 centimes.

DOC. 244

On 7 October 1940 the Vichy government revokes the French citizenship of Jews in Algeria¹

Law Repealing the Government of National Defence's Decree of 24 October 1870 and Determining the Status of Jews in the Algerian Départements

We, Marshal of France, Head of the French State,
in consultation with the Council of Ministers, decree the following:

- Article 1. – The Government of National Defence's Decree of 24 October 1870 is repealed in as far as it regulates the political rights of Jews in the Algerian départements and declares them French citizens.
- Article 2. – The political rights of Jews in the Algerian départements are regulated by the texts which stipulate the political rights of Algerian Muslims.²
- Article 3. – With respect to the civil rights of Jews in the Algerian départements, the legal status of their possessions and their rights of personal status continue to be governed by French law.³

49 One of the most influential banking dynasties in Europe, created by Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744–1812).

50 See § 4 of the First Regulation on Measures Against Jews: Doc. 238.

1 *Journal officiel*, 8 Oct. 1940. This document has been translated from French.

2 Jews living in the French départements in Algeria had been granted the rights of French citizens and French citizenship by this decree, known as the Crémieux Decree.

3 See Doc. 241.

- Article 4. – Jews in the Algerian départements retain the political rights of French citizenship if they belonged to a combat unit during the wars of 1914–1918 and 1939–1940 and received the Legion of Honour, the Croix de Guerre medal or the War Cross.
- Article 5. – The political rights of French citizenship can be retained by Jews in the Algerian départements who have distinguished themselves through services rendered to the country by means of a decree issued by the Minister of Justice and the Minister of the Interior.
- Article 6. – This law applies to all beneficiaries of the law of 24 October 1870 and their descendants.
- Article 7. – This decree will be published in the *Journal officiel* and shall be applied as state law.

Adopted at Vichy, 7 October 1940

Ph. Pétain

Marshal of France, Head of the French State

Minister of Justice

Raphaël Alibert

Minister of the Interior

Marcel Peyrouton

DOC. 245

On 16 October 1940 the Gauleitung in Baden writes to the Kreisleiter in Alsace about the future use of synagogues¹

Letter from the deputy NSDAP Gauleiter for the Gau of Baden, signed H. Röhn,² to the NSDAP Kreisleiter in Alsace, dated 16 October 1940³

Re: synagogues

The synagogues in Alsace may be utilized as warehouses, gymnasiums, etc. if suitable for such purposes.

Under no circumstances may they be considered for use as community centres, i.e. there is no question of them being used for gatherings of a social, cultural or political nature. In all other cases, synagogues are to be demolished, and the site redeveloped in line with local planning measures.

Heil Hitler!

1 Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg, 2837-PS. Published in English in Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, pp. 400–401. This document has been newly translated from the original German.

2 Hermann Röhn (1902–1946), insurance representative; joined the NSDAP in 1922 and the SA in 1925; NSDAP Kreisleiter for Heidelberg, 1931–1933; deputy NSDAP Gauleiter of Baden, 1934–1945; executed in France in 1946.

3 The letter was sent to the office of the chief of the civil administration for information.

DOC. 246

The Military Commander in France's Second Regulation on Measures Against Jews, issued on 18 October 1940, marks the beginning of the Aryanization of Jewish property in the occupied zone¹

Second Regulation on Measures Against Jews
18 October 1940

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Führer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht, I decree the following:

§ 1

Within the scope of this regulation, a commercial enterprise is any enterprise that pursues the objective of participating independently in the production, processing, exchange, and management of goods, irrespective of the legal structure of the enterprise and irrespective of its entry in a register. Also included are banks, insurance companies, offices of notaries and *avoués*,² the post of bill broker, and real estate companies.

An enterprise is Jewish if the owners or leaseholders

- a. are Jews or
- b. are companies in which a partner is a Jew or
- c. are private limited companies in which more than one third of the shareholders are Jews or more than one third of the shares are in the hands of Jewish shareholders or in which a manager is a Jew or more than one third of the members of the supervisory board are Jews or
- d. are public limited companies in which the chairman of the administrative board or an adjunct administrator or more than one third of the members of the administrative board are Jews.

Further, an enterprise is Jewish if it is notified of the decision by the prefect responsible for its headquarters that it is predominantly under Jewish influence.

§ 2

Jewish commercial enterprises or those commercial enterprises that continued to be Jewish after 23 May 1940³ must be registered with the sub-prefect in charge, in Paris with the Prefect of Police, by 31 October 1940. The authority in charge is the one in the district of which natural persons have their residence or legal entities have their headquarters. For Jewish commercial enterprises headquartered outside the occupied territory, this applies to the part of the enterprise that is operated in the occupied territory. For enterprises defined as Jewish according to § 1(3), registration is not compulsory.

The registration form must include:

1 *VOBl-F*, 20 Oct. 1940, pp. 112–114. This document has been translated from German.

2 In French in the original. Until the 1970s, the French legal system distinguished between two types of legal practitioners, *avoués* and *avocats*, whose roles were similar to those of solicitors (*avoués*) and barristers (*avocats*) in the UK. Today, the two functions have been merged.

3 The Regulation Concerning Enemy Assets in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Enemy Assets Regulation) was issued on 23 May 1940: *VOBl-F*, 4 July 1940, pp. 33–35.

- a) the name, headquarters, and owner or leaseholder of the enterprise, emphasizing the circumstances that make the enterprise Jewish or explain why it remained Jewish after 23 May 1940;
- b) for enterprises that are no longer Jewish, the procedures through which these circumstances ceased to apply;
- c) the nature of the enterprise based on the goods traded, manufactured or administered; the enterprise's primary business should be highlighted;
- d) branches, workshops, and subsidiaries;
- e) turnover according to the most recent tax return;
- f) the value of the inventory, the existing stock of raw materials, the real estate and funds managed.

§ 3

All Jewish commercial enterprises, as well as all Jews and spouses of Jews, and all legal entities that are not commercial enterprises and in which more than a third of the members or management are Jews must, by 31 October 1940, register with the sub-prefects or in Paris with the Prefect of Police any

stocks,

shares belonging to them or pledged to them,

silent partnerships in commercial enterprises and loans to commercial enterprises, also their real estate holdings and rights to real estate.

The authority in charge of registration is the one in the district where the enterprise involved has its main headquarters or the affected or mortgaged property is located.

§ 4

Any legal transactions occurring after 23 May 1940 which dispose of the assets of the persons named in § 3 may be declared null and void by the Chief of the Military Administration in France.

§ 5

A temporary administrator may be appointed for Jewish commercial enterprises. The provisions of the Business Management Regulation of 20 May 1940 (*VOBl-F*, p. 31)⁴ shall correspondingly apply to him.

§ 1 of the Business Management Regulation also continues to apply to Jewish commercial enterprises.

§ 6

Contraventions of §§ 2 and 3 will be punished with imprisonment or a fine or both. In addition, the assets of non-registered enterprises can be seized, as well as any items subject to registration under § 3 that have not been registered.

§ 7

This regulation comes into force upon its promulgation.

For the Commander-in-Chief of the Army⁵

The Chief of the Military Administration in France.⁶

4 Regulation on the Orderly Management and Administration of Businesses and Enterprises in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Business Management Regulation), 20 May 1940, *VOBl-F*, 4 July 1940, pp. 31–33.

5 Walther von Brauchitsch.

6 Alfred Streccius.

DOC. 247

**On 20 October 1940 Senator Pierre Masse asks Head of State Pétain
whether he has to return his family's military decorations¹**

Letter from Pierre Masse,² Paris, to Marshal Pétain, dated 20 October 1940 (copy)

Marshal,

I have read the regulation which states that Jews, even those of strictly French descent, may no longer be officers.³

I would be much obliged if you could tell me whether I have to remove the military stripes of my brother, lieutenant in the 36th Infantry Regiment, killed at Douaumont in April 1916; those of my son-in-law, lieutenant in the 14th Motorized Infantry Regiment,⁴ killed in Belgium in May 1940; [and] those of my nephew Jean-Pierre Masse, lieutenant in the 23rd Colonial Regiment, killed at Rethel in May 1940?

May I allow my brother to keep the military medal earned at Neuville St Vaast, with which I buried him?

May my son Jacques, lieutenant in the 62nd Battalion Chasseurs Alpins,⁵ wounded at Soupir in June 1940, keep his military stripes?

Finally, can I be assured that the Sainte-Hélène medal⁶ awarded to my great-grandfather will not be revoked retroactively?

I wish to obey the laws of my country, even when they are dictated by the invader.
Please accept my deepest respects.

Pierre Masse

1 CDJC, CCXII-28. This document has been translated from French.

2 Pierre Maurice Masse (1879–1942), lawyer; councillor for the Hérault département, 1914–1919; board member of the Chamber of Lawyers in Paris, 1928–1934; senator for the Hérault département, 1939–1941; imprisoned in the Drancy and Compiègne camps from August 1941; deported on 30 Sept. 1942 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

3 See Doc. 241.

4 14ème régiment de dragons portés.

5 Elite mountain infantry of the French army.

6 Napoleon III awarded this medal to soldiers who fought in the Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815).

DOC. 248

On 26 October 1940 the Paris Police Prefecture informs the German occupiers of the results of the census of Jews¹

Letter from the headquarters of the police prefect (signature illegible) to the Chief of the Military Administration in the Paris Region,² dated 26 October 1940

Further to your communication dated 6 October of this year,³ I have the honour to inform you, firstly, that upon receiving the regulation from the Chief of the Military Administration in France dated 27 September 1940⁴ requiring Jews to register with the authorities in their place of residence by 20 October, my office immediately took all necessary measures to carry out these registrations for the Seine département at police stations in Paris and the suburban municipalities.

This work was carried out from 3 to 19 October. By that date, the following had been registered: 85,664 French individuals, 64,070 foreign individuals, making a total of 149,734 Jews.

Secondly, following your letter dated 13 October and your communiqué of 19 October,⁵ Jews have been told to report to the police stations in their place of residence to collect identity cards with the word 'Jew' or 'Jewess' stamped in red.

These formalities are currently being implemented and will be completed by 7 November this year.⁶

In addition, Jewish businesses have been required to place yellow signs with the words 'Jüdisches Geschäft' – 'Entreprise juive'⁷ inscribed on them in black letters in their shop windows or in clearly visible places.⁸

These placards must be in place by 31 October of this year.

A list of these businesses, which had also been requested, was compiled under my auspices; with a lack of available information, details were used that it was possible to collect through investigative means.

1 CDJC, LXXIXa-10. Originally published in Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Calendrier de la persécution des juifs des France 1940-1944*, vol. 2, 1 juillet 1940-3 août 1942 (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2001), pp. 54-55. This document has been translated from French.

2 Dr Harald Turner (1891-1947), lawyer; member of the Wesel Freikorps paramilitary unit, 1919-1920; joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS in 1932; Regierungspräsident of Koblenz, 1933-1936; department head in the Prussian Ministry of Finance, 1936-1939; chief of the military administration under the commander of the Greater Paris region, July 1940-April 1941; then chief of the military administration in Serbia until early 1943; acting head of the Race and Settlement Main Office from January to August 1944; subsequently in frontline service; executed in Yugoslavia as a war criminal.

3 Not included in the file.

4 See Doc. 238.

5 Neither letter is included in the file.

6 Those affected were ordered to report to their local police headquarters between 19 October and 7 November 1940.

7 German and French for 'Jewish business'.

8 See § 4 of the Military Commander in France's First Regulation on Measures Against Jews (Doc. 238).

The list was submitted to the aide *Kiessel*⁹ on the 23rd of this month in the form of names arranged according to neighbourhood and commune.

As a result of the investigation, it has been possible to identify 7,737 private enterprises and 3,456 enterprises run as companies.

Furthermore, since the completion of the list, on 24 October the press published the text of the regulation of 18 October 1940 requiring commercial enterprises to register by 31 October.¹⁰

These registrations will be administered centrally at the Police Prefecture, where a special administrative service, which will liaise with the German authorities, has been created for this purpose.

Finally, I feel I must point out that since the French administration has no official documentation allowing for the identification of either the French or the foreign Jewish population or businesses, and since some of those concerned are not in the occupied zone, it is possible that the information collected is incomplete.

DOC. 249

While interned at Gurs, Ludwig Baum from Baden writes a letter on 4 November 1940 seeking to secure the release of his personal property¹

Letter from Ludwig Baum,² Gurs internment camp,³ Basses Pyrénées, Barracks 13, to the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, dated 4 November 1940 (copy)

Dear Comrades,

As you probably know, I have been in the camp here for the past ten days.⁴ Because of my war injury, left leg amputated, and other health issues, I was not able to take any underwear, bed linen or clothing, etc. with me (only allowed to take 10 kg, and that included my second artificial leg). I also don't have a second orthopaedic shoe, which I absolutely must have here, along with woollen blankets and clothes.

I kindly ask that you convince the appropriate authority to release these items for me as a 100% disabled ex-serviceman. I returned voluntarily from abroad in 1914 and spent three years at the front.

⁹ Dr Georg Kiessel (1907–1950), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1934 and the SS in 1935; aide to Harald Turner in Paris and Belgrade, 1940–1943; worked at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) from spring 1944; lastly head of the RSHA's 'Special Commission 20 July 1944' that investigated the attempted assassination of Hitler; executed in Yugoslavia as a war criminal.

¹⁰ See Doc. 246.

¹ BArch, R 8150, vol. 4, fol. 130. This document has been translated from German.

² Ludwig Baum (1895–1942), confectioner; deported from Karlsruhe to the unoccupied zone in France on 22 Oct. 1940 and held in Gurs internment camp; deported on 28 August 1942 from Drancy transit camp to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

³ Gurs camp west of Pau in the south of France was established in March 1939 to accommodate Republican fighters fleeing from the civil war in Spain. From Sept. 1939 members of the banned French Communist Party (PCF) and enemy aliens were also interned there. From the summer of 1940 it was mainly used to intern foreign Jews: see Doc. 307.

⁴ On the expulsion of the Jews from Baden and Saar-Palatinate, see Docs. 250, 252, and PMJ 3/111–113 and 115.

As my situation here is more than I can bear given my injury, I would ask you please to forward this request with your approval.

I would be most grateful for any news.

With comradely greetings,

NB clothing, underwear and bed linen, and blankets.

Regarding continuing pension payments, you will already have applied on our behalf.⁵

DOC. 250

On 12 and 13 November 1940 Rabbi Kapel shares impressions from his visit to Gurs camp and calls for support for the interned Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate¹

Unsigned report on the visit to Gurs camp (Basses-Pyrénées département), dated 12 and 13 November 1940²

Numbers and Origin of Inmates

Thirteen thousand people, almost all of them Israelite, are currently interned in Gurs camp.

Six thousand come from various French internment camps (St Cyprien, Les Milles, Frémont,³ etc.)

On 28 October, 7,000 arrived from Germany (Baden, Palatinate, Saar).⁴

⁵ On 22 Nov. 1940 the letter was forwarded by the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, Welfare Department, to the Wehrmacht High Command, Reich Department of Maintenance (the department in charge of pensions). A note was enclosed stating: 'Baum receives a full pension on the grounds of the amputation of his left upper leg, gastrointestinal disorders, and nervous speech impediments [...] He is a holder of the white War Injury Badge, the Iron Cross Second Class, and the Baden Order of Merit': BAArch, R 8150, vol. 4, fol. 128 f.

¹ CDJC, CCXVIII-24a. This document has been translated from French.

² The report was submitted by René Samuel Kapel (1907–1994), lawyer and rabbi; as rabbi, he was responsible for the inmates of several camps in south-west France; member of the Armée juive resistance organization; arrested in July 1944, tortured by the Gestapo, and subsequently interned in Fresnes prison; deported on 17 August 1944 along with other members of the resistance, but managed to escape from the train; initially worked as a rabbi again after liberation; deputy of the Israeli consul in Paris, 1949–1954; in the Israeli diplomatic service until 1972. Kapel submitted his report to the chief rabbi of France, Isaïe Schwartz, as well as the director of the Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR), Gaston Kahn. See René Samuel Kapel, *Un rabbin dans la tourmente (1940–1944): Dans les camps d'internement et au sein de l'Organisation juive de combat* (Paris: CDJC, 1986), pp. 33–50.

³ This refers to the assembly camp for foreigners (*centre de rassemblement des étrangers*) at Château de Frémont in the Vallon-sur-Sully commune in the Allier département in central France, south of the demarcation line. It was initially built to accommodate refugees from the Spanish Civil War. Jewish foreigners were sent there from May 1940; it held 480 inmates in June 1940.

⁴ On Hitler's orders, 6,504 Jews were deported from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate to unoccupied France on 22 and 23 Oct. 1940. The expulsion of Jews with French citizenship had been previously agreed with the local French government. The authorities permitted the nine trains to cross the border in the belief that they contained French nationals. See Doc. 252 and PMJ 3/111–113 and 115. The number of people deported to Gurs on 22 Oct. 1940 was 6,500 or probably slightly less: see Introduction, p. 60, and PMJ 3/112.

The inmates recently transferred to Gurs camp are made up entirely of men (15 to 65 years of age). These are political refugees who have lived in France or in Belgium for several years and were arrested on 10 May 1940⁵ and sent to the camps, where they were interned.

The group that arrived recently from Germany is unfortunately made up of men, women, and children. There are around 400 children.⁶ They are all ages; several of them were born in the camp. There are quite a few elderly people, two of whom are over one hundred years old. The percentage of elderly people is very high. They certainly make up more than half of the total number. The large convoy that came from Germany also included the sick, the mentally ill, the disabled, pregnant women, and individuals who had undergone major operations – which is why the situation in this camp is currently so tragic.

Expulsion of the residents of Baden, the Palatinate, & the Saar

On the evening of 21 October all of the Jewish workers from Baden, the Palatinate, and the Saar were informed that they were not required to report for work the next day.⁷ There was widespread panic. No one knew why this measure had been taken. In Mannheim, for example, the rabbi⁸ made an effort to calm everyone down by trying to explain that this unexpected arrangement was due to the police wanting to search all the Jewish homes.

On 22 October the Gestapo and police officers went to the Jewish homes and told the occupants that they had an hour to get ready to leave the city. The occupants were also ordered to sign a power of attorney authorizing the 'Jüdische Reichsvertretung'⁹ to decide on what to do with their possessions. The doors were sealed. Each person was allowed to bring 50 kilos of luggage and 100 [Reichs]marks.

Since most of them did not know where they would be sent and how their baggage would be shipped, they did not take much with them.

However, the Jewish Community of Mannheim was informed by one of the homes for the elderly, which had itself been warned by phone by the sisters of a convent in

5 On the German invasion of the neighbouring western states on 10 May 1940, see Introduction, p. 13. Many German citizens living in the occupied states were interned as enemy aliens. On the internment of foreign Jews, see Doc. 242.

6 The children's welfare organization OSE was able to secure the release of many of the children from the camp over the course of the following year. They were placed in OSE homes and church facilities in the unoccupied zone. See Doc. 284.

7 On 21 Oct. 1940 the chairman of the Jewish Community of Mannheim, Eugen Neter, was informed by a number of Jewish workers that they had been dismissed 'by order of the higher office'. Rumours had been circulating since mid October 1940 about planned operations against the Jews in Mannheim. See report from Eugen Neter, cited in Erhard Roy Wiehn (ed.), *Camp de Gurs 1940: Zur Deportation der Juden aus Südwestdeutschland: 60 Jahre danach zum Gedenken* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2000), p. 105.

8 The rabbinate in Mannheim had been vacant since March 1940. The reference is probably to Dr Eugen Jizchak (Isaak) Neter (1876–1966), paediatrician; chairman of the Jewish Community of Mannheim from November 1938; voluntarily accompanied the deportation of the Jews from Mannheim, although he was not expelled due to his marriage to a non-Jew; interned at Gurs; emigrated to Palestine after the liberation of the camp.

9 Correctly: Jüdische Reichsvertretung. The reference is to the Reich Association of Jews in Germany.

Speyer, that the German authorities intended to deport all of the Jews from Baden, the Palatinate, and the Saar within 24 hours. Unfortunately, the community could not spread the word quickly enough. The news broke unexpectedly, and the Mannheim Jews had only very little time to prepare themselves for this distressing expulsion.

Those who were to suffer most cruelly from this inhuman measure were obviously the elderly, the sick, and children.

Thus, at the home for the elderly in Mannheim, all those who seemed able to travel received the order to leave. The disabled were sent to the community's Jewish hospital. It is distressing to note that there were numerous suicides on that day.¹⁰ – Those who had attempted to end their lives were also transported to the Jewish hospital. At the hospital, the police compiled a list of all the patients who had to leave. Any sick people who were not transportable were sent to the city's prison infirmary.

The elderly and the sick were the first to be taken to the railway station on Tuesday morning – 22 October. The managers and medical staff of the hospital and the home for the elderly arrived on Tuesday, 22 October, at 11 p.m.

A great number of people who had been assembled at various points around the city on Tuesday were sent towards the railway station. Those who could not be assembled in groups on that day were taken to the suburbs of Mannheim and lodged in enormous buildings, where they spent the night.

The final convoys arrived at the railway station on Wednesday morning, and by noon all of these poor souls, brutally torn from their homeland and their homes, were sent in unheated livestock wagons¹¹ towards an unknown destination.

It is true, one of the community leaders told me, that our future seems dark and uncertain, but we kept our faith in the one who leads the people. My congregation were calm and dignified; they had placed their hope in God.

It must be said that the German population who witnessed this sad exodus seemed stunned and showed no hostility at all.

What happened in Mannheim also happened in Stuttgart,¹² Karlsruhe, Freiburg, etc.

The unfortunate deportees travelled for four days and four nights, and were only fed at the train station in Mulhouse, where they were informed over the loudspeaker that those who left their trucks would be slaughtered mercilessly. One person from each truck was to go to the exchange counter in the railway station, after having gathered all the German currency that their travelling companions possessed. There, SA officials handed over French money in exchange for the Reichsmarks. Numerous errors were made, naturally to the disadvantage of the unfortunate deportees.

After much suffering (cold and hunger), they arrived at Gurs during a storm. Their luggage, piled up haphazardly on the station platform, was partly damaged by the rain. During my visit, I interviewed several community leaders to find out whether this

10 Based on a police report, eight people committed suicide in Mannheim alone; Eugen Neter's report speaks of ten people: see Wiehn, *Camp de Gurs*, p. 105.

11 Other reports state that those expelled were deported in French railway carriages: see Gerhard J. Teschner, *Die Deportation der badischen und saarpfälzischen Juden am 22. Oktober 1940* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002), p. 77.

12 Stuttgart was not part of the Gau of Baden, but of the Gau of Württemberg-Hohenzollern. Therefore, Jews living in and around Stuttgart were not affected by this operation. Deportations from Stuttgart began with a transport to Riga on 1 Dec. 1941.

expulsion measure was a general one, and whether it had also been undertaken against the Jews in other provinces. One of them, who'd had the time to telephone the Berlin Community, told me that the latter did not know anything. It is strange that the Jews who did not have a permanent address in one of these three regions were instructed to return to their usual place of residence.

In my view, the expulsion of the Jews from these three regions continues the pattern of the expulsion of the Jews from Alsace. The German leaders' policy aims to completely destroy Alsatian autonomy. Proof of this is the incorporation of Alsace into the old Duchy of Baden. Strasbourg, taking over from Stuttgart, has become the capital of these two regions.¹³ Now that Alsace has been cleansed of 'its Jews', this measure had to be extended to Baden, the Palatinate, and the Saar. This seems to be the most plausible hypothesis. Unfortunately, the expulsion of French-speaking inhabitants of the Lorraine presages new expulsion measures against the Jews living in the bordering German regions.¹⁴

Food and accommodation

The inmates are housed in windowless barracks.¹⁵ For a surface area of 150 m², only one stove is envisaged for the winter. Wood is relatively scarce. One barrack is occupied by 50 to 60 people. When it rains, the housing blocks resemble marshes, the clay soil is slippery; it is therefore dangerous to go out. Even in good weather it is difficult to move about, because 28 barracks have been built over a very small surface area, housing a total of 1,300 people; these poor souls are literally fenced in and cooped up. Each block is surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by a sentry. The families are separated, with the men on one side and the women and children on the other.

The food is insufficient and poor: 1,100 to 1,300 calories instead of 2,400. In the past week we have observed symptoms caused by vitamin deficiency (facial oedema etc.) in many of the inmates.

The food consists of: in the morning, black coffee; at lunchtime, thin soup; in the evening, the same soup and 300 grams of bread per day. Only children under the age of one get a little bit of milk. Many of the inmates do not have any warm clothing; more and more people are catching a chill. There is a lack of medicine; the doctors lack the most basic medical equipment. Block A houses forty people convalescing from typhoid fever; their nutritional intake should now be increased. They only receive the same food as is given to the other inmates.

A few days ago, the doctors discovered new cases of typhoid. In the blocks occupied by the refugees from Germany, a dysentery epidemic is raging. The women in particular are catching it. In the space of 15 days, 80 inmates who came from Germany have died; most, it is true, were over 70 years of age.

13 Until 1940, Karlsruhe – not Stuttgart – was the administrative centre of the Gau of Baden. Upon the annexation of Alsace, Strasbourg became the administrative centre of the newly established Gau of Baden-Alsace.

14 See Introduction, p. 59.

15 Gurs camp was initially intended to only briefly house International Brigade fighters who came to France from Spain. Hence, the barracks were not winter proof and initially had only a few wooden hatches in place of windows.

Conclusion

Winter is here and it will be a harsh one; we must save these poor souls! French and American Jewry must do their duty. A special fund for the camps must be created. These unfortunate people must be urgently provided with:

1. more substantial food
2. warm clothing (underwear, undergarments, shoes, winter coats, blankets, socks, stockings, special wooden clogs manufactured in the Lower Pyrenees).

Many items can be obtained in the département itself. In Oloron-Ste-Marie¹⁶ there is a wooden clog factory, a wool factory, a chocolate factory, etc. ... It is possible to stock up locally.

3. Medicine, bandages, medical instruments, supplements, and vitamins for the sick are required.
4. Milk for the children and the elderly.

We must intervene as a matter of urgency, because if we do not, within a month it will be too late for many of them.

All organizations must address this sad situation, including the American Red Cross, the Quakers, and the YMCA. The interdenominational camp committee must, without delay, draw the government's attention to the suffering that many women and unfortunate children are having to endure.

Moreover, I propose that representatives of OSE, HICEM, the JDC, ORT, and CAR meet to discuss how they can come to the aid of these unfortunate people. The camp commandant¹⁷ asked me to petition all the Jewish institutions so that they begin cooperating with him as soon as possible. He assured me that he would be happy to be able to improve the inmates' situation, but that he could undertake nothing on his own. Let us respond to his call and organize in the camp:

For the children: a school and a crèche (OSE).

For the elderly: a hospice, by converting some of the barracks for this purpose.

For the adults: workshops (ORT).

Let us prepare the emigration of all these unfortunate people (HICEM)!

To help keep up their morale, we should organize some pastimes: study groups, a library, an orchestra, T. S. F.,¹⁸ etc. ...

If we set to work straight away, we can save those who can still be saved. In this way, we will fulfil our duty and restore some faith and courage to our unfortunate brothers.¹⁹

16 A small town in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques département, 18 km from Gurs.

17 The French Ministry of War ran Gurs camp until 26 Nov. 1940, when the Ministry of the Interior took over. Colonel Davergne was camp commandant from June 1939 until the Ministry of the Interior took over.

18 Abbreviation for 'télégraphie sans fil': wireless.

19 Upon his return to Toulouse, Kapel informed the Jewish communities in the southern zone, his fellow rabbis, and French and international Jewish relief organizations, particularly the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee: René Samuel Kapel, *Un rabbin dans la tourmente (1940-1944)*. Some families were later transferred to Rivesaltes camp, while some ill and elderly people were transferred to Noé and Récébédou camps. More than 700 of the people deported to Gurs from south-west Germany were eventually able to emigrate, before deportations from Gurs via Drancy began in August 1942.

DOC. 251

**In the Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 18 November 1940,
Oberfeldkommandantur 670 sets out measures to exclude the Jews in the Nord
and Pas-de-Calais départements¹**

Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews²

(Jew Regulation of 18 November 1940)

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France,³ I decree the following:

Definition

§ 1

In the two départements of Nord and Pas-de-Calais, a Jew is defined as a person who belongs or has belonged to the Jewish faith or is descended from more than two Jewish grandparents. Grandparents are considered Jews if they belong or have belonged to the Jewish faith.

Prohibition against returning

§ 2

Jews who have fled from the Nord and Pas-de-Calais départements are prohibited from returning there.

Entry in the Jew registry

§ 3 All Jews must report immediately to the sub-prefect of the arrondissement in which they are resident or have their usual abode in order to be entered in the Jew registry. Registration by the head of household suffices for the entire family.

Visible identification of Jewish shops

§ 4 Businesses (i.e. commercial enterprises of all kinds) which are owned or leased by Jews must display clearly visible signs with the following wording, in three languages: 'Jüdisches Unternehmen – Entreprise Juive – Joodsche Onderneming'⁴ by 15 December 1940.

Registration of commercial enterprises

§ 5

Jewish commercial enterprises or those commercial enterprises that continued to be Jewish after 23 May 1940⁵ must be registered with the sub-prefect in charge, in Paris with the Prefect of Police, by 31 October 1940. The authority in charge is the one in the district where natural persons are resident or legal entities are headquartered. For Jewish com-

1 *Verköndungsblatt des Oberfeldkommandanten für die Departements Nord und Pas-de-Calais*, 6 Dec. 1940, pp. 127–132. The regulation was published in German, French, and Dutch. This document has been translated from German.

2 The French départements of Nord and Pas-de-Calais were part of the area under the authority of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France and from 6 June 1940 were administered by Oberfeldkommandantur 670, which was headquartered in Lille. The regulation issued here corresponded to the measures adopted in occupied France: see Docs. 238 and 246.

3 Alexander von Falkenhausen.

4 German, French, and Dutch for 'Jewish business'.

5 The Regulation Concerning Enemy Assets in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Enemy Assets Regulation) was issued on 23 May 1940: *VOBl-F*, 4 July 1940, pp. 33–35.

mercial enterprises headquartered outside the occupied territory, this provision applies to the part of the enterprise that operates in the occupied territory.

Information to be recorded

§ 6

The registration form must include:

- a) the name, headquarters, and owner or leaseholder of the enterprise, emphasizing the circumstances that make the enterprise Jewish or explain why it remained Jewish after 23 May 1940
- b) for enterprises that are no longer Jewish, the procedures through which these criteria ceased to apply
- c) the nature of the enterprise based on the goods traded, manufactured or administered; the enterprise's primary business should be highlighted
- d) branches, workshops, and subsidiaries
- e) turnover according to the most recent tax return
- f) the value of the stock of merchandise, the existing stock of raw materials, the properties and funds managed

Definition of a commercial enterprise

§ 7

Within the scope of this regulation, a commercial enterprise is any enterprise that pursues the objective of participating independently in the production, processing, exchange, and management of goods, irrespective of the legal structure of the enterprise and irrespective of its entry in a register. Also included are banks, insurance companies, offices of notaries and avoués,⁶ the post of bill broker, and real estate businesses.

An enterprise is Jewish if the owners or leaseholders

- a) are Jews or
- b) are companies in which a partner is a Jew or
- c) are private limited companies in which more than a third of the shareholders are Jews or more than a third of the shares are in the hands of Jewish shareholders or in which a manager is a Jew or more than a third of the members of the supervisory board are Jews or
- d) are public limited companies in which the chairman of the administrative board or an adjunct administrator or more than a third of the members of the administrative board are Jews.

An enterprise is also considered Jewish within the scope of this regulation if it is notified of the decision by the prefect responsible for its headquarters that it is predominantly under Jewish influence.

Registration of stocks, shares, and participating interests

§ 8

All Jewish commercial enterprises as well as all Jews and spouses of Jews and all legal entities that are not commercial enterprises and in which more than a third of the members or management are Jews must, by 15 December 1940, register with the sub-prefects any stocks,
shares belonging to them or pledged to them,

⁶ In French in the original: see Doc. 246, fn. 2.

silent partnerships in commercial enterprises and loans to commercial enterprises, also their properties and rights to properties.

The authority in charge of registration is the one in the district where the enterprise involved has its main headquarters or the affected or mortgaged property is located.

Prohibitions of transfer and disposal

§ 9

Any legal transactions occurring after 23 May 1940 which dispose of the assets of the persons named in § 3 may be declared null and void by the Chief of the Military Administration for Oberfeldkommandantur 670.

Legal transactions that concern businesses and local branches subject to registration or the complete assets of Jews and enterprises subject to registration are permissible and legally effective only with the authorization of the Oberfeldkommandant or agencies empowered by him. The same applies to legal transactions concerning properties that are owned by Jews or by enterprises subject to registration.

Disposals by way of foreclosure are the equivalent of legal transactions.

Appointment of temporary administrators

§ 10

A temporary administrator may be appointed for Jewish commercial enterprises. The provisions of the Business Management Regulation of 20 May 1940 shall correspondingly apply to him.⁷

§ 1 of the Business Management Regulation continues to apply also to Jewish commercial enterprises.

Final provisions

§ 11

If required, the heads of the Jewish communities must hand over to the French authorities all documents that may be relevant for the implementation of this regulation.

§ 12

Contraventions of this regulation will be punished with imprisonment or a fine or both. In addition, the assets of non-registered enterprises can be seized, as well as any items subject to registration under § 8 that have not been registered.

Entry into force

§ 13

This regulation comes into force upon its promulgation.

Lille, 18 November 1940

The Commandant

of Oberfeldkommandantur 670

signed *Niehoff*,⁸

Major General

7 Regulation on the Orderly Management and Administration of Businesses and Enterprises in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Business Management Regulation), 20 May 1940, *VOBl-F*, 4 July 1940, pp. 31–33.

8 Heinrich Niehoff (1882–1946), police officer; professional soldier, 1901–1919; in the police force, 1919–1936; chief of staff and vice president of the Reich Federation for Air Raid Protection, 1936–1938; commandant of the Lille Oberfeldkommandantur from Feb. 1940 to Nov. 1942; commandant of Army Area Southern France from Nov. 1942 to August 1944; arrested by the Soviet occupation authorities in Dec. 1945; died in captivity.

DOC. 252

On 21 November 1940 the Reich Foreign Office discusses the Vichy government's protests against the deportation of the Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate to the south of France¹

Reich Foreign Office memorandum (D III 5451), signed Rademacher, for Martin Luther, dated 21 November 1940

Submission for *Envoy Luther*

Re: deportation of the 6,000 Jews from the Saar region and Baden to France.²

The French have not contented themselves with their repeated oral enquiries, but have instead delivered to the German Armistice Commission the protest note³ contained in the enclosed telegram of 20 November 1940.

In my opinion, the German side cannot now continue to remain silent on the matter. I propose that Ambassador *Abetz* be instructed to raise the issue in Paris of his own accord and to suggest that the French handle the matter unofficially, but not take it up again in Wiesbaden.⁴ Wiesbaden should be informed of this instruction to Abetz and if the matter is brought up again, Wiesbaden should tell the French that it is already being negotiated in Paris.

Ministerialrat *Globcke*⁵ from the Reich Ministry of the Interior, State Secretary Stuckart's office, telephoned and asked that a copy of the French protest note be given to the Reich Ministry of the Interior in its capacity as the authority in charge of domestic Jewish affairs. I replied that I could not simply give him a copy of the note and that he should tell me what he needs it for. This matter, I said, is not so much a Jewish issue alone but rather a question of German-French policy.

Besides, with respect to the question of keeping each other informed, it must at least be noted that when the measure to deport the Jews was instigated the Reich Ministry of the Interior, as the authority in charge of Jewish affairs, had not informed the Reich Foreign Office on its own initiative. Globcke responded that notification would have been given had the Reich Ministry of the Interior known of the measure.

1 PA AA, R 100869, fol. 33 r–v. This document has been translated from German.

2 On Hitler's orders, 6,504 Jews were deported from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate to unoccupied France on 22 and 23 Oct. 1940. The expulsion of Jews with French citizenship had been previously agreed with the local French government. The authorities permitted the nine trains to cross the border in the belief that they contained French nationals. See Doc. 250 and PMJ 3/111–113 and 115.

3 The head of the French delegation to the Franco-German Armistice Commission, General Paul-André Doyen, demanded the return of the German Jews as the French government had not been informed in advance of their deportation: telegram dated 19 Nov. 1940 (received on 20 Nov. 1940, 00.30), PA AA, R 100869, fols. 21–22.

4 Seat of the Franco-German Armistice Commission.

5 Correctly: Dr Hans Globke (1898–1973), lawyer; deputy chief of police in Aachen from 1925; Regierungsrat in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, 1929; section head for citizenship affairs at the Reich Ministry of the Interior from 1932; Ministerialrat, 1938; after 1945 classified as a 'follower' (*Mitläufer*) during denazification proceedings; became a member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU); appointed Ministerialdirigent in the West German Chancellery, 1949; state secretary, 1953–1963.

Evidently the Reich Ministry of the Interior wants to use the note as an opportunity to take action against Gauleiter *Bürkel*.⁶ I do not know the extent of Globcke's personal interest in this. As far as I recall, Globcke previously worked on matters pertaining to the Saar. The question now is whether under these circumstances the Reich Foreign Office should pass on the text of the note to the Ministry of the Interior.

I promised Globcke that I would seek instruction as to whether the note could be conveyed in full to the Ministry of the Interior. I myself see no formal reason to withhold the text of the note from the Reich Ministry of the Interior.⁷

DOC. 253

On 21 November 1940 the French Minister of Justice lists ways of establishing the racial status of people who fall under the Statute on Jews¹

Letter from the Minister of Justice, signed Raphaël Alibert, to the Minister of the Interior,² dated 21 November 1940

With reference to the application of a decree concerning the removal of members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies from office, in a letter dated 30 October³ you asked me about the legal and circumstantial evidence which I believe should be taken into consideration in determining whether a grandparent or spouse belongs to the Jewish race.⁴

Given the absence of documentation on this particular subject, it is currently difficult to provide an expert opinion.

In most cases the grandparents' or spouse's adherence to the *Jewish faith* will provide the best indication.

In this respect, it is not uninteresting to note that German legislation, which itself uses the term 'Jewish race', has had to employ the same method of determining race in order to implement the same provisions. In fact, it rules that each grandparent who belongs to the Jewish religious community is automatically considered a 'full Jew'.⁵ One

6 Correctly: Josef Bürckel (1895–1944), teacher; joined the NSDAP in 1921 and the SS in 1937; NSDAP Gauleiter of Rhineland-Palatinate from 1926 and simultaneously of the Saar territory, still under French administration, from 1933; member of the Reichstag, 1930–1944; Reich commissioner for the Saarland, 1936–1940; Reich commissioner for the reunification of Austria with the Reich, 1938–1940; Gauleiter of Vienna, 1939/40; Reich commissioner for the Saar-Palatinate, 1940/41; chief of the civil administration in Lorraine and Gauleiter of the Westmark, 1940–1944.

7 In consultation with the Reich Foreign Minister, it was agreed to leave the note unanswered. Luther had previously considered advising the French government to intern the Jews in camps for the time being, so that they could be used for construction work as appropriate and deported overseas at a suitable opportunity: letter from Luther to the representative of the Reich Foreign Office with the Military Commander in France, PA AA, R 100869, fol. 36r–v.

1 AN, F1a, vol. 3706. This document has been translated from French.

2 Marcel Peyrouton.

3 Not in the files.

4 The legal basis is the first Statute on Jews: see Doc. 241.

5 § 2(2) of the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law (14 Nov. 1935), *Reichsgesetzblatt I*, 1935, p. 1333; see PMJ 1/210.

must refer in particular to a recent German text, the second decree of 7 August 1940, enacted with a view to implementing the Regulation Concerning the Assets of Enemies of the People and the Reich in Alsace of 13 July 1940. Article 1 of this regulation rules that:

Anyone who is descended from at least three grandparents who are full Jews by race will be considered Jewish pursuant to point IIc of the regulation of 13 July 1940. A grandparent automatically counts as fully Jewish if he or she belongs to the Jewish religious community.⁶

One should note, however, that in our country the difficulties in implementing this measure will be far greater, since in France, unlike in Germany, civil status documents do not record religious affiliation.

The question arises as to how the authorities will be able to obtain information about the religion of the people concerned. One should refer to the provisions of section 5 of the Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 27 September 1940 issued by the military government of the occupied French territories. This text stipulates:

‘If required, the heads of the Israelite communities must hand over to the French authorities all documents that may be relevant for the implementation of this regulation.’⁷

If membership of the Jewish religion cannot be proven, it will be much harder to determine whether the person concerned belongs to the Jewish race or not.

It seems that it will be possible to find useful indications in certain patronymics, in the choice of first name as it appears on civil status documents, and if it is the case that forebears are buried in an Israelite cemetery.

If required, the persons concerned will be asked to provide all necessary information.

Moreover, it should be pointed out that the law of 3 October does not provide any solution to an additional problem, which will be particularly tricky to handle: the issue of how to proceed in cases of illegitimate children who have not been acknowledged or are acknowledged by only one parent.⁸

I would be glad to know whether you agree with these suggestions. If you are planning to adopt other criteria to determine whether the civil servants in your ministry are of the Jewish race, I would be grateful if you could inform me of these.

6 Second Regulation on the Implementation and Amendment of the Regulation concerning the Assets of Enemies of the People and the Reich in Alsace (13 July 1940), *VOBl. des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung im Elsass*, 24 Aug. 1940, pp. 4 f.

7 See Doc. 238.

8 By not acknowledging parentage of an illegitimate child or by withdrawing an earlier acknowledgement, Jews were sometimes able to protect children from the provisions of the Statute on Jews. However, Article 1 of the law of 2 June 1941 made such retractions invalid: see Doc. 270.

DOC. 254

On 4 December 1940 a French Jew expresses his indignation about the Statute on Jews in a letter to Marshal Pétain¹

Letter to Marshal Pétain, (signature illegible), Grenoble, dated 4 December 1940²

Marshal,

It is as a man whose patriotic feelings have been deeply wounded that I take the liberty of writing to you to unburden my heart. I ask for nothing for myself. I realize that your task is immensely difficult, but I have felt this need to commend myself to your great wisdom for too long not to beg you to set aside a few moments of your precious time to read what follows, if I may hope that this letter will reach you:

1814 My great-grandfather, who bred horses on the banks of the Saar, fled his little village before the Imperial forces in order to remain a Frenchman.

1871 My grandfather, who lived in Mulhouse, left Alsace. He chose France and gave way to the Prussians.

1917 My father, then at the front, learnt that his house in the east had been demolished by a large shell. Upon returning from the war, others had taken his place, his business was ruined, the house was not rebuilt until 1924.

1940 Demobilized in the south of France and resident in the prohibited zone, I cannot go home; all my assets have been liquidated by the occupiers, I am nothing more than a ruined outcast.³ A long-established business is irreparably destroyed, my staff, some of whom had worked for the business for over forty years, have been put out onto the street.

Have my family and I suffered for France? I think so, and yet being an Israelite I am only a second-class Frenchman. Too many people believe clever propaganda. Too many confuse Israelites who have been French for centuries with those who escaped the ghettos of Central Europe, with whom we have nothing in common except for our religion.

You must know, Marshal (how could you not), that a very large number of us, doubtless the majority, were against the fanatic who was brought to power in 1936 by the votes of the people.⁴ Why believe that Jews are united and obedient to who knows what mysterious organization which exists nowhere? Our only unity comes from the community formed in the face of secular persecution; antisemitism is a passion which flares only when base instincts and envy are stirred up.

How can I express the suffering that grips me when doubt is cast on my patriotic feelings even though I was raised by a Diable Bleu⁵ father to love France and although I instil the same feelings in my son?

1 AN, AJ38, vol. 67. This document has been translated from French.

2 Submitted to the registry of the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs with the handwritten note 'Jews'; the registry's receipt stamp is dated 21 April 1941.

3 Jews who had fled to southern France to escape the German troops were prohibited from returning to the occupied zone. Their property was placed under the control of trustees: see Doc. 238.

4 The reference is to Léon Blum, who became France's first Jewish and first Socialist prime minister in 1936, after the left-wing Popular Front alliance won the general election.

5 French mountain troops were known as the 'Diabes bleus' (Blue Devils), a reference to the colour of their uniform.

This statute, which the government was perhaps obliged to formulate, has deeply pained all of my co-religionists.⁶ That I should not have access to political or leadership roles is of little importance to me, since that has never been my ambition. On the other hand, without intending to ingratiate myself, I will say that I have long wanted reform of the government and of social mores.

But why exclude us from officer ranks in the army? Are we bad soldiers, have people of my religion not died like those of other faiths in the service of the homeland we share? It pains me to think of the humiliation if I had to appear, demoted, in uniform before my comrades.

I have voluntarily taken military training courses which cost me time and money because I travelled 100 km from my home, and have always paid my own costs without claiming reimbursement. Many of those who are now opportunistic arch-patriots laughed at me then, preferring other pastimes.

You are said to be fair and good; you must understand me. This statute prohibits Jews from being civil servants or teachers: it is unjust but also dangerous, as this class of French people now have only two activities open to them: agriculture, or industry and commerce.

Agriculture will take only a few of them as it is quite hard for people who have been city dwellers for generations to adapt to the land. Almost all will therefore inevitably turn to industry and commerce. And if nothing changes between now and then, in ten or twenty years there will be complaints about the excessive number of Jews in these professions.

If I might express a wish, Marshal, it is that those of us who are good Frenchmen, and we are the majority, should not be made pariahs. If it is a matter of others, let them be punished. If it is a matter of foreigners who have difficulty adapting, let them be sent back to their countries. Where that would be impossible, let them be spread across the provinces to be assimilated.

I have lost everything, my fortune, my position, my little corner of France which I loved so much. May I at least retain my pride in being a Frenchman like the others.

I beg you to excuse my taking the liberty of writing this letter. I am not one to ingratiate myself and I do not know how to clothe my thoughts in formal language. Perhaps you will let us know that my appeal has been heard. If so, you will have won the gratitude and love of people who do not understand how a different religion or even a different race can prevent them from being patriots and participating in the great task of the day.

Marshal, please accept the expression of my respectful devotion.

6 See Doc. 241.

DOC. 255

**Völkischer Beobachter, 8 December 1940: article on the utilization of furniture
belonging to Jews expelled from Alsace¹**

News from Alsace. The utilization of Jewish furniture in Alsace. An important regulation issued by the head of the civil administration

Strasbourg, 7 December

On instructions issued by the head of the civil administration,² furniture and furnishings from former Jew apartments in Alsace³ are to be distributed to families who have lost their worldly goods as a result of military action and the looting of their homes.

Transport convoys carrying furniture are being sent daily to the communities in the previously evacuated zone.⁴ The staff of the Commissioner General for the Assets of Enemies of the State and the Reich are working flat out. And the work they are doing is all the more necessary as the evacuated residents returning from the south of France often come back to find they have lost *everything*. There are cases in which people initially had to sleep on a pile of straw on the floor, because the French military had either taken their beds away or burned them.

The distribution procedure – as the Strasbourg branch of the Gau press office for Baden reports – is as follows: the aggrieved party informs the *local branch* of the NSDAP of the furniture and household items that have been lost. The head of the local branch then forwards the application via the Kreisleiter to the Gau organizational office for processing by the Commissioner General for the Property of Enemies of the State and the Reich. This agency procures the furniture by systematically going through former Jewish homes, room by room. Suitable items of furniture are then transported to a storage facility, where the items requested are collected together – whereby the greater or lesser value of the furniture lost by each individual is to be taken into account. The distribution of the items is then undertaken by the Kreisleiter in the municipalities.

Items that are decidedly *luxurious* and of no use to rural residents are taken in the first instance to the storage facility, to be auctioned off in due course. A separate *art commission* is tasked with identifying any items of artistic value which the Jews have not taken with them or subsequently collected. It should be noted at this point that all items of artistic value that have not already been taken away will also remain in Alsace. Nearly all the valuable rugs and paintings have been removed by the Jews.

Alsace was so richly ‘blessed’ with Jews that in all likelihood it will be possible to refurnish all the homes that have been badly damaged or looted; and it is only right that those who are largely responsible for this war should have to pay for the worst of the damage with the property that they acquired by underhand means.

1 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 Dec. 1940, p. 12. This document has been translated from German.

2 Robert Wagner.

3 On 13 July 1940 the chief of the civil administration in Alsace, Robert Wagner, had ordered the deportation of the region’s Jews to France.

4 After France and Britain declared war on Germany on 3 Sept. 1939, the border regions within the combat zone were evacuated. A quarter of the population of Alsace, some 430,000 people, were brought to south-west France.

DOC. 256

On 16 December 1940 representatives from the French ministries discuss the practical implementation of the Statute on Jews¹

Minutes by the Secretariat General of the Presidency of the Council (no. 2008 S.G.) of the inter-ministerial conference held on 16 December 1940 at Hotel Thermal, Vichy, on questions raised by the application of the Statute on Jews of 3 October 1940²

Attachments: 2³

The meeting started at 10 a.m.

Present:

Mr *Lagrange*, for the Presidency of the Council;
 Mr *Delvolvé*, for the Ministry of Justice;
 Dr *Limousin*, for the Ministry of the Interior;
 Mr *Vaysse* and Mr *Yrissouy*, for the Ministry of Finance;
 Army Inspectors *Migeon* and *Brunner* and Major *Ménard* of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, for the Ministry of War;
 Inspector *Plurien*, for the Ministry of the Navy;
 Mr *Vivent* and Major *Deschamps*, for the Ministry of Aviation;
 Captain *Bosc*, for the Coordination Secretariat;
 Mr *Audidier*, for the Ministry of Agriculture;
 Miss *Laveissières*, for the Ministry of Industrial Production and Labour;
 Mr *Rosset*, for the Ministry of Education;
 Mr *Demarais*, for the Ministry of Communications;
 Mr *Pourrien* and Mr *Guignin*, for the Ministry of the Colonies;

Mr *Lagrange*⁴ outlined the objectives of the meeting, which had been called by the Secretariat General of the President of the Council.

They were:

- 1) to take stock of the current situation in each ministerial department with respect to the application of the law;
- 2) to examine the main difficulties arising in the interpretation of the law and, if need be, to consider any appropriate amendments.

A. Measures currently being taken in each ministerial department

I. – *What is the status of the preparations envisaged in Article 7 of the regulation for the public administration*, which is intended to regulate the status of civil servants with less than fifteen years of service?

¹ AN, F60, vol. 490. This document has been translated from French.

² See Doc. 241.

³ Not in the file.

⁴ Maurice Lagrange (1900–1986), lawyer; member of the Council of State in various posts, 1923–1952, including government commissioner for legal disputes from 1935; aide in the Secretariat General of the President of the Council until April 1942; advocate general at the Court of Justice of the European Coal and Steel Community, 1952–1958; advocate general at the Court of Justice of the European Community, 1958–1964.

Mr Lagrange reminded those present that the original agreement had been for each ministry to present its own plan; the Ministry of Finance had then insisted that there should be one single text, countersigned only by the Minister of Finance.

*Mr Vaysse*⁵ (Finance) explained that on 29 November the Minister of Finance⁶ had presented to the Council of State a draft regulation that had been prepared by the Council Presidency together with the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Finance. This draft envisaged that those concerned would continue to receive salary payments for a period of two months for every year of service, with a minimum payment of nine months of salary. The Council of State amended this draft in order to reflect more clearly the intentions of the legislator (Article 7 states that the duration of the salary payments will be fixed according to category) and set the period at nine months for those civil servants whose salary is greater than fr. 50,000, at twelve months for those whose salary is between fr. 25,000 and fr. 50,000, and at eighteen months for those whose salary is less than fr. 25,000.

Certain reservations about this system remain; it is not yet known whether the Minister of Finance will be in agreement.⁷

II. – *Submission of requests for exemption under Article 8.* –

Some ministries were not able to submit requests for exemption to the Council of State in time; this is particularly true for employees in the colonies. Other ministries felt it necessary to refer the matter to the Ministry of Justice.

Mr Lagrange reminded everyone that in accordance with Memo 1278/SG dated 14 November each ministry is to contact *the Council of State directly*.⁸

The next question discussed was which ministry should coordinate requests from *seconded* civil servants.

After an exchange of views, the participants in the meeting determined that such requests should be addressed to the minister to which the official concerned has been seconded and then sent by that minister, with his opinion, to the minister from whom the said official had come.

The next question was whether the minister was required to consult the Council of State in every case, or whether he could reject out of hand any request that seemed to him to have no chance of success. *The latter position was adopted.*

Nevertheless, one difficulty remains, namely the uncertainty as to the legislative approach that the Council of State will take in applying Article 8.

Mr Lagrange indicated that this legislative approach is likely to be very strict; the exemptions foreseen by the law are to be applied very rarely, in only a very few cases overall.⁹

5 Gaston Vaysse, inspector of state finances; worked at the Ministry of Finance; inspector of state finances in Madagascar, 1916–1919, then again at the Ministry of Finance from 1920; in charge of budget control, then deputy head of the budget department.

6 Yves Bouthillier.

7 The decree of 26 Dec. 1940 set out how Article 7 of the law of 3 Oct. 1940 was to be applied: *Journal officiel*, 7 Feb 1940, pp. 606 f.

8 In a circular dated 19 Nov. 1940, the head of the Presidency of the Council, Jean Fernet, stated that each ministry should present applications as soon as possible for Jewish civil servants who might be entitled to an exemption according to Article 8: AN, F1BI, vol. 919.

*Inspector Migeon*¹⁰ was of the view that this target should be made clear in a circular, as opinions could vary across ministries, or even within a single ministry.

*Mr Delvolvé*¹¹ (Justice) indicated that while ministers are not bound by the position adopted by the Council of State, as a rule they should abide by it.

Finally, the participants in the meeting resolved that it would be advantageous to *modify the text of the law* to the effect that the decrees issued for the implementation of Article 8 must be in accordance with the position adopted by the Council of State.¹²

III. – *Implementing measures applied in the different ministries*

Each ministerial representative was asked to report what has been done in his ministry.

At the Ministry of Justice, the decisions for the Council of State and the Court of Cassation have been taken, with the exception of several individual cases in the latter.¹³

For the judicial authorities, the chief prosecutors and court presidents have been asked to establish lists of all Israelite magistrates within their jurisdictions. The *Ministry of Justice* is waiting until it has received all of the responses, in order to take an overall decision. This work is almost complete.¹⁴

At the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, inquiries are being made about officials in the central administration; this work is close to completion. Inquiries were made by telegram for officials abroad, but the responses will not be received before 20 December.¹⁵

The *Ministry of the Interior* reported that nothing has been undertaken.

At the *Ministry of Finance*, a memo was sent to all sections requiring every official to sign a general declaration. Those to whom the provisions of this law apply had to sign an individual declaration. This work has been completed for the central administration as well as for the public corporations.

It was decided that *this memo would be sent for information purposes to all of the ministries* by the Secretary General of the Presidency of the Council.¹⁶

9 Applications for exemption were checked rigorously by the Council of State. By the end of May 1941 only 18 people out of several hundred applicants had been granted exemptions in accordance with Article 8.

10 The chief inspector of the army, Migeon, was head of the Department for Administration and Monitoring in the Ministry of War. In Sept. 1941 he was made responsible for political monitoring of the public service and monitored adherence to the laws of the Vichy government.

11 Jean Delvolvé (1904–1991), lawyer; prosecutor at various courts from 1935; deputy head of the cabinet of the Minister of Justice from July to Dec. 1940; assessor in the Council of State from Dec. 1940; member of the Council of State in 1956; mayor of Moissac, 1959–1971.

12 In cases where the Council of State approved an application for exemption, the ministry in question would issue a decree exempting the applicant from the provision in the Statute on Jews specified in the application. The decree was then published in the *Journal officiel*.

13 Footnote in the original document: 'Now decided (see *Journal officiel* of 19 Dec.)'. On 19 Dec. 1940 the *Journal officiel* announced that three members of the Court of Cassation would retire on 20 Dec. 1940, but from that date would be permitted to serve as honorary advisors there: *Journal officiel*, 19 Dec. 1940, p. 6171.

14 Footnote in the original: 'Appears to now be complete (see the *Journal officiel* of 18 Dec.)'. On 18 Dec. 1940 the *Journal officiel* published lists with the names of high-ranking civil servants who had been dismissed from the departments of the Ministry of Justice as of 20 Dec. 1940 on the basis of the Statute on Jews: *Journal officiel*, 18 Dec. 1940, pp. 6159–6161.

15 On the basis of a decision issued by the Council of State on 8 Nov. 1940, the employment of Jews affected by the Statute on Jews ended on 19 Dec. 1940.

16 Footnote in the original: 'Memo attached'.

At the *Ministry of War*, circulars have been sent out.

At the *Ministry of Agriculture*, a circular has been sent to all branches of the administration, with each section head responsible for compiling a list of the officials who may be subject to this law.

The *Supply Office* was not represented.

The *Ministry of Industrial Production* has adopted a system analogous to that used by the Ministry of Finance. All declarations are centralized. The work for the central administration is complete; only a few responses from the external sections are outstanding.

At the *Ministry of Education*, circulars were sent to local education officers and school inspectors, requesting them to compile a list of all those civil servants who to their knowledge or by reputation are Jews. All of these civil servants were relieved of their posts as of 20 December. In a few uncertain cases, the individuals in question were required to provide evidence of their descent.

For the secondary schools, the local education officer consulted the head teachers, who know their own teaching staff well. Nothing has been done concerning teachers abroad; in any case there are few Jews among them.

At the *Ministry of Communications*, the work for the *Department for Civil Engineering* is complete. Requests for exemption have already been submitted to the Council of State and received back.

For the other officials and especially for the P.T.T.,¹⁷ declarations have had to be signed and the dismissal of all Jews has been decreed for 20 December. The only difficulties concern Algeria.

In the *Ministry of the Colonies*, the text of the law was already sent out on 22 October. On 31 October, the department heads were required to pass on the names of any Jewish civil servants under the authority of the central administration. A reminder was sent out on 27 November.

The system employed is that involving a declaration.¹⁸

The necessary steps have been taken for the central administration and for colonial civil servants who are in France.

With respect to the colonies, responses have been received from Indochina, French West Africa, Guadeloupe, Guyana, and Réunion.

In the case of civil servants appointed by the local authorities, the colonial governors will undertake the necessary measures, but they have been asked to pass on a list of civil servants presumed to be Jewish.

At the *Ministry of Aviation*, orders have been issued to initiate the dismissal of all Jewish officials.

The question was raised as to whether salaries should continue to be paid to civil servants who have less than fifteen years of service, even though the regulations for the public administration set out in Article 7 have not yet been published.

The representative from the *Ministry of Finance* answered in the affirmative: The minimum period from the date of dismissal is actually nine months. The sum to be paid is the salary itself, to which are added temporary compensation and family benefits.

17 Postes, Télécommunications et Télédiffusion: French post office and telecommunications network.

18 In the Ministry of the Colonies Jews were required to declare themselves affected by the Statute on Jews; anyone failing to do so would be subject to punishment.

There was agreement that the regulations for the public administration should apply to all civil and *military personnel*, with the draft submitted to Admiral *Darlan* therefore null and void in this respect.¹⁹

B – Problems of interpretation and possible amendments to the law

Mr Lagrange suggested that the questions raised should be discussed article by article. This met with agreement.

Article 1. – The essential problem was in the definition of the term ‘Jew’.

A circular from the Minister of Justice with relevant instructions has been sent by the Secretariat General of the President of the Council to every ministry for information purposes.²⁰

As some ministerial departments claimed not to have received it, it was read out.

Mr Lagrange asked if anyone wished to comment on the criteria contained in this circular or to make any other suggestions.

*Major Ménard*²¹ asked whether the Council of State could adjudicate in disputed cases.

Mr Lagrange responded that in his view the courts were responsible, as the issue concerns the status of the individual. The Council of State will pass a preliminary ruling from the courts in cases where a civil servant has appealed the Council of State’s decision to retire or dismiss the person in question.

To sum up, each authority must take its decisions in light of the information available to it, after having requested the required paperwork if this is necessary. The individual concerned retains the usual right to appeal these decisions.

Major Ménard raised the issue of abuses relating to the application of a recent decree, permitting naturalized persons to change their name. He asked if this decree is still in force.

On this issue, *Mr Lagrange* reminded everyone of the ruling by the Council of State, when it was asked for its position on *name changes* applied for under the law of Germinal, Year XI.²² This ruling, which permits Israelites to change their names for commercial reasons for example, will certainly change to take account of the current situation.²³

Some members of the commission thought that there was another text besides the law of Germinal.²⁴

19 On 7 Dec. 1940 Minister of the Navy *Darlan* had sent the Presidency of the Council a draft amendment to the Statute on Jews drawn up by the armed forces, envisaging in particular an extension of the employment ban under Article 2 to include additional military ranks: AN, F60, vol. 1440.

20 On the circular from Minister of Justice Raphaël Alibert, see Doc. 253.

21 Jean Ménard (1877–1957), professional soldier; at the Ministry of War from 1929; appointed general in 1932; head of the military cabinet, May 1935–June 1936; military commander of the Toulouse region, 1936–1939; on the army general staff from Feb. 1939; in charge of internment camps, Feb.–Oct. 1940; director of the Maison Gradis overseas trading company, 1940–1956.

22 Law on Name Changes, 2 April 1803 (11th Germinal of the Year XI), *Bulletin des lois*, no. 267, pp. 83–85. Germinal refers to the seventh month of the French Republican calendar (1793–1805), originally running from 21 March to 19 April.

23 At the cabinet meeting on 30 Sept. 1940 it was decided that name changes by Jews would be reviewed or prohibited entirely, as they allowed for Jewish origins to be concealed. First, however, non-Jews with Jewish-sounding names were to be allowed to assume a different name. The law was therefore not issued until 10 Feb. 1942.

24 Footnote in the original: ‘Checked at the Ministry of Justice, no recent text or law’.

In any case, this question was to be sent to the Ministry of Justice for consideration. *Article 2.* – The question that arises is whether to *extend Section 5 to officers by amending the law*. This extension would apply to reserve officers, professional and reserve non-commissioned officers, members of the controlling bodies of the Army, Navy and Air Force, as well as the members and leadership of the recently ‘demobilized’ armed services.

Inspector Migeon explained the reasons that had motivated the military authorities to suggest these amendments.

After an exchange of views, the commission agreed that the law should henceforth be applied to reserve officers, and that it was unnecessary to amend it to this effect. Regarding the extension to non-commissioned officers, such an amendment was considered to be desirable, but it was not necessary to specify that the law would apply to non-commissioned officers in both the reserves and the regular forces. In the end, the text of Section 5 was only to be supplemented by the following addition:

‘Officers and non-commissioned officers of the army, navy and air force.’²⁵

Article 3. – I. – The first question arising from this article concerns the meaning that should be applied to the words ‘all public offices’.

On this point, the opinion of the Council of State had been sought and had just reached the President of the Council.²⁶ It was read out.²⁷

The discussion of this question established the following:

- 1) that, as the Council of State stated in its opinion, Article 3 is not limited to civil servants in the strict sense, but applies to all persons who are employed in any form of ‘public service’ in the meaning of the law, whatever their rank;
- 2) that even for junior positions, the nature of the office for which the official works must be taken into account (for example, officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, typists for certain departments of the National Defence).

Some members of the commission were of the view that given these difficulties, it would be better to apply Article 3 to all public officials without exception. Finally, it was agreed:

- 1) that the law will be applied forthwith to all public officials in the central administration;
- 2) that each ministry will henceforth apply the law to all officials in external offices who occupy a position that, on account of the nature of this position, leaves no room for doubt;
- 3) *that as soon as possible* each ministry will send the Secretariat General of the President of the Council its suggestions for how to determine the categories of personnel to which Article 3 is to be applied.²⁸

25 The amendment to Article 2 was pronounced on 11 April 1941: *Journal officiel*, 30 April 1941, p. 1846.

26 Footnote in the original: ‘See statement of opinion in appendix’.

27 On 12 Dec. 1940 the Council of State ruled that the intention behind the law was to prohibit Jews from holding positions of influence or official authority.

28 Footnote in the original: ‘The Secretariat General of the Presidency of the Council considers it highly important that it receives the responses by 31 December *at the latest*.’ On 16 Feb. 1941 the Presidency of the Council declared that in light of the suggestions it had received, Jews would be prohibited from all occupations with opportunities for promotion. Subordinate positions, for example as a typist, could be held only in purely technical departments. All non-subordinate positions would be available to Jews only if they were of a purely technical nature: AN, F60, vol. 490.

Mr Lagrange highlighted the cases of doctors and surgeons in hospitals who, while working in the public service, also had a private practice that can be regulated under Article 4.

*Dr Limousin*²⁹ pointed out that fifty per cent of the physicians in the hospitals of *Paris* are Jews. Should they be prohibited from practising their profession even if the regulations of Article 4 apply to them?

The participants in the meeting judged that in legal terms it would be impossible to exclude them from the regulations of Article 3, since they work in the public service and receive a salary.

It was agreed that the Minister of the Interior would examine this question.

II. Interpretation of Article 3, Section a): should the words 'ownership of the combatant's card 1914–1918' be interpreted as applying to all those in possession of the combatant's card as introduced by the decree of 1 July 1930, even if the person's status as a combatant was recognized as a result of *military operations other than those of the 1914–1918 war*?

The Council of State, whose opinion was also requested on this point,³⁰ replied in the affirmative. The commission agreed unanimously with this point of view.

III. Possible amendment to Article 3, Section b).

For the war of 1939–1940, the current text of the law refers only to those who received a mention in dispatches.

Two points of criticism can be raised in relation to this wording:

- 1) The mentions in dispatches are currently being revised; it needs to be ensured that only those mentions in dispatches that are retained after this revision will grant entitlement to exemption;
- 2) It would be fairer to retain the definition of frontline combatant as will be established in the decree currently being prepared that is to define this status for the 1939–1940 war. The Secretariat General for Veterans' Affairs has presented a draft along these lines.³¹

Nevertheless, this solution has one serious drawback: this law cannot be applied before the decree and the instructions for its implementation have been published.

The commission did not adopt a position on this question.

At this point it was stated that a large number of new frontline combatant cards are currently being issued, which may lead to abuses. It was agreed that this issue be brought to the attention of the Secretariat General for Veterans' Affairs.

²⁹ Jean Limousin, physician; member of the naval medical corps; member of the cabinet of the minister of the interior, Sept. 1940–Feb. 1941; inspector of internment camps, Oct. 1940–April 1941.

³⁰ Footnote in the original: 'See appendix'. On 12 Dec. 1940 the Council of State decided that a Jew should only be regarded as a frontline combatant if he was able to produce corresponding identification.

³¹ According to the draft submitted to the President of the Council on 30 Nov. 1940, further exemptions should be provided in particular for frontline soldiers affected by the employment ban under Article 2. However, as the Presidency of the Council noted in early 1941, the Council of Ministers had already 'rejected amendments of the law for the purpose of alleviation' on a number of occasions: AN, F60, vol. 1440.

IV. – Extension of the exemptions in Article 3:

- 1) to those offices specified in Article 2;
- 2) to the parents, grandparents, children, and widows of soldiers who meet the conditions set out in Article 3.

These amendments were proposed by the Secretariat General for Veterans' Affairs. After discussion, the commission *unanimously* rejected the following:

- 1) any extension of the exemptions listed in Article 3 to the offices specified in Article 2;
- 2) the extension to the parents, grandparents, children, and widows of military personnel other than those killed in action by the enemy;
- 3) the extension to the parents and grandparents of military personnel killed in action by the enemy.

It also rejected *by a majority* the proposed extension to the descendants and widows of soldiers killed in action by the enemy.

The question of *prisoners of war* was then raised. A text that makes it possible to delay the application of the law to this group must be considered. The departments within the Ministry of War will prepare the text.³²

Article 4. – This article outlines the possibility of introducing a quota for professions other than those in public service.

A comprehensive investigation of this issue must be carried out.

The representatives of the Ministry of Finance agreed to take the lead on this investigation.

Article 5 – I. – Interpretation of the first paragraph

It is clear that despite deficiencies in the wording, this paragraph must be interpreted as prohibiting absolutely (without condition or reservation) the exercise of the professions listed.

II. – Which ministries are affected by the application of this article?

They are:

- 1) *Education*, with regard to scientific publications and the theatre;
- 2) *Industrial Production*, with regard to producers of entertainment other than theatres or cinemas;
- 3) *The Secretariat General for Information*, with regard to all the other professions set out in Article 5.

It was decided that the Secretariat General for Information, as the agency principally affected, would draw up the implementing measures for this article, and in particular prepare the regulations for the public administration.

Article 7. – I. – Possibility of introducing special conditions for non-civil-service personnel.

It was acknowledged that the current wording of the text foresees the dismissal of auxiliary employees according to conditions attached to their rank. As in most instances no period of time is set for their suspension from office, the representatives of the Ministry of Finance were of the opinion that some benefits could be granted to those who can prove a certain length of service.

³² On 11 April 1941 an amendment to Article 7 was passed, stating that the Statute on Jews would only be applied two months after a prisoner of war or an employee in the French overseas territories had returned to France: *Journal officiel*, 30 April 1941, p. 1846.

The commission determined that the law should be supplemented to this effect.

In terms of the application of Article 7, it was agreed that the decrees concerning compulsory retirement *must in all cases come into force on 20 December*, even if they are not actually implemented until after that date. This rule must be applied *even to officials who are abroad or in the colonies*, as the provisions of Article 7 are mandatory in this regard.

The participants at the meeting were not of the opinion that the law should be amended to include an extension of this deadline.

Mr Guionin³³ asked whether civil servants who are currently on *long-term leave of absence*, for example on account of tuberculosis, are also covered by this overall regulation or whether they can continue to claim long-term special leave.

The commission was of the opinion that the law supersedes any earlier regulation and that long-term special leave will terminate on 20 December.

II. – *Possible extension for military personnel* (draft from the military ministries).

Inspector Brunner³⁴ reported on the conditions under which a draft for the sector had been drawn up by the armed services. As soon as a single regulation is envisaged, the proposed provisions will become redundant.

Application of the law in Algeria. –

There are difficulties in this respect. They are being addressed by the Ministry of the Interior.³⁵

³³ Emile Guionin, inspector of state finances; worked at the Ministry of Finance; deputy chief of the cabinet and head of the Ministerial Office, 1938–1940; deputy chief of the cabinet in the Ministry of the Colonies and head of the Ministerial Office from Sept. 1940; member of the Council of State.

³⁴ Louis Brunner, deputy inspector of the army, chief inspector from spring 1941.

³⁵ The law included exemptions from loss of French citizenship for Algerian Jews; see Doc. 244. On 29 Jan. 1941 the Council of State decided that the exemption should apply solely to those affected directly and their children who were minors. Moreover, loss of French citizenship was not to lead automatically to dismissal from state employment; instead the Statute on Jews of 3 Oct. 1940 should be applied: AN, F60, vol. 490.

DOC. 257

Between 24 July and 20 December 1940 Raymond-Raoul Lambert writes in his diary about how life has changed for the Jews¹

Handwritten diary of Raymond-Raoul Lambert,² entries for 24 July 1940 to 20 December 1940 (copy)

24 July 1940

Today I heard in the barracks that I would probably be discharged in two or three days ...³ What luck! I will finally see my little wife and my three darlings again, Tony, whom I barely know, and the two big boisterous ones.⁴ The future may be gloomy, the challenges to come formidable, but I feel the courage to face it all, surrounded by my little family. I am not concluding this notebook yet, because I predict that it will help me to see clearly inside myself.

Bellac,⁵ 14 August 1940

Through friends of my cousin Sacha Krinsky,⁶ who lives below me, I learned that the Boche⁷ have sealed my apartment. I suppose it was done in order to force me to report to the German authorities should I come back to Paris, for I still cannot comprehend that all my furniture, my mementos, the results of twenty-five years of effort and study should have been obliterated ... I cannot accept it and that is why I have not yet rebelled.

To forget my personal concerns, I reflect on the cataclysm that has swept over my country by surprise. By surprise – that explains it fully beyond any political passion. Censorship put the people to sleep: no one was able to understand. In ten days, Germany had conquered. 10 May: invasion of Belgium. 11 May: the Belgian Ardennes breached. 12 May: the Belgian roads are bombarded and fleeing civilians hinder the movement of troops. New tactic: the nerve centres and moral forces become the primary targets. 13 May: the Germans cross the Meuse. 14 May: Holland capitulates; the motorized divisions advance everywhere, without awaiting the infantry. 15 May: the Corap⁸ army is obliterated. Immense gap between the armies of the North and France. The defeat is

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, CMXCVIII 998–2 Journal de Lambert. Published in Raymond-Raoul Lambert, *Carnet d'un témoin* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), pp. 82–88. English-language edition: *Diary of a Witness, 1940–1943: The Experience of French Jews in the Holocaust*, trans. Isabel Best (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007). This document has been newly translated from French.

2 Raymond-Raoul Lambert (1894–1943), journalist; on the council of the Zionist Association of France from 1927; editor-in-chief of the weekly newspaper *L'Univers israélite*, 1935–1937; secretary general of the Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR), 1936–1942; director general of the General Union of French Jews (UGIF), 1942–1943, interim president of the UGIF from March 1943; arrested on 21 August 1943; deported on 7 Dec. 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

3 Lambert had been conscripted in the autumn of 1939.

4 Simone Lambert (1904–1943), her husband, and their children, Lionel (b. 1929), Marc (b. 1932), Tony (b. 1939), and Marie (b. 1942), were deported to Auschwitz, where the entire family was murdered.

5 Municipality in the Haute-Vienne département in the region of Limousin.

6 Sasha Krinsky (b. 1896) was interned in Drancy camp from 21 May 1944.

7 French: pejorative term for the Germans that had been in use since around the time of the First World War.

8 General André Georges Corap (1876–1953); commander of the Ninth Army, which had been largely crushed in Belgium during the Wehrmacht invasion of 16 May 1940.

inevitable. We are told nothing of the truth in France. 16 May: the gap gets bigger. Our leaders no longer have the initiative anywhere. 17 May: 'German vehicles advance along the French roads, tops down, with men in black forage caps playing the harmonica' (*Paris-Soir*, 10 August, signed xxx⁹). 18 May: German advance to the Somme. 19 May: the torrent of refugees blocks the roads. The army of the North is cut off. The only thing we can fight for now is honour. Why was a request for an armistice not made on 11 May?

Marseilles, 2 October 1940

One of the most saddening memories of my life. This morning I read in the press: 'The Council of Ministers has continued to review and finalize the Statute on Israelites...' ¹⁰ It may then be that in a few days I am a lesser citizen, that my sons, French by birth, culture, and faith, will be brutally and cruelly ejected from the French community ... Is this possible? I cannot believe it. France is no longer France. To justify this insult to an entire history, I keep telling myself that Germany is in command – but I still cannot comprehend it.

Luchon, 9 October 1940

I am in Luchon¹¹ on a mission for the refugee committee,¹² since I have taken up my social work again in order to feed my children.

Here I have encountered a thousand or so unfortunate Jews from Holland and Belgium who are in anguish and misery, but the future for them is even more terrifying than the present.

This morning the press published the decree signed by Pétain which revokes the Crémieux Decree.¹³ Algerian Jews are no longer French citizens ... The Marshal has brought disgrace upon himself. What shame and what infamy! In Algeria, a father who lost his son in the war is no longer a French citizen, because he is Jewish ... Is this an honourable armistice? I cannot come to terms with this injustice, I am so ashamed of my country. Ah! If I did not have a wife, three sons and graves to tend on what is still French soil! I would know where lies the road to action, to revolt, and to the struggle for what makes life worth living!

Since Nîmes I have read quite a lot of books to keep my senses awake, a little bit of everything, a fairly random selection and without any particular method: Jean-Pierre Maxence: *Histoire de dix ans*,¹⁴ an incredibly lucid critic, lively testimony worth remembering; Paul Claudel, *Ainsi donc encore une fois* ...,¹⁵ a brochure bringing together poems from [19]14 and [19]39, a number of courageous lines that the censor forgot; Jean Schlumberger, *Stéphane le Glorieux*,¹⁶ conceals behind a Yugoslavian fable a critique of

9 As in the original.

10 Here: *Statut des Israélites*; the actual law was titled *Loi portant statut des juifs* (Statute on Jews). See Doc. 241.

11 This municipality in the département of Haut-Garonne is located in the Pyrenees, close to the French border.

12 This is probably a reference to the Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR).

13 See Doc. 244.

14 Jean-Pierre Maxence, *Histoire de dix ans 1927–1937* [Ten-Year History] (Paris: Gallimard, 1939).

15 Paul Claudel, *Ainsi donc encore une fois* [So Therefore Yet Again] (Paris: Gallimard, 1940).

16 Jean Schlumberger, *Stéphane le Glorieux* [Stéphane the Glorious] (Paris: Gallimard, 1940).

military heroism, but is very literary, very cold. A dispassionate work, written in an overly cold style. Marcel Aymé, *La table aux crevés*:¹⁷ a good, realist novel. Colonel [...], *Le Siège de Varsovie*,¹⁸ a captivating portrait of heroism and misery. I'm pondering the situation of my friends in London; at the moment I am a little bit ashamed of the cowardice of Paris. J. J. Tharaud, *Quand Israël n'est plus roi*:¹⁹ memories of the rise of Hitler in 1933. Its concern for the picturesque precludes the slight shudder of humanity that one would expect. André Maurois, *Voyage au pays des articles*.²⁰ Excellent little story in the style of Swift.²¹ Finally Louis Marlio, *Dictature ou liberté*,²² a juicy book (sequel to *Sort du Capitalisme*,²³ which helps us understand our terrible times and, in spite of everything, gives hope.

Marseilles, 19 October 1940

Yesterday morning I learned about the *Statute on Jews* through a preliminary, dreadful and unjust communiqué,²⁴ and then yesterday evening through the text published in the *[Journal] officiel*. The Marshal and his staff, under orders from Hitler, determine what happens to my person and my children's future ... The Jews of France, even those who died for their country, have never been assimilated. Racism has become the law of the new state. How shameful! I still cannot comprehend this negation of justice and of scientific truth ... All of my illusions are crumbling! I am afraid not for myself, but for my country. This cannot last, it is not possible. But when this history is written, this abolition of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1940 will seem like a renewed revocation of the Edict of Nantes ...²⁵ Never will I leave the country for which I was almost killed, but will my sons be able to live here if they are refused the right to choose their career freely? I no longer have the right to write for reasons of blood, I am no longer an officer ...²⁶ If I were a teacher, I would be dismissed because I am a Jew! I still cannot believe it ...

Two hypotheses: either Germany is defeated by the Anglo-Americans and humanity is saved, or Germany wins and a century of darkness will descend upon Europe. Judaism will keep going, as in the Middle Ages. But what suffering, having once had all the free-

17 Marcel Aymé, *La Table aux crevés* [The Hollow Field] (Paris: Nouvelle Revue française, 1929), filmed as *The Village Feud* (dir. Henri Verneuil, 1950).

18 Stanislas Ordon, *Le Siège de Varsovie: Journal de guerre d'un combattant* [Fire Over Warsaw] (Paris: Sagittaire, 1940).

19 Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, *Quand Israël n'est plus roi* [When Israel is no Longer King] (Paris: Editions Plon, 1933).

20 André Maurois, *Voyage au pays de articles* (Paris: J. Schiffrin, 1927). Published in English as *Voyage to the Island of Articles*, trans. David Garnett (New York: D. Appleton, 1929).

21 Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), Irish satirist.

22 Louis Marlio, *Dictature ou liberté* [Dictatorship or Freedom] (Paris: Flammarion, 1940).

23 Louis Marlio, *Le Sort du capitalisme* [The Fate of Capitalism] (Paris: Flammarion, 1938).

24 In a statement published in most newspapers in the occupied and unoccupied zones, the Vichy government described the Statute on Jews as part of a series of reforms undertaken for the reconstruction of France after its defeat, for which the excessive and 'subversive' influence of Jews in state and society was held responsible.

25 On 24 Aug. 1789 the National Constituent Assembly issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The Edict of Nantes of 1598 granted Protestant communities in France the right to practise their religion, though not without restrictions. On 18 Oct. 1685 King Louis XIV revoked the edict and thereby initiated a new wave of persecution of the Huguenots.

26 Lambert had participated in the First World War and been decorated with the Croix de Guerre. He served as a captain from 1939 to 1940.

doms, to now become a second-rank citizen when one does not deserve this ... Where, at this hour, is France's freedom of thought, the [...] of Descartes²⁸ and of Hugo?²⁹

I wept last night like a man who has been suddenly abandoned by the wife who had been the only love of his life, the sole guide of his thoughts, the only person in charge of his actions.

6 November 1940

A friend writes to me: one does not judge one's mother even when she is unfair. One suffers and waits. Thus we, the Jews of France, must bow our heads and suffer. I agree. I still cannot believe that all of this is final. Even in the free zone, we are living under the German regime. The press is controlled. No free spirit can make himself heard. The war continues. Let us wait. But, without ceasing to be French, let us accept these trials and tribulations and deny nothing of our Judaism.

I read a collection of tales by Armand Lunel, *Occasions*³⁰ – very superficial and very removed from real life; an easy read by Armand Robiquet, *La vie quotidienne au temps de la Révolution*.³¹ The vividness of the prosaic details helps me to understand these times a little better: the (slight) restrictions that my wife is suffering to feed the children, the absence of oil and potatoes in the markets, etc., that is what the defeat means for the *vulgum pecus*.³²

And the official radio of my country continues to preach hatred of the Jews ... All the slogans that have been circulating in Germany since 1933 have now been adopted in France. Is it possible to believe a word of any of it? What would I do if I were Christian? I think that I would have the same thoughts, the same disgust, the same hopes.

Symbol: the censor has cut several phrases in a purely literary article on Descartes.

20 December 1940

If I had continued my studies to become a teacher, in spite of my two wars, I would today be dismissed like a vagabond because of my Jewish origins. It is unbelievable.

From my former commander, Major Pascot,³³ whom I had told about my sorrow the day after the *Statute*, I received a wonderful letter, which I must reproduce:

My dear friend, your letter – arriving late because of my moving from place to place – moved me greatly. I stand closely by you, my dear friend, in the painful circumstances that you are enduring. Be assured of this, you and yours. If there can be any consolation for you, take it from this fact, and tell yourselves there are many of us who share this attitude towards you and empathize with your distress. Consider that

²⁷ Ellipsis as in original.

²⁸ René Descartes (1596–1650), French philosopher.

²⁹ Victor Hugo (1820–1885), French writer.

³⁰ Armand Lunel, *Occasions* (Paris: Gallimard, 1925).

³¹ Correctly: Jean Robiquet, *La Vie quotidienne au temps de la Révolution* [Daily Life in the Time of the Revolution] (Paris: Crété, 1938).

³² Latin: the ignorant masses.

³³ Joseph Pascot (1897–1974), professional soldier; member of the French national rugby team, 1922–1927; officer of the colonial troops in Morocco, French West Africa and Indochina; secretary of state in the Commissariat General for Education and Sport, August 1940–April 1942; commissar general, April 1942–August 1944; sentenced to loss of civil rights for five years; pardoned in 1949.

the measure affecting you will not be definitive, that it does not reflect the profound feelings of the French nation – liberal and humane. Wait. My sympathy for you has grown. I am thinking of you, and of your dear children. I would be delighted and moved to see them again. Forgive my brevity. I cannot elaborate on this painful subject. Believe that I am your devoted friend.

Major Jep Pascot of the colonial artillery is the aide to Borotra³⁴ at the Commissariat General for Sport.

I have been thinking about the Jewish question with more emotion and energy than ever since the Statute has come along and shaken me to the core ... It is so true that I have remained fully French in my heart, in my soul, in my family life and in the love that I have for my mother and which binds me to my sons! This is precisely what makes this situation so tragic and makes me doubt the future, even though I am certain that this is only an eclipse of the liberties which are necessary for the modern man ... I am French by culture, blood, and will. I am being humiliated. I am suffering horribly, but I suffer even more when I note that there are truly stateless Jews, from the very top to the bottom of the social ladder. The unfortunate pariah, who escaped from an Eastern ghetto, wandered around Central Europe, and is now wandering or interned in France, was not able to integrate into the nation which had provisionally hosted him. He continues to live on the margins of society in our country. On the other side, the leading capitalists – kings of the banks or industry – were internationally minded and put the cult of wealth, of the Golden Calf, of ‘stocks and shares’ ahead of love of the land ... If I was internationally minded, it was because of a humanitarian dream, because of my Judeo-Christian culture, catholic in the etymological sense of the word. But through the bones of my ancestors blended for more than a century with this soil, I feel closer to the French serf, to the French artist, to the French writer than to any other. I have to suffer and wait.

I have travelled a great deal in the last few weeks: Perpignan – Pau – Toulouse – Gaillac – Nîmes. I have read a lot: Edouard Herriot, ‘Aux sources de la liberté’³⁵ (so very moving today!); François Mauriac, ‘Thérèse Desqueyroux’³⁶ (first class); Robert Aron, ‘La fin de l’après-guerre’³⁷ (cruel truths. I remain socialist in the human and constructive sense of the word); Alfred Fabre-Luce, ‘Journal de la France’³⁸ (a first attempt to explain the defeat. Truths, as well as prejudices in the detail); Dostoyevsky, ‘The Double’³⁹ (Slavic psychology surprises and shocks me a little); Marcel Aymé, ‘Maison basse’⁴⁰ (holiday reading); Francis Jammes, ‘De tout temps à jamais’⁴¹ (simple and profound lyricism that washes away the dirt of daily life).

34 Jean Borotra (1898–1994), professional tennis player; commissar general for education and sport, July 1940–April 1942.

35 Édouard Herriot, *Aux sources de la liberté* [The Origins of Freedom] (Paris: Gallimard, 1939).

36 François Mauriac, *Thérèse Desqueyroux* (Paris: Grasset, 1927). Published in English as *Thérèse*, trans. Eric Sutton (London: Secker, 1928).

37 Robert Aron, *La fin de l’après-guerre* [The End of the Post-War] (Paris: Gallimard, 1938).

38 Alfred Fabre-Luce, *Journal de la France* [Diary of France] (Paris: Trévoux, 1940).

39 Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky, *The Double*, trans. Constance Garnett [Russian edn. 1846; revised and republished in 1866].

40 Marcel Aymé, *Maison basse* [The Low House] (Paris: Gallimard, 1935).

41 Francis Jammes, *De tout temps à jamais* [From All Time to Never] (Paris: Gallimard, 1935).

DOC. 258

On 30 December 1940 a pupil writes to her teacher, Fanny Lantz, who has been dismissed from her post, to say that she hopes she will return to school soon¹

Handwritten letter, signed L. Bernadas, Versailles, to Fanny Lantz,² dated 30 December 1940

Dear Miss,

I am writing to send you my best wishes for health and happiness in the New Year, hoping for the early departure of the Germans, which would allow you to come back to us.

In anticipation of your happy return, we will all work hard so that we can proudly tell you about our success at the end of the year.

I know that, in spite of your absence, you still take an interest in the work of your pupils at Marie Curie, who love you and miss you very much.

Hoping to see you again soon, please accept, dear Miss, my respects.

One of your year four students³

DOC. 259

The police in Marseilles report on the speech given by the chief rabbi of France in the main synagogue on 10 January 1940¹

Letter (No. 509 DE/LO) from the Head of Special Police Services, Gaubert, Marseilles, to the Police Commissioner,² Marseilles, dated 11 January 1941³

Re: Speech by the chief rabbi of France at the Jewish Synagogue in Marseilles

I have the honour of informing you that yesterday, 10 January 1941, at 5.30 p.m., the chief rabbi of France⁴ gave a speech at the Israelite Consistorial Temple, 117 rue Breteuil, Marseilles.

The rabbi of the Jewish Community of Marseilles⁵ began by welcoming the chief rabbi, recalling his last visit around one year ago, in the midst of war, at a difficult time for the country which was suffering but which continued to hope for victory and better days. He ended his speech by calling for the audience to show faith and charity.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, DCCCXCL-2. This document has been translated from French.

2 Fanny Lantz was a teacher at the Marie-Curie School in Paris and was forced into retirement in December 1940 due to the French Statute on Jews.

3 Year four pupils at a French *collège* (middle school) would be around fourteen.

1 Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseille, 76 W 161. This document has been translated from French.

2 Maurice de Rodellec du Pozic (1894–1947), professional soldier; member of the navy; frigate captain from January 1940; police commissioner in Marseilles, October 1940–May 1941; police intendant, May 1941–February 1943; pensioned off in September 1944; interned from December 1944; returned to public service in November 1946 after legal proceedings.

3 Receipt stamp and handwritten note: 'report to the Ministry of the Interior'.

4 Isaïe Schwartz (1876–1952), rabbi; chief rabbi of the Bas-Rhin département, 1919–1939; chief rabbi of France, 1939–1952.

5 Israël Salzer (1904–1989), rabbi; served as rabbi of Dijon, 1928/29; chief rabbi of Marseilles, 1929–1974.

The chief rabbi expressed his thanks and outlined the painful events and the disaster which have befallen our country. He recalled the distressing exodus of the Jewish communities, particularly those of Alsace-Lorraine. He then referred to the Statute on Jews,⁶ saying, 'The measures imposed by the government are unjust and despicable because the Jews have always done their duty to the country.' Despite everything, he called on his co-religionists to continue loving and serving the country.

He referred to his letter of protest on behalf of Jewry that he had addressed to the Head of State.⁷

Regarding the application of the Statute on Jews to civil servants, he noted that these men had placed all their intelligence and knowledge at the service of the 'country' when they could have gone into other areas to 'make money'.

Recalling the Jewish people's history of suffering, he lauded the sense of hope. He emphasized the need for mutual support, solidarity, and unity. Progressing to a religious level, he then expanded on the need for faith and charity as the only way of overcoming suffering.

He concluded by invoking God's help for the Jewish community and for the 'country'.

This short, highly moral and spiritual speech was delivered in a subtle, non-forceful tone.

The meeting was attended by around 350 people (men and women) of all social classes. Among the members of the Marseilles Consistory present was Mr *David*,⁸ former president of the Bar Association.

DOC. 260

On 30 January 1941 the German military administration and deputies of the representative of the Chief of the Security Police discuss the establishment of a French Office for Jewish Affairs¹

Note by the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France's Administrative Staff, signed Mahnke, dated 3 February 1941

File reference: V in 160

Subject: Further handling of the Jewish question in France

Official in charge: Kriegsverwaltungsrat *Mahnke*

⁶ See Doc. 241.

⁷ In a letter dated 23 Oct. 1940 to Head of State Pétain, Schwartz expressed the outrage felt by the Jewish communities over the Statute on Jews: AN, F60, vol. 490. On 12 Nov. 1940 Pétain responded, stating that obedience to the law was a fundamental principle of the state, which was why he demanded that the Jews display a willingness to make sacrifices: AN, 72AJ, vol. 257.

⁸ Georges David (1863–1944), lawyer; practised as a lawyer in Marseilles; chairman of the Marseilles consistory from 1906; president of the Chamber of Lawyers, 1928–1929; died in December 1944.

¹ AN, AJ40, vol. 548, fols. 116–118. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 384–385. This document has been translated from German.

1. Record for Group 1²

2. Note:

On 30 January 1941 a discussion about the further handling of the Jewish question in France took place. The following gentlemen participated:

Kriegsverwaltungschef Dr <i>Best</i>	Administrative Staff of the Military Commander in France
Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat <i>Kettner</i>	ditto
Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Dr <i>Ernst</i>	ditto
Kriegsverwaltungsrat <i>Mahnke</i>	ditto
General Staff Major <i>Crome</i>	Dept. I c, Military Commander in France ³
Lieutenant <i>Grüninger</i>	ditto
SS-Sturmabführer <i>Lischka</i> ⁴	from the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Belgium and France
SS-Obersturmführer <i>Dannecker</i>	ditto

SS-Sturmabführer *Lischka* explained that in the further handling of the Jewish question in France, the aim is to ensure the solution to the Jewish problem in Europe in accordance with the principles applied in the Reich. To this end, the creation of a Central Office for Jewish Affairs for France or, for the time being, for the occupied territories of France is planned. This Central Office for Jewish Affairs is to have the following functions:

1. Handling of all police-related Jewish affairs (registration of Jews, Jew registry, surveillance of Jews);
2. Economic supervision (exclusion of Jews from economic life, involvement in the return of Jewish businesses to Aryan ownership);
3. Propaganda department (anti-Jewish propaganda aimed at the French public);
4. Anti-Jewish research institute.

As a precursor to the Central Office for Jewish Affairs, an Office for Jewish Affairs has already been set up at the Paris Police Prefecture.⁵ The other things, *Lischka* said, must be left to the French in order to preclude the French people from reacting against everything that comes from the Germans in this respect; where possible the German authorities would therefore have to limit themselves to making suggestions.

² Group 1 within the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France's Administrative Staff was responsible for general and internal administration.

³ Department I c of the military commander in France's command staff was responsible for enemy intelligence and counter-intelligence.

⁴ Dr Kurt *Lischka* (1909–1989), lawyer; joined the SS in 1933 and the NSDAP in 1937; worked for the Gestapo from 1935; worked for the representative of the Chief of the Security Service in Paris from Nov. 1940; commander of the Security Police in Paris, from Jan. to Sept. 1943; at the Reich Security Main Office from Oct. 1943; company secretary in Cologne after 1945; sentenced in absentia to life-time hard labour by the Permanent Military Tribunal in Paris in 1950; sentenced to ten years in prison by Cologne Regional Court in 1980; released in 1985.

⁵ To implement the Statute on Jews, a section for issues pertaining to foreigners and Jews, headed by Jean François, was set up within the Paris Police Prefecture on 4 Oct. 1940.

DOC. 261

On 26 February 1941 the Crédit Lyonnais bank gives its regional branches instructions for handling accounts belonging to Jews¹

Circular (marked 'confidential') from the Crédit Lyonnais bank, Division for the branches in the départements, signed P. du Payrat,² dated 26 February 1941

Dear Sir,

Article 4 of the regulation of 18 October 1940³ stipulates that 'any legal transactions occurring after 23 May 1940 which dispose of the assets of the persons named in § 3 may be declared null and void by the Chief of the Military Administration in France'. The persons listed in Article 3 are persons and businesses considered to be Jewish. (The regulation of 27 September 1940⁴ defines as Jewish both those who belong or have belonged to the Jewish religion and those who have more than two grandparents who have belonged to this faith; the spouses of Jews are also considered to be Jews.⁵)

If one were to follow this text to the letter, most banking transactions could potentially be cancelled, which would entail a risk for all third parties who have had dealings with Jews or who have been involved in banking transactions conducted by Jews. To fully protect oneself from this risk, one would have to refuse Jewish people the right to dispose of assets. However, this extreme stance can by no means be adopted: it seems that even the occupation authorities did not intend to go that far; otherwise they would have frozen Jewish accounts and assets, which they have not done.

Nevertheless, great caution is necessary and account transactions in cash or in securities which involve Jewish clients are to be monitored closely by the branch managers, who will also have to assess for themselves what they can allow Jewish clients and what they would be wise to refuse them. To this end we should keep an eye on the following cases.

The prime concern of the occupation authorities in relation to the transfer of assets seems to be to prevent the flight of capital from the occupied zone. We remind you of the provisions of the German regulation of 14 August.⁶ These apply to residents of the occupied zone. However, it is to be assumed that more severe penalties for contravention will be applied if it is a matter of Jewish, rather than Aryan, assets.

A second concern, relating more specifically to the Jews, appears to be to remove any Jewish influence on economic life. Their assets have not been seized, but they can only be used to cover their living expenses; they may no longer be used in order to participate in the creation and circulation of wealth.

1 Archives historiques de Crédit Agricole, Paris, Fonds Crédit Lyonnais, 16 AH 36. The document has been translated from French.

2 Pierre-Noël du Payrat (died 1981), engineer; employed by the Crédit Lyonnais bank from 1926; head of the division responsible for branches in Africa, 1954–1968.

3 The Military Commander in France's Second Regulation on Measures Against Jews: see Doc. 246.

4 The Military Commander in France's First Regulation on Measures Against Jews: see Doc. 238.

5 Spouses of Jews were not affected by the German regulation of 27 Sept. 1940. In administrative practice the military authorities followed the French Statute on Jews, which stated that a person with two Jewish grandparents was regarded as a Jew if married to a Jew.

6 Second Regulation on the Provisional Regulation of Transactions Between the Occupied French Territory, the Territory of the German Reich, and Foreign Countries (14 August 1940), *VOBl-F*, 27 August 1940, pp. 67–70.

According to this second point, certain banking transactions could be cancelled retroactively. This would particularly concern equity investments or holding interests in any form whatsoever in businesses from which the former Jewish directors have been removed.

In short, there will be a risk every time a banking transaction goes beyond current practice and involves the disposal of assets or the transfer of capital. Particular vigilance is called for in the case of banking transactions which may involve concealment or the intervention of a third party, if this party can be suspected of acting as an intermediary in order to allow a Jewish client to safeguard his assets.

Normal banking transactions are naturally not always of the same scale but depend on the wealth of individuals. However, it can be acknowledged that anyone who withdraws funds or disposes of transferable securities on a scale that is in line with what he was doing to cover his personal expenses before the new regime, and at a similar rate, is not disposing of assets in a manner that is open to question, even if these transactions can be considered substantial in terms of their absolute value. On the other hand, a banking transaction that is small in absolute terms can nevertheless be viewed as a kind of disposal of assets or as a step toward capital flight if the transaction involves the greater part of assets that are very small.

Thus, in order to assess each transaction it will be necessary to pay attention to indications with which the banker need not usually concern himself. One might request an explanation from the client (it would be advisable in most cases to keep written records – either a letter from the client or records of any conversation) in the case of a banking transaction which appears unusual and which we may have to justify at a later date.

We are aware that this last point is particularly tricky, for on the one hand we must adopt an understanding attitude so that banking transactions of an absolutely essential nature can be carried out, while on the other hand we must exercise extreme caution in order to prevent prohibited transactions. If we can succeed in adopting a thoroughly reasonable middle ground between these two factors then we will have more leverage, acting tactfully, to encourage the client to forego certain banking transactions which are liable to draw attention to his account, and to monitor the use of his resources more closely.

We hope that, if you have understood the delicate nature of the role which falls to us, you will be able to avoid virtually any incidents with your clientele and, likewise, that the banking transactions which you carry out will be safeguarded against criticism from the occupation authorities. At the very least, it is desirable that, should there be an investigation, we will be able to present legitimate arguments and that our position will not be indefensible.

We cannot overstate the need for caution. Moreover, it would be good if you could bring any significant banking transactions to our attention and, in particular, submit to us in advance the following cases in which a favourable outcome or, naturally, the approval of the occupation authorities can be obtained only if sufficient documentary evidence is provided.

These banking transactions are as follows:

- substantial withdrawals of cash or of securities
- cheques or disposals in favour of third parties when the sums in question and the number of cheques are unusual compared to transactions made prior to the occupation,

- discounts, unsecured advances or advances on securities, the sale of securities, conversions, transfers, when these involve considerable sums and could result in capital flight.

All the aforementioned points relate to the management and administration of Jewish assets which have remained in the hands of their owners. As for commercial enterprises – most are being managed by administrators whose actions do not need to be overseen with the same rigour, since these are persons in whom the authorities have placed their trust and who are acting under the orders and supervision of these authorities. This is not to say that, by virtue of their status alone, these administrators have full authority and that we would be entirely covered if they engaged in prohibited transactions, the illegal nature of which we must not overlook.

With regard to these administrators, it is important, as has already been indicated to you in Circular no. 1839 from the General Management⁷ (a supplementary circular will reach you very shortly), to remain vigilant to ensure that they remain within the bounds of the remit assigned to them, and the terms of this remit must therefore be examined very carefully.

With warm regards,

DOC. 262

***Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1941: article describing the conditions for German Jews in Gurs camp¹**

German Jews in French Camps. Terrible Conditions.
From our Former Paris Correspondent²

An extraordinary feature of the relations between Berlin and Vichy is the *deportation* from Germany to camps in unoccupied France of large numbers of German Jews.³ Laval apparently regarded this French contribution to German beastliness as part of the ‘new order.’

The most notorious of these camps is the Camp de Gurs, in the Basses Pyrénées. Many of its unhappy inmates are still the Spanish Republican soldiers who have been lying in French camps since February, 1939.⁴ In November and December large numbers

⁷ Not in the file.

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1941, p. 10. The *Manchester Guardian* was established as a daily newspaper in 1821. Since 1959 it has been published as *The Guardian*.

² Alexander Werth (1901–1969), journalist; correspondent for the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Manchester Guardian* in Paris, 1928–1940; correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* in Berlin from Jan. to March 1933; correspondent for the *Sunday Times* and the BBC in Moscow, 1941–1948; again in Paris from 1949.

³ On the deportation of Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate, see Docs. 250, 252, and PMJ 3/111–113 and 115.

⁴ In Feb. 1939 around 450,000 Spanish refugees had crossed the border into France and been interned.

of German Jews were being added to them,⁵ and this process apparently continues, even with Laval out of the Vichy Government.⁶ French Gardes Mobiles, under the orders of German Gestapo officers, are in charge of these camps.⁷

Here are extracts from a letter received from the Camp de Gurs. It was written in December.

This is my sixth week here with my fellow sufferers and I am still alive – it is extraordinary what people can stand. You will probably have heard about me from Frau X. Once Frau X sent me some money so that I could buy some extra food in the canteens, because we had to give up everything over 100 marks. We are starving and cold and the nights are icy.

There is talk of a change for the better, but nobody knows where we shall be taken, any more than we knew where we were being taken from Baden and the Palatinate. The journey lasted three days and nights. Some of the people were 80 and 90 years old, and we arrived here completely exhausted. Those who committed suicide were right, and they were not few. We have about twelve deaths every day, mostly old and sick people. It is not considered as anything extraordinary. Dysentery is already raging here, and special barracks have been set up – it is ghastly.

They have found the right place for us Jews. Nine thousand arrived here within three days. Now everything is a little more organised, but at first it was dreadful. We are about 15,000 people here, including some Spaniards. Children's barracks have been set up. Soon I shall have to go out into the cold and mud to see the sick people. The lavatories are terrible.

Men and women are behind barbed wire and are separated and only allowed to see and speak to each other for a few hours every few weeks. It is said that this camp is the worst in France. The men who come from Cyprien confirm this. Cyprien is wanted for other purposes.⁸

For breakfast we have a cup of black coffee, for lunch a plate of soup, for supper a plate of soup. In the morning bread is distributed, usually one loaf to eight persons. It is left to us when we eat it. We can buy something in the canteen. Without this we should have to starve to death.

A.W.

5 The law of 4 Oct. 1940 allowed the internment of 'foreign nationals of the Jewish race' without further justification: see Doc. 242.

6 Prime Minister Pierre Laval had declared his support for close cooperation with Germany. On 13 Dec. 1940 he was removed from all offices and placed under house arrest by the head of the French state, Marshal Pétain.

7 From Oct. 1940 the French internment camps in the unoccupied zone were under the authority of the French Ministry of Defence and subsequently the Ministry of the Interior. The German occupiers had no authority in the region. However, members of the German delegation at the Armistice Commission did visit the French camps.

8 The reference is to St Cyprien camp: see Doc. 156.

DOC. 263

On 4 April 1941 the German military administration outlines its next steps against the Jews¹

Note by the head of the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France's Administrative Staff, signed Best, dated 4 April 1941

With reference to today's conversation, it is suggested to the *Military Commander* that the following *discussion plan* be taken as a basis for the discussion with the French commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Xavier Vallat:²

1. Vallat should state his intentions, the fulfilment of which will essentially be facilitated by the German side as far as the occupied territory is concerned.
2. The German interest consists in progressively relieving all countries of Europe of the burden of the Jews, with the aim of completely de-Jewifying Europe. For the occupied French territory, the following measures are deemed necessary:
 - a) Expulsion of Jews who are not French citizens, on the scale and at the pace at which their return to their home countries is possible. Jews from territories under the sovereignty of the German Reich are not to be expelled; the military administration reserves its right to exercise authority over them.
 - b) Internment of a certain number – 3,000 to 5,000 – of Jews of all nationalities (non-French including German etc. citizens as well as French citizens) who are particularly dangerous and undesirable for political, criminal or social reasons.
 - c) Consistent implementation of the French legislation regarding the elimination of Jews from public life and from the economy.
3. Based on the experiences of the German Reich with the measures taken to solve the Jewish problem before the present war, the French Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs is advised to promptly begin planning and preparation for the subsequent emigration even of Jews with French citizenship. To this end he can, through the mediation of our office, be put in touch with the Reich authorities with experience in these matters.

1 AN, AJ40, vol. 548, fols. 3–4. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 387. This document has been translated from German.

2 On the discussion between the military commander in France, Stülpnagel, and the French commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Vallat, in Paris, see Doc. 264.

DOC. 264

On 4 April 1941 Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, Xavier Vallat, outlines the Vichy government's intended policy on Jews to the German Military Commander¹

Note by the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France's Administrative Staff, Paris, signed Best, dated 5 April 1941

File reference: V in 166

Subject: The French Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, Xavier Vallat²

Person in charge:

1. Record for Group 1³

2. Notes

Completion note:

On 4 April 1941 the newly appointed French Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, Xavier Vallat, paid his first official visit to the Military Commander in France.⁴ Participating in the meeting were Sonderführer Dr von Grote⁵ as interpreter and also the undersigned.

Vallat mentioned by way of introduction that he had already had a meeting⁶ with several officials from the German embassy and that he was in contact with the German office at 72 avenue Foch.⁷ He found it somewhat difficult, he said, to correctly discern and differentiate where the German areas of responsibility lie.

The Military Commander stated that as military commander in France he held exclusive responsibility for all issues concerning the occupied territory. He then asked Vallat to inform him about his – Vallat's – tasks.

Vallat stated that he had been set three tasks by Marshal Pétain:

- a) Implementation of the principles of the law of 30 October 1940⁸ beyond the area already covered to include also the liberal professions and the economy; in this

1 AN, AJ40, vol. 548, fols. 5–7. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 387–389. This document has been translated from German.

2 Xavier Vallat (1891–1972), lawyer; member of the French Chamber of Deputies, 1919–1924 and 1928–1940; secretary general for veterans' affairs from 16 July 1940 to 28 March 1941, then commissioner general for Jewish affairs until May 1942; subsequently worked at the secretariat general of head of government Pierre Laval; sentenced to ten years' imprisonment by the Haute Cour de justice on 10 Dec. 1947; released in 1949.

3 Group 1 of the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France's Administrative staff was in charge of general and internal administration.

4 Otto von Stülpnagel (1878–1948), professional soldier; member of the Imperial Army and the Reichswehr; commander of the Air War Academy, 1935–1939; deputy commanding general in Military District XVII in Vienna, 1939/40; military commander in France from Oct. 1940 to Feb. 1942; arrested in 1945; committed suicide while in French custody.

5 Nikolaus von Grote was a Sonderführer (an officer for special tasks) in the propaganda department of the military commander in France.

6 On 3 April 1941 Vallat paid his first official visit to Ambassador Abetz and informed him of the anti-Jewish measures planned by the Vichy government: see wire report no. 1068 from Abetz, dated 3 April 1941, PA AA, Paris 1318.

7 The headquarters of the representative of the chief of the Security Service were located at 72 avenue Foch in Paris.

8 The reference is to the first Statute on Jews: see Doc. 241.

respect, he said, he also had to present legislative proposals to the government or the head of state;

- b) Supervision of the Aryanization of commercial enterprises in order to prevent abuses, personal enrichment etc. that would give the Jews grounds for justifiable counter-propaganda;
- c) Examination of the very difficult question of the Jews in French *North Africa* and submission of proposals to the government or the head of state.

In the fulfilment of his tasks, he said, he must take into account the special circumstances of France and the mood of the French people, who are sentimental and animated by a profound sense of justice. In light of these considerations, he added, certain exceptions must be made, as demanded in particular by combat veterans for the benefit of the war victims. However, as this concerns only the surviving dependants of approximately 6,000 to 7,000 Jewish combat veterans, he said, these exceptions constitute no threat. If one did not make these exceptions, one would only create sympathy for the Jews among the French people, who would claim that, under German pressure, French war victims were being treated brutally. However, if one were to take account of the mood of the people, it would be possible to take all the more radical action against the Jews.

The Military Commander then stated that Ministerial Director Dr Best would specify the measures which the German occupation authorities consider that it is necessary to implement in the occupied territory.

Dr Best then enumerated the measures outlined under point 2. a)–c) of the enclosed discussion plan dated 4 April 1941.⁹

With respect to the demands for the expulsion and internment of Jews, *Vallat* stated that these measures are the concern of the administrative and police authorities and that the occupation authorities should approach these agencies in these matters. He himself expressed scepticism regarding the plan to expel Jews, since, he argued, there are hardly any countries that are still willing to take in Jews. He stated that regarding the consistent implementation of the French laws pertaining to the Jews in the occupied territory, he – *Vallat* – will remain in constant contact with the Military Commander in France.

The Military Commander pointed out in response that the internment of Jews who are German citizens or citizens of countries now under the administration of the German Reich must be carried out by the occupation authorities rather than the French authorities.

Vallat asked how he was to conduct himself towards the German office at 72 avenue Foch.

The Military Commander replied that *Vallat* should negotiate his affairs solely with the Military Commander in France's Administrative Staff, and specifically with Ministerial Director Dr Best.

Dr Best then broached the subject of the question outlined under 3) in the enclosed discussion plan dated 4 April 1941, concerning the planning of final solutions to the Jewish question and the links between the relevant French and German authorities.

Vallat replied that he had thus far had no contact with German authorities. He had merely received a letter on one occasion from an office in Erfurt¹⁰ after he had sharply

9 On the discussion plan, see Doc. 263.

rebuked the Jewish prime minister Blum while he (Vallat) was a delegate.¹¹ He would be very grateful, he said, if he could be provided with the texts of all the provisions issued in the German Reich to solve the Jewish question and if he could also be informed of the results of the measures taken in the German Reich.

Dr Best promised that the contacts necessary for this would be mediated through this office.

Vallat stated in conclusion that thus far 'serious antisemitism' has existed only to a minor degree in France. Therefore, he said, there is a risk that unpleasant opportunists will now offer themselves to the German occupation authorities as antisemites and fighters against Jewry. As an example of such unpleasant phenomena, he mentioned the journal 'Au Pilon'. He – *Vallat* – believes he is doing the German occupation authorities a service by drawing their attention to such unpleasant figures and cautioning against cooperation with them.

The Military Commander ended the meeting by again pointing out that with regard to all individual questions *Vallat* should contact Ministerial Director *Dr Best*.

3. Submitted to the Chief of the Administrative Staff¹²
for his attention.

4. To Group 1

with the request for a proposal as to how the documents promised to the French Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs concerning the measures taken in the Reich against the Jews and their results can be procured and, where applicable, how contact with the respective Reich authorities can be facilitated.

¹⁰ This is presumably a reference to *Weltdienst*, an anti-Jewish information office founded in Erfurt in 1933. From Dec. 1933, it published the journal *Welt-Dienst: Internationale Korrespondenz zur Aufklärung über die Judenfrage*.

¹¹ On 7 June 1936, on the occasion of the assumption of office by the government of Prime Minister Blum, *Vallat* took the floor in the Chamber of Deputies to express his regret that France would be governed by a Jew for the first time. Only a true Frenchman, he said, was suited for this role, not a 'subtle Talmudist': *Journal officiel*, 'Débats de la Chambre', 7 June 1936, p. 1327.

¹² The note was received by Jonathan Schmid.

DOC. 265

On 23 April 1941 an internee asks the management of Les Milles camp for permission to travel to Marseilles to take care of formalities required for his departure¹

Handwritten letter from Paul Hermann Schatzker,² Les Milles camp, to the camp management, dated 23 April 1941³

Dear Commissioner,

I would be grateful if you could grant me three days' leave in Marseilles and Nice from Monday, 26 May, until Wednesday, 28 May 1941.

Having been granted a visa by the consulate of the United States, I will be able to leave shortly. In the meantime, I need to report at the consulate for the medical examination, then I will need to arrange to have my luggage sent by a shipping company in Marseilles. Finally, I still need to pay the outstanding amount for the tickets for myself and my wife,⁴ having already paid the deposit. To that end, I must visit my cousin who is currently living in Nice.

Given that these steps are intended to speed up my departure, I very much hope to receive a favourable decision.

Yours faithfully⁵

DOC. 266

On 26 April 1941 the Military Commander's Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews further restricts occupational and economic opportunities for Jews¹

Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews
26 April 1941

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Führer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht, I decree the following:

§ 1

Jews

- I. – A Jew is someone who is descended from at least three grandparents who are full Jews according to race. Any grandparent who has belonged to the Jewish religious

1 Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseille, 142 W 32. This document has been translated from French.

2 Paul Hermann Schatzker (b. 1889), businessman; emigrated from Vienna to Belgium in Dec. 1938; arrested by the Belgian police on 14 May 1940, deported to the south of France and interned in St Cyprien camp; transferred to Gurs camp at the end of Oct. 1940; and to Les Milles camp in mid March 1941; deported to Auschwitz on 19 August 1942; his subsequent fate is unknown.

3 Schatzker added: 'File no. 1977, in transit to the USA, German (Austrian) citizenship, German Group No. 5, Age: 52, in Les Milles since 14 March 1941, address in Marseilles: Rue des Dominicains 19.'

4 Klava Schatzker, née Goldstein (b. 1892), seamstress; deported from Drancy to Auschwitz on 19 August 1942; her subsequent fate is unknown.

5 Schatzker was granted the requested temporary leave from the camp.

1 *VOBl-F*, 5 May 1941, pp. 255–258. The regulation was published in German and in French. This document has been translated from German.

community is automatically considered to be a full Jew. Also considered Jewish is any person who has two Jewish grandparents and

- a) belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this regulation comes into force or subsequently joins this community
- b) is married to a Jew at the time this regulation comes into force or subsequently marries one.

In cases of doubt, anyone who is or has been a member of the Jewish religious community is considered a Jew.

- II. – § 1 of the Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 27 September 1940 (*VOBl-F*, p. 92)² is rescinded.³

§ 2

Belated registration

- I. – Persons who to date have not been considered Jews but fall within the scope of the provisions in § 1 of this regulation are required to register by 20 May 1941, pursuant to § 3 of the Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 27 September 1940 (*VOBl-F*, p. 92) and §§ 2 and 3 of the Second Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 18 October 1940 (*VOBl-F*, p. 112).⁴
- II. – Measures affecting persons who have thus far been considered Jews but do not fall within the scope of the provisions in § 1 of this regulation will be rescinded on application.

§ 3

Trade and employment ban

- I. – As of 20 May 1941, Jews and Jewish enterprises for which no temporary administrator is appointed are prohibited from engaging in the following trades and occupations:
 - a) the wholesale and retail trade,
 - b) the hotel and restaurant trade,
 - c) insurance,
 - d) shipping,
 - e) dispatching of goods and warehousing,
 - f) travel organization and travel agencies,
 - g) tour guiding,
 - h) transport and haulage enterprises of any kind, including the rental of cars and carts,
 - i) the banking and money-exchange sector,
 - j) the pawn broking trade,
 - k) the provision of information on a commercial basis and the credit bureau and debt-collection business,
 - l) the security industry,
 - m) vending-machine installation,

² See Doc. 238.

³ In comparison with the regulation of 27 Sept. 1940, extensive portions of the third regulation were now aligned with the legal provisions in force in the Reich: see the First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law, 14 Nov. 1935, PMJ 1/210.

⁴ See Doc. 246.

- n) advertising brokerage,
 - o) housing and property agencies and mortgage brokerage on a commercial basis,
 - p) employment agencies operating on a commercial basis,
 - q) marriage brokerage on a commercial basis,
 - r) the brokering, on a commercial basis, of transactions concerning goods or commercial services (agents, brokers, sales representatives, travelling salesmen, etc.).
- II. – After 20 May 1941 Jews are not allowed to be employed as senior managers or as employees who deal with customers. Senior managers are those persons who, alone or together with other individuals, are authorized signatories, who have a share in the profits of the enterprise, or who in individual cases are identified as such by the relevant French authorities.
- III. – If required by the Military Commander or the relevant French agencies, non-Jewish employees are to be hired to replace the departing Jewish employees.

§ 4

Jewish stocks and shares

Trustees can be appointed for shares in private limited companies and for stocks belonging to Jews or Jewish enterprises. The provisions of the Business Management Regulation of 20 May 1940 (*VOBl-F*, p. 31)⁵ apply correspondingly to the trustees. The trustees are authorized to dispose of the stocks and shares. With regard to the company, they have the same rights as the owners of the stocks and shares.

§ 5

Subsistence level payment

For the time being, trustees of Jewish enterprises or company stocks or shares are required to pay only subsistence-level sums to the entitled person from the income generated through the administration or the enterprise.

§ 6

Compensation

- I. – No compensation will be granted for adverse effects that have resulted or result from the implementation of the measures against Jews.
- II. – Jewish employees who are dismissed as of 1 May or at a later date, even though their continued employment is not prohibited, are not entitled to claim compensation for early dismissal.

§ 7

Punitive provision

Anyone who violates the terms of this regulation will be punished with imprisonment or a fine or both, unless a greater penalty is incurred on the basis of other provisions. In addition, forfeiture of assets can be imposed.

§ 8

Entry into force

This regulation comes into force upon its promulgation.

*The Military Commander in France*⁶

⁵ Regulation on the Orderly Management and Administration of Businesses and Enterprises in the Occupied Territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France (Business Management Regulation), 20 May 1940, *VOBl-F*, 4 July 1940, pp. 31–33.

⁶ Otto von Stülpnagel.

DOC. 267

In the course of the first roundup of Jews, the Paris Police Prefecture summons Pinkus Eizenberg to appear on 14 May 1941¹

Letter from the Paris Police Prefecture to Pinkus Eizenberg,² dated 10 May 1941

Mr Eizenberg Pinkus, 58 boulevard Richard-Lenoir (11th arrondissement), (16 September 1904) is required to report in person for a review of his status at 7 a.m. on 14 May 1941, accompanied by a family member or a friend,³ at 2 rue Japy (sports hall).

Please bring identity documents. Failure to attend on the set date and at the set time will be liable to the severest penalty.

Police Superintendent

Please bring this letter with you.

DOC. 268

***L'Œuvre*, 15 May 1941: article on the arrest of foreign Jews¹**

Five thousand foreign Jews living in Paris were sent to concentration camps in the Orléans region yesterday morning

A large-scale operation targeted at foreign Jews living in Paris began yesterday morning. This operation had been long overdue; the government had recognized this and had issued the necessary regulations. It is therefore simply a case of implementing the law of 4 October 1940,² which provides for the arrest and transportation to concentration camps of Israelites who were formerly Polish, Czech, Austrian etc., etc. ...

This measure, the first taken in the occupied zone, was preceded by a similar operation on the other side of the demarcation line. There are currently three concentration camps in the unoccupied zone. The most significant is the one at Gurs in the Basse Pyrénées region, where 20,000 Jews are grouped together.

In Paris, the decision affected only men between the ages of eighteen and forty and a few older men. This selection was made at the police headquarters under the leadership of Police Superintendent François, who heads the department for Jewish affairs.³ He

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, shelf mark illegible. Originally published in Klarsfeld, *Calendrier*, p. 95. This document has been translated from French.

2 Probably Pinkus Eizenberg (b. 1904), from Poland; arrived in Switzerland as a refugee in 1942.

3 While the individuals summoned were being detained at the place to which they had been ordered to report, those accompanying them were required to fetch a suitcase with personal items from their residence.

1 'Cinq mille juifs étrangers résidant à Paris ont été dirigés hier matin sur les camps de concentration de la région d'Orléans', *L'Œuvre*, no. 9332, 15 May 1941, p. 3. The daily newspaper *L'Œuvre* was founded in Paris in 1904. From 24 Sept. 1940 it was published by the collaborator Marcel Déat. It had an estimated circulation of 130,000 copies. This document has been translated from French.

2 See Doc. 242.

3 Jean François (1884–1972), deputy prefect of police in Paris; head of the department Police générale, which oversaw the section for foreigners and Jewish affairs; simultaneously in charge of Drancy camp, August 1941–July 1943.

presided over a meticulous examination of the files and applied the provisions of the law with scrupulous precision.

Not a single arrest was made at a private address.

Those affected had received a summons printed on green paper from police stations on the evening of the day before yesterday, instructing them to report at designated centres accompanied by a family member or a friend.⁴

From 7 a.m. there was a review of the status of 5,000 foreign Jews who reported at the following centres: 52 rue Edouard-Pailleron, 32 rue Grange-aux-Belles, 12 rue de Béarn, the Les Minimes barracks; place Vaudoyer, the Napoléon barracks, and the Japy sports hall, to which 1,000 of them had been summoned. Once the Jews and the people accompanying them had assembled, lists of items to be taken to the camps were distributed. The people accompanying the Jews were then allowed to leave the centres and return with the items needed for the journey and for life in the camps, three of which have been set up in the Orléans region.⁵ The general roundup began at around 11.30 a.m. on rue Sauvage, at the entrance to the post office at Austerlitz station. All the men had been brought there on coaches belonging to the Prefecture or by bus. The operation was supervised by a large security force made up of gardes mobiles. Two members of the gardes mobiles were stationed in each carriage, while a surveillance unit was deployed at the front of the train and in the two rear compartments to protect the police during the journey.

Five convoys set off for Orléans at hourly intervals between midday and 4 p.m.

The aim of this purge, in the minds of those who decided upon it, is to combat the black market. As is well known, for several months the courts of the Seine département have been handling numerous cases of illegal trading, for which Jews with foreign nationality were almost always responsible.

DOC. 269

With the Fourth Regulation on Measures Against Jews, issued on 28 May 1941, the Military Commander also places Jewish businesses without temporary administrators under German control¹

Fourth Regulation on Measures Against Jews 28 May 1941

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Führer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht, I decree the following:

§ 1

Capital transactions

Jews and Jewish enterprises for which no temporary administrator has yet been appoint-

⁴ The summonses, printed on green paper, later became known as *billets verts* (green notes): one such summons is reproduced as Doc. 267.

⁵ The Jews rounded up on that day were deported to the Beaune-la-Rolande and Pithiviers camps, but not to the Jargeau camp.

¹ *VOBl-F*, 10 June 1941, pp. 272–273. This document has been translated from German.

ed may possess currency, outstanding debts, and securities or may transfer them elsewhere only with the consent of the Service du contrôle des administrateurs provisoires.²

Transactions are not invalid on the grounds that consent has not been granted.

§ 2

Trade in goods

Jews and Jewish enterprises for which no temporary administrator has yet been appointed may possess goods and articles of value or may take them elsewhere only with the consent of the authorized distributor (répartiteur)³ or – in the case that there is no authorized distributor – the consent of the Service du contrôle des administrateurs provisoires.

§ 3

Exceptions

§§ 1 and 2 do not apply to transactions that do not exceed the usual scope or that serve the purpose of personal use, provided such use does not exceed the value of 15,000 francs a month.

§ 4

Further permission or approval

Consent in accordance with §§ 1 and 2 does not replace permission or approval that is required in other provisions.

§ 5

Penal provision

Anyone who violates the terms of this regulation will be punished with imprisonment or a fine or both, unless a greater penalty is incurred on the basis of other provisions.

§ 6

Entry into force

This regulation comes into force upon its promulgation.

*The Military Commander in France*⁴

2 The appointment of trustees for Jewish enterprises in the occupation zone, stipulated in the German regulation of 18 Oct. 1940, was carried out by the Service du contrôle des administrateurs provisoires (SCAP), which was established by the Ministry of Industrial Production in Dec. 1940 to oversee the work of temporary administrators. The military administration assigned an official to the SCAP in Jan. 1941, but he was able to do little more than conduct spot-checks. The SCAP was made subordinate to the commissioner general for Jewish affairs in the spring of 1941.

3 In Sept. 1940 the Office central de répartition des produits industrielles was established, with German participation, to oversee the allocation of raw materials to businesses. It was intended to ensure that the goods that were to be delivered compulsorily to the German Reich could be manufactured without causing large-scale disruption to the French economy.

4 Otto von Stülpnagel.

DOC. 270

The Vichy government intensifies the exclusion of Jews from professional and economic life with the second Statute on Jews, issued on 2 June 1941¹

Law of 2 June 1941 replacing the law of 3 October 1940² governing the status of Jews³

We, Marshal of France, Head of the French State, in consultation with the Council of Ministers, decree the following:

Art. 1. – The following are considered Jews:

1. Any person, regardless of religious confession, who is descended from at least three grandparents of the Jewish race or from only two Jewish grandparents if the spouse of the person concerned is descended from two Jewish grandparents.⁴

A grandparent who has been a member of the Jewish religion is considered to belong to the Jewish race.⁵

2. Any person who belongs to the Jewish faith or belonged to it on 25 June 1940, and is descended from two grandparents of Jewish race.

Non-affiliation with the Jewish religion is established by proof of membership of one of the other religions recognized by the state prior to the law of 9 December 1905.⁶

Denial or annulment of the parentage of a child regarded as Jewish has no impact on the aforementioned conditions.⁷

Art 2. – Jews are barred from appointments to the civil service and from undertaking duties in the civil service or any of the public offices listed below:

1. Head of State, member of the government, of the Council of State, of the Council of the National Order of the Legion of Honour, of the Court of Cassation, of the Court of Auditors, of the Mining Engineering Corps,⁸ of the Civil Engineering Corps, of the Tax Inspectorate, of the Court of Appeal, of the Aeronautical Engineering Corps, of the lower courts, justices of the peace, of criminal courts in Algeria, of all juries, employment tribunals, and elected assemblies.
2. Ambassadors of France, secretaries general of ministerial departments, directors general, directors of central government departments, officials within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, prefects, sub-prefects, secretaries general of prefectures, inspectors of administrative services at the Ministry of the Interior, officials of all ranks attached to any police department.
3. Residents general, governors general, governors, and secretaries general of colonies, inspectors of colonies.

1 *Journal officiel*, 14 June 1941, pp. 2475–2476. This document has been translated from French.

2 See Doc. 241.

3 On the amendment of the first Statute on Jews (3 Oct. 1940), see Doc. 256.

4 As in the German Reich, in administrative practice two so-called half-Jews married to each other were not considered Jewish unless one of them belonged to the Jewish religious community.

5 This was the case even if the grandparent had belonged to the religious community only for a short time, or had been christened as an infant.

6 This meant that the provisions of the law also applied to atheists who had left the Jewish religious community but had not joined another denomination. The law of 9 Dec. 1905 had legally enshrined the separation of church and state in France: *Journal officiel*, 11 Dec. 1905, p. 7205.

7 This provision was intended to avoid a situation where Jewish fathers of children born out of wedlock denied the parentage of these children in the attempt to protect them.

8 See Doc. 241, fn. 3.

4. Members of the teaching profession.
 5. Officers and non-commissioned officers of the army, navy, and air force; members of the supervisory bodies of the war office, the navy, and the air force; staff members and civilian officials of the army, navy, and air force departments created by the laws of 25 August 1940, 15 September 1940, 28 August 1940, 18 September 1940, and 29 August 1940.
 6. Directors, managers, and secretaries general of enterprises benefiting from concessions or subsidies granted by a public authority; government appointees to publicly owned enterprises.
- Art. 3. – Jews may not occupy offices or posts other than those listed in Article 2 in public administrations or enterprises benefiting from concessions or subsidies granted by a public authority unless they fulfil one of the following conditions:
- a) ownership of a combatant's card, as instituted by Article 101 of the law of 19 December 1926;⁹
 - b) receipt of a mention in dispatches during the 1939–1940 campaign entitling them to wear the Croix de Guerre medal, as instituted by the decree of 28 March 1941;¹⁰
 - c) award of the Legion of Honour or the Military Medal for wartime service;
 - d) being a ward of the nation¹¹ or the parent, grandparent, widow or orphan of a soldier who died for France.
- Art. 4. – Jews may not exercise a liberal profession, a commercial, industrial or trade or craft occupation, an independent profession, the responsibilities of a public or ministerial official, or the functions of a legal official unless this is within the limits and on the conditions determined by decree of the Council of State.
- Art. 5 – Jews may not engage in any of the following occupations:
- Banker, money-changer, door-to-door salesman;
 - Stock-market or commodities trader;
 - Advertising agent;
 - Estate agent or mortgage broker;
 - Business agent, estate agent;
 - Broker, commission agent;
 - Forestry manager;
 - Bookmaker;
 - Publisher, director, manager, administrator, editor, local correspondent of newspapers or periodicals (with the exception of strictly scientific or religious publications);
 - Owner, director, administrator, manager of enterprises involved in the manufacture, printing, distribution or presentation of films for cinema; stage director, director of photography, set designer;
 - Owner, director, administrator, theatre or cinema manager;
 - Impresario;

⁹ *Journal officiel*, 24 Dec. 1926, p. 12311.

¹⁰ Decree of 28 March 1941 on the introduction of a new Croix de Guerre medal, *Journal officiel*, 15 April 1941, pp. 1618–1619.

¹¹ *Pupille de la nation*: an official status granted by the French state providing support and financial assistance to children who lost a parent in the war or in the performance of public duties.

Owner, director, administrator, manager of any corporation related to radio broadcasting.

For each category, the implementation of this article will be set out in administrative regulations.

Art. 6 – Under no circumstances may Jews belong to or manage organizations responsible for representing the professions specified in Articles 4 and 5 of this law.

Art. 7 – The Jewish officials referred to in Articles 2 and 3 may claim the following entitlements:

- 1 – Officials covered by the law of 14 April 1924¹² shall receive a retirement pension with immediate effect if they have served the required number of years.

If they do not fulfil this condition but have served for at least fifteen years, they shall be entitled with immediate effect to a pension calculated on the basis of either one thirtieth of the minimum retirement pension for each year of service in category A, or one twenty-fifth for each year of service in category B or of military service. The amount of this pension shall not exceed the minimum retirement pension but can be augmented if appropriate by additional allowances for service outside Europe and military service benefits;

- 2 – If they have completed at least fifteen years' service, civil servants covered by the national old-age pension regulations shall, with immediate effect, receive an annual allowance equal to the old-age pension to which they would be entitled when their functions ceased if their statutory contributions were made on a transferred capital basis from the start. This allowance shall cease to be paid to them from the date on which they begin to receive a pension from the national pension fund;
- 3 – Officials of départements, local authorities or public institutions which have their own pension arrangements shall, with immediate effect, receive their retirement pension or the proportion of such pension set by their pension regulations, provided they have completed the required number of years of service;
- 4 – Employees who are covered by the social insurance law¹³ and have served for at least fifteen years will receive an annual allowance from the local authority or body to which they belong. This is equal to the proportion of the old-age pension constituted by the payment of double the amount of contributions throughout the period of their service. Payment of this allowance shall cease on the date from which the persons concerned begin to receive said pension;
- 5 – Civil servants who have contributed to the intercolonial pension fund or to local pension funds and have served for at least fifteen years shall receive a pension under the terms set by a specific administrative regulation;
- 6 – Civil servants or officials who do not fulfil the required conditions for receiving the pensions and allowances referred to above shall receive their salary for a period to be set by a specific administrative regulation;
- 7 – The situation for workers in state military and industrial establishments is regulated by a special law.¹⁴

12 The law of 14 April 1924 regulated pensions for civil service employees: *Journal officiel*, 15 April 1924, pp. 3495–3496.

13 Social Insurance Law of 5 May 1928: *Journal officiel*, 12 April 1928, p. 4086.

14 The law of 12 May 1941 concerning workers in state-owned military and industrial facilities regulated their retirement or superannuation: *Journal officiel*, 15 June 1941, p. 2498.

The Jewish civil servants or officials referred to in Articles 2 and 3 of the law of 3 October 1940 shall be deemed to have ceased their functions on 20 December 1940.

Civil servants and officials who are affected by the new prohibitions laid out in the present law shall cease their duties within two months of its publication.

Application of the provisions of the present law to prisoners of war shall be deferred until their return from captivity.¹⁵

The Jewish civil servants or officials referred to in Articles 2 and 3 who are now prisoners of war shall cease to perform their duties two months after their return from captivity.

The provisions of the present law shall not apply to the parents, grandparents, spouses or descendants of a prisoner of war until two months after the release of the prisoner concerned.

With regard to personnel in service overseas, the conditions for the cessation of their functions shall be determined by a regulation to be issued by the ministries responsible.¹⁶

Art. 8 – The following may be exempted from the prohibitions of the present law:

1. Jews who have rendered exceptional service to the French state;
2. Jews whose families have been established in France for at least five generations and have rendered exceptional service to the French state.

Regarding the prohibitions in Article 2, decisions will be issued by an individual decree of the Council of State based on a report from the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs countersigned by the relevant state secretary.

For the other prohibitions, the decision will be issued by order of the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs.

Such decrees or orders must be duly substantiated.

The exceptions granted by virtue of the above provisions are solely personal in nature and shall not establish any right in favour of the parents, grandparents, descendants, spouses, and relatives of the beneficiaries.

Art. 9 – Without prejudice to a prefect's right to have a person interned in a special camp,¹⁷ even if the person concerned is French, the following penalties shall apply:

- 1 – For any Jew who has performed or attempted to perform an activity prohibited to him under Articles 4, 5, and 6 of the present law, a prison term of between six months and two years and a fine of between 500 and 10,000 francs or one of these two penalties;
- 2 – A prison term of between one and five years and a fine of between 1,000 and 20,000 francs, or one of these two penalties, for any Jew who has avoided or attempted to circumvent the prohibitions set out in the present law by making false declarations or through fraudulent behaviour.

The court may in addition order the closure of the business concerned.

Art. 10 – Civil servants who ceased their duties under the law of 3 October 1940 and who are able to take advantage of the provisions of the present law are invited

¹⁵ For relatives of prisoners of war this meant that benefits continued to be paid out.

¹⁶ Regulation of 19 Nov. 1941 on the use of Article 7 of the Law of 2 June 1941 for personnel in service overseas: *Journal officiel*, 2 Dec. 1941, pp. 5188–5189.

¹⁷ See Doc. 242.

to apply for readmission under terms that will be set by decree of the Council of State.¹⁸

Art. 11 – This law shall apply to Algeria, the colonies and protectorates, and in Syria and Lebanon.

Art. 12 – The law of 3 October 1940 as amended by the laws of 3 April¹⁹ and 11 April²⁰ 1941 is hereby rescinded; the regulations and decrees issued for its application shall remain in force until such time as they are amended as appropriate by new regulations and decrees.

Art. 13 – This law shall be published in the *Journal officiel* and applied as state law.

Adopted at Vichy, 2 June 1941

Ph. Pétain

Marshal of France, Head of the French State

Admiral of the Fleet, Vice President of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, and the Navy

A Darlan

Minister of Justice

*Joseph Barthélemy*²¹

Minister of Economy and Finance

Yves Bouthillier

General, Minister of War

G Huntziger

Minister for Agriculture

Pierre Caziot

DOC. 271

On 2 June 1941 the Vichy government introduces compulsory registration for Jews¹

Law of 2 June 1941 on the Compulsory Registration of the Jews

We, Marshal of France, Head of the French State,

in consultation with the Council of Ministers, decree the following:

Article 1. – All persons considered Jewish according to the Law of 2 June 1941 governing the status of Jews² must within one month of the publication of this law make a written declaration to the prefect of the département or sub-prefect of the arrondissement in which they are domiciled or resident confirming that they

18 Article 3 of the second Statute on Jews extended exceptions for occupational bans, which had previously applied only to war veterans, to their families, who could now apply for readmission to the civil service. The Council of State subsequently left the implementation of this provision to the ministerial bureaucracy, which handled it restrictively.

19 Law Amending Article 7 of the Law of 3 Oct. 1940: *Journal officiel*, 5 May 1941, pp. 1901–1903.

20 Law Amending Articles 2 and 7 of the Law of 3 Oct. 1940: *Journal officiel*, 30 April 1941, p. 1846.

21 Joseph Barthélemy (1874–1945), lawyer; professor of law in Paris from 1914; member of the Chamber of Deputies, 1919–1928; minister of justice from 27 Jan. 1941 to 26 March 1943; arrested on 6 Oct. 1944; charged by the Haute Cour de justice but died before standing trial.

1 *Journal officiel*, 14 June 1941, p. 2476. This document has been translated from French.

are Jewish under the terms of the law. They must also provide details of their marital status, family situation, occupation, and assets.

The declaration will be made by the husband for his wife, and by their legal representative for minors or incapacitated persons.³

Article 2. – Any contravention of the terms of Article 1 will be punishable by imprisonment of between one month and a year, and a fine of between 100 and 10,000 fr., or with one of these two penalties. This does not affect the prefect's legal right to intern any offender in a special camp,⁴ even if the individual concerned is French.

Article 3. – Specific arrangements will regulate the application of this law in Algeria, in the colonies, in the protectorates, in Syria, and in Lebanon.

Article 4. – This decree will be published in the *Journal officiel* and applied as state law. Adopted at Vichy, 2 June 1941

Ph. Pétain

Marshal of France, Head of the French State

Admiral of the Fleet, Vice President of the Council, Minister of the Interior

Admiral *Darlan*

DOC. 272

On 1 July 1941 Theodor Dannecker, head of the Reich Security Main Office's section for Jewish affairs, reports on his plans for the treatment of Jews in France¹

Report by SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker² entitled 'Jewish Issues in France and their Handling', dated 1 July 1941

Introduction

Final solution to the Jewish question – key issue and goal for the French. Action taken by the section for Jewish affairs of the Security Police and the SD.

From the outset it was clear that practical results could not be achieved without studying both the Jewish situation and general political conditions.

Apart from providing a general outline of our planning, the following pages are intended to explain the results so far and the objectives for the immediate future.

² See Doc. 270.

³ Jews in the occupied zone were registered on the basis of the Military Commander's First Regulation on Measures Against Jews: see Doc. 270. From spring 1941 the French Office for Statistics required this information for the whole of France, which could now be collected.

⁴ See Doc. 242.

¹ Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVI-1. Published in French translation in Henri Monneray (ed.), *La Persécution des Juifs en France et dans les autres pays de l'Ouest: Recueil de documents* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1947), pp. 84–116. This document has been translated from German.

² Theodor Dannecker (1913–1945), retailer; joined the NSDAP and the SS in 1932; employed by the SD from 1935; at the section for Jewish affairs in Berlin from 1937; official in charge of Jewish affairs at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) division in Paris, 1940–1942; worked in the RSHA's section for Jewish affairs, 1942–1945; assistant to the German police attaché in Sofia, Jan.–Sept. 1943; head of an Einsatzkommando in Italy, Sept.–Dec. 1943; member of Eichmann's Sondereinsatzkommando in Budapest, March–Dec. 1944; committed suicide in a US Army internment camp in Bad Tölz.

All fundamental points must be examined according to the perspective that, given that the Chief of the Security Police and the SD has been tasked by the Führer with preparing the solution to the European Jewish question,³ his office in France has to carry out the preparatory work in order to be able to act one hundred per cent reliably at any given time as a field agency of the European commissioner for Jewish affairs.

History of the Jews in France

When addressing the history of the Jews in France, we must go back to the period of the Roman campaigns. It is a well-known fact that a large number of merchants and traders travelled with the Roman legions. Among them were many Jews. In this way they arrived in what was at that time Gaul and stayed in these territories, some of them forever, probably because they sensed that the land had a future ahead of it. They settled in the most important places in Gaul and started a flourishing trade. Even though the various kings who ruled during the period from 1250 to 1789 generally pursued policies that did not give the Jews much of an opportunity to spread, by the end of the Middle Ages they had succeeded in concentrating in larger groups and doing so in what were at that time the country's most important trading centres, i.e. Avignon, Bordeaux, and the whole of Alsace.

Although there was no abatement in anti-Jewish activity throughout this period in France, and it reached a considerable scale during the first crusade in particular, it was only under Charles VI in 1394 that the Jews were completely expelled from the Kingdom of France.⁴

It goes without saying that the Jews attempted to regain their influence in France by any means.

They offered the kings huge bribes. Despite all of their attempts, however, the law remained in force until 1776. At that time, Freemason/Jewish influences succeeded in changing Louis XVI's mind and persuading him to repeal the order that required the Jews to leave the kingdom. France had therefore been free of Jews for almost 400 years.

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jews founded communities in Alsace, the number of which grew constantly. Spreading from Metz, Jewish communities then formed in Lorraine.

Bordeaux and Bayonne were the main centres in which they settled. Jewish trading grew remarkably quickly, and the Jews were particularly adept at taking control of the provision of military supplies in Metz. One of these military suppliers was *Cerf Berr* (1730–1793).⁵ It was the same Cerf Berr who raised the Jewish question in 1788 in Paris, when the Estates General were meeting, and thereby, thanks to the help of influential Frenchmen such as Grégoire and Mirabeau, laid the foundations for the development of

3 On 24 Jan. 1939 Göring gave Heydrich a mandate to speed up Jewish emigration: see PMJ 2/243. On 31 July 1941 Göring extended Heydrich's powers again, directing him to 'make all necessary preparations from an organizational, material, and financial perspective for an overall solution to the Jewish question within the German sphere of influence in Europe'. See PMJ 3/196.

4 On 17 Sept. 1394 King Charles VI issued an edict forbidding Jews from residing in the Kingdom of France.

5 Herz Cerf Beer von Medelsheim (1726–1793), merchant; advocated the emancipation of the Jewish population and called for the Jews to be represented in the Estates General, which were convened in 1789.

the Jewish question during the French Revolution of 1789. At the time of the Revolution, approximately 50,000 Jews were living in France, and then came the day on which the Jews were to be granted equality. After managing to achieve the granting of citizenship on 28 January 1790, their great victory came on 27 September 1791 when, citing the right to religious freedom, Duport obtained full equality for the Jews in all areas of life⁶ (Décret Crémieux).⁷

This date, 27 September 1791, is one of the most important in the history of world Jewry as a whole. Following this event, even greater numbers of Jews streamed in. Not into rural areas, but into the cities that had been forbidden to them: Strasbourg, Colmar, Mulhouse, Montpellier, Nîmes, Marseilles, and principally Paris. Paris, which had had 500 Jews in 1789, had 4,000 by 1800. If we consider that today there are 65,000 Jewish heads of household in Paris with about 150,000 family members, then we get an idea of Jewry's invasion of France.

Napoleon I did not like the Jews, but nevertheless he succumbed to their influence. He made the mistake of entering into negotiations with the Jews by summoning the *Grand Sanhedrin* to him in 1806. He granted the Jews official recognition of their religion in 1808.⁸

At this moment the unification of the individual Jewish groups had been completed, and the state within the state had been founded. It is interesting to hear how the Jew views this period. According to the new Parisian Jewish weekly, *Informations Juives*:⁹

France was again the pioneer, and for the first time Judaism was given equality with Christianity. It happened for the first time in 1831 under King Louis Philippe – in France as well – that a law granted rabbis a portion of their salary from state revenues, just as it does to Catholic and Protestant clergymen.¹⁰ At the same time the rabbinical seminary at Metz was recognized as a state institution. The consequences of these measures were not limited just to the French Jews, but had an impact on the whole world. The legislative achievements of the French Revolution and the following years encouraged large sections of the Jewry to assimilate.

– So says the Jewish weekly.

⁶ The French Constituent Assembly repealed all the remaining special provisions against Jews by means of a decree that was drafted with the involvement of the delegates Adrien Duport and Henri Grégoire (Abbé Grégoire) in particular.

⁷ French in the original: the 'Crémieux Decree' of 24 Oct. 1870, which had granted the rights of French citizens and French citizenship to Jews living in the French départements in Algeria. See Doc. 244.

⁸ An assembly of rabbis and Jewish laymen (known as the Grand Sanhedrin) was to draw up a set of principles that would reconcile French legislation and the decisions handed down by Jewish courts; these became the foundation for the decree establishing the system of consistories, which was adopted by the Grand Sanhedrin in 1807 and was to remain in force until 1906.

⁹ The newspaper first appeared on 19 April 1941 with a print run of 10,000. It was published by the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations in Greater Paris; from 23 Jan. 1942 to 1944 it appeared under the title *Bulletin de l'Union générale des Israélites de France*.

¹⁰ The law of 18 Feb. 1831 granted the Jewish religious community the same privileges as were held by the Protestant congregations in France.

During the years from 1815 to 1870, a certain calm set in. France was weary after all the battles of the preceding years.

The Jews consolidated their positions during this period. The famous manipulation of the stock market by the Rothschilds after the battle of Waterloo is well known.¹¹ From this point on, the House of Rothschild became the state's pawnbrokers and dictated their terms.

The Revolution of 1830 was again the work of the Jews and Freemasons, who toppled Charles X in order to install Louis Philippe, who was completely in the hands of the Rothschilds and therefore all Jewry, on the throne. Rothschild ruled the country; what he ordered was done. For example, all Jews had been entered in the list of the Jewish Consistory, so that they could be counted. In 1830 Rothschild repealed this measure and made it impossible for them to be registered. The rule of the Rothschilds therefore began under Louis Philippe, carried on under Napoleon III and the Third Republic, which lasted until 1940, and still continues in the unoccupied territory through the banks.

If we look at the history of Jewry in France once more in retrospect, we see the tenacity with which the Jews have worked. Slowly they penetrated all areas of life. The Rothschilds' money opened all doors. The high point was probably reached when the Jew Blum became prime minister, when Mandel – Jerobeau Rothschild – was a minister, when Jean Zay became minister of education.¹² Following Blum's fall, it was politicians in bondage to the Jews who took the helm of the state. Daladier paved the way for Reynaud, who was a good friend to the House of Rothschild. Rothschild has directed the course of French politics from 1880 to the present day. Since National Socialism took the helm in Germany, the entire struggle of Jewry has been directed against this Germany. The many Jewish associations that existed in Paris alone and had set themselves the goal of fighting National Socialism (the SD has identified and raided forty-one large Jewish organizations in Paris alone) are evidence for this. The murder of Ernst vom Rath¹³ and the boycott of German products show that Jewry stopped at nothing in its struggle against Germany. Jewry believed it had put its most serious and most dangerous opponent out of action when France declared war on Germany.¹⁴

Only things have turned out differently.

11 On 18 June 1815 Allied troops commanded by the Duke of Wellington defeated the army of Napoleon I. It was alleged that the banker Nathan Rothschild had exploited his advance warning and sold the war bonds he had held on the London Stock Exchange before news of the battle's outcome had been made public. Other investors assumed Napoleon would be victorious and sold their war bonds as well. As a result, stock prices fell rapidly. Rothschild then bought the bonds back cheaply and made a fortune as a result.

12 Following the victory of the Popular Front left-wing electoral alliance on 6 June 1936, Prime Minister Léon Blum (French Section of the Workers' International, SFIO) formed his first cabinet, with Jean Zay as minister of education. By contrast, the conservative Georges Mandel, who had been minister of posts, telegraph, and telephone since 1934, was now just a member of the Chamber of Deputies. He subsequently served again as minister of the interior from 18 May to 16 June 1940. Extreme right-wing circles accused Mandel of actually being a Polish Jew called Jéroboam Rothschild.

13 Herschel Grynszpan's assassination of the legation secretary at the German embassy in Paris on 7 Nov. 1938 provided the pretext for the November pogroms in the German Reich: see PMJ 2, pp. 53–54.

14 France declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939.

Organization of the Jews in France

a) Prior to 14 June 1940

Pursuant to the law of 8 February 1831¹⁵ and a royal ordinance of 25 May 1844,¹⁶ which granted Judaism the status of a religion recognized and supported by the state, a unified organization for Jewry developed in France. It was headed by the 'Central Consistory' and the Chief Rabbi of France, to which the individual consistories were subordinate with regard to worldly matters (administration and financial management) and, as their spiritual heads, the chief rabbis of the individual districts.

The Jewish organizations in the various districts were subordinate to the district consistory. Their work was carried out on the basis of instructions from the consistories and under the control of the consistories. However, regular contributions were not paid to the consistories because their budgets were primarily funded by state subsidies.

The Law on the Separation of Church and State of 9 December 1905 shattered the aforementioned organizational arrangements. The state was no longer involved in any way in the practice of religion; as far as the Israelite religion was concerned, the consistories were abolished, and any religious group or association of any kind can administer itself and act independently on the basis of its own articles of association – provided these comply with the current laws and have been submitted to the prefecture. The activities of religious communities (religious associations) must be limited solely to the holding of services. Any charitable or social activity is ruled out for religious associations. The 'Consistoire Israélite de Paris' was succeeded by a religious association founded in 1908 that retained the same name. In order to avoid any misunderstandings, it should be noted that this new association, which bears the same title, is in no way identical to its predecessor. The same is also true of the 'Union of Israelite Cultural Associations of France and Algeria' (Union des Associations Culturelles Israélites de France et d'Algérie), which retained the title of its predecessor of the same name – Consistoire Central – without being able to engage in the same activities in practice. Apart from the Consistoire, numerous religious groups formed throughout the country, although they had no relationship to the largest religious association, the Consistoire, with its 6,500 members in 1939.

As with the religious associations, various charitable and aid organizations continued to develop. Since 1906 a vast number of associations and organizations have come into existence, created as a result of various causes and pursuing the most varied purposes.

At that time there were the following larger organizations in Paris, the aims of which will firstly be explained by drawing on Jewish information:

International organizations:

HICEM (HIAS-ICA Emigration Association) for the provision of moral and material assistance for Jewish emigrants, with forty-one associated Comités in fifteen states in Europe and overseas.

¹⁵ Correctly: 18 Feb. 1831.

¹⁶ This ordinance regulated organizational issues of concern to the Jewish religious community such as the appointment of rabbis. At the same time, the Central Consistory founded by the decree of 15 March 1808 was reorganized, and the procedure for the appointment of its members was specified.

The first of the two organizations combined in the HICEM, the *Jewish Colonization Association* (ICA), was founded by Baron Maurice de Hirsch in 1891 with the purpose of finding productive work for Jews, in particular in agriculture and skilled crafts. The ICA owned many settlements of its own; the most famous is in Argentina.

The second organization combined in the HICEM was the *Hebrew Immigration and Shalt*¹⁷ (HIAS). It was mainly engaged in the provision of supplies to Jewish emigrants.

The *Palestine Jewish Colonization Association* (PICA), an Edmond de Rothschild foundation to further the development of Palestine.¹⁸

American [Jewish] Joint Distribution Committee. The aim of this organization is to collect money in the USA to raise funds to support suffering Jews in Europe.

Central Bureau of the ORT: association of organizations to further industrial and agricultural work among Jews. ORT runs training workshops in skilled crafts and manages firms in fifteen states for this purpose.

LICA (Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme): this association was presided over by Bernard Lecache. It was (as the name itself suggests) founded as a political association opposed to 'racial hatred and antisemitism'. In the last few years it has also provided extensive aid and support to emigrants and other refugees.¹⁹

Further important international organizations were:

*Keren Kayeeth Leisrael De France*²⁰ and the *Aid Committee for Refugees* (ACR).²¹

An intermediate position between the international organizations on the one hand and the associations with charitable purposes on the other hand is occupied by the OSE. Founded in Russia, this organization launched a committee in Paris in 1935. Its main purpose was preventive healthcare for young people.

Charitable organizations

Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite de Paris: founded in 1809. Purpose: support and general provision of welfare for Jews in need. Leading charitable organizations.

The various Rothschild foundations were also among the main charitable organizations: the convalescent home established in 1850 (Alphonse de Rothschild Foundation) with a hospital, an old people's home, an orphanage, and a clinic founded by Adolf de Rothschild.

Apart from a vast number of associations that were established on the basis of mutual support between their members (who mostly came from the same country or the same town), there are charitable organizations with a broad reach, such as:

17 Correctly: Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society.

18 Edmond James de Rothschild transferred his title to the Jewish settlements he owned in Palestine to the ICA in 1899. The PICA split off from the ICA in 1924 and was given sole responsibility for settlements in Palestine.

19 Lecache, a journalist, founded the LICA in 1927 at the time of Samuel Schwartzbard's trial. Schwartzbard had assassinated Simon Petliura, the former leader of the Ukrainian Directorate, on 25 May 1926 in Paris, because he held Petliura responsible for the pogroms that had taken place in Ukraine in 1919.

20 Correctly: Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael de France (Jewish National Fund of France); founded in 1901 to purchase land in Palestine for Jewish settlement.

21 Correctly: Committee for Assistance to Refugees (Comité d'assistance aux réfugiés, CAR).

*La Colonie Scolaire,
Pour Nos Enfants,
Cantine Populaire, and
Association Philanthropique de l'Asile de Nuit, de l'Asile de Jour et de la Crèche Israélite,*²² and many others.

b) *Operations conducted by the Sipo and the SD (SS Einsatzkommando Paris) against these organizations and leading Jewish individuals (report by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hagen)*

The evaluation of the materials seized in Germany, Austria, CSR,²³ and Poland allowed the conclusion that the centre of Jewry in Europe, and therefore the main link to overseas countries, is to be found in France. In view of this finding, the larger Jewish organizations that were already well known, such as:

Congrès Juif Mondial,²⁴

Comité de Documentation,²⁵

American [Jewish] Joint Distribution Committee ('Joint'),

Alliance Israélite Universelle,²⁶

Consistoire Central with the rabbinates and communities,

HICEM and the affiliated smaller support organizations,

Comité d'Assistance aux Réfugiés, and

Ligue Internationale contre l'Antisémitisme

were therefore searched and sealed to begin with.

Moreover, the addresses found at the larger organizations prompted raids on further small groups and associations.

It was noticeable that the organizations for Jewry in France, i.e. for the masses, did not possess the same significance as they do in Germany or Poland; rather their main function consisted primarily in looking after emigrants. In doing so, they exploited as far as possible their especially good relations with French government agencies, individual ministries, senators, and members of the Chamber of Deputies.

22 The Colonie scolaire was founded in 1926 and supported children from socially disadvantaged Jewish families. Pour nos enfants was created in 1930 and set up schools and orphanages for Jewish children in France. The Cantine populaire was a group of small Jewish charitable organizations that had been running public soup kitchens in France since the end of the 1920s. The Association philanthropique de l'asile de nuit, de l'asile de jour et de la crèche israélite, also known as the Asile israélite, was founded in 1900. Its activities included running a night shelter for homeless people on rue Lamarck in Paris, a day shelter, and a day nursery.

23 Correctly: ČSR, Československá republika (Czechoslovak Republic), 1918–1939.

24 The Jewish World Congress, which moved its headquarters from Paris to Lisbon after the German invasion.

25 French in the original: Committee for Documentation. Correctly: Committee for Documentation and Vigilance against Antisemitism and Nazism (Comité de documentation et de vigilance contre l'antisémitisme et le nazisme). Founded by the Central Consistory and the Alliance israélite universelle (AIU) in 1936, the committee documented the persecution of Jews and supplied the media and politicians with information on the struggle against antisemitism.

26 The AIU, which had its headquarters in Paris, was founded in 1860 to promote Jewish culture; in particular, it maintained Jewish schools in the Middle East and North Africa.

The 'Ligue Internationale contre l'Antisémitisme' (LICA), which is to be regarded as an intermediary organization between Jews and non-Jews, stood out in particular in this respect. This organization, which, apart from looking after emigrants, was engaged primarily in virulent campaigning against the new Germany, enjoyed the protection of senior members of the government, such as Daladier, Mandel, and Sarraut.

In addition to its support work, the Congrès Juif Mondial has continually informed all the important agencies in France and other foreign countries about the emigrants on the basis of its confidential reports.

Generally, the above-mentioned organizations have been very strongly involved in intelligence work.

In one case, a black book about the treatment of the Jews in Poland²⁷ was seized, which, although it had only recently been printed in Paris, was found in the offices of many politicians, government agencies, and organizations linked to these bodies.

The Alliance Israelite Universelle was almost alone in working to strengthen French Jewry.

As mentioned above, the pillars of Jewry in France were less the organizations than individual Jews in high government positions and in business.

Here the biggest role was played by the Rothschild family, which represented the pinnacle of all French Jewry. In particular, the brothers Eduard and Robert de Rothschild²⁸ cultivated links to all the organizations. While Robert Rothschild took on the task of safeguarding Jewry in France politically, Eduard made it possible for all financial transactions to be carried out.

Another characteristic picture of the close intertwining of Jewry and French politics was provided by the material seized from the former interior minister, Mandel. In him, Jewry in France found, in addition to ideological support, a member of the government who always strengthened Jewry's legal status too.

Since the results of the searches of these organizations raised suspicions that a great deal of material was still to be found at the homes of influential Jews, the most prominent of them, such as:

Rothschild, all family members,
Mandel (Jero bean Rothschild),
Mendel, press attaché at the English embassy,²⁹
Lecache, president of the LICA,
Marc Jarblum, leading member of the Congrès Juif Mondial,
Moro-Giafferi, well-known defence lawyer in many Jewish trials (Grünspan, Frankfurter,³⁰ Cairo Jew Trial³¹),

27 Centre d'information et de documentation du Gouvernement polonais, *L'Invasion allemande en Pologne: Documents, témoignages authentifiés et photographies* ('*Livre Noir*') (Paris: Flammarion, 1940).

28 Robert Philippe de Rothschild (1880–1946), businessman; head of the Paris Consistory, 1935–1946; Édouard Alphonse James de Rothschild (1868–1949), banker; head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris from 1905; head of the Central Consistory, 1906–1940. The brothers lived in exile in the USA from 1940 to 1944.

29 Correctly: Sir Charles Ferdinand Mendl (1871–1958).

30 On 4 Feb. 1936 David Frankfurter shot Wilhelm Gustloff, head of the NSDAP's Foreign Organization Country Group in Switzerland, in Davos. On 14 Dec. 1936 Frankfurter was sentenced to 18 years in prison, to be followed by lifelong exile; he was expelled from Switzerland in 1945 and died in Tel Aviv in 1982.

Torrés, defence lawyer in numerous Jewish trials (Grünspan),
 Isaïe Schwartz, chief rabbi of France,
 Julien Weill, chief rabbi of Paris,
 the most important members of Jewish business families, etc. were searched.

Among other things, extensive documents about the conduct of the Grünspan trial were seized from the lawyers connected with the case. Furthermore, papers were found that prove the Catholic Church actively contributed to the propaganda during this trial.

Documents seized from the rabbis Schwartz and Weill provided information about links to the Catholic Church. A letter by the Jew Simon addressed to the Chief Rabbi of France reveals that, thanks to the mediation of the former German Reich Chancellor *Wirth*, the pope³² had already declared himself willing to support Jewish propaganda against the German racial idea, although subject to the condition that the international press, which, as it says in the letter, 'is controlled to such a great extent by Jewish capital', would speak out against the persecution of the Catholics in Mexico.³³ The letter also states that Cardinal Faulhaber³⁴ was also involved in this scheme. The letter is dated 13 August 1936.

Another letter dated 1939, from the Bishop of Strasbourg³⁵ and the Archpriest of Montbeliard,³⁶ found at the office of the Chief Rabbi of France, provides confirmation that links between Jewry and the Catholic Church have become even deeper.

The raid on the residence of the press attaché at the British embassy, Sir Charles Mandel, established that it was the point of contact for all Jewish persons working against Germany. In particular, it was the point of contact for high-profile Jewish emigrants.

The links to the Second International³⁷ and the English trade unions are proven by the papers seized from the leading official of the Congrès Juif Mondial, *Marc Jarblum*.³⁸

31 In response to a call for a boycott by Jewish organizations in Egypt, the NSDAP Foreign Organization Country Group distributed a brochure, *Zur Judenfrage in Deutschland* ('On the Jewish Question in Germany'). The legal action brought against this publication by a Jewish businessman who regarded it as incitement to racial hatred was dismissed in 1935 by a Cairo court.

32 Pius XI.

33 Catholics were persecuted by the Mexican state from the mid 1920s. By 1935 approximately 5,300 members of the Church had been murdered, including 300 priests. Only towards the end of the 1930s did the relationship between church and state become less hostile in Mexico.

34 Michael Cardinal Ritter von Faulhaber (1869–1952), archbishop; priest in Würzburg, 1892–1910; awarded a doctorate in theology at the Kilianeum (Catholic) Seminary, 1895; appointed bishop of Speyer, 1910; appointed Knight of the Merit Order of the Bavarian Crown, 1913; served on the Western Front during the First World War; appointed archbishop of Munich, 1917; opposed the Weimar government and personally favoured a Catholic monarchy; attracted controversy for his relationship to the NSDAP and his antisemitic views.

35 Charles-Joseph-Eugène Ruch (1873–1945).

36 Jean Flory (1886–1949).

37 In 1864, various workers' parties and associations joined together as the International Workingmen's Association ('First International'), which was dissolved in 1876 but reconstituted between 1889 and 1914 as the 'Second International'.

38 Marc Jarblum (1888–1972), politician; president of the Federation of Jewish Societies of France from 1923; representative of the Jewish World Congress in France and member of the Coordination Committee of the Zionist Organization of France from 1936; one of the founders of the Federation of Young Zionists and Pro-Palestinians in 1938; fled to Switzerland in 1943; head of the Palestine Bureau in Paris, 1948–1953; emigrated to Israel in 1953.

To sum up, on the basis of the material that has been seized it can be said that, in combination with Catholicism and influential politicians, Jewry in France formed the last bulwark on the European continent.

c) *Jewish life after the German invasion*

Following the cessation of hostilities and the return to normal living conditions, it became apparent that, while on the one hand almost all Jewish associations had ceased to exist (loss of leading officials and financial backers who had fled to the unoccupied territory), on the other hand the need for assistance was growing constantly.

The progress made with Jew legislation on the German side brought about a constant exacerbation of the Jewish social problem. As far as it is possible to tell, this circumstance should have been conducive to the idea of a Jewish umbrella organization.

The section for Jewish affairs had already been doing preliminary work on the establishment of this central Jew organization since October 1940. However, the lack of understanding shown by the Jews themselves, French legislation, and above all the military administration's position that it should be left to the French themselves to regulate this question in particular caused unforeseen delays.

Just four of the previous support associations had resumed their activities in Paris after the campaign in the West ended:

Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite de Paris,

OSE,

La Colonie Scolaire, and

Asile Israélite.

Only on 31 January 1941 was the *Comité de Coordination des Œuvres de Bienfaisance de Grand-Paris*³⁹ finally formed.

The four associations mentioned above pledged to cooperate, while preserving their independence, in order to achieve better results by centralizing their work. However, the work begun at that time did not progress as they only held meetings and made resolutions, but no action ensued.

It was not until the election of the rabbi Marcel Sachs⁴⁰ as president of the *Comité* on 27 March 1941, in conjunction with formal commitments made by the united organizations, that further progress was made.

On 31 March 1941 articles of association were finally adopted, against which no objections were raised by the Paris Police Prefecture, following their tacit approval by the German authorities. At the same time, the SD's official in charge of Jewish affairs demanded the establishment of a Jewish newspaper. The first issue appeared on 19 April 1941 under the title *Informations Juives*. It is censored by the section for Jewish affairs.

The Propaganda Department France, the Propaganda Unit Paris, and the Commandant of Greater Paris agreed to this arrangement as a matter of course.

39 The Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations in Greater Paris was created on 31 Jan. 1941 by order of Theodor Dannecker as an umbrella organization for Jewish charitable organizations in Paris. It was superseded by the General Union of French Jews (UGIF) in Nov. 1941.

40 Marcel Sachs (b. 1883), rabbi; secretary general of the Central Consistory, 1914–1958; president of the Coordination Committee from March to May 1941.

The first three issues went free of charge to all Jewish heads of household registered in Paris. The Jewish organization had only been placed in a position to identify the members who were later compelled to join because it had been given a card index of approximately 65,000 Jews, at our instigation. These issues contained calls for the Jews of Greater Paris to voluntarily become members of the '*Comité de Coordination*' and to sign up – if possible – to pay a small monthly sum.

As a result, the plan for a confederation of all the Jews in Paris was put to the general public for discussion for the first time. Despite fierce Jewish counter-propaganda, a large influx of members commenced (at present roughly 6,000 members).

Today the '*Comité de Coordination*' is already the largest Jewish organization to have ever existed in Paris.

We made the building of the former ICA, 29 rue de la Bienfaisance, available to the Comité de Coordination, thereby allowing this technical difficulty to be overcome. The coordinated organizations continue to carry out their previous activities (welfare, provision of food to those in need, medical advice centres, youth clubs, shelters, etc.) in their respective fields. However, joint guidelines are discussed and financial burdens shared out at weekly meetings.

The outlines of the intended goal will already be clearly apparent from the remarks made in the previous section: Jewry in Paris is to be brought together in a tight organization that, like the Jewish organizations in Germany, manages the Jews' lives, ensures a level of subsistence in the present and vocational (working) opportunities, and is fully responsible to the state.

Once a certain amount of momentum had been built up thanks to the detention of 3,600 Polish Jews (on the basis of a French law and as a result of pressure from our side)⁴¹ and the arrest of the Jew Alfons Weil,⁴² who was officiating as acting president on account of the Jew Sachs's illness, even the so-called French Jews deigned to collaborate.

New organizational structure: see the diagram below.⁴³

This organization, which is not yet recognized as the official representative of Jewry, will assume the full range of its tasks as of 1 July 1941. Half of its leadership consists of Jews with French citizenship and half of Jews with foreign citizenship.

The SD's official in charge of Jewish affairs is in agreement with all the responsible officials at the German embassy and the military administration that an organization of this kind is indispensable. However, since the Military Commander has for some reason or other not issued a regulation, and at the same time the Commissioner for Jewish Affairs, Vallat, is not even thinking of making the segregation of Jews from non-Jews explicit to the public, other paths are being taken.

It has been agreed with the office of the Commandant of Greater Paris that in future it will only be possible for Jewish organizations to approach German authorities through the Jewish Coordination Committee. In this way it has been made compulsory for all the small Jewish associations to be merged into it.

Apart from this, it has been agreed with the Paris office of National Aid (Secours National) that Jews will no longer receive food or lodgings from Secours National,

41 In Paris 3,600 Jews were detained on 14 May 1941. On the statutory basis for this, see Doc. 242.

42 Alphonse Weil, president of the Coordination Committee from May 1941; detained on 5 June 1941.

43 A diagram of the organization's structure follows at this point on page 22 of the report.

following the expiry of a four-week period. The Secours National will appoint a special agent to oversee the Coordination Committee with regard to this matter. In the very near future, the freezing of Jewish accounts will compel Jews themselves to request that the Jewish Coordination Committee be able to receive monetary donations from these frozen assets. However, the approval of this request will then mean that a compulsory Jewish confederation exists in practice.

This point too will therefore be dealt with as desired – even if it is done in a round-about manner.

Political activity of the section for Jewish affairs of the Security Police and the SD

Following the promulgation of the French government's Statute on Jews of 3 October 1940,⁴⁴ a certain paralysis set in as far as the treatment of the Jewish question in France was concerned. Consequently, the plan for a 'Central Jewish Office' was drawn up by the section for Jewish affairs. Negotiations about this plan were conducted with the military administration on 31 January 1941. The administration showed no interest in this matter at the meeting and, as a purely political issue, passed it on to the SD for it to deal with in consultation with the German embassy. In response to the constant urging of the section for Jewish affairs and the embassy, the French Council of Ministers decided on 8 March 1941 to set up a Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs. Three weeks later the commissioner general was appointed in the person of Xavier Vallat, the former secretary general of the Legion of Veterans (a special report on Vallat is attached⁴⁵). Vallat was only appointed after repeated German requests. Once again the French wanted to resort to their old delaying tactics.

Following his appointment, the embassy and the section for Jewish affairs immediately established contact with Vallat. The first meeting at the embassy took place on 3 April 1941, in the presence of Ambassador Abetz, the French ambassador, de Brinon,⁴⁶ and SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker. The ambassador outlined the Jewish problem in a brief presentation. Vallat responded that it was a pleasure for him to be able to work with us on the solution to the Jewish question (courteous, empty phrases!).

In further discussions with Vallat, however, it transpired that he was not in the least thinking of bringing about a clear solution to the Jewish question.

During a meeting at Dr Best's office, he explained that, in his opinion, as commissioner for Jewish affairs he had been given a mandate to address the following three points:

1. Drafting laws to extend the scope for action, presenting them, and getting them approved by the Marshal.
2. Observing the political, economic, and social activities of the Jews in occupied and unoccupied France and North Africa.
3. Identifying all the Jews in France and recording them in lists.

⁴⁴ See Doc. 241.

⁴⁵ Not included in the file.

⁴⁶ Fernand de Brinon (1885–1947), lawyer; worked as a journalist from 1919; co-founder of the France–Germany Committee in 1935; delegate general of the French government in the occupied territories, with the official title of ambassador, Dec. 1940–August 1944; sentenced to death by the Haute Cour de justice and executed.

Vallat has openly conveyed to us that he would like to avoid unnecessary harshness towards the Jews since, for Vallat, in any case being a Jew does not necessarily mean 'Jew'. Here he also distinguished between three groups that clearly illustrate his attitude:

1. So-called long-established Jews, originating primarily from Alsace.
2. Jews who came into the country after the establishment of the Second Republic.⁴⁷
3. Jews from foreign states. In this group – and this is correct – he also classifies the Jews naturalized since 1919.⁴⁸

In the light of all this, it was clear that Vallat held a merely advisory position. He can probably submit bills to Marshal Pétain that are based on the Statute of 3 October 1940. However, extremely complicated legislation will inevitably ensue as a result of the many exceptions and supplementary provisions that Vallat wants. Both the section for Jewish affairs and the embassy recognized immediately that no results could be achieved in this way.

The section for Jewish affairs immediately began to press ahead once again, and demanded that Vallat be equipped with extended powers. The following powers were demanded for the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs:

1. Expansion of his powers in order to put him in a position to issue the directives necessary for the implementation of the de-Jewification of French life on his own initiative (Statute on Jews – framework law, Commissioner General – executive body in particular).
2. Centralization of the services in existence to date within the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs.
3. Directive on the obligation to register Jewish assets and their administration under the supervision of the Commissioner for Jewish Affairs.
4. Simultaneous establishment of the compulsory Jewish association.

Following repeated discussions between SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker and Ambassador de Brinon, and in response to advice from the German ambassador, a law⁴⁹ amending the article of the law of 29 March⁵⁰ for the purpose of founding a 'Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs' was promulgated on 19 May 1941, on the occasion of a meeting with Admiral Darlan. This entailed an expansion of Vallat's sphere of activity, and above all his responsibilities as well.

People were eager to see how he would now use the resources at his disposal. Brief notices in the press explained that the Commissioner for Jewish Affairs was compiling a statistical record of all the Jews living in France and determining their proportions within the individual vocational groups. It has so far not been possible to ascertain the extent to which this has been done. Furthermore, Vallat led us to understand that he

⁴⁷ The Second Republic was proclaimed in Paris on 24 Feb. 1848.

⁴⁸ On the discussion between the commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Vallat, and the military commander in France, Stülpnagel, on 4 April 1941, see Doc. 264.

⁴⁹ *Journal officiel*, 31 May 1941, p. 2263. Pursuant to this law, the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs was now also responsible for coordinating the activities of the individual French ministries with regard to the implementation of anti-Jewish laws. Apart from this, its powers were expanded in relation to legislation and Aryanization. German demands for the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs to have executive powers were rejected by the French government.

⁵⁰ *Journal officiel*, 31 March 1941, p. 1386. The Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs was established by the law of 29 March 1941.

would first need to study the overall issues thoroughly in order to tackle the actual question. To begin with, it was not France but North Africa that would be particularly important in this respect. Furthermore, he also excused himself by saying this had taken a protracted period of time in Germany as well, and exceptions had been made there too. The section for Jewish affairs and the embassy clearly recognized that it would not be possible to arrive at the desired results by taking this approach. The section for Jewish affairs now proposed that an office be set up to liaise with the Commissariat General, all the more so because Vallat always declared that he did not know who was now actually responsible for handling the Jews: the embassy, the Military Commander (Department for Economic Affairs or Administration Department), or the SD.

The proposal from the section for Jewish affairs was passed on to SS-Brigadeführer Best by SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Knochen. This proposal stated that a liaison office should be set up to which representatives of the four aforementioned agencies would belong. Its business was to be conducted by the SD's official in charge of Jewish affairs pursuant to the arrangements concerning the responsibilities for this matter made by the Wehrmacht High Command, the Army High Command, and the Military Commander in France.⁵¹ On the basis of this suggestion, a meeting was arranged for 10 June 1941. Attended by: Ministerialrat Storz⁵² for the Military Commander in France, Administrative Staff, Administration Department; Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat Blancke⁵³ (Department for Economic Affairs); Legation Counsellor Zeitschel (German embassy); and SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker. At this meeting, the gentlemen from the military administration clearly stated that, in the light of the decrees issued by the Wehrmacht High Command and/or the Army High Command and the most recent secret decree of the Military Commander in France of 25 March 1941, responsibility for these matters lay with the SD. Dr Storz remarked that there were various reasons why it would be better not to set up an actual liaison office run by the SD. SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker declared that we were only interested in the overall solution to the question, and as a consequence of this the SD had to be able to execute the orders that came from the Reich Security Main Office. Naturally, this would mean that the section for Jewish affairs would have to be informed about everything that was happening in the Jewish sector. It was noted once again by the official in charge of Jewish affairs that a central office was absolutely essential in order to preserve the possibility of unified management.

As the outcome of this meeting, it was then decided that the same group would meet weekly at the section for Jewish affairs. There will be reciprocal discussion of all plans, experiences, and objections at these meetings. This meeting and the founding of the advisory committee may be regarded as having the outcome that it has now been made

51 On 4 Oct. 1940, the Wehrmacht High Command and the Office of the Reichsführer-SS agreed that the Paris deputy of the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Belgium and France would be responsible for monitoring the 'ideological opponents' of National Socialism without being placed under the Military Commander in France.

52 Dr Karl Storz (1897–1970), lawyer; member of a Freikorps (paramilitary unit), 1919–1923; section head in the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior, 1931; became administrative head of Waiblingen in 1933, then Landrat; joined the NSDAP in 1933; section head in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, 1939; worked in the Administration Department of the Military Commander in France's Administrative Staff, 1940–1944; deputy Regierungspräsident after 1945; president of the Württemberg Buildings Fire Insurance Institute, 1962–1963.

53 Correctly: Blanke.

impossible for the agencies to work against or in parallel with one another when it comes to the Jewish question in the occupied territory.

Furthermore, the statement by Ministerialrat Storz that Vallat's orientation and future guidance are the responsibility of the SD is important (Vallat will receive an instruction to this effect from the Military Commander in France's Administration Department).

Xavier Vallat, Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat, born on 23 October 1891 in Villedieu (Vaucluse). Former teacher, elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies on 16 November 1919; moved from the 'Bleu Horizon'⁵⁴ parties to the 'Union Républicaine Démocratique' and 'Jeune République'. In October 1936 he became president of the Fédération Républicaine. His electoral programme in 1932: 'No serious, lasting economic revival without a moral revival'. Appointed commissioner general for Jewish affairs on 29 May 1941.⁵⁵

Reports by informants, newspaper reports, and excerpts from speeches to the Chamber of Deputies are quoted below to round off the picture of Vallat:

Report by an informant:

Vallat as a Catholic militant:

As vice president of the National Catholic Fédération, he tends to look at the Jewish problem from a religious rather than a racial standpoint. Hence his exceptions in favour of 'well-born' and 'converted Jews' (Maurras dixit⁵⁶).

Excerpt from the *Journal officiel*, 7 June 1936.

Vallat speaking in the Chamber:

Gentlemen, if our former colleague Georg Weil were here, he would not fail to accuse me of Hitlerite antisemitism. But I do not intend to deny members of the Jewish race who come to us the right to acclimatize themselves, just as I would not deny it to all the others who have been naturalized here.

Excerpt from the *Journal officiel*, 3 November 1936:

Vallat speaking in the Chamber:

'One of the conditions for a permanent peace is the restoration of several Germanies and the destruction of the current unity of the Reich.'

Report by an informant:

For his part, V. demanded that half of the funds collected for Nationalist Spain go to the Nationalist Spanish Red Cross for distribution and half to the Red Spanish Red Cross.

54 French in the original: 'Blue Horizon'. The Chamber of Deputies elected in 1919 was known as the 'Blue Horizon' parliament on account of its large conservative majority.

55 Correctly: 29 March 1941.

56 Latin in the original: 'as Maurras said'. Charles Maurras (1868–1952), writer and journalist; founder of the extreme right-wing group Ligue d'Action Française in 1905; sentenced to life imprisonment for treason in 1945; pardoned in 1952.

Report from the section for Jewish affairs (AZ ZJ 12):

Vallat declared at the end of 1940 at a meeting with fifteen leaders of combat veterans in Marseilles: 'Le statut des juifs injure à la conscience humaine' (The Statute on Jews offends the human conscience).

Report:

Eugène Deloncle: nothing good is to be expected from Vallat. He is an old-school politician and would sabotage the whole question to France's disadvantage, partly out of weakness, partly out of incompetence.

Discussion on 3 April 1941 at Ambassador Abetz's office – official presentation of SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker as official in charge of Jewish affairs:

It is apparent that V. has not yet been informed about the technical details.

Excerpt from a report on a discussion between SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker and Vallat, dated 4 April 1941:

Vallat: 'Long-established Jews cannot be treated the same as Jewish foreigners.' They would have to be excluded gradually. Vallat says he wants to study the Jewish problem in Algiers first of all.

(V.'s publications in the press show his desire to make compromises.)

Report by an informant, dated 3 April 1941:

Vallat writes in the press:

To start with, there is a small number of very old Jewish families, for the most part of Alsatian origin, who are thus assimilated. There are Jewish families who have been among us since the establishment of the Third Republic and who stood in the ranks of the combatants during the War of 1914–1918.

Without exaggeration, it is important to keep an eye on the situation to ensure this small Jewish minority is able to live among us just like other minorities of foreigners without being driven out.

Report dated 8 April 1941:

At the reception given by Polignac⁵⁷ on 6 April 1941: 'All present were of the opinion that Vallat was not up to this difficult task.'

Report by an informant, dated 26 May 1941:

Vallat stressed that unnecessary harshness towards the Jews was to be avoided if possible.

⁵⁷ François de Polignac (1887–1981); politician; right-wing conservative member of the French Chamber of Deputies, 1928–1940.

Structure of the section for Jewish affairs

From the beginning, emphasis was placed on uniting the work of both the Security Police and the SD in a single person's hands.

While staffing levels had initially made it rather difficult to go on the offensive in all territories, the situation had been eased for several months thanks to the arrival of new personnel.

Assignment of functions

In the absence of a representative, liaison with all agencies, such as the German embassy, the Military Commander in France (Administrative Staff, Administration Department, and Department for Economic Affairs), the Propaganda Department France, the Propaganda Detachment Paris, the Commandant of Greater Paris (Administration Department and Department for Economic Affairs), the NSDAP Country Group, and the German Consulate General, will be carried out exclusively by the official in charge of Jewish affairs.

In addition to this, he will manage all the intelligence issues that come up in his area of expertise, because no French-speaking staff are available.

The guidance and orientation of the Anti-Jewish Institute,⁵⁸ the treatment of the French Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, and the handling of the compulsory Jewish confederation are also incumbent upon him.

DOC. 273

On 22 July 1941 the Vichy government enacts the law on the Aryanization of Jewish property in the occupied and unoccupied zones of France¹

Law of 22 July 1941 on the Businesses, Property, and Assets of Jews

We, Marshal of France, Head of the French State, in consultation with the Council of Ministers, decree the following:

Article 1 – *To eliminate all Jewish influence on the national economy, the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs may appoint temporary administrators for:*

1. *All industrial, commercial, real estate or trade or craft businesses;*
2. *All properties, rights to property, or any right to take out a lease;*
3. *All personal property, securities or rights to personal property, in cases where all or some of those to whom it belongs, or who manage it, are Jews, or where it has been sold or relinquished by Jews since 23 May 1940 under conditions that do not guarantee the elimination of all Jewish influence, though in this latter case the appointment of the temporary administrator must be made within one year of the date of publication of the present law.*

However, these provisions do not apply to securities issued by the French state or to bonds issued by French public bodies or corporations, or to public bodies or corporations in protectorate or mandated territories.

⁵⁸ Probably a reference to the Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions.

¹ *Journal officiel*, 26 August 1941, p. 3594. This document has been translated from French.

And, apart from legitimate exceptions, these provisions apply neither to buildings nor to premises used as living quarters by the persons concerned, their parents or grandparents, nor to any of the furniture in these buildings or premises.

Part I: Role and powers of the temporary administrators

Section 1: General provisions

Article 2: An inventory detailing and evaluating the assets will precede the takeover by the temporary administrator.

The inventory will be drawn up in triplicate, one copy of which is to be retained by the temporary administrator, while the other two will be submitted to the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs and the individual subject to the administration procedure, respectively.

Article 3: The appointment of the temporary administrator will bring about the divestiture of the property of the people to whom it belongs, or those who manage it.

From the time of his appointment, the temporary administrator will be fully entitled to exercise extensive powers of administration and disposition. He will exercise these powers in place of the rights-holders and shareholders, or in place of their representatives and, in the case of companies, in place of the company representatives or partners, with or without their approval.

His powers will extend to the entirety or to just one part of the business.

Article 4: Any administrative transactions or dispositions regarding assets and businesses under administration that are carried out without the agreement of the temporary administrator after his appointment has been published in the *Journal officiel* shall be automatically null and void by law.

Administrative transactions or dispositions prior to this publication can be rendered null and void if they do not guarantee the transfer of property with a view to the elimination of all Jewish influence.

Voidance shall be initiated upon a request made by the temporary administrator in court to the relevant judicial authorities. A transaction will lapse within six months of the date on which the temporary administrator was made aware of it, and in any case within two years after the transaction has been drawn up and signed.

Article 5: From the date when the temporary administrator's appointment is published in the *Journal officiel*, all action to initiate or revoke measures concerning the assets liable to administration solely by the temporary administrator, or against him.

Article 6: Mention shall be made in the commercial register of all appointments of temporary administrators of businesses that are required to be listed in such a register.

Article 7: The temporary administrator shall exercise his duties wisely. He shall be responsible before the judicial courts as a salaried representative in accordance with the provisions of civil and criminal law.

Article 8: The temporary administrator who exercises his powers selfishly and maliciously in contravention of the interests or obligations deriving from his duties shall be punished in accordance with Article 405 of the Criminal Code.²

Article 9: Any civil or commercial action taken against the temporary administrator with regard to the accomplishment of his tasks shall lapse ten years after the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs and the individual subject to the administration procedure have been notified of the repeal of the temporary administration or the liquidation of the business.

Article 10: *The temporary administrators shall exercise their powers under the supervision of the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, who shall in particular specify the conditions for their recruitment, their appointment, and the preparation of inventories of items to be placed under administration as well as the management and liquidation accounts.*

An order countersigned by the vice president of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Justice, and the Minister for the Economy and Finance shall determine the remuneration terms for the temporary administrators.

Section 2: *Special rules for the administration of estates*

Article 11: The [state] estate management agency will automatically act as temporary administrator with regard to those stocks and shares which the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs decides to place under temporary administration.

For this purpose, this administration shall be carried out by the director of the estate management of the département in which the owner is domiciled, or, if there is no specified abode, by the director of the Seine département.

If a temporary administrator has been assigned to the company issuing the stocks and shares, he shall act as the temporary administrator of the stocks and shares belonging to Jews provided that the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs has not taken a specific decision concerning these stocks and shares in accordance with sub-paragraph 1 above.

Article 12: As temporary administrator, the estate management department shall be granted wide-ranging powers to administer and sell those securities which it is in charge of administering under Article 11 according to the terms established under Section II, with or without the agreement of the party concerned.

Article 13: From the day of publication in the *Journal officiel* of the decision taken by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, as determined in Article 11, and up to the date of payment by the estate management department into the Caisse des dépôts et consignations³ of the revenue from the sale of securities, all claims or other transactions on the part of the creditors, and, in general, by all interested parties as regards the securities administered by the estate management department, shall be considered as legitimately made known to this estate management.

However, any of these transactions or claims which concern unsecured creditors shall be considered solely as grounds for the suspension of the

² The prison term and fines were stipulated in Article 405 of the Criminal Code.

³ The CDC, a state financial institution founded in 1816, was responsible for the centralized administration of funds paid into blocked accounts. It managed Jews' assets which had been placed under administration or were already Aryanized.

limitation period, and under no circumstances shall they hinder the sale of those securities which the estate management department may undertake without any ruling having been made regarding those transactions or claims.

In the case of the sale of these securities, the rights of the unsecured creditors as well as the rights of all other interested parties shall be transferred to the proceeds of such a sale.

As of the date of payment to the Caisse des dépôts et consignations, all payments to creditors or any other compensation – whether made out of court or as a result of legal proceedings – shall be carried out in accordance with due legal procedures or with the assistance of a judicial representative appointed by a decree issued by the presiding judge of the civil tribunal at the request of the instigating creditor.

Any proceedings initiated by the creditors or any other interested party shall be pursued solely against said judicial representative.

Part II: Rules applicable to the transfer of assets placed under administration

Section I: Sales

Article 14: Any sale of a business, real estate, or any property whatsoever, placed under temporary administration, with the exception of securities sold on the stock exchange, shall be valid only upon approval by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs. He shall check in particular whether the elimination of Jewish influence is effective and whether the sale price is usual.

To this end, the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs shall have the authority to seek a judicial or extrajudicial expert opinion, as well as to carry out all necessary investigations, and to obtain all the useful information and documents from the financial authorities.

Article 15: An advisory board, the composition of which is to be determined by decree, shall be assigned to the office of the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs. The latter may take the board's advice on all questions raised by the application of the present law.

Article 16: If the administered property belongs to legally incompetent persons, the sale of the property may take place without the assistance of a judicial representative, but it must be initiated as prescribed by the laws in force. However, the temporary administrator is exempted from seeking the authorization of the family council as well as the assistance or consent of the husband.

Article 17: In all cases foreseen in Articles 14 and 16, with respect to property or businesses, the deed of sale or the articles and conditions of sale shall include a clause placing the purchaser or adjudicator under the obligation not to dispose of the property or the business sold or assigned to him before a period of three years has elapsed.

Moreover, the sale must, as far as possible, take place in cash. The estate management department shall be responsible for collecting on behalf of the individuals subject to the administration procedure the outstanding balance of the price owed to the latter, which will not be paid in cash.

Section II: Judicial and extrajudicial liquidation

Article 18: A liquidator shall be appointed by decree upon request from the presiding judge of the commercial court as soon as the temporary administrator finds himself unable to sell the administered company assets in their totality by agreement.

Article 19: If a receiver or liquidator has been or is to be appointed for the administered property, during proceedings the temporary administrator shall continue to act as the representative of the person affected by the liquidation with regard to all action concerning this person.

Article 20: If the property is part of the joint estate or under the joint ownership of Jews and non-Jews, the non-Jews will be able to request the dissolution of this joint estate or joint ownership and the liquidation of their rights, notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary. This applies whether or not the Jews' share has been placed under temporary administration. The request must be made within four months from the publication of the present law.

An administrator may be appointed temporarily by the president of the civil tribunal to manage the joint or jointly owned assets, as long as the apportioning of said assets has not been carried out.

In the case of joint estate, the liquidation will be initiated at the request of the non-Jewish spouse, following the procedures provided for by Article 1443 and following of the Civil Code for the legal separation of assets.⁴

The wife, whether Jewish or not, may retain or dissolve the joint estate in accordance with the same aforementioned articles.

At the same time as the separation of assets is stipulated, a notary shall be appointed to carry out the liquidation of the estate and the separation of the jointly owned assets, in accordance with the rules of civil and criminal law.

Section III: Proceeds from sales

Article 21: The total amount of the purchase price obtained from the sale or the transfer of the securities by the estate management department shall be paid by the estate management department into the deposit account of the person affected by the liquidation at the Caisse des dépôts et consignations, minus the administration fees to be paid to the Treasury at the rate fixed by, and in accordance with, the conditions to be established by decree and in compliance with the creditors' rights.⁵

The following sums will also be paid into the account of the person subject to the administration procedure at the Caisse des dépôts et consignations upon the instruction of the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs:

1. All proceeds obtained from sales carried out by the temporary administrator appointed pursuant to Article 1;
2. Balances from deposit accounts and all sums owned by Jews.

⁴ Articles 1443 to 1455 of the Civil Code regulate the division of joint estate in the case of divorce.

⁵ In a decree dated 10 Jan. 1942, administration fees were set at 2 per cent of the gross proceeds: *Journal officiel*, 10 Feb. 1942, p. 594.

Article 22: An advance of 10 per cent, after the deduction of any liabilities, of the sums paid into the Caisse des dépôts et consignations, as stipulated in the previous article, shall be deducted by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs and paid into a deposit account to be opened at the Caisse des dépôts et consignations.

Half of this deduction from the gross amount shall be collected provisionally, pending further regulation, upon payment of the sums into the Caisse des dépôts et consignations.

The Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs shall thus withdraw the necessary sums from the opened account to pay the expenses related to the temporary administration and the monitoring of those companies which are either running at a loss or do not have sufficient funds to pay this charge. The surplus shall be used as a solidarity fund intended to help impoverished Jews.

Article 23: Upon authorization by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, advance payments can be made by the temporary administrators to the individuals subject to the administration procedure or to the beneficiaries, either from the proceeds of the administration or by the Caisse des dépôts et consignations from the funds paid into it.

Section IV: Miscellaneous provisions

Article 24: The provisions of this law shall be fully applicable by law to the temporary administrators already appointed or to be appointed subsequently pursuant to the law of 10 September 1940, as amended by the law of 14 August 1941, which provides for the appointment of temporary administrators for companies that have lost their managers in cases where the owners or the managers of the companies are Jews.⁶

Article 25: Further regulations shall determine the rules applicable to the property of Jews in Algeria, to the territories under the jurisdiction of the Minister for the Colonies, to the French protectorates, to Syria, and to Lebanon.

Article 26: The present law will be published in the *Journal officiel* and applied as state law.

Adopted at Vichy, 22 July 1941

Ph. Pétain

Marshal of France, Head of the French State

Admiral of the Fleet, Vice President of the Council of Ministers

Admiral Darlan

Minister of Justice

Joseph Barthélemy

⁶ The law of 10 Sept. 1940 authorized the Ministry of Economics to appoint temporary administrators for companies whose owners or directors had fled the country because of the war. In practice the law applied primarily to Jews: *Journal officiel*, 26 Oct. 1940, p. 5430. The appointment of the temporary administrators for Jewish businesses was regulated in detail in the law of 14 August 1941: *Journal officiel*, 17 August 1941, p. 3462.

Minister for the Economy and Finance

Yves Bouthillier

Minister for Industrial Production

*François Lehideux*⁷

Minister for the Colonies

*Admiral Platon*⁸

Minister of the Interior

*Pierre Pucheu*⁹

DOC. 274

On 28 July 1941 the wives of interned Jews storm the office of the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations and demand the release of their husbands¹

Report by the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations in Greater Paris,² unsigned, on the demonstrations by the wives of civilian camp inmates, dated 31 July 1941

Since Tuesday, 20 July 1941, larger and larger delegations have been turning up at Mr Israëlowlitch's office.³ The wives of civilian camp inmates claim that the police prefecture advised them to go to 29 rue de la Bienfaisance⁴ as their husbands would be taken there upon release. They are told, however, that the releases have been suspended for the time being and that no new applications will be filed until it is known why the sick people examined by the medical commission have not yet been released. The women remain fairly calm and can be reasoned with.

Wednesday, 23, and Thursday, 24 July, same scenario, but the group of women is larger. On Thursday, 24 July, Mr Israëlowlitch told them that the camp inmates are martyrs who

7 François Lehideux (1904–1998), political scientist; member of the administrative council, 1934–1940; subsequently managing director of Renault; delegate general for the Ten-Year Plan, 1940–1941; minister for industrial production, 18 July 1941–18 April 1942; member of the administrative council, 1949–1953; thereafter managing director of Ford in France.

8 Charles Platon (1886–1944), military officer; organized the naval blockade during the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939; minister for the colonies, 6 Sept. 1940–18 April 1942; minister in the office of the head of government, 18 April 1942–25 March 1943; executed as a collaborator by French resistance fighters on 18 Aug. 1944.

9 Pierre Pucheu (1899–1944), entrepreneur; active in the French steel industry; member of the right-wing extremist Croix de Feu from 1934; member of the Parti Populaire Français (PPF), 1936–1937; minister for industrial production from 23 Feb. 1941 to 18 July 1941; subsequently minister of the interior until 18 April 1942; arrested in May 1943 in Casablanca by the Free French forces and executed on 20 March 1944 in Algiers.

1 YVA 09/06. Published in Zosa Szajkowski (ed.), *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer, 1939–1945* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966), pp. 141–143. This document has been newly translated from French.

2 The Comité de coordination des œuvres de bienfaisance: see Doc. 272, fn. 39 and Introduction, p. 65.

3 Léo Israëlowlitch, also Léo Ilkar (1912–1944), tenor; singer at the Vienna State Opera; member of the Israelite Religious Community of Vienna (IKG); in France from March 1941; member of the Coordination Committee or the General Union of French Jews (UGIF), 1941–1943; deported on 17 Dec. 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

4 The Coordination Committee's office was located at this address.

are doing penance for others; without their sacrifices, there would have been pogroms. On that day some women still accept emergency aid.

Friday, 25 July, first animated incident. Mr Israëlowitz refuses to receive the delegation and says this is the duty of the secretary general. Mr Stora⁵ agrees to meet with them. The delegation makes a noisy entrance; the women loudly call for their husbands. They are done with support and emergency aid, they say; they would rather die than accept aid. This time around they say that the Coordination Committee is to blame for the arrests. The rich Jews, as they see it, are paying for the upkeep of the camps in the hope of avoiding the measures enacted against them. Blame is also cast on *Informations Juives*. The editor of the newspaper, Mr Israëlowitz, defends himself vigorously. The shouting and gestures turn threatening, and suddenly Mr Israëlowitz catches hold of a woman. At this moment a scuffle breaks out. The women slap Israëlowitz, and when he seeks refuge in his office, they storm the room, continuing to shout and make threats. Mr Israëlowitz telephones Mr Dannecker and, referring to the latter, asks for the police to be called. Mr Stora does not agree and on his own responsibility prevents him from doing so. Together with a few women who seem more level-headed, a decision is made to form a delegation and go to the Police Prefecture to confront the official who apparently blamed the Coordination Committee, and also to obtain information about the committee's role with respect to the internments. At the Prefecture, Mr Stora, accompanied by Mr Biberstein,⁶ is received by Mr François, the director of the Police for Foreign Nationals. Mr François explains in no uncertain terms that the arrests were made on Mr Dannecker's orders and therefore neither the Coordination Committee nor the Prefecture are to blame. Mr François also receives the delegation of women and informs them that a release can only be brought about through the prefect of the Loiret département. When they leave the Prefecture, the women bluntly tell Mr Stora what they think: as he was received alone at first, he was able to quietly inform Mr François of his position. The offices in rue de la Bienfaisance are gradually cleared and by 5.30 p.m. they are completely empty.

After these events the board calls a meeting and endorses Mr Stora's conduct. The prevailing view is that this was an organized demonstration and that the women, with the exception of a few ringleaders, had honest intentions.

On the morning of Sunday, 27 July, Mr Michelet, chief inspector of police,⁷ turns up at 29 rue de la Bienfaisance and states that the Police Prefecture has reported the demonstration. According to the Prefecture's information, the women, 500 in number, had smashed windows. The secretary general clarifies the situation and makes clear that the intervention of the police is not wanted. If the authorities feel that police surveillance is absolutely necessary, he adds, then it should at least be carried out very discreetly.

5 Marcel Stora (1906–1944), translator; worked at the Gallimard publishing house; secretary general of the Coordination Committee from July to Nov. 1941, UGIF representative in the occupied north of France from Nov. 1941 to Oct. 1943, then personal advisor to UGIF president Georges Edinger; deported to Auschwitz on 17 Dec. 1943.

6 Wilhelm Biberstein (1919–1943), salesman; member of the IKG; in France from March 1941; member of the Coordination Committee or the UGIF, 1941–1943; arrested on 29 July 1943; deported to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

7 Michelet was a chief inspector at the department for foreign nationals within the Paris Police Prefecture.

On Monday, 28 July, two policemen are on patrol in the area around the Coordination Committee. The board convenes, and Mr Baur⁸ suggests meeting with the women in small groups and trying to calm them down.

At around 2 p.m. the women begin to gather near the building and at 2.15 p.m. they storm the building. We can no longer prevent them from all pouring in at the same time. It is impossible to calm them down. They immediately storm the offices on the first floor, smash everything there to pieces, and throw objects and furniture, whatever they get their hands on, at Mr Stora and Mr Israëlowitz. They chase Mr Biberstein when he tries to get to the second floor, catch him on the landing, and hit him. Following these incidents, Mr Israëlowitz telephones the police, who evacuate the building and drive the women out of rue de la Bienfaisance. An inspector comes and writes a report on the events and the damage caused.

Approximately half an hour after these events, Mr Longue of the Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions arrives, asks to be told what has happened, enquires about what we think caused the demonstration, and voices his disapproval. He is of the opinion that the Jewish question must be settled in a constructive manner and not through organized demonstrations. Half an hour later he returns, accompanied by Mr Heinrichsohn,⁹ Mr Dannecker's representative. They inspect the building and leave shortly before 7 p.m.

Tuesday morning, a visit from two inspectors from the Prefecture. One of them says that on the previous day, at around 7 p.m., he was tasked with launching an investigation into the demonstrations and with making inquiries about the persons who took part, and that from now on he has orders to make arrests if the demonstrations are repeated. He was also aware that the women are calling for a refund of the money they paid to the Coordination Committee in the hope that their husbands would soon be released.

Communiqué today in *Aujourd'hui*.

In the afternoon the building is under strict surveillance. The women are admitted in groups of two or three, they introduce themselves, the board members meet with them and manage with relative ease to calm the women down and make them see reason. No incident in the course of the afternoon, but news of the arrest of several women spreads in the Belleville and République neighbourhoods.

On Wednesday the rumour spreads that on the previous day the women had mistreated people who had come to the committee to offer their services as pro bono translators from Yiddish. The approximately 5,000 women were alleged to have formed a procession that made its way towards rue de la Bienfaisance to exact vengeance there. They reportedly also threatened to smash the windows of the restaurants 'reserved for Jewish guests' that had been advertised in *Informations Juives*. The police, forewarned, monitored the situation, but the day passed without the predicted incidents.

One woman, after engaging in a heated argument with Mr Israëlowitz, threatens to come back with a bomb and to blow up the building to get revenge. The inspectors ask

8 André Baur (1904–1944), businessman; chairman of the Coordination Committee, 1941; vice president of the UGIF (in charge of the occupied north of France), 1942–1943; deported on 17 Dec. 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

9 Ernst Heinrichsohn (1920–1994), lawyer; employed in the section for Jewish affairs at the Reich Security Main Office branch in Paris, 1940–1944; practised law in Miltenberg after 1945; Christian Social Union (CSU) mayor of Bürgstadt, 1978–1980; in 1980 sentenced by Cologne Regional Court to six years in prison; released on probation in 1982.

her to be silent, with no success. Then they confiscate her identity card, but Mr Stora steps in and personally gives her the card back.

On the same day, an article in *Les Nouveaux Temps*.¹⁰

Thursday, 31 July, an announcement by *Radio Paris*:¹¹ The wives of the internees reportedly demonstrated to protest against the amount of benefits granted to them. However, Radio-Paris continued, this is just as high as that given to the wives of prisoners of war. (In reality, the wives receive seven francs per day and the children five.)

The same day, a police inspector takes stock of the arrests: some women were taken to the police station because they refused to leave. They were required to pay a fine, but were released. One person is still in custody: a young man was arrested for having publicly insulted an official.

DOC. 275

On 31 July 1941 Rabbi Kaplan criticizes the Vichy government's directive introducing compulsory registration for Jews¹

Letter from Rabbi Jakob Kaplan, Cusset (Allier), 2 bis, rue Carnot, to the commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Xavier Vallat, dated 31 July 1941

Dear Commissioner,

I have the honour of informing you that today I have complied with the requirement to register as a Jew, as stipulated by law,² for myself and the remaining members of my family, in Cusset town hall (Allier département).

It is a great honour for me to be part of the Jewish faith, so I was happy to have the opportunity to officially declare this. However, I cannot overlook the fact that it is not to honour the Jews that, on pain of very severe penalties, you require them to respond to your questionnaire, but rather to subject them to exceptional measures, from which it follows that to be Jewish is a flaw.

When a heathen or an atheist disparages Judaism, he is certainly wrong, but there is nothing illogical in his behaviour, whereas for a Christian – and I like to think that you are as good a Christian as you are a Frenchman – such an attitude appears to be inconsistent ... and at the same time a show of ingratitude.

Must I remind you that the Jewish religion is the source of the Christian religion and that prior to Christianity the Jewish religion proclaimed the existence of the true God, the one God, pure spirit, Creator of Heaven and Earth, Creator of all men; it proclaimed human fraternity through Adam, the first man and the father of all men; it proclaimed respect for the human character, God having created man in his own image; it pro-

10 Paris daily published from 1 Nov. 1940 to August 1944 with a circulation of between 35,000 and 62,000 copies.

11 Radio station founded in 1924. The German occupiers used Radio Paris as their propaganda station.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, CCXI-37. Published in Francis Ambrière, *Vie et mort des français, 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1971), pp. 159 ff. This document has been translated from French.

2 See Doc. 271.

claimed love for one's neighbour, since the law of Moses commands that one loves one's neighbour as oneself; it proclaimed the Ten Commandments, which are the moral and religious charter of the whole of humanity.

I could easily continue this enumeration. I shall limit myself to declaring – and for me this is the most valuable declaration of assets – that the majority of the most important moral and religious ideas of our time have already been taught to the Jews and other men through the Old Testament, the Book of Israel.

Do I need to convince you further of the eminent worth of Moses' law and of the Jewish religion by quoting from some of the great French writers? They pay a magnificent tribute to Judaism:

*Pascal*³ said: the Law of Israel is the most ancient and the most perfect.

*Bossuet*⁴ said: this law is holy and just.

*Fénelon*⁵ said: the Jewish people have formed the ideal religious society.

*Montesquieu*⁶ said: the Jewish religion is like the trunk of an old tree whose branches cover the whole earth.

*Rousseau*⁷ said: Moses' laws have stood the test of time.

*Chateaubriand*⁸ said: the law of Sinai is the law of all people.

*Guizot*⁹ said: the Ten Commandments intimately link religion and morality.

*Renan*¹⁰ said: Israel was the root on which is grafted the law of the human species.

Will you now respond that it is not their religion for which you reproach the Jews, but their race? Despite my expressing profound reservations about the term 'race' as applied to Jews, allow me to ask you a question: Do you really believe, Commissioner General, that it is a flaw to belong to the 'Jewish race', the race of Jesus and the apostles? Can one forget that Jesus was circumcised like any child of Israel, and that the memory of his circumcision is preserved in the civil calendar, which commemorates it on 1 January¹¹ every year?

Can one overlook the fact that any attack on the Jewish race is at the same time an attack on the founders of Christianity? Read *Léon Bloy's* thoughts:

Suppose that people around you were talking constantly about your father and mother with the greatest contempt, calling them names and making offensive, sarcastic comments about them, how would you feel? Well, that is exactly what is happening to our Lord Jesus Christ. One forgets, or rather one does not want to know, that our God, made man, is Jewish. Jewish by the excellence of nature, the lion of the tribe of Judah. That his mother is a Jew. The blossom of the Jewish race. The apostles were Jewish, as were all the prophets. Moreover, since our whole sacred liturgy is taken from Jewish books, how do you convey the enormity of the outrage and blasphemy

3 Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), French mathematician and philosopher.

4 Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), French bishop.

5 François Fénelon (1651–1715), French cleric and writer.

6 Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), French writer and political theorist.

7 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), French philosopher and writer.

8 François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848), French writer and politician.

9 François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787–1874), French politician and writer.

10 Ernst Renan (1823–1892), French writer and historian.

11 According to the General Roman Calendar, the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ takes place on 1 January, the eighth day after the birth of Christ.

which the vilification of the Jewish race entails? After all, the Jewish race is that of the patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the three great Jews who are honoured by our non-Israelite compatriots in their churches and temples and from whom they take pride in being their spiritual descendants.¹²

So, is the Jewish race flawed? On the contrary, according to the Christian liturgy itself, it is a badge of honour.

But am I deluding myself as to the excellence of the Jewish race because I am Jewish myself? I might fear it, were it not for the fact that I have some eminent Christians to prove that I am not mistaken, such as *Ignatius of Loyola*¹³ (founder of the Jesuit order), who wanted to be Jewish in order to be even closer to Jesus. Pope Pius XI said: in spiritual terms we are all Semites.¹⁴

On this point, would you rather that I quoted some significant French authors?

Lacordaire, who spoke of 'the gift of grace that the Jewish people received in the spiritual realm'.¹⁵

De Say, who claimed: 'I think that this small Jewish people is the greatest of all people, and the noblest family of all the families within humanity; the race truly chosen by God.'¹⁶

As regards this questionnaire, I also made mention of my military service. I served in the Great War as a combatant in the infantry. I received the Croix de Guerre medal in 1916. I was wounded.¹⁷

Although as a father of five children I was not conscripted and had the right to return home, I served in 1939–1940 as a military chaplain with the 18th Army Corps. I was awarded the Legion of Honour,¹⁸ and as a chaplain in the 3rd Army I received a letter of congratulation from the chief medical officer, *Dr Schneider*.

I must add that during this last war my three brothers were conscripted, that one of them is in captivity, and another has been awarded the Croix de Guerre.

Moreover, two out of the six other members of my family who were also conscripted, both of them officers, are still in captivity.

I am convinced that all of my French co-religionists – the vast majority – have served the homeland with the same love and sense of sacrifice. Therefore, nothing is more painful to us than seeing our patriotism called into question. The participation of the Jews in the 1939–40 war still cannot be determined accurately. Once it is possible to do so, it will be proven that the Jews have done their duty like all other citizens.

However, our participation in the 1914–1918 war is well known. It was acknowledged by *Mr Campinchi*,¹⁹ minister of the navy, on behalf of the French government on 19 June

12 Léon Marie Bloy (1846–1917), French writer, cited in his work *Œuvres*, vol. 13 (Paris: Mercure de France, 1975), p. 129.

13 Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), co-founder of the Jesuit Order.

14 On 6 Sept. 1938 Pope Pius XI told a group of Belgian Catholics: 'L'antisémitisme est inacceptable. Nous sommes spirituellement des sémites.' ('Antisemitism is intolerable. In spiritual terms we are all Semites.') The speech was published in *La Documentation catholique* 29 (1938), column 1,460.

15 Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire (1802–1861), French Dominican and theologian; the quote is from his 41st lecture in *Notre-Dame, Paris: Conférences de Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1857), p. 346.

16 Jean-Baptiste Say (1767–1832), French economist. The cited passage has not been found.

17 On 9 April 1916 Kaplan was wounded at Verdun, where he had been deployed as a sergeant.

18 The Legion of Honour is the highest French order of merit.

1938 at the unveiling of the Israelite memorial at Douaumont.²⁰ He declared: 'Of the 190,000 Israelites in France and Algeria, 30,000 were mobilized, 3,500 were killed, 120,000²¹ foreign Jews volunteered to defend the French territory which had granted them asylum. More than 2,000 died in the ranks of the Foreign Legion.'

On the subject of the patriotism of the Jews, I shall merely refer you to two of many testimonies produced by great French writers. Firstly, this moving admission by *Maxime de Camp*: 'It has been claimed, and I have said myself, that the Jews' feelings for the homeland are not wholehearted: Forgive me.'²²

Next, this remark by Barrès,²³ who, reacting to the heroic death of Chief Rabbi Abraham Bloch,²⁴ killed on 29 August 1914 while attempting to bring a crucifix to a dying soldier, exclaimed: 'The law of fraternity spontaneously finds its perfect gesture. The elderly rabbi, who presents the immortal sign of Christ on the cross to the newly recruited soldier, is an image that will never die.'²⁵

Alas, in the year 1941 the exceptional measures against Jews, and the whole campaign waged against us, serve as proof of the fact that the image that Barrès believed to be immortal has been rapidly obliterated.

I shall conclude with a remark by a French author, who is nowadays quite rightly in vogue, namely *Péguy*.²⁶ *The Révolution nationale*²⁷ cites his writings with awe and recognizes his as the very voice of France. *Péguy* said: 'The antisemites do not know the Jews'.²⁸

Could a true Frenchman hesitate when choosing between the authors mentioned in this letter, who represent the French intellectual elite, and the antisemites who do not know the Jewish people? I cannot but believe that you feel the same way and that you, like me, are able to recognize that on the day when reason re-establishes itself (as will undoubtedly happen in the country of *Descartes* and Bergson), antisemitism will lose its place.²⁹

Yours sincerely,

19 Correctly: César Campinchi (1882–1941), minister of the navy, 22 June 1937–16 June 1940.

20 Monuments commemorating soldiers of the Jewish and Muslim faiths had also been erected near the monument to the fallen French soldiers at the Douaumont fortress near Verdun.

21 Correctly: 12,000.

22 Maxime du Camp (1822–1894), French writer; the quotation is taken from *Paris bienfaisant* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1888), p. 369.

23 Maurice Barrès (1862–1923), French politician and writer.

24 Abraham Bloch (1859–1914), rabbi; chief rabbi of Algiers, 1897–1908; chief rabbi of Lyons, 1908–1914.

25 Maurice Barrès, *Les Diverses Familles spirituelles de la France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1997 [1917]), p. 9.

26 Charles Péguy (1873–1914), French poet and philosopher; influential socialist intellectual; supported Alfred Dreyfus in the Dreyfus affair and fought to prove his innocence; lieutenant in the First World War; died in the first battle of the Marne.

27 'Révolution nationale' was the name given to the official ideological programme of the Vichy state.

28 This could not be found.

29 On 5 August 1941 the head of Vallat's cabinet, Pierre Chomel de Jarnieu, replied that the actions taken by the government were not a matter of antisemitism, but rather dictated by the national interest: see David Knout, *Contributions à l'histoire de la résistance juive en France 1940–1944* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1947), p. 58.

DOC. 276

***New York Times*: article published on 22 August 1941 on the arrests of Jews in France¹**

Arrests Continue – All Taken are Termed Jews – Railway Sabotage Brings Appeal for Workers Not to Oppose Germany

By Lansing Warren

Vichy, France, Aug. 21 – Executions of two alleged Communists, mass arrests and severe sanctions against railway workers were among the drastic measures taken by the French authorities to check the outbreak of disorders and sabotage reported from Paris in the past few days.

The two men executed, according to an announcement in the Paris press today, were Samul Tyselman and Henri Gautherot,² who took part in a demonstration directed against the German troops of occupation. They were summarily tried and executed immediately thereafter.

Other reports received here state that mass raids were carried out by the Paris police and that arrests of 6,000 persons identified as Jews occurred in the Eleventh Arrondissement [ward]³ of Paris. Another raid was reported to be considerably increasing the number of arrests. A cordon was thrown around this whole district while the raids were being carried out.

Subway Stations Closed

These raids took place on the night of Tuesday to Wednesday,⁴ when streets were barred and the Metro [subway] stations of Parmentier, St. Maur and Oberkampf were shut off to the public until 1 p.m. Wednesday. Only those persons who could show from their papers that they were not Jews were permitted to pass through the lines.

[The Eleventh Arrondissement of Paris has been a historic center of radical activity ever since the days of the Commune.⁵ It lies just beyond the Place Bastille and Place de la Nation, and is traversed by the Boulevard Voltaire and the Avenue de la Republique. It is a district of workers and small shopkeepers.]

The police and the press have blamed Jews in Paris for the alleged Communist demonstrations that occurred at the Gare St. Lazare [the railway station in the Eighth Arrondissement]⁶ and other points when police fired on the demonstrators. A warning was then issued to the population that death might be the penalty for Communist activities, according to a ruling of the German Commander of the occupying forces.⁷ The French

1 *New York Times*, 22 August 1941, pp. 1 and 5.

2 Samuel Tyselman (1921–1941), hatter, from a Polish Jewish family, naturalized in 1939, and Henri Gautherot (1920–1941), metalworker, were members of the Bataillons de la jeunesse, a communist underground organization, and took part in a demonstration against the German occupation on 13 August 1941. After their arrest they were sentenced to death by a German military court and executed on 19 August 1941.

3 Here and below: content in square brackets as in original.

4 19/20 August 1941.

5 The Paris Commune was a revolutionary municipal council which ruled Paris from March 1871 following the defeat of Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War. It was overthrown by French troops in May 1871.

6 On 13 August 1941 demonstrations took place at Saint-Lazare railway station.

police also offered a million-franc reward for information leading to the arrest of persons guilty of sabotage on the French railroads.

Tonight the Minister of Communications, Jean Berthelot,⁸ in a radio broadcast to the railway workers, pleaded with them not to be influenced by Gaullist, British and Soviet propaganda and to remain loyally on the job, refraining from all acts of sabotage.

No information was available here as to the exact nature of the railway sabotage that has occurred.

M. Berthelot said in his speech that he knew the railroad men themselves were not responsible for acts committed against trains that were moving on the lines. He recalled the exemplary conduct of the railroad men at the time of the suppressed general strike that was called in November, 1938,⁹ and appealed to them to show the same loyalty now to Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, who was counting on their faithfulness to duty.

M. Berthelot told the railway men that France was bound by the armistice accord¹⁰ to make economic shipments with priority to Germany. It was a question of honor and loyalty, he said, and whoever resorted to sabotage was acting as an enemy of Germany and an ally of England.

'I know,' he said, 'that in your vast majority you remain deaf to the Gaullist radio and indifferent to Communist tracts. You are doing your hard and beautiful job magnificently, and while executing the armistice transport under conditions that have earned you the esteem of your enemy of yesterday, you are still regularly insuring transport of the supplies vital for industry.'

He added that he had been obliged to order sanctions against some of their comrades and would have to take other measures if his appeal was not heard, but he closed on a note of confidence that the comrades he had worked with so long would respond favorably.

The roundup of Jews in the Paris district was apparently continuing. It may be noted that the German 'Nuremberg Laws' affecting Jewish status¹¹ have been applied in occupied territory, with less severe restrictions applying in unoccupied France. Negotiations aiming to coordinate the treatment of Jews under a statute governing all French territory have been under way for some time, but have not yet been instituted.¹²

Actions against the Jews in Paris started in a raid on foreign Jews last May 15. In that raid five thousand persons between the ages of 18 and 40 were apprehended and sent to labor camps in the Orleans region.¹³ They were not then identified as Communists.

7 Otto von Stülpnagel.

8 Jean Berthelot (1879–1985), engineer; worked for the railway company Compagnie des chemins de fer d'Orléans, 1931–1938; department head for the minister for construction, Anatole de Monzie, 1938–1940; minister of transport and communications, 1940–1942; worked for the French National Railway Company (SNCF), 1942–1944; sentenced to two years' imprisonment in 1946.

9 On 30 Nov. 1938 the French government responded with massive countermeasures to a general strike organized by the CGT trade union. In the aftermath, 500 people were handed prison sentences of up to eighteen years.

10 The armistice treaty of 22 June 1940 is published in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918–1945*, series D, 1937–1945, vol. 9, doc. 523, pp. 554–558.

11 See Doc. 241.

12 See Doc. 260.

13 By order of the German occupiers, the Paris Police Prefecture summoned around 6,400 non-French Jews to report to police stations on 14 May 1941. More than 3,700 complied with the order and were subsequently transported to the Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande camps. See Docs. 267 and 268.

According to the Paris press, the present raids followed the alleged Communist demonstrations in the Eleventh Arrondissement, in which Jews were declared to have participated.

DOC. 277

On 26 August 1941 the Chief of the Civil Administration in Alsace considers the use of former Jewish cemeteries¹

Memorandum from the Chief of the Civil Administration in Alsace, Administration and Police Department (no. 48 227), signed Schmitt, Strasbourg, dated 26 August 1941

According to telephone communication from the regional commissioners in Mulhouse and Strasbourg, the Jewish cemetery in Rixheim (Mulhouse) has an area of 22 ares and 52 m², the one in Hegenheim (Mulhouse) 3 hectares and 17 m², and the one in Ettendorf (Strasbourg) 2 hectares, 33 ares and 60 m².

Under Art. 8 of the Decree of 23 Prairial XII,² still in force in Alsace, cemeteries that have been closed must remain unused in their former state for five years. After the expiration of this period, plots that previously served as graveyards may be leased, albeit with the stipulation that they may only be sown and planted. The excavation of soil or construction of foundation walls is not permitted. Former cemeteries may not be put on the open market until ten years after the last burials.

In response to the letter of 25 January 1941, no. 524³

I. To the Chief of the Civil Administration – Personal Department

Strasbourg

There are fifty-nine Jewish cemeteries in Alsace, with a total area of around 45 hectares, which are for the most part recorded in the land register in the name of Jewish religious communities, with only a negligible portion owned by the municipalities. As according to information from Einsatzkommando III/l of the Security Police there are no longer any Jews in Alsace, not even Jews living in mixed marriages, these cemeteries can be closed. In view of possible exceptional cases (death of Jews in transit or of Jews with foreign nationality) one cemetery could be kept open, perhaps in Strasbourg.

Jewish cemeteries that belonged to Jewish asset holders are administered by the Liquidation Commissioner for Organizations.⁴ The municipalities, which are generally responsible for establishing and maintaining cemeteries, currently come under consideration for taking over the cemeteries.

According to the regulations in force in Alsace, however, the Jewish cemeteries that have been closed cannot be used for other purposes during the five years they have to

1 Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg, 126 AL 121. This document has been translated from German.

2 Décret du 23 Prairial XII sur les Sépultures, 12 June 1804 (Prairial Decree). Published in Jürgen Gaedke and Joachim Diefenbach (eds.), *Handbuch des Friedhofs- und Bestattungsrechtes* (Cologne: Heymann, 2010), pp. 598–599. Prairial was the ninth month in the French Republican calendar, starting on 20 May and ending on 18 June.

3 Not included in the file.

4 Franz Schmidt.

remain unused after the last burial. After this period expires, they may be used only for cultivation. Cemeteries that have been closed can only be put on the free market after ten years. From a public health perspective this last period is brief; in Baden it runs to twenty to twenty-five years.

As on one hand a decision has not yet been made regarding the ultimate fate of the assets administered by the Liquidation Commissioner – I refer in this context to the copy of the decree of the Reich Minister of Finance dated 21 March 1941⁵ that was sent with your letter of 30 April 1941, no. 2149⁶ – and on the other hand alternative use of the land on which closed Jewish cemeteries are located cannot take place for the time being on public health grounds, it is my opinion that no measures regarding the Jewish cemeteries are necessary for the time being. At most, it could be ordered that, should the interment of Jews be necessary, it may be carried out exclusively in a designated Jewish cemetery that is kept open, possibly in Strasbourg.

I venture to make reference to the letter addressed directly to the Reichsstatthalter⁷ in Karlsruhe by the Baden Minister of the Interior,⁸ dated 8 August 1941, no. 58 257.⁹

DOC. 278

On 2 September 1941 Pierre Lion makes notes on the course of the war and the situation in France¹

Diary of Pierre Lion,² Paris, entry for 2 September 1941

Paris, 2 September 1941

Since my last entries, important events as part of the general situation. Very busy period, the last few days very troubled from a personal point of view.

General events:

1. *War in Russia*:³ fighting has not ceased during the last fortnight. Attacks on *Leningrad* from the north, where the Franco-Germans⁴ have advanced slightly (taking Viborg), and from the south (taking Novgorod, fighting around Luga). Progress is only minimal and the Russians are vigorously defending the region.

5 Not included in the file.

6 Not included in the file.

7 Robert Wagner.

8 Karl Pflaumer.

9 Not included in the file.

1 The original is privately owned. This document has been translated from French.

2 Pierre Jules Lion (1896–1977), mining engineer; employed in the French civil service, 1919–1921; businessman from 1921; obtained an exemption from the French Council of State in 1941, which would have allowed him to re-enter the civil service despite the provisions of the Statute on Jews; served in the Free French Forces, 1942–1944; primarily employed by the Schneider electronics and armaments corporation from 1947.

3 German troops invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941.

4 The far-right militia *Légion des volontaires français contre le bolchévisme* was founded on 8 July 1941. Its volunteers joined the German forces fighting in the Soviet Union and were incorporated into the Wehrmacht as the 638th Infantry Regiment.

Significant German successes in *Ukraine*, although no decisive events. The Germans have taken the entire right bank of the Dnieper ... Dnepropetrovsk taken, as is Kherson, at the mouth of the river. *Odessa* surrounded but still holding out.

Marshal Boudyonny⁵ seems to have managed to get the majority of his troops to the left bank. The Russians have blown up the big Dnieper dam, the first in Europe!

In the centre, *violent Russian counter-attacks at Smolensk and Gorny*. These are hindering the German advance to the east of Kiev. Huge losses on both sides.

Interesting figures gleaned from a Swiss newspaper: the Russians apparently started the war with 200 infantry divisions: 60 obliterated, with 10 remaining in Ukraine, 30 in Leningrad, 50 to hold the entire front line, and 50 fresh in reserve. Not too bad!

2. Invasion of Iran by the Anglo-Russians

On 25 August Iran was invaded.⁶ The Russians, coming in over the border in the Caucasus, made rapid progress: Tabriz was taken on the 26th, Pahlavi on the 27th. The English launched their attacks from the shores of the Persian Gulf, taking Bender-Chapour and occupying the oil region. They also attacked on the border of Iraq near Khanaqin in the direction of Kermanshah. (What memories these names evoke for me. I followed that route in 1937, on my way to join Wenger (?) for negotiations in Tehran.⁷ How simple everything was back then, how easy ...)

Iran capitulated on the 28th (?), the whole country is going to be occupied. A huge point scored for the Allies. Oil blockaded, their connection made, a secure lock on passage to the Far East.

3. *Détente in the Far East*: Japan seems to have little desire to fight. A deal with the U.S. seems in sight.⁸

4. In *France*: *upheaval*.

First, I note my rather sad impression of the unoccupied zone. There is no awareness of the problems, people revel in euphoria and self-satisfaction, a far cry from the oppressive atmosphere of the occupied zone, while at the same time they are servile to Dupont.⁹

5 Correctly: Semën Budënniy (1883–1973), professional soldier; served in the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905, and the First World War; joined the Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution in 1917; founded the Red Cavalry, 1919; served in the Polish-Soviet War, 1920; candidate member of the Central Committee, 1934, and marshal of the Soviet Union, 1935; commander-in-chief of Soviet forces in Ukraine, July – September 1941; dismissed in September 1941; held various commands, 1941–1942, but was never allowed to command troops in combat again; deputy minister of agriculture after the war.

6 On 24 August 1941 British and Soviet troops moved into Iran to curb German influence in the area and to secure the routes for Allied supplies for the Red Army from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea.

7 Between Sept. 1937 and Jan. 1938 Léon Wenger, chairman of the oil exploration company Société franco-persane de recherches, led negotiations with the Iranian government on the development of oil and gas storage facilities. At that time Lion was head of the Syndicat professionnel des producteurs et distributeurs d'énergie électrique, the energy sector's employers' association.

8 On 1 August 1941 the USA had imposed an oil embargo on the Empire of Japan. On 4 Sept. 1941 the Japanese cabinet decided to enter the war.

9 Pierre Lion's term for the Germans.

Little things that hurt: the *Parisier* (?) *Zeitung* on display at newspaper kiosks in Péri-gueux; signs in shops: 'neither Anglophile nor Germanophile'.

In the occupied zone, a period of great tension in Paris. The assassination of a German officer, killed at the Barbès metro station, unleashed a first wave of arrests and a number of death sentences.¹⁰ Then, as the first contingent of volunteers against Bolshevism¹¹ were leaving, an assassination attempt against *Laval* and *Déat*,¹² shot with a revolver by *Paul Collette*, a patriot.¹³ They appear to have escaped unscathed, but the repression is intensifying, especially against Martin.¹⁴ I'll come back to this later.

As for *private* matters, spent some time in the Dordogne and then on to the Seignes' property in Montcaret, which D.¹⁵ is so struck with that she has taken out an option [to purchase]. That pleases me greatly. Going to try and buy it for the children. But difficulties re Martin. Will I manage to surmount them?

Then a calm week in Cauterets. A serene calm, over which hover, more than I would like to admit, threatening storm clouds.

As soon as I got back to the village,¹⁶ I recognized the gravity of the situation. In connection with the upheavals mentioned above, thousands of Martins have been arrested. After the roundup in the 11th arrondissement¹⁷ mentioned at the end of my previous notes, another wave of mass arrests. People were picked up on the streets more or less everywhere (Champs-Élysées ...), any Martin spotted was taken off to a concentr[ation] camp ... Finally, four days ago, all of the Martin lawyers were taken from their homes.¹⁸ No exception whatsoever made for those with military titles ...

The great persecution is beginning. Upon his return, Paul¹⁹ received some particularly disquieting news in Élysée,²⁰ which led him immediately to plan 'Mo Jehan' [Maitre-jean].²¹

10 On 21 August 1941 the communist resistance fighter Pierre Georges killed the German naval adjutant Alfons Moser. In retaliation, resistance fighters Maurice Barlier, Yann Doornick, and Henri Honoré d'Estienne d'Orves were executed by a German firing squad on 29 August 1941.

11 The reference is to the Légion des volontaires français contre le bolchévisme.

12 Marcel Déat (1894–1955), politician; served in the First World War; joined the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) in 1920; elected as municipal counsellor of Rheims in 1925, then deputy for the Marne 1926–1928, and in Paris, 1932; expelled from the SFIO in 1933; minister of aviation in 1936; supported the Munich Agreement in 1938; advocated collaboration with Germany after the occupation of France; co-founded the far-right collaborationist party National Popular Rally (RNP) in 1941; minister of labour and national solidarity in the Vichy government, 1944; fled to Germany after the Allied landing in Normandy; fled to Italy, 1945, and lived under an assumed name; lived undiscovered in a convent; sentenced to death in absentia by a French court in June 1945.

13 Laval and Déat were wounded in the assassination attempt on 27 Aug. 1941.

14 Pierre Lion's term for Jews.

15 The reference is to his wife, Daisy (Marguerite) Lion-Goldschmidt (1903–1998), museum curator and art historian; born in Brussels to a Jewish family originally from Frankfurt, moved with her family to France in 1912; studied art history at the Sorbonne; after the war, continued her career as an expert on Asian art, porcelain, and sculpture.

16 Pierre Lion's term for Paris.

17 See Doc. 276.

18 On 21 August 1941 around 200 Jewish lawyers were arrested in Paris and taken to the internment camp at Drancy.

19 Pierre Lion's term for himself.

20 Pierre Lion's term for his apartment.

21 This means that he must go into hiding.

Acute problem. Put off the big decision to leave for as long as possible. But sense when waiting too long would become seriously and unforgivably imprudent ... Must keep a cool head.

DOC. 279

**On 4 September 1941 Paul Sézille explains the aims of the exhibition
*The Jew and France*¹**

Foreword by the secretary general of the Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions, Paul Sézille,² to the exhibition *The Jew and France* at the Palais Berlitz in Paris³

In organizing the exhibition *The Jew and France*, the Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions is fulfilling one of its most important objectives: the enlightenment of the French public on a subject about which it knows little or nothing.

Every effort made by successive French governments over the last hundred years or more has actually tended first to minimize, then to conceal from the French people the silent conquest of our country by Jewry, whereby day by day the descendants of Israel and Judah have occupied new positions, taken control of the levers of power, stolen all our wealth, destroyed our willpower, and steered us towards goals that were not our own.

One might have thought for an instant that the calamity of June 1940, the painful defeat suffered by our troops, which was a blatant demonstration of the physical and moral decay into which we had fallen, would have finally opened everyone's eyes. One might have thought that with a burst of energy, somewhat belated but spontaneous, we would, in a calm and dignified manner, use our best efforts to reform our habits and political morals and to repair the errors of the past. It seems that we have not yet reached this point.

Poisoned to their very core by the insidious and tenacious propaganda of the Jews, who still do not consider themselves beaten because they have carefully kept themselves out of the fighting, far too many French people have been overcome by a blind patriotism and are subject to Jewish propaganda supported by political organizations which thereby seek to retain their established positions of power.

Most of them are waiting for a magical return of fortune to come to them in their sleep. Like the astrologer who falls into a well while observing the cosmos,⁴ they look to

1 Published in Jean Marquès-Rivière (ed.), *Le Juif et la France au Palais Berlitz sous l'égide de l'Institut d'étude des questions juives* (Paris: Institut d'étude des questions juives, 1941), p. 5. This document has been translated from French.

2 Paul Sézille (1879–1944), professional soldier; served in the military in the French colonies; full-time employee of the antisemitic Rassemblement antijuif de France from the end of the 1930s; founded the Communauté française, an antisemitic propaganda organization, in late 1940; secretary general of the Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions, 1941/42; chairman of the Association of the Friends of the Institute, 1942–1944.

3 In total around 200,000 people visited the German-sponsored propaganda exhibition, which was on display from 5 Sept. 1941 to 15 Jan. 1942.

4 An allusion to a fable by Jean de La Fontaine, 'The Astrologer who Stumbled into a Well'.

the heavens for elusive support, even though they have long been near the abyss, which opens up wider before them each day, ready to swallow them up along with their illusions.

In our view, the present exhibition should return these French people who have lost their way to the right path. It should confront them with the most prosaic but also the most definite realities and it should inform them of facts of which they are unaware and which are likely to change their minds.

In presenting the Jew in his various manifestations, by using irrefutable and carefully chosen documentary evidence to show how strong the Jewish hold has been on all activities in France, by revealing the depth of the evil which has been gnawing at us, we want to convince those of our fellow citizens who are still of sound mind and judgement of the urgency of seeing how things really are and of acting accordingly.

Visitors should carefully study the figures, statistics, tables, quotations, and documents of all kinds which we have gathered together for their enlightenment. These will provide them with the knowledge needed to defend themselves and the communities to which they belong from Jewish influence.

We believe it is the duty of every Frenchman worthy of the name to freely form an opinion based on a sincere and impartial investigation of the facts, which speak for themselves. This is no time for the egotism and the devil-may-care attitude with which one was able to put off the study of serious problems until tomorrow. France today has no other option than to integrate itself into a restored Europe and occupy a position of honour within it; a position deserved on account of its hard work and contribution to the common cause of the peoples of Europe.

We want visitors to leave this exhibition horrified by everything that debases humanity, disgusted with the dishonesty that begins with 'little schemes' and 'clever ruses' and ends with the most gigantic swindles, and with scorn for fortunes acquired through immoral methods. We want them to leave with increased faith in the future, in the future regeneration of France, a France that to the great relief of all French people will be rid of its Jews and will be resolute in pursuing its destiny through hard work and honour, according to the wishes of the one whose word we must heed: Marshal Pétain, Head of the French State.

DOC. 280

**On 10 September 1941 the prefect of the Seine département reports
to the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs on the camp at Drancy
and its supply problems¹**

Letter from the prefect of the Seine département, signed Ch. Magny,² to the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, Xavier Vallat, dated 10 September 1941 (copy)

I have the honour of informing you of the circumstances concerning the organization of the camp at Drancy, where around 4,500 Jews are currently interned.

On the morning of 19 August, the Prefect of Police³ informed me that following orders, he would arrest approximately 6,000 Jews⁴ on 20 August and intern them in a camp at Drancy which had previously housed French prisoners of war and English civilian prisoners.⁵

Facilities

The Prefect of Police asked me to make the necessary arrangements for sleeping quarters, food, and the maintenance of those interned, since within the camp his office was tasked exclusively with monitoring them and preventing escape attempts.

I was informed at the time that bedding and kitchen supplies as well as all individual tableware were to be made available to my staff on site by the German authorities, who had been running Drancy camp to date.

Contrary to this information, no supplies of any kind apart from around 1,200 wooden bunk beds were provided, and no cleaning supplies either, and my staff currently have only entirely unsatisfactory buildings for the organization of the camp. Most of these buildings are to be given over to general administration, but have not yet been emptied of the very important material which was being kept there, and which to this day the occupying authorities (Supply Office) have refused to make available to us, despite multiple requests.

I wrote to the Minister of the Interior about this situation on 21 August and am attaching a copy of the note.⁶

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, CII-8. This document has been translated from French.

2 Charles Magny (b. 1884), lawyer; sub-prefect of Florac, 1908–1912, of Guincamp, 1912–1918, of Arles from 1918; then secretary general of the Loire-Inférieure département; consecutively prefect of the Tarn, Meuse, Marne, and Bouches-du-Rhône départements, 1921–1936; honorary prefect, 1936–1940, prefect, 1940–1942, honorary prefect of the Seine département, 1942–1945; went missing in 1945.

3 François Bard (1889–1944), rear admiral; prefect of the Haute-Vienne département, 1940–1941; prefect of police in Paris, 1941–1942; French ambassador in Bern, 1942–1944; died in an accident.

4 See Doc. 276.

5 Following the German occupation of France in 1940, the Wehrmacht requisitioned the buildings of an unfinished commercial and residential complex in the Parisian suburb of Drancy and used them as an internment camp for French and British prisoners of war. From the end of August 1941 foreign Jews were interned in the camp. From 1943, Drancy became the main transit camp for the deportation of Jews from France to Eastern Europe.

6 In his letter Magny proposed to the minister of the interior, Pierre Pucheu, that the Paris Police Prefecture cover the costs of furnishing the camp at Drancy and approve a loan of 300,000 francs: Mémorial de la Shoah, CII-8.

On 27 August the occupying authorities and the French authorities (Police Prefecture, Prefecture of the Seine département, gendarmerie) held a meeting at Drancy with the intention of establishing the general conditions for organizing the camp. I am attaching the minutes of this meeting, taken by the Police Prefecture.⁷ They clearly specify that the latter is in charge of the camp and that the Prefecture of the Seine département provides it with assistance in all matters concerning the material provisions and furnishings of the buildings and the provisioning of the inmates.

During the meeting, the German authorities asked to receive written requests for the loan of the bedding, dishes, and kitchen supplies in the camp buildings. These requests, including detailed lists drawn up by my administration, were sent to them by the Police Prefecture.

However, on the afternoon of 3 September the latter telephoned to say that my office was itself responsible for obtaining all the necessary supplies to adequately accommodate and feed the inmates. The Prefecture of the Seine département first had to obtain the permission of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Finance to set in motion the necessary requisitions, and of the various committees, professional bodies and distribution organizations (textiles, non-ferrous metals) to obtain vouchers for the materials.

Within two to three days 300 bunk beds, 300 straw mattresses, 500 mattresses, and 1,500 blankets will be supplied and will help improve the sleeping conditions for the weakest inmates.

On 15 September 500 bunk beds currently being constructed will be delivered, 500 on 25 September.

Given the complete impossibility of obtaining any canvas sheets, we obtained an allocation of 10,000 metres of canvas paper. Delivered as it is produced, it will enable us to provide each inmate within one month with a straw mattress containing three kilograms of straw.

While waiting for the straw mattresses, it would have been desirable to have been able to allocate a quantity of straw to each inmate right away, which could have been spread out upon the wooden structures on which they are sleeping. However, that would have risked creating or extending spaces for vermin, and the straw supplies currently held by my office are insufficient for periodic replacement of this straw. There is not even enough straw for a double distribution, that is, to both spread on beds as at present and to subsequently fill straw mattresses.

It should be noted that a certain number of inmates – since they have been permitted to receive laundry parcels – have received blankets from their families.

Food

The latest instructions received in this connection state that the provisions for the inmates at Drancy, which initially were apparently to be in line with the provisions for prisoners, will in fact be equivalent to the provisions in refugee centres.⁸ This food allocation is governed by the various rationing measures and the related problems with food

⁷ Not included in the file.

⁸ This probably refers to internment camps which were initially used to house Spanish refugees and then for other purposes: see Introduction, p. 25.

supplies in the Paris region, which are being intensified by the considerable numbers of newly arrived refugees.

Up until now, no pasta or pulses have been distributed for September. The quantity of potatoes that will be approved is not yet known, and one meat coupon can be redeemed per week.

My office has thus been obliged to provide a minimum of 9,000 meals each day using almost exclusively fresh fruit and vegetables.

Arrangements will be made in cooperation with the Supply Office for special access to obtain supplies for the Drancy camp at the Parisian food markets or from the producers directly.

It would also be useful if my office could acquire a sufficient quantity of non-rationed goods (offal – eggs – cheese – preserves) from time to time. All of these questions are being addressed in cooperation with *Senior Officer* Amicel, director of rationing for the Seine département.

Finally, it seems we can count on food being sent by the families of the inmates. The administration will ensure that any food received is distributed equitably between all the residents.

Heating

The buildings currently occupied by the inmates have central heating. A review of the system will be carried out as soon as possible.

It is essential that significant reserves of fuel be built up to ensure at least a minimum of heating throughout the coldest months.

Clothing

The inmates currently have relatively little clothing or underwear. We need to think about setting up a clothing store with a workshop for repairs.

Medical provision

As early as 21 August I asked Dr *Tisne*,⁹ a former hospital director whose services have been very useful in the refugee centres, to take charge of the organization of medical services at Drancy.

I am sending you attached a copy of the report which he has just submitted to me on this subject.¹⁰ It shows that quite a few of the inmates are in such poor health that they can scarcely remain at the camp. Up until now, releases on medical grounds were authorized only for very serious and very urgent cases. Following a visit on 6 September this year, Dr *Weddige*,¹¹ representing the military administration at the Palais Bourbon,¹² seemed to be minded to consider less severe rules and requested a list of the sick inmates to be discharged. My office will try to obtain the necessary instructions from the occupy-

⁹ Dr Jean Tisé was the physician of the Paris Police Prefecture.

¹⁰ Not included in the file.

¹¹ Dr Oskar Weddige (b. 1906), physician; joined the NSDAP in 1930; senior physician at a hospital; part of a medical unit during the Second World War.

¹² The Palais Bourbon was the seat of the military administration of the commandant of Greater Paris from 1940 to 1944.

ing authorities in order that sick inmates who cannot be treated at the camp be discharged.

In this respect, there is in fact one aspect which I believe I must emphasize. It will simply not be possible to guarantee the dietary needs or minimum medical care for the approximately 300 current inmates at Drancy who have major illnesses (tuberculosis, diabetes, heart problems, cancer), whose condition will quickly become critical if they remain in the camp.

If the release of these sick individuals cannot be considered, it would be appropriate to intern them in a hospital facility outside the camp that has the necessary medical and surgical equipment.

Workshops, library, etc. –

A number of the inmates are carrying out kitchen and cleaning duties.

A team will very soon be set up to carry out any maintenance work at the camp (plumbing, metalwork, carpentry, electricity, decorating, etc.).

Up until now, we have only been able to take the first steps to equip and organize the camp. But we will need to think about finding some activity for so many men brought here together, whose internment may be prolonged. This is a plan that the occupying authorities will surely not oppose.

We will begin right away by making a list of inmates, organized by profession.

The establishment of workshops will probably encounter some serious difficulties, in particular because of the lack of tools and raw materials. Additionally, it could be problematic to put any kind of tool in the hands of inmates. On top of that, the layout of the buildings does not lend itself easily to the establishment of collective workshops.

By contrast, it is conceivable that French language classes, foreign language classes, or general lectures could be organized.

No effort will be spared to look into all possible ways of alleviating the low morale, the grievous effects of which are already being felt among the inmates.

Allowances for families of inmates facing hardship

Application forms for financial support for families of inmates facing hardship have begun to be generated. I have given my office all the instructions necessary for these applications to be assessed as quickly as possible. To date some 600 applications have been received by various town halls. The aid will be paid through the benefits offices.

In a circular letter of 23 June 1941, the Minister of the Interior¹³ made it known that the families of the Israelite inmates facing hardship could request the same benefits as those given to the destitute families of undesirables imprisoned under the legislative decree of 19 November 1939 (individuals who are a danger to national defence or public safety).¹⁴ This decree concerned the foreign Jews interned in the Pithiviers and Beaune-Rolande camps. Extending access to these benefits to the inmates of Drancy should thus not raise the slightest difficulty.

¹³ François Darlan.

¹⁴ According to the legislative decree of 18 Nov. 1939, anyone deemed 'a danger to national defence and public safety' could be interned until the end of hostilities by the prefect of their place of residence: *Journal officiel*, 19 Nov. 1939, p. 13223.

The amount of aid awarded can be up to seven francs per day for the principal applicant and five francs for any child or older family member.

In urgent cases, bridging assistance can also be allocated.

This aid will be paid after a brief review by the office for refugee affairs within my administration, which is under the authority of the Head Office for Economic and Social Affairs, 9 place de l'Hôtel de Ville.

DOC. 281

On 10 September 1941 Algerian Jews write to Head of State Marshal Pétain to express their indignation at the anti-Jewish measures enacted¹

Letter, unsigned, Algiers, to Head of State Philippe Pétain, dated 10 September 1941. Handwritten note on the top right reads: 'Dossier psychologique' (Psychological report)

Marshal, Head of the French State,

Aware of the terrible misfortune which has befallen us and our brothers in mainland France, aware of the years of suffering we shall have to bear, it is our sincere wish, honourable Marshal, to draw your attention to the emotions animating the Jews of Algeria.

Since becoming part of the French community almost a century ago,² we have felt ever more connected to our new homeland. Grateful to France for her act of generosity, we were resolved to act as the best of her citizens.

When, in 1914, France appealed to her children to defend her, we responded: 'At the ready'.

When, in 1940, the French, in keeping with their noble reputation as 'knights against injustice', presented themselves as the champions of oppressed peoples, we were with them body and soul. When we had to sacrifice some of our sons, we did not hesitate for an instant. Thousands of us fell on the battlefield. At that time, honourable Marshal, they were Frenchmen, and yet, soon after the armistice, when all French people rallied around you, France disowned us on your orders.³ France, which for a century we had loved passionately; France, which in our naive love we regarded as the most universal of all homelands; France, whose sublime grandeur inspired in us such admiration in the midst of the disaster.

If you want to know, honourable Marshal, the prestige you enjoyed among us, a few simple words will suffice: since 1917 you had left engraved on our minds a memory so unforgettable that, when our first defeats loomed on the Meuse,⁴ we said of the generals of the time with the most sincere faith: 'They are not like Pétain.'⁵

1 AN, AJ38, vol. 67. This document has been translated from French.

2 See Doc. 244.

3 With the repeal of the Decree Crémieux on 7 Oct. 1940, the Jews in Algeria lost their French citizenship: *Journal officiel*, 8 Oct. 1940, p. 5234.

4 During the German invasion of France on 10 May 1940, the river Meuse was crossed within a very short space of time.

5 Pétain was appointed commander-in-chief of the French army on 15 May 1917. The myth emerged that he had tried to save the lives of as many soldiers as possible.

Yes, honourable Marshal, we were certain that, as soon as circumstances put you in charge of France, you would resurrect the country. Throughout all the centuries of history, we have seen that in times of disaster, the nation calls upon those of her children who, through their glory, bring prestige to their homeland.

Trusting in your word, and although bitterly disappointed, we understood your reasons for giving up the struggle.

And yet, all this did not prevent you, honourable Marshal, from taking the most ruthless measures against us.

When the Statute was first issued,⁶ some of our people were angry; they were enraged and critical towards France; then they thought rightly that such measures could not come from so generous a country as France, and that it was the present regime, not France, which had repudiated them. Others despaired of the homeland. As for us, honourable Marshal, we are convinced that such laws do not emanate from you. Honourable Marshal, you are too noble a soldier to have been the instigator of a statute which at present is fading the memory of France as a living symbol of liberal civilization. Our feeling is that you did not issue the 'Statute on Jews', but were obliged to do so.

When we set out to wage war on barbarity, it was with the aim of destroying the racial prejudices of which neither you nor we approved. Is it possible that now we are seeing France adopting measures unworthy of a civilized country? First we thought that the 'Statute on Jews' did not emanate from you; now we think, honourable Marshal, that it is not even French. Honourable Marshal, you know the impression that this decree must have given the world (We are not speaking of Europe, because the Nazi wars and domination have made it the least civilized continent.) But we are thinking of the great democracy of the USA, of whose principles and ideas you, honourable Marshal, have spoken so highly. Maybe you realize that the 'Statute on Jews' has led to unfair remarks concerning you.

But, honourable Marshal, enough is enough. You have spoken and we shall obey you. But there is one thing that goes too far in our opinion: the Jews have never done any harm to France.

Was it not enough to deprive them of the honourable means of making a living? Was it not enough to overwhelm them with the weight of decrees, all undeserved? Was it not enough to deprive them of the French citizenship of which they were so proud? Was the revulsion that the 'Statute' provokes in us not enough, honourable Marshal? Do you want to add to that our righteous indignation?

Of course, honourable Marshal, we know that you will do with us what you please, or rather you will try to do with us what you please. But every time we see in such and such a law an insult to us, we shall raise our heads. Who could prevent us from doing so?

In the last few days, honourable Marshal, we received our declaration forms.⁷ At the bottom of the first page was written the insulting note: 'There will be a penalty for any false statement.' This is too much of an insult, honourable Marshal, for us to remain

6 On 30 Oct. 1940 the Statute on Jews promulgated on 3 Oct. 1940, which had previously only applied to the French mainland, was extended to Algeria: *Journal officiel*, 22 Nov. 1940, pp. 5773–5774.

7 In accordance with the law of 2 June 1941, Jews had to provide detailed declarations of their personal and economic circumstances: see Doc. 271.

silent. If you want to give us orders, you need only speak. We do not need to be treated like children or docile cowards who are threatened with punishment so that they obey.

Honourable Marshal, please believe us when we state that it pains us greatly to say: we have never known France to behave like this. Never has such brutality been acceptable in France. It would be meaningless to introduce these measures as one would to an oppressed people scorned by their leaders. This is why we insist on telling you, honourable Marshal: 'By persuasion and influence you will reign over us. By force you will arouse our indignation.' You will understand our rightful anger because, like any soldier, you have a certain sense of honour, but you forget perhaps that others have a sense of honour too, as much as you do.

Nevertheless, honourable Marshal, you have brought us few Jews closer together and at the same time driven us away from you. By brutally expelling us from the French nation, you have made clear to us that we are Jews before we are French. Since you have inflicted this lesson on us, we shall return to being Jews and, without shame, we shall turn inwards to our community to work for its restoration. Moreover, we shall be honest workers, as we have always scrupulously been. But, honourable Marshal, though you prevent us from earning our bread with ease, you are not and never will be master of our minds. During this period, we shall be Jews and only Jews. We feel a certain bitterness towards France. We shall nevertheless retain the memory of it, though tarnished. A day will come when France, once again more confident in its destiny and fully independent, will bring its children back into its fold.

This day, which we so long for, will surely come, honourable Marshal, as we know that you, first of all, have pity on the fate of Israel.

Having deprived us of our French citizenship, having expelled us from the workings of the nation, you are driving us out of the world of science, even though this is a universal field. We know that our troubles will not end there, that other, harder, and more severe trials await us.

Nevertheless, honourable Marshal, enjoying the full and entire sympathy of the Muslim population, we shall remain strong. Suffering, they say, is the privilege of those who have nothing. Lifting our heads ever higher, we shall challenge the press, which is sully-ing itself by heaping the coarsest insults upon us. The Jewish people have suffered for more than three thousand years and, always prouder, always rising up again, have proved to be sublime in the face of misfortune.

Proud and lofty, we shall at no time whatsoever, for any reason whatsoever, appeal for mitigation of any kind.

We are and shall remain God's chosen people. In our present misfortune, we bow down before him. We have asked him why we suffer, why we are considered to be outcasts of society. Has God commanded that we suffer? We are and shall remain martyrs. It is God's will to make us an example to the world. That is why we have resigned ourselves. If necessary, we shall give ourselves up as a holocaust⁸ for civilization. We will show that we know how to suffer for our God. We shall be proud to be oppressed, and three times prouder if further laws are passed to increase our burden. Taking refuge with

⁸ The original uses the term 'holocaust' according to its historical meaning as a burnt sacrificial offering.

God, who has never abandoned his children, our faith will be for us an inexhaustible source from which we will draw the strength and courage to bear our misfortunes.

God will soon come to the aid of his children; he will bless them for having borne their martyrdom so sublimely. He will show with dazzling clarity who is right and who is wrong.

At that moment, the world will see clearly, as will you, honourable Marshal!

Be assured, honourable Marshal, of the feelings of deep attachment of the

Jews of Algeria

DOC. 282

On 13 September 1941 Pierre Lion writes in his diary about the latest events in Paris and the course of the war¹

Diary of Pierre Lion, entry for 13 September 1941, written in Pau

During this period so full of events both general and private, I have not been able to update my notes as regularly as usual. This is due to the rather disjointed life I've been leading:

Sunday, 31st August, leave Cauterets for Paris

Monday, 1st, to Friday, 5th September, in Paris (at Maîtrejean's)²

Saturday, 6th, to Monday, 8th, in Pau (had hurt my knee)

8th, Pau – Bayonne

9th, in Paris

Since 10th September, here.

And I'm off again to Paris on Monday, 15th, via Bayonne.

On returning to Paris, on Monday, 1st September, I found the atmosphere even tenser than when I had left ten days earlier. Further assassination attempts on German officers.³ Wave of repression. Walls covered in placards announcing executions by firing squad (in particular Naval Lieutenant Count Etienne⁴ d'Orves, de Gaulle's spymaster in the occupied zone). There had been very many arrests in Paris, in the form of collective raids (11th arrondissement), arrests in the street (Champs-Élysées) and raids on homes (all the Martin⁵ lawyers). All prisoners held at the camp at Drancy, in abominable conditions. Three hostages already shot.⁶ The city is hardening itself against all this, united more than ever against the oppressor. Talleyrand's⁷ dictum is being repeated, quoted a few days ago by J. Caillaux:⁸ *'The strongest armies melt away under the anger of the people.'*

1 The original is privately owned. This document has been translated from French.

2 This is a reference to his being in hiding in Paris.

3 On 3 Sept. 1941 an assassination attempt was carried out on non-commissioned officer Ernst Hoffmann. Further attacks on three German soldiers occurred on 6, 10, and 11 Sept. 1941.

4 Correctly: Estienne.

5 Lion used the term Martin to refer to Jews.

6 On the arrests and executions, see Doc. 278.

7 Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838), French politician.

8 Joseph Caillaux (1863–1944), politician; member of the French parliament, 1898–1919; prime minister, 1911/12; member of the French Senate, 1925–1944.

From a personal point of view, risk is indisputable, especially since at number 14⁹ the Gestapo carried out searches and raids (at the home of the Fs). Under these circumstances, decided as soon as I arrived, like many Parisians, to 'no longer sleep in my own bed'. Kind hospitality from M., never to be forgotten. But a painful experience to have to flee one's home and live like a fugitive in one's own city ...

Returned here on the 6th – after twisting my knee ('the mountain giant'¹⁰).

On the 8th, I took Robert¹¹ to grandma's – his first visit to the occupied zone.

Bayonne is a very sad place, packed with soldiers. Spent the 9th in Paris, where things seemed slightly more relaxed, and all quiet here since the 10th. My pass will soon run out. When will I be back next?

The general situation has been very eventful, dominated by the tremendous battle taking place without respite on the *Russian front*. Despite territorial gains, the German army is increasingly worn out and getting bogged down. No serious person now doubts that 'the Boche¹² are done for'. When and how is the only problem.

Leningrad seems to be almost completely surrounded. A siege without historical precedent is about to begin, with 800,000 Germans attacking by land and air a tremendous mass of troops and civilians resolved to defend to the last.

The whole of the *central part of the front* is a confused mêlée, Marshal Timoshenko¹³ having given little ground over the last fortnight of violent counter-attacks. Smolensk still in German hands. They seem to be making progress, at the cost of terrible losses, towards the Upper Daugava.

In *Ukraine* (where Kiev and Odessa are still holding out), no major territorial changes. The Dnieper does not seem to have been crossed anywhere downstream from Dnepropetrovsk.

Meanwhile, the British and the Russians have completed the occupation of Iran, putting a solid lock on both the major oilfields and the route to India.¹⁴

In the *Mediterranean*, intense manoeuvres and bombardments, in Sicily, Cyrenaica,¹⁵ Crete. It seems likely that major operations are in preparation.

British bombing of Germany and northern Italy intensifying. Major bombing raids on Berlin and Turin in recent days. Every day offensive attacks with fighting in the occupied territories.

9 Caillaux lived at 14 avenue Elisée Reclus in Paris.

10 A game he used to play with his children in the Parc Beaumont in Pau.

11 The reference is presumably to Pierre Lion's son: Robert Lion (1934–2019); civil servant and politician; director of construction in the Ministry of Equipment, 1969–1974; director general of the Caisse des dépôts et consignations, 1982–1992; regional councillor of Île-de-France, 2010–2015.

12 French: pejorative term for the Germans that had been in use since around the time of the First World War.

13 Semën Timoshenko (1895–1970), professional soldier; joined the Russian army in 1914 and served in the First World War; sided with the Bolsheviks in 1917, and served in the Russian Civil War and the Polish-Soviet War; participated in the Soviet invasion of Poland, 1939; member of the Central Committee; led Soviet forces in the Winter War; became a marshal of the Soviet Union and defence minister in May 1940; chairman of the Soviet Armed Forces High Command in June 1941; replaced as defence minister in July 1941; served in various frontline commands, 1941–1943; commanded various military districts after the war; inspector general of the Defence Ministry in 1961; retired in 1970.

14 See Doc. 278, fn. 7.

15 Eastern part of present-day Libya.

All quiet in the Far East, where Japan seems less and less inclined to throw itself into the fight for the Axis.¹⁶

Finally, yesterday a very important *speech by Roosevelt*, in which he virtually announced that American vessels and planes would open fire on Axis ships and submarines anywhere they think appropriate.¹⁷

Thus we march towards a certain denouement, in anticipation of which we must simply exercise patience.

DOC. 283

On 29 September 1941 the director of a Jewish orphanage sends the prefect of the Creuse département the requested information about the religious affiliation of his wards¹

Letter from the director² of the Jewish orphanage in Crocq,³ to the prefect of the Creuse département,⁴ dated 29 September 1941

Dear Sir,

Following the instructions you gave me during our telephone conversation on the 26th of this month, and although I continue to believe I am not obliged to provide you with declarations concerning the minors entrusted to me as I am not their 'legal representative', I am now sending you the declarations completed to the best of my ability.⁵

From the details I am sending you, you will realize that it is not out of ill will that I am not able to supply you with all the information required for these declarations.

As I have previously written, when children are admitted to our orphanage, we do not ask parents for any information about the children or their ancestry; no orphanage has ever requested such information. Furthermore, the children we take in are for the

16 See Doc. 278, fn. 8.

17 In response to an incident in the North Atlantic involving a German submarine and a US Navy destroyer, President Franklin Roosevelt announced on 11 Sept. 1941 that US formations were prepared to pre-emptively open fire on Axis submarines and ships. Published in Samuel Irving Rosenman (ed.), *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 10 (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 384–392.

1 Original not found. Published in *Journal de Louis Aron, directeur de la Maison israélite de refuge pour l'enfance*, ed. Serge Klarsfeld (Paris: Klarsfeld Foundation, 1998), p. 69. This document has been translated from French.

2 Louis Aron (1888–1987), economist; worked for several different companies, 1920–1930; chairman of the Jewish scouting organization Éclaireurs israélites de France (EIF) in Paris, 1930–1939; director of the orphanage Maison israélite de refuge pour l'enfance, 1939–1946; proofreader in the publishing industry, 1946–1949; director of the Jewish homeless shelter Asile de nuit in Paris, 1949–1953; employee at the French National Office for Statistics, 1954–1956.

3 The Maison israélite de refuge pour l'enfance was founded in Neuilly in 1886 for girls with behavioural problems, girls who were born out of wedlock, and orphans. The orphanage was evacuated to Crocq in August 1939; in August 1942 it moved to Chaumont.

4 Jacques Henry (b. 1895), lawyer; prefect of the départements of Haute-Saône, 1938–1941; Creuse, 1941–1943; Pyrénées-Orientales, August to Nov. 1943; and Isère, Nov. 1943 to Jan. 1944.

5 Jews had to submit detailed declarations concerning their personal and economic circumstances: see Doc. 271.

most part the real cast-offs of society, orphans and abandoned souls. Often they are entrusted to us by welfare workers or homeless shelters. Many of the parents were only glimpsed in passing or they are illiterate and were unable to give any precise information. Only in exceptional cases were we given any information at all about the children and their religious affiliation. As concerns our chances of finding out more details about them now, they are non-existent, especially in the current circumstances.

In addition, I can inform you that eleven of our charges are illegitimate; we have no way of knowing if they are Israelite or not. Of these eleven, four have lost their mother ... the other mothers are mostly in the category of parents described in the paragraph above.

It is therefore impossible to obtain precise information about the ancestry of most of our girls, as much as we ourselves would like to have this.

DOC. 284

In September 1941 the children's aid organization Union OSE reports on its activities for the months of June, July, and August¹

Report by the Union OSE for the months of June, July, and August 1941

The main areas of activity of the Union OSE² have remained the same, i.e.:

1. Maintaining children's homes;
2. Supporting the organizations helping the displaced population of Alsace and Lorraine;
3. Activities in assembly centres;
4. Social assistance for refugees and other groups in need;
5. Cooperative medical aid;
6. Emigration of children to America – which has become a permanent field of our activity.

In addition to the above, a special branch of our activity has been added during the summer months:

7. Sending destitute and debilitated children to summer camps and organizing these camps.

I. Children's homes

A. Summary

Over the last three months, there was considerable movement of children in all of our homes, which somewhat hindered the organizational and consolidation measures that we had been pursuing in order to prepare the children for a new life of work and study. The main reason behind this movement was the departure of a large number of children for America and other countries. On 1 June, 111 children left for the United States, including 71 coming from our homes, and on 1 September, 91 children from our homes left in

1 Archives de l'Œuvre de secours aux enfants, Paris, Fonds/Tchlenof. This document has been translated from French.

2 See Doc. 231.

two convoys of 45 and 46 children, which makes a total of 162 children who left our homes. This departure was felt more keenly because the children for the most part came from our long-standing home in Montmorency and formed the hub of an organized and structured existence.

With the departure of these children, we turned our efforts to replacing them with new children, the majority of whom had recently been released from accommodation centres.³ These children were all in a very bad way physically, and considerably behind in their development. It was therefore not enough to admit them to our homes; we also had to keep a very close eye on them and provide them with special care. Moreover, this is specified in all the annual reports on our children's homes.

As an example, here are several statistics which give an idea of the changes in the numbers of children in several of our homes during the period which interests us:

	<i>Children leaving</i>	<i>Children arriving</i>
Broût-Vernet	12	29
Montintin	32	13
Limoges Boarding School	12	16
Masgelier	34	36
Chabannes	26	30
	116	124

etc.

This statistical sample shows the coming and going of children throughout the previous three months. It was not difficult for us to find candidates; the number was much higher than the number of places, and the only difficulty was choosing which ones to take. Nevertheless, there were specific technical difficulties concerning the admission of the children who came from the camps.

Our homes have always guaranteed a primary school education to all the children, and even a secondary school education for the most gifted. All of our children who have taken the examinations have obtained their certificate of study at the end of the school year. We took advantage of the holidays to complete the preparations for teaching physical education in our homes; a special instructor was hired to travel around the OSE homes and the homes which are subsidised by the OSE to train existing staff members as instructors who would be able to continue this task. The results turned out to be excellent. Apart from that, we took the children on big days out, with regular games outside once or twice a week.

Another activity that has developed considerably during the summer holidays is agricultural work. Obviously we do not have the opportunity at the moment to turn our children into specialized agricultural workers. We simply began with the goal of familiarizing the children with farm work, and we should point out that they quickly took to it. Some of the vegetable gardens, most notably those at Chabannes, Chaumont, and Masgelier, were cultivated so successfully that they contributed significantly to the improvement of the economic conditions in the homes and helped with food supplies. Even the youngest children worked energetically and contributed to the good harvest from the vegetable gardens.

³ *Centres d'hébergement*: a reference to concentration and internment camps in France.

Furthermore, the Jewish Scouts have set up a farm school with cattle, sheep, poultry, and rabbits, etc. where the children work with enthusiasm and which has yielded very good results.

In addition, some of the bigger and stronger children have tried their hands at being lumberjacks, not without success.

At the moment, in all the homes, we are getting ready for winter by checking the heating and building up supplies of fuel. The children participate in the work where possible.

Finally, we should mention that the activities of the apprenticeship workshops (leather work, sewing, joinery, shoemaking, etc.) continue as before.

B. Statistics

1. OSE homes in the unoccupied zone:

As of 1 September, the number of children in our homes is as follows:

Les Morelles in Broût-Vernet (Allier)	98
Le Masgelier in Grand Bourg (Creuse)	139
Chaumont in Nainsat (Creuse)	94
Chabannes in St Pierre de Fursac (Creuse)	122
Montintin in Château Chervix (Haute-Vienne)	88
Boarding school in Limoges (Haute-Vienne)	56
Villa Mariana in St Raphaël (Var), whence la Feuilleraie was transferred	56
Mas-Jambost in Limoges, which in the meantime has been transferred to Château Le Couret in Jonchère (Haute-Vienne)	45

2. OSE homes in the occupied zone:

Paris and Bordeaux	110 children

3. Children placed in the Hérault

(under the responsibility of the OSE)	40

4. Homes subsidized by the OSE

Jewish Scouts	
(Moissac and Beaulieu Homes)	300
Nursery of the medical assistance service in Limoges	53
total	<u>353</u>
	1201 children

Comparing this number with that in the previous trimester's report,⁴ which was 1,109, we note an increase of 92 children.

The number of empty places on 1 September 1941: 190. These places are reserved for children from the accommodation centres, who will be admitted in September. We have already obtained the necessary authorization to admit eighty children, and others will follow shortly.

To fill the empty places temporarily, we admitted to our children's homes refugee children from the main urban centres who were in need of rejuvenation in the fresh air and of additional nourishment. These children were taken in during the summer holidays and stayed in our homes for four to six weeks. In this way we welcomed 19 children

⁴ See the Union OSE's activity report for the months of April, May, and June 1941: Archives de l'Œuvre de secours aux enfants, Paris, Fonds/Tchlenof.

from Marseilles, 21 from Toulouse, 22 from Lyons, and 80 from the Haute-Vienne and Dordogne, making a total of 142. Other children will be taken in in September.

C. Profile of the children

Few changes occurred during the period under consideration. The children from Central Europe who left our homes were replaced by children who for the most part came from Baden and the Palatinate,⁵ released through our efforts from the Rivesaltes and Gurs camps.⁶ Many of the children thus admitted have parents; this brought down the number of orphans, which now stands at just 12 per cent.

We therefore have:

1. Children who are refugees from Central Europe and have no contact with their parents	270
2. Children from the accommodation centres	282
3. Polish children whose parents have disappeared or are in the occupied zone	325
4. Orphans and half-orphans	132
5. Children whose parents are in the free zone but are unable to feed them	192
	<u>1201</u>

The series of tragic cases encountered during the last quarter has continued, and we have often been obliged to admit to our homes on an emergency basis children whom our welfare service has picked up practically in the streets. In the majority of cases they are alone in the world, without support or resources, and it is impossible for us not to take them in.

D. Health and hygiene

To illustrate the state of health of the children in our homes, below is an extract from a medical report by Dr Wolf,⁷ a paediatrician at the Marseilles OSE-Unitarian Socio-Medical Centre, who examined the children before their departure for America:

49 children from different OSE homes who were to leave for America underwent a full examination at the centre, including urine tests, tuberculin skin tests, and a summary examination of the eyes and ears.

It is most pleasing to observe that almost all were in a good and often a very good state of health. The number of positive tuberculin skin test results (6 slight, 1 moderate, and 2 severe) is relatively low. The three children with moderate or severe results had an x-ray, with two of them testing negative.

There are few cases of illness and no epidemics to report in the past three months. Special care and attentive supervision were given to the children who had come from the camps, almost all of whom were weakened and suffering from various skin conditions. When they arrived in our homes, these children were carefully isolated from the other children for a certain period of time.

⁵ See Doc. 252.

⁶ The Union OSE attempted to secure the release of children who were being held in the camps on their own or with their families by offering to accommodate and care for them in children's homes.

⁷ Dr René Wolf, paediatrician from Strasbourg.

E. Clothing

We were able to obtain good quality clothing and shoe vouchers for our children and, thanks to the special aid from the American [Jewish] Joint Distribution Committee, it was even possible to make some purchases to overcome certain shortages in the outfitting of our children this winter. Unfortunately, it is difficult for us to purchase large quantities of warm clothing because of the high prices; so we must really try hard to find a solution for this problem, which we hope to resolve eventually.

F. Problems we face in our work

The problem which preoccupies us at the moment is how to find a trade for those of our children who are going to turn fifteen or sixteen. We therefore attach great importance to the development of the workshops that the ORT organized in our homes, and to setting up the farm schools and agricultural training sites. The ORT helps us a great deal in this work, but we are nevertheless under a heavy financial burden, since we need not only to house the young people, but also to cover the cost of their apprenticeships and teaching in state schools. Some progress was made with regard to organizing workshops at our homes: one example is the leather workshop in Chabannes, which is well known throughout the region and where items are made that have been displayed at charity sales and festivals in aid of prisoners of war. Our task now is to expand the existing workshops, to open new ones in the homes which do not yet have one, and to diversify training.

II. Aid to organizations helping the displaced population of Alsace and Lorraine

The organization in charge of helping the refugee population of Alsace is *Les oeuvres d'aide sociale israélite aux populations repliées d'Alsace et de Lorraine*,⁸ which is based in Périgueux and subsidized by us. An intensive social and medical monitoring system was set up during the summer holidays. Around 1,000 children are monitored in this way, grouped into youth centres, clubs, etc. During the last three months, fruit, vegetables, and preserves were distributed.

The three main centres in the Dordogne where the refugees with whom we are concerned have been assembled are Bergerac (with 112 children, including 60 placed in an orphanage subsidized by the OSR), Périgueux (more than 40⁹ children), and Terrasson (54 children).

The other départements to which the social aid under discussion has been extended are Indre, Haute-Vienne, and Basses-Alpes. Around 2,000 children are benefiting from this aid.

Medical visits by the community care team: during the months of July and August, the team visited 26 locations, reaching an overall population of 30,000 people, including 4,400 refugees; 263 adult consultations and 83 children's consultations were given; 482 home visits, including the delivery of food and food supplements were carried out, and prescriptions were distributed.

⁸ Les Œuvres d'aide sociale israélite aux populations repliées d'Alsace et de Lorraine (OSR) was established in Strasbourg in Nov. 1939. Following the German invasion of France, the administration of this charitable organization was moved to Périgueux, with Rabbi René Hirschler as its head.

⁹ The figure in the scan is unclear; there could be an additional zero.

The lack of cars makes it very difficult for the team to get around. They have to travel by bicycle. But the presence of social welfare workers locally helps to mitigate this disadvantage, and furthermore we have a good relationship with the local doctor.

The problems arising in this domain are first and foremost the increase in the size of the children's homes and the youth groups, and above all the need for new resources to increase the clothing supply. Thanks to the collections of second-hand clothing, we have already managed to clothe 160 children, but the problem is not yet completely solved. Finally, we want to set up dispensaries in the main centres, which requires quite some effort and a great number of formalities.

III. *Activities in the assembly centres*

Few changes have taken place in the division and distribution of the camps since the last quarter. The two main centres of our activity remain the Gurs and Rivesaltes camps, where, in agreement with the authorities, we are systematically pursuing efforts for the benefit of the children.

1. *Gurs*

The work is directed, as previously, by the OSE delegate¹⁰ and the social welfare worker¹¹ resident in the camp.

The number of children is: 63 under 14 years of age;
 27 between 14 and 18 years of age;
 13 babies.

Our activity continues along the same lines, which is to say the distribution of food supplies to children, medical work, and the organization of leisure and educational activities for the children.

Some improvement was brought about in the sense that the administration authorized the organization of twice-weekly outings for the children outside of the camp. These walks take place under the supervision of social welfare workers and a guardian; the welfare workers plan the walks together, and a snack is arranged for the children each time.

Food supplies: basic staples and fruit are distributed to the children at the Secours Suisse-OSE¹² cafeteria. Fruit, vegetables, and flour are provided by the OSE; dairy products, rice, and chocolate by the Secours Suisse. Sometimes special distributions take place, particularly of gingerbread and sweets. Several tonnes of products have been distributed in this way during this last quarter. In the month of August in particular,

10 Andrée Salomon (1908–1985), secretary; general secretary of the Zionist organization Ghalei, 1932–1939; worked at the central committee of the Alliance israélite universelle (AIU), 1939; head of the OSE's aid organization and representative at the Gurs and Rivesaltes camps, 1940–1942; head of the General Union of French Jews (UGIF), the body that supervised the Jewish children's homes, from March 1942 to Sept. 1944; again head of the OSE's aid organization, 1945–1947; deputy secretary general of the French branch of the Women's International Zionist Organization; emigrated to Israel in 1970.

11 Ruth Lambert (1914–1987), teacher; social welfare worker for the OSE at Gurs camp from Feb. 1941 to July 1943; subsequently worked for the OSE in Switzerland.

12 The charity organization Secours suisse aux enfants was funded by the Swiss Red Cross. The organization sent the nurse Elsbeth Kasser to Gurs camp to coordinate aid work.

progress was made in the meals served to the children in the cafeteria. Below is a sample menu for one week:

Monday	rice pudding, fruit;
Tuesday	noodles cooked in milk, fruit;
Wednesday	barley and tapioca soup, preserves;
Thursday	milk soup, cheese, fruit; ¹³
Saturday	milk chocolate, cheese.

Clothing: A large distribution of diverse personal effects was made from our former stocks, principally shirts, jumpers, vests, aprons, stockings, etc.

Social medicine: the Gurs nursery has grown. Number of babies: there are 13 now, as well as 13 mothers. There were four births during the month of August. No births in June or July. This work is undertaken in close and harmonious collaboration with the Unitarian Service Committee,¹⁴ which distributed fabric to make baby clothes, sheets, and hand towels through our aid organization.

Our aid organization obtained different instruments which we bought and gave to the chief physician,¹⁵ including syringes, thermometers, scalpels, etc. In addition to these, we acquired several couches for the tuberculosis patients from Block L and for convalescent patients.

Release of children: Given the relatively small number of children in Gurs camp, our release efforts over the last three months have mostly been concerned with the children in Rivesaltes. Nevertheless, at the end of the period that concerns us, thirteen of the children from Gurs were put forward for release and placement in our homes in the Creuse département. The paperwork is now almost complete, and the children should shortly be transferred to our homes. We hope that other releases will follow.

Problems: In light of what has just been stated, our principal task must be the development of our social assistance work and the release of a new group of children.

2. *Rivesaltes*

Our social work in Rivesaltes camp has now been completely consolidated. In addition, a Secours Suisse–Quakers–OSE cafeteria for children was organized in Block K, barrack 12, and formally opened on 1 September, with numerous guests and representatives of participating aid organizations in attendance. The children regularly come to the cafeteria and receive food, which is extremely important for them; the positive impact on their health is already noticeable. The cafeteria barrack was set up with care, and it is well lit and furnished with big tables and benches; the walls are decorated, and the overall effect is very inviting. Independently of the other distributions, the children have rice pudding five times per week in the morning, and milk in the afternoon. The provision of food is divided up as follows: the Secours Suisse provides the milk products, the Quakers provide the pulses, the OSE provides the fruits, vegetables, and the Bruzarine.¹⁶ One can say that this cafeteria has been a particularly successful initiative.

13 'Friday' (*vendredi*) has been crossed out.

14 The Unitarian Universalist Association in Boston established the USC in May 1940 to support refugees.

15 Dr Laclau.

16 Powdered nutritional supplement.

Activity centres: The organization of children's activity centres is almost complete. Children are already attending them and are kept busy there according to their ages and aptitudes. A special barrack was furnished for this purpose. They draw, read, copy, the youngest play; all under attentive supervision. Like the cafeteria, the influence of the activity centres on the physical and mental health of the children is considerable, and the high levels of child mortality that we saw last summer have diminished thanks to these institutions.

Medical work: The camps' chief physician,¹⁷ helped in large measure by our social welfare worker,¹⁸ coordinates the medical work. Recently he was officially appointed the physician for the schools in Rivesaltes, which allows him to carry out medical examinations of around 2,000 children. In addition, he looks after several groups of particularly undernourished adults who number around 600 or so, to whom the cafeteria distributes various foodstuffs.

The general state of health, which had deteriorated during the particularly hot months because of the spread of enteritis and acute dysentery, has somewhat improved. The infirmary and the dispensary are operating as before, as well as the special infirmary for children, headed by the camp's chief physician.

Release of children: As always, this question constitutes our primary concern. Obviously, we are doing what we can to improve the situation of the interned children, and there has been some progress in this respect, such as we have already seen. That does not change the fact that for a child, a prolonged period in a camp represents a permanent threat, and we must try hard to get as many of them released as possible.

Some progress has been made in the sense that in this quarter, the number of children released was double that of the previous quarter. The authorities gave us permission in many of these cases. For greater clarity, below is a table showing the numbers of children released during the last quarter:

1. For the OSE homes in the Creuse département	49
For the Hérault département	40
(children under our care placed in Palavas and in families)	
For the nursery in Limoges (funded by the OSE)	12
For the homes of the Jewish Scouts in Moissac	12
(funded by the OSE)	
2. For the homes of the Secours Suisse in Sarcenas	15
For the nursery of the Secours Suisse in Banyuls	4
3. For the American Aid Camp for Czechoslovak children	12
Total	145 children ¹⁹

¹⁷ Gérard Lefebvre.

¹⁸ Vivette Samuel (1919–2006), social welfare worker; studied philosophy at the Sorbonne, 1936–1940; expelled under the provisions of the Statute on Jews; social welfare worker for the OSE, initially at Rivesaltes camp, from July 1941 to June 1942, and then in Limoges and Marseilles, from June 1942 to March 1944; later a member of a Jewish underground organization; worked for the OSE again from 1954; director of the OSE, 1979–1985.

¹⁹ The correct total is 144.

This figure of 145 children released from Rivesaltes camp and placed in various children's homes shows how this aspect of our activity is growing. We hope to continue this work of getting children released, in collaboration with the authorities, and to get other children released in the next quarter. Even now, releases have been announced for the month of September.

Main problems: We are endeavouring to consolidate our relief work at the camp by hiring an additional social welfare worker. More particularly, we want to develop the work of the cafeteria and the activity centres, to expand medical provision in the camp, and above all to continue the work of getting children released.

3. Aid services for the sick in hospitals

This service continues to function in the Basses-Pyrénées département, where our aid organization particularly looks after the sick from Gurs camp, who are cared for at the Mixed Hospital in Pau (indeed, according to the latest information received, there are no longer any patients from Gurs in the Laherrère wing). The latest numbers put the number of patients at thirty-five, several of whom are amputees and serious cases. Our assistant provides them with both moral and material support, and she is one of the great comforts for their families who are still in Gurs.

IV. Social assistance for refugees and groups in need

This work, which began last winter, has been developing gradually. We expanded our network of social welfare agencies in different départements, and their number is growing.

A. Hérault

In the Montpellier and Béziers districts, the work is coordinated by our chief physician, his assistant physician, and our three assistant social welfare workers. Regular medical examinations and the distribution of food and clothes are organized within the given constraints.

We have managed to improve the situation of the children and their families somewhat, from a social and sanitary point of view, and obtained certain facilities from the authorities for the teaching of children.

The reports by the assistants who visited the camp²⁰ show that the families are more or less adequately housed. In a few of the centres, such as Ledèvre for example, almost all the men have been given work contracts in agriculture and tree felling.

Those children who have been released from the camps and for whom we can get an authorization from the Hérault Prefecture are for the most part placed in the Solarium de Palavas home²¹ at our expense. They attend school up until the age of 14. Those over 14 have been placed in apprenticeships with various skilled craftsmen through our efforts. The director of the Solarium home, who shows a lively interest in our work, permanently holds twenty-five places for us.

20 The internment camp at Agde was constructed in Feb. 1939 and accommodated 15,000–18,000 refugees until its closure in Nov. 1942.

21 The former Saint-Roch Sanatorium in Palavas-les-Flot was used to assemble Jewish children who had been released before they were allocated to other homes.

We continue to work with the Montpellier Refugee Assistance Committee;²² our physician and our assistant use their premises for consultations and to distribute products such as Bruzarine, jam, medicines, etc.

A large number of children from the Hérault département have been sent to summer camps organized by the OSE. These are covered in a special section of this report.

B. Bouches-du-Rhône

We have once again intensified our collaboration with all of the aid organizations from Marseilles. The work continues in the refugee centres at the Levant, Bompard, Terminus, and Atlantique hotels,²³ as well as at Les Milles camp.

1. In the Terminus and Atlantique hotels, we distribute food supplements and special diets for the elderly and the sick. All the children in these hotels are regularly examined by the medical service of the Levant Hotel, and we have sent the most weakened to our summer camps, as the food provided in these hotels was insufficient.

Nine children from the Terminus Hotel were released during the month of August, and we were able to find places for them.

2. We have been working at the Bompard Hotel since June. The Unitarian Service Committee and the OSE organized leisure activities and education for a total of 50 children. Lessons are arranged for the older children twice a day, morning and afternoon; they are taught by a primary school teacher²⁴ who is resident there. She also looks after the little ones and supervises their naps after lunch up until the afternoon snack.

The director of the hotel was willing to create a play area for the children.

Finally, religious instruction and English language lessons were organized in the month of July.

The social welfare worker from the OSE office in Marseilles²⁵ comes to the Bompard Hotel twice a week. She is in charge of placing the children and provides services to pregnant women.

Four children were released in the month of August.

3. Our work at the Les Milles camp has intensified somewhat lately. Above all, we have endeavoured to intervene on behalf of the most seriously ill. The Unitarian Service Committee has given us a special budget, which has allowed us to provide orthopaedic equipment for the sick.

4. Our activity at the Levant Hotel has slowed down slightly because a fairly large number of children have already been placed elsewhere. Nevertheless, significant social work and work with families are still required in this centre. We have sixty children under our supervision and give them regular nutritional aid. We have thirty children in the centre's nursery school.

5. Centre for social medicine. Organized by the Unitarian Service Committee and the OSE Union, this centre has officially been in operation since 9 July. As early as the first fortnight, 230 consultations were provided to 150 registered participants, which is clear

²² Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR).

²³ On the establishment of mandatory places of residence (*résidences assignées*) for Jewish refugees, see Doc. 242, fn. 2. In the case mentioned here, the refugees were housed in rented hotels.

²⁴ Huguette Wahl.

²⁵ Hélène Salmon.

proof of how necessary the establishment of this centre was. For example, in the month of August the dispensary saw 631 new individuals sign up for consultations, including 291 children, and the total number of consultations was 1,723.

The paediatric service is run by a physician from the OSE who follows the children closely. Home visits are also organized. A dental service and a bandaging and prosthetics service are also in operation.

C. Rhône

Our OSE committee in Lyons is currently being set up. We already have two social welfare workers²⁶ who spent the summer months identifying the children from the region who are most weakened and in the greatest need in order to send them to the summer camps that we organized. Through this process 66 children from Lyons were sent to the summer camps. In addition, four children have been placed in different homes over the past month.

Our aid work extends to about 500 children, mostly refugees from Algeria and Morocco.

Our assistants have established contact with social aid organizations in Lyons which have already been working in the area for some time and thereby paved the way for possible collaboration, which can only be of benefit to us.

V. Aid for destitute physicians

In the last quarter, the number of destitute physicians in the free zone to whom we are providing aid has risen by 26, bringing the total number up to 189. Unfortunately, we do not have precise information about their numbers in the occupied zone. The number of requests for aid goes up every day, and we are not yet able to follow up on all of them in the manner in which we would like. Fortunately, the Entr'aide Française Israélite²⁷ was willing to help us in this philanthropic task by taking on part of the budget, specifically that of aid to French physicians.

At present, we are making preparations for a physicians' training facility in Bron (near Lyons). This will provide communal living for a group of young, unmarried physicians who will learn to work the land, do some agricultural and forestry work, and attend courses in medical massage, prosthetics, etc. at the University of Lyons, in order to be able to earn their living later in a field that requires medical skills. The home has been set up, and thirty or so candidates have been identified to start there when it opens.

VI. Emigration of children to the United States

In our last quarterly report, we gave details on how we organized the departure of the first convoy of 111 children for the United States, which was only possible and brought about thanks to the complete and very efficient support of the American Quakers and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

After the departure of the first convoy, we were not entirely certain that it would be possible to continue this work. Nevertheless, it was possible to follow it up, thanks as

26 Élisabeth Hirsch, née Böegy (b. 1913), and Myriam Salon (b. 1920).

27 The Entr'aide française israélite (EFI) was responsible for coordinating the charitable work of the Jewish aid organizations CAR, ORT, and OSE.

always to the efforts of the Quakers and the Joint [Distribution committee], and also to the initiative and energy of our American committee. The American government granted us one hundred new visas for children under 16 years of age. The news arrived in Marseilles very suddenly, and we had to work very hard to prepare all the files, get the children together, and complete all the formalities and paperwork. Our Marseilles office worked night and day to get everything ready by the set date. The children were assembled at the Levant Hotel's refugee centre, and we tried very hard to brighten up their stay as best we could by organizing food distribution, games, and walks under the supervision of two of our primary school teachers from Masgelier, and by looking after the children right up to their departure. Finally, on 13 August, the first group of the second convoy, made up of 45 children, left Marseilles and sailed from Lisbon on the 20th. The second group of the second convoy was due to leave on 3 September. The majority of the children came from our homes, but there were also some from Seyre, Beurbeule, and other places.

We had the pleasure of spending several hours with the children on the train that took them to the Spanish border. The children behaved with great dignity and were fully conscious of the complete change of existence that awaited them and of the new life that lay before them. Since then we have had confirmation that they have arrived safely.

Problems that we are facing: The main problem concerning us at present is that of the emigration of children who have slightly exceeded the age limit of 16 and who therefore find themselves unable to emigrate with their younger brothers and sisters. As in most cases, these children have no one else in the world and find themselves in a situation with no way out. It is very important and urgent that we resolve this question so that brothers and sisters are not separated. Steps have been taken in this regard in America, and we eagerly await what we hope will be a favourable outcome.

VII. *Summer camps*

We decided to take advantage of the summer months by organizing convoys of particularly weakened and impoverished children and sending them to our summer camps, set up through our efforts and those of the Jewish Scouts. Obviously nothing is as valuable for these weakened children as a stay in the countryside with good food and under good hygienic conditions, and this is also the best preparation for winter, which will soon be upon us. We therefore devoted all of our attention to resolving this matter.

Our guiding principle in choosing children to send to the summer camps was to look at the parents' social status and the conditions in which the children were living at home. Because of the large number of children from refugee or displaced families living in quite difficult social and sanitary conditions, we were only able to send each group for three or four weeks. In a few exceptional cases, however, we did allow the children to stay in the summer camp for as long as six weeks.

The summer camps were organized either in our children's homes in the Creuse, Haute-Vienne, and Allier départements, where the children were housed together with those who live in the homes, or in the form of youth camps, most notably at Fillele (Pyrénées-Orientales département) and at Mont-Ravard.

The children who came to our homes all benefited from their stay, as indicated by the chart recording weight gain sent to us by all of our directors, which shows an average gain of 1,500 grams.

The largest of the summer camps in terms of the number of children was organized in Montintin. These children, numbering 112 in July and 88 in August, were divided into several groups, and each group was supervised by one of the staff members from the home, who looked after them. Games, walks, and excursions were organized. A great family spirit reigned in the summer camp. Courses were organized for the older ones. All the children indulged in the joy of gardening. On rainy days, there was reading time and opportunities for drawing and decoupage. The children were happy with their stay, and from the point of view of their health, it was very beneficial to them.

Regarding the Scout camps, the biggest was that at Fillols, which brought together 125 campers and was run by a camp leader and a deputy assistant. The house was composed of two rooms where the children slept, as well as a storeroom; the campers also had three tents. We provided them with a medical kit and key medical supplies. The children were supervised by a doctor. Leisure activities were organized, and scouting principles were applied in a very relaxed manner.

To give a clearer idea of the extent of our activity in this area, below are a few figures to support what has been stated above:

Children from the Bouches-du-Rhône département:

July group: 11 children sent to Dieulefit

August group: 20 children sent to the Creuse département

September group (planned): 30 children

Total: 61 children

Children from the Hérault département:

July group: 40 children sent to Fillols

August group: 37 scouts sent to Fillols

September group (planned): 38 children to be sent to Fillols

Total: 115 children

Children from the Haute-Vienne and Dordogne départements:

July group: 112 children sent to Montintin

August group: 88 children sent to Montintin

Total: 200 children

Children from the Rhône département:

July group: 26 children sent to the Scout camp

September group (planned): 50 children

Total: 76 children

Children from the Haut-Garonne département:

8 children sent to Montintin

11 children sent to Broût-Vernet

Total: 19 children

Children from the Puy-le-Dôme département:

4 children sent to the Scout camp

This comes to a total of 495²⁸ children placed in summer camps through our efforts, thanks to generous donations from individuals which allowed us to carry out this important programme.

With this report, we have given an insight into the extremely varied work of the OSE Union in the different areas of its activity. As always, we have been able to implement our programme thanks to the financial support of the American [Jewish] Joint Distribution Committee and financial support from friends of our organization who have helped us with different undertakings, most notably with regard to the summer camps.

In conclusion, we can say that the main problem which will henceforth be our focus is that of guaranteeing a future for our adolescents, on the one hand by trying to find them a trade that will allow them to earn a living, and on the other hand by working to obtain an extension of the age limit for child immigration from the American government.

DOC. 285

On 8 October 1941 the official in charge of Jewish affairs at the German embassy in Paris proposes that Jews held in internment camps in occupied France be deported¹

Letter from SS-Sturmabführer Carltheo Zeitschel² to the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for Belgium and France, for the attention of SS-Obersturmführer Dannecker, dated 8 October 1941 (copy)

When Ambassador *Abetz* last visited the headquarters, I gave him the note that you know about, together with the suggestion that our Jews currently held in concentration camps should be deported to the East as soon as possible, because we do not have enough camps.³

On the basis of this report, Ambassador *Abetz* has raised the matter in person with the Reichsführer SS⁴ and received confirmation that the Jews currently held in concentration camps⁵ in the occupied territory can be deported to the East as soon as sufficient transport capacity becomes available.

28 The correct number is 475.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, V-16. Originally published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 392. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Carltheo Zeitschel (1893–1945), physician; member of the paramilitary unit Freikorps Reinhard, 1918/19; worked as a physician from 1919; joined the NSDAP in 1923 and the SS in 1939; section head in the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, 1935–1937; section head in the Foreign Office, 1937–1943; represented the Foreign Office on the staff of the military commander for France in Paris from 18 June 1940; dismissed from the service of the Reich in Nov. 1943; representative of the Paris office of the Reich housing commissioner, 1943–1945; died as the result of a wound.

3 On 22 August 1941 Zeitschel suggested to Ambassador *Abetz* that Jews living in the occupied zones should be deported to a 'special territory' in the East. At the same time, he urged *Abetz* to ask Reich Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to discuss such an arrangement with Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Reichsführer SS: Mémorial de la Shoah, V-15.

4 Heinrich Himmler.

5 There were no concentration camps in occupied France; the reference here is to detention camps.

I would be most grateful, therefore, if you would keep up the efforts at your end, now that I have successfully secured the Reichsführer's approval in principle, and send off a report every few weeks to Berlin with an urgent request that they deport the Jews from occupied France at the earliest opportunity.

DOC. 286

On 23 October 1941 the Reich Security Main Office forbids the emigration of Jews to third countries¹

Letter (marked 'confidential') from the Reich Security Main Office (IV B 4 b (Rz) 2920/41g (984)), signed p.p. Müller,² to the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for Belgium and France, for the attention of SS-Brigadeführer Thomas, Brussels, dated 23 October 1941 (copy)³

Re: emigration of Jews

The Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police⁴ has ordered that the *emigration* of Jews is to be prevented with immediate effect. (The evacuation operations are not affected by this order.)

I would be grateful if you could inform the relevant internal German authorities in the area of service there of this order.

Only in *very special individual cases*, e.g. if there is a positive benefit for the Reich, can the emigration of individual Jews be permitted, subject to a prior ruling to this effect by the Reich Security Main Office.⁵

DOC. 287

On 24 October 1941 Jewish aid organizations in Marseilles discuss the planned creation of a compulsory organization for Jews¹

Minutes of the meeting of the Central Commission of Jewish Aid and Charity Organizations² in Marseilles, held on 24 October 1941

Present:

Professor *Olmer*, vice president, in the role of president

Chief Rabbi *Hirschler*, secretary general

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVb-7. This document has been translated from German.

2 Heinrich Müller.

3 An additional copy was sent to the office of the representative of the Chief of the Security Police in Paris for information.

4 Heinrich Himmler

5 At the end of the document is the annotation 'Checked for accuracy, Bastgen' and the stamp: 'The representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for Belgium and France'.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, CCXIII-73. This document has been translated from French.

2 The Commission centrale des œuvres juives d'assistance was founded as the umbrella organization of ten Jewish charitable organizations in Oct. 1940. René Hirschler was its secretary general until 1943.

Mr R. Geissmann

Mrs Lubetzki

General Boris

Pierre Dreyfus

For the Social Aid Association:³

For the CAR:

For the French Red Cross:

For the E.F. I.:

For the E. I. F.:

For the Federation:⁴

For the HICEM:

For the ORT Union:

For the OSE Union:

For the Zionist and Pro-Palestinian organizations: Mr Fisher.

The C.D.J.J.⁵ was represented by Mr Samuel, in a consultative role.

The meeting was opened at 9.30 by Professor Olmer,⁶ in the role of president.

Beginning with the agenda, the president had a draft law which would create a Union of Israelites of France (*Appendix no. 1*)⁷ read out.

This draft had been communicated to the Consistory by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs. Because it is of interest to Jewish aid organizations in France, the Consistory had passed on the draft to the Central Commission of Jewish Aid and Charity Organizations. Introducing a review of this proposed legislation, the president gave a speech, a transcript of which can be found in *Appendix no. 2*.⁸

³ Œuvres d'aide sociale israélite.

⁴ The Fédération des sociétés juives de France was founded in 1923 as a merger of 85 organizations of non-French Jews.

⁵ The Conseil directeur de la jeunesse juive was founded in Marseilles in 1941 by Samuel Klein, under the auspices of Chief Rabbi René Hirschler. It coordinated the work of Jewish youth organizations.

⁶ David Olmer (1877–1957), physician; worked at various clinics, 1906–1920; university professor in Marseilles, 1920–1940; pensioned off under the provisions of the Statute on Jews, 1940–1944; chairman of the aid organization Entr'aide française israélite (EFI); again worked as a university professor in Marseilles, 1944–1947.

⁷ Not in the file. On the establishment of a compulsory organization for Jews, see Doc. 295.

⁸ In the interests of Jewish welfare recipients, Olmer called on those present not to jeopardize the existence of the aid organizations. For Olmer, the justifiable protest against the proposed law on the establishment of a compulsory organization for Jews in France had to be secondary to the needs of those Jews: Mémorial de la Shoah, CCXIII-73.

The floor was given to the secretary general, Chief Rabbi *Hirschler*.⁹ He gave a presentation intended to inform the plenary of the thoughts and considerations of the Permanent Delegation, which had already worked on a detailed analysis of this draft law at a meeting on 22 October 1941.

The aim of presenting these considerations was to clarify the debate and to provide a useful and rapid means of reaching a decision. For this reason, the speaker proposed a plan for the debate and set out various points for discussion. The transcript of this speech and the wording of the plan for the debate can be found in *Appendix no. 3*.¹⁰

Different speakers representing the various associations affiliated with the Central Committee took the floor to establish the general approach to this draft legislation.

Mr Oualid¹¹ *reminded everyone of the circumstances under which, in his opinion, this law must have been envisioned by the government. He read out the points for consideration which he wanted the Central Consistory to adopt (see Appendix no. 4)*¹² *so they could be presented to the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs. He presented and commented upon a counter-proposal as a follow-up to the aforementioned points for consideration.*

Mr Pierre Dreyfus¹³ called for a categorical protest against the proposal. Such a law should be reviewed and discussed, and presenting a counter-proposal would instigate such a discussion.

On the other hand, on a purely social and technical level, it would be a good idea to present any suggestions to the Commissariat in the form of a constructive counter-proposal.

Mr Jarblum declared himself in favour of a complete abstention as a protest, and urged those assembled to be inspired by the great principles of Judaism throughout its history.

Mr Albert Levy¹⁴ declared that he supported Mr Jarblum's point of view.

Chief Rabbi Liber reminded everyone of the two very different questions which the draft legislation covered in a single text: the question of religious practice, which was the exclusive responsibility of the Consistory, and the question of charitable and social work, about which it would be reasonable not to give any opinions without having first consulted the Central Committee.

Summarizing the various opinions presented prior to his taking the floor, Chief Rabbi Liber was of the opinion that if negotiations had to be undertaken, and suggestions

9 René Hirschler (1905–1944), rabbi; served as a rabbi in Mulhouse, 1929–1939; chief rabbi of Strasbourg, 1939–1943; secretary general of the Commission centrale des œuvres juives d'assistance, 1940–1943; rabbi for inmates in internment camps, 1942/43; imprisoned on 23 Dec. 1943; deported to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

10 Not in the file.

11 William Oualid (1880–1942), lawyer; university professor in Paris; pensioned off in 1940 under the provisions of the Statute on Jews; chairman of the ORD aid organization, 1940–1942; murdered by the Security Police in La Roche.

12 Not in the file.

13 Pierre Dreyfus (1891–1946), professional soldier; founded the Comité pour la défense des droits des Israélites en Europe centrale et orientale (Comité Dreyfus-Gourevitch) in 1933; member of the Central Consistory; member of the central committee of the Alliance israélite universelle (AIU), 1944–1946; died in a plane crash.

14 Albert Lévy (d. 1952), entrepreneur; administrator of the Grande Synagogue de la Victoire in Paris from 1927; member of the Central Consistory from 1935; co-founder of the Caisse israélite de prêts in 1935; chairman of the Committee for Assistance to Refugees (CAR) from 1936; chairman of the General Union of French Jews (UGIF), 1942; fled to Switzerland in Dec 1942.

and proposals had to be put forward, it would be a good idea to disregard the specialist organization,¹⁵ from which we have nothing to gain, and to directly address the different ministries which would be affected by the dissolution of our aid and charity organizations. It would thus be worthwhile to send a memorandum to these ministries, pointing out what our charity organizations are doing and the risks their dissolution would entail.

In any case, participating in the discussion of the draft legislation by presenting proposals means participating in its preparation; participating in its preparation means losing one's honour and betraying one's interests.

Mr Kissler,¹⁶ on behalf of the E. I. F., concurred with Mr Jarblum's views. He felt that discussions with the Commissioner General were undignified and useless. It had often been said throughout the morning that the meeting was of historic value. We should not respond with subtleties and finer points of detail when we need to be dignified and stand firm.

He said that it was no use trying to negotiate with the Commissariat. At least we would have no cause to blush in front of our children.

Mr Gurvic¹⁷ reminded people of his experience with the Russian situation. In Russia, resistance to communist campaigns against Jewish charity organizations had been attempted for years. Above all else, it is obvious that we need to save our honour. But the very concept of this honour is a matter for debate. Such a concept must include not only the firm decision not to participate in the preparation of such a dishonourable law in any way, but also and equally the need to do everything humanly possible on behalf of the thousands of destitute people for whom we are responsible. This is why it is not enough to say that we must protest and abstain. On the contrary, useful proposals of a strictly technical nature must be made.

Mr Fisher,¹⁸ in turn, focused on an analysis of the draft legislation. He said the aim was not to create a national minority, but a minority 'outside the law'. Any discussion with the Commissioner General would not only be of no consequence, but would also be damaging to us.

Mr Fisher asked the delegates to consider the nature of the tasks that could be required from the members of the union (according to the formulation of Article 1). He asked how we could discuss draft legislation when it precisely sets out the nature of this union. Sharing the opinion of Chief Rabbi Liber, the delegate for the pro-Palestinian charity organizations called for a memorandum to be drawn up, addressed to the government, which would constitute a French Jewish profession of faith.

15 This refers to the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs.

16 André Kissler-Rosenwald, known as Cigogne ('Stork'), was a leading member of the EIF from 1923; he joined the French resistance in 1943.

17 Lazare Gurvic (1890–1960), lawyer; secretary general of OSE Russia, 1917–1923; secretary general of the OSE, 1923–1960, initially based in Berlin, then in Paris from 1933; based in Vichy and Montpellier from 1940; fled to Switzerland in Dec 1942; vice president of OSE Switzerland, 1946–1960.

18 Joseph Fisher, from 1952 Ariel Fisher (1893–1964), Zionist; expelled from Odessa as a Poale Zion activist in 1924; went to Berlin, then to Palestine, and then to Paris in 1925 as the representative of the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael (Jewish National Fund); managing editor of the Zionist newspaper *La Terre retrouvée* from 1928; became a French citizen in 1932; member of the Central Consistory and the UGIF directorate general in Marseilles, 1943; moved to the Italian zone in 1943; moved to Israel permanently in 1950; Israeli ambassador to the Benelux countries, 1952–1957; co-founder of Yad Vashem, the World Holocaust Remembrance Center.

*Mr Millner*¹⁹ expressed his astonishment that Jewish organizations were being consulted on the subject of the draft legislation at all. The attempt to reach some sort of consensus gave rise to all sorts of interesting suppositions.

In any case, one thing was clear: if the law was to be passed, this would not be done on the basis of any counter-proposal from the Israelites, but on the basis of a proposal directly from Wiesbaden.²⁰

Mr Pierre Dreyfus was satisfied to see that the only perspective compatible with our dignity had won consensus.

Professor Olmer summarized the discussion, underlining the three points of view that had emerged by the end of the morning:

- 1) abstention in protest;
- 2) protest followed by a conversation with the Commissariat General, strictly on a social basis;
- 3) protest accompanied by a memorandum submitted to the government.

*Mr Samuel*²¹ considered it impossible to create a diversion by addressing the ministry directly, thereby bypassing the Commissariat General. It would be dangerous and undignified to make a counter-proposal, but equally dangerous to restrict ourselves to mere abstention in protest. In reality, our duty towards the poor and destitute meant that we must do everything possible to avoid the dissolution of our charity organizations.

Mrs Salomon backed Mr P. Dreyfus's proposals.

Mr R. R. Lambert drew a conclusion from recent conversations he had with the Commissioner General.²² It is necessary to protest vigorously against this draft legislation. We will only gain more respect. Imagine the difficulties of the prefects if/when our charity organizations disappeared, and they were left to face a series of social problems for which they would have to find solutions, and they could no longer count on our collaboration.

We will obtain the best results with practical observations to the lower-level authorities. Furthermore, because of the current situation, we will be summoned to the Commissariat General when they require us.

*Mr Glaeser*²³ of the Federation backed Mr Jarblum. Mr Glaeser had taken part in the sixteen-month struggle in Paris against the occupying authorities' Coordination Committee.²⁴

19 Joseph Millner (1887–1963), engineer; emigrated from the Soviet Union to France in 1924; owned a snack bar in Paris; member of the administrative council of the UGIF, 1941/42; head of the health department of the General Secretariat of the Union OSE, 1942/43; worked at the OSE in Geneva, 1943–1945; secretary general of the OSE in France, 1945–1948.

20 The Franco-German Armistice Commission, which was not yet concerned with draft legislation, met in Wiesbaden. Wiesbaden can be seen as a synonym for German attempts to influence France.

21 Correctly: Samuel Klein (1915–1944), rabbi; completed his studies at the rabbinical school in Paris, 1939; military service, 1939/40; junior rabbi for the unoccupied zone, 1940–1944; rabbi in Aix-en-Provence, 1941–1944; head of a resistance group in Lyons from May 1943; imprisoned on 5 July 1944 and executed two days later.

22 See Doc. 298.

23 Leo Glaeser (1897–1944), lawyer; founded the Culture League in Paris, 1922; founded the Comité de la rue Amelot, a merger of Jewish welfare organizations, in Paris, 1940; secretary general of the resistance organization Comité de défense des Juifs in Paris, 1943/44; imprisoned by the Security Police on 28 June 1944 and executed the following day.

The Coordination Committee had adopted a particularly dignified stance. Had not several of its members, who bravely resisted German pressure, been put in prison?

If we now participate in any way whatsoever in the drafting of a dishonourable law, then we may ask ourselves what these efforts of our Parisian co-religionists had been for.

Let this law come into force. The important thing is that it is not of our making. As soon as problems arise with regard to the application of the law, then it will be time to put forward practical suggestions, but then and only then.

The meeting was adjourned by the president at 1 p.m.

The meeting was reconvened at 3 p.m.

Mr Jefroykin²⁵ represented the Federation. He declared that his opinion as a Jewish nationalist was that the proposed legislation did offer a potential basis for discussion.

General Boris²⁶ articulated his point of view by reading a letter he had written to the Consistory, which is to be read in his absence during the meeting in Lyons next Sunday.²⁷

In his view we should protest, but also compromise in order to survive. We must protect our honour, but at the same time demonstrate skill in the interests of the thousands of poor and needy.

The discussion on the question of the general attitude to be adopted regarding the draft was declared closed.

The office presented two proposed motions to be sent to the Central Consistory by the Permanent Delegate of the Central Commission. A third was presented by Chief Rabbi Liber (see these three proposals under numbers 1, 2, and 3 in *Appendix no. 5*).²⁸

After a lengthy discussion, which included all the speakers, the delegates agreed to a fourth proposal. The delegates accepted the motion unanimously, with a view to sending it to the Central Consistory for its meeting on Sunday, 26 October. It can be found in *Appendix no. 6*.²⁹

Given that the Commission did not intend its motion to specify the terms and conditions according to which the negotiations should be undertaken with the Commissariat General, and with the public authorities in general, the discussion on this point, as well as on the content of a constructive proposal, was premature. It was postponed to a future meeting.

24 This refers to the forced collaboration between the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations in Greater Paris and Theodor Dannecker, the Reich Security Main Office's official in charge of Jewish affairs in Paris: see Doc. 272.

25 Jules Jefroykin (b. 1911), lawyer; member of the Federation of Jewish Societies of France from 1926; later its chairman; member of the Armée juive resistance organization, 1941–1944; representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in Marseilles, 1942–1944; president of the Zionist Youth Movement from 1942; fled to Spain in 1944; owned a travel agency from 1945; head of the Zionist periodical *Terre retrouvée*, 1962–1971.

26 André Boris (1878–1946), military officer; general from 1931; reserve officer from August 1940 to April 1942; subsequently pensioned off; member of the Central Consistory, early 1941 to July 1942; active service in the army from Oct. 1944.

27 30 Oct. 1941. This was a Thursday; there is presumably an error in the original.

28 Not in the file.

29 Not in the file.

DOC. 288

***New York Times*: article published on 26 October 1941 on President Roosevelt's response to the shooting of hostages in France¹**

President Flays Hostage Killings. Calls Nazi Acts Those of Men Who Know They Can't Win – Churchill Seconds Him

Special to the New York Times

Washington, Oct. 25 – President Roosevelt denounced in scathing terms today the German executions of 'innocent hostages' in France. He declared that these killings were revolting and that it was impossible to break men's spirit by terrorism.

Mr. Roosevelt's brief but emphatic statement was matched by one from Prime Minister Winston Churchill in London assailing the 'butcheries in France' and associating the British Government fully with the President's condemnation of the German measures.²

Text of Statement

The text of the President's statement follows:³

The practice of executing scores of innocent hostages in reprisal for isolated attacks on Germans in countries temporarily under the Nazi heel revolts a world already inured to suffering and brutality. Civilized peoples long ago adopted the basic principle that no man should be punished for the deed of another.

Unable to apprehend the persons involved in these attacks, the Nazis characteristically slaughter fifty or a hundred innocent persons. Those who would 'collaborate' with Hitler or try to appease him cannot ignore this ghastly warning.

The Nazis might have learned from the last war the impossibility of breaking men's spirit by terrorism. Instead they develop their 'lebensraum' and 'new order' by depths of frightfulness which even they have never approached before. These are the acts of desperate men who know in their hearts that they cannot win. Frightfulness can never bring peace to Europe. It only sows the seeds of hatred which will one day bring fearful retribution.

Coincidentally with the twin denunciation by the President and the Prime Minister, unofficial advices were reported here that Germany was taking an increasingly harsh attitude toward the Vichy Government after having failed to force Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, the Chief of State, to oust General Maxime Weygand as proconsul for Africa.⁴ The Germans, according to these reports, failed in an effort to have General Weygand replaced by General Henri Dentz, commander of the French against the British in Syria.⁵

1 'President Flays Hostage Killings', *New York Times*, 26 Oct. 1941, p. 1.

2 Published in *The Churchill War Papers*, ed. Martin Gilbert, vol. 3, (London: W.W. Norton, 2000), p. 1370.

3 Published in Roosevelt, *Public Papers*, p. 433.

4 On 18 Nov. 1941, the delegate general for the French colonies in North Africa, General Maxime Weygand, was dismissed from his post by the Vichy government under pressure from the German government.

5 On 8 June 1941 Allied troops entered the French mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon. After incurring heavy losses, Vichy troops capitulated on 14 July 1941.

DOC. 289

On 6 November 1941 Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Security Police and the SD, comments on his office's involvement in the bombing of synagogues in Paris¹

Letter (marked 'top secret') from the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, Heydrich (1434/41 gKdoS²), to Army High Command, Quartermaster General Wagner, dated 6 November 1941

Case file: your letter (top secret) of 21 October 1941³

In the following I state my position on the reports about the bomb attacks on seven synagogues⁴ in Paris which were carried out on the night of 2/3 October by Frenchmen with the knowledge of the head of the Paris office of my Einsatzkommando:⁵

All indications are that the bombing of factories of military importance, the acts of sabotage against railway transports, the attacks against members of the German Wehrmacht, and the attempted murder of French politicians who had openly declared their support for German-French collaboration⁶ were all the work of Jewish-communist groups. The German offices in Paris and also the press repeatedly pointed out at the time that Jews and communists were responsible for these bombings and attacks. The current political climate has made it necessary that, in addition to the punishments imposed, the French public and the international public must be shown that there are forces within the French nation that are prepared not only to fight Bolshevism, but also to take direct action against the Jewish presence in Paris. In the course of its work aimed at combating international Jewry, my agency also made contact with French antisemitic groups. The antisemitic group led by *Deloncle*⁷ had already been identified as the most active, while Deloncle himself – whatever reservations one might otherwise have about his inscrutable political sympathies – was the man who could be guaranteed to conduct an all-out battle against Jewry. Of his own accord Deloncle declared himself ready to carry out reprisals against the Jews for their role in inciting and instigating all these attacks. *His proposals were accepted by me only after* it had been unequivocally stated at

1 IfZ-Archives, MA 280, fols. 5230–5233. Originally published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 393–394. This document has been translated from German.

2 *Geheime Kommandosache*, 'top secret'.

3 Quartermaster General Eduard Wagner had written to Heydrich on 21 Oct. 1941 criticizing the involvement of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in the Paris bomb attacks and requesting the dismissal of the head of the RSHA office for Belgium and France, Max Thomas, along with his representative in Paris, Helmut Knochen: IfZ-Archives, MA 280, fol. 5208; see also Introduction, p. 72.

4 These were located in rue des Tournelles, rue Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth, rue de la Victoire, rue Saint-Isaure, rue Copernic, rue Pavée, and avenue Montespan.

5 The head of the Paris office, Helmut Knochen, had supplied French right-wing extremists with the explosives used in the attacks.

6 See Doc. 278.

7 Eugène Deloncle (1890–1944), engineer; in 1935 founded the underground right-wing extremist organization Cagoule, which carried out a series of attacks between 1935 and 1938; in 1940 began working with collaborationist groups associated with the right-wing extremist Marcel Déat; murdered at the instigation of the RSHA because of his collaboration with the Abwehr, the military intelligence agency that reported directly to Wehrmacht High Command and was run by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris.

the highest level that Jewry was responsible for lighting this fire in Europe, and as such must be removed from Europe once and for all.

The overnight attacks on seven Paris synagogues sent a message to France and to others that the Jews can no longer feel secure in their former European stronghold. That was understood by all sections of French society. There could never be any doubt that these measures were directed exclusively against the Jews, and not against the German Wehrmacht, which will never guard or protect Jewish synagogues. So far there has been no talk among the French population that German authorities knew about the attack.

Because of the special nature of the measures to be carried out, the head of my Paris office did not inform the Military Commander,⁸ as past experience of working together with the Military Commander has shown that a proper appreciation of the need to carry out these measures in our struggle against ideological enemies was hardly likely to be forthcoming. For this reason and because of the special circumstances of the order, he [the head] also later reported on what public opinion was actually like. I was fully aware of the political consequences of the measures taken, especially as I have been charged for some years with the task of preparing the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe. I also bear the responsibility for this. According to reports that I have seen, the injuries to members of the German armed forces resulting from the bomb attack have fortunately proved to be not serious.⁹

As for the continuing deployment of my previous representative for Belgium and France, I can inform you that SS-Brigadeführer Dr *Thomas* was given a new assignment by me on 20 September 1941 relating to the operations of the Security Police in the East, which would not have permitted him to continue his work in France anyway. For internal reasons, SS-Obersturmführer *Sommer* has been recalled by me to Berlin. The head of the Paris office, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr *Knochen*, acted in accordance with the orders he received. His work in France has not hitherto given cause for complaint, and I therefore intend to leave him in post as head of the Einsatzkommando for France at the Paris office.

In light of the above account, I believe I can assume that the Army High Command and I concur on this matter.¹⁰

⁸ Otto von Stülpnagel.

⁹ As well as a number of civilians, two German servicemen had been injured in the attacks.

¹⁰ The attacks provoked conflict between the Army High Command and the RSHA in Berlin over German occupation policy in France and ultimately led to the appointment of a Higher SS and Police Leader in France, and thereby to the restructuring of the German occupation on the ground. See Introduction, pp. 72–73.

DOC. 290

On 11 November 1941 a married couple describe their escape from Paris across the demarcation line into the unoccupied zone¹

Letter from Otto and Hilde, currently living in Mussidan, to Anna Barbasz,² Lisbon, poste restante, address altered to read 'Hotel Sherrea, Barcelona', dated 11 November 1941 (copy)

My dears,

So we left Paris early on the 7th – we had intimated our decision to you as clearly as we could, but evidently not clearly enough for you to understand – and with the aid of an expensive guide we crossed the demarcation line and arrived here safely after all kinds of trials and tribulations. In the few days since we have been here, we are already feeling much restored. Our treatment by the authorities, to whom the guide immediately handed us over as agreed, has been really very decent, we could almost say friendly. We have told them that we'd like to go to Avignon, so as not to be too far from Marseilles, where we expect to be visiting the American consulate quite often, and we've been given to understand that this request will most likely be granted. Our only remaining worry was you, until we heard yesterday evening from the Schreyers, who left Paris yesterday morning and have received another postcard from their relatives, that you were finally able to continue your journey and will be boarding a ship in Lisbon. We can't tell you how happy we've been since then, and so we are writing immediately to Lisbon, poste restante, in the hope of catching you before you leave Europe, so that you know what is happening with us and can set your minds at rest. We have enough money with us to get by for about six months, and it has been agreed with my business partner, who of course has come into a *splendid* inheritance from me,³ that he will transfer 5,000 francs to us every month. And our friend Françoise, who has taken over our apartment, has been instructed to sell various things from the apartment as soon as we should write to her in need of money. It was actually very easy to leave behind our apartment and everything else in Paris as life there was really already unbearable. The enforced rest that lies ahead is something we both badly need. As soon as we have an address where post will reach us, we'll write to Stella by air mail, so when you arrive in America you can expect to find further news from us waiting for you there. I am asking C.⁴ Mama to speak to Rudolf Kolisch in New York without delay, and to tell him that it was his message sent via the Red Cross that prompted our quick decision to travel to the unoccupied zone, and that I ask him to initiate the necessary steps for our entry into the country as quickly as at all possible. If America enters the war, we will not only presumably be stuck here, but also be in danger of falling into the hands of our persecutors again. So I ask him at the same time to apply for a *transit visa for Mexico* on our behalf. When you get this letter, do write us a few lines to Ferrer, and let us know how you are, after the excitement of Biarritz and the onward journey to Lisbon. We were very pleased to hear that you received our package. We left Else in a fairly desperate state, but she has promised to

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVb-6. This document has been translated from German.

2 Anna Barbasz (1884–1974) was able to later emigrate to the USA.

3 An ironic reference to the forced transfer of Jewish-owned businesses into non-Jewish hands.

4 Probably 'Chère' ('dear').

follow us as soon as Lisa – who has made up her mind to go to her mother – has left Paris; we left her money and instructions, and invited her to come and stay with us, wherever we happen to be at the time, while she is waiting to depart for the USA. Helen has gone to wash her hair, which is why it is me writing to you. She's already looking a lot better. You can't imagine how much work she had to do before we left, and how brilliantly she sorted everything out. I hope you have a good, smooth crossing, and are sending you all our love.

Yours, Otto

DOC. 291

On 13 November 1941 Fanny Lantz relates the sympathy of friends and relatives to her husband, who is interned in Drancy¹

Handwritten postcard from Fanny Lantz, 74 boulevard Richard Lenoir, Paris, to Robert Lantz,² block 4, staircase 15, room 10, Drancy camp, dated 13 November 1941

My dear Robert,

I received your letter of the 8th this morning. I immediately got out the medical certificates and prescriptions showing that you have always been treated for your digestive tract, the press clippings recounting your accident of 9 Jan. 1937, and I sent them all to you by registered post. Tomorrow I will send you, as well as the soap and the lactobyl,³ the certificate from Dr Lamy, Miss Dechainy's doctor, and the one from L. Frankel regarding your burns. Those who are concerned have now been updated about your state of health by Dr Lamy. Since my last postcard⁴ I saw, in succession, Haguenauer, Yvonne's cousin; Grumbach, very sick; the father of Mr Henry's little pupil; your school friend, etc. It is obviously hard for us to see so many people released, just as it must be difficult for you to see your fellow inmates leaving while you yourself remain, but your turn will certainly come. Let us continue to have patience and hope. I am happy that your care package no. 1 arrived intact, except for the coffee essence. I will send another one tomorrow. It will perhaps be less to your taste, because I may not be able to find everything you want as I lack the time. I will try to do better for the 3rd, if you have not returned by the 3rd. Everyone contributed to the packages with great affection. Eva Berthier provided the eggs, the butter, the Viandox stock cubes; A. Bozzacchi the biscottes;⁵ Myrtil, my Aunt Andrée, gave me coupons; your namesake Edmond Lantz from the rue Cl.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, DCCCXCI-1. This document has been translated from French.

2 Robert Lantz was the deputy manager of a chemical laboratory in Paris. He was forced to retire at the end of May 1941 under the provisions of the Military Commander's Regulation on Measures Against Jews: see Doc. 266. Lantz was arrested during a roundup in Paris on 20 Aug. 1941 and transferred to Drancy. The General Union of French Jews (UGIF) secured his release on 21 Aug. 1942.

3 Pills for chronic constipation and enteritis.

4 On 13 Oct. 1941 Fanny Lantz wrote to her husband that she would receive her pension payments in cash for only a few months after retiring from her work as a teacher. After that, they would be transferred to a blocked account: Mémorial de la Shoah, DCCCXCI-1.

5 A type of toasted bread.

Bonnet, whom I met at the census⁶ by extraordinary coincidence, gave the chocolate and the poor-quality apple jelly. Thank them by name in your next postcard,⁷ if you are unfortunate enough to be in the camp long enough to write another postcard. Mrs Edmond Lantz, who had asked me to come round, also gave me some genealogical information on your family, who lived in Freningen (Upper Rhine) before 1790 – one Jacques Lantz, brother of Lazare L., born in 1790 and the husband of one Eve Bernheim, etc. Very nice. Affectionate telephone calls from Wahl, Marianne, Zemmél, regular visits from Valoon between two stays in Nantes, etc. Saw Th., very pleasant, on 31 October. He spontaneously announced that he would tell the people at the I. G.⁸ how very indispensable you were to him for the technical studies. We did not talk about finances. Learned of the death of Andrea's cousin, who died of cancer in Nîmes, and that of our friend from the rue du Rocher, who must have passed away in the hospital from cerebral anaemia. I went to her funeral on the 11th. I have not yet been to see her husband. Jacques and Lucienne are now living with Odette. From Saint D., Argand and Martin send you warm greetings. I asked the accountant to make a transfer slightly larger than the maximum authorized withdrawal each month. I have withdrawn the usual amount for November. I am pleased that I now know lots of details about your life there, even if they are not all joyful. Is your sleeping bag warm enough? Have they lent you any new books? Here the entire family and our friends are well. Etienne's parents-in-law are still doing well, the others too. The children are working as normal. Finding food provisions is beginning to be difficult again. No fresh fruit, no dried fruit, barely any vegetables, etc., and that is why my care packages might be a bit sparse. I have not seen Etienne much lately, but rather more of Yvette. Marcel Ambrion comes regularly to study German with me. I'm not making much progress with my lessons. Lots of love. F.

I received the October pension in St. D. as normal.

Dear Papa, I was very happy to receive news from you more often. I really hope that you will be released soon. I've gone back to school now and I'm beginning to have quite a bit of work. I am also helping Pierrot a bit, as he is not doing very well in English at the moment. At my school I saw the step-daughter of the former headmaster of your school, who is back in Troyes.

All my love,
Dédée

⁶ This refers to the registration of Jews: see Doc. 271.

⁷ In his reply dated 15 Nov. 1941, Robert Lantz asked his wife to send him more medical certificates. See Antoine Sabbagh (ed.), *Lettres de Drancy* (Paris: Tallandier, 2002), pp. 68–69.

⁸ The laboratory managed by Robert Lantz was part of the French chemical company Kuhlmann, which worked with the German conglomerate IG Farbenindustrie AG in Frankfurt.

DOC. 292

On 15 November 1941 Chaim Rachow asks the Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations for agricultural work in order to be able to feed his wife and children¹

Letter from Chaim Rachow,² Le Rosoir farm, Vannes-sur-Cosson (Loiret département), to the Coordination Committee of Jewish Information,³ 29 rue de la Bienfaisance, Paris, dated 15 November 1941

Dear Sirs,

In the most recent editions of your newspaper⁴ I read that you are registering men for agricultural work.

I have been in Beaune-la-Rolande camp for six months already and for the last four months I have been working on a farm in the Sologne region. Eighty of us men here have been deployed from Beaune camp. Would it perhaps be possible to employ me to carry out this agricultural work? I would be delighted to do this.

I am thirty-five years old and in good health. I have had to leave my wife in Paris with two young children, aged nine and five.⁵ By profession I am a bespoke tailor and I have not been able to leave much for my wife and children to live on. And as you know, I have been in the camp for six months already, and my wife receives a daily allowance of only seventeen francs from the municipality. With that she has to feed my children and from time to time send me a few francs so I can buy postage stamps and cigarettes, which we receive every month. May I draw your attention to the fact that we do not receive a salary for our work?

Dear committee members, if you are unable to do anything for me, please remember that my wife and children are going hungry at home. And she has no one to turn to for help of any kind. When I was at home, I earned enough to feed my wife and children. I hope you understand my situation and will do everything possible for me, my wife, and my two children.

Yours faithfully

1 YVA, 09/07. This document has been translated from French.

2 Chaim Rachow (b. 1905) was deported to Auschwitz from Pithiviers camp on 17 July 1942. His subsequent fate is unknown.

3 Correctly: Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations in Greater Paris (Comité de coordination des oeuvres de bienfaisance du Grand-Paris). The committee was founded in Paris on 31 Jan. 1941 on the orders of Theodor Dannecker, the Reich Security Main Office's official in charge of Jewish affairs. See Doc. 272.

4 *Informations juives*.

5 Rywka Rachow (b. 1899) was deported to Auschwitz from Pithiviers camp on 7 August 1942; her son Isac Rachow (b. 1936) was deported to Auschwitz from Drancy camp on 31 July 1944. Their subsequent fate is unknown.

DOC. 293

On 17 November 1941 the Association of French Artists asks that its members submit a declaration of descent¹

Notice (marked 'urgent') from the Association of Authors, Composers, and Publishers of Music,² 10 rue Chaptal, Paris, dated 17 November 1941

Dear Sir and Honoured Member,

Our association has just received from the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs, 1 place des Petits-Pères, Paris, formal instructions to the effect that we may no longer pay any sum of money to members, account beneficiaries, or representatives of heirs of rights holders of deceased members unless the holder or beneficiary of the account has explicitly certified himself to be an Aryan, in accordance with the conditions set forth in the Statute on Jews of 2 June 1941,³ published in the *Journal officiel* of 14 June.

In these circumstances, the Board of Directors of our association is obliged to ask each of our members or rights holders to provide evidence of whether they are Aryan or Jewish:

1. by producing an official identity card (issued by the Paris Police Prefecture or a prefecture of a département) *issued after 20 October 1940*
2. by signing a declaration under oath.

You will find attached to this circular a declaration form which is to be signed by all our members who under the terms of the law of 2 June 1941 are not Jewish.⁴

The Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs has told us to inform our members that the signatory bears full and sole responsibility for this declaration and that any false statement may lead to internment in a concentration camp.

In accordance with the instructions from the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs, our members or rights holders who are classified as Jews under the terms of the law of 2 June 1941 must expressly make us aware of this fact and at the same time indicate whether they have a frozen account with a bank, a stockbroker, a savings bank, or the Post Office, as our association will have to pay their royalties into their nominated account. If they do not have an account, their royalties will be frozen temporarily by the association and then paid into the Caisse des dépôts et consignations.⁵

We urge all our members to return to us either the attached declaration, duly completed and signed, or the information requested as soon as possible and in all cases by 25 December at the latest and to obtain their identity card, issued after *20 October 1940*, prior to the next payment of royalties in January 1942. Members must present this official identity card in order to receive their royalties, as our association will not be able to pay

1 Original not found. Published in Yannick Simon, *La SACEM et les droits des auteurs et compositeurs juifs sous l'occupation* (Paris: Documentation française, 2000), p. 161. This document has been translated from French.

2 The Société des auteurs, compositeurs et éditeurs de musique (SACEM) was founded in 1850 as the collective management organization for artists' rights.

3 See Doc. 270.

4 Not published here.

5 The CDC, a state financial institution founded in 1816, was responsible for the centralized administration of funds paid into blocked accounts. It managed Jews' assets which had been placed under administration or were already Aryanized.

any members or rights holders who have not provided the said declaration and have not produced their identity card.

Yours faithfully,
The Board of Directors

PS – No sum may be sent by money order or cheque unless the persons concerned have first submitted the following to our office:

1. the declaration of Aryan status signed under oath.
2. their official identity card issued by the prefecture of their place of residence after 20 October 1940, which will be returned to them immediately, or a duplicate of this identity card certified by the police authority that issued it.

DOC. 294

On 19 November 1941 Gabriel Ramet writes to his parents from Drancy camp¹

Postcard from Gabriel Ramet, Drancy internment camp, to his parents in Paris, 128 rue Saint-Maur, dated 19 November 1941

Dear parents,

I received your second parcel and your card with great joy, especially on learning that Papa is in good health. I was supposed to leave for home last week and had packed all my things. I had already handed in my plate and all my equipment when, two hours before departure, an order was given and the departure was suspended until further notice. Talk about bad luck! Anyway, I haven't unpacked my things and I'm waiting impatiently for the moment when the gate will open again. I'm sleeping in the infirmary as my legs and face are swollen due to tiredness and vitamin deficiency; in addition, I have swollen glands in my armpits. As a result, I'm registered on at least eight lists for leaving, and I've appeared before the German commission.² I'm confident, but my morale is very low as I should have already been home since last Thursday,³ and they are always telling us it will be tomorrow, and that is fraying my nerves and making me ill. In your next parcel, send me two kilos of bread and a variety of little things, as there is a real shortage of bread, and send it as soon as possible because if I am to leave, I want to be able to enjoy my parcel. I see that everything is going very well at home, that's good; and it's even better that my friends still come round to the house. By the way, the piece of meat was not bad at all with the gherkins. I had a real feast, and what a delight the Yiddish bread was with butter, I was really happy. Reply quickly. Don't send me the winter parcel yet, wait till the end of the month, though I hope to be home in the next few days, but I'm so disheartened I don't believe it any more. Anyway, one has to have courage and take things one day at a time. I'm waiting impatiently for the third parcel as I've run out of bread. Anyway, I'm sending you all my love, greetings to all friends, and see you soon.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, DCCCXCI-3. This document has been translated from French.

2 Even though the internment camps in the occupied zone were administered by the French, representatives of the occupying forces decided who was to be released from the camps.

3 13 Nov. 1941.

DOC. 295

On 29 November 1941 the Vichy government decrees a compulsory merger of Jewish organizations¹

Law on the Establishment of a General Union of French Jews, 29 November 1941

We, Marshal of France, Head of the French State,
in consultation with the Council of Ministers, decree the following:

Article 1. – A General Union of French Jews under the authority of the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs shall be established. The purpose of this union is to guarantee Jewish representation before the public authorities, particularly with respect to matters regarding aid, forward planning, and social reintegration. It shall carry out tasks in these areas as assigned to it by the government.

The Union of French Jews is an autonomous public body with the status of a legal person. It will be represented in law and in civil matters by its president, who has the right to delegate all or part of his powers to any representative of his choice.

Article 2. – All Jews domiciled or resident in France will have a compulsory affiliation to the Union of French Jews.

All existing Jewish associations are dissolved, with the exception of Israelite cultural associations which have been legally constituted.

The assets of any dissolved Jewish associations shall be transferred to the General Union of French Jews.

The conditions for the transfer of these assets will be stipulated by decree, on the basis of a report from the Minister of the Interior.

Article 3. – The revenue of the General Union of French Jews shall be constituted:

1. By sums that the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs deducts for the benefit of the union from the Jewish solidarity fund instituted under Article 22 of the Law of 22 July 1941;²
2. By the revenue generated from the assets of dissolved Jewish associations;
3. By membership fees paid by the Jews, the amount of which will be set by the union's administrative council, depending on the financial situation of those liable and according to a scale approved by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs.

Article 4. – The General Union of French Jews will be administered by an administrative council of eighteen members chosen from among Jews of French nationality domiciled or resident in France and nominated by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs.

Article 5. – The administrative council is under the authority of the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs. Its members are responsible to him in terms of their

¹ *Journal officiel*, 2 Dec. 1941, p. 2596. This document has been translated from French.

² See Doc. 273.

management of the union. The deliberations of the administrative council can be nullified by a decree of the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs.

Article 6. – The membership fees set by the administrative council of the General Union of French Jews are covered by the writ of execution as per Article 2 of the Regulation of 30 October 1935.³

Article 7. – As long as the communication difficulties resulting from the occupation continue, the administrative council can be divided, if necessary, into two sections, the headquarters of which will be determined by the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs. Each section will be made up of nine members, one presided over by the president, and the other by the vice president.

Article 8. – This decree will be published in the *Journal officiel* and applied as state law.

Adopted at Vichy, 29 November 1941.

Ph. Petain,

Marshal of France, Head of the French State.

Admiral of the Fleet, Vice President of the Council,

Admiral Darlan;

Minister of Justice,

Joseph Barthélemy;

Minister of the Interior,

Pierre Pucheu;

Minister of Finance,

Yves Bouthillier.

DOC. 296

In November 1941 an anonymous writer complains to Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat about Jewish influence in France¹

Handwritten letter, unsigned, to the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, Xavier Vallat, received on 14 November 1941

Dear Commissioner for Jewish Affairs,

All efforts to restore order to the house of France will be in vain unless you finally take real and effective measures against the Jews who have remained at the head of major French industrial companies and who, unfortunately with the support of certain boards of directors, continue to run them.

Although these Jews *appear* to have been relieved of their management roles, they still continue to exercise their authority as before by coming regularly to their offices and *make use of the connections provided by the companies* in order to keep themselves informed about everything that happens and is said and done in government and administrative circles, so they can then fight stealthily against the authorities. An implacable hatred animates these Jews, and they thirst for revenge.

³ Regulation on the Question of Expropriation (30 Oct. 1935), *Journal officiel*, 31 Oct. 1935, p. 11521.

¹ AN, AJ38, vol. 67. This document has been translated from French.

If you have the companies in question investigated, *you will find confirmation of the soundness of this information.*

Thank you on behalf of our poor and unfortunate country.

DOC. 297

At the end of November 1941 an anonymous letter to Head of State Marshal Pétain denounces discrimination against Jews on the basis of France's race laws¹

Letter, unsigned, to Marshal Pétain, Head of State, undated²

Honourable Marshal,

The 'national and Christian duty' revealed to us in the communiqué of 19 November³ is bound to translate into an increase in suffering for a whole category of humans whose birth pursues them like a curse.

This is how, in the past, those who worshipped God with ceremonies different from our own were [hanged, drawn and] quartered in the name of Christ, of the God of loving kindness.

Invited to 'improve on' the Statute on Jews,⁴ in other words to refine the forms of persecution practised against them, we should bring to this exercise, we are told, the best of our patriotism and Christian faith.

National duty? There are, of course, more profitable and heroic duties. But it is certainly not a Christian duty!

Neither their religion nor their race (which is nothing but a myth) predisposes Jews to any kind of occupational exclusivity. Neither their religion nor their race has instilled in them an aversion to work the land. On the contrary. Israel was originally a people of farmers and shepherds.

It was principally restrictive laws that prohibited them from owning land for centuries and drove them from the countryside.

Then, pursued by murderous slogans, periodically persecuted and defenceless, Jews were for the most part reduced to living like nomads, always ready to pack their bags.

The miracles performed by them over the last fifty years in Palestine are irrefutable proof that their instinct for agriculture was repressed only by these centuries of persecution.

To say that the Jews in general have only 'intermediary occupations', that they believe it honourable to deceive their fellow man, and that, consequently, it is impossible to find honest business partners and workers among them, is to go further than the most systematic antisemites have ever gone before.

1 AN, AJ38, vol. 67. This document has been translated from French.

2 Receipt stamp of the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs, dated 28 Nov. 1941. Submitted to the registry with the handwritten note: 'I have already received it. File under Psychology.' Receipt stamp of the registry, dated 4 Dec. 1941.

3 Correctly: 17 November. Published in Philippe Pétain, *Discours aux Français 17 juin 1940–20 août 1944*, ed. Jean-Claude Barbas (Paris: Albin Michel, 1989), pp. 205–207.

4 See Doc. 270.

To thus heap such terrible discredit on millions of human beings only because they are of Jewish faith, only because they have given the world a morality and a God, only because they were the first to rescue mankind from the mire of paganism, and because without them Christianity would not exist ...

... He came to reveal to the Hebrew children the everlasting light of his holy commandments ...⁵

To turn them all into destitute pariahs, indiscriminately and without further examination, is to commit an injustice which is made all the more inhuman in that the Jews can no longer defend themselves because all means of expression have been denied to them. This is to deliberately condemn them to death through deprivation and famine.

Who doesn't know that, where the Jewish population is most concentrated, the vast majority are artisans and small shopkeepers?

Far from monopolizing all power, all the wealth of the earth, the vast majority of Jews, as in Poland or Russia for example, are pitifully poor and destitute.

DOC. 298

In diary entries written between 30 November and 11 December 1941, Raymond-Raoul Lambert describes his encounters with Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat¹

Diary of Raymond-Raoul Lambert, entries for 30 November to 11 December 1941

30 November 1941

I met with Xavier Vallat on two more occasions in Vichy. I was sorry to note that he has confidence in me and consults me as the welfare worker best informed about Jewish aid organizations and as the least suspect from a French point of view. He is under a great deal of pressure from the occupying authorities and in fact agrees simply to act as in an executive role for them. The *Union of Jews* will be established with, without, or against us.² I am the only one who could be its secretary general. A demanding and very serious task. Thinking of the future, I shall consult only my conscience before accepting.

On top of this, the Jewish charities, the activists, the philanthropists, and those whom I call 'Jewish princes' are agitated, critical, and envious of me ... Mr Helbronner³ – who was in hiding before the Statute⁴ was issued, when it would have been the time to be courageous – asked me some indiscreet questions when I was in Lyons ... But I am

⁵ Jean Racine, *Athalie*, Act I, scene iv.

¹ Mémorial de la Shoah, CMXC VIII 998–2 Journal de Lambert. Published in Lambert, *Carnet d'un témoin*, pp. 133–137. This document has been translated from French.

² See Doc. 287.

³ Jacques Helbronner (1873–1943), lawyer; member of the Council of State, 1899–1940; removed from office under the provisions of the Statute on Jews; president of the Central Consistory, 1940–1943; arrested on 23 Oct. 1943; deported on 20 Nov. 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

⁴ See Doc. 270.

going ahead, with a clean conscience and clear determination to remain an excellent Jew and an excellent Frenchman. I am rereading Maurice Barrès and Henri Franck.⁵

Xavier Vallat phoned me this morning. The historic decree⁶ will be published on Tuesday.⁷ He wants to see me again, alone, on Friday. Another journey that is becoming habitual. Should I be pleased or complain?

My travels in recent weeks have given me the opportunity to read plenty of books. A dose of invigoration and beautiful writing: *L'ennemi des lois*⁸ and *Colette Baudoche*.⁹ Two works by Giraudoux, which I found disappointing. How superficial! Outrageous sentimentality: *La guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu*¹⁰ and *Les aventures de Jérôme Bardini*.¹¹ Some books on current affairs: *L'état-major s'en va en guerre* by Georges Bonnamy¹² (excellent – Dorgelès¹³ 1941) and *Les causes militaires de la défaite* by Colonel Alerme¹⁴ (the best defence of Blum and Paul Reynaud); finally, Daniel Halévy's *Trois épreuves 1814, 1871, 1940*¹⁵ (or the art of adapting history to the Marshal's taste). To pass the time, a whole series of Simenon stories, which I find amusing and never tire of: *Cour d'assises*, *L'homme qui regardait passer les trains*, *Ceux de la soif*, *Les sept minutes*, *Le coup de vague*, *M. la Souris*, and *Malempin*.¹⁶

Nîmes, 2 December 1941

At the Hotel Imperator – in this quiet town where I once reflected on the consequences of our disaster, at a time when I did not foresee the trials I would face, when an officer's uniform still distanced me from ordinary concerns ... I came to attend the interdenominational Conference of Charitable Organizations Providing Relief Work in the Camps, chaired by Donald Lowrie of the YMCA,¹⁷ a distinguished American, very much the 'welfare worker'. I leave for Marseilles early tomorrow morning, where I have to consult

5 Maurice Barrès (1862–1923), far-right French writer; Henri Franck (1888–1912), French poet.

6 See Doc. 295.

7 2 Dec. 1941.

8 Maurice Barrès, *L'Ennemi des lois* [The Enemy of Law] (Paris: Librairie Académique Didier, 1893).

9 Maurice Barrès, *Colette Baudoche: Histoire d'une jeune fille de Metz* (Paris: Félix Juven, 1909). Published in English as *Colette Baudoche: The Story of a Young Girl of Metz*, trans. Frances Wilson Huard (San Bernardino, CA: Ulan Press, 2012).

10 Jean Giraudoux, *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu* (Paris, 1935). Published in English as *Tiger at the Gates: A Play in Two Acts*, trans. Christopher Fry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

11 Jean Giraudoux, *Les Aventures de Jérôme Bardini* [The Adventures of Jérôme Bardini] (Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1930).

12 Correctly: Georges Bonnamy, *L'État-major s'en va-t-en guerre* [The Military Staff Goes off to War] (Paris: René Debresse, 1941).

13 Roland Dorgelès (1885–1973), French journalist and author.

14 Michel Alerme, *Les Causes militaires de notre défaite* [The Military Causes of our Defeat] (Paris: Centre d'études de l'agence 'Inter-France', 1941).

15 Daniel Halévy, *Trois épreuves 1814, 1871, 1940* [Three Tests: 1814, 1871, 1940] (Paris: Plon, 1941).

16 Georges Simenon, *Cour d'assises* [Justice] (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1941); *L'Homme qui regardait passer les trains* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1938), published in English as *The Man Who Watched the Trains Go By*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2016); *Ceux de la soif* [They Who Thirst] (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1938); *Les Sept Minutes* [The Seven Minutes] (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1938); *Le Coup de vague* [The Breaking Wave] (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1939); *Monsieur la souris* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1938); *Malempin* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1940).

17 The Young Men's Christian Association, an international youth organization, was founded in the UK in 1844 to teach young men a Christian way of life.

with my other colleagues – future victims of Vallat, leaders of French Jewry ‘appointed by decree’.

Xavier Vallat in fact phoned me at home on Sunday. The decree creating a *Union of French Jews*, a racial grouping distinct from the Consistory, is due to be published today. I know the names of the nine members of the council for the free zone, including myself. I have managed to make sure that the names do not yet appear in the *Journal officiel*,¹⁸ and I shall be seeing Vallat again on Friday in Vichy. It’s a good selection because they are the best-qualified directors of the aid organizations. But the decree is terrible. It was accompanied on the radio by comments intended to humiliate us. Can we agree to carry out the orders of the powers that be? Can we refuse in light of all the personal consequences? It’s a matter of conscience. Whatever the outcome of the war, the task of secretary general, which they all ascribe to me already, will be a heavy burden, very heavy ... I shall answer the call according to my conscience. But I think we cannot agree to represent the Jews of France in anything other than social and philanthropic matters, we ourselves cannot tax our co-religionists, we cannot make use of funds seized from our own people, and in any case our purely technical work must not mean that we accept the principle of the exclusionary laws.

The Marshal met with Göring yesterday.¹⁹ The decree in question most probably had to be published, or at least announced, before his departure. Every day I recognize more clearly that where the Jewish question in France is concerned, Berlin calls the shots.

On the train, I reread Maurice Barrès’s *Diverses Familles spirituelles*.²⁰ It is a very fine work and particularly moving for me at present. I remain convinced that, in the occupied zone, it is no longer possible to speak of French willpower. Hold firm and endure remains my motto and rule of conduct.

Lyons, 11 December 1941

Written on the train between Orange and Valence on 11 December. Copied in a modest room at the Hotel de Russie, reserved for one night by my former deputy on the National Committee, Bernard Schoenberg, rabbi of Lyons. I’m travelling back to Vichy, which I left last Monday accompanied by Simone, who wanted to make the acquaintance of our provisional capital city before the birth of our fourth child, expected around 12 February.²¹ I am now a prominent figure in the French Jewish community, discussed and attacked by some, flattered and encouraged by others. But I am doing something; that is the main thing. Action strengthens me, allows me to develop, it excites me, and I have to shoulder some heavy responsibilities. I need to record the details of the comedy for myself, and for posterity, as in the days when I wrote down the vicissitudes of my life

18 On 9 Jan. 1942 the names of the members of the administrative council of the General Union of French Jews (UGIF) were published in the *Journal officiel*: André Baur, Georges Edinger, Alfred Morali, Fernand Musnik, Lucienne Scheid-Haas, Juliette Stern, Marcel Stora, Albert Weill, and Benjamin Weill-Hallé.

19 At the meeting in Saint-Florentin on 1 Dec. 1941 Pétain offered Göring closer cooperation with the German Reich and requested in return that the French government’s responsibilities be extended, a large number of French prisoners of war released, and the costs of the occupation lowered.

20 Maurice Barrès, *Les Diverses Familles spirituelles de la France* [The Diverse Spiritual Families of France] (Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1917).

21 Marie Lambert was born on 27 Jan. 1942.

before I left Bonn for the Quai d'Orsay.²² Knowing what you want, wanting it clearly, that's what it's all about.

Before I left for Vichy last week, I suddenly realized how much I was envied for my courage and for the esteem in which I am held by today's leaders. A Central Committee for Charitable Organizations²³ was set up a year ago under the leadership of the Chief Rabbi,²⁴ with its secretary general the chief rabbi of Strasbourg, my friend René Hirschler; but the authorities did not recognize this organization, which was a mere talking shop with nothing but aspirations and did not achieve anything. So it was me, for personal reasons and because of my experience (I've been a familiar face in the various ministries for the last ten years), that Vallat called on to be the unofficial liaison or technical expert. From there, it's only a small step to saying that I'm Vallat's man. Malicious tongues have been set wagging. Last Thursday²⁵ my train was leaving Vichy at 11.30 a.m. At 10 o'clock a small Jewish parliament was held at the Central Committee. I was asked not to go to Vichy. I did not accept this order, having firmly promised Vallat that I would go by myself to the meeting he had called. I was called a dictator – and it was Pierre Dreyfus, son of the colonel,²⁶ who insulted me in this way. I could not hold back some incautious words and left all the same. They reproached me bitterly for going by myself as I was inadvertently committing everyone else as well, which was not true. The outcome of my journey: better than I could have hoped for. I obtained from Vallat a *verbal agreement* to negotiate on the disputed points and to summon three negotiators as well as myself for tomorrow: Oualid, prospective president of the Union, Joseph Millner, and André Weil (at some point I will describe them). I was overjoyed. Last Sunday, leaving Simone in Vichy, I went to Lyons for a meeting of the Consistory, where I gave an account of the outcome of my mission and the results achieved. No expression of thanks whatsoever. These elderly men who claim to be the leaders of the Jewish community are pitiful. Helbronner, the president, who pontificates and is becoming increasingly deaf, informed us of an astonishing letter from the Marshal's²⁷ office. At the same moment that Vallat was phoning me in Marseilles to tell me that the law was about to be made public, the Marshal's office was insisting that it should not be published without the opinion of the Council of State. This was opposed by the commissariat. ... The height of equivocation! Why not admit that the Marshal knows and has accepted that Germany is giving orders directly to the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs from Paris, as it does to the press and the Ministry of Information? Who do they think they are fooling? So it was a painful meeting for me, especially since while I was speaking I was informed of the sudden death of Guastalla,²⁸ my old comrade-in-arms, former deputy secretary of

22 Lambert worked for the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission in Bonn between 1920 and 1924 and was subsequently employed by the French Foreign Office.

23 Commission centrale des œuvres juives d'assistance.

24 Isaïe Schwartz.

25 4 Dec. 1941.

26 Pierre Dreyfus was the son of Alfred Dreyfus, who in 1894 had been found guilty of spying for the German Reich because as a Jew he was considered intrinsically pro-German: see Introduction, p. 23.

27 Philippe Pétain.

28 René Guastalla (1897–1941), teacher; taught classics and Italian in Marseilles from 1926; dismissed on the basis of the Statute on Jews in Dec. 1940; representative of the secretary general of the Central Consistory, Albert Manuel, from the beginning of 1941 until his death on 7 Dec. 1941.

the Consistory, who lived in the apartment adjacent to our meeting room. The president took note of my oral report, which will be distributed later. This was followed immediately by a diatribe from the Chief Rabbi of France, who attacked me personally and accused me of having overstepped my powers, saying that it was I who had suggested to Vallat the names of all my friends ... I am above such things and did not reply. (I have been matured by life and experience and am now better able to contain myself and prefer to use irony rather than offensive words.) But some friends have given me solace: the Chief Rabbi, they keep telling me, is an old beast, jealous because courageous lay people have eclipsed him. He spoke like a village preacher, and in any case I do not accept his criticisms. Back to Marseilles, where private discussions put everything right. I have to keep looking over my shoulder. I must make sure that tomorrow Vallat does not make me appear suspect. I must keep a clear head. Every time I hear a naysayer or opponent, before responding I must think of the hidden motive behind his attitude. I'm ready and waiting for the fight. Long live life! Long live human endeavour!

DOC. 299

On 12 December 1941 the Security Police arrest more than 700 Jews in Paris¹

Memorandum from the Military Commander in France, Administrative Dept. (V² pol 290/882/41), signed Ernst,³ dated 20 December 1941

Re: arrests of Jews, in accordance with the proclamation issued by the Military Commander in France on ... for the purpose of deportation to the East⁴

1. Memorandum:

Completion note: In the report from the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD – Paris Office – dated 18 December 1941, covering the period from 30 November to 15 December 1941, the following points are noted:

'During the period covered by this report, on 12 December 1941 an operation was conducted to arrest influential Jews and Jewish intellectuals. The commandant of Greater Paris⁵ had charged this office with selecting the Jews to be arrested and preparing and

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVI-4. Originally published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 396. This document has been translated from German.

2 Group V (Police) of the military commander in France's administrative staff was responsible for Security Police matters and for German military police units in the occupied zone.

3 Dr Waldemar Ernst (b. 1909), lawyer; joined the NSDAP in 1932, the SA in 1933, and the SS in 1938; joined the Baden Ministry of the Interior as a civil servant in 1935; police chief of Baden-Baden, 1938–1940; worked at the Reich Ministry of the Interior from 1940; head of Group V (Police) of the military commander in France's administrative staff, 1941–1942; Landrat of Waldshut from Sept. 1942, combined with war service from 1943.

4 On the order issued by the Military Commander in France, see Doc. 300.

5 Ernst Schaumburg (1880–1967), military officer; served in the colonial forces (Schutztruppe) in German South-West Africa, 1904–1910; commandant of Berlin, 1933–1937; head of the Paris military administration district, August 1940–March 1941; commandant of Greater Paris, March 1941–May 1943; in the Führerreserve (a pool of high-ranking military officers waiting to be assigned to new duties) from May 1943.

carrying out the entire operation. The 260 military police officers and 200 secret military police officers detailed to make the arrests were divided into fourteen detachments, each of which operated under the command of an SS officer. The area to be covered had already been broken down into a number of separate sections at the initial planning stage. This made the execution of the operation on the ground much easier.

'The operation in the Greater Paris area resulted in the arrest of 743 Jews. These include 54 Jews who were seized during a lunchtime sweep of bars and restaurants.

'In addition, a further 300 Jews were selected from Drancy concentration camp in order to achieve the stipulated number of 1,000 Jews. The train carrying a total of 1,043 Jews arrived during the night of 12/13 December 1941 at Compiègne, where the Jews have been housed in a separate section of the nearby detention camp.⁶

'Below is a breakdown of the detainees by occupation:

Lawyers	16
Chemists and pharmacists	33
Dentists	63
Liberal professions	27
Tradesmen (predominantly self-employed)	322
Engineers	91
Businessmen and company directors	390
Professors	11
Students	31
No occupation	59
	1,043

'The overall reaction of the French population to the operation shows that the people totally understand it. The French people are not standing up for the Jews, as was the case in Holland when a similar operation was conducted;⁷ instead, they fully recognize that the Jews are behind the attacks on the occupying troops (the pamphlet 'Young Jews', reprinted in translation at the end of this report, is revealing in this respect⁸). The arrests have also buoyed French anti-Jewish groups.

'In terms of the Jewish reaction, it is interesting to note that the Paris Coordination Committee⁹ has already submitted an inquiry asking what should be done regarding funding. Nearly all of the committee's financial backers were reportedly arrested during this operation.'

2. Resubmit to V pol III.

⁶ The reference is to Royallieu camp, near Compiègne.

⁷ When more than 400 Jews were arrested following disturbances in the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam, the Dutch population responded with a general strike lasting several days, the so-called February Strike: see Docs. 55–66.

⁸ Not in the file.

⁹ The Coordination Committee of Charitable Organizations in Greater Paris: see Doc. 272.

DOC. 300

On 14 December 1941, after attacks on German soldiers, the German Military Commander in France orders executions and the deportation of Jews¹

Order issued by the Military Commander in France, Infantry General Otto von Stülpnagel, dated 14 December 1941

Notice

During the past few weeks, attacks have once again been carried out with dynamite and handguns against members of the German army. These attacks were sometimes even carried out by young individuals, paid by the British, the Jews, and the Bolsheviks, and acting on their vile orders.

German soldiers were ambushed from behind and killed or injured. It was not possible to arrest any of the assassins. In order to strike at the real perpetrators of these cowardly attacks, I ordered the following measures to be carried out immediately:

1. A one-billion-franc fine was imposed on Jews in the occupied French territories;
2. A large number of Judeo-Bolshevik criminal elements will be deported to the East, to carry out forced labour. Above and beyond the measures I would consider necessary in each individual case, additional large-scale deportations will be considered, if new attacks are committed.
3. One hundred Jews, communists, and anarchists, with clear connections to the perpetrators of these attacks, will be shot.²

These measures do not affect the people of France, but only the individuals who, in the pay of Germany's enemies, seek to plunge France into misfortune and aim to sabotage the reconciliation between Germany and France.

¹ The order was published on 15 December 1941 in the newspaper *Le Matin*. Excerpts published in Klarsfeld, *Calendrier*, p. 289. This document has been translated from French.

² On 15 Dec. 1941, 95 people, including 49 Jews, were shot at Fort Mont-Valérien near Paris: see Docs. 301 and 302.

DOC. 301

**On 14 December 1941 Jacques Grinbaum writes a final letter to his family
before his execution¹**

Letter from Jacques Grinbaum,² Drancy concentration camp, to his family, dated 14 December 1941 (copy)

My final hours, this evening, 14 December 1941.

Mama, whom I loved so much,

My Papa and best friend,

My two dear little sisters,

To all of you who will never see me again!

A few hours away from my execution, my hands are not shaking, rather my emotions have disappeared. I wait. Fate was against me. I can no longer change anything. In a few hours I shall be another innocent victim ... among so many others.

I wish I could have talked to you all. I had my twenty-first birthday far away from you all, whom I love now more than ever. I wish I had been able to tell you how proud I am of you all, of your courage in the face of the trials you have had to undergo.

The time has now come to face the greatest test of all. When these lines reach you, I will no longer be alive. I ask only one thing of you: be stronger than ever. I can imagine your pain and tremble at the thought of what it will be like for you once you have learnt my fate.

Raising a son and losing him in such circumstances is almost impossible to endure. I have often thought about the trouble I caused you: when I was little and you guided my first steps. I dare even to write that you almost made a man out of me and that was all ... for nothing. We will never see each other again. No one will ever again call me 'master', or 'granddad', or 'little brother' or 'big brother'.

I can imagine your suffering because I also entertained the thought of starting a family, and when I thought about it, I imagined the pleasure of seeing my children grow up as I grew old (how ironic to use the verb 'to grow old'), promising myself to bring them up as you brought me up, in other words, upright and honest. Courageous too; a courage that withstands any test, even one that is imposed on me.

I am strong. I am courageous – as one has to be – and I would like to say everything that I think. Alas, words fail me. I have loved you, I still love you, and I will love you in the life to come (?).³

1 The original is privately owned. Copy in Mémorial de la Shoah, CCXVI-69. Published in David Diamant (ed.), *Par-delà les barbelés: Lettres et écrits des camps et des prisons de France, lettres jetées des trains de déportation, écrits d'Auschwitz, créations journalistiques, littéraires et artistiques* (Paris: A. Erlich, 1986), pp. 37–39. This document has been translated from French.

2 After writing resistance slogans on the walls of the Church of the Sacré-Cœur in Paris in July 1941, Jacques Grinbaum (1920–1941) was arrested and interned in Drancy camp. He was selected as a hostage on 14 Dec. 1941 and executed the next day. In 1942 his parents and two sisters moved to Lyons, from where the parents sent the daughters to a refuge in Murat in the south of France. The parents were deported on the penultimate transport from France to Germany and never returned.

3 Question mark as in the original.

However, what hurts me is the thought of your grief when the worst arrives. Oh Mama, I can already see your tears; I can imagine your anguish, and I see you dashing to the photo of me on my little desk. Well, Mama, my Mama – it's to you I should like to address a few words; great will be your sorrow. But as a living dead man who writes to you, allow me to tell you that other mothers are weeping for their sons who have died in the war.

My last request which I should like you to observe is this: *you must live*. My sisters need you. Do not do anything to yourself. Your pain will be terrible. My two little sisters remain. You must remain for them. If you do anything to hurt yourself because of what will happen to me in a few hours, you will be failing in your duty.

You have been the most exceptional of mothers because with my father you have made me the person I am now.

You must make decent women out of my sisters. You must raise my little sisters together with Papa, to whom these words are also addressed. Happy years await you. I can sense it. In a few years they will be grown up, and once peace has returned you will be proud of them. If they have my strength of character, they will succeed in life. I shall not be able to make you a grandmother and grandfather, but they will, and they will be duty-bound to give you this joy which you so deserve.

Live! I beg you not to despair. This is my last wish.

I want to tell you that during these last hours I am thinking more than ever of everything I have loved. I want to talk to my sisters. Jacqueline is fourteen, Yvette nearly twelve. You will never see your brother again. I shall never hear your voices again. My little *rouquibiche*⁴ and you, my big sister, will understand me, if not today, then later in life. I regret not having given my parents greater joy. Parents deserve more respect. They deserve to be looked after and to be made happy. Work towards this; show them that you love them. I urge you to reflect a little every evening on whether you have done everything within your means to assuage our father's sorrow. Chia,⁵ as I would call him when I was small to tease him, and our mother Temché.⁶

Ah! Temché! Ah! Chia! And my two little sisters, life goes on but it deserves to be lived by you. Life should be lived. I want it to be so. No acts of despair. Stay strong. My dear big sister, I believe my beloved horse will help you in this sad situation. May she take care of you, you deserve this.

Live! Be happy again all four of you! I want it to be so. You have many more years ahead of you to live; this is my hope. Live! Live! Live! Let us be worthy of one other.

Farewell. I am going to die, that is the ultimate pain for you. You are going to suffer. But hold out, be courageous, may my sisters take my place close beside you.

I apologize for the suffering I am going to cause you.

I beg all four of you to forgive me the suffering I am going to cause you.

You will have happy times again. That is what I think about and wish you all.

Your son,

Jacques.

⁴ Term of endearment: roughly 'favourite redhead'.

⁵ Polish form of the name Josué: Szyja.

⁶ Diminutive of the biblical name Tamar.

3.15 in the morning

Soon the execution. I am calm, very calm, and I am waiting. A strength sustains me. I hope that you hold out, promise that to me beyond death. One only dies once.

5.40 Still courageous. I have said my mea culpa. I have done nothing wrong. I love you, Papa, Mama, Jacqueline, and Yvette. Do not weep too much. Farewell to you, the whole family, and all my friends whom I am thinking of.

Be brave. Be confident. Farewell.

Keep my belongings which are in the commandant's office and at the Red Cross.

Courage. Good luck.

Jacques Grinbaum

DOC. 302

***Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1941: article on the shooting of hostages in France¹**

Vichy warns Germans. 'Deep Uneasiness'. 'Mass Repression' Condemned

The Vichy Government is officially warning the Nazis of the 'deep uneasiness of all Frenchmen' at the 'mass repression' now threatened. This protest is provoked by the threat to shoot 100 Frenchmen, who are described as 'Jews, Communists, and anarchists,' and to deport large numbers to the East.

A statement issued by the Vichy News Agency² and quoted by Reuters says:

'The French Government has learned with all the greater emotion of the notice of reprisals since

1. It has always voiced its reprobation and that of the French people for the attempts committed.
2. It has succeeded in arresting through its own police the culprits involved in several of these attempts.
3. This week, in the course of anguished and repeated steps, it requested, and thought that it would be able to secure, a considerable reduction in the number to be shot.

If, this time, it is a matter not of hostages but of culprits, the very high number of those condemned nevertheless gives rise to deep uneasiness in all Frenchmen.

The Government is making known to the German authorities its feelings with regard to this mass repression,' concludes the statement.

The German General's Threat

The threat to shoot 100 'Jews, Communists, and anarchists' for further attacks against German troops in occupied France, for which he says there have been no arrests, is made by General von Stuelpnagel, who commands the troops in occupied France. It was he who

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 15 Dec. 1941, p. 5.

² Office français d'information.

ordered the previous shooting of hostages, a reprisal which was stopped by Hitler,³ after many had been shot, owing to its effect on the Vichy Government and French opinion.

In addition to the threat to shoot 100 people the general has levied a fine of 1,000,000,000 francs (about £5,680,000) on Jews and announces that he will send east to penal servitude a number of 'Jewish Bolshevik elements.' He adds that 'deportation will be carried out on a big scale if further attacks should be perpetrated.'⁴

Darlan on Saturday⁵ made a 'complete report on the international situation' at a Cabinet meeting held under the presidency of Marshal Pétain, says an official Vichy announcement, quoted by Reuters.

DOC. 303

On 15 December 1941 Isaac Schoenberg writes a letter to his fiancée, describing his life in Pithiviers camp¹

Letter from Isaac Schoenberg,² Pithiviers, to his fiancée,³ dated 15 December 1941

Khanouchi, my everything,

You must have received my last three letters, and I hope to receive a short letter from you in French today or tomorrow. Today, I have sent you, by registered post, the little portrait I'd promised to do, while waiting for an opportunity to send you my engravings. It's possible that in the meantime you will receive this sketch (it's a little portrait of you), I hope you'll like it. Here, in my barracks and among the few friends in the other barracks who have seen it, it has caused a sensation, they were delighted by it (due more to your charm, I think, than to my skill with a pencil). I shall probably get some orders, but for a modest price (for friends here in the camp). I showed this sketch to the best portraitist in the camp, who has done portraits for the camp commandant, among others; he thought it was good, too; he said it is rare to be able to give so much expression to a portrait drawn from a photograph. 'You must love your fiancée very much,' he said. 'I certainly do!' I replied, and my eyes began to fill with tears. I must have blushed a bit and that made him smile, the sadist.

I'm incapable of putting on an act, I know it's something of a defect in this case, but I am completely unable to hide my feelings, as my face gives me away immediately. Moreover, I have never wanted to put on an act, especially when it comes to anything to do with my feelings and the infinite love I have for you. It's not a secret for any of my acquaintances, not that I talk or boast about you with my fellow internees, but simply

3 The military commander in France, Stülpnagel, had in fact attempted unsuccessfully to prevent the shooting of a large number of hostages which had been ordered by Hitler in reprisal for attacks on German soldiers.

4 See Doc. 300.

5 13 Dec. 1941.

1 CERCIL, no shelf mark. Published in Isaac Schoenberg, *Lettres à Chana: Pithiviers, Mai 1941-Juin 1942* (Orléans: CERCIL, 1995), pp. 97-100. This document has been translated from French.

2 Isaac Schoenberg (1907-1942), painter; arrested on 14 May 1941 in Paris and interned at Pithiviers camp; deported on 25 June 1942 to Auschwitz, where he perished.

3 Chana Zylbermann.

because the expression that spreads over my face when I receive a letter or parcel, or when I talk about you, expresses what I feel, in the clearest possible language.

What the portraitist liked was that I had slightly exaggerated the size of your eyes. 'That', he told me, 'is a sign that you have a gift as a portraitist.' He would surely not have said so if I had confessed that I had learned this 'gift' from a book which said that, to make a successful portrait, you should accentuate the characteristic features of the face. So there you have it, my 'gift as a portraitist'!

The camp's cultural committee (that's how they refer to themselves), which recently organized an exhibition of more or less artistic works created in the camp, urged me to let them keep your portrait for another week, for this exhibition, where they want to give it pride of place. But as I promised to send you the drawing on Monday,⁴ I refused. I shall never forget, Khanouchi, in what conditions and with which emotions I drew this portrait. In Paris, I would have moaned that it is impossible to produce a decent portrait in such a position, sitting on my straw mattress, huddled up like a little old woman, the paper resting on a board on my knees. But the thoughts and feelings that boiled up in me like inside a volcano while I was drawing overcame all the hindrances and technical difficulties. The result was a work which cannot, I think, be counted among my worst; I hope that your judgement, which for me is of course the most important thing, will not be unfavourable.

Let's both make a wish, Khanouchi, that I shall soon be able to continue these portrait studies, but with the aid of my most beautiful model, standing before me in the flesh, without ever again needing a paltry photograph (forgive me), which my eyes devour with nostalgia. I want to breathe the scent of your silky hair, I want to see the light sparkling in your eyes like diamonds, eyes which can cry and laugh, which can close and open. I want to see the satin of your cheeks, both cool and warm, see your smooth, moist lips, your real, hot lips, flushed with blood, life, and passion ... Khanouchi, the really successful portrait will be one produced under your warm and thrilling gaze and in the familiar, comforting calm of my happiness. That's what I felt with perfect certainty while I was drawing your little portrait. It's thanks to this hope, Khanouchi, that I keep my spirits up during this difficult period, the sure and certain hope of being able to produce useful, beautiful works, in the warm light of my sun, you, Khanouchi.

I imagine the fear and vexation you must have felt when reading of the frightful punishments which were decided upon as a result of the recurrent attacks on Germans.⁵ However, I hope that you have now calmed down and that you are less distressed. An inmate who had been granted leave to visit Paris told me today that they have indeed deported 1,000 Jews from Drancy as labourers, no one knows where; it is also said that a further 2,500 Jews have been arrested.⁶

Regarding the executions, I heard someone say today that Pétain had objected to them;⁷ in my opinion, in the present circumstances, that can't be true. It obviously caused a great stir among the population: the articles published in almost all the French papers to justify them are proof of it. The journalists are going to great lengths to find

4 15 Dec. 1941

5 On the order issued by the Military Commander in France, see Doc. 300.

6 See Doc. 299.

7 On the statement made by the Vichy government, see Doc. 302.

weak and pathetic arguments to explain the legitimacy of these persecuting decrees, and to excuse them. But they are not very convincing.

Whatever the case may be, the current reprisals are a further reason for the Jews of Paris to envy us here in Pithiviers. We are the privileged ones, which is true to some extent if you consider the present circumstances of the Jews in Drancy, or even of those who are free but constantly in danger, at risk of suffering a worse fate than us here in Pithiviers. But what Mr Chapiro wrote to his son in a letter today, stating that he would prefer to be at Pithiviers camp than in Paris, that, Khanouchi, is, in my opinion, a bit over the top, don't you think? I told Chapiro to write and tell his father that he can have my place right away, if he's so keen to swap his place for one in Pithiviers. I can imagine that it is gloomy and even dangerous in Paris, especially for the Jews, however, for a man who has been suffering the worst of martyrdoms for the last seven months because he has been deprived of his personal freedom and the possibility of leading a normal life, a man who each day suffers a thousand torments of the soul ..., it is difficult for him to imagine that in freedom, i.e. anywhere except in a camp, things could be worse, however limited his freedom and restricted his movements. For example, just to live in a decent room, wouldn't that be almost heaven in comparison with camp life, in barracks that are like stables, with bare boards and straw, not to mention the mud ... And then the lack of privacy, with 150 people each behaving without consideration for others, with more or less bearable personal habits, and with obsessive little ways that here seem magnified and without any restraint. A person, Khanouchi, who lives in Paris, free, and thinks he is being witty by saying that he envies the Jews at Pithiviers, a person like that has no idea what living in a camp means, even if it's a 'model' camp, as is said of Pithiviers, with lovely model barracks, model straw, and even model mud, not to mention the model people and their model manners.

DOC. 304

On 21 December 1941 the commandant of Greater Paris is instructed to have the Jews in Compiègne camp examined to determine whether they are fit for labour deployment 'in the East'¹

Letter from the chief of the administrative staff of the Military Commander in France (Verw. V pol 290/882/41), signed Dr Schmid,² to the commandant of Greater Paris, Administrative Staff, dated 21 December 1941

Re: deportation of Jews arrested for the purpose of undertaking work in the East pursuant to the Military Commander in France's announcement of 14 December 1941.³

Now that the Jews arrested in accordance with the announcement of 14 December 1941 and scheduled for deportation to the East for the purpose of undertaking work have

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVI-3. This document has been translated from German.

2 Dr Jonathan Schmid (1888–1945), lawyer; began practising law in 1919; joined the NSDAP in 1923; member of Württemberg state parliament from 1932; Württemberg's minister of the interior, 1933–1945, minister of justice, 1933–1934, and minister of economics, 1935–1945; head of the administrative staff of the military commander in France, 1940–1942; died in an internment camp.

been taken to Compiègne detention camp, the commandant of Greater Paris⁴ is authorized to decide on the possible release of Jews held in Compiègne detention camp on a case-by-case basis. The decision must be taken after consultation with the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD – Paris Office.⁵

The commandant of Compiègne camp⁶ has already been asked by this office to submit a list of names of the Jews being held in Compiègne. In addition, he has been asked to conduct a short medical examination of the Jews to determine whether they qualify for the intended purpose of undertaking work in the East.

Once the list of names of the Jews being held in Compiègne has been received here, a copy will be given to the commandant of Greater Paris. Also, one copy of the list of Jews who are considered unfit for work in the East on the basis of the *general* medical examination in the camp will be sent from here to the commandant of Greater Paris.

The decision about the extent to which Jews are to be released on the basis of the *general* medical examination is reserved for the Military Commander for the time being.

Pending further notice, there are to be no additional arrests of Jews and admissions to Compiègne camp based on the Military Commander's announcement of 14 December 1941. If the number of Jews detained in Compiègne drops below the number of 1,000 Jews envisaged for deportation, it will be possible to draw on the Jews detained in Drancy camp.

The responsibility for supervising Compiègne camp, in which the Jews scheduled for deportation are being held, continues to lie with the Military Commander in France.

The representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD – Paris Office – and the commandant of Compiègne camp have been informed of this decree.

DOC. 305

On 24 December 1941 the Reich Security Main Office expresses its opposition to plans to deport French communists together with Jews from France¹

Telex no. 1605 (24 December 1941, 23.00, marked 'secret – urgent') from the Chief of the Security Police and the SD (IV B 4–3232/41), signed Müller, to the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for Belgium and France, Paris Office, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Knochen (received on 25 December 1941, 09.50), dated 24 December 1941

Re: deportation to the East of Jews and members of communist youth organizations

Reference: Your Anna² telex dated 13 December 1941 – Army High Command/Quarter-master General (V 5) II/8602/41 confidential.³

³ See Doc. 300.

⁴ Ernst Schaumburg.

⁵ Helmut Knochen.

⁶ Oberleutnant Pelzer.

¹ Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVI-5. This document has been translated from German.

² 'Anna' was the code name for the German Army High Command's signal communications department.

³ This is not included in the file.

After the Chief of Wehrmacht Transportation⁴ recently approached us with the objective of postponing a number of transports of Jews from the Reich to the East owing to the strained transportation situation, and as, in addition, the railway lines of the Reich Railway in the territory of the Reich are in very heavy use owing to Christmas holiday traffic, it is not possible at present to carry out the transport of 1,000 Jews from France to the East.

I have therefore instructed the office of the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD for France and Belgium, Paris Office, to concentrate the 1,000 Jews in question in a camp for the time being, until the transportation conditions improve. It is envisaged that these Jews will be promptly deported in the context of the further evacuation operations starting in February or March 1942.

There are fundamental security concerns regarding the deportation to the East of 500 members of communist youth groups. Quite apart from the fact that joint accommodation of Jews and French communists in a transit ghetto in the East to which these Jews will be admitted is inappropriate, the circumstances also do not permit the deportation of these fanatical communists to the occupied Eastern territories. If no further measures are envisaged, the only option to be considered in this case is extending their imprisonment for an initially indefinite period and transferring these communists to a concentration camp within the German Reich.

I request that arrangements be made for the Office of the Military Commander in France to discuss the individual issues that arise with my office in Paris, which is being instructed accordingly.

Addendum for the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in France and Belgium, Paris Office:

Re: Your teletype message from EK⁵ Paris 23 043 dated 6 December 1941. Conf.⁶ on 6 December.⁷

Meeting between SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann and SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Knochen.

Communication is to be established accordingly with the Office of the Military Commander.

Details of the camp designated for the Jews until their final deportation as well as the train station under consideration for the subsequent evacuation are to be communicated to me immediately. I also request that contact be made regarding the transfer of the communists to a concentration camp within the Reich.

4 Rudolf Gercke.

5 Einsatzkommando.

6 Bes. in the original, probably an abbreviation of *Bestätigung* (confirmation).

7 Not included in the file.

DOC. 306

In a leaflet from late December 1941, the French Communist Party urges the French to resist antisemitism¹

French Communist Party leaflet (copy, classified)²

Let us smash the weapon of antisemitism

Let us unite!

On 15th May this year, the 'Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs', an imported Nazi organization run by the cagoulard,³ sixth-Februarist⁴ Xavier Vallat, had 5,000 Austrian, Polish, and Czechoslovak workers brutally arrested. Their guilt lies in being Jewish. These arrests took place amid indescribable parting scenes, some of which were followed by suicides.⁵

The Communist Party denounces this savage and abominable measure, worthy of the bloody tsarist power, as a diversionary tactic intended to divert the French people's immense and legitimate anger, directed at those who are oppressing and starving them, away from its true objective by trying to lead it down the blind alley of antisemitism.

A total of 5,000 workers whose crime is being born to Jewish parents were torn from their homes by the united forces of the Gestapo and the so-called 'French' police, who shamefully collaborated. They were 'penned', to use a term found in the press, in concentration camps in the Orléans region,⁶ to the sadistic applause of shady individuals whose despicable role is to create diversions among the ranks of the French people.

Men treated like cattle

In the twentieth century, in the France of 'human rights', where the odious chains of black slavery were first broken,⁷ men are treated like common cattle, whether they are Jews or Aryans.⁸ Tens of thousands of people from Alsace-Lorraine were first stripped of their possessions and then brutally torn from their native soil and expelled. Similar measures are being prepared against the population of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, CII-32. This document has been translated from French.

2 The leaflet was posted to a Mr Heyman in Toulouse from Funel in the Lot-et-Garonne département on 28 Dec. 1941. The Civilian Commission for Supervision of the Postal Service confiscated it on 30 Dec. 1941.

3 La Cagoule ('hood') was the colloquial name given to the French far-right terrorist group Organisation secrète d'action révolutionnaire nationale (Osarn), whose members wore hoods. Between 1935 and 1938 this group was responsible for several assassinations and bomb attacks. Vallat is not known to have been a member of the group.

4 This refers to a mass demonstration held on 6 Feb. 1934 by followers of the far-right leagues, at which 16 people were killed and 1,435 people injured. Vallat is not known to have attended the rally. These events led to a rapprochement between the communist and socialist parties, which in turn laid the groundwork for the Popular Front coalition of 1936.

5 See Doc 268.

6 Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande camps.

7 On 4 February 1794 the revolutionary National Convention voted to abolish slavery in the French colonies, but Napoleon reversed the decision in 1802. Slavery in the territories under French control was finally abolished on 27 April 1848.

8 This refers to people being made prisoners of war.

départements. The unemployed are forced to leave their homes to undertake life-threatening work in the ports and airfields at risk from English bombing raids.

Two million Frenchmen, the vast majority of them Aryans, are also stuck in gloomy prison camps, haunted by the spectre of famine, and they are the objects of odious slander by the newspapers of the traitors Laval, Déat, Deloncle, de Brinon, Doriot, and others who have sold out.

Everywhere, oppressive and predatory imperialism tramples underfoot the most basic human rights.

Hundreds of thousands of families have been torn apart, but the clique of spineless, criminal Vichy collaborators, the Darlans and the Belins, dare to use the word 'family' while they are holding 100,000 defenders of peace and liberty, the best among the sons of France, in their prisons and concentration camps. In the meantime, they deport heroic French communist deputies to the burning deserts of southern Algeria with its murderous climate,⁹ all for the crime of having called for parliament to be convened to discuss an immediate peace as early as the start of October 1939.

Down with the modern form of cannibalism!

Misery and famine have descended upon our rich and fertile country. The occupier and the trusts systematically pillage and steal the wealth of France, built up by generations of workers. Children and young people are particularly at risk of physical degeneration. Epidemics, like those in Spain, are threatening to decimate the bulk of the population.

All the while the plutocrats, the rich, the traitors continue to feast and banquet. But the legitimate anger and hatred of the French people against the imperialism of the occupiers who are starving them is growing from day to day. And those responsible for this state of affairs are busy trying to divert this discontent down the blind alley of antisemitism.

If there is no bread, let them eat Jew.

This is the diabolical manoeuvre of starvation capitalism. These are the goals of this shameful campaign.

As the great genius, Comrade Stalin, so aptly defined it, antisemitism is 'the modern form of cannibalism'.¹⁰ Not one Frenchman worthy of the name can be associated with such a vile and barbarous method of pitting the exploited against one another to increase profits for the trusts. What is more, the trusts and their helpers particularly attack the impoverished Jews, the workers, tradesmen, and small shopkeepers.

Did not the Vichy clique, so thoroughly subordinate to the occupier, reinstate Mr Henri Rothschild's French nationality?¹¹ And everyone knows that rich Jews continue

9 After the French Communist Party was banned on 26 Sept. 1939, the 27 communist members of the Chamber of Deputies were arrested and imprisoned in penal camps in Algeria until 5 Feb. 1943.

10 On 12 Jan. 1931 Stalin told a journalist from the Jewish News Agency in the United States: 'National and racial chauvinism is a vestige of the misanthropic customs of the period of cannibalism. Anti-semitism, as an extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism.' In: Joseph Stalin, *Works*, vol. 13: *July 1930–January 1934* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), p. 30.

11 Henri de Rothschild's French citizenship had been revoked by decree on 8 Sept. 1940 under the provisions of the law of 23 July 1940. Rothschild appealed the decision at the Council of State. It was not until 8 Nov. 1944 that all the remaining legal effects of the decree revoking Rothschild's French citizenship were lifted.

to receive their annuity bonds and their profits through various straw men acting as intermediaries, to whom the 'Aryan' capitalists turn a blind eye.

Communists denounce antisemitism as a means of guaranteeing the defence of sacrosanct capitalist property by warning the workers of this outrageous diversion. Its instigators are racking up crimes and outrages for which they will be called to account before the people of France.

The unemployed are manipulated into believing that chasing out Jewish workers will give them jobs. This is untrue, since these same cynical individuals want to deindustrialize France and turn it into a kind of agricultural colony, where farmers would extract foodstuffs and raw materials from the soil, which would be sent to the Reich, which in turn plans to deliver manufactured goods to a subjugated France.

Small shopkeepers and tradesmen are duped into believing that the liquidation of small Jewish businesses would open up new outlets for them. This is untrue, since the trusts, by pushing for an increase in the cost of living, deprive small businesses of the custom they have had until now from the labouring masses. It is big business that will profit from this situation by eliminating small businesses.

The truth is that those who hide behind antisemitism want to divide the French people. These forces are haunted by the fear that scores will be settled, and they want to set the 'Aryan' workers against their Jewish brothers, who, like them, are exploited by the trusts. So it was in times gone by, when the same forces pitted atheists and believers against one another.

By employing the reactionary weapon of antisemitism, they hope to prevent the union of all the oppressed and to guarantee the survival of their regime, which brings only misery and war.

The lie of anti-capitalism in Germany and Italy

In Nazi Germany, all the coal production in the Ruhr is in the hands of eight powerful trusts. The steel industry is controlled by a trust¹² with a total capital of 775 million marks. The big department stores with multiple branches have indeed been taken away from their Jewish owners, but this served to benefit the big banks.

Thirty large limited companies hold a total of 6 billion marks in capital. The big department stores with their branches and the big private banks like 'Deutsche Bank' or 'Dresdner Bank' control the country's economic life.

In 1936/1937 a total of 104,000 small businesses, though these were Aryan, were declared bankrupt.

The situation is no different in Italy, where the persecution of Jews launched three years ago¹³ was also accompanied by rabble-rousing anti-capitalist slogans. It is the Ciano family (Mussolini's son-in-law) which runs the iron and steel trust. Other heads of trusts, such as Pirelli for rubber, Donegani for copper and sulphates, and Agnelli for Fiat, are the pillars of the regime. The antisemitic measures have made former minister

12 In 1938 the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG was responsible for almost half of the total raw steel production in the Reich.

13 On 17 Sept. 1938 the Italian government passed the Law for the Protection of the Italian Race, which formed the basis for measures against Jews in the country's public administration and economic life.

Count Volpi, director of the Banca Commerciale Italiana, the lucky winner, because he has replaced the Jew Morpurgo as the head of the largest insurance company in Italy.¹⁴

The great example of the Soviet Union

In tsarist Russia, the prison of the peoples, massacres of Jews and Armenians always preceded popular revolts among the masses. In October 1917, under the superb leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the unified workers overthrew the bloodstained power of capital. The union of the exploited enabled the liberation of the peoples and the construction of the classless socialist society. In the USSR, one hundred peoples of different languages and races live alongside one another fraternally.

Stalin's constitution, the most democratic in the world, guarantees the liberty of the peoples while protecting equal rights for all of its citizens, regardless of nationality or race.¹⁵ Everyone without exception can attain the highest positions in the state and gain the highest levels of education.

This magnificent example must inspire all those who want to work towards the realization of true human brotherhood.

Frenchmen, you who think as Frenchmen and want to act as Frenchmen: combat antisemitism!

Spurred on by the purest spirit of proletarian internationalism, the French Communist Party, which fights against imperialist war and chauvinism, which is proud to have fought against the occupation of the Ruhr, against the wars of plunder in Morocco and Syria, and against the atrocious oppression suffered by the people of Indochina,¹⁶ vehemently protests against this new antisemitic measure, fit only for barbarism. It vigorously denounces antisemitism as a reactionary weapon employed by imperialism and the trusts to divide the French people and to weaken them in order to be better able to crush and pillage them.

The French Communist Party, by denouncing this antisemitic campaign of hatred, calls on all Frenchmen who think as Frenchmen and want to act as Frenchmen to unite against oppression and to combat antisemitism and oppressive and predatory imperialism.

Let us unite and smash the weapon of antisemitism.

Let us unite against the common enemy, irrespective of our philosophical views, nationalities, or races, and we will be invincible.

14 Giuseppe Volpi (1877–1947) was Italy's finance minister from 1925 to 1928. In 1938 he was made chairman of the board of Assicurazioni Generali, replacing Edgardo Morpurgo, who had to leave his post as a result of Italy's racial laws.

15 Article 123 of the constitution of the USSR, adopted on 5 Dec. 1936, made any discrimination based on nationality or race a punishable offence: see *The New Soviet Constitution* (London: Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, 1936).

16 On the occupation of the Ruhr, see Doc. 236, fn. 8. In the so-called Rif War between 1921 and 1926, French and Spanish troops fought to suppress an uprising in northern Morocco. An uprising in the Syrian territories under French mandate began in 1925, which the French military did not manage to quell until the spring of 1927. Civil unrest in protest against French colonial rule spread throughout the French colonies and protectorates in Indochina in 1930/1931 and from 1936 to 1938. These movements were violently suppressed by French troops.

Down with antisemitism, the poisoned weapon of those who want to divide the French people.

Down with the shameful concentration camps.

Release the 100,000 political prisoners and Jews.

Down with capitalism – Aryan or Jewish.

Long live the fraternal union of workers.

Long live the union of all the French people for the liberation and the independence of France.

The French Communist Party (SFIC)¹⁷

DOC. 307

In late 1941 the Jewish Camps Commission reports on its efforts to improve conditions in the internment camps¹

Annual report on the activities of the *Camps Commission* for 1941²

The *Camps Commission* was established at the beginning of 1941. It is made up of the representatives of the principal Jewish aid organizations and is led by an executive committee comprising:

Mr Albert Levy – president of the CAR,

Dr Weil,³

Mr Georges Picard.⁴

From its foundation, the *Camps Commission* had its seat in Toulouse, the most convenient geographic location between the different camps.

Toulouse has the advantage of being halfway between the two largest camps of Gurs and Rivesaltes, and of being in immediate proximity to three other camps: Noé, Récébédou, and Vernet.

General principles of the Camps Commission's activities

Up until the establishment of the Camps Commission, assistance to the camp inmates was based on previous experience, and the approach was inconsistent. Some inmates

¹⁷ The French Communist Party (PCF) was part of the world organization of communist parties, known as the Third International or Comintern, which was founded in Moscow in 1919. It therefore referred to itself as the French section of this organization, the Section française de l'Internationale communiste (SFIC).

¹ Mémorial de la Shoah, CCXIII-89. This document has been translated from French.

² The Commission des camps des œuvres israélites d'assistance aux réfugiés was founded in Feb. 1941 to coordinate the activities of the different Jewish aid organizations in the internment camps.

³ Joseph Weill (1902–1988), physician; manager of a hospital in Strasbourg, 1927–1939; fled Alsace and in 1939 co-founded the Œuvres d'aide sociale Israelite aux populations repliées d'Alsace, an organization that helped Jewish refugees; medical advisor to the Œuvre de secours aux enfants (OSE) for the Gurs and Rivesaltes camps, 1941–1943; fled to Switzerland in April 1943; once again practised as a physician in Strasbourg from 1947; president of the Jewish Consistory in the Bas-Rhin département, 1954–1966.

⁴ Georges Picard (1888–1943), lawyer; member of Nice City Council, 1929–1940; dismissed in Dec. 1940 as a result of the Statute on Jews; secretary general of the Camps Commission, 1941–1943; deported on 20 Nov. 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

received food parcels and even money transfers, while others did not receive anything. People with goodwill were numerous, but without information and without an efficient organization, the aid did not produce the effect one would have had the right to expect.

The Camps Commission was able to bring together the activities of the Jewish aid organizations and even the [Jewish] communities in favour of the camps with a view to attaining a better division of the aid distributed to the inmates.

In addition, thanks to monthly funding granted by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*, the *Camps Commission* set itself the goal of supporting the inmates with aid packages and the distribution of limited aid in the form of money.

Aid via the distribution of goods was the main concern of our operations in 1941, and we particularly wanted to ensure that important supplies were sent to all the camps, and most notably to the most deprived camps, i.e. Gurs and Rivesaltes.

The attached tables⁵ offer a glimpse of the efforts the *Camps Commission* made throughout 1941, the first year of its existence.

We also had to concern ourselves with clothing the inmates and with the onset of winter. Despite the enormous difficulties we encountered in this regard, we were able to send a significant quantity of clothing to the camps: jackets, trousers, shirts, underwear, woollens, etc.

The *Camps Commission* decided to help the inmates with individual aid packages as well.

To this effect, we set up a central register, which allowed us to identify those in need and to inform the committees and the [Jewish] communities about each case.

Apart from this purely material help, the *Camps Commission* gave the inmates moral and religious support, and through the work of the chaplains whose salaries it pays, contributed to the organization and celebration of the main religious festivals in the camps.

The Camps Commission's areas of activity

In 1941, the Camps Commission saw the range of its activity evolve according to changes in the population of the camps following the closure of former camps or the creation of new ones, as well as due to population shifts within the existing camps. Hence, at the start of the year Gurs camp held more than 12,000 people and *Argelès* camp almost 18,000. By December these camps saw the numbers brought down to 4,500 for *Gurs* and one hundred or so for *Argelès*.

We also need to note the establishment of Rivesaltes⁶ camp, which had as many as 6,000 inmates and today has about 4,500.

*Noé*⁷ and *Récébédou*⁸ camps were also established in 1941.

5 Only one table listing the number of inmates in the camps between Feb. and Dec. 1941 was found in the file; it has not been reproduced here.

6 Rivesaltes camp was established in 1938 for refugees fleeing the Spanish Civil War. From 14 Jan. 1941 a section of the camp was used to intern Jewish refugees.

7 The Centre de séjour surveillé de Noé was established on 7 Feb. 1941. It mostly held elderly and sick refugees.

8 Récébédou camp, outside Toulouse, was established in a barracks camp initially set up for workers in a nearby munitions factory. At first it held refugees from the French occupied zone. From Feb. 1941 most of the inmates were sick non-French refugees.

Generally speaking, over the course of this year the authorities have tried to group the inmates in a systematic and coherent manner, whereas at the start of the year they were still grouped together randomly.

The following camps currently exist in the unoccupied zone:

- 1) Two penal camps which are under a special administration and hold individuals who are suspect or undesirable, either because of their political activities, or because they have been sentenced for a common law offence, or for administrative reasons which are generally vague and poorly defined.

Vernet camp holds 1,900 men,

Rieucros 450 women.⁹

- 2) The following internment camps:

Gurs, where there are still about 4,500 people of all ages and both sexes, including 120 children.

Rivesaltes: 4,500. This camp, called a family camp, was established to hold children and their parents. There are still more than 1,500 children under 15 years of age in *Rivesaltes*.

Noé: Around 1,500 people. Mostly the elderly and the sick who have come from *Gurs*.

Récébédou: More or less identical composition.

Les Milles: Camp for inmates who have a relatively high chance of being able to emigrate soon. Around 1,200 men.

Women are also being put up in hotels requisitioned for this purpose in *Marseilles*.¹⁰

Food aid

Right from its inception, the *Camps Commission* has sent significant quantities of food to *Gurs* camp.

It encouraged the development of social welfare committees in *Gurs* camp, formed from among the inmates, and since March 1941 has sent more than 100,000 francs' worth of food to this camp.

Since then its activities have not slowed down, and thanks to these efforts, the *Camps Commission* estimates that it has significantly contributed to improving the situation which made itself felt at *Gurs* camp in recent months.

Unfortunately this improvement was only fleeting, because since November the amount of food served at the camp has been reduced again, and a large number of cases of hunger oedema have begun to occur.

To remedy this, we have contributed to the creation of special buildings where the sick can be provided with extra rations in collaboration with the OSE.

The *Camps Commission* has also awarded a sum of 25,000 francs to the social committee at *Gurs* camp to enable it to buy supplies there. It also ensured that additional food was sent on the occasion of religious holidays.

⁹ *Rieucros* camp was established on 21 Jan. 1939 and *Le Vernet* camp in Feb. 1939. Both were set up as internment camps for refugees from the Spanish Civil War. After the outbreak of the Second World War, both camps were used to detain citizens of enemy states. In early Nov. 1939 the male inmates of *Rieucros* were transferred to *Le Vernet*. Until its closure on 13 Feb. 1942, *Rieucros* served exclusively as a women's camp. It had a capacity of up to 600 inmates. *Le Vernet* camp was closed on 30 June 1944. A total of between 30,000 and 40,000 people were interned there.

¹⁰ On the establishment of mandatory places of residence for Jewish refugees, see Doc. 242, fn. 2.

At Rivesaltes camp, numerous difficulties had to be overcome because of the administration's attitude. This has shown itself to be ill-disposed towards the committees' activities. Additionally, there is a lack of organization among the inmates themselves, who took more than eight months to establish a social committee, whereas the one at *Gurs* was formed within several weeks.

Nevertheless, we have progressively been able to arrange shipments of food to Rivesaltes and have been able to pay a significant monthly subsidy to our local committee in *Perpignan* to enable it to buy supplies of local food, notably fish, for Rivesaltes camp.

An additional amount was agreed for the camp's kosher kitchen, and we were able to send several deliveries of fish to this kitchen.

Deliveries were sent to *Noé* and *Récébédou* camps on a smaller scale, since the situation in these two camps is not as bad as that in *Gurs* and *Rivesaltes*.

In addition, thanks to the establishment of a local committee set up in Toulouse under the auspices of the *Camps Commission*, additional weekly shipments of supplies have been made to *Noé* and *Récébédou* camps.

We sent considerable quantities of food to *Vernet* camp every month.

This really is a particularly deprived camp which requires our help.

Finally, at *Les Milles* camp, where the average inhabitant is of a higher social class compared to the other camps, we limited our supplies expenditure to a monthly subsidy for the camp's social committee and to several exceptional shipments of food.

Clothing

Due to clothing restrictions, we had a great deal of difficulty in establishing clothing reserves. We nonetheless managed to purchase significant quantities of used/second-hand clothes from the Belgian supply office and distributed items of clothing in all the camps.

We were able to order 600 pairs of wooden clogs, which were divided up equally between the main camps, as well as a few hundred pairs of light, rope-soled shoes.

One hundred kilograms of wool, which were given to us by the *Quakers*, contributed to the improvement of the clothing situation, particularly for the children.

We distributed 1,500 paper vests,¹¹ a gift from the Swedish Red Cross. We sent more than 150 blankets, not counting the underwear, socks, etc. ...

In this respect, it is worth mentioning that at *Gurs* we also provided inmates with the funds they needed to purchase the former possessions of deceased inmates at auction.

Heating

As early as October, the *Camps Commission* began trying to establish ways of ensuring adequate heating in the main camps and collaborated with the *Quakers*, the OSE, and the Unitarian Service on this issue.

Heating in *Gurs* camp was satisfactorily managed, and in *Récébédou* the *Camps Commission* helped the Toulouse local committee purchase the necessary quantities of wood to provide limited heating.

The *Quakers* provided us with a lorry to make wood deliveries.

11 As in original (*gilets de papier*).

In spite of our efforts, there is currently no heating at Rivesaltes camp, due to a lack of foresight on the part of its administration.

We distributed hot-water bottles and thermos flasks to Gurs, Rivesaltes, Noé, and *Récébédou*. These were very much appreciated, particularly in the infirmaries.

Medicine, bandages, etc.

The *Camps Commission* received numerous requests from the inmates concerning hernia bandages, orthopaedic material, medicine, woollens, etc. ...

In many cases, we contributed to the purchase of the necessary bandages.

An agreement made with the Unitarian Service and the Quakers enabled us to divide up the costs resulting from this provision of medical supplies and to limit expenditure to a minimum, the *Unitarian Service* having created a special service in Marseilles to manufacture dental prosthetics.

Hospital stays

On several occasions the *Camps Commission* ensured that the most seriously ill inmates who required surgery or who could no longer remain in the camp were taken to clinics or hospitals.

We also contributed to the subsistence costs of a number of people who required sick leave and whose state of health did not permit them to return to the camp.

Aid in cash

In general, we have always tried to limit the distribution of aid in cash to a strict minimum, believing that our aid should be provided above all in goods. Nevertheless, we should point out that some inmates have been living in camps for more than two years, have no possessions at all, and are finding it completely impossible to earn anything at all.

There are some cases of such utter destitution that we considered it essential to distribute something to those most in need.

These payments were made under the supervision of the social committees operating in the camps, and the sums received, on average 20 francs per month, were so small that there was barely any risk of distribution errors. Such financial distributions were carried out regularly at *Rivesaltes*, *Récébédou*, and *Noé*, and in the other camps on public holidays.

Various subsidies

In addition to the aid paid out directly, the *Camps Commission* also repeatedly supported a large number of organizations. A monthly allowance was awarded to the *Secours suisse* to enable it to distribute additional afternoon snacks at *Gurs* camp. The distribution of these snacks is organized admirably, and the children are delighted to receive them.

A subsidy of 3,000 francs was awarded to the Service social d'aide aux émigrants¹² to enable it to print the blank forms designed to help trace family members, a service which numerous inmates requested.

¹² The Social Aid Service for Emigrants was the French branch of the International Migration Service, a transnational charitable organization founded in 1924. The organization, with headquarters in Geneva, provided support to refugees and was primarily funded by the French Ministry of Labour.

Significant subsidies of 50,000 francs each were awarded by the *Camps Commission* to the management of the reception centres founded under the patronage of His Eminence Cardinal Gerlier.¹³

This organization set up a reception centre for fifty or so former inmates of *Gurs* camp in the *Lyons*¹⁴ area; we paid a subsidy of 50,000 francs to this centre.

We also awarded a second subsidy of the same amount with a view to creating another centre in the Drôme département, which is due to open in the first few months of 1942.¹⁵

During the holidays, we made payments to the camp management at Rivesaltes for the camp's Christmas tree, to the social welfare service at *Récébédou*, to the hospital administration at *Gurs*, etc. ...

Social welfare teams

Under the patronage of the Service social d'aide aux émigrants, an official organization funded by the Ministry of Labour, various social welfare teams were set up, first at *Gurs* and then at *Rivesaltes*, which greatly help and support the inmates.

These teams were able to liaise between the authorities and the inmates, to undertake certain steps, and to inform and advise the inmates.

The *Camps Commission* funded these teams from the very beginning and, in view of the further development of the teams, now pays a sum of 15,000 francs each month to the Service social d'aide aux émigrants to share the costs.

Legal service

Because of the increasing incidence of several issues in recent months, notably that of dealing with the numerous release requests that we have been receiving, we have asked a former civil servant¹⁶ to take over the *Camps Commission's* legal service.

This service has already begun operations, and we anticipate that it will need to expand.

Chaplaincy

The *Camps Commission*, which is in charge of the salaries and fees of the camp chaplains, is in close contact with them.

These chaplains, accredited by the authorities, regularly visit all the camps and provide the inmates with moral and religious support. In addition, they allow the *Camps Commission* to remain in continuous contact with the inmates and to be kept informed about their situation in the camps.

Individual aid parcels

As explained above, we felt that collective aid provided by the *Camps Commission*, although useful and even indispensable, would not be sufficient, and have therefore asked

13 In order to help the inmates, some of whom had been interned in the camps for several years, in late 1940 the abbot Alexandre Glasberg suggested that so-called reception centres (centres d'accueil) be established, where men and women aged between 25 and 45 would be able to live together and undertake manual labour. The Vichy government permitted the establishment of the centres but insisted that the residents retained the status of internees.

14 The first reception centre was established in Chansaye in the Rhone département in Nov. 1941.

15 The second reception centre was established in Pont-de-Manne in the Drôme département in May 1942.

16 Joseph Lubetzky.

local committees, communities, and all charitable persons to take an interest in the fate of the inmates.

In order to accomplish this, we have asked everyone to send us any requests that come from the camps so that we can collect them and keep ourselves informed in order to determine whether or not a request deserves our attention.

The creation of our *central register* will allow us to prevent the duplication of paperwork as well as abuses.

Our secretary general has visited several communities to ask them to set up small local committees with a view to sending aid parcels to inmates.

At the moment, over 800 aid parcels are sent out every month by the committees that have been set up across the unoccupied zone under the direction of the Camps Commission: *Périgueux, Agen, Montpellier, Béziers, Avignon, Vichy, Limoges, Lyons, Toulouse*, etc.

Action taken

The *Camps Commission* regularly participates in the work and meetings of the Coordination Committee for Assistance in the Camps,¹⁷ which brings together all the charitable organizations that help inmates, irrespective of their religious belief or nationality.

Hence we have been able to inform the French Red Cross, the Secours national,¹⁸ and Inspector *Faure*,¹⁹ the inspector general of the camps, of any cases that deserve particular attention.

We were able to make the authorities aware of arbitrary or inappropriate activities.

We intervened to hasten the release of a number of inmates who had already fulfilled the main prerequisites.

We requested the hospitalization of a number of inmates who were seriously ill.

Liaison with the committees

The *Camps Commission* maintains close relations with all the Israelite aid and assistance organizations.

The CAR in particular sends us many of the requests it receives from the camps, and an agreement was made with this committee to help the inmates of the *Levant* Hotel in Marseilles.

On several occasions, the OSE has asked us to get involved in cases of a medical nature or to help children.

The *Camps Commission* is taking the necessary steps towards the release of several children from *Noé*, who will be taken to the OSE's holiday camps.

¹⁷ The Comité de coordination pour l'assistance dans les camps, more commonly known as the Comité de Nîmes, was founded on 5 Nov. 1940 and coordinated the work of around 30 charitable organizations.

¹⁸ The Secours national (National Aid), a relief organization founded in 1914 to support soldiers, their families, and the population in areas affected by the First World War. The organization was re-established on 19 Oct. 1940 and mostly collected donations to help people in need.

¹⁹ André Jean Faure (1887–1972), civil servant; prefect of the Ardèche département, 1937–1941; then prefect of the Haute-Loire département; inspector general of the internment camps from Sept. 1941; prefect of the Limoges and Haute-Vienne départements from 1943; prefect of the Nancy and Meurthe-et-Moselle départements in 1944.

We informed the ORT of the benefits of setting up training workshops in the camps for the purpose of occupational restructuring. Such workshops were recently established at *Récébédou* camp, and they are extremely well organized.

We are discussing the provision of medical and pharmaceutical supplies with the *Unitarian Service Committee*.

We are in correspondence with HICEM about emigration issues and with the *Fédération des sociétés juives d'Algérie*²⁰ about requests coming from the North African camps.

Foreign workers

Until the establishment of the *Camps Commission*, no Israelite organizations provided aid to foreign workers. The *Camps Commission* considered it its duty to come to the aid of these foreigners, whose situation resembled that of the inmates in many respects.²¹

Unfortunately no special funds were made available to our aid organization with this goal in mind, and the sums we spent on the foreign workers had to be deducted from those allocated to the camps. Therefore, during the first months of 1941 our aid work was much more limited than we would have wanted it to be.

We gave the rabbis and the committees closest to the foreign worker camps a small monthly subsidy to provide assistance in the most urgent cases.

For the past few months, also due to the growing numbers of co-religionists among the foreign workers, we have increased the amount of aid and sent food, clothing, and woollens, awarded a subsidy to a group of foreign workers for the purchase of a wireless set, and allocated special funds to the workers who suddenly lost their jobs because their companies were closed down.

The *Camps Commission* has informed the inspector general of the Foreign Workers' Associations²² of the situation of several work detail, which are subject to particularly harsh discipline and have insufficient food and clothing.

In collaboration with the OSE, we have decided to create a social aid organization which will look after the foreign workers specifically.

Also in conjunction with the OSE, we have decided to purchase appropriate dental treatment equipment, which we aim to distribute among the different details of foreign workers.

In 1942 we hope to be able to provide more systematic aid to foreign workers, who presently number more than 10,000.

The *Camps Commission's* activities prove how necessary it was to create such a body.

In the first few months of its existence, it was able to effectively provide aid to the inmates, and if the financial means at the disposal of this aid organization were more commensurate with current needs, its activities could be further expanded and could contribute to the further improvement of the inmates' often incredibly tragic situations.

20 The Federation of Jewish Societies of Algeria was founded in 1934 as an umbrella organization for Jewish organizations in Algeria. Most of its member organizations had Zionist leanings.

21 See Doc. 240, fn. 16.

22 Major Dussault.

DOC. 308

On 12 January 1942 the Association of French Banks agrees to approve a loan of 250 million francs for the General Union of French Jews¹

Letter from the committee of the association of banks and financial institutions,² signed Henri Ardant,³ to the Minister of Finance,⁴ dated 12 January 1942

Dear Minister,

In your letter of 8 January you asked us to inform our members of how important you consider it to grant a consortium loan of 250 million francs to the General Union of French Jews so as to ensure that the first instalment of the fine of one billion imposed on the Jews by the German Military Commander in France is paid before 15 January 1942.⁵ We are pleased to report back on the completion of our task.

You pointed out to us the important reasons justifying this aid. It is these considerations of public interest alone that have led our corporation to the decision to grant your request. Neither in its purpose, nor in the nature of the guarantees provided, does the envisaged loan fall within the framework of the business we normally accept. However, the French banks are not in the habit of shirking requests made by the French government in the national interest.

The exceptional nature of the transaction, dictated by reasons of general policy, determines the conditions of the consortium loan that you have tasked us with organizing: 1) First, we considered it essential to bring together the largest possible number of banks, from both the free zone and the occupied zone. We have therefore approached establishments with multiple branches, the principal merchant banks and private banking houses in Paris, and the most important regional establishments. Given the short timeframe which we have been given, in terms of the local provincial banks we have only been able to call on those whose managers are members of our association. We are pleased to have been able to add two establishments with a special legal status to this list: the *Crédit Foncier de France*⁶ and the *Crédit National*.

In a similar vein, we consider it necessary for the *Banque de France* to exercise its substantial authority in encouraging the participation of our members. We were pleased to learn that it considers the bills underwritten by the creditor banks of the General

1 AN, F37, vol. 38. This document has been translated from French.

2 Under Article 27 of the law of 13 June 1941, a committee was formed, which all banks and financial institutions were required to join. This enabled the Vichy government to exert significant influence over the banking and financial sector. The committee was dissolved with the law of 2 Dec. 1945.

3 Henri Ardant (1892–1959), economist; manager of the bank *Société Générale*, 1935–1941; president of *Société Générale* and chairman of the committee of the association of banks and financial institutions, 1941–1944; head of the *Banque Française d'Agriculture*, 1951–1959.

4 Yves Bouthillier.

5 See Doc. 300.

6 National Mortgage Bank.

Union of French Jews to be bankable, as the guarantees introduced by the law in preparation can take the place of the thirteenth signature required.⁷

The enclosed scale of contributions,⁸ agreed with each bank, has been drawn up by the Director of the Treasury.⁹ At our request, the Banque Française d'Acceptation has kindly agreed to act as the centralizing establishment.¹⁰

2) Our members have unanimously declared that they do not wish to make any profit from their participation.

We have therefore set a moderate interest rate, equal to the Banque de France's lending rate, which will in any case be subject to significant tax deductions because of the form in which the loan is made.

In addition, a number of banks have already informed us of their own accord that they will pay into the Secours national any proceeds they may still be holding upon completion of the transaction.

3) Finally, we believe that this exceptional loan should be granted only for a very short period: we have therefore made provisions for its repayment in three instalments, on 15 February, 15 March, and 15 April 1942.

Before each of these three dates, the guarantee fund established under the draft law of which you have informed us will have to be provided with sufficient funds to cover the loan instalments of the loan contracted by the General Union of French Jews. As it seems unlikely that the payments stipulated under Article 4 can be made rapidly, it will be necessary for the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs¹¹ to receive instructions from the government with a view to making provisional payments from the liquid assets and proceeds of the sales of securities belonging to Jewish individuals or companies located in the occupied zone, in accordance with Article 5.

We believe, Sir, that we have thus faithfully and rapidly performed the task that reasons of general interest have led you to entrust us with.

We already have the agreement of all of our members whose assistance we requested. We shall be honoured to submit for your esteemed approval at any time the drafts of the correspondence to be exchanged¹² between the Organizing Committee, the Banque Française d'Acceptation, the General Union of French Jews, and the participating banks.

Please accept, Sir, the renewed assurance of our high esteem and our complete devotion.

7 The law of 16 Jan. 1942 entitled the General Union of French Jews (UGIF) to a loan of 250 million francs. Article 3 determined that a blocked account should be set up at the Caisse des dépôts et consignations (CDC) as a guarantee fund to be used in the event of loan default. Article 4 stipulated that the trustees of Jewish businesses were to transfer the designated fee to the CDC upon the sale of Jewish property. Article 5 authorized the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs to accept payment in instalments for outstanding fees: *Journal officiel*, 16. Jan. 1942, pp. 239–240.

8 An enclosure listed the allocation of shares of 29 French banks in the loan amount. See AN, F37, vol. 38.

9 Jacques Brunet was director of the treasury at the Ministry of Finance, 1940–1946.

10 The Banque Française d'Acceptation, an accepting house, had agreed to accept the bills from the UGIF.

11 Xavier Vallat.

12 Included in the file.

DOC. 309

On 24 January 1942 the professional association for the furniture industry asks Commissioner for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat to Aryanize furniture companies¹

Letter from the National Furniture Group,² Paris, 36 avenue Hoche, signed E. Vérot³ and A. Ducrot,⁴ to the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs, Xavier Vallat, Vichy, 24 January 1942

Dear Commissioner General,

We have the honour of requesting from you the nomination of temporary administrators for the Israelite furniture companies in the unoccupied zone, as you have already done for other professional associations, and as you have already done in the special case of the Galeries Barbès⁵ branches in the unoccupied zone.

We would like to draw your attention to the particular situation in the furniture-making sector. It is the case that production within our industry, which takes place in small and medium-sized companies which are principally artisanal in character, has suffered in the recent past from the business methods and type of commerce alien to our profession used by companies led by Israelites – such as *Lévitan*,⁶ Galeries Barbès, etc., ... –

Our profession would *very much like* to see Jewish firms in the unoccupied zone subject to Aryanization measures.

With kind regards,

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, XXX-75. This document has been translated from French.

2 The Groupement national de l'ameublement was part of the professional association into which the woodworking industries were organized, as part of the reorganization of the French economy according to principles of corporate statism: *Journal officiel*, 25 Jan. 1941, pp. 410–412.

3 The furniture maker Edmond Vérot was head of the department for the administration of Jewish companies within the Groupement national de l'ameublement and deputy president of the trade association Chambre syndicale de l'ameublement.

4 Albert Ducrot (1900–1964), furniture retailer; founded the Ducrot furniture company in Paris in 1923; president of the Groupement national de l'ameublement from 1941.

5 The company, which had been founded in Paris in 1892, expanded its business operations to the whole of France from 1932 and to Algeria from 1937. Following the appointment of a temporary administrator, the company was closed down in Feb. 1942: AN, AJ38, vol. 566.

6 Wolff Lévitan founded a furniture shop in Paris in 1913.

DOC. 310

On 3 February 1942 the prefect of Marseilles informs the French Ministry of the Interior about the implementation of the government's anti-Jewish directives¹

Excerpt from a report sent by the prefect of Marseilles² to the Ministry of the Interior, dated 3 February 1942

[...]

4. Jews³

The directives relating to the Jews are being implemented extremely rigorously. Since 3 January they have been denied access to the Stock Exchange and the Chamber of Commerce.⁴ In addition, identification cards for entering the Commodities Exchange have been introduced.

Despite all the measures taken against them, the Jews still continue to conduct business through middlemen in the areas of real estate, commerce, and industry. The raids on the Property Management Company⁵ in *Marseilles* have confirmed this.

On 16 January the Jews who had rented apartments in the Splendid and Noailles hotels were required to vacate them by 1 February. As for the Grand Hotel, it is no longer permitted to accept Jewish guests who wish to stay longer than three days.

I must point out that the members of the German Armistice Commission⁶ have taken up residence at these three hotels.

1 Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseille, 76 W 7. This document has been translated from French.

2 Max Bonnafous (1900–1975), sociologist; cabinet secretary to Minister of Labour Adrien Marquet from Feb. to Nov. 1934; cabinet secretary to Minister of the Interior Adrien Marquet from June to Sept. 1940, subsequently prefect of Constantine (Algeria) and of Bouches-du-Rhône, then regional prefect of Marseilles; in the Ministry of Agriculture and Supplies, first as state secretary, then as minister, from April 1942 to Jan. 1944.

3 Item 1 of Chapter D (Police Affairs) listed the measures against communists and Gaullists; items 2 and 3 addressed the line of action against black marketeering and imprisonment in internment camps for anti-government or 'criminal' behaviour. The remaining chapters of the report concerned the population's reaction to government policy, to the activities of political parties and associations, to propaganda matters, and to economic developments.

4 In accordance with a law passed on 17 Nov. 1941, Jews were forbidden from entering the exchanges: *Journal officiel*, 3 Dec. 1941, p. 5179.

5 Société de gestion immobilière.

6 To implement the armistice of 22 June 1940, the Franco-German Armistice Commission had sent representatives to the cities of Lyons and Marseilles in the unoccupied zone.

DOC. 311

**On 7 February 1942 the German Military Commander in France
issues the Sixth Regulation on Measures Against Jews, subjecting Jews to a curfew
and a ban on relocation¹**

Sixth Regulation on Measures Against Jews
7 February 1942

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Führer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht, I decree the following:

§ 1

Curfew

Jews are forbidden to leave their homes between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.

§ 2

Ban on relocation

Jews are forbidden to relocate from their present place of residence.

§ 3

Penalties

Anyone who contravenes the provisions of this regulation is punishable by a prison sentence and a fine or by one of these penalties. In addition, such persons can be sent to a camp for Jews.

§ 4

Entry into force

This regulation comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

The Military Commander in France²

¹ *VOBl-F*, 11 Feb. 1942, pp. 340–341. This document has been translated from German.

² Otto von Stülpnagel.

DOC. 312

On 10 February 1942 the German embassy in Paris informs the Reich Foreign Office of Hitler's decision regarding the handling of deported Jews' household furnishings¹

Cable no. 594 (10 February 1942, 20:50; marked 'secret') from the German embassy in Paris, signed Schleier,² to the Reich Foreign Office (received on 10 February 1942, 21.10)

Subsequent to cable 421 of 30 January³ and 526 of 5 February⁴ regarding the confiscation of Jewish household furnishings. In above matter, new Führer decision has been communicated to Mil. Com. in France via A.H.C.⁵ Führer has decided as follows regarding use of Jewish household furnishings:

- 1) Confiscation of Jewish household furnishings should attract as little attention as possible. A specific ordinance is unnecessary.
- 2) Furnishings shall only be confiscated if Jewish owners are no longer present and homes are unoccupied.
- 3) Furniture in storage is not to be confiscated.
- 4) As far as possible, this measure is to be presented as requisition or retributive measure. Whether American or English Jews are to be exempted will be decided locally. Suggestions from the German embassy must be given due consideration. Embassy has referred matter of whether American and English Jews are exempt to Foreign Office and continues to insist appropriate compensation be paid where possible to Aryan homeowners and other non-Jews who suffered losses in operation.

1 PA AA, R 102978, fol. 3374. This document has been translated from German.

2 Rudolf Schleier (1899–1959), businessman; member of the German *Völkisch* Protection and Defiance League (Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund), 1920; joined the NSDAP in 1931; department head in the NSDAP's Foreign Organization, 1933–1938; head of a Nazi Party regional office (Gauamt), 1939–1940; worked for the Reich Foreign Office, 1940–1945; as deputy of the Foreign Office representative and as deputy ambassador in Paris, from June 1940 to Feb. 1944; interned 1945–1947; subsequently worked in an export business in Hamburg.

3 In this cable, Schleier had reported that the military administration would issue a regulation on 3 Feb. 1942 regarding the confiscation of furnishings from abandoned Jewish homes in the occupied zone. He wrote that this would be issued on instructions from Hitler, who had tasked the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Alfred Rosenberg, with organizing it so that his offices could be furnished with the confiscated items: PA AA, R 102978, fols. 3378–3379.

4 Correctly: 6 February. Schleier added that the publication of the regulation on the confiscation of Jewish household furnishings was being delayed because the military administration felt it necessary to consult the Army High Command again: *ibid.*, fols. 3375–3376.

5 Army High Command.

DOC. 313

In an anonymous letter dated 12 February 1942, a Jew asks Head of State Marshal Pétain to differentiate between French Jews and Jewish immigrants¹

Letter, unsigned, Marseilles, to Head of State Pétain, dated 12 February 1942²

Dear Marshal,

I am an Israelite. My letter is anonymous because I do not wish to make a general issue a personal one.

Here in southern France, we are among several families whose French ancestors unquestionably date back to the fourteenth century, as is attested by the family trees we have had made. According to the archivists of the Vaucluse département, it would be possible to go back even further, but that would require rather lengthy research since prior to that period the birth, marriage and death certificates were drafted by notaries who failed to keep full records.

We therefore presume that we can claim to have always been French.

Do you not think, Marshal, and here I take the liberty of appealing to your sense of justice and fairness, that a distinction should be made between ourselves, French Jews, and foreigners, to whom we bear no resemblance?

It is natural for certain measures to be taken against all foreigners, regardless of religion, too many of whom have been taken in by France. But should we be included among them because we were born members of a religious minority? I think that oversteps the mark. I hope that this fact having been pointed out to you, you will choose to give instructions so that a distinction is made.

It was stated that no action would be taken against Jews who had been baptized for a given length of time. Is this logical? I can personally attest that I have been offered an official baptism certificate for money. I refused. Knowing your honesty and your loyalty, I am convinced that you will have a greater regard for us than for those without religious conviction who have seized such an opportunity. Nonetheless, we must not be victims of our honesty once again.

I have the greatest reverence for and attachment to your eminent person. Over twenty years ago, I said to some of my friends, most of whom are still living and could testify to this, 'We need a man like Marshal Pétain at the head of our government to clean up our country a little.'

Was that prophetic or simply a result of my faith in you? I do not know. But I think that I was speaking and acting like a Frenchman when I said so!

You were the only one who could fulfil the hopes of loyal and truly patriotic Frenchmen! How could your coming to power be anything other than agreeable to us? Hence, all of us with a French heart have committed themselves to your policies and I assure you that many of my French co-religionists watched with joy the arrival in the stables

1 AN, AJ38, vol. 67. Published in Antoine Sabbagh (ed.), *Lettres de Drancy* (Paris: Tallandier, 2002), pp. 94–95. This document has been translated from French.

2 The letter was received by the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs on 17 Feb. 1942. It was forwarded to the registrar's office with the handwritten note: 'For the psychology file'. An entry stamp from the registrar gave 18 Feb. 1942 as the date received.

where we were floundering in the dirt of the only Hercules capable of cleaning them out.

We have given you our whole hearts. We love you. We revere you. We have confidence only in you. So it is to you that we turn to beg you to give us French the tranquillity we deserve. That we should be allowed to go on earning our living honestly from our work and that our motherland, which we have all defended with either our blood or our continuous cooperation at all times, should go on considering us her children who cherish her.

Marshal, please accept the deepest respects from someone who, for the first time in their life, does not sign a letter; I hope that you will excuse this and understand my reasons for not doing so.

DOC. 314

In February 1942 Benjamin Schatzman describes life in Compiègne camp in his diary¹

Diary of Benjamin Schatzman,² Compiègne,³ entries for 24 to 28 February 1942

24 February

Today calm reigns, the mood is contemplative, and this is probably because we found out that the soup would be and was much less substantial, which contributed greatly to creating this state of mind. In truth, hunger dominates everything, it is an immediate and urgent concern, since the consequences of this want have already made themselves felt to many in the form of extreme weakness and sickness, while others have more or less visibly grown thin. Everyone fears that the deplorable consequences of this shortage that can be seen all around will soon also manifest in themselves. Therefore, a race is on to purchase supplies, at any price, among those who have the means to do so. It is useless to mention the prices asked and offered, but they are much higher than what Parisians could suppose or imagine.

6.30 p.m.

We have just been told that the orders concerning the great event have just arrived. The general opinion is that they have come so late because there was a wait for a decision to be made. This piece of information, like all others, can only be of relative use, since everything that is talked about is never founded on any official or incontrovertible source. So now we have to spend another night in hope and expectation that will be difficult to turn back into indifference, and one cannot prevent oneself from feeling

1 The original is privately owned. Published in Benjamin Schatzman, *Journal d'un interné: Compiègne, Drancy, Pithiviers, 12 décembre 1941–23 septembre 1942* (Paris: Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, 2006), pp. 83–94. This document has been translated from French.

2 Benjamin Schatzman (1877–1942), dentist; born in Romania; naturalized in France in 1907; worked as a dentist in Paris, from 1933 also as a university professor in Paris; arrested on 12 Dec. 1941 and taken to Compiègne camp, then imprisoned in Drancy camp from 23 June 1942; after several periods of internment at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande, deported on 23 Sept. 1942 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

3 Royallieu internment camp near Compiègne.

somewhat agitated and feverish. A further source of agitation is the news that the distribution of postcards for requesting clothing has begun. For those who still have to stay, this is pleasing news, while for those to be released, it is a source of regret, as this will be a worrying additional expense for them.

25 February

The night I just had was not as bad as I had feared. I thought about it with less agitation than I had anticipated, but as the general feeling persists that we will be released soon, I analysed my mental state and the state of my soul as they are currently and as they will be during the first few days after my release.

In all sincerity, I have to acknowledge that I am not what I was. My feelings and my needs are closer to those of a mere animal. I cannot see myself with any desire other than to feed myself, to relieve the pangs of hunger, to recover my former state with respect to physical needs. As for my mental state, my cerebral needs, I have been absolutely incapable of focusing my thoughts on reading, and have no need or desire for this for several reasons, of which the main one is my state of weakness and fatigue. This is something I cannot comprehend, because I have never been this way before. Reading was always an unfailing passion of mine. Besides the animal need to eat, my mental and psychological needs were always almost as indispensable to me. And, to my great surprise, I can now keep on living without feeling this thirst for reading. My self is so annihilated that even when thinking about what I will do at my own home after my release, I find myself indifferent to reading. I do not feel any sense of impatience as I had before of having some free time to plunge myself into this or that book which was waiting for me or which I had plans to purchase. I only see myself resting and eating, and yet I have the sense that I will be able to resume my previous activity more quickly than I now think possible, particularly when the necessary amenities are at hand.

Here, no chair, no table, no lighting. I can only write sitting on a straw pallet, with a sore back and hands numb from the cold.

7 p.m.

An unexpected event happened at 3.30 p.m. We were told in our rooms that all those aged fifty-five and over had to assemble in order to be photographed.

I was therefore obliged to get out from under my covers, to put my shoes on over my thin, fraying, torn socks, to go and stand in the snow and wait for them to call out our names in alphabetical order, and then to stand by before being led to the place where the photographs were taken, where we had to wait again, while suffering terribly from the cold which froze my feet and my hands. All this was all the more difficult because I was finding it hard to keep standing. This photography was of course done outside, in groups of six, each person having a little sign with the number of the camp and the prisoner number hung in front of him. In short, I came back feeling absolutely frozen.

This document prepared by the authorities gave rise to numerous observations, but the most memorable, because it was the most logical, is that this suggested the first step towards something, since it confirmed the rumour that those who were over fifty-five years of age would be released first. So, the first confirmation. Since then, we have already received another piece of information: that the first departure will take place

tomorrow. I say the first departure because people who deem themselves informed say that the release will be done in groups, and not all at the same time. Tomorrow, we will know if this opinion is justified. In any case, the general feeling is that the photographs prove that something major is going to happen, and that we can allow ourselves to wait passively, and to tell ourselves that it is truly only a question of days at the most. If the departure is done in groups, I do not know how big they will be, and if it is done in alphabetical order I will not be in the first group because of my name, and David Cantor⁴ will leave without me, which I greatly regret, since I will not have the pleasure of being released with him.

26 February

Sleepless night from Thursday to Friday,⁵ full of indolence and indifference, and held up by a waking delirium with my imagination completely out of control, which meant the morning brought complete discouragement and loss of confidence in my health. I was afraid for the first time, I thought about the possibility of serious illness and that I might not get out of here alive.

And so I thought with great satisfaction about my insurance, which is up to date, and felt content to have David with me so I could give him some messages and recommendations for Cécile.⁶

During the morning I fortunately started to feel a bit better and when the time came for soup, I felt a little hungry, since yesterday and this morning I did not have anything other than the morning herbal tea, which meant about eighteen hours without any food at all.

Bad night, without sleep, although I was not as cold. As for the anticipation of leaving and my emotions, I was fairly calm. I did not count on leaving this morning, and I was right not to. The morning passed without any signal that could lead us to believe that something would happen today, and besides, people were already saying that we were going to have to wait a few more days. It is pointless discussing the events and addressing opinions and feelings, it is completely impossible to get to any opinion based upon anything.

No one can know the authorities' official intentions, or at least we cannot afford them the significance we would like. It is still the case that we are only able to judge what is to come based on simple indications, and these certainly seem favourable. It follows that we can allow ourselves some hope of release very soon. What a joyful feeling of expectation, the idea that we will perhaps be reunited next Sunday! I entertain myself by undertaking projects in my head and think about satisfying plenty of desires which have specifically come to me here, influenced by my life here, by mental contact with diverse friends here and, finally, by reflecting on myself and on what I will allow myself to undertake.

I am forming more and more precise opinions, since it takes time to get to know the tastes and the mentality of people. My first observation is that people get together in groups of two or three, without having known each other beforehand, or only vaguely.

⁴ David Cantor (b. 1878) was deported from Drancy to Auschwitz on 2 March 1943.

⁵ 26/27 Feb. 1942.

⁶ Schatzman had been married to Cécile Kahn since 1908.

These groups are quite curious. One of the two has the task of taking care of the other and is in charge of the allocated rations. It is he who divides things up and decides when and how much to eat. These groups also form in order to share and purchase the supplies offered here – at outrageous prices, as I have already said. I will talk about these prices another time, as they only keep going up and as their limit has not yet been reached. That will be of great interest. Nothing will stop those who have money and are used to eating a lot. If I was forced to do as they do to save my life, I would have to prepare to die, because my means would never allow me to eat like that. What surprises me the most, given that I had been ignorant of the sort of wealth that people could possess, is that the very people whose trades, it seemed to me, could only allow them to make a modest living actually own great wealth.

7 p.m.

What could the order for all people aged fifty-five and over to be photographed mean? And what about the fact that a special list was prepared for it? And, moreover, what does it mean that an order was given this afternoon for all the others to also report to be photographed?

It seems obvious that this earlier selection must be linked to the intention or the decision to release the first group first. On this subject, people who claim to be well informed say that we (those of us who are over fifty-five years of age) are considered as good as released, and our departure only depends on the necessary preparations in the form of a written order for departure. If that does not happen tomorrow, Friday, there is a good chance that it will be put off until Monday, since Saturday and Sunday are, they say, days of rest for the Germans. Thus, one more disappointment to record, felt even more keenly in light of our very justified impatience.

Meanwhile, our surroundings are covered with a thick layer of snow, with cold outside and humidity inside. It is easy to imagine the morale of these people, worn out from malnutrition, weakened by the cold, by disease, by substandard beds, by their caged life, not counting their suffering from the lack of hygiene and the lack of cleanliness.

As far as I am concerned, I am suffering and demoralized in every respect. The fact that I cannot bring myself to do even the bare minimum makes me particularly unhappy. In the presence of inevitable necessity, I feel anxiety and an internal shudder before finally deciding to do something.

I end up with exaggerated fears and attach more importance to things than they actually have. This dispirited state is largely due to the desire to avoid getting a chill, because that would make my situation even worse, as there are few ways here, or very nearly none, of getting medical treatment or just to recuperate. It takes several days to obtain medication.

27 February

The entire morning went by without any new false reports. Conversations about departure have died down, we have almost stopped talking about it. It is true, though, that in our room only seven of the twenty-eight of us are over fifty-five years of age.

What was discussed above all was the question of clothing packages. Some people have received them and that is momentous, since it proves that at least the postcards made it to their addressees.

As for me, since I should by rights be among those leaving, I am not completely happy about it because I am wondering how I will be able to take this extra clothing with me, as I am already really weighed down. I will perhaps be obliged to leave some things here. However, I wonder how I will feel and the extent to which, under the influence of excitement and joy, I will be able to draw on unknown reserves of strength. I am not sure if my postcard has been sent, because people heard that the postcards from those who were advised to write down their age were not sent because of their imminent departure.

I note in passing the disagreements which I am party to.

We mostly live without heating and when there is any, it comes from a deep wood stove, and those who have what is necessary prepare some hot food for themselves around 6.00 p.m. Well, for the first time some coal was just brought to us, and on that subject the room is divided, with some of the opinion that it will not be good for cooking what they want and the others of the opposite opinion, and all this because there is insufficient wood remaining to provide the necessary heat (I am having a very hard time writing because of the cold, in spite of the fact that I am well covered in bed, but my hands remain numb). I find the noise of this discussion, like that made when discussing other subjects, for the most part unbearable, and it often makes me sad. We live in peace only at night, and even then not completely, because there are the coughers and among them two who cough so loudly that one imagines that they would wake the dead. I am also really despondent about the persistence of the cold. For the last eight days, every night I went to sleep with the hope that tomorrow the thaw would begin, and nothing changes.

What a dreadful month of February!

Rumours come to us from everywhere, and this afternoon a decision was communicated to us which is in line with the ones made elsewhere: namely that it is forbidden to leave the barracks after eight o'clock in the evening.

At the same time, one good measure was taken, of benefit to those over fifty-five years of age: we are no longer required to go to the morning roll call. This measure will do them a lot of good, since being outside at 8.45 a.m. in the cold and rain and having to stay there for an average of thirty to forty minutes was more than disagreeable, indeed, it could be described as very tough.

With respect to food distribution, yesterday was a good day, that is to say, we were better served compared to the average. However, today, there was less of the bread and the rest in the evening, which happens at least three times per week. As for me, I have to abstain as much as possible from eating anything which contains water. I have to make do with a bit of warm herbal tea, no more than a cup, otherwise I need to get up too often at night, and my sleep is that much more disturbed.

28 February

A night like the others. Not enough sleep, and very much bothered by pruritus, or itching, which I have not yet spoken about, which I have been suffering from for at least three weeks, and which certainly comes from food poisoning from sardines and anchovies. These supplies are sometimes provided by the mess hall, as well as a few biscuits or crackers from time to time, no more than 'two per head' to use the expression used here. As I was saying, I would easily have been able to soothe and heal this pruritus, which

takes the form of hives, if I had some Emgé.⁷ But I don't have any, and I also haven't asked for any, because for the last eight days I have been hoping to be released. How much longer will this hope be put off? This pruritus was perhaps caused by something else which I cannot determine at the moment.

Other than that, this morning brought no subjects for contemplation except that the arrival of numerous clothing packages was announced.

2.30 p.m.

Given that 1,000 packages arrived, Cantor and I have probably received a parcel as well and we will only know on Monday, since the distribution will not be done until Monday morning, and it will only start with the first ones that arrived yesterday or today. As I have not abandoned hope of leaving relatively soon, I am worried about how my departure is going to play out because of the added weight. But, in the meantime, I am not unhappy at the thought of having a portable gas stove, if it could be sent, and also the knife sharpener and especially shoes. With respect to this last item, that will do me a great deal of good since I will at least be able to move around a bit. It will be a pleasure to be able to go to see several people here whom I have met and whom I have not been going to see because it is too painful to come and go in the mud, melting snow and ice. My shoes hurt and make my feet cold.

Thus, shoes from Evry⁸ will be of inestimable use to me in this season and place. I hope therefore, with quite some impatience, that the shoes will be in my parcel, if it has actually arrived yet. The portable gas stove will be very useful to me too, allowing me to do all sorts of things. We never know, after all, how much longer we will be interned here, and, unless gas is no longer available, that will help make life here less miserable. The issues regarding laundry and cleanliness will remain. When the days become less cold, there will be little fear of catching a chill and my earlier love for life will return, and finally this endless wait for the end of suffering will become more bearable.

The roll call is now finally over for today, and bread will be distributed, each loaf divided into six, so a meagre portion. I do not know yet if we will get jam, since we did not get any yesterday. There is talk of making a small soup with the stock cube, to which we will add a bit of bread to thicken it up.

We just received a distribution which came from a Red Cross delivery. This delivery is not the first, and what characterizes it is that each person is given a small portion because there are more than a thousand in our special camp and because not everybody in one dormitory can be given the same thing, like, for example, this afternoon, when we were brought crackers, sugar, and a piece of bread, as well as a tin of Gruyère spread. We were given three crackers between two, two pieces of sugar per person, but there was not enough bread and biscuits for everyone, and in this case, the bread was cut into reasonable portions and lots were drawn. The first numbers drawn were given first choice. When my number came up, I took bread, while nothing remained for Cantor but the biscuits, and we were able to share all of it. I forgot to say that we also had five walnuts between two people. These little supplements are unfortunately too rare and the quantities are too small.

⁷ Medication for the treatment of allergic reactions.

⁸ Evry Léon Schatzman (1920–2010), astrophysicist; son of Benjamin Schatzman.

2.30 p.m.

I have not yet noted any thoughts on the midday soup. First of all: it's watery ... then, I am not given much ... I do not have any potatoes ... ah, I do not have any meat. (There is only meat every other day in small portions, mixed with the soup, and you are lucky to get some in your ladle.) The server serves you one ladleful, which is about two cups, and according to his preferences he gives a bit more to some people. You have to count on luck or the sympathy of the server to have something on your plate. My other thoughts are that it is not nourishing, even if it could be, as there is a great deal of ignorance regarding nutritional value. People do not know the difference between peas, pasta, and potatoes. Carrots and turnips are looked down on. A happy silence accompanies the ingestion of this soup. Once finished, we hear: that's it for twenty-four hours, I could eat two or three more times, it made me hungry. I personally feel hunger for an hour afterwards.

DOC. 315

**On 2 March 1942 Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs Xavier Vallat
sends the German military administration an overview of dismissed Jewish civil
servants and public officials¹**

Letter from the Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs (X.V./O.D.), unsigned, to the Military Commander in France's administrative staff, for the attention of Dr Gelbhaar,² dated 2 March 1942 (copy)

Pursuant to my letter dated 28 January 1942³ in response to your question about the number of Jewish civil servants and public officials dismissed on the basis of the law of 3 October 1940⁴ and the law of 2 June 1941,⁵ I am sending enclosed an overview.

Enclosure Jewish civil servants and public officials dismissed on the basis of the law of 3 October 1940 and the law of 2 June 1941.

	Law of 3 Oct. 1940	Law of 2 June '41	Total
<i>Justice</i>	59	None	59
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	14	None	14
<i>Interior</i>	8	24	8
<i>Finance</i>	99	169	268
<i>War</i>	697	164	861
<i>Navy</i>	14	154	168
<i>Air Force</i>	72	38	110
<i>Education</i>	986	82	1068 (1)

1 AN, AJ38, vol. 9. This document has been translated from French.

2 Hans Gelbhaar (b. 1881); joined the NSDAP in 1933; department head of the 'Justice' group in the administrative department of the Military Commander in France.

3 On 28 Feb 1942 Vallat informed the military administration that as the numbers stood 1,947 Jews had been dismissed from the civil service. The numbers for the French army and the Ministry for Family and Health were still incomplete at this point: AN, AJ38, vol. 9.

4 See Doc. 241.

5 See Doc. 270.

<i>Family and Health</i>	11	None	11
<i>Agriculture</i>	20	1	21
<i>Nutrition</i>	None	22	22
<i>Industrial Production</i>	29	None	29 (1)
<i>Labour Communications</i>	16	25	41
a) <i>Works & Transport</i>	49	1	50
b) <i>P. T. T.</i> ⁶	481	64	545
<i>Colonies</i>	41	6	47
	2596	750	3346

(1) Provisional figures

Not all of the ministries have responded with respect to the redistribution of dismissed personnel between the two zones.

DOC. 316

On 10 March 1942 Theodor Dannecker reports on a meeting at the Reich Security Main Office, at which the decision was taken to deport 5,000 Jews from France¹

Memorandum by SS-Hauptsturmführer Dannecker (IV J SA 225a) for SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Knochen and SS-Sturmbannführer Lischka, dated 10 March 1942 (copy)

Re: deportation of 5,000 Jews from France (quota for 1942).

1) *Memorandum*

At the meeting of officials in charge of Jewish affairs at the Reich Security Main Office – IV B 4 – on 4 March 1942 in Berlin,² I briefly outlined the situation and difficulties for our intervention in France. I also talked about the need to suggest something really positive to the French government for once, such as the deportation of several thousand Jews.

Setting aside the proposal made by the Brussels official in charge of Jewish affairs³ immediately following my request, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann ruled as follows:

Subject to a final decision from the Chief of the Security Police and the SD,⁴ preliminary negotiations with French government agencies can now be entered into regarding the deportation of 5,000 Jews to the East.

First and foremost, these should be able-bodied male Jews not over the age of 55.

⁶ Postes, Télécommunications et Têlédiffusion: French post office and telecommunications network.

¹ Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVI-18 and IfZ-Archives, Eich 113. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 402. This document has been translated from German.

² At a meeting held on 4 March 1942 Adolf Eichmann, head of the section for Jewish affairs at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), and the RSHA officials in charge of Jewish affairs in the occupied territories of Western Europe had discussed deportation quotas for the following months.

³ Kurt Asche.

⁴ Reinhard Heydrich.

Jews of French nationality must lose their citizenship prior to deportation or, at the latest, on the day they are deported.

The disposal of their assets must likewise be settled.

The deportation of large numbers of Jews from Slovakia is now imminent. Based on a rate calculated from the ratio of the number of Jews to the total value of Jewish assets, the Slovakian government is paying 500 Reichsmarks for every Jew deported and is also meeting the transport costs. As the intention is to adopt a similar procedure with the Jews who are to be deported from France, an evaluation of the assets owned by Jews in both zones must be carried out first.

Further details will be finalized in the coming months.

2) *SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Knochen*

(copy submitted for the attention of)

3) *SS-Sturmbannführer Lischka*

(copy submitted for the attention of)⁵

4) Return to IV J

DOC. 317

On 20 March 1942 Compiègne's police commissioner informs the prefect of the Oise département that a transport of Jews has left Compiègne camp¹

Letter (no. 665, marked 'confidential') from the police commissioner of the town of Compiègne, Bielle, to the prefect of the Oise département in Beauvais,² dated 20 March 1942 (copy)³

I have the honour to inform you that on 19 March 1942, on the instructions of the German authorities, and under the guard of 100 French gendarmes, 178 Jews were taken from *Royallieu* camp⁴ to *Paris*, for subsequent transfer to Drancy camp (Seine département).

The column followed the arterial roads around the city, which separate the camp from the train station, over a distance of about two and a half kilometres.

The 178 prisoners were chained together in pairs and flanked on both sides by French gendarmes.

They stopped for about half an hour at the square in front of the station, where about 200 curious onlookers had assembled, among them many relatives (wives and daughters of the prisoners).

⁵ The memorandum was seen by Knochen and Lischka.

¹ Mémorial de la Shoah, CII-47. Published in Jacques Fredj (ed.), *L'Internement des Juifs sous Vichy* (Paris: Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1996). This document has been translated from French.

² Paul Vacquier (1886–1956), civil servant; prefect of the Territoire-de-Belfort département, 1926–1928; prefect of the Nièvre département, 1928–1937; prefect of the Côtes-du-Nord département, 1937–1940; prefect of the Oise département, 1940–1942.

³ This document was sent along with a letter dated 25 March 1942 from the prefect of the Oise département, Paul Vacquier, to the commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Xavier Vallat: Mémorial de la Shoah, CII-47. See fn. 1.

⁴ Royallieu prisoner-of-war camp was located at Compiègne.

Overall, these Jews seemed quite depressed, though one could not necessarily tell whether they were in an extremely weakened physical state.

Quite a few among them sported the badges of the Legion of Honour (both officer's and knight's ranks) as well as the Military Medal and the War Cross in their buttonholes.

They greedily consumed the pieces of bread their relatives gave them.

At one moment on the station platform, one of the men from the convoy asked me the names of the chief prosecutor and the chief judge at *Compiègne* court; I asked him in what capacity he required this particular piece of information. He answered: 'Because I myself am a judge.' When asked to give his name and the place where he had practised, he answered: 'I am M. *Laemle*, a judge at the Paris courts, and I presided over the court during the *Weidmann* trial.'⁵ Then, looking at his chained arm and shaking his head, he added, 'Well, you always remain French, despite all of this.'

A moment later someone held out two bars of chocolate to this man, and the other prisoner he was chained to quickly grabbed one them, held on to it tightly, and said: 'It's mine, it's for me!' Such statements and the voraciousness with which these men ate anything held out to them give reason to believe that they were starving.

Boarding took place in an entirely orderly fashion, and at 4.50 p.m. the four reserved coaches in which the police officers and prisoners had taken their places were hooked up to the *Paris* train, which left at 4.58 p.m.

There were no protests, neither on the way there nor at the station. The people who had gathered along the way looked at the sad procession with pity and made no comment.

Attached is the list of the prisoners sent to *Drancy*.⁶

The Police Commissioner

Signed: *Bielle*

⁵ Eduard Laemle (b. 1877), lawyer; practised law in Algeria; later judge at the Paris Court of Assizes and Court of Appeal; forced into early retirement in Dec. 1940 because of the Statute on Jews. Eugen Weidmann, who was originally from Germany, had committed several murders in France in the late 1930s. He was sentenced to death on 31 March 1939 and publicly executed on 17 June 1939.

⁶ Not in the file.

DOC. 318

**On 27 March 1942 Theodor Dannecker informs the Reich Security Main Office
that a train carrying 1,112 deported Jews has left France for Auschwitz¹**

Telex no. 5229 (marked 'urgent') from the representative of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Paris (IV J SA 24), signed p.p. SS-Hauptsturmführer Dannecker, to the Reich Security Main Office, Section IV B 4, dated 27 March 1942²

Re: transport of Jews from France

Case file: known

The train transport left 'Le Bourget' station, Drancy, outside Paris at 5 p.m. on 27 March 1942. The officer in charge of the transport until its transfer to the Order Police at the border with the Reich in Neuburg/Mosel is Lieut. *Delarue*.

Size of transport: 1,100 Jews.

DOC. 319

**In April 1942 the French Police for Jewish Affairs inform the secretary general
of the French police about their investigative work¹**

Progress report from the Police for Jewish Affairs² in the unoccupied zone, dated April 1942, to the Secretary General for the Police³

The progress reports from the seven regional chiefs of police for Jewish affairs in the unoccupied zone show how much important work this force does each month.

In April (25 March–25 April), a total of 456 investigations were carried out at the request of the regional and département prefects, police commissioners, the Commissar-

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, XLIX-34. This document has been translated from German.

2 The telex was sent on 28 March 1942. Other recipients were the inspector of the concentration camps, SS-Brigadeführer Richard Glücks, and the commandant of Auschwitz concentration camp, Rudolf Höss.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, CXCI-133a. This document has been translated from French.

2 The Minister of the Interior set up the Police aux questions juives (PQJ) on 19 October 1941 as one of three special political police units. It later also carried out investigations on behalf of the German Security Police. In the spring and summer of 1942, the PQJ carried out between 10 and 20 per cent of its investigations on behalf of the German occupiers, while the rest of its work was based on requests from the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs, the prefectures, and the Vichy government's Ministry of the Interior.

3 René Bousquet (1909–1993), lawyer; secretary general of the Châlons-sur-Marne prefecture, 1939–1940; prefect of the Marne département, 1940–1941; head of the Vichy government's police authority from April 1942 to Dec. 1943; played a central role in the roundups and deportations of Jews from France; arrested by the Gestapo on 9 June 1944 and placed under house arrest in Bavaria; charged with collaborationist crimes and 'compromising the interests of national defence' by the Haute Cour de justice in 1949, acquitted of the latter charge in light of his involvement with the resistance, but sentenced to loss of civil rights for five years; subsequently worked in finance and the French press; charged with crimes against humanity in 1989; murdered before the start of his trial.

iat General for Jewish Affairs, and the office of the Chief of the *Vichy* Police for Jewish Affairs. This number breaks down as follows:

<i>Limoges region:</i>	82 investigations
<i>Clermont region:</i>	33 investigations
<i>Lyons region:</i>	64 investigations
<i>Marseilles region:</i>	120 investigations
<i>Nice region:</i>	50 investigations
<i>Montpellier region:</i>	43 investigations
<i>Toulouse region:</i>	64 investigations

In April 1,969 files on individuals were added to the general register, and the Ministry of the Interior's central register received 1,505 files from the Police for Jewish Affairs.

The number of case files opened over the course of the month was 502.

The number of staff working under my command on 25 April is 47 and breaks down as follows:

Central headquarters:

- 1 office manager
- 1 filing clerk
- 1 assistant filing clerk
- 1 accountant
- 2 shorthand typists

Region XII, Limoges:

- 1 regional director, deputy superintendent
- 1 deputy superintendent
- 3 deputy inspectors, 1 of whom is posted in *Périgueux*, and 1 in *Châteauroux*
- 1 filing clerk
- 1 typist

Region XIII, Clermont:

- 1 regional director, deputy superintendent
- 3 deputy inspectors, one posted in *Vichy*
- 1 filing clerk
- 1 typist

Region XIV, Lyons

- 1 regional director, deputy superintendent
- deputy superintendent
- 1 filing clerk and inspector
- 2 inspectors, one posted in *Grenoble*
- 1 typist
- 1 posted police inspector from the detective division.

Region XV, Marseilles

- 1 regional director, deputy superintendent
- 1 deputy superintendent
- 3 inspectors, one posted in *Nîmes*
- 1 filing secretary
- 1 typist
- 1 posted police inspector from the detective division.

Region XV, Nice

- 1 regional director, deputy superintendent
- 1 inspector
- 1 secretary typist

Region XVI, Montpellier

- 1 regional director, deputy superintendent
- 2 inspectors, one posted in *Perpignan*
- 1 typist

Region XVII, Toulouse

- 1 regional director, deputy superintendent
- 1 inspector as filing clerk
- 3 inspectors
- 1 typist

In several regions, this level of staffing is not sufficient for the work required and the recruitment of a number of inspectors and typists should be considered urgently, particularly for the regions of *Marseilles*, *Nice*, *Toulouse*, and *Montpellier*. In these regions, a considerable number of requests for investigations are pending.

It would seem appropriate to take advantage of the proposed transfer of four deputy superintendents and twelve deputy inspectors to the parallel police force to meet the needs of the overworked regional chiefs.

In five regions, the service is housed at the regional commissioner's office.⁴ Only in the case of the *Lyons* and *Marseilles* regions has it not yet been possible to accommodate the services at the commissioner's office, despite my having made numerous applications. In particular, the *Lyons* region service, which is working under unbearable conditions (a single small room has been made available to the Police for Jewish Affairs by the Commission for Jewish Affairs, which cannot do any more itself since it does not have the resources), has urgently requested to be moved to the premises of the regional police commissioner or to be provided with offices by this agency.

A large number of requests for proceedings, internments, the allocation of mandatory places of residence,⁵ and various penalties following conclusive investigations have been presented to the regional prefects and the police commissioners (contravention of the laws against Jews, black marketeering, dealing in gold and foreign currencies, people smuggling, communist and anti-national propaganda).

Appropriate measures are urgently required in order to apply penalties.

In my last monthly report, I asked for measures to be taken quickly to enable us to classify Jews as either French, foreign, dependent on the state, not dependent on the state, suspect or undesirable. A plan to assemble Jews regionally and at département level in accordance with the circulars in force has been prepared by agreement with the regional director for the 12th (*Limoges region*), and I think its general implementation would at least provide a temporary solution to the problem concerned.

4 The post of police commissioner (intendant de police) was established for each of the regional prefectures set up on 19 April 1941 by Prime Minister Darlan. Their task was to centrally coordinate the police forces in Vichy France.

5 See Doc. 242, fn. 2.

Region 12, Limoges:

Over the course of this month, 82 investigations have been carried out, 51 of which related to individuals and 31 to businesses.

Requests for proceedings or proposed penalties:

– Failure to register ⁶	6
– Citation by social welfare services ⁷	24
– Mandatory place of residence	11
– Withdrawal of refugee allowance	2
– Inclusion in foreign labourer groups ⁸	2
– Revocation of naturalization ⁹	2
– Dismissal of Jews in public administration ¹⁰	3
– Internment requests ¹¹	4

It would seem desirable for penalties and sentences for failure to register, black marketeering and exercising a profession banned to Jews to be widely publicized in the press.

Every time the local newspapers publish sentences, an increase in Jews registering can be observed over the following few days.

This region is overburdened with Jewish elements: 17,197 registrations in the region.

The Jewish Passover celebrations were celebrated by a larger number of believers. Chief Rabbi *Hirschler* of *Limoges* is very active. In a recent speech, he is said to have clearly implied that *the end of Jewish suffering was nigh through an indisputable victory for England and America*, and that the Jewish people would soon be back in possession of their goods and their freedom!!!

Rabbi *Deutsch*¹² of Limoges, along with the Sommer law firm located at 14 boulevard Dugommier, Marseilles, is planning to set up a school, a small Jewish seminary, which would in actual fact be a continuation of Maimonides School.¹³

People smuggling across the demarcation line¹⁴ has been declining since surveillance has been increased.

Heavy Gaullist propaganda throughout the region, which tries to discredit the Marshal¹⁵ and the government and to prove that measures taken are German in origin and subject to German influence.

6 See Doc. 271.

7 The French administration reported all cases where wrong or incomplete information was given to the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs, which in turn reported them to the Police for Jewish Affairs.

8 *Groupements de travailleurs étrangers*: see Doc. 240, fn. 16.

9 See Doc. 240, fn. 14.

10 These dismissals were carried out on the basis of the second Statute on Jews. See Doc. 270.

11 See Doc. 242.

12 Abraham Deutsch (1902–1992), rabbi; served as rabbi of the French mandate over the Saar, 1924–1927; rabbi in Strasbourg, 1927–1945; lived in Limoges, 1940–1944; founded the Petit séminaire de Limoges in 1943; interim chief rabbi of Strasbourg, 1945–1947; chief rabbi, 1947–1970.

13 The École Maïmonide was established in 1935 as part of the Jewish education system in France under the aegis of the Central Consistory in Paris.

14 A pass issued by the German military administration was required in order to cross the demarcation line between the occupied and the unoccupied zones. Jews received such passes only under exceptional circumstances.

15 Philippe Pétain.

Region 13, Clermont

Over the course of this month, the following measures have been carried out: 33 investigations, of which 28 related to individuals and 5 to businesses.

Requests for proceedings or proposed penalties:

– False declaration ¹⁶	1
– Appointment of a temporary administrator	2
– Mandatory place of residence	1
– Internment	6
– Withdrawal of passport	1
– Withdrawal of allowance	1
– Withdrawal of employment	1
– Searches	16
– Identification of 113 persons	

Chief Rabbi *Liber*, whose anti-government activity must again be reported, took advantage of Passover to go to *Geneva* and give a speech, whose very title is a manifesto: Judaism Will Survive.

Malicious Gaullist activity, particularly by foreign Jews who engage heavily in black marketeering and listen to and incite their neighbours to listen to and discuss English radio. It should be noted that there has been a degree of anxiety among them since the establishment of the new ministry,¹⁷ which was very badly received by them.

It has emerged from an investigation carried out in Region 12 that Jews entering the unoccupied zone illegally are trafficking identity cards. Identity cards provided for Jews in the occupied zone have the word 'Jew' on them. This is not the case in the unoccupied zone, where there are no special entries.¹⁸ As a result, Jews destroy their cards from the occupied zone on arrival in the unoccupied zone and have a new card made. They then return to the occupied zone with their new *unmarked card* and are no longer considered Jews.

My service has already requested that the letters UGIF (for General Union of French Jews) should be marked on Jews' cards.

Region 14, Lyons:

Over the course of this month, 64 investigations have been carried out, 37 of which concern individuals and 27 concern businesses.

In the *Lyons* region, Passover gave rise to events which remained purely religious in nature and made no reference to politics. Few worshippers at the various synagogues. Very reserved with regard to politics.

16 Civil servants and public officials as well as members of clubs and associations had to sign declarations of their status as Jews, which meant that they fell under the provisions of the Statute on Jews. According to Article 9 of the statute, false declarations were punishable by up to five years in prison. See Doc. 270.

17 In addition to the existing Ministry for Communication, a Ministry for Information and Propaganda was established on 11 April 1942: *Journal officiel*, 12 April 1942, pp. 1385 f.

18 Identity cards were introduced in France on 27 Oct. 1940. Under pressure from the German occupiers, the French administration introduced special entries in these cards for Jews. On 11 Dec. 1942, also under pressure from the Germans, identity cards were also introduced in the unoccupied zone: *Journal officiel*, 12 Dec. 1942, p. 4058.

The Chief Rabbi of France, Mr *Schwartz*, gave a sermon on 'The Exodus from Egypt or Freedom from Slavery'. A very culturally erudite sermon.

*Rabbi Meyers of Annecy*¹⁹ is very active and should be watched.

The region of Annemasse is a centre for intense Jewish activity: Jews engage in trafficking in foreign currency, black marketeering, people smuggling and enlistment in the ranks of the Gaullists.

It would appear that passports for all Jews living in the border region should be cancelled except in very special cases, as should residence permits for all Jews without exception going to Annemasse for any reason whatsoever.

A number of measures to remove individuals have indeed been taken by the prefecture as a result of our investigations and at our request, but I gather from a reliable source that some of these undesirables did not go to the locality to which they were assigned.

Region 15, Marseilles:

Over the course of the month, 120 investigations have been carried out, 52 of which related to individuals and 68 of which concerned businesses.

Requests for penalties:

– Appointment of a temporary administrator	46
– Internment requests	3
– Mandatory place of residence	1
– Inclusion in foreign labourer groups	3
– Searches	3
– Incorrect registration	6
– Request for an allowance	1

The information provided by the office for the surveillance of mail and telephone calls²⁰ is used and should be drawn on more extensively. However, for telephone enquiries it is impossible to find out which office issued a request if, for example, the conversation took place at the end of the month and the intelligence arrives at the beginning of the following month. This is because only one copy of telephone logs is made, and the Post Office does not record them either. These log records are then compiled at the end of every month and sent to the person in charge at the beginning of the month.

Without wishing to cause disruption to an already busy service, it would appear that in cases where a conversation is considered suspicious by the surveillance unit, a copy of the log should be sent to the service, which would pass it on to us.

Very high level of anti-national activity, especially during the change of government,²¹ but very well camouflaged. This occurs in queues when buying food, for example. Furthermore, in many cases, although Jews attack the Marshal or the government, they have no hesitation in petitioning the Marshal to ask him to intervene in their favour. A certain *Bensassou*, whose internment was requested for black marketeering, is on his fourth petition to Vichy.

19 Robert Meyers (1898–1943), rabbi; served as rabbi of Rouen, 1922–1928; rabbi of Neuilly-sur-Seine from 1928; fled to Annecy after the outbreak of war; arrested on 28 December 1942; deported on 13 February 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

20 The Commission civile des contrôles postales.

21 The new prime minister of Vichy France, Pierre Laval, and his cabinet, who had been appointed by Pétain, were inaugurated on 18 April 1942.

According to the declarations in the register, 22,659 Jews live in Region 15, some of whom live on the coast in excessively advantageous material circumstances. The Jewish element should be controlled by banning travel, at least for foreign Jews.

In first class on the trains, particularly in the sleeping cars, one encounters only Jews who always travel legally, perhaps with false papers, and with disconcerting ease.

Region 15: Nice

Over the course of the month, 50 investigations were carried out, 42 of which related to individuals and 8 of which concerned businesses. Very sensitive region (12,873 Jews in the two départements of Basses Alpes and Alpes Maritimes), particularly as the Jews are very powerful here.

The Jews in Nice and Cannes are major Jewish financiers, stockbrokers, diamond merchants, and industrialists, who travel at will and do major deals, often outside the law. The service needs to be expanded through the addition of two more inspectors and a filing clerk.

Region 16, Montpellier

Over the course of the month, 43 investigations have been carried out, 23 of which related to individuals and 20 of which concerned businesses.

Requests for penalties:

– Internments	2
– Proceedings	1
– Mandatory place of residence	2
– Banned professions	3
– Surveillance	5
– Other penalties	8

Region 16 is a sensitive area and has the potential for surprises on account of social conditions. The Jewish element is working closely with the Communist Party and has fierce advocates among the extremely agitated, sympathetic urban population; as for the rural population, they have, for a long time, been corrupted by Jewish food buyers, who heavily promote anti-national propaganda to them and are unfortunately successful in doing so.

As a result of the significant food supply difficulties in this region, which was the region in the unoccupied zone that was most affected in terms of supplies, it has provided fertile soil for the extremists. Montpellier, Narbonne, Perpignan, Béziers, Millau appear to be especially susceptible to the activities of Jews allied to communists and Gaullists, but primarily communist. This propaganda has been making serious inroads over the last few months. I cannot urge strongly enough that exceptionally strict and severe measures must urgently be taken in this border region.

Region 17, Toulouse

Over the course of the month, 64 investigations have been carried out, 31 of which related to individuals and 33 of which concerned businesses.

The majority of the Jewish element in this region is foreign, 11,405 of the 18,820 Jews listed by the prefectures, and needs extra surveillance because of its proximity to the border.

In conclusion, I have the honour to request that you approve the applications of the four deputy superintendents and ten deputy inspectors that I presented to you on 9 and 26 March to the parallel police force.

It would be appropriate to increase the number of inspectors and typists in some regions, because existing staff are unable to cope with the workload of the ongoing investigations.

We also need to remember that when the sixteen commissioners and inspectors and those that follow them enter the parallel force and thereby take on the powers of an officer of the judicial police, they will have to supplement their enquiries with police measures and searches, which will considerably increase their workload.

DOC. 320

**In April 1942 the journalist Lucien Rebatet declares his support
for the ghettoization of Jews¹**

Autobiography of Lucien Rebatet,² completed in April 1942

The ghetto

I shall be brief on this subject. I have devoted at least three books to the essentials of the Jewish question, at a time when such propaganda was still useful on our continent. The moment is now approaching when the Jews of Europe will be purely a matter for the police. I have not yet lost all hope of seeing the French also take part in this operation. They need to decide without delay what it is that they want.

Since 1933–34, when the old French antisemitism woke up to the invasion from the East,³ our charges against the Jews have increased tenfold.

The Jews have contributed more than anyone to triggering this war. They have worked zealously to prolong and expand it. It is the Jews who have hatched the improbable and ignoble 'troika' of Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, the triumph of which would see the collapse of the West.

We understand ever more clearly that, without the Jews, we would have brought about, among ourselves, with minimum damage, this revolution of authoritarian socialism that has become necessary in our century, and of which the old French doctrinaires such as Proudhon were the honourable pioneers. The Marxist barbarism was the Jewish, mad, and deadly corruption of this Aryan socialism, which has painfully broken free from it in floods of white blood.

I have never believed in a Jewish empire, because an empire is a construction of which the Jewish epilepsy is incapable. But we can count the deaths, the destruction, this frightening dream has cost us.

Everyone will explain the Jew as he sees fit: expiation of the sin of all sins against God, indelible filth of blood, a racial taint that has made the Jew – who himself upholds

1 Lucien Rebatet, *Les Décombres* (Paris: Éditions Denoël, 1942), pp. 565–570. This document has been translated from French.

2 Lucien Rebatet (1903–1972), journalist and writer; worked at the extreme right-wing newspaper *L'Action française*, 1929–1932; at the antisemitic newspaper *Je suis partout*, 1932–1944; arrested in Austria in May 1945; sentenced to death by Paris Court of Justice on 23 Nov. 1946; the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment on 12 April 1947; released on 16 July 1952; subsequently worked again as a journalist and writer.

3 Since the spring of 1933 many Jews had fled to France from the German Reich.

a form of racism in reverse – an outcast to all other peoples. One could go on and on about it. No matter. One way or another, the Jews provide the unique example in the history of humanity of a race for which collective punishment is the only correct verdict. Their crimes are there for all to see. The first universal attempt since antiquity to give Jews the status of free people has borne its fine fruits. Now we have understood. After one hundred and fifty years of Jewish emancipation,⁴ these evil beasts, impure, who carry the seeds of all plagues, must be returned to the prisons in which secular wisdom had kept them under lock and key.

When one thinks of the noble races of America and Oceania, who succumbed almost entirely to the guns and drugs of the White Man, especially the ferocious Anglo-Saxons, one may well conclude that this world has truly been made wrong, if it allowed the Jews to proliferate despite so many essential persecutions. But there can be no doubt that the secret to the resilience of this race is to be found in its very impurity. But let's not dwell on it any longer! The only practical solution that a sensible Aryan can opt for in 1942 is the ghetto – adapted for the modern world. By that I mean of course a physical ghetto, whether national ghettos or international ghettos, Jewish reservations, 'designated areas', colonies – there is no lack of space in the immense spaces of the Russian and British empires. The European states must consult together and standardize their legislation on the Jews and, together, pass all the necessary measures concerning Jewish colonies, because any country that shows the Jews the least bit of goodwill will immediately see them flood its lands in a terrible way. In these colonies, whether in Siberia or Africa, the Jews will be free to lead their Hebraic life and to provide for themselves by working for humankind. They will not be permitted to move outside these colonies without a clear symbol on their clothing and a passport indicating that they are Jewish. Some regions, some countries, must in any case be off limits to them.

France must adopt racial laws similar to those enacted by Germany, by renewing one of the oldest traditions of Christianity, namely laws forbidding marriage between Jews and Christians and the imposition of severe penalties for sexual relations between the two races.⁵

It is logical and in conformity with Western codes that an Aryan married to a Jewish man – and her offspring – suffer the same fate as her husband and be entirely repudiated by our society. Cases of marriage between Jewish women and Christian men should be treated more flexibly. In any case, the Christian husband of a Jewish woman must not occupy any state function, and the half-Jewish child resulting from their union will be subject to special status.

Any Jew is of course free to be baptized, or indeed to become Buddhist, Muslim, or Antonian.⁶ But baptism, whether prior to or after the enactment of the law, would not confer on him any privilege. No doubt we shall then see a dramatic fall in the number of miraculous conversions.

4 On 28 Jan. 1790 Jews were granted civil rights in France. The remaining anti-Jewish special provisions were abolished by a decree of the Constituent Assembly on 27 Sept. 1791: see Introduction, p. 22.

5 The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour (Blood Protection Law) of 15 Sept. 1935 made marriage as well as extramarital relations between Jews and non-Jews illegal: *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, I, p. 1146; see PMJ 1/199.

6 The Antonians were a Christian sect founded around 1704 in the Kingdom of Congo. In 1706 their founder, Kimpa Vita, was burned at the stake as a heretic.

Priests guilty of having issued bogus baptismal certificates to help conceal Jews will be sentenced to punishments up to and including forced labour. In carrying these out, they will, if capable of doing so, provide moral support to other convicts.

The liquidation of Jewish assets and companies must be done with the exclusive aim of compensating the Aryan community of each country for the ravages that the Hebrews wrought upon them. The complicity that Israel has enjoyed since the armistice, even at the highest levels of state, has unfortunately greatly reduced the immense fortune that might thus have been recovered by us. The remainder, whatever it is and however it is collected, must benefit the French people. No post-war nationalist programme can afford to omit this point. In the great Jewish bankruptcy, France is the privileged creditor.

The exemptions allowed for military and civil service rendered by Jews to the French state, exemptions which have been the only concern of the scribblers of the decrees emanating from Vichy,⁷ are the very last thing to be considered. They should apply only to a tiny number of individuals. The services cited must be outstanding. For soldiers, this could include: serious wounds, appraisals approved by a special commission, at least six months in a combat unit, death of a father or son on the battlefield. And this, of course, applies only to the 1914–1918 war, for the war of 1939–1940 was a Jewish war, in which Jews died or lost a family member – when fair chance so decreed – for the glory of Israel alone. Let's suppose that a thousand Jews are worthy of exemption. In any case, the exemptions they receive must not allow them to transgress the laws of blood and take a wife outside their tribe. No state office is to be open to them.

There are, as far as I know, no civil exceptions, except perhaps in certain medical or scientific fields, since Jewish writers, teachers, and lawyers are in fact the most dangerous of the Israelite species, and to be excluded first of all.

In the intellectual life of France, the Jewish spirit constitutes a poisonous weed which must be eradicated to its tiniest rootlets, and which we can never sufficiently hoe out. Since the armistice, this eradication of Judaism has still not begun, neither in the France of Paris, nor in the France of Vichy. We are constantly aware of the Jewish odour, the marks of Jewishness, in everything we read, hear, and see. There are a frightening number of French artists and writers, often among the best, who have been perverted by their Jewish females and mistresses, their Jewish friends, but who are perhaps not irrevocably lost to France. Special sections could be created in libraries and museums for the historical study of certain Jewish works. But the public performance, in any form whatsoever – concerts, theatre, cinema, books, radio, exhibitions – of a Jewish or semi-Jewish work must be banned without exception or qualification, from Meyerbeer to Reynaldo Hahn, from Heinrich Heine to Bergson. Public burnings must be organized of the worst examples of Jewish literature, painting, and music that have contributed to the decadence of our people: sociology, religion, criticism, politics, Lévy-Brühl,⁸ Durkheim, Maritain, Benda, Bernstein, Soutine, and Darius Milhaud.

7 According to Article 8 of the Statute on Jews of 2 June 1941, Jews who had rendered exceptional services to the French state could be exempted from certain occupational bans. In practice, however, these exemptions were only granted in a very few cases: see Doc. 270.

8 Correctly: Lévy-Bruhl.

Jews, essentially imitators, have indisputably been remarkable performers in all the arts, with the exception of singing. Personally, I would have no objection if a great musical virtuoso from the ghetto were permitted to come and play among the Aryans for their entertainment, like exotic slaves in ancient Rome. But if this were only to be the pretext for an encroachment, however limited, of this abominable species on ourselves, I would be the first to smash the recordings of Chopin and Mozart by the marvellous Horowitzes and Menuhins. What! In the days of Liszt, Thalberg, Paganini, which were vastly superior to our own time, the Aryans had no need of the help of Jews to perform their works to incomparable effect. In the field of musical virtuosity, we shall see the reappearance of many talents that have been stifled by the Hebraic monopoly.

I have a weakness for Camille Pissarro, the only great painter that Israel, a race incredibly deficient in the visual arts, has produced. I would be prepared to decree the incineration of all his canvases, if necessary, for us to be saved from this nightmare, from this repulsive mould that has grown on the splendid branches of French art which calls itself 'Jewish painting', to be rid of the mountain of ineptitudes that this painting has brought forth. Think how irreparable the damage would be if, from the same period, we destroyed the works of Van Gogh, Renoir, Cézanne, and Manet. On the other hand, the whole oeuvre of Pissarro adds little that Claude Monet, Jongkind, Sisley, Millet, Boudin, Seurat, and Gauguin do not already contain. And yet Pissarro remains unrivalled among the Jews.

All the great centuries, all the great movements in art and thought of our era, from Giotto to Renoir, from Gregorian chant to Wagner, from the *Chanson de Roland* to Balzac, have unfolded without the Jews being involved, apart from one or two accidents, such as Spinoza. The Middle Ages, the Renaissance, classicism, romanticism, the cathedrals, the Florentine frescos, Van Eyck, Breughel, Tintoretto, Titian, El Greco, Poussin, Velázquez, Rubens, Rembrandt, Watteau, Corot, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Racine, Goethe, and a hundred thousand others have done perfectly well without their help. The charming Mendelssohn is just a drop in the ocean of German music. But Meyerbeer and Halévy are just bumbling idiots.

We wanted to know if the ghettos held unknown geniuses whose example would rejuvenate our old world. We opened the doors. We soon found out. Out rushed gangs of pigs and monkeys who degraded and made a filthy mess of everything they touched.

We can, without remorse, outlaw the Jewish spirit and destroy its works. What we shall lose will barely register. But the virtues we shall gain in so doing will be invaluable.

DOC. 321

Le Matin*, 6 May 1942: article on the plans of the new commissioner general for Jewish affairs, Darquier de Pellepoix¹A new commissioner general for Jewish affairs: Mr Darquier de Pellepoix²*

Member of the Paris municipal council Mr Darquier de Pellepoix was appointed by decree to serve as commissioner general for Jewish affairs,³ succeeding Mr Xavier Vallat in this post.

The new commissioner was born in Cahors on 19 December 1897. He comes from a long-established farming family from the south-west, one that has given quite a few soldiers and scholars to France. In 1914, at the age of seventeen, Mr Darquier de Pellepoix joined the army. His conduct earned him a number of commendations as well as the rank of lieutenant.

After demobilization he became a member of the supervisory board of a large Anglo-French grain company.⁴ When the company sold one of its subsidiaries to the Jew Louis-Dreyfus,⁵ Darquier de Pellepoix resigned.

Following his return from various trips abroad in 1933, he was seriously injured on place de la Concorde on 6 February 1934.⁶ In 1935, as a councillor in Ternes, he organized the anti-Jewish movement and founded the periodical *La France enchaînée*.⁷ A month before war was declared, he was sentenced to three months in prison because of his articles. He was sentenced to two more months in prison when he was already at the front as commander of an anti-tank unit.

After being awarded a medal, he was taken prisoner and then released, along with his fellow members of the municipal council Messrs Berthier, Marchand, and Trochu.

We had the opportunity to speak with Mr Darquier de Pellepoix and we will now let him recount in his own words his intentions with respect to the Jewish question:

– After my release from the prison camp in which I was held, I did not resume my anti-Jewish campaign as I found that the question had not been sufficiently thought through and was not being dealt with appropriately.

I think above all that we need to explain to the public that this is not a matter of persecution, but that we cannot tolerate the Jews as citizens of a state within the state.

1 *Le Matin*, no. 59, 6 May 1942, p. 1: 'Un nouveau commissaire général aux questions juives: M. Darquier de Pellepoix'. This document has been translated from French.

2 Louis de Darquier de Pellepoix, born L. Darquier (1897–1980), journalist; mainly unemployed, 1919–1935; member of Paris municipal council, 1935–1942; commissioner general for Jewish affairs, 1942–1944; from 1944 in exile in Spain, where he worked as a French teacher; sentenced to death in absentia in 1947.

3 Appointment decree of 6 May 1942, *Journal officiel*, 8 May 1942, p. 1722.

4 Darquier was employed by the Grain Union Company in Antwerp from 1924 to 1926.

5 The Louis-Dreyfus family had traded in grain products since the mid nineteenth century. In 1941 the French Jewish Commission moved into the building of the Léopold Louis-Dreyfus Bank in Paris.

6 On the demonstrations of 6 Feb. 1934, see Doc. 306, fn. 4.

7 'France in Chains', antisemitic periodical published by Darquier in the late 1930s.

- What are your plans?
- *First, I will apply the existing law⁸ as strictly as possible. Then I will attempt to have several weak points in it amended.*

In any event, rest assured that while I will always adhere strictly to the law, it will nonetheless never be possible to accuse me of weakness.

DOC. 322

On 9 May 1942 Robert Lantz writes his wife Fanny a letter, which was smuggled out of Drancy camp¹

Handwritten letter from Robert Lantz, Drancy concentration camp, to his wife Fanny Lantz, dated 9 May 1942

I received your postcard the day after it was sent, so it takes less time for them to come back than it does for them to go out. That is why I am sending you this note, which will get to you faster and will give you several new details which are impossible to give on an ordinary postcard. As you can see, I am taking precautions so that in case of an accident it will be difficult to determine the identity of the sender of this letter. It is unfortunate that you cannot send me news by a similar method. Nevertheless, the inmate whose wife you went to see recently, and who is the friend of the recipient, suggested that you give a letter to his wife, who will send it to me through her husband. You can write for instance, ‘for Mr B’s friend’. That proves to you that I went to see that inmate whom I have known since the day you mentioned him on one of your postcards, but then I thought it was through Andrée B. that you had heard about him, which explains the confusion. As you know, he is only theoretically in my dormitory, like many of the people whose names you have seen on clothing parcels, and particularly the person St and Mr Biès know and whom I, however, know vaguely and who does not really inspire sympathy, as could have been expected from a letter he once sent to *Le Temps*.² I am gradually getting to know the new arrivals from Compiègne. I was told that my namesake had left Compiègne in a rather bad state. Regarding Joseph, he was released, but I do not know anything else about him. Generally speaking, the new arrivals from Compiègne are not wellliked, probably on the one hand because of jealousy of their situation,³ which is so much better, and on the other hand, and more rightly, because their expectations are higher than those of the ‘veterans’. They have, by the way, also established a certain intellectual life: currently there is one lecture per day on the most varied topics – industrial, medical, etc. This is not all that new here since we had a lot of lectures in early March, but they became less regular, except for a series on heroic subjects, given by a specialist; interesting lectures but which end up becoming tedious. I have never told you about these things since the Germans forbid in principle all entertainment: games, books, lectures, etc. I am reading a lot at the

⁸ See Doc. 270.

¹ Mémorial de la Shoah, DCCCXCI-1. Published in Sabbagh, *Lettres de Drancy*, pp. 144–147. This document has been translated from French.

² See Doc. 240.

moment, I am finishing Duhamel's 'Le Combat contre les ombres',⁴ interesting. As I told you and as you could verify yourself, there was an important departure, almost a third of the camp; some nationalities were excluded (Turks, Greeks, Hungarians) and military veterans. At the moment everything suggests that they stopped at Compiègne. I hope that they will suffer less than their predecessors there. The departure from here was moving for everyone, performed with the usual ceremony, gruelling in several ways. It was nevertheless not as difficult as on 12 December, when a similar transport occurred. I had told you in a postcard of possible ways to contact the German authorities if the need arises. I was particularly thinking about exceptional situations when an urgent intervention in the right place might be indispensable. At the moment I think it would be useless to try this move, which most probably would not work. For the moment, no one gets out of the camp except for a very few isolated cases, principally Turks. Several of the inmates left the camp for a few hours to go to Paris for a variety of reasons, one goes each day, and obviously many people want to go. The reasons are illness of a near relative, business, and especially for shopkeepers to go and get a machine or product needed in the camp, legal business. The request can be made either internally or from outside the camp. I can see one reason: a request to have civic rights reinstated, like the one my cousin planned, and which we could imitate. Etienne could send for me, for example; of course, it would be useless to pursue the procedure any further after that. The release will take place at 10.30 a.m. under the authority of an inspector, and ends at 6.00 p.m. I would only suggest this if it would not cause too much disruption, particularly as success is unpredictable. I hope that your next birthday will be the only one to take place under the current conditions; I wish you a happy birthday, I will keep you in my thoughts during the celebration with the candles. According to different sources of information that make their way through to here, it seems that the general situation is developing well; even if we only get out at the end of the hostilities, we will not be here for very long. Regarding the purchases for the packages, be sure to work it so that you are not out of pocket; do enquire where some of the other inmates do their buying, so that the question of money does not hold you back too much. Can you tell Madame Holot, 82 avenue Parmentier, that according to information received on the 8th in the evening after seeing Andrée, it is not worth bothering Casimir or Léon again about a possible trip for Benjamin. Everything seems to be fine from this side. Much love to you all. I hope that I am not bothering the friends to whom I am sending this note and who are nice enough to forward it to you.

Thanking you in advance, I would be grateful if you could pass this note on. Looking forward to meeting again together in happiness.

3 Many Jewish dignitaries who had been arrested during the roundup on 12 Dec. 1941 were interned in Royallieu camp near Compiègne.

4 Georges Duhamel, *Le Combat contre les ombres* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1939).

DOC. 323

**In the Eighth Regulation on Measures Against Jews of 29 May 1942,
the Military Commander orders that Jews must wear a yellow star¹**

Eighth Regulation on Measures Against Jews

29 May 1942

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Führer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht, I decree the following:

§ 1 Visible identification of the Jews

- 1) Jews who have completed their sixth year of life are forbidden to appear in public without a yellow star.
- 2) The yellow star badge consists of a palm-sized, six-pointed star outlined in black and made of yellow fabric, with the word 'Juif' inscribed on it in black. It must be worn visibly on the left side of the chest, firmly sewn to the garment.

§ 2 Penalties

Anyone who contravenes the provisions of this regulation will be punished with imprisonment or a fine or both. In addition to or in place of these penalties, police measures may be ordered, in particular imprisonment in a camp for Jews.

§ 3 Entry into force

This regulation comes into force on 7 June 1942.

The Military Commander in France²

DOC. 324

**In early summer 1942 the schoolboy Alain Sené contemplates how Youra Riskine,
a Jewish classmate, will react to having to wear the yellow star¹**

Diary of Alain Sené, diary entries for 7 May to 7 June 1942

Thursday, 7 May

This morning Riskine² joined me for a walk to La Santé prison, not far from his house. There is a very high wall at boulevard Arago and, a little further on, at *rue de la Santé*, a classical fortified gateway with an enormous wooden double door guarded by soldiers who sit in a small sentry box or pace up and down. A lot of people were waiting, queuing

1 *VOBl-F*, 1 June 1942, p. 383. This document has been translated from German.

2 Carl-Heinrich von Stülpnagel (1886–1944), military officer; senior quartermaster in the general staff of the army, 1938–1940; chairman of the Franco-German Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden from June to Dec. 1940; commander-in-chief of the 17th Army, Dec. 1940–Oct. 1941; military commander in France, Feb. 1942 – July 1944; sentenced to death and executed for participation in the attempted assassination of Hitler on 20 July 1944.

1 The original is privately owned. Published in Alain Sené, *Des millions de Riskine: Extraits du journal 1939–1945. A la mémoire de Youra Riskine* (Paris: Association fils et filles des déportés juifs de France, 1998), pp. 31–33. This document has been translated from French.

2 Youra Riskine (1928–1943), the son of Russian immigrants; arrested with his mother on 22 April 1943; deported on 23 June 1943 from Drancy to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

in front of a smaller door, mostly women and a few young people. I'm surprised and ask Riskine why the crowd is there. He says that the people are visitors, that is to say, they want to see a relative who is a prisoner. I'm astonished that there should be so many people in prison. I know very well that there are crooks and also the black market at the moment. But even so! So many civilian prisoners guarded by the 'grey-greens'. Riskine listens to me in silence. We get closer and closer and notice that from time to time the small side door opens and lets two or three people out or in. After a while, we leave in silence.

I sensed despair and fear among the poor, poor people waiting.

Monday, 1 June

Events vary: a few days ago, an English defeat in Cyrenaica;³ yesterday, Cologne was bombed and largely destroyed by over a thousand English planes.

As mild spring weather is setting in, we went out for dinner yesterday evening. By chance, our walk took us along boulevard Raspail in front of La Santé prison. I tell papa what I saw with Riskine and he is very surprised by what I tell him. He thinks all those women waiting for a visit must be there because of common criminal cases, meaning that there has been an increase in the number of offences and crimes. Is that really the case?

7 June

Another gloomy Sunday despite the good weather. For a few days now Jews have been forced to go out with their clothes decked out with a yellow star with wording in the centre indicating their religion.⁴ This badge is made of fabric and must be sewn on somewhere highly visible on their outer clothing. I wonder whether Riskine will agree to take part in this sinister masquerade. So far, he has always refused to consider himself different from the others. But his old *joie de vivre* has faded considerably recently. Last Friday there was a discussion about the stars. Some friends were of the opinion that no one should wear them and others said we should all wear them. Who is right?

Sometimes Riskine is his old self again. In our last drawing session, he dedicated a little ink sketch of a fishing boat, like a tuna boat, to me for fun. Underneath it, he wrote derisively, 'I dedicate this work of genius to my friend and student Alain Sené.' In the same spirit, I doodled a stamp as if it was Stalin's, with the word vodka in Cyrillic script ...⁵

We laugh when we can and it is not always easy.

3 Another German offensive in North Africa began on 21 Jan. 1942. German and Italian troops reached the Egyptian border by the end of June 1942.

4 See Docs. 323 and 325.

5 Published in facsimile in Sené, *Des millions de Riskine*, p. 32.

in her hurried way, averting her eyes as she always does when speaking of her father, that he had probably been sent from Compiègne to clear a railway station that the English had bombed at Cologne.⁸ I was speechless.

Meanwhile Molinié⁹ joined us, going off twice on errands for his mother (rue de la Pépinière). Next came the Pineaus,¹⁰ then Claude Leroy and lastly Nicole.¹¹ We waited in the hall for Bernard until half past nine. Then we went to join the others (Nicole S., Françoise and the Pineaus, who had already boarded the train). There were the usual hesitations over places in the carriage, and I ended up at one end, with Molinié, the Pineaus and Leroy at the other, and Nicole, Françoise, and Morawiecki in the middle seats. It was hopelessly rainy; the sky was grey and low. But something told me it would clear up.

A lot of people got off at Maisons-Laffitte, and Molinié and I moved to sit with the middle group. At the next station Jean Pineau came and sat next to me. It felt as if I had not seen him before. I suddenly rediscovered him.

When the day was over, I compared him to Jean Morawiecki, and the result is that, though I have not seen much of him, he is the winner. Everyone is taken with him, even Mother and Father, with his energy and moral strength; it's odd, but he is the only boy about whom you can say he is *morally* a rare specimen. He possesses energy and righteousness.

Monday evening

My God, I never thought it would be so hard.

I was very courageous all day long. I held my head high, and I stared at other people so hard that it made them avert their eyes. But it's difficult.

In any case most people don't even look. The awkwardest thing is to meet other people wearing it. This morning I went out with Mother. In the street two boys pointed at us and said: 'Eh? You seen that? Jew.' Otherwise things went normally. In place de la Madeleine we ran into M. Simon, who stopped and got off his bicycle. I went back to Étoile¹² on the métro alone. At Étoile, I went to the workshop to get my blouse, then I went on to catch the number 92. At the stop there were a young man and woman in the queue, and I saw the girl point me out to her companion. Then they exchanged some remarks. Instinctively I raised my head – in the full sunlight – and heard them say: 'It's disgusting.' There was a woman on the bus, probably a maid, who had smiled at me in the queue, and she turned round several times to smile at me again; a well-groomed gentleman stared at me. I couldn't make out the meaning of his stare, but I returned it with pride.

I set off again for the Sorbonne. Another working-class woman smiled at me on the métro. It brought tears to my eyes, I don't know why. There weren't many people about

8 The Royal Air Force's (RAF) first carpet-bombing, on the night of 30/31 May 1942, had caused severe damage to Cologne.

9 In the original, spelled Molinier.

10 Françoise and Jean Pineau. In the original, spelled Pireau.

11 Nicole Job.

12 A reference to the place de l'Étoile, now place Charles de Gaulle, in Paris; a large road junction that leads onto avenues including the Champs Élysées.

in the Latin Quarter. I had nothing to keep me busy at the library. Until four o'clock I whiled away the time with dreams, in the cool air of the reading room, in the ochre light seeping in through closed shutters. At four o'clock, Jean Morawiecki came in. It was a relief to be able to talk to him. He sat down in front of my desk and stayed until closing time, chatting or saying nothing. He went out for half an hour to get tickets for Wednesday's concert. Meanwhile Nicole S. turned up.

When everyone had left the reading room, I got out my jacket and showed him the star. But I could not look him in the eye, so I took the star off and put in its place the tricolour brooch which I had used to pin it on my buttonhole. When I looked up, I saw that this had touched his heart. I'm sure he hadn't realized. I was afraid that our friendship might suddenly be shattered or diminished. But afterwards we walked together to Sèvres-Babylone and he was very sweet. I wonder what he was thinking.

Tuesday, 9 June

Today was even worse than yesterday.

I am as exhausted as if I had done a five-kilometre walk. My face is tense with the effort I kept having to make to stop the tears welling up for no apparent reason.

This morning I stayed at home to practise the violin. In Mozart I forgot everything.

This afternoon it started all over again. I had to fetch Vivi Lafon from the agrég¹³ at two o'clock. I did not want to wear the star, but I ended up doing so, thinking my reluctance was cowardly. First of all there were two girls in avenue de La Bourdonnais who pointed at me. Then at École Militaire métro station (when I got off, a lady said to me: 'Good day, miss'), the ticket inspector said: 'Last carriage'.¹⁴ So yesterday's rumour was right. It was like a bad dream coming true. The train was already coming in to the platform and I got into the front carriage. When I changed to the other line, I got into the last carriage. There were no stars. Thinking about it, tears of suffering and revolt welled up in my eyes, and I had to stare hard at something to hold them back.

I got to the main courtyard of the Sorbonne on the stroke of two o'clock. I thought I saw Molinié in the crowd, but as I wasn't sure it was him I went into the hall at the library. It was him; he came over to me. He spoke very kindly, but his eyes drifted away from my star. When he looked at me, he looked up, and our eyes seemed to be saying: 'Don't take any notice.' He'd just sat his second philosophy exam.

Then he left me and I went over to the bottom of the stairway. There were students idling about, and some of them looked at me. Soon Vivi Lafon came down, one of her friends joined us, and we went out into the sunshine. We talked about the exam, but I could feel that all their thoughts were on this badge. When she was able to have a word with me alone, she asked if I wasn't afraid that they would tear off my tricolour brooch, and then she said: 'I can't stand seeing people with that on.' I realize that: it offends other people. But if only they knew what a crucifixion it is for me. I suffered there, in the sunlit Sorbonne courtyard, among my comrades. I suddenly felt I was no longer myself, that everything had changed, that I had become a foreigner, as if I was in the grip of a nightmare. I could see familiar faces all around me, but I could feel their awkwardness and bafflement. It was as if my forehead had been seared by a branding iron. Mondoloni and

13 Agrégation: qualifying examination for teaching at high schools and universities.

14 From 7 June 1942 Jews were allowed to ride only in the last carriage of the metro.

Mme Bouillat's husband were on the steps. They looked flabbergasted when they saw me. Then there was Jacqueline Niais, who talked to me as if nothing had changed, and Bosc, who looked embarrassed, but I offered him my hand to shake to put him at his ease. On the surface, I was behaving naturally. But I was living a nightmare. At one point Dumurgier, to whom I had lent a book, came over and asked when he could return my notes. He seemed genuine, but I thought he was putting it on. When at long last I saw Jean Morawiecki come out, I don't know what happened inside me, a sudden sense of relief on seeing his face, because he at least knew, and he knew me. I called out to him. He turned round and smiled. He was very pale. Then he said: 'I'm sorry, I don't know where I am any more.' I realized that he was completely lost and shattered. But he smiled nonetheless, and he at least seemed unchanged.

After a while he asked if I had anything I needed to do. He said he would find me in the courtyard; he was going to get Molinié. I went back to the group around Vivi Lafon, Marguerite Cazamian, and another quite charming young woman. A little later they took me off to the Jardin du Luxembourg.¹⁵ I don't know if Jean Morawiecki came back. But it was better that I did not wait for him. Better for both of us: I was too agitated, and he would have thought I had only come for his sake. In the gardens we sat down and ordered lemonade and orangeade. They were charming: Vivi Lafon, Miss Cochet, who was married two months ago, the young lady whose name I did not catch and Marguerite Cazamian. But I think none of them were aware of my suffering. If they had understood, they would have asked: 'So why did you put it on?' They are perhaps a little shocked to see me wearing it. At times I too wonder why I do it; obviously I know it's in order to test my own courage.

I sat in the sun for a quarter of an hour with Vivi and Miss Cochet, then I went back to the Institute hoping to see Nicole and Jean-Paul; I felt a bit abandoned. But even though I didn't see Nicole, my confidence got a boost at the Institute. Obviously I created a stir when I came in, but as everyone there knows me, no-one was embarrassed. Monique Ducre, who is so sweet, was there, and she talked with me at length, deliberately – I know how she thinks; then the boy called Ibalin turned round (he was looking for a shelf-mark) and gave a start when he saw, but he made a show of coming over and joining the conversation (we were talking music). It didn't matter what the subject was; the main thing was to display the unspoken friendship that connects us.

Annie Digeon¹⁶ was charming too. I left and went to the post office to buy a stamp. Once again I had a lump in my throat, and when the man at the counter smiled at me and said: 'Come on, you look even nicer like that than you were before', I nearly burst into tears.

I took the métro again, and the inspector didn't say anything this time. And I popped in to see Jean. Claudine was there too. Jean does not go out. If Claudine hadn't been there, I could have had a long talk with Jean. But she was there and put a blight on every topic, so I didn't dare go too far, knowing she would contradict whatever we said. A visit that could have been wonderful ended up being wearisome, and I came home without wearing it.

¹⁵ Ornamental gardens near the Sorbonne.

¹⁶ In the original, spelled Dégen.

Just now I told Mother how I spent the day, and I had to rush into my bedroom so as not to cry. I don't know what's wrong with me.

Jean Morawiecki rang around half past three to say he was expecting me tomorrow morning at quarter to ten; and that he should have come back to get me. He's very decent, and I am very grateful, or rather, it's what I had hoped for from him.

DOC. 326

***Le Cri du peuple*, 11 June 1942: article on a lawyer who wore the yellow star on her robes¹**

Scandal at the court house. A Jewish woman sports the yellow star on her lawyer's robes
Our 'soft' and well-meaning liberals, who are prone to sentimentality and quick to assume that the Jews share their own sensitivity, are generally succumbing to a double error of judgement in relation to Israel. First, that the fifty-four Jewish lawyers² who were granted the full rights and benefits of French nationality in spite of their race would really feel a sense of pride. Second, that the anonymous Hebrew masses would be appalled to be made to walk marked with the seal of Solomon on the left-hand side of their chest in broad daylight.³

Well! All of that is a big joke. If Israel is proud of anything, it is of being itself. As for being embarrassed by the yellow star, you only needed to see how yesterday afternoon this Jewish lawyer, proudly stationed on the steps of the Court of Appeal, dressed in her full professional robes and with the piece of yellow satin clearly placed above her heart, contemptuously stared down those who passed her by. Attended by several stupid Aryan yokels, she resembled an effigy of hateful pride.

It was as the wife of a French prisoner of war that at the end of 1941 she was registered by the Bar Association as one of the Jewish members allowed to continue to practise their profession. We will charitably grant her anonymity. Triply protected by her status as a woman, her profession as a lawyer, and her marriage to a prisoner of war, yesterday she continued her defiance.⁴ May her example open the eyes of the naive, and may the Bar Association henceforth demand a higher standard of decency from her.

1 'Un scandale au Palais de justice. Sur sa robe d'avocate une juive arbore l'étoile jaune', *Le Cri du peuple*, 11 June 1942. This document has been translated from French. The daily newspaper *Le Cri du peuple*, edited by Jacques Doriot, was published from Oct. 1940 until the liberation of France and had a print run of 112,000 copies in 1944.

2 Article 4 of the Statute on Jews determined quotas for Jews in the liberal professions. The fifty-six Jewish men who continued to be permitted to practise law in Paris were exclusively former front-line soldiers. In addition, twenty-eight lawyers had been prisoners of war in Germany and eight female lawyers had sons or husbands who had been soldiers. See the 'Liste de l'ordre des avocats à la cour de Paris'; AN, F7, vol. 15 148.

3 On the introduction of the yellow star in the occupied zone, see Doc. 323.

4 The five remaining female Jewish lawyers in Paris whose husbands had been prisoners of war were Suzanne Bordeau, Juliette Haas, Jacqueline Jacob, Marcelle Kramer, and Maud Polcot: see the attorney general's list dated 21 Oct. 1942, AN, AJ38, vol. 10.

DOC. 327

On 18 June 1942 Theodor Dannecker, head of the Reich Security Main Office's section for Jewish affairs, provides information about the departure times of additional deportation trains¹

Memorandum from SS-Hauptsturmführer Dannecker (IV J – SA 24) to SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Knochen and SS-Sturmbannführer Lischka, dated 18 June 1942

Re: additional transports of Jews from France

1) Memorandum

On 18 June 1942 SS-Obersturmführer Novak² (RSHA IV B 4) telephoned to inform me that despite the difficulties pointed out by this office in telex no. 11 291 of 16 June 1942,³ there is willingness on the part of the Reich Ministry of Transport to accept the transport of Jews from France on a greater scale. He said that it is therefore essential to give notice without delay by telex of the stations from which the transports will depart in turn.

Because there is not yet any final clarity about the number of Jews to be taken from the unoccupied territory, I stated that I can initially name departure stations for approximately 40,000 Jews.

As the Wehrmacht Traffic Directorate in Paris informed me by telephone, the first three trains can run, specifically from

Le Bourget-Drancy on 22 June 1942,

Pithiviers on 25 June 1942,

Beaune-la-Rolande on 28 June 1942.

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, XXVb-38. Published in Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, pp. 413–414. This document has been translated from German.

2 Franz Novak (1913–1983), printer; joined the NSDAP and SA in 1933 and the SS in 1938; employee of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna in 1938, the Central Office in Prague in 1939, and the section for Jewish affairs of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) from 1940; disappeared in Austria in 1945; arrested for the first time in 1961; sentenced in 1972 to seven years in prison for his participation in the deportation of the Hungarian Jews.

3 Dannecker had stated that because of the military operations in the Soviet Union, 1,000 locomotives and 37,000 freight cars had been withdrawn unexpectedly from France and therefore no deportations could take place for the moment: Doc. 1218-RF; IMT, vol. 39, pp. 1–2.

DOC. 328

In his last letter from Drancy camp, written on 20 June 1942, Gustave Ziboulsky informs his wife of his impending deportation¹

Handwritten letter from Gustave Ziboulsky,² Drancy concentration camp, to his wife Marguerite,³ Paris, dated 20 June 1942

My dearest wife, whom I adore,

Today is my last day in Drancy. Have confidence, for I am leaving, having taken courage from having caught a glimpse of you and our two daughters. I am leaving with many friends including Macol and Cario from my room. We are going to Germany. Perhaps I will be released at the border due to my wounds, but one should not count on it. You will go and see Cario, or rather his wife, who will read you the letter written to raise your spirits, because I hardly know what I'm writing.

We are going to a destroyed city near Cologne to rebuild and clear it but the situation is uncertain.⁴ If I can escape, I will join Serge. You will receive my suitcase full of all kinds of things and the bag with undergarments in it. I won't give you a list this time, as I'm not up to it.

Don't cry, my dear Maggy, nor our dear children and parents,⁵ and don't feel sorry for me, this will bring me luck. Soon, once this damned war is over, we will all meet again in good health.

Have hope, my love, and this awful nightmare will very soon be over. I received your large parcel with the tinned food and the parcel with undergarments. You went without to send me those tins. Thank you, thank you and I will soon be back and we will eat as we used to. I'll finish, my only love, by sending you my sweetest thoughts, which are always about you and our family. Yisso will give you 2,500 francs ... Have courage and patience and confidence, and happiness will be ours once again. Go and see the cousins and aunt and take care of yourself and the children.

A thousand kisses, to my wife whom I adore, from her husband who will think of her his whole life long.

Serge – Mimi and Rosette and Maggy

1 Mémorial de la Shoah, DLXXI-12. Published in Antoine Sabbagh (ed.), *Lettres de Drancy* (Paris: Tallandier, 2002), pp. 171–172. This document has been translated from French.

2 Gustave Ziboulsky (1902–1942), pattern cutter from Kiev; lived with his family in Paris's 11th arrondissement; arrested during a roundup on 20 August 1941 and interned in Drancy; deported from there to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

3 Marguerite Goldenberg (1906–1989) had been married to Gustave Ziboulsky since 1924.

4 The transport carrying 934 Jewish prisoners left Drancy on 22 June 1942 and arrived in Auschwitz a few days later.

5 Alfred and Anna Ziboulsky.

Glossary

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC, Joint)

Committee founded in the United States in 1914 to coordinate the relief efforts of American Jewish aid organizations. It provided funding and aid to Jews and Jewish organizations, especially in Eastern Europe. Following the outbreak of the Second World War, its efforts extended to Nazi-occupied and Nazi-controlled territories, including the ghettos, where it supported schools, orphanages, cultural institutions, and other important areas of Jewish life.

Arrondissement

In France, administrative districts in Paris, Marseilles, and Lyons; in Belgium, the administrative, judicial, and electoral districts below the provincial level.

Aryan (*Arier*)

Term used to describe the peoples supposedly descended from the Indo-Europeans. It was used in Nazi Germany to support the thesis of the inequality of human races and the superiority of those with 'German and related blood' over 'non-Aryan races', above all Jews.

Aryanization (*Arisierung*)

The process of expropriating Jews and excluding them from a 'racially purified' economy. It involved the confiscation or liquidation of Jewish property, assets and businesses and the forced transfer of these to non-Jews or to the Reich.

Association of Jews in Belgium (Association des Juifs en Belgique / Vereeniging van Joden in België, AJB/VJB)

Countrywide association imposed by the German occupation regime in November 1941, merging together all Jewish organizations in Belgium. Membership was compulsory for Jews. The association had the task of implementing German anti-Jewish measures, assisting with preparations for emigration, dealing with healthcare provision and social welfare, and setting up Jewish schools. The association was also made to register Belgium's Jews for forced labour and deportation.

Blocked account (*Sperrkonto*)

Special account holding the liquid assets of Jews who had emigrated. The accounts were set up because German financial policy prohibited Reichsmarks from being removed from Germany without heavy penalties.

Brussels Trust Company (Brüsseler Treuhandgesellschaft)

Corporation founded by the German military administration in Belgium in October 1940. It acted as a front for the seizure, centralization, liquidation, and administration of the assets of Jews and other 'enemies of the Reich'.

Central Israelite Consistory of France (Consistoire central des Israélites de France)

Central council responsible for Jewish religious life in France, set up in March 1808 by Napoleon. It mediated between state officials and Jewish communities.

Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung)

Institution established first in Vienna in August 1938 by the Security Police and SS Security Service to expedite the emigration of Jews from Nazi-controlled territories. Three additional offices were subsequently set up, in Prague (July 1939), Berlin (January 1939, known as the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration),

and Amsterdam (April 1941). Adolf Eichmann headed the offices in Vienna and Prague, Reinhard Heydrich was responsible for the office in Berlin, and the Amsterdam office was headed by Ferdinand aus der Fünften.

Chief of the Military Administration (Militärverwaltungschef)

A rank and a function within the military government. The term was used to designate the official in charge of the administrative staff within the military government in Belgium and northern France, who reported to the Military Commander (Militärbefehlshaber). The same role also existed within the military government in France.

Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs (Commissariat général aux questions juives, CGQJ)

Agency established by the Vichy government in March 1941 to centralize France's anti-Jewish legislation, oversee the implementation of further anti-Jewish measures, and manage Aryanization policies. It was initially headed by Xavier Vallat and from May 1942 by Louis Darquier de Pellepoix. The CGQJ was dissolved on 17 August 1944, two days before the liberation of Paris.

Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugees (Comité d'assistance aux réfugiés juifs, CARJ)

Brussels-based committee, established in 1938, which emerged from the Belgian Committee for Aid and Assistance to Victims of Antisemitism in Germany (CAAVAA), which had been founded in 1933. The CARJ liaised with the Belgian government on all matters concerning Jewish refugees. It was chaired by Max Gottschalk. The committee was dissolved in 1940, after the German occupation of Belgium.

Committee for Assistance to Refugees (Comité d'assistance aux réfugiés, CAR)

Committee created in 1936 in France at the initiative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). The CAR represented the interests of refugees in their dealings with the French authorities and provided vocational retraining and assistance with emigration. It also distributed financial aid from the JDC and HICEM to Jewish refugees in France.

Committee for Jewish Refugees (Comité voor Joodsche vluchtelingen, CJV)

Dutch welfare organization that aided Jewish refugees from Germany. It was founded in 1933 as a subcommittee of the Committee for Special Jewish Interests (Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen). It was chaired by Prof. David Cohen and its most influential administrators were Raphaël Henri Eitje and Gertrude van Tijn-Cohn. In March 1941 the CJV was banned by order of the German occupiers; its infrastructure formed the basis of the Jewish Council, which also took over its responsibilities.

Commune (French administrative district)

The smallest territorial and administrative division in France. Each commune has a mayor and an elected council.

Demarcation line

Boundary line separating the German-occupied northern and western part of France from the unoccupied southern part of the country after the armistice of 22 June 1940.

Département

Main administrative division in France and its overseas territories, each governed by a council and a prefect (*préfet*).

Dutch SS (Nederlandsche SS)

Dutch branch of the Allgemeine-SS founded on 11 September 1940 by Anton Mussert, leader of the National Socialist Movement (NSB), and headed by Johannes H. Feldmeijer. Officially part of the NSB, it was under the command of Heinrich Himmler; from November 1942 it was known as the Germanic SS in the Netherlands (Germaansche SS in Nederland). At its peak it had approximately 7,000 members.

Einsatzkommando

Task force of the Security Police (from 1940: of the Security Police and the SD) deployed at local level in parts of occupied Europe against supposed political or racial enemies.

Einsatzkommando Luxembourg (Einsatzkommando der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Luxemburg)

Task force of the Security Police and SD founded in August 1940 under the command of Wilhelm Nölle and from March 1941 led by Fritz Hartmann. It reported directly to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA).

ESRA (Hebrew for 'aid')

Social welfare agency founded by the Luxembourg Jewish communities for refugees from Germany and the German-occupied territories.

Feldkommandantur

District headquarters of the German military administration, responsible for military security, law and order, and the administration of an occupied region.

Foreign Exchange Protection Commando (Devisenschutzkommando)

Office of the Reich Finance Administration. By order of the Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan, Hermann Göring, it was responsible for confiscating foreign exchange, gold, and other valuables in the occupied territories to benefit the German war economy. In occupied Belgium, it was particularly involved in identifying Jews and informing the Gestapo about them, thereby facilitating deportation.

Gau (Nazi Party (NSDAP) term for 'region')

The largest NSDAP administrative category below Reich level. After the National Socialists assumed power in 1933, the Gaue increasingly replaced the individual states (Länder) as the effective regional subdivision of the Third Reich. As the regional units of the NSDAP, the Gaue were divided into Kreise (districts), consisting of 'local branches' (Ortsgruppen, covering several villages or towns), 'cells' (Zellen), and 'blocks' (Blöcke, neighbourhoods within the cells). The number of Gaue varied over time, with new ones created following territorial annexations.

Gauleiter ('Gau leader')

Head of an NSDAP Gau.

General Union of French Jews (Union générale des Israélites de France, UGIF)

Administrative body established in November 1941 by the Vichy government's Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs after extreme pressure from the German authorities. It incorporated all Jewish organizations in France and their assets, with the exception of the Central Consistory of French Jews and religious associations, which continued to operate separately. Membership of the UGIF was mandatory for

all Jews. The UGIF had two autonomous branches: one in the occupied zone and one in unoccupied Vichy France.

Germanic SS (Germanische SS)

Collective name for the SS units in occupied Western Europe (Norway, Denmark, Belgium, and the Netherlands) that were centralized under Himmler's authority in 1942. The units were modelled on the Allgemeine-SS in Germany.

Gestapo (abbreviation for Geheime Staatspolizei; Secret State Police)

Secret State Police in Nazi Germany and German-occupied Europe, established by Hermann Göring in 1933 with the aim of combating internal 'enemies of the state'. From 1934 it was led by Heinrich Himmler and in 1936 it became part of Reinhard Heydrich's Security Police. In 1939 the Security Police merged with the SD to form the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Thereafter the Gestapo became known as RSHA Amt IV, though the term Gestapo was still frequently used, and was headed by Heinrich Müller. It was divided into five departments: (a) Political Opponents, (b) Sects and Churches, (c) Administration and Party Affairs, (d) Occupied Territories, (e) Security and Counter-intelligence. By the end of 1944 the Gestapo had a staff of 32,000.

Goy, plural goyim

Term commonly used in Jewish discourse to refer to a Gentile.

Green Police (German: *Grüne Polizei*, Dutch: *groene politie*)

Colloquial term for the German Order Police due to the colour of their uniforms.

Haute Cour de justice

Court constituted by France's provisional government in November 1944 to try approximately 100 Vichy government ministers and officials. The trials took place between 1945 and 1960 and were presided over by magistrates and a jury composed of parliamentarians and members of the public, both groups selected on the basis of their political affiliation as detractors of the Vichy regime. The trials resulted in three executions; a further fifteen death sentences were issued but not put into effect.

HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society)

Aid organization founded in the United States in 1881, initially to support Jews fleeing pogroms in Russia and Eastern Europe. HIAS worked with HICEM to support and organize the emigration of German Jews and played a key role in helping to resettle displaced persons after the war.

HICEM

Acronym for three Jewish advocacy organizations that merged in 1927: the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA, ICA), and Emigdirect (EM). HICEM was based in Paris until Germany's invasion of France in 1940, and subsequently in Lisbon. Its purpose was to organize Jewish emigration and to financially support emigrants in the destination countries; it enabled approximately 90,000 Jews to escape persecution.

Higher SS and Police Leaders (Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, HSSPF)

Officials appointed by Himmler from 1937 onwards to act as his deputies, responsible for ensuring police control and coordinating the activities of the Security Police, the SD, the Order Police, the Waffen SS, and local auxiliary police units in all occupied territories and, to a limited extent, in the Reich.

Hird

Paramilitary unit of the Norwegian far-right party Nasjonal Samling, founded in 1934 and led by Johan Bernhard Hjort. It obtained police powers in March 1941 and became part of the Norwegian armed forces in 1943.

Independence Front (Front de l'indépendance / Onafhankelijkheidsfront)

A Belgian resistance organization set up by communists in spring 1941 which sought to bring together Belgian resistance groups from across the political spectrum, combining civilian and armed resistance against the German occupiers.

Institute for the Study of Jewish Questions (Institut d'étude des questions juives)

French institute established on 11 May 1941 with the backing of the German propaganda service in Paris, which received its instructions from the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. It published antisemitic brochures, organized conferences on the 'Jewish question', and published the periodical *Le Cahier jaune*.

Jewish Colonization Association (JCA/ICA)

Paris-based organization founded in 1891 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch. The JCA supported agricultural colonies for Jewish refugees in Argentina, the United States, Canada, Brazil, Russia, Bessarabia, and Poland. In 1896 it expanded its activities to include Palestine (PICA). The JCA also worked with HICEM to support the emigration of Jewish refugees during the years 1933–1941.

Jewish Coordination Committee (Joodsche Coördinatie Commissie, JCC)

Umbrella network of Jewish organizations, established in December 1940 in Amsterdam to represent the interests of Dutch Jews. It was chaired by Lodewijk Ernst Visser. The JCC provided legal and financial assistance and also organized cultural activities. It was dissolved in November 1941 by the German authorities; from that point the Jewish Council was the only official representative of Dutch Jews.

Jewish Council (Judenrat)

Council within a Jewish community, established on German orders in Nazi-occupied Europe; often given the name [Jewish] Council of Elders. In occupied Poland the councils were set up under a decree issued following the German invasion in September 1939. Their main purpose was to ensure the implementation of Nazi orders and regulations. Across occupied Western Europe the Germans sought to impose similar structures on Jewish communities. In France and Belgium countrywide associations were set up, similar to the Reich Representation of German Jews. In the Netherlands a Jewish Council was established (Joodsche Raad). In Luxembourg a representative body was set up, which was later designated as a Council of Elders. No such council was created in Norway.

Jewish Scouts (Éclaireurs israélites de France, EIF)

Jewish scout movement in France, founded in 1923 by Robert Gamzon. It sought to attract both French and immigrant Jewish youth to Judaism and supported Jewish refugees in France. After being dissolved in 1943 the movement went underground.

Journal officiel de la République française

Law gazette of the French government containing all legislation, decrees, and government announcements. From January 1941 to August 1944 the Vichy government published it as the *Journal officiel de l'État français*.

Kreisleiter

Head of an NSDAP Kreis (an administrative subdivision of a Gau).

Kriegsverwaltungschef ('chief of war administration')

Senior rank within a military administration in the occupied territories; reported to the Military Commander.

Kriegsverwaltungsrat ('war administration counsellor')

Senior rank in the military administration with responsibility for a range of key areas of occupation policy; second in command to the Kriegsverwaltungsvizechef.

Kriegsverwaltungsvizechef ('deputy war administration head')

Senior rank in the military administration; second in command to the Kriegsverwaltungschef.

Landrat

Civil service official in charge of a rural district.

Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co. Bank

Jewish-owned bank in the Netherlands, established in 1859 on Nieuwe Spiegelstraat in Amsterdam. The bank initially dealt only with the accounts of affluent Jews, but later also managed the accounts of small savers. To facilitate the expropriation and looting of Jewish property, the German authorities established a counterpart on Sarphatistraat, using the same name as a front in the attempt to gain the trust of the Jewish population. The original bank was later liquidated and all its assets transferred to the Sarphatistraat bank. Funds from the latter were also used to finance the Westerbork transit camp and deportations.

Military Commander (Militärbefehlshaber)

Military head of a German-occupied country, in charge of occupation policy and administration. Subordinate to the commander-in-chief of the army (Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres).

Ministerial director (*Ministerialdirektor*)

Head of a department within a ministry

Ministerialdirigent

Civil service rank subordinate to ministerial director.

Ministerialrat

Civil service rank subordinate to Ministerialdirigent.

Mischling ('half-caste' or person of 'mixed blood')

Classification under Nazi racial law to describe an individual of combined Aryan and non-Aryan, particularly Jewish, descent. The First Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Law (14 November 1935), one of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, categorized *Mischlinge* according to the number of Jewish grandparents: *Mischlinge* of the first degree ('half Jewish' – one Jewish parent or two Jewish grandparents) and *Mischlinge* of the second degree ('quarter Jewish' – one Jewish grandparent). In order to prevent the birth of children of 'mixed blood', marriage was effectively prohibited between Aryans and 'Mischlinge of the first degree' (those with two Jewish grandparents).

Nasjonal Samling (Norwegian for 'National Union', NS)

Norwegian far-right party oriented towards National Socialism and Italian Fascism, founded in 1933 by Vidkun Quisling. It gained approximately 2 per cent of the votes in the Norwegian parliamentary elections in the 1930s. After the German occupation of Norway, it was the only authorized political party in the country. In 1943 it had around 44,000 members.

National Socialist Movement (Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, NSB)

Movement founded in the Netherlands by Anton Mussert and Cees van Geelkerken in 1931. It was initially oriented towards Italian Fascism rather than to German National Socialism, but in the second half of the 1930s its antisemitic and pro-German tendencies intensified. After the occupation of the Netherlands, it aligned itself with the Germans and promoted a Greater Netherlands within a Germanic confederation under German leadership. It had approximately 50,000 members in 1940.

Nederlandsche Unie (Netherlands Union)

Organization founded on 24 July 1940 with the aim of bringing together democratic forces in the Netherlands and preserving Dutch values. It soon gained political influence in the country and at its peak had 800,000 members. Although the organization was initially tolerated by the German occupying forces, Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart banned it on 13 December 1942.

Nuremberg Laws

Laws proclaimed at the annual Nazi Party rally in Nuremberg in September 1935. They comprised three pieces of legislation: the Flag Law, the Reich Citizenship Law, and the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour. The latter two laws excluded German Jews from Reich citizenship and prohibited them from marrying or having extramarital relations with persons of 'German or related blood'.

Oberfeldkommandantur

Regional headquarters of the military administration, here specifically in occupied France and occupied Belgium, under the command of the Military Commander (Militärbefehlshaber).

Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat ('chief war administration counsellor')

Senior rank in the military administration, above Kriegsverwaltungsrat, with responsibility for a range of key areas of occupation policy.

Œuvre de secours aux enfants (OSE) (Children's Aid Society)

Jewish welfare organization established by Jewish physicians in 1912 in Russia. After the Russian Revolution the organization expanded into other European countries with significant Jewish populations and focused on caring for children (medical services, distribution of clothing and food). In 1933 it relocated its headquarters from Berlin to Paris. It ran several orphanages (*maisons d'enfants*) in France for Jewish refugee children, especially from Germany and Austria, and brought children to safety in neutral countries.

Office for Economic Investigation (Wirtschaftsprüfstelle, WPS)

Agency founded in 1940 in Amsterdam under the commissioner general for finance and the economy, Hans Fischböck. All businesses in the Netherlands that were considered Jewish were required to register with the office, which decided whether to liquidate or Aryanize the business. The office worked closely with the German Audit and Trust Company (Deutsche Revisions- und Treuhand AG) and from March 1941 was also responsible for appointing trustees to take over Jewish businesses.

Old Reich (Altreich)

Germany within its 1937 borders, prior to the annexation of Austria in March 1938 and of the Sudetenland in October of the same year.

Order Police (Ordnungspolizei)

German uniformed police between 1936 and 1945. Its branches included the urban police (Schutzpolizei), municipal police (Gemeindepolizei), and the rural police (Gendarmerie). The Order Police was initially administered by the Interior Ministry; it was merged with the SS in 1936. During the war, it was in charge of policing the civilian population in the occupied territories and in Eastern Europe; it was also directly involved in killing operations as part of the 'final solution'.

ORT (Russian acronym for the 'Society for Trades and Agricultural Labour', also known as the 'Organization for Rehabilitation through Training')

Society established in Russia in 1880 by a small group of Jewish philanthropists to help impoverished Jews acquire skills that would enable them to become self-sufficient through education and training. It organized vocational training and supplied workshops with materials and tools, in addition to overseeing agricultural settlements. In 1921 the World ORT was established in Berlin, and in the following years it expanded its activities to Western and Eastern Europe, the Americas, and South Africa. ORT exists to this day.

Ortskommandantur

Local (town level) headquarters of the German military administration in the occupied territories.

Regierungspräsident

Civil service official in charge of a Regierungsbezirk (administrative subdivision approximately equivalent to a British county).

Reich Citizenship Law (*Reichsbürgergesetz*)

One of the Nuremberg Laws promulgated in September 1935. The Reich Citizenship Law introduced a new distinction between 'subject of the state' (*Staatsangehörige*) and 'Reich citizen' (*Staatsbürger*); only those with 'German or related blood' could be the latter.

Reich Association of Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland)

Compulsory association founded at the beginning of 1939 by order of the German authorities. It replaced the Reich Representation of German Jews (Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden), which had been established by Jewish organizations in 1933. Its legal status was formalized in July 1939. Led by Leo Baeck (1873–1956) but under the direct control of the Reich Security Main Office, it was the central organization of Jews in Germany and had branches in the country's main Jewish communities. It provided emigration support, schooling, and welfare for Jews in Germany. It was dissolved in July 1943 and succeeded by the Remnant Association of Jews in Germany (Restvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland).

Reich Commissariat (Reichskommissariat)

Civilian regime set up by the German government in a number of occupied countries. In Western Europe these included the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Dutch Territories, the Reich Commissariat for the Occupied Norwegian Territories, and (from July 1944) the Reich Commissariat for Belgium and Northern France. Each commissariat was administered by a Reich commissioner, who reported directly to Hitler.

Reich Germans (*Reichsdeutsche*)

Designation commonly used during the National Socialist period to distinguish Reich citizens who were residents of the German Reich from Reich citizens who

were resident abroad (*Auslandsdeutsche*) and from foreign citizens with German ethnicity (*Volksdeutsche*, ethnic Germans). After the annexation of Austria in March 1938, Austrian citizens also acquired the status of *Reichsdeutsche*.

Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA)

Office created by Heinrich Himmler on 27 September 1939 by merging the SD and the Security Police, and headed by Reinhard Heydrich. The RSHA played an important role in the Nazi regime's policies of persecution and extermination. It was responsible for intelligence gathering and criminal investigation. Through the work of Section IV D 4 (later IV B 4), run by Adolf Eichmann, it was instrumental in the implementation of the 'final solution'.

***Reichsgesetzblatt* (Reich Law Gazette, *RGBl*)**

Official gazette of the German Reich between 1871 and 1945, which published laws and regulations.

Rexist Party of Belgium (Parti Rexiste)

Far-right Belgian political party, based predominantly in French-speaking areas of Belgium, founded by Léon Degrelle in 1936 as a breakaway faction of the ruling Catholic Party. The Rexist Party won 11 per cent of the vote in the 1936 general election. Between 1940 and 1944 the Rexists openly supported the German occupiers and established a volunteer force which fought in the war against the Soviet Union.

Rosenberg Task Force for the Occupied Territories (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, ERR)

Agency founded on Hitler's orders at the beginning of 1940 and headed by Alfred Rosenberg. Its purpose was to confiscate pieces of art and cultural assets, libraries and archives, and furniture and household goods owned by Jews and other 'enemies of the Reich', starting in Western Europe. Its activities began in France in September 1940 and were subsequently extended to Belgium and the Netherlands, and, after the invasion of the Soviet Union, to the occupied Eastern territories. A renewed authorization for ERR operations was issued by Hitler on 1 March 1942. This gave the ERR the right to seize material thought to be useful for the ideological objectives of the Nazi Party and the future research of the Advanced School (Hohe Schule) of the NSDAP.

Royal Netherlands Marechaussee (Koninklijke Marechaussee)

Branch of the Dutch armed forces established in 1814. It performs military police duties and supports the civilian police. During the occupation of the Netherlands it was merged with the gendarmerie and lost its military function.

SA (abbreviation for Sturmabteilung; 'Storm Troopers', colloquially 'Brownshirts')

Paramilitary wing of the NSDAP established in 1920 to provide protection during Party gatherings and rallies and to disrupt those of its opponents through systematic intimidation. The SA was instrumental to Hitler's rise to power in the early 1930s and was heavily involved in the escalating violence against Jews. Headed by Ernst Röhm until 1934, the SA aimed to uphold the National Socialist 'revolution'. However, its leadership was purged in 1934 during the 'Night of the Long Knives' and its influence gradually waned due to the increased importance of the SS.

SD (abbreviation for Sicherheitsdienst; SS Security Service)

Intelligence service of the SS and NSDAP, founded in 1931 by Heinrich Himmler and headed by Reinhard Heydrich. It initially served as an internal intelligence service for the NSDAP. The SD's tasks included the detection and surveillance of those classed as political and ideological enemies, especially Jews, communists, Social Democrats, and Freemasons. In 1939 it was incorporated into the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) along with the Security Police (Gestapo and Criminal Police). It played an instrumental role in the planning and implementation of the 'final solution'.

Secretary general (secretaris-generaal, secrétaire général)

Most senior civil service rank in a ministerial department in Belgium or the Netherlands, second only to the minister. During the occupation, the secretaries general were given the task of administering the respective ministries and running day-to-day government business, while the Dutch and Belgian governments were in exile in London.

Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo)

One of the two police branches after Himmler's reorganization of the entire police apparatus in 1936 (the other being the Order Police). The Security Police was headed by Reinhard Heydrich between 1936 and 1942 and consisted of the Gestapo and the Criminal Police. It was incorporated into the Reich Security Main Office in 1939.

Senior Commander of the Order Police (Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei, BdO)

Leader of the Order Police in the occupied territories, subordinate to the Higher SS and Police Leaders.

Senior Commander of the Security Police (Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei, BdS)

Head of a Reich Security Main Office field office in an occupied territory during the war; subordinate to the Higher SS and Police Leaders.

SS (abbreviation for Schutzstaffel; 'protection squadron')

Paramilitary force established in 1925, under the leadership of Heinrich Himmler from 1929. From 1934 the SS was responsible for running the concentration camps and from 1941 for the extermination camps. Other branches of the SS included the Waffen-SS and the Allgemeine SS (membership organization).

State Inspectorate of the Population Register (Rijksinspectie van den Bevolkingsregisters)

Population registry in The Hague headed by Jacob Lantz, who developed a system of registration and identity cards to track the population in the Netherlands. The inspectorate compiled lists of what were thought to be Jewish family names and created maps indicating the density of Jews by district. The German occupiers used its lists to assist in rounding up Jews and preparing deportation lists.

State secretary (Staatssekretär)

The most senior rank of permanent civil service official in a Reich ministry. There were sometimes several state secretaries in one ministry.

Storting

The Norwegian parliament, established in 1814 under Norway's constitution.

Der Stürmer

Antisemitic weekly tabloid published by the Gauleiter of Franconia, Julius Streicher, from 1923 to 1945. Although not an official party publication, it became an integral part of Nazi propaganda. Its readership was even larger than circulation figures sug-

gest, as each week's issue could be viewed in public display cases throughout Germany.

Swiss Children's Aid (Secours suisse aux enfants)

Offshoot of the Swiss Aid Association for Child War Victims (SAK), created in 1940 to help care for children displaced during the war. It was under the supervision of Hugo Remund, chief physician at the Swiss Red Cross.

Verordnungsblatt (VOBl)

Gazette that published legislation, regulations, and decrees, including anti-Jewish ones, issued by the German authorities in the occupied territories: Belgium and Northern France (*VOBl-BNF*), Netherlands (*VOBl-NL*), Luxembourg (*VOBl-L*), and France (*VOBl-F*).

Vlaams Nationaal Verbond (Flemish National Association, VNV)

Flemish nationalist political party founded by Staf de Clercq in 1933. During the occupation of Belgium, the VNV collaborated with the military administration.

De Vlag (The Flag)

Flemish extremist group founded in 1935 by Jef Van de Wiele and Rolf Wilkening. Prior to the war it called for an autonomous Flanders, but under German occupation it advocated the incorporation of Belgium into Greater Germany. During the war it was absorbed by the Flemish SS, and many of its members fought in the war against the Soviet Union.

Völkisch

Term dating back to the nineteenth century and denoting the organic unity of people bound by blood, soil, history, and culture. In the second half of the nineteenth century the central tenet of *völkisch* thinking was a racial ideology that later became a key element of National Socialism.

Volksverweering

Flemish nationalist organization founded in the 1930s and chaired by René Lambrichts. At the end of 1941 it had approximately 1,000 members.

Weerbaarheidsafdeling (National Socialist Defence Section, WA)

Paramilitary arm of the Dutch National Socialist Movement (NSB), comparable to the SA. It was established in 1932 by Anton Mussert. Banned in 1935, it resumed activities after the German occupation of the Netherlands in 1940. It was known for its violence, directed particularly against Jews and critics of the new regime.

Wehrmacht

Collective term for the German armed forces – army, air force (*Luftwaffe*), and navy – from 1935 to 1945. The Wehrmacht was the successor to the Reichswehr (1919–1935). The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) under Wilhelm Keitel coordinated military activities, although each of the three military branches had their respective high command: OKH (army), OKM (navy), and OKL (air force).

World Jewish Congress

International organization founded in Geneva in August 1936 with the backing of the American Jewish Congress (AJC). It was set up with the aim of promoting Jewish unity, supporting the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, campaigning for political and economic equality for Jews across Europe, and combating Nazism and antisemitism. The organization still exists today.

Zionism

Movement that originated in Central and Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century and advocated the re-establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz-Israel (Land of Israel – Palestine); it led to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Approximate Rank and Hierarchy Equivalents

NSDAP and Civil Service

NSDAP	Civil Service
Reichsleiter	Staatssekretär
–	Oberpräsident (only in Prussia)
Gauleiter	Unterstaatssekretär
Hauptbefehlsleiter	Ministerialdirektor
Oberbefehlsleiter	Regierungspräsident
Befehlsleiter	–
Hauptdienstleiter	Ministerialdirigent
Oberdienstleiter	–
Hauptbereichsleiter	Ministerialrat
<i>Kreisleiter</i>	
Oberbereichsleiter	Regierungsdirektor
Bereichsleiter	–
Hauptgemeinschaftsleiter	Amtsrat
<i>Ortsgruppenleiter</i>	
Obergemeinschaftsleiter	Oberinspektor
Gemeinschaftsleiter	Inspektor
Haupteinsatzleiter	–
Einsatzleiter	–
Hauptbereitschaftsleiter	Obersekretär
Oberbereitschaftsleiter	Sekretär
–	Verwaltungsassistent
Bereitschaftsleiter	–
–	Assistent
Hauptarbeitsleiter	Assistent
Oberarbeitsleiter	Amtsgehilfe
Arbeitsleiter	–
Oberhelfer	–
Helfer	–
Polit. Leiter-Anwärter	–

Source: Michael Buddrus, *Totale Erziehung für den totalen Krieg: Hitlerjugend und nationalsozialistische Jugendpolitik* (Munich: De Gruyter, 2003).

SS, Wehrmacht, British Army, US Army

SS	Wehrmacht	British Army	US Army
–	Reichsmarschall	–	–
Reichsführer-SS	Generalfeldmarschall	Field Marshal	General of the Army
SS-Oberstgruppenführer	Generaloberst	–	General
SS-Obergruppenführer	General der Waffengattung (Infanterie, Artillerie, etc.)	General	Lieutenant General
SS-Gruppenführer	Generalleutnant	Lieutenant General	Major General
SS-Brigadeführer	Generalmajor	Major General	Brigadier General
SS-Oberführer	–	Brigadier	–
SS-Standardenführer	Oberst	Colonel	Colonel
SS-Obersturmbannführer	Oberstleutnant	Lieutenant Colonel	Lieutenant Colonel
SS-Sturmbannführer	Major	Major	Major
SS-Hauptsturmführer	Hauptmann	Captain	Captain
SS-Obersturmführer	Oberleutnant	First Lieutenant	First Lieutenant
SS-Untersturmführer	Leutnant	Second Lieutenant	Second Lieutenant
SS-Sturmscharführer	Stabsoberfeldwebel	Regimental Sergeant Major (Warrant Officer Class 1)	Sergeant Major
–	Oberfähnrich	–	Senior Officer Candidate
SS-Hauptscharführer	Oberfeldwebel	Staff Sergeant Major (Warrant Officer Class 1)	Master Sergeant
SS-Oberscharführer	Feldwebel	Warrant Officer Class 2	Technical Sergeant
–	Fähnrich	Ensign	Officer Candidate
SS-Scharführer	Unterfeldwebel	Staff Sergeant	Staff Sergeant
SS-Unterscharführer	Unteroffizier	Sergeant	Sergeant
–	Stabsgefreiter	Corporal (senior)	–
–	Obergefreiter	Corporal	Corporal

SS-Rottenführer	Gefreiter	Lance Corporal	Acting Corporal
SS-Sturmmann	Obersoldat	Private (senior)	Private First Class
SS-Mann	Soldat	Private	Private
SS-Anwärter	–	–	–

Sources: SS/Wehrmacht ranks: Heinz Antzt, *Mörder in Uniform: Organisationen, die zu Vollstreckern nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen wurden* (Munich: Kindler, 1979). Wehrmacht/US army ranks: Tim Ripley, *The German Army in World War II, 1939–1945* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014). Wehrmacht/British army ranks: Ben H. Shepherd, *Hitler’s Soldiers: The German Army in the Third Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

Security Police (SIPO)

Sicherheitspolizei (SIPO)

Chef der deutschen Polizei / Chief of the German Police

Chef der SIPO / Chief of the SIPO

Kriminaldirigent

Reichskriminaldirektor

Regierungs- und Kriminaldirektor

Oberregierungs- und Kriminalrat

Regierungs- und Kriminalrat

Kriminaldirektor

Kriminalrat / detective chief superintendent

Kriminalkommissar / detective superintendent

Kriminalinspektor / detective inspector

Kriminalobersekretär / detective chief sergeant

Kriminalsekretär / detective sergeant

Kriminaloberassistent / detective chief constable

Kriminalassistent / detective constable

Kriminalassistentenanwärter / detective constable candidate

Source: Hans-Christian Harten, *Die weltanschauliche Schulung der Polizei im Nationalsozialismus* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018).

Chronology

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands
April 1940		9th. The Wehrmacht invades Norway. Occupation of Denmark	
		10th. Capitulation of Denmark	
May 1940	10th. Beginning of the campaign in the West: the invasion of France and the Benelux countries by the Wehrmacht	The German Security Police calls for a census of Jews and a list of their property and shares in industry and commerce. It also requires Jewish communities to prepare lists of their members	15th. Surrender
June 1940		10th. Norway surrenders	
July 1940			1st. An initial anti-Jewish regulation excludes Jews from the Air Raid Protection Service

Belgium	Luxembourg	France

28th.
Surrender

10th.
Surrender

22nd.
Franco-German armistice

9th–11th.
Abolition of the Republic and the establishment of the ‘French State’ (État français)

17th.
The Vichy government enacts a law on the ‘cleansing’ of the administration and revokes the civil servant status of naturalized citizens

22nd.
The Vichy government orders the screening of all persons naturalized since 1927

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands

August 1940

September 1940

October 1940

Jews are forbidden to practise a number of professions. Jewish-owned shops must be marked as such. Jews are no longer allowed to assemble for religious purposes

- 11th.** Civil servants are required to procure an ‘Aryan certificate’
- 22nd.** The Reich Commissioner issues a regulation on the registration of all Jewish-owned businesses and determines who is to be considered a Jew

Belgium	Luxembourg	France
		16th. The Vichy government prohibits foreign Jews from practising medicine
	5th. The civil administration's first anti-Jewish measures: introduction of the German racial legislation, registration of Jewish-owned businesses and blocking of their assets; Jews are dismissed from all public offices, and Jewish physicians and lawyers must discontinue their practice Regulation issued on the registration of Jewish assets	10th. The Vichy government prohibits foreign Jews from practising law 10th. Jews are prohibited from crossing the demarcation line and returning to occupied northern France 27th. German military administration's First Regulation on Measures Against Jews: definition of who is to be considered a Jew; introduction of compulsory registration and visible identification of Jewish-run businesses
28th. With its first two anti-Jewish regulations, the German military administration in Belgium and northern France orders the registration of all Jews, the registration of Jewish businesses, and the removal of Jews from public office by the end of the year, and forbids all Jews who have fled Belgium from returning	22nd. Beginning of the partly forced emigration from Luxembourg: first transports taking Jews to Belgium, France, Spain, and Portugal	3rd. First Statute on Jews issued by the Vichy government contains a definition of the term 'Jew' as well as occupational bans 4th. Vichy government issues a law permitting the arrest of every foreign Jew 7th. Jews in Algeria lose French citizenship

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands

November 1940

4th.
Jewish civil servants are forced to resign from office

26th.
Protest by a professor and students against the dismissal of Jewish university teachers is followed by a strike and the closure of Leiden University

December 1940

Belgium	Luxembourg	France
		18th. German military administration's Second Regulation on Measures Against Jews: introduction of compulsory registration for Jewish-owned businesses; appointment of temporary administrators 22nd–23rd. Expulsion of 6,500 Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate to the unoccupied zone of France, where they are interned in Gurs camp

2nd.
Vichy government establishes the Service de contrôle des administrations provisoires (SCAP) to oversee the appointment of trustees for Jewish businesses

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands
January 1941			10th. Regulation issued on the compulsory registration of Jews
February 1941			14th. Establishment of the Jewish Council (initially limited to Amsterdam, later responsible for the entire Netherlands) 22nd/23rd. Deportation of 425 Jews to Mauthausen concentration camp 25th/26th. General strike in Amsterdam and other cities as a protest against the treatment of Jews ('February Strike')
March 1941			12th. The Regulation on the Removal of Jews from Economic Life mandates the registration of all Jewish businesses
April 1941		21st. The synagogue in Trondheim is vandalized	18th. Establishment of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Amsterdam

Belgium

Luxembourg

France

6th.

Introduction of compulsory registration of all Jews

7th.

The Regulation on Measures Concerning the Property of Emigrants and Jews allows the confiscation of the assets of Jews who have emigrated or fled

29th.

Establishment of the Commissariat General for Jewish Affairs (Commissariat général aux questions juives)

10th–14th.

Pogrom-like attacks on Jews in Antwerp

18th.

The Chief of the Civil Administration given authorization to seize the assets of all Jews still living in the country

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands

May 1941			1st. Jews in the liberal professions are no longer allowed to treat or advise anyone except Jews
June 1941	After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Jews originating in the territory of the Soviet Union are arrested		4th. Jews are no longer allowed to enter public buildings
	23rd. Jews are no longer allowed to practise law		

Belgium	Luxembourg	France
	24th–25th. Adolf Eichmann and representatives of the Jewish Community of Luxembourg meet at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) to discuss a possible acceleration of the emigration process	26th. German military administration issues the Third Regulation on Measures Against Jews, further excluding Jews from economic life
31st. Jewish enterprises required to be marked as such; compulsory registration of Jewish-owned real estate and bank deposits	Demolition of the synagogue in Luxembourg City begins 5th. Dismissal of Jews employed by Luxembourg businesses	7th. Appointment of trustees in Jewish-owned businesses 14th. By order of the German military administration, the French police arrest 3,600 foreign Jews in Paris 28th. Jews' bank accounts are frozen
	3rd. Demolition of the synagogue in Esch-sur-Alzette After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Jews originally from the territory of the Soviet Union are arrested	2nd. Vichy government's second Statute on Jews: exclusion of Jews from the workforce and economic life; Jews in the unoccupied zone must be registered After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, 600 communists are arrested, including more than 100 Jews, all originally from the territory of the Soviet Union. The beginning of the communist resistance to the German occupiers

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands
July 1941			1st. Real estate owned by Jews must be registered 3rd. Identity cards of all Jews must be marked with a 'J'
August 1941			8th. Regulation on the Handling of Jewish Financial Assets (First LiRo Decree)
September 1941			1st. Jewish pupils are allowed to attend only Jewish schools from now on 15th. Further restrictions are placed on the freedom of movement of Jews and their participation in public life

Belgium	Luxembourg	France
		25th. The French Ministry of the Interior prohibits the release of interned Jews who have arrived in France since 10 May 1940
	6th. Seizure of the assets of deceased Jews 29th. Ban on Jewish participation in public life. Introduction of a yellow armband to visibly identify Jews	22nd. The Vichy government issues an Aryanization law
29th. Jews are forbidden to move to places other than Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, and Charleroi. The Jewish population must observe a curfew from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m.		20th–24th. The German authorities have 4,232 Jews arrested in Paris and interned in Drancy camp

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands
October 1941	15th. Beginning of systematic deportations from Reich territory 23rd. Ban on Jewish emigration from the German sphere of control	After the appointment of a new commander of the Security Police in Trondheim, Jewish-owned enterprises are confiscated and the owners arrested 2nd. Compulsory registration of Jewish-owned real estate	

November 1941

Belgium	Luxembourg	France
	1st. Jews are forced to adopt the forenames 'Israel' or 'Sara' 5th. Jews are informed of their impending deportation 13th. Proposal for accommodation of elderly and sick Jews in the former abbey at Cinqfontaines 14th. Introduction of the yellow star 15th. The last westward-bound deportation transport leaves Luxembourg 16th. First deportations to the East, destined for the Lodz ghetto	19th. The Vichy government's Ministry of the Interior establishes the 'Police for Jewish Affairs'
25th. The Association of Jews in Belgium (AJB/VJB) is established by order of the German military administration		29th. The Union of French Jews (Union générale des Israélites de France, UGIF) is established by order of the German military administration

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands

December 1941

January 1942	13th. The governments in exile of Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg and the French National Committee under General de Gaulle, together with representatives of Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, sign a declaration concerning German crimes 20th. The organization and implementation of the murder of the Jews of Europe is discussed at the Wannsee Conference; the deportations from Norway and Denmark are to be postponed for the time being	22nd. Jews' identity cards must be stamped with a 'J'	10th. Jews are sent to Dutch labour camps for the first time 17th. Jews are forced to relocate to Amsterdam and to Westerbork camp

Belgium

Luxembourg

France

12th.

Arrest of 743 Jews and imposition of a punitive fine of 1 billion francs on the Jewish Community in reaction to attempts to assassinate members of the German occupying force

15th.

Shooting of 95 hostages

From now on, Jewish pupils may attend only Jewish schools

17th.

Jews are no longer allowed to leave Belgium

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands
February 1942		6th. Jews must go to the police to fill out questionnaires concerning their living conditions and economic situation	
March 1942		7th. First executions of Jews for alleged resistance activities 12th. The newly installed Norwegian collaborationist government forbids Jews to enter Norway	27th. The Nuremberg Race Laws are extended to the Netherlands
April 1942			
May 1942			1st. Introduction of the yellow star 21st. Regulation forcing Jews to surrender all their assets (Second LiRo Decree)

Belgium	Luxembourg	France
		15th. Resignation of Military Commander Otto von Stülpnagel as a result of the 'hostage crisis' in France
11th. Jews who have become unemployed because of the occupational bans are compulsorily deployed as forced labour in camps		10th. The Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) decides to deport 5,000 Jews from France 27th. The first deportation train bound for Auschwitz leaves France
	15th. The Jewish Consistory is renamed the 'Council of Elders of the Jews' 23rd. Second deportation of Jews, destined for the Izbica ghetto (Lublin district, General Government)	
Jews must accept any work assigned to them	12th. Homes of Jews must be marked as such	29th. Introduction of the yellow star in occupied France by the German military administration

Date	General	Norway	Netherlands
June 1942	11th. Discussion at the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) about the deportations from Western Europe: 15,000 Jews are to be deported from the Netherlands, 10,000 from Belgium, and 100,000 from France 22nd. The RSHA revises its targeted numbers: 40,000 Jews are to be deported from the Netherlands, 10,000 from Belgium, and 40,000 from France		26th. Announcement of the beginning of the deportations, allegedly to labour camps in Germany

Belgium

7th.

Introduction of the yellow star. Ban on all work in the healthcare and nursing sectors

June–September.

More than 2,250 Jews are deported to northern France for forced labour

Luxembourg

France

5th.

Deportation of 1,000 Jews from Compiègne camp to Auschwitz

Abbreviations

§	section (of a German law, code, or regulation)
§§	sections (of a German law, code, or regulation)
AA	Auswärtiges Amt (German Federal Foreign Office)
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (public limited company)
AIU	Alliance israélite universelle
AJA	American Jewish Archives
AJB/VJB, A.J.B./V.J.B.	Association des Juifs en Belgique/Vereeniging van Joden in België (Association of Jews in Belgium)
AN	Archives nationales, Paris
ANLux	Archives nationales de Luxembourg
AP	Associated Press
ARP	air-raid precautions
ARP	Anti-Revolutionaire Partij (Anti-Revolutionary Party)
Art.	article (of a law, code, or regulation)
Av.	avenue
AVB/ASB	Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles/Archief van de Stad Brussel (Archives of the City of Brussels)
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (German Federal Archives, Military Archives Department), Freiburg im Breisgau
BArch	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives), Berlin
Bd.	Band (volume)
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (Senior Commander of the Security Police)
BEF	currency symbol for Belgian francs
BLHG	Beit Lohamei HaGeta'ot (Ghetto Fighters' House), Israel
CA	California
CAAVAA	Comité d'aide et d'assistance aux victimes de l'antisémitisme en Allemagne (Belgian Committee for Aid and Assistance to Victims of Antisemitism in Germany)
CAEJR	Comité d'assistance aux enfants juifs réfugiés (Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugee Children), Belgium
CAR	Comité d'assistance aux réfugiés (Committee for Assistance to Refugees), France
CARJ	Comité d'assistance aux réfugiés juifs (Committee for Assistance to Jewish Refugees), Belgium
CBJB	Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen (Committee for Special Jewish Interests), Netherlands
CDJC	Centre de documentation Juive Contemporaine (Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center), Paris
C.D.J.J.	Conseil directeur de la jeunesse juive (Jewish Youth Administrative Council), Marseilles
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)

CegeSoma	Centre d'Étude Guerre et Société/Studie- en Documentatiecentrum Oorlog en Hedendaagsche Maatschappij (Study and Documentation Centre for War and Contemporary Society), Brussels
CERCIL	Centre d'étude et de recherche sur les camps d'internement dans le Loiret (Centre for the Study of and Research into the Internment Camps in the Loiret Département)
CJV	Comité voor Joodsche vluchtelingen (Committee for Jewish Refugees), Amsterdam
EFI, E.F.I.	Entr'aide française israélite (French-Israelite Mutual Aid)
EIF, E.I.F	Éclaireurs israélites de France (Jewish Scouts)
Emigdirect	Emigrationsdirektorium (Emigration Directorate), Berlin
fl.	currency symbol for Dutch guilders
fol.	folio (of an archival source)
Fr., Frs.	currency symbols for French or Belgian francs
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (private limited company)
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
HICEM	Acronym for three Jewish advocacy organizations: <i>HIAS</i> , <i>ICA</i> and <i>EMigdirect</i>
HL-senteret	Senter for studier av Holocaust og livssynsminoriteter (Norwegian Centre for Holocaust and Minority Studies)
ICA/JCA	Jewish Colonization Association, Paris
IfZ-Archives	Archiv des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte München–Berlin (Archives of the Leibniz Institute for Contemporary History Munich–Berlin)
IHTP	Institut d'histoire du temps présent (Institute for Contemporary History), Paris
IKG	Israelitische Kultusgemeinde (Israelite Religious Community of Vienna)
ILO	International Labour Organization, Geneva
IMT	International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg
JCC	Joodsche Coördinatie Commissie (Jewish Coordination Committee), Netherlands
JDC, J.D.C.	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JHM	Joods Historisch Museum (Jewish Historical Museum), Amsterdam
J.I.	Joodsche Invalide (Jewish home for the elderly, Amsterdam)
JO	<i>Journal officiel de la République française</i> (law gazette of the French government)
KJV	King James Version (bible)
kr.	currency symbol for Norwegian kroner
LBI/JMB	Leo Baeck Institut Archiv, Jüdisches Museum Berlin (Leo Baeck Institute Archives at the Jewish Museum Berlin)
LHA	Landeshauptarchiv (Regional Main Archive)
Lt.	lieutenant
MAE	Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Paris
MBF	Militärbefehlshaber in Belgien und Nordfrankreich (Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France)
MJB/JMB	Musée juif de Belgique/Joods Museum van België (Jewish Museum of Belgium), Brussels
n.p., n.d.	no place, no date
NG	Records of the United States Nuernberg War Crimes Trials: NG Series, 1933–1948

NIOD	Nederlands Instituut voor oorlogs-, holocaust- en genocidestudies (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies), Amsterdam
NKP	Norges Kommunistiske Parti (Communist Party of Norway)
NRA	Riksarkivet (National Archives of Norway), Oslo
NS, N.S.	Nasjonal Samling (National Union), Norway
NSB, N.S.B.	Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (National Socialist Movement), Netherlands
NSDAP,	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German
N.S.D.A.P.	Workers' Party)
NSV	Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist People's Welfare Organization)
NVV, N.V.V.	Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen (Netherlands Trade Union Federation)
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
ORT	Russian acronym for the 'Society for Trades and Agricultural Labour'
OSE	Ceuvre de secours aux enfants (Children's Aid Society), Paris
PA AA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the Federal German Foreign Office)
PCF	Parti Communiste Français (French Communist Party)
PMJ	<i>The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933–1945</i>
p.p.	<i>per procurationem</i> (by proxy)
PPF	Parti Populaire Français (French Popular Party)
PQJ	Police aux questions juives (Police for Jewish Affairs), France
RAF	Royal Air Force
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archives)
RKSP	Roomsch-Katholieke Staatspartij (Roman Catholic State Party), Netherlands
RM	currency symbol for Reichsmarks
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
SA	Sturmabteilung (Storm Troopers)
SCAP	Service du contrôle des administrateurs provisoires (Supervisory body for temporary administrators), France
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
SDAP	Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderspartij (Social Democratic Workers' Party), Netherlands
SFIO	Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière (French Section of the Workers' International)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SS, S.S.	Schutzstaffel ('Protection Squadron')
Str.	Straße (street)
TASS	Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (Soviet news agency)
Tgb.	Tagebuch (diary/journal)
TNA	The National Archives of the UK, Kew
trans.	translated by
UGIF	Union générale des Israélites de France (General Union of French Jews)
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
v.	verso (of an archival source)
VNV	Vlaams Nationaal Verbond (Flemish National Association)

VOBl, V.O.	<i>Verordnungsblatt</i> (law gazette)
VOBl-BNF	<i>Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers in Belgien und Nordfrankreich</i> (Law Gazette of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France)
VOBl-F	<i>Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers in Frankreich</i> (Law Gazette of the Military Commander in France)
VOBl-L	<i>Verordnungsblatt für Luxemburg</i> (Law Gazette for Luxembourg)
VOBl-NL	<i>Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten niederländischen Gebiete</i> (Law Gazette for the Occupied Dutch Territories)
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy), Netherlands
WA, W.A.	Weerbaarheidsafdeling (National Socialist Defence Section), Netherlands
YIVO	Institute for Jewish Research, New York
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YVA	Yad Vashem Archives

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Senter for studier av Holocaust og livssynsminoriteter (HL-senteret, Norwegian Centre for Holocaust and Minority Studies), Oslo	<i>Die Zeitung: Londoner deutsches Wochenblatt</i> <i>Egersundsposten</i> <i>Évolution nationale</i> <i>Fritt Folk</i>
Staatsarchiv München (Munich State Archive), Munich	<i>Gringoire</i> <i>Het Joodsche Weekblad</i> <i>Het Liberale Weekblad</i> <i>Het Nationale Dagblad</i> <i>Het Parool</i>
Stadsarchief Amsterdam (Amsterdam City Archive), Amsterdam	<i>Informations juives</i> <i>Jewish Bulletin</i> <i>Joodsche Gazet voor België</i>
Stadsarchief Antwerpen (Antwerp City Archive), Antwerp	<i>Journal officiel de la République française</i> <i>Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt</i> <i>Kölner Stadtanzeiger</i> <i>Kölnische Zeitung</i> <i>L'Action française</i> <i>L'Ami du peuple</i> <i>L'Echo de Paris</i> <i>L'Émancipation nationale</i> <i>L'Europe nouvelle</i> <i>L'Œuvre</i> <i>L'Univers israélite: Journal des Principes</i> <i>conservateurs du Judaïsme</i>
Stadsarchief Genk (Genk City Archive), Genk	<i>La Dernière Heure</i> <i>La Flandre liberale</i> <i>La Libre Belgique</i> <i>Le Cahier jaune</i> <i>Le Combat national</i> <i>Le Cri du peuple</i> <i>Le Matin</i> <i>Le Nouveau Journal</i> <i>Le Pays réel</i> <i>Le Peuple</i> <i>Le Soir</i> <i>Le Temps</i> <i>Manchester Guardian</i> <i>Nationalzeitung</i> <i>New York Times</i> <i>Nieuw Rotterdamsche Courant</i> <i>Nieuwe Gazet</i> <i>Norsk Lovtidend</i> <i>Reich – Volksordnung – Lebensraum</i> <i>Reichsdeutsche Nachrichten in den Niederlanden</i> <i>Reichsgesetzblatt</i>
Statsarkivet i Oslo (Oslo Regional State Archive), Oslo	
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<i>Aftenposten</i> <i>Algemeen Handelsblad</i> <i>Algemeen Politieblad</i> <i>Au Pilon</i> <i>Aufbau</i> <i>België Vrij</i> <i>Brüsseler Zeitung</i> <i>Bulletin des lois</i> <i>Bulletin de l'Union générale des Israélites de</i> <i>France</i> <i>Daily Herald</i> <i>Das Reich</i> <i>Das schwarze Korps: Zeitung der Schutzstaffeln</i> <i>der NSDAP. Organ der Reichsführung SS</i> <i>De Doodsklok: Volksblad bij de opruiming van</i> <i>het Jodendom</i> <i>De Mithoorn</i> <i>De Morgen</i> <i>De Nieuwe Gazet</i> <i>De Notenkraaker</i> <i>De Stormloop</i> <i>De Telegraaf</i> <i>De Unie: Orgaan van de Nederlandsche Unie</i> <i>De Vlag</i> <i>De Volksche Aanval</i> <i>Der Stürmer</i>	

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 niederländischen Gebiete (VOBL-NL)
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