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# SUFFER NOT THE CHILDREN

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SUFFER NOT THE CHILDREN: AMERICAN EFFORTS TO RESCUE  
GERMAN REFUGEE CHILDREN IN 1939  
An Audio-Visual Program

by  
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A major project  
submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the  
degrees of Master of Arts in Jewish Education  
and Master of Arts in Jewish Communal Service  
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion  
January, 1979

## INTRODUCTION

### To the Teacher's Program Guide

Before presentation to a class or group, please preview the slide show and the accompanying cassette, and read the materials in this guide.

SUFFER NOT THE CHILDREN was developed for high school and college students and for adults, for use in youth groups, in community centers, in adult education programs, in Holocaust studies and commemorations, as well as in schools. The suggested activities and materials included in this guide will allow for a variety of follow-up studies and programs. There are two main avenues to choose: 1) opportunities for reflecting on the slides and cassette, assimilating information and responding to the program creatively; and 2) areas for additional study which expand upon the circumstances of the German refugee situation then, documentary and literary responses to the destruction of children in the Holocaust, and contemporary problems of Indochinese and Jewish refugees from persecution.

Hopefully, this program can be used to expand our understanding of the Holocaust by aiding in the achievement of the following goals:

- A) to familiarize the group with the Holocaust period as
  - 1) part of the history of the Jewish people, and
  - 2) part of the history of civilization of which the United States played various roles
- B) to identify with the victims and the precarious circumstances in which they lived
- C) to appreciate the evidence and knowledge of the period due to the availability of primary sources and accounts, documentation, testimony and research
- D) to be aware and prepared to act when hate is a consequence of the divisions between people that are caused by differences in religion, race and life-style

## VOCABULARY

Prior to the slide-cassette presentation, it may be desirable to review the following list of words and terms:

American Federation of Labor: association of labor unions organized in 1886, merging in 1955 with the Congress of Industrial Organizations

annihilation: complete and total destruction

Aryan: in Nazi ideology, a Caucasian non-Jew, characterized by blond hair and blue eyes, which in fact had no basis in anthropological evidence

boycott: organized abstention from using something or from engaging in commerce with someone as a means of protest or coercion

concentration camp: prison in which enemies of a state are confined and housed in military-like barracks and, as with Jews confined by the Nazis, used as slave labor

Der Stuermer: widely-read sensationalist anti-Jewish newspaper published by the Nazis

emigration: departure of persons from one country or region to settle in another

extermination camp: concentration camp organized solely for the process of killing human beings

Gestapo: internal security police of the Nazis, noted for extreme brutality

The Great Depression: state of the United States economy in the early 1930's, characterized by a great decrease in business activity, falling prices and unemployment

Heinrich Himmler: chief of the Gestapo from 1936-1945

immigration: entrance and settlement in a country or region to which one is not a native

Kristallnacht: pogrom on the night of November 9-10, 1938, when Nazi marauders destroyed Jewish-owned stores and institutions, and arrested, beat or killed Jews in Germany, called "Night of the Broken Glass" or Crystal Night because of the tremendous amount of glass that littered the streets following the pogrom

Munich Beer Hall Putsch: an attempt by the Nazis to suddenly overthrow a German province in 1923

Nazi: National Socialist; a believer in the ideology and practice of a German political party founded in 1919, characterized by a dictatorship's control of the economy, racial nationalism and expansion of national power and territories

pogrom: organized, usually government encouraged attack on a minority group in order to destroy property and kill its victims

primer: elementary school textbook

propaganda: organized, systematic spreading of opinions, allegations or doctrines

Quakers: informal name for members of the Society of Friends, a non-violent, non-ritualistic Christian sect

quota: maximum number or proportion of persons who may be admitted to group, institution or country

regime: system of management, rule or control of a government; government administration

resettlement: movement of people to a new region often by force of circumstances or of government; euphemism for sending Jews to concentration and extermination camps

SA, SS: stormtroopers or Nazi military units noted for their violent, brutal, terroristic methods

visa: an authorization permitting entry into and travel within a specific country or region

White Paper: paper published by government to justify its position on an international issue

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GERMAN REFUGEE CHILDREN IN 1939

Teacher's Program Guide

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The Audio-Visual Program includes 95 Slides.



## Slide Narration

### SUFFER NOT THE CHILDREN: AMERICAN EFFORTS TO RESCUE GERMAN REFUGEE CHILDREN IN 1939

<u>Visual</u>	<u>Narration</u>
1. Focus	(Begin tape: music)
2. Photo of Children on Merry-go-round	Spring, 1939. America had been recovering from the Great Depression, but even a recent serious recession could not dampen the optimism of better times ahead.
3. Photo of Nazi Boycott of Jewish Store, in German and English	Millions of Americans were enjoying such new movies as <u>The Hound of the Baskervilles</u> with Basil Rathbone as Sherlock Holmes and <u>Dark Victory</u> with Bette Davis and Humphrey Bogart. A musical film called <u>The Wizard of Oz</u> and a big-budget epic called <u>Gone with the Wind</u> were nearing completion.
4. Photo of Three Children Posing	<u>Abe Lincoln in Illinois</u> and Lillian Hellman's <u>The Little Foxes</u> were the longest running shows on Broadway, and the play <u>The Philadel-Story</u> , starring Katherine Hepburn, opened to rave reviews.
5. Nazi Children's Text: the ugly Jew and the virile Nazi	Poets Robert Frost and Robert Graves had each published their collected works, and James Joyce's classic novel <u>Finnigan's Wake</u> arrived at bookstores.
6. Photo of Five Children Posing by Automobile	Shirley Temple turned eleven years old. Star Yankee center-fielder Joe Dimaggio became engaged.
7. Photos of Berlin Central Synagogue Burning and Man Holding Torah	Scientists had reported the splitting of an atom and envisioned atomic power plants within fifty years. There were just 900 television sets within a fifty mile radius of New York City, and discussions were underway to form a national TV network.
8. Photo of Man Posing with Five Children	Radio listeners were being entertained by Nelson Eddy; Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy; Bing Crosby and Kate Smith; and Lowell Thomas, and they followed the exploits of "The Lone Ranger," "Amos and Andy," and "Fibber McGee and Molly."
9. Photo of Shattered Store-front framed by other photos	People were dancing the fox trot and buying the "big band" music of Glenn Miller, Count Basie, Jimmie Dorsey and Tommy Dorsey.
10. Photo of Three Children and Woman in Hats	Concern <u>was</u> being expressed about the possibility of war in Europe and U.S. intervention.

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|---|---|
| 11. Photo of Three Warsaw Ghetto Children in Rags | But, for the Jews of Germany and the surrounding countries which acquiesced to Nazi occupation...   |
| 12. Photo of Two Children Dancing                 | ...the days and nights were filled with economic boycott and confiscation, humiliation, beatings...   |
| 13. Children in Concentration Camp Garb           | ...forced labor in concentration camps, torture, and death.   |
| 14. Photo of Three Children Posing                | Segregated, intimidated, and orphaned, the children were desperate for rescue and relief.   |
| 15. SUFFER NOT THE CHILDREN                       | (Pause)   |
| 16. BY JEREMY DAVID ALK                           | (Pause)   |
| 16a. H. U. C. Identification                      | (Pause)   |
| 17. Credits                                       | (Pause)   |
| 18. People Strolling by Shattered Store Window    | November 9, 1938. The SA and the SS, the elite of Germany's Nazi army, were celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the Nazi Party's first revolutionary action, the Munich Beer Hall Putsch. In the dark hours of the night, the Nazi elite army, dressed in civilian clothes, launched a massive pogrom against the Jewish community of Germany.   |
| 19. Synagogue Interior in Disarray                | Under the pretext of a reprisal for the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris by a Jewish teenager, they destroyed hundreds of synagogues...  |
| 20. Torah Scroll Parchment with Swastika          | ...and desecrated Torah scrolls and religious artifacts. Jewish-owned businesses, schools, hospitals, and other Jewish institutions were ransacked, looted, and burned by the thousands. Jews were dragged out of their homes and beaten, killed or arrested without charge and sent to concentration camps.  |
| 21. Man Regarding Shattered Store Window          | Between 20,000 and 60,000 Jews disappeared, many of them never to return. German Jewry was fined the equivalent of \$400 million for the damage it had caused. Authorization was officially given to completely exclude Jews from German economic life. The pogrom became known as <u>Kristallnacht</u> , the Night of the Broken Glass.  |
| 22. Roosevelt at Desk                             | The assault on Jewish life was publically condemned throughout the Free World, including United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who, a short time later, extended as a gesture the temporary visas of some 15,000 European refugees already in the United States. From then on, American newspapers and magazines regularly covered German domestic life as well as foreign policy. |



30. People Boarding the Ship Saint Louis It was in May of 1939 that the ill-fated ship, the Saint Louis, packed with Jewish refugees—the Voyage of the Damned—set sail for Cuba, a safe haven, until they found upon arrival that their emigration papers were no longer acceptable....The refugees were forced back to Europe.
31. Judenraus Game Board So committed were the Nazis to Jewish emigration, they patented a children's game called "Judenraus," or "Out with the Jews." The objective was to be the first with your town "cleansed" of Jews by "resettlement." Time reported in its January 30, 1939, issue that the game was very popular in Germany. (Pause)
32. Game Board, vertical (Pause)
33. Game Board's End Square (Pause) Lining up to get the proper papers to leave Germany and be accepted into another country, the ruse soon became clear: force Jews to leave and let the price be the confiscation of their capital, bearing in mind that no country, especially the United States, really wanted destitute Jews.
34. Sen. Robert Wagner, standing In February 1939, United States Senator Robert Wagner...
35. Congresswoman Edith Norse Rogers ...and Representative Edith Norse Rogers introduced in their respective houses in Congress a bill to make exception in U.S. immigration quotas to allow for the immigration in 1939 and 1940 of 20,000 German refugee children whose parents were killed, had disappeared, or were unable to care for them. A group of social workers, church men and women, jurists, and others organized the "Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children" in order to develop this legislation and plans for the reception and care of the children.
36. Photo of Woman and Child Walking in Front of Ransacked Store Boosted by eye-witness evidence of German terror and the support of such organizations as the Non-Sectarian Committee and the Quakers' American Friends Service Committee, Senator Wagner and Congresswoman Rogers introduced the Bill. The Bill received strong editorial support from dozens of newspapers in major cities and small towns all across the United States.
37. Berlin Child in Overcoat and Hat Unsolicited, thousands of American families volunteered to care for the refugee children. Hearings on the Bill were scheduled for the subcommittees on immigration of the House and Senate for mid-April. Armed with what appeared to be strong public support, the Bill's leading advocates were ready.

38. Himmler on  
Time Cover  
April 24, 1939

The week the hearings opened, Heinrich Himmler, the organizer of the pogroms on Kristallnacht and the head of the elite SS military, was Time's cover story. The article inside revealed:

39. Concentration  
Camp Inmate  
Getting Haircut

The three big (concentration) camps are now permanent prisons where Communist agitators, homosexuals, disgraced Nazis, Jewish university professors, Protestant conscientious objectors are thrown together in common cells. They wear coarse, striped uniforms, their heads are cropped, they shave only once weekly. The Jews wear yellow badges and the homosexuals pink, and few steps are taken to prevent Jewish adolescents from being attacked or molested.

40. Boy by Camp  
Barbed Wire  
Fence

Too many alumni have emerged from concentration camps with the same story to leave any further doubt that sadism and brutality are part-and-parcel of the concentration camp routine. The whipping post is used freely; men are forced to run while carrying heavy loads, are prodded by bayonets if they fall out of step. A sport of the guards is to throw Jewish boys into latrines and push their heads under with rifle butts.

41. Hitler with  
Soldiers on  
50th Birthday

The day the hearings began Chancellor Adolf Hitler celebrated his fiftieth birthday.

42. First Page  
of Hearing  
Transcript

On Thursday April 20, 1939, the hearings opened on the Wagner-Rogers Bill. The hearings received limited attention in the American press. The Bill, however, represented the first serious attempt to change the severe immigration quota laws which were passed fifteen years earlier.

43. Captioned Pic-  
ture of Sen.  
Robert Wagner

(Pause) Senator Wagner, a German-born Democrat from New York and rated by the Washington press corps as one of the three most influential senators in Congress, led off the hearings:

44. Nazi Boycott  
Leafletting  
Against Jews

The conditions which concern us here have made a lasting impression on the conscience of the world. In greater Germany today, hundreds of thousands of human beings are denied both the right to live in peace and the very means of sustaining life. The tragedy deepens as the borders of the Third Reich are progressively expanded by force of German arms.

45. Woman, Girls  
Before Depor-  
tation to  
Auschwitz

Our sympathies go out especially to the children of tender years, the most pitiful and helpless sufferers—ostracized, excluded from schools and public places, threatened with physical harm, forbidden the simplest requirements of spiritual survival.

46. Crowd in Front  
of Palestine  
and Orient Lloyd

...For several years there has been in progress a world-wide effort to facilitate their migration and lighten their burden. The terrible events of last November turned this exodus into a panic. Thousands of helpless people mobbed consular offices and roamed Germany's borders in frantic efforts to escape. Thousands more pleaded only that their children be spared the fate they were themselves unable to avoid.

47. Sen. Robert  
Wagner's  
Profile

...(This) legislation does not propose to modify immigration policies long established, or to suspend existing quotas with respect to adults. It is special legislation drafted to meet a special situation. It authorizes the admission during each of the next two calendar years of 10,000 German refugee children, 14 years of age or less, over and above quota restrictions. The admission of this limited number of children—an utterly insignificant proportion of our total population—could be accomplished without any danger of dislocating American industry or displacing American labor. Organized labor, which was instrumental in sponsoring the existing quota system, is strongly supporting the present resolution. Nor is there any danger of these children becoming public charges, for not (one) single child would be admitted except upon satisfactory assurances by responsible private organizations that they would be supported and properly cared for in American homes of their own faiths. Somewhat over half of the children would be Jewish, the remainder Catholic and Protestant.

48. Sen. Wagner  
and  
Helen Hayes

Senator Wagner, with the help of the Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children, arranged an impressive list of advocates to testify on the Bill's behalf. The one who seemed to capture the greatest national attention in the press was award-winning actress Helen Hayes, who presented herself as Mrs. Charles MacArthur, because, she said, "I prefer to sail under true colors."

I come here today as an American mother. I feel (the) importance of...the Wagner-Rogers Bill as an example to my children. I want very much to have them grow up without racial prejudice, as I feel every good American child should grow up. I am sure that all parents will agree that it is terribly hard to train a child through mere words, by sitting down to convince them through talking. It is far easier to convince them by example.

49. Helen Hayes  
at Hearings

I pick up the paper every day, and I know that my little girl...is perhaps reading the same things that I read. It is a terrible thing for a child to read that carloads and shiploads of refugees are being turned away from port after port. Nobody wants them. There are children on those boats who have no idea of how or where they will ever have a home... I cannot help but wonder why, when I read that Belgium and England and Holland have been able to take them in, we cannot find a way by which we can afford some relief.

50. Helen Hayes  
Standing  
Alone

In my family we always had a motto that belonged to my (poor) grandmother. When somebody dropped in for dinner, she would always say: "There is always room for one more."

...I know it must be difficult to visualize the anguish those mothers over there must feel to make them willing and eager to give up their children and send them to a strange land, send them among strange people. To my mind, that is the most potent and the most moving evidence of the immediate need of those little children. I beg of you to let them in.

51. Joseph Padway  
and German  
Boycott Placard

Representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor testified on behalf of the Bill. These two largest union federations came out almost immediately in support of the Bill, although both had, in the past, advocated the severe immigration restriction laws presently in force. Said the A.F. of L.'s top lawyer Joseph Padway:

I believe...that (the Bill) is not going to affect labor in the least... The statements that have been made that it will dislocate American industry and damage and injure American labor are not true... I am authorized to state that under no circumstances will this resolution affect the interests of labor, organized or unorganized, in this country.

52. Stephen S.  
Wise

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Reform rabbi and well-known Zionist, was the only identifiable Jewish leader to testify. He was a well-known supporter of President Roosevelt and of liberal social causes, and was one of the most powerful, eloquent, and famous Jews of his day.

I wish I could have brought to this room...a little boy I knew named Hans... He came as a ...refugee, half Christian, half Jew. That child was scarred as the result of wounds inflicted upon him, I am sorry to say, by children on the streets of Berlin. It took weeks before those scars passed from his back. He was trembling with fear. We could hardly get him to smile. When Mrs. Wise would say: "Come on; let us go out for a



walk," he would say, "No, no, no; the children will hurt me. The children will fling stones at me."

53. Line of Little  
Children  
Boarding Trucks

We learned that he had been dumped into an alley, and then taken in a truck to a concentration camp, and then was abused and maltreated there. That is the fate...of thousands and tens of thousands of these children in Germany... It is for America, it is for our free and blessed land to stretch out its hands to a certain number of these children, to shield and to defend and to bless them within the radiance of the freedom from oppression which is ours.

But behind the scenes he had urged Jewish organizations to refrain from giving the Bill publicity to insure ecumenical support for it.

54. Dorothy  
Thompson by  
Microphone  
(Time cover)

America's leading radio commentator and syndicated columnist Dorothy Thompson, whose weekly audiences numbered in the millions, spoke for the Bill:

We are dealing here with a very small segment of one of the greatest problems in western civilization. In the past few years we have seen a mass emigration almost without parallel, a mass migration not forced by climatic conditions, or economic conditions, but by political conditions. There are now between four and five million people without a country, wandering over the face of the earth, unable to find work.

55. Dorothy  
Thompson

(This Bill) is only a very small contribution that America would be making, a very little segment of a very great problem...(It) is not only an act of humanity and justice but will do us a good deal of good... If you would call in...expert (economists to testify), they would...tell you that (these) young people would be (as consumers) an enormous asset to the country.

56. Drawing from  
Nazi Children's  
Primer:  
Jews Leaving

...I do not know whether you can imagine what it means for a child not to be able to play with his own playmates, to be isolated from all others and in constant fear. I do not know whether you have read the primer which is (used) in Germany, teaching children to persecute other children not of their own race. I must remind you that that means one-fourth Jewish. Tomorrow it may mean one-eighth. In (German-occupied) Austria an enormous part of the population is technically Jewish, one-half or one-fourth Jewish, but for generations they have been in the Church. There are hundreds of thousands of them (who) have no idea that they are Jewish. Perfectly beautiful blond-headed little children, brought up in the Catholic faith, suddenly found themselves classed as members

of an isolated race...and subjected to continuous psychological persecution.

57. Profile of  
Dorothy  
Thompson

...Yes: there is an enormous Catholic refugee problem. When you think of Jewish children, you must think of what is a Jew. Many of them are one-fourth Jewish, and the remainder Catholic or Protestant...Thousands of them right at this moment who have heretofore been recognized as non-Jewish or Aryan...are now classed as Jewish... (The taking in of these children) will be done to meet a human need, and it will be the best propaganda for America you could possibly have. The worst possible propaganda would be for the greatest democracy on earth to refuse to do anything about this terrific international problem.

58. Nazi Solute  
in German  
Classroom

The most vivid testimony was offered by Clarence Pickett, head of the organization that sponsored the Bill and a leading Quaker:

As a result of having been in Germany, I would like to present the problem to you as I saw (it) during my stay there: All Jewish or non-Aryan children were excluded from the schools.

59. Park Bench:  
"Aryans Only"

They were not permitted to play in the public parks. Time after time children playing in the streets were spat on by other children or abused by (adults).

60. Textbook Pages:  
The Poison  
Mushroom

Only yesterday I was reading a little textbook issued by the Department of Education of the German Government, which tells the German or Aryan children what kind of people these Jewish and non-Aryan children are, to stimulate race hatred and bitterness. In every paragraph you will find vicious attacks upon these people. The children in the schools are taught to despise and hate these children.

Perhaps he had in mind this children's book, The Poison Mushroom, published "for young and old" by Der Stuermer, the Nazi anti-Semitic tabloid. These pages show that the Jewish physician is a criminal corruptor of young Aryan girls, the Jewish sex-fiend passes out sweets with sinister intent, and the boy at the blackboard shows his class that a Jewish nose resembles a "6."

61. Drawing from  
Nazi Children's  
Primer: Jews  
Expelled  
from School

Or perhaps he had in mind this children's book about the ugly, dark Jew. Expelled from school, the Jewish children and the Jewish teacher march past jeering schoolmates. Now discipline and order can be properly taught, the caption read.



62. Store with  
"Jude," Star,  
Drawings

Continued Mr. Pickett:

There is the ever present menace of the concentration camp for his father or his elder brother. The father sleeps first in one secret place and then in another, but rarely at home. There is the crashing of glass at any time of the day or night when the neighboring rowdies choose to throw stones through the window.

63. Woman Carrying  
Placard,  
Disgraced for  
Consorting with  
a Jew

...Beyond all this terror and insult, his parents have lost their means of livelihood, his family has been put out of their home and perhaps crowded into a small unheated room, wondering how they will eat when the last bit of furniture has been sold. This is the daily life of those children in Germany whom the present regime has elected to disinherit... The children (are) thus rent asunder by concentration camps, divorce, and suicide, (and) are dependent in many instances upon crumbs from the tables of their neighbors, which must of necessity be surreptitiously given.

64. Child Gazing  
at Hitler

Every avenue of normal life was closed off from the Jews. But there were some bizarre ironies. This was issued as a postcard called "A Child's Gaze," typical of the many father-figure pictures appearing in Nazi propaganda during the 1930's. In this case, however, it was later discovered that the "model Aryan" gazing trustingly at the Fuhrer was the grandson of a German rabbi.

65. Hitler by  
Colosseum

In fact, in May of 1939, Hitler felt so secure that he could take one of his rare trips beyond the frontiers of Germany, and is here given a tour of the Colosseum in Rome.

66. Father  
Charles Coughlin

The Wagner-Rogers Bill for the rescue and care of 20,000 German refugee children was approved by the Joint Committee, because, in part, the opposition had not been vocal enough. Fueled by the undercurrent of hate and venom of extreme anti-Semites exemplified by Father Charles Coughlin...

67. Gerald L. K.  
Smith

...Gerald L. K. Smith and others, and moved by a sense of urgency, the supporters of immigration restriction mounted massive letter-writing and lobbying campaigns. So-called patriotic organizations such as the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, the Allied Patriotic Societies, and the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies led the campaign against the Bill at the hearings. Supported as well by the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, together representing millions of Americans, the spokesmen and women of these groups expressed the fear of an influx of too many Germans, too many communist sympathizers, or too many of the "the Jewish race."

68. Woman Bearing Sign:  
"Charity Begins at Home" One woman testified at the hearings: "These refugees have a heritage of hate. They could never become loyal Americans. Let us not be maudlin in our sympathies, as charity begins at home." Another said that the children will grow up and cause more unemployment. Proclaimed a third: these 20,000 will increase to 600,000 in five generations!
69. American Children in Bread Line The strongest argument seemed to be concern for America's own homeless children. In April of 1939, Roosevelt had convened a White House Conference on Children, and complained about America's "ill-housed, ill-clad, undernourished children." During this time, the President made no mention of the refugee children or the Bill, despite the urging of many, including his own wife, Eleanor.
70. Anti-Semitism: Liberation Through the massive public campaign and private lobbying, the immigration restrictionists who opposed the Bill were gaining the upper hand, forcing new hearings on the Bill to be scheduled for late May.
71. News-clipping: "Tiny Refugees" (Pause) All this clamor did not deter private organizations from bringing in German refugee children on a smaller scale. (Pause)
72. Aufbau Front  
Page Picture:  
New Citizens (Pause)
73. Children on Boat from Great Britain Some were able to come by way of England. For another irony of this period was that on May 17, 1939, the British Government issued its White Paper on Palestine, limiting the flow of Jewish refugees to Palestine to a mere 10,000 per year for the next five years, plus 25,000 more European refugees if financially supported. Then it would stop.
74. Letter to Child All the while, the British were permitting German refugees including thousands of children into their own country as a temporary haven.
75. Permission for Enemy Alien to Travel Once in the United States, the German Jews were considered enemy aliens subject to restrictions, after America had entered the war. The children were no exception.
76. Senate Committee Hearings' Transcript It was on Shavuot, when many German communities had forbidden the holiday's observance, that Senate Committee hearings opened on May 24. The Bill met less than a warm reception, and was subsequently watered down, so that the children would come under the existing quota and so displace adults who had already secured their places via "normal" means. This move was opposed vehemently by the Bill's supporters, but was passed and sent to the floors of the House and Senate, where it was further muddled by amendments and ultimately defeated.

77. Sen. Robert Wagner  
Senator Robert Wagner delivered an eloquent, impassioned nationwide radio address on June 7 to help the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish children behind the barbed wire of German territories, urging Americans to commit themselves to "faith in the ideals of human brotherhood." His plea failed to elicit substantial public support.
78. Roosevelt, with Glasses at Desk  
The White House was silent throughout the spring of 1939. In June, in reply to a request from Congresswoman Caroline O'Day of New York concerning his views on the Bill, the President noted in pencil on the memorandum: "File—No action. FDR."
79. Nazi Shooting Mother and Child  
Fears of further economic hardship, isolationist tendencies, anti-Semitism in the guise of fear of the foreigner, as well as the Roosevelt Administration's official silence, which spoke a thousand words of indifference, all helped to defeat this effort to rescue German refugee children. Despite the horrors of Kristallnacht and the continuous coverage of the Nazi terror in the American press, despite the contributions of those new immigrants who succeeded in escaping Nazi Europe, and despite those American families who, unsolicited, had volunteered to take in the children, the American public at large did not want to help. For, in a national poll taken in May 1939, only one in five favored the Bill.
80. Call-Up to Assemble for Deportation  
Most stood idly by as the Jews were called to their doom. (Pause)
81. Ghetto Girl  
During his trial in 1947, Otto Ohlendorf, commander of Extermination Group D, was asked why children were massacred:
82. Women, Children Arriving at Auschwitz  
"Will you please explain to the tribunal what conceivable threat to the security of the German armed forces a child constituted?"
83. Arrivals at Auschwitz  
Ohlendorf answered: "According to orders, they were to be killed just like their parents."
84. Woman, Three Children Walk to Gas Chamber  
"I did not have to determine the danger but the order said that all Jews including the children were considered to constitute a danger for the security of the area."
85. Children in Camp Garb  
He went on: "I believe that it is very simple to explain if one starts from the fact that this order did not only try to achieve a temporary security, but also a permanent security...
86. Children in Camp Garb Holding Out Arms  
...for the children were people who would grow up and, surely being the children of parents who had been killed, would constitute a danger no smaller than that of their parents."

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 87. Girl with<br>"Jude" Star          | (Pause)  |
| 88. Saying from<br>Mishnah            | (Pause)  |
| 89. "Of the<br>Six Million...         | (Pause)  |
| 90. ...1.5 Million<br>were Children." | (Pause)  |
| 91. Girl and Boy<br>by Fence          | Some of the children survived. Wrote a nine<br>year old Jewish child after the war:<br><br>I have no father, and<br>I have no mother,<br>I don't know where they are,<br>I have no home. |
| 92. Face of Boy<br>by Fence           | Is there somewhere in the world<br>a father and mother for me, too?  |
| 93. Close-Up of<br>Boy's Face         | And is there somewhere in the world<br>a place that I can call my home? (Pause)  |
| 94. Lit Memorial<br>Candle            | (Pause)  |
| 95. Black Slide<br>(no picture)       | (End)  |

\* \* \* \* \*

Credits:

Narration.....Jeremy David Alk  
 Sen. Robert Wagner.Dr. Stuart Kelman  
 Helen Hayes.....Aryela Hasafranit  
 Joseph Padway.....Avi Engel  
 Stephen S. Wise.....Lee Bycel  
 Dorothy Thompson.....Sheila Russian  
 Clarence Pickett...Dr. Stanley Chyet

and special thanks to each of the readers

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Suggested Activities for Further Study  
(for classroom, conclave, general program follow-up)

1. Read the poetry aloud. Discuss the ideas conveyed in each. Write a poetic response to one or all of the poems.
2. Write a theme or "first person account" on the life of a German Jewish child. Devise and/or role play an interview with a child who arrived in the United States under sponsorship of a private organization.
3. Write a theme or "first person account" on the life of a non-Jewish child seeing or participating in an anti-Jewish activity.
4. Compose a weekly newsmagazine or radio news review of the events of April-May 1939 as depicted in the program.
5. Paint a picture or mural or make a collage depicting the events in Germany in 1939.
6. Famous Simulation Exercise: Blue Eye/Brown Eye
  - a. Divide the group into two sections by the color of their eyes or any other arbitrary means (height, last name, birthdate, etc.)
  - b. Choose one section to be "superior" for fixed period of time (an hour, a class period, etc.)
  - c. Favor the superior section when in a discussion. Call on them first, give them special privileges, etc.
  - d. Reverse roles for same length of time. Inferior section becomes superior.
  - e. After both sections of group have the experience, discuss the following:
    - How did each person feel in his/her role?
    - Which role was more enjoyable to play? Why?
    - Why is there discrimination?
    - Does the exercise reflect the Jewish experience in the Holocaust?
7. Write a radio drama or one-act play depicting one crucial event or related series of events in April-May 1939 in Germany or Washington, D.C.
8. Research and report on the life of poet and dramatist Yitzhak Katzenelson, author of the epic poem "The Lament of the Martyred Jewish People" from which "The First Ones" is a part. Find out how the manuscript was found and published.
9. Find out if a relative of a group member was a refugee from the Nazis who either escaped before Sept. 1939 or after. Prepare a report on their experiences or invite them to speak to the group.
10. Hold a panel discussion on "Who must share in the responsibility for the death of the Six Million Jews?"

11. Prepare a report or simulate the trial of Nazi Commander Ohlendorf.
12. Report on who Adolf Eichman was, and what his trial achieved.
13. Draw maps of the escape routes taken by the refugees from Nazi Europe to America.
14. Report on the consequences of the release of the British White Paper on Palestine on the Jews of Palestine and on the Jews of Europe and America in the days that followed.
15. Compare and contrast the situations in which Jews immigrated to the United States between 1881-1914 and between 1933-1940 from Europe.
16. Conduct a Congressional Hearing on a prospective bill to raise the immigration quotas to allow for the Indochinese refugees to settle in America.
17. Go to public or university libraries to see how major American newspapers and news magazines detailed the persecution of the Jews in the 1930's in Europe.
18. Write to the Leo Baeck Institute and the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem for further information on an area of particular interest to a member of the group.
19. Investigate current reports on the Neo-Nazi movements in Germany, South America, and the United States.
20. Get in touch with the local Jewish National Fund to see how contributions can help memorialize the children who perished in the Holocaust through the development of the Children's Forest in Israel.
21. Field trips can be taken to local libraries or museums for further study. (In Los Angeles visit the Holocaust memorial at the Jewish Federation building and the Simon Wiesenthal Documentation and Study Center at Yeshiva University.)
22. Plan a program for Yom Hashoa v'Hag'vurah, the Day of Remembrance and Heroism of the Holocaust.
23. Compare and contrast in a theme the situations in one of these countries: Vietnam, Cambodia, Soviet Union, Syria, or Argentina, with the situation in Nazi Germany before September 1939.
23. Report on the situation of the Falasha Jews of Ethiopia.
24. Chronicle personal experiences of brave children under emergency situations.
25. Prepare the slides in various combinations for use in other ways, such as photographic evidence (by number) of
  - a) persecution of Jews in greater Germany: 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31-33, 36, 39, 40, 44, 45, 51, 53, 56, 58-63, 79, 80-87
  - b) concentration camps: 13, 39, 40, 45, 53, 80-86
  - c) anti-Jewish education in Germany: 5, 25, 31-33, 56, 58, 60, 61



## DOCUMENTS OF THOSE TIMES

I. "School Essay" in a Letter to Der Stuermer

II. Poetry

- A. "The First Ones" from "Lament of the Martyred Jewish People" by Yitzhak Katzenelson
- B. "The Garden" by Franta Bass, and "Terezin" by Hanus Hachenburg, selected from I Never Saw Another Butterfly: Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camp 1942-1944
- C. "Chorus of the Orphans" and "The Children Lie" from O The Chimneys, by Nelly Sachs
- D. An Excerpt from Night, by Elie Wiesel

III. Additional Materials

- A. "How Refugees Make Jobs," an appendix to a speakers' manual
- B. British internGerman Jews as Enemy Aliens in 1940
- C. The Fortune Survey, April 1939:  
Refugees, American Jews, Anti-Semitism

A stark example of the success of the propaganda against German Jewry in the Nazi classroom is found in this letter to Der Stuermer. The student writer is convinced that the Jews are biologically inferior and should bear the historical onus of guilt for being the source of Germany's ills.

In her essay she alludes to Christian anti-Semitic medieval myth and blames the Jews for being responsible for the economic, social and political ills of Germany.

The title "The Jews are our Misfortune" was one of Der Stuermer's slogans and one of the main watchwords of the Nazi Party.

#### A School Essay

Dear Stuermer,

Gauleiter Streicher has told us so much about the Jews that we absolutely hate them. At school we wrote an essay called "The Jews are our Misfortune". I should like you to print my essay, *The Jews are our Misfortune*

Unfortunately, many people today still say, "God created the Jews too. That is why you must respect them also." We say, however, "Vermin are also animals, but we still destroy them." The Jew is a half-caste. He has inherited characteristics of Aryans, Asiatics, Negroes and Mongols. In a half-caste, the worst characteristics predominate. The only good thing about him is his white colour. The South Sea Islanders have a proverb that goes: "God made the white man and God made the black man. But the devil made the half-caste." Jesus once said to them, "God is not your father, but the devil." The Jews have a wicked book of laws. It is called the Talmud. The Jews look on us as animals as well and treat us accordingly. They use cunning tricks to take away our wealth. The Jews ruled in the court of Karl of Franconia. That is why Roman law was introduced. This did not suit the German peasants: it was not a law for the Roman townsman-farmers either, but a Jewish merchant law. The Jews are also certainly guilty of the murder of Karl of Franconia.

In Gelsenkirchen the Jew Grueneberg sold us rotten meat. His book of laws allows him to do that. The Jews have plotted revolts and incited war. They have led Russia into misery. In Germany they gave the Communist Party money and paid their thugs. We were at death's door. Then Adolf Hitler came. Now the Jews are abroad and stir up trouble against us. But we do not waver and we follow the *Fuehrer*. We do not buy anything from the Jew. Every penny we give them kills one of our own people.

Heil Hitler.

Erna Listing, Gelsenkirchen, Oswaldstr. 8

Reader's letter to "Der Stuermer", January 1935

## THE FIRST ONES

The first ones to be destroyed were the children,  
little orphans, abandoned upon the face of the earth;  
they who were the best in the world,  
the acme of grace on the dark earth!  
Oh, tender orphans!

From them, the bereaved of the world  
in a house of shelter we drew consolation;  
from the mournful faces, mute and dark,  
we said the light of day will yet break upon us!

Thus it was at the end of the winter, forty two,  
in such a poor house of shelter,  
I saw children just gathered from the street;  
and I hid in a corner of corners,  
I saw in the embrace of a nurse  
a little girl less than two years old,  
emaciated, thin, her face the pallor of death,  
and her eyes so grave, so serious.

And I looked at her, I looked at this two year old crone;  
like a grandma of a hundred years was this little girl in Israel;  
the trouble and misery that her grandma had not seen even in a  
nightmare, this little girl had seen fully awake.  
And I wept and said to myself: Away with the tears!  
The sorrow will cease but the graveness will remain!

The graveness will remain, it will seep into the well of the world,  
into the well of life, and deepen it;  
this Jewish earnestness will awaken,  
will open the eyes of the blind,  
will shine like the Torah to the whole world,  
like a prophecy, like holy scriptures -  
Do not cry, do not weep ...  
eighty million murderers will atone for one worried child in Israel!

Do not cry ...  
At this station another girl I saw, about five years old;  
she fed her younger brother and he cried,  
the little one, he was sick;  
into a diluted bit of jam she dipped tiny crusts of bread,  
and skillfully she inserted them into his mouth ...  
This my eyes were privileged to see!

Poet and dramatist  
Yitzhak Katzenelson  
died in Auschwitz  
shortly after complet-  
ing the epic poem from  
which this was taken.  
The poem remains one  
of the greatest liter-  
ary expressions of the  
tragedy of the Holo-  
caust.

(continued)

To see this mother, a mother of five years feeding her child,  
to hear her soothing words -  
My own mother, the best in the whole world  
had not invented such a ruse.  
But this one wiped his tears with a smile,  
injected joy into his heart - A little girl in Israel!  
Sholem Aleichem could not have improved upon her!

They, the children of Israel, were the first in doom and disaster;  
most of them without father and mother  
were consumed by frost, starvation and lice;  
holy messiahs sanctified in pain...  
Say then, how have these lambs sinned?  
Why in days of doom are they the first victims of wickedness,  
the first in the trap of evil are they!

The first were they detained for death,  
the first into the wagons of slaughter;  
they were thrown into the wagons, the huge wagons,  
like heaps of refuse, like the ashes of the earth -  
and they transported them,  
killed them,  
exterminated them  
without remnant or remembrance...  
The best of my children were all wiped out!  
Oh woe unto me -  
Doom and Desolation!

From "Lament of the Martyred  
Jewish People"  
Yitzhak Katzenelson

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#### THE GARDEN

A little garden,  
Fragrant and full of roses,  
The path is narrow  
And a little boy walks along it.

A little boy, a sweet boy,  
Like that growing blossom.  
When the blossom comes to bloom.  
The little boy will be no more.

*Franta Bass*

TEREZIN

That bit of filth in dirty walls,  
And all around barbed wire,  
And 30,000 souls who sleep  
Who once will wake  
And once will see  
Their own blood spilled.

I was once a little child,  
Three years ago.  
That child who longed for other worlds.  
But now I am no more a child  
For I have learned to hate.  
I am a grown-up person now,  
I have known fear.

Bloody words and a dead day then.  
That's something different than bogie men!

But anyway, I still believe I only sleep today,  
That I'll wake up, a child again, and start to laugh  
and play.  
I'll go back to childhood sweet like a briar rose,  
Like a bell which wakes us from a dream,  
Like a mother with an ailing child  
Loves him with aching woman's love.  
How tragic, then, is youth which lives  
With enemies, with gallows ropes,  
How tragic, then, for children on your lap  
To say: this for the good, that for the bad.

Somewhere, far away out there, childhood sweetly  
sleeps,  
Along that path among the trees,  
There o'er that house  
Which was once my pride and joy.  
There my mother gave me birth into this world  
So I could weep...

In the flame of candles by my bed, I sleep  
And once perhaps I'll understand  
That I was such a little thing,  
As little as this song.

These 30,000 souls who sleep  
Among the trees will wake,  
Open an eye  
And because they see  
A lot

They'll fall asleep again...

"The Garden" and "Terezin"  
are poems about the children who suffered during the Holocaust written by Jewish teenagers who were eyewitnesses and later perished in Auschwitz.

*The children lie*

The children lie  
on all the roads of earth  
torn by the roots  
from mother earth.  
The light of extinguished love  
has fallen from their hands,  
wind fills the empty hands.

When evening, father  
of all orphans, bleeds  
with them from all wounds  
and their trembling shadows  
mimic the heartbreaking fear  
of their bodies—  
they plunge suddenly into night  
as though into death.

But at dawn in the hills of pain  
they see their fathers and mothers  
dying again and again.

*Chorus of the Orphans*

We orphans  
We lament to the world:  
Our branch has been cut down  
And thrown in the fire—  
Kindling was made of our protectors—  
We orphans lie stretched out on the fields of loneliness.  
We orphans  
We lament to the world:  
At night our parents play hide and seek—  
From behind the black folds of night  
Their faces gaze at us,  
Their mouths speak:  
Kindling we were in a woodcutter's hand—  
But our eyes have become angel eyes  
And regard you.  
Through the black folds of night  
They penetrate—  
We orphans  
We lament to the world:  
Stones have become our playthings,  
Stones have faces, father and mother faces  
They wilt not like flowers, nor bite like beasts—  
And burn not like tinder when tossed into the oven—  
We orphans we lament to the world:  
World, why have you taken our soft mothers from us  
And the fathers who say: My child, you are like me!  
We orphans are like no one in this world any more!  
O world  
We accuse you!

These famous poems by the  
late Nelly Sachs, winner  
of the Nobel Prize for  
literature in 1966, speak  
eloquently of the anger,  
sorrow and agony for the  
fact that so many chil-  
dren were the victims of  
the Holocaust.



I witnessed other hangings. I never saw a single one of the victims weep. For a long time those dried up bodies had forgotten the bitter taste of tears.

Except once. The Oberkapo of the fifty-second cable unit was a Dutchman, a giant, well over six feet. Seven hundred prisoners worked under his orders, and they all loved him like a brother. No one had ever received a blow at his hands, nor an insult from his lips.

He had a young boy under him, a pipel, as they were called—a child with a refined and beautiful face, unheard of in this camp.

(At Buna, the pipel were loathed; they were often crueller than adults. I once saw one of thirteen beating his father because the latter had not made his bed properly. The old man was crying softly while the boy shouted: "If you don't stop crying at once, I shan't bring you any more bread. Do you understand?" But the Dutchman's little servant was loved by all. He had the face of a sad angel.)

One day the electric power station at Buna was blown up. The Gestapo, summoned to the spot, suspected sabotage. They found a trail. It eventually led to the Dutch Oberkapo. And there, after a search, they found an important stock of arms.

The Oberkapo was arrested immediately. He was tortured for a period of weeks, but in vain. He would not give a single name. He was transferred to Auschwitz. We never heard of him again.

But his little servant had been left behind in the camp in prison. Also put to the torture, he too would not speak. Then the SS sentenced him to death, with two other prisoners who had been discovered with arms.

One day when we came back from work, we saw three gallows rearing up in the assembly place, three black crows. Roll call. SS all around us, machine guns trained; the traditional ceremony. Three victims in chains—and one of them, the little servant, the sad-eyed angel.

The SS seemed more preoccupied, more disturbed than usual. To hang a young boy in front of thousands of spectators was no light matter. The head of the camp read the verdict. All eyes were on the child. He was lividly pale, almost calm, biting his lips. The gallows threw its shadow over him.

This time the Lagerkapo refused to act as executioner. Three SS replaced him.

The three victims mounted together onto the chairs.

The three necks were placed at the same moment within the nooses.

"Long live liberty!" cried the two adults.

But the child was silent.

"Where is God? Where is He?" someone behind me asked.

At a sign from the head of the camp, the three chairs tipped over.

Total silence throughout the camp. On the horizon, the sun was setting.

"Bare your heads!" yelled the head of the camp. His voice was raucous. We were weeping.

"Cover your heads!"

Then the march past began. The two adults were no longer alive. Their tongues hung swollen, blue-tinged. But the third rope was still moving: being so light the child was still alive. . .

For more than a half hour he stayed there, struggling between life and death, dying in slow agony under our eyes. And we had to look him full in the face. He was still alive when I passed in front of him. His tongue was still red, his eyes were not yet glazed.

Behind me, I heard the same man asking:

"Where is God now?"

And I heard a voice within me answer him:

"Where is He? Here He is—He is hanging here on the gallows. . ."

That night the soup tasted of corpses. (pages 69-71)

Reflecting on the murder of a child in a concentration camp, this selection raises greater theological questions, for the child becomes the embodiment of hope for the victims, of a future for the Jewish people, of faith in an eternal God. . .

APPENDIX "H"

HOW REFUGEES MAKE JOBS

"With completion this month of a sample survey to determine what kind of new business enterprise has been started in the U. S. by European refugees, a unique institution reviews its record. That institution is National Refugee Service, Inc., a private agency established to effect the absorption of a new immigrant group into American life on the basis of a planned program.

"The sample survey just completed, examined 303 business enterprises initiated by recent refugees. Capital investments of over \$50,000 were made in five of the enterprises, while 29 represented a total investment between \$10,000 and \$50,000. Annual production was \$10,000 or less in 22 cases, between \$10,000 and \$50,000 in 36 cases, and more than \$50,000 in 20. Four establishments reported annual production in excess of \$200,000.

"N.R.S.'s comments on its sampling carefully emphasizes the fact that 75% of the workers employed by the refugee businesses are Americans, and that all have had to purchase American machinery or raw materials, and are making available through domestic production many goods and services which previously had to be imported.

*Enriching Their New Country*

"Typical of the industries' products which formerly had to be imported in whole or in part are: filtermass for brewing, a novel formula for treating wood to be used in smoking meat products, a patented textile printing process, water plastic paint in powder form, a photo-chemical process for glass printing, a photo-electric light meter and electronic timer, a patented flint-making process, Austrian ski equipment, a patented oxygen shaving process, a patented chair spring, a portable engraving machine, synthetic resin products, a hot wax carbonizing process, and German photographic devices. One large firm holds various German patents on machinery manufacture.

"The survey is only a sampling, and will form part of a comprehensive study which is designed to collect definitive statistics on refugee finance, investment, and employment."  
- *From Business Week*, April 27, 1940.

With the refugee crisis escalating in the late 1930's, surveys were made and articles written to support or to oppose the acceptance of the refugees. This reprint appeared as a supplement to a handbook for speakers wishing to combat anti-Semitism.

But could this really be applied to Jewish refugees? The truth is that this did not obviate the critical need for aid to the Jewish refugees, most of whom were, by this time, destitute.

\*Published by The Philadelphia Anti-Defamation Committee, June, 1940.

- (1) Relationship between work and family life.
- (2) How stress emerges in the family due to work factors.
- (3) Effects of job relocation on the family system.
- (4) Work characteristics which define family roles and role expectation.
- (5) Effects of dual-careers on the family system.
- (6) Balance between work and family life.

Each of these sections began with a broad, open-ended question to elicit spontaneous responses. It was followed with more concrete, probing questions to obtain specific information and data.

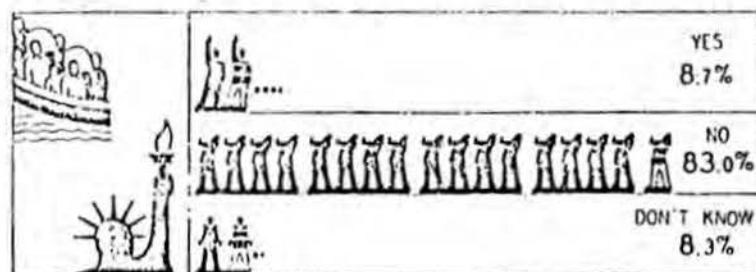
In most cases, the respondents and their families greeted the researchers with a great deal of hospitality. Food and beverages were offered, which helped create a friendly and warm atmosphere. At the conclusion of the interview, the respondents frequently showed genuine interest not only in the research topic, but in the researchers themselves. Many people proposed a follow-up session with other respondents to discuss results and generate further dialogue.

A number of spouses expressed sincere pleasure that they were included in the study. This gave them a rare opportunity to feel they were making a significant contribution to the field of Jewish communal service. Since they are so seldom consulted, involving the spouses

**Fortune**, a major magazine of the business world, periodically surveyed the opinions and attitudes of the American public on general and economic issues of the day. Three questions of the April 1939 issue were devoted toward problems important to American Jews. The statistics were cited reliably and frequently in testimony at the hearings on the Wagner-Rogers Bill. Read carefully, the survey answers some of the questions one might have about American attitudes toward immigration of European refugees and American anti-Semitism.

#### IV: No Haven for Refugees

If you were a member of Congress would you vote yes or no on a bill to open the doors of the U.S. to a larger number of European refugees than now admitted under our immigration quotas?



Here is an American tradition put to the popular test, and here it is repudiated by a majority of nearly ten to one. There is about this answer a finality that seems to mean that the doors of this country should be virtually closed to refugees, and should stay closed to them, no matter what their need or condition. The answer is the more decisive because it was made at a time when public sympathy for victims of European events was presumably at its highest. National leaders of every political stripe, including a popular President, were expressing an apparently national indignation at the government chiefly causing the refugee problem.

Meanwhile persecutions in the Third Reich were driving their victims into waiting lists, years long, of people who hoped eventually to find asylum here. Proscriptions in Italy were widening the anti-Semitic bloc. Other refugees from Spain were flooding concentration camps on the French side of their border, seeking escape from political reprisal, and, many of them, probably expecting to find new permanent homes in another country. In many ways the situation paralleled some of those that brought waves of new citizens to the U.S., such as the upheavals in Germany in 1848. But the public's answers to the Survey's question show that sympathy, no matter how genuinely felt, now carries with it no hearty welcome.

These results confirm the findings in the Survey for last July, made when the refugee situation was considerably less acute. At that time only 4.9 per cent of the population favored raising immigration quotas to let in more refugees, and 18.2 per cent more declared for letting them in only under our present stringent quota restrictions. The vote for keeping refugees out was 67.1 per cent.

The minority who advocate relaxed immigration laws remains so small—mostly under 10 per cent—among various classifications of people, by income and age and place and occupation, that the variations are of little importance. The greatest are among some groups in which Jews are relatively numerous: professional people, 15.1 per cent; students, 22; inhabitants of cities over 1,000,000, 16. It is the Jews themselves that afford the only great exception to the exclusionist sentiment, as follows:

	Protestants	Catholics	Jews
Yes (open doors)	6.3%	8.3%	64.8%
No	85.3	81.0	25.8
Don't know	8.4	7.7	1.4

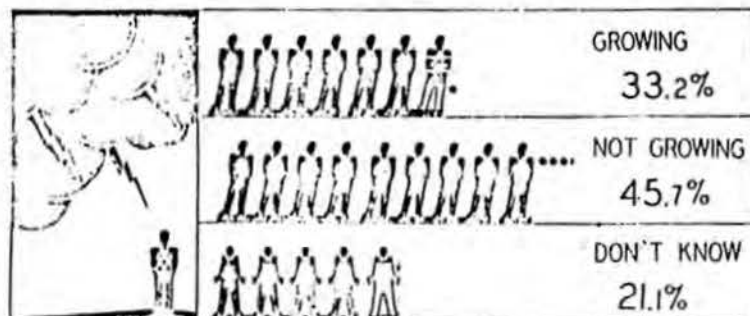
Thus the Jews in America are the only group who raise their voices in favor of receiving the fugitives from persecution in Europe, so many of whom are their racial kin and coreligionists. Yet even a quarter of American Jewry is exclusionist. Presumably their reason, as well as the general reason, is economic—the fear of further burdening a nation already staggering under serious unemployment, and of overcrowding occupations that are already bitterly competitive.

Would Herr Hitler and his German-American Bunds be safe in the joyful conclusion from this that Americans don't like the Jews much better than do the Nazis? This brings up the question of anti-Semitism again, which must be ever with us so long as there is persistent evidence of a "Jewish question" in any quarter cropping up on the front pages.



## V: The Jews in America

Do you believe that in this country hostility toward the Jewish people is growing or not?



Each Symbol 5% Each Dot .2%

The question is similar to one asked in the Survey five months ago (November, 1938). The answer is still no. Of people with opinions on the subject a good majority do not believe that anti-Semitism is on the march in the U.S. The nation doesn't want immigrants but it doesn't think it has an active dislike for Jews. Here are the answers compared:

	April, 1939	November, 1938
Growing hostility	33.2%	32.5%
Hostility not growing	45.7	52.5
Don't know	21.1	15.0

The number of people who believe that Jewry is slipping into disfavor has increased by only a negligible percentage. But those expressing doubt on the subject have increased considerably, at the expense of the majority who believed that the Jews have nothing new to fear from U.S. public opinion. This may mean that people are sensing at least a greater insecurity for Jews in America without actually putting it down as a growing public dislike for them. This much appears in the analyses of the returns: in November only one breakdown yielded a majority of people with opinions more inclined to believe that there is growing anti-Semitism than that there is little of it. There was a small majority in cities of more than a million. Now people who think that hostility toward Jews is growing constitute majorities of people with opinions among the following groups: white collar workers, the inhabitants of the Northeast, and people in all cities ranging from populations of 25,000 to over a million. In other words, all the urban population of the U.S. is now inclined to believe that anti-Semitism

is on the increase; the town, village, and rural population does not. Here are the extremes:

	Cities over 1,000,000	Rural
Hostility growing	44.8%	24.1%
Hostility not growing	35.6	50.0
Don't know	19.6	25.9

Vital, of course, is the opinion of the people who are most directly concerned with the question—the American Jews themselves. Here is the way they answered the question, compared with their Protestant and Catholic compatriots:

	Jewish	Catholic	Protestant
Hostility growing	49.5%	39.2%	34.5%
Hostility not growing	51.3	42.4	46.5
Don't know	8.2	18.4	22.0

The greatest difference between the estimates of the Jews and the gentiles is that the former are considerably more decided on the question. But Jews are divided between the two opposite views in nearly the same ratio as are gentiles. If the "don't knows" were eliminated the American Jews would seem to fear a little less for themselves than the Catholics fear for them, a little more than do the Protestants. Perhaps the voice of Father Coughlin, now again on the air, has had something to do with the greater disposition among the Catholics to imagine that there may be a Jewish question here.

Another breakdown confirms and clarifies the meaning of the answers to the question on admitting refugees (read down):

	Hostility growing	Hostility not growing
Admit more refugees—		
Yes	7.4%	10.6%
No	87.4	83.8
Don't know	5.2	5.6

Plainly the question of giving asylum to refugees has very little indeed to do with domestic attitudes toward the Jews. Immigration is apparently looked upon as an economic matter, not a religious or racial issue.

According to the interpretation given to the survey, not supporting the raising of immigration quotas has little to do with domestic attitudes toward Jews, but, in fact, a more fair interpretation might suggest that the attitude on immigration could still relate to the public's attitude toward European Jewry.

## VI: Why Is Anti-Semitism?

What do you feel is the reason for hostility toward Jewish people here or abroad?

Another measure of anti-Semitism at home may be sought in the reasons people give for anti-Semitism abroad. Accordingly the Survey asked the question above and received a multitude of answers. Their general import is summarized and grouped below, and the national totals are compared with those given by Jewish respondents:

<i>Reasons favorable to Jews</i>	<i>National total</i>	<i>Jewish</i>
People are jealous and envious of Jews' accomplishments	5.5%	17.2%
Jews too clever and successful, have too much ability to make money	4.7	2.5
People who are against Jews are mean, narrow-minded, ignorant, crazy	1.5	10.8
Other favorable to Jews	1.1	5.1
	12.8%	35.6%
<i>Reasons unfavorable to Jews</i>		
Jews—control and monopolize enterprise, hoard money, have too much power	13.0	8.9
are unfair and dishonest in business; they cheat and swindle	6.1	1.3
are too grasping, covetous, avaricious, cheap	5.6	—
own fault: their manners, characteristics, and attitudes cause people to resent them	4.9	3.2
are clannish, nonmixers; not good citizens, interested only in race	4.4	1.3
are aggressive, energetic. Too aggressive	2.6	2.5
are overhearing, forward, noisy	1.9	—
are lazy, parasitic, won't do manual labor or pioneer	1.1	—
Other unfavorable	2.4	1.9
	42.3	19.1
<i>External and neutral reasons</i>		
Religious and racial prejudice	3.7	3.2
Germans, Hitler, dictatorship	2.6	5.1
Biblical prophecy being fulfilled; will of God—persecuted race	2.1	.6
Financial status of Germany; needs Jewish money to carry on	2.0	8.3

Propaganda, agitation	2.0	11.5
Political move; Jews made scapegoat to divert attention from defects of Nazism	1.1	7.6
Subjugation of minorities; fear of overthrow, desire for sole control	.6	1.9
Other, general	2.0	16.1
Don't know		43.3
Total (including multiple answers)		114.5% 122.2%

Here it appears that less than half of the reasons given for anti-Semitism in the world were anti-Semitic in their general sense, i.e., were critical of the Jews as Jews. Among the people giving these answers may be presumed to be the nucleus of any hostility in the U.S. toward the Jews. But 19.1 per cent of the answers given by Jews themselves, including multiple answers, were critical of their people. And these must be presumed to spring from racial self-criticism rather than anti-Semitism. Many gentiles may likewise find fault with the Jews without also having an active dislike for them. And more Americans say they don't know what the reason for anti-Semitism is than put the blame for it on the Jews. Perhaps the real clue to the actual extent of anti-Semitism in this country is to be found in the following cross tabulations:

<i>Give reasons for anti-Semitism that are—</i>	<i>People believing anti-Semitism is—</i>	
	<i>Not growing</i>	<i>Growing</i>
Unfavorable to the Jews	33.9%	67.7%
Favorable	17.8	11.0
Neutral or external	19.8	16.3
Don't know	12.5	25.1
Total (including multiple answers)	114.0%	120.1%
<i>Give reasons for anti-Semitism that are—</i>	<i>People saying that we should—</i>	
	<i>Let immigrants in</i>	<i>Keep immigrants out</i>
Unfavorable to the Jews	26.0%	46.1%
Favorable	21.8	12.1
Neutral or external	29.0	15.2
Don't know	38.1	11.0
Total (including multiple answers)	114.9%	114.7%

*Continued*



*Continued*

The boundaries of probable anti-Semitism in this country now can probably be established, roughly, by computing from these tabulations, after adjusting to make the totals read 100 per cent. Those who believe that anti-Semitism here is growing, and trace the world trend in that direction to faults of the Jews themselves would come to 18.7 per cent of the total population. The people who favor denying admission to immigrants and who also find fault with the Jews would be the equivalent of 33.4 per cent. Somewhere between these two figures is probably the true number of Americans who carry the symptoms of latent anti-Semitism. Probably only a few of them already have a virulent case. The rest are simply the potential audience for the oratory of Father Coughlin, and of Bund leaders, and, perchance, of a President Windrip—if it should happen here.

A key result of question VI was that 42 percent of the national public (the great majority of those who expressed an opinion) used reasons that reflected criticism of Jews as the cause of hostility toward the Jews. In other words, the Jews are their own worst enemy.

Note that all the reasons listed as favorable may not truly be so. Note, too, the prevalence of the popular misconception that the Jews represent a race.

What can be seen from these three survey questions is clear: The American public were aware of the "Jewish Question," because of all the attention given to it in the printed media...

DOCUMENTS OF OUR TIME

"Forty Years After Kristallnacht,  
Has the World Grasped Its Message Yet?"

- I. The Vietnamese Refugee Situation
  - The Appeal
  - The Saga
  - Finding a Welcome Home . . . In Israel
- II. The Cambodian Situation
  - Three Appeals
- III. A Soviet Jewry Appeal: "Be With Us Today"
- IV. A Syrian Jewry Appeal: Give Us a Haven
- V. An Argentinian Jewry Appeal: An End to Barbarism

## 40 Years After Kristallnacht: Has the World Grasped its Message Yet?

Recent headlines have echoed the plight of the Jewish refugees of the 1930's. Now, as then, most people of the world and their governments have refused asylum to the refugees of Vietnam and of Cambodia. Although the reasons for their flight may be different, their saga is remarkably similar...

## Refugee 'Boat People' Given Food, Aid at Sea

BY PETER ARNETT  
Associated Press

...the South China Sea, ...in waits center for Vietnamese "boat people" fleeing across the South China Sea. ...the neighboring countries barely ...

22 Part I—Sun., Sept. 24, 1978

## REFUGEE-LADEN SHIP BEACHES ON INDONESIAN ISLE

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia (UPI)—The captain of an 850-ton freighter carrying more than 1,000 Vietnamese refugees fled from a tiny island in the Philippines.

## Viet Refugee Ship Stalled by Furore

Nations Debate Status of 2,500 on Board

BY GEORGE M. ...  
Times ...

12 Part I—Sun., Nov. 12, 1978

## CONTROVERSY STALLS REFUGEE SHIP

Continued from First Page  
The Vietnamese government actively assisted in their flight and that consequently the refugees are tainted.

swamped in the past two months with an unprecedented flood of almost 10,000 "boat people," seized upon the unfavorable publicity to keep the Hai

Some officials in Malaysia—as well as ... have termed "economic refugees."

## France Offers to Accept Refugees

from Times Wire Services

—France offered Wednesday the 2,500 Vietnamese aboard a small freighter off of Malaysia, which refused

## Hanoi Denies Allegations by U.S. on Rights Abuses

BANGKOK, Thailand—Vietnam's government will ... an SALT II ... clients argued that

...nuclear weapons, or version limited to air-to-air di Although sensitive, the seen by military officials as n litual than military. The plan a combat radius of about 61

Part I—Sun., Nov. 19, 1978

## Outlook Brightens for 2,500 Refugees

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia—The captain of a rusty freighter carrying 2,500 Vietnamese refugees appeared on a Malaysian television screen after a day of negotiations.

missioner for Refugees. Malaysia has refused to allow the Hai Hong passengers to enter refugee camps in this country and has ordered the ship to leave Malaysian territorial waters, where it has been since Nov. 9. The Malaysian government regards the Vietnamese as migrants who paid ... see out of Vietnam and

## U.S., France and Canada to Help Viet Refugees

GENEVA (AP)—The United States, France and Canada will help resettle 2,500 refugees from Vietnam stranded on a freighter off the Malaysian coast who have been refused permission to enter Malaysia, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commission said. ... Indochina war in 1975.

The Vietnamese refugees are fleeing from the terror found in prisons and "re-education" camps in which physical and psychological torture are the order of the day. Like the concentration camps of forty years ago, prisoners live a brutal existence, are packed tightly into airless barracks, and suffer sadistic daily routines and punishments.

## CAMPS OF DESPAIR

Vietnam's Chinese residents are not the only citizens subjected to harsh treatment. Since they took Saigon in 1975, the Communists have ordered officials of the defunct Thieu regime and thousands of other citizens to "re-education" camps. The new leaders maintain that after a brief period of "self-criticism," detainees return to everyday life. But Vietnamese refugees who have reached the West tell a far different story. From Paris, NEWSWEEK's Edward Behr reports:

When he was a Saigon bank official in the early 1970s, Doan Van Toai was briefly jailed by Nguyen Van Thieu's government for helping the National Liberation Front. "I was convinced that the NLF was not entirely Communist-dominated," he explains now. After Saigon fell, Toai drafted a paper for the NLF on how to reorganize his bank. But when he refused an offer to become a member of the NLF "finance committee," Toai was imprisoned from June 1975 to October 1977. As he describes it, jail conditions under the new regime were worse than under Thieu. Packed like sardines into airless cells, forbidden to move off their haunches during the day and allowed 2 quarts of water daily for drinking and washing, most prisoners became apathetic. All of them were forced to write and rewrite "confessions" covering their lifetimes.

Toai was ultimately released without explanation. After bribing a North Vietnamese official, he obtained an exit visa and flew to Paris recently. Under an agreement between Paris and Hanoi, nearly 1,000 Vietnamese still arrive in France each month, and by talking to refugee sources, one can piece together an account of Vietnamese re-education.



Toai, "re-education" class: Few are released, many die

By some refugee estimates, as many as 800,000 citizens are currently in South Vietnamese prisons and camps. Contrary to what the Vietnamese Government says, re-education is brutal, few prisoners are released and a good many die.

Many refugees fear reprisals against family members still living in Vietnam, so they refuse to allow publication of their names. But their stories are similar to the one I was told by "Lieutenant A." An air-control officer at Tan Son Nhut airport, he was wounded by a rocket on the final day of the war. After having a damaged eye removed, he was ordered to report to a Saigon school for re-education that North Vietnamese cadres told him, would last no more than a few days. "I knew things were not quite what they seemed when we were loaded into trucks and the two armed *bedons* [North Vietnamese soldiers] guarding us said that anyone attempting to escape would be shot," says Lieutenant A. His spell in custody lasted 33 months, until he feigned incipient blindness in his remaining eye.

The discipline was strict; when a detainee named Vo Van Tung complained, he was marched before a firing squad, shot in both legs and locked in a metal cargo container left behind by the U.S. forces. "The containers were a dreaded form of punishment," Lieutenant A. reports. "People were put inside for months at a time." In April 1977, he recalls, a group of American Protestants visited his camp. Beds were moved into the barracks (normally, detainees slept on the ground), prisoners were ordered to play volleyball, and beef and pork appeared on the menu—an unheard-of treat.

It is scarcely surprising that Vietnam's detainees are in a state of despair. When refugee Doan Van Toai left prison, 49 of his fellow prisoners asked him to try to convey a message to the outside world. "Ask the International Red Cross to provide us with cyanide to put an end to our agony," the prisoners pleaded. "Help us to die quickly."

## MERCY SHIP OFF VIETNAM

# Refugee 'Boat People' Given Food, Aid at Sea

BY PETER ARNETT

Associated Press

Somewhere in the South China Sea, a converted Navy landing ship waits to do the job no government wants.

A fishing boat arrives crowded with Vietnamese fleeing their homeland. Now the crew aboard the old Navy vessel goes to work. A sick child is treated. Food is given.

The tiny fishing boat then sails on, becoming just a speck on the western horizon bound for any place that will let its passengers land. And on the mercy ship they debate whether the little craft and its human cargo will make it.

"Officially, we couldn't tell them what direction to take, or even point them the right way," explains W. Stanley Mooneyham, president of World Vision International, the humanitarian organization based in Monrovia, Calif., that chartered the landing ship to use as a floating aid

center for Vietnamese "boat people" fleeing across the South China Sea.

"The neighboring countries barely tolerate our activities because they are unhappy about accepting the refugees. There seems to be a conspiracy against the boat people. It is ludicrous that human life is held so cheaply," Mooneyham said in an interview after returning from Southeast Asia.

Since the World Vision ship began its \$50,000-a-month mercy mission in early July, President Carter has ordered American flag carriers to pick up Vietnamese refugees found in distress at sea. Shipowners are being assured that the United States will take the responsibility for their resettlement. No refugees are known to have been picked up yet.

Mooneyham said this was one step

Refugees by the thousands flee in fishing boats and freighters crowded far beyond capacity with little to eat and no port assured of welcoming them. Private relief organizations may aid them at sea, but the "boat people" are barred from most ports in Asia.

The names of the boats change, but the story invariably is the same...

toward "changing the inhumanity that since 1975 has encouraged international shipping to pass by Vietnamese refugees without helping them, actions unique in the history of Western civilization."

Much more is needed, he asserted, "because we know large numbers of refugees are drowning at sea." Accurate figures on human losses are not available because the boat people set out in secrecy.

But eyewitness reports from surviving boat people suggest that up to 50% drown. Some of the 1,800 refugees who arrived in Malaysia one recent week reported that 200 of their number drowned en route.

Since the end of the Vietnam war in 1975, a total of 40,000 boat refugees have landed in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia and Australia, most of them in the past 12 months. There are 21,000 waiting in camps for resettlement and the flow continues unabated.

Mooneyham said that when he broached his idea for a mercy ship in January and February, "all five governments in the area, the United States and the United Nations officially discouraged me. One official said, 'God, don't give them enough gas to get to Australia.'"

Mooneyham said, "I got the feeling that the more we saved, the bigger the problem for the world. But I knew the boat people were not vicious people. They just wanted to live in freedom."

World Vision, a Christian charity that gets its money from donations, located an old World War II Navy landing ship that had been used to haul supplies between Singapore, Saigon and Hong Kong.

The organization leased it and added portable living units to provide a first aid clinic and living quarters for two Chinese nurses, an Indian doctor, an American captain—Burt Singleton, from Palos Verdes, Calif.—and a crew of nine.

A mechanic and an interpreter rounded out the ship's complement, and it began roaming the South China Sea about 100 miles off Vietnam, traveling a course known to be favored by the boat people.

"We have family food packs aboard with 10 days' supply, charcoal, braziers and gasoline," Mooneyham said.

"When the boats leave Vietnam they are as lightly supplied as possible because of the risk of detection."

"We give the sick first aid, and we provide a compass for ships that find it."

Officials were concerned about the mercy mission because most Asian ports barred vessels arriving with Vietnamese refugees.

"We will pick up people if we have to," said Mooneyham, but so far the mercy ship has found it necessary only to render aid and assistance to the boats they encountered at sea.

Mooneyham said, "What we need to do is internationalize this problem. I believe America has a unique and special responsibility to these victims of the war, but so does mankind. To abandon these boat people now is an unconscionable act."



## REFUGEE-LADEN SHIP BEACHES ON INDONESIAN ISLE

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia (UPI)—The captain of an 850-ton freighter carrying more than 1,000 Vietnamese refugees beached the vessel on a tiny uninhabited island in Indonesian waters and won at last temporary asylum, a United Nations spokesman said Saturday.

The official said it was hoped the 1,250 refugees, including 256 children, had enough food and water to last until new supplies could be rushed to the ship by Indonesian authorities.

The freighter, Southern Cross, recently picked up the refugees from four vessels while

it was idled by engine trouble near the Vietnamese coast. Since then, its captain has been trying in vain to find a port for the refugees. U.N. officials here also sought in vain for at least temporary sanctuary for them.

After negotiations by telephone with officials in Jakarta, the U.N. refugee agency got Indonesian government agreement to remove the refugees from Pengibo, a treeless and uninhabited dot midway between Borneo and Singapore.

A U.N. spokesman said they would be taken somewhere in Indonesian territory where they could be housed and taken care of until a more

permanent haven is found for them.

The Southern Cross, whose crew is mostly Indonesian, was turned away from Singapore by naval patrol vessels. Malaysian authorities ordered it away from that country after supplying food and water. Malaysia now houses about 15,000 displaced Vietnamese.

It then anchored in international waters between Malaysia's east coast and Singapore until the captain apparently decided the only solution to the problem was to beach his ship.

Two babies have been delivered aboard the Southern Cross since it picked up the refugees.

...one after another they force themselves into ports of call, forcing both the "host" countries—and the headlines—to deal with them...

## Viet Refugee Ship Stalled by Furore

### Nations Debate Status of 2,500 on Board

BY GEORGE McARTHUR

Times Staff Writer

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia—A rusty coastal freighter anchored off the Malaysian coast with 2,500 desperate Vietnamese aboard has created an impasse in which the refugees are kept waiting while nations and international agencies debate their status and exchange accusations.

The refugees jammed aboard the Hai Hong radioed Friday that they were running out of food and water after nearly three weeks of wandering stormy seas and being turned away from Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. At least 500, many of them children, are said to need medical care urgently.

Some aid was sent aboard Saturday, but those aboard say far more is needed.

Sun., Nov. 12, 1978

Meanwhile, arguments rage over whether they are genuine refugees or illegal emigrants. Some officials want to turn them back because they paid bribes to escape. Some national refugee officials profess to believe that the Vietnamese government actively assisted in their flight and that consequently the refugees are tainted. Some American officials who previously supported the refugee program are now reported to be using the Hai Hong case as an excuse for "bailing out."

The Southeast Asian representative of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, Rajagopal Sampatkumar, questioned "the motives of the owners, agents and captain of the ship" without mentioning the motives of the refugees themselves.

"For God's sake," raged one veteran refugee official, "everybody knows that for almost two years most of the refugees have been bribing and paying their way out of Vietnam. The refugees on the Hai Hong are no different than those who bribe someone to get out in a 20-foot sampan. There are just more of them, that's all."

The background to the voyage of the Hai Hong is murky but obviously involves massive bribery in Vietnam, questionable financial dealings in Hong Kong and intricate planning and organization on a much larger scale than previous escapes.

The Hai Hong is reported to have picked up all the refugees while cruising off the southern Vietnamese port of Vung Tau on Oct. 24.

In a radio message the next day, the ship's captain reported that the vessel had been forcibly boarded by Vietnamese authorities—a story that refugee officials have discounted. Officials are hesitant to talk about the case because it has become so sensitive. It appears, however, that there have been several radio communications with the ship over the weeks before it anchored off the port of Kelang in the Strait of Malacca two days ago and some U.N. refugee officials went aboard.

The 1,500-ton Hai Hong had been destined for the scrap heap when it was chartered in Singapore in mid-October by an obscure company. Under an Indonesian captain the ship left Singapore, ostensibly for Hong Kong. After picking up the refugees it turned south toward Indonesia.

The ship took shelter off the coast of Borneo while Typhoon Rita raged, and those aboard sent several messages to the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. Indonesian patrol boats were watching the ship, and informed sources say that the Australians for a time sent patrol planes to keep it under surveillance.

When the ship reached Singapore waters early this month, patrol boats apparently kept it under surveillance and made sure it continued its voyage past Singapore and into Malaysian waters.

The Malaysians, who have been swamped in the past two months with an unprecedented flood of almost 10,000 "boat people," seized upon the unfavorable publicity to keep the Hai Hong offshore, where it was anchored Saturday.

The most unfavorable publicity about the Hai Hong is that that somebody is making a profit of a million dollars or so from the episode.

Some Hong Kong newspapers have said the refugees paid \$5 million to get aboard the vessel, a figure based on a charge of \$2,000 per refugee. Escapes often costs that much, but frequently are arranged for far less.

Continued.



# CONTROVERSY STALLS REFUGEES

Continued

The money is normally paid to an organizer—frequently Chinese—who arranges for the boat, food, water and gasoline. The gasoline is frequently bought from the Vietnamese navy or other military officers.

The Hai Hong escape of 2,500 people obviously involved bribery on a wide scale, almost certainly involving both naval and civilian higher-ups in the Vung Tau area.

American refugee officials insist, however, that there is no evidence that the Vietnamese government is condoning the departure of refugees.

Refugees questioned by officials and newsmen almost invariably report that escape was difficult, sometimes extremely so. They report many failed escapes, with people caught and imprisoned, and add that the bribery has been of relatively low-level officials.

More than 50% of the recent refugees from Vietnam have been ethnic

Chinese—the small merchants, shopkeepers and artisans whose livelihood was virtually wiped out by Vietnam's severe socialistic measures early this year.

Some officials in both Thailand and Malaysia—as well as some U.N. officials—have termed these people "economic refugees." Singapore's national radio refers to the Hai Hong people as those "who claim to be refugees" but who are actually "emigrants who paid their way out."

Many veteran refugee officials despair of such thinking. They assert that it is impossible in the context of Southeast Asia to sort out economic or political or other refugees.

The U.S. refugee program has never attempted to make such a distinction. Now, however, some within the American refugee bureaucracy urge a tougher line against such refugees. But how that might be done is unclear.

American officials who support efforts to welcome Vietnamese refugees feel that the Hai Hong voyage will not be an isolated case.

The monsoon storms this year were expected to slow the flow of refugees. Instead the refugees have been coming out in record numbers each week as the political and military situation in Vietnam became more critical. Diplomats throughout Southeast Asia see this situation continuing for months and possibly years.

Given that prospect, the Hai Hong situation poses a question for authorities of countries in the region. As one diplomat put it, "If ships can get chartered and escape with people who want to settle in other countries and a middleman country takes them in, what is there to prevent other ships doing the same thing? If these people are taken in easily, then others may be encouraged to do the same, and we may end up with not just one ship, but a major problem."

...as the days and weeks go by, before some prospect of finding a safe haven appears...

## Outlook Brightens for 2,500 Refugees

From Reuters

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia—The prospects of a respite for 2,500 Vietnamese stranded aboard a rusty freighter off Malaysia appeared slightly improved Saturday after a team of police boarded the vessel, apparently to document the passengers.

A 40-member team of Special Branch police, responsible for internal security, went aboard the freighter Hai Hong, now lying off Port Klang, about 20 miles west of Kuala Lumpur.

Informed diplomatic sources here said that documentation, which includes finger-printing is a usual Malaysian prelude to allowing any Vietnamese onto the mainland. They could then be resettled in other countries.

Malaysia is expected to announce today, after a meeting with overseas representatives, whether to accept offers made by some foreign countries to take some of the Vietnamese.

The meeting is to be attended by representatives of the United States, France, Canada, Belgium and West Germany, and the U.N. High Com-

missioner for Refugees.

Malaysia has refused to allow the Hai Hong passengers to enter refugee camps in this country and has ordered the ship to leave Malaysian territorial waters, where it has been since Nov. 9.

The Malaysian government regards the Vietnamese as migrants who paid for their passage out of Vietnam and not as genuine refugees.

Meanwhile, in Paris the newspaper Le Matin reported that actress Brigitte Bardot, philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre and other French personalities are involved in a new plan to save Vietnamese "boat people."

They intend to charter a vessel to cruise off the Vietnamese coast to pick up refugees fleeing by boat, Le Matin said. Organizers of the plan said a news conference on the plan probably would be held on Wednesday.

Le Matin said Sartre and others who backed the Communist side during the Vietnamese war had become increasingly disillusioned with the Hanoi government's human-rights policy, and decided to charter a vessel after hearing of the plight of the 2,500

Vietnamese aboard the Hai Hong.

Le Matin said other sponsors of the assistance plan include actors Yves Montand and Simone Signoret, and Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky, who now lives in the West.

Sun., Nov. 19, 1978

## Hanoi Denies Allegations by U.S. on Rights Abuses

From Reuters

BANGKOK, Thailand—Vietnam denied Saturday the U.S. allegations that it was violating human rights and forcing tens of thousands of Vietnamese to leave the country on hazardous voyages.

The official Radio Hanoi quoted a Foreign Ministry spokesman as saying charges made by the State Department on Thursday were completely fabricated.

The State Department said that the United States strongly deplored the human rights situation in Vietnam, which it said was forcing people to flee despite the great dangers of the voyage and an uncertain future. The State Department said some of the refugees paid in gold to get out of Vietnam.

# France Offers to Accept Refugees

From Times Wire Services

PARIS—France offered Wednesday to take the 2,500 Vietnamese stranded aboard a small freighter off the coast of Malaysia, which refused to admit them and ordered the ship out of its waters.

"France is ready to receive those refugees who are on the Hai Hong and who want to come to our country," Dep. Foreign Minister Olivier Stirn told the National Assembly.

"We feel that by such a move, we are not only respecting our constitution and our tradition of a country of asylum, but also France's essence and heart," Stirn said.

He said the French government has a long-standing policy of admitting refugees from the former French colonies of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. France has taken in about 45,000 Vietnamese since the end of the Indochina war in 1975.

...but only subject to certain conditions...

First France offers to accept more Vietnamese refugees from this beached freighter...

...then other western countries followed...

## U.S., France and Canada to Help Viet Refugees

GENEVA (AP)—The United States, France and Canada will help resettle 2,500 refugees from Vietnam stranded on a freighter off the Malaysian coast who have been refused permission to enter Malaysia, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees said Friday.

Spokesman Philippe Labreuveux said ambassadors of the three countries met Friday with Malaysian officials in Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian capital, to "communicate their decision to accept the refugees and start negotiations."

Terry Adamson, spokesman for the Justice Department, said in Washington that Atty. Gen. Griffin B. Bell has plans to meet with congressional leaders to discuss permitting an additional 2,500 Indochinese refugees to enter the United States. But that does not mean all the Malaysia refugees would be in that number, Adamson said.

The Justice Department spokesman said a tentative proposal calls for expanding the U.S. quota for Indochinese refugees and that Justice Department officials would meet with members of the House and Senate judiciary committees to discuss the plans.

Meanwhile, Malaysian officials temporarily held off on plans to tow the freighter Hai Hong into international waters, Malaysian sources said. The 1,600-ton freighter, its decks tightly packed with people and makeshift shelters, lay at anchor two miles off Malaysia's west coast for the ninth sweltering day.

In Kuala Lumpur, officials said Malaysia has softened its position and is willing to let the stranded refugees come ashore as soon as it has a firm commitment from the countries to which they will be sent.

They said the delay would give the Western nations a chance to make good on offers of sanctuary for the refugees, most of whom are ethnic Chinese. If the offers fall through, the sources said, Malaysian officials said they will stand by their promise to force the ship back out to sea.

Malaysian officials contend that those aboard do not qualify as refugees since they reportedly paid a Hong Kong syndicate \$5 million for their escape ship and left Vietnam with the complicity of authorities there. The report could not be independently verified.

The French Embassy in Kuala Lumpur said the Paris government will give priority to refugees who have relatives in France or those who speak French or can render services to France.

Canada has said it may accept some of the refugees, especially those who have relatives in Canada.

...for they must wait in line.

## ASIA'S HUMAN WAVE

When a fishing boat with about 250 Vietnamese refugees aboard tried to put ashore in the small port of Kuala Trengganu on Malaysia's east coast last week, the villagers threw stones at it and waded into the waters of the Trengganu River to keep it from landing. Finally, a police launch turned the boat around and towed it back toward the sea. Set free at the mouth of the river, where currents and sandbanks make navigation treacherous, the 65-foot vessel quickly ran aground and capsized. Malaysians on the river banks helped to rescue 61 of the refugees by throwing them inflated inner tubes and dragging them to safety through the surf. But for days scores of bodies washed up along a 20-mile stretch of coastline.

**Long Wait:** The ambivalent response of the Malaysian villagers to the burgeoning influx of Vietnamese echoes that of their own government. The authorities failed to carry out their threats to force the 2,500 passengers on

the rusting freighter Hai Hong back to sea—but neither did they let them disembark. France, Canada and a few other Western countries offered to take some of the refugees directly from the Hai Hong. The U.S. said it was willing to increase the number of refugees it takes from Malaysia by 2,500—but insisted that the Hai Hong passengers await their turn along with those who had arrived before them.

Malaysians rescuing refugee: Help and hostility



It could be a long wait. At least 40,000 Vietnamese are crowded into island camps along the Malaysian coast; last week, the influx climbed to more than 1,000 a day. The Malaysians, like others in the region, feel threatened by—and bitter about—the human wave. "For too long, the countries which can afford to take in refugees or helped to create the circumstances in Vietnam have quibbled, procrastinated or tried to pass the buck," said a Kuala Lumpur newspaper, the New Straits Times.

"It is hoped that the Hai Hong will prick their cocoon of complacency and convince them that the problem will not go away."

**Choppy Seas:** It won't. The day after the drownings at Kuala Trengganu, another boat carrying more than 200 refugees capsized in the same area. All but three of the passengers swam to safety. But the waters of the South China Sea remained choppy, and refugee officials said that six to ten boats carrying at least 2,000 persons stood offshore. No one would guess how many more lay over the horizon.

Newsweek, December 4, 1978

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## 143 Refugees Feared Dead as Boat Sinks

**Vietnamese Had Been  
Refused Permission  
to Land in Malaysia**

From Times Wire Services

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia—A boat packed with Vietnamese refugees sank in rough seas Saturday after being denied permission to land in Malaysia, drowning as many as 143 persons, police said. The disaster pushed the number of similar refugee deaths in recent weeks past 340.

The waves of refugees from oppression continue to wash upon the shores of Southeast Asia. Thousands seek any sanctuary. For if they do survive the turbulent waters, their future is still uncertain...

Police said 148 refugees swam ashore or were rescued, 44 bodies were recovered and 99 others were missing and feared drowned after the boat sank in the South China Sea off Pasir Puteh, 195 miles northeast of here.

The district's chief police officer said the boat left Vietnam on Nov. 26 and arrived Friday evening off Pasir Puteh on the northeastern coast of Malaysia about 40 miles south of the border with Thailand.

A handful of Vietnamese have found a haven in, of all places, the Jewish state.

#### 'WELL-SETTLED AND BUILDING NEW LIVES'

## Vietnamese Find Welcome Home in Israel

By ROB WADE

JERUSALEM — Rescued from the Gulf of Thailand by an Israeli freighter and taken to Israel when no other country would have them, 66 Vietnamese castaways have spent the past 15 months rebuilding their lives in ways remarkably similar to the absorption of the 1.6 million Jewish immigrants who have reached Israel through the years with the aid of community fund-raising campaigns in the U.S. and other free world countries.

The refugees are deeply involved in the absorption process, the Jewish Agency's unique program for transforming newly arrived immigrants into full-fledged Israelis.

"My people are well-settled and building a new life here," said Dr. Hoa Tran-Quang, the 33-year-old physician, a central figure in their escape who acts as spokesman and ombudsman.

After their arrival in June 1977, the Vietnamese were sent to an immigrant absorption center in Ofakim, a development town west of Beersheba. There they studied Hebrew at an ulpan for two months and some began their search for jobs and permanent housing.

A major problem arose, however, when many applied for visas to live in the United States. When these proved to be slow in coming, some applicants went through a period of depression.

Dr. Hoa says that those who applied were afraid they would fail to adapt to life in Israel. Now, he contends, many would change their minds about moving to the United States if their visas came through. Only three received visas thus far and two have left, but their ranks were quickly replenished by two births.

Tran Thi Phuc, a pretty 24-year-old hostess at the Jerusalem Hilton, who is known there as Peony, has aunts in America who want her to join them and she is an official applicant. "But I think I will stay here," she says now. "This country is very nice and I want to stay here and work."

BY NEXT YEAR, with enough Hebrew at her command, she hopes to be able to continue her studies in law begun before the Communist takeover in Saigon.

Today, the refugees have scattered throughout the country in a wide variety of jobs. Some are working as waiters and cooks in Chinese restaurants in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. One is a dentist in Tel Aviv, another a dental technician; one drives a truck in the Sinai desert and two women are working as nurses in Haifa.

The Absorption Ministry has arranged housing for them, sending about 30 to the Tel Aviv area, including a number to the suburb of Azor, where they live in a typical Israeli neighborhood of multi-story apartment buildings. Another group lives in central Tel Aviv.

Ten children, none of whose parents escaped with the group, were sent to Kfar Hanoar, a youth aliyah center in Haifa, where they will be able to complete their high school studies, learn a profession and perfect their knowledge of Hebrew.

"PEOPLE HERE are very, very nice," says Miss Tran. "They understand our situation because they were in it once themselves. Everywhere I go, people ask me where I'm from, do I need anything, can they help me?"

Dr. Hoa believes the refugees are in a position now to begin paying back the country for the help Israel has given. "I am calling on my people to return something of what has been given by giving our best to life here, by working hard and succeeding."



ONE OF 66 Vietnamese refugees given haven in Israel, works as a hostess in a Jerusalem hotel. "People here understand our situation," says Tran Thi Phuc, "because once they were in it themselves."



On May 7, 1978, the Los Angeles Times published this editorial in response to the many reports reaching the United States concerning the barbarous, wholesale slaughter of Cambodian civilians by the Pol Pot regime and the Khmer Rouge backed by Communist China. Little action was taken by the United States or the United Nations. After this initial appeal, the Cambodian situation lost most of its news...appeal...

## Cambodians: an Endangered Species

In the latest issue of Time magazine, British author Anthony Burgess notes that brutality has become so commonplace that it no longer has the capacity to shock ordinary people.

Yet, in citing a number of examples in support of this view, such as the Moro kidnaping in Italy and the terrorism in the Middle East, even this perceptive and sensitive observer fails to mention what is the most shocking display of brutality in the world today—the slaughter of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Cambodians by their Communist masters.

The world knows of the barbarity, yet its conscience has scarcely been disturbed. Cambodia's fanatical and xenophobic rulers have allowed few outsiders to visit the nation that they now grotesquely call "Democratic" Kampuchea.

The dimensions of the tragedy have been gleaned from the lucky few of the nation's 7 million inhabitants who have managed to escape.

The fugitives tell fearful tales: families torn apart, their members forced from their homes into indoctrination centers or work camps in inhospitable regions; many thousands dead of disease or starvation resulting from the social turmoil; many more thousands executed for the slightest infractions of the new order imposed after the Khmer Rouge guerrilla victory in April, 1975. In just one example offered by Amnesty International, a father was executed because he admonished his 6-year-old daughter for singing a revolutionary song.

Even the forms of execution are brutal. Some victims are said to have been buried in the ground up to their necks, then clubbed to death.

The mass dislocations undertaken immediately after the Khmer Rouge takeover have been completed, but the repression continues, and the border war between Cambodia and Vietnam has added fresh misery to the burdens of the Cambodians.

Many of them fled during the fighting to Vietnam, where they are being kept, near starvation, in primitive camps. But at least in Vietnam they are safe from the slaughter. The Vietnamese allowed them to stay after learning that many of those whom they previously forced to return to Cambodia were killed by Cambodian soldiers. Thailand reportedly has also forced some Cambodian refugees to return to certain death.

The world has responded to the plight of the Cambodians with little more than a few words. President Carter has made a speech, calling Communist Cambodia "the worst violator of human rights in the world today." The Canadian Parliament has passed a resolution condemning Cambodia's rulers for acts of genocide.

In the only United Nations action on Cambodia thus far, its Human Rights Commission in February authorized the U.N. secretary general to ask the Cambodian government to respond to the allegations against it. Amnesty International has sent a similar request. Phnom Penh has ignored both requests.

The feeble action taken by the United Nations mocks its charter and other declarations that supposedly commit the world body to the preservation and enhancement of human life and dignity. The scale of oppression in Cambodia demands far greater action by the United Nations, and it can start by using its powers to make certain that no one who succeeds in escaping from Cambodia is forced to return to that tragic land.

People outside the United Nations can help, too. The endangered human beings of Cambodia deserve as much support as do endangered animal species. And they are certainly a worthy cause for all of us for whom the suffering of the Indochinese peoples was a large part of our opposition to American participation in the Indochinese war.



A group of social workers, politicians, churchmen and women, and others along with the International Rescue Committee appeal to the U.S. Government for generous help for the Indochinese refugees.

12 Part I—Sun., Feb. 19, 1978

Los Angeles Times ★

# Open Door Urged on Indochina Refugees

## U.S. Activists Call on Carter to Support Generous Policy

BY GEORGE McARTHUR

Times Staff Writer

BANGKOK, Thailand—A group of 12 prominent American human rights activists Saturday urged President Carter to adopt a virtual open-door policy toward Indochina refugees—now numbering about 106,000 in camps around Asia.

The group, headed by Leo Cherne, chairman of the International Rescue Committee, and William Casey, former undersecretary of state, held a press conference after a 10-day study of refugee facilities in nine nations. The members will return to Washington this week to report to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and testify before two congressional committees.

Their recommendations did not mention specific numbers, but the overall impact would be sweeping. The essence of their proposal said, "The United States must adopt a coherent and generous policy for the admission of Indochinese refugees over the long range, replacing the practice of reacting belatedly to successive refugee crises since the spring of 1975."

The group—acting as a Citizens Commission under the auspices of the International Rescue Committee—said the continuing large flow of refugees constituted a new element of the problem not foreseen in 1975 and the months immediately after Communist takeovers of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

Cherne, acting as spokesman, refused to speculate on the ultimate numbers that might be involved, saying, "We do not have a sense of the ultimate magnitude." He insisted, however, that the Administration should produce an open-ended and continuing policy similar to the one which permitted a virtually unrestricted flow of Cuban refugees into the United States in the 1960s.

The commission's main recommendations would permit a "generous" overall refugee flow over an unspecified period, accept all refugees fleeing by boat, virtually eliminate restric-



Leo Cherne

AP Wirephoto

tive regulations on overland refugees from Laos and Cambodia, offer guarantees of acceptance for refugees picked up by ships at sea, and offer financial and other aid to nations such as Thailand that would accept refugees now in the country for resettlement.

The commission made no estimate of the cost of such a program.

The recommendations are certain to raise congressional mood pressure. For example, they go far beyond a bill now being presented in the house by Rep. Joshua Ellberg (D-Pa.) which would set an annual worldwide quota for the admission of refugees to the United States. The Administration is also working on a bill which Patricia Beaman, assistant secretary of state for human rights, has said would be ready in about three months. She also has members but said in a Washington interview, "It would be an ongoing program like the one we have for Soviet Jews."

At present, American refugee authorities in Southeast Asia are working under two successive congressional programs encompassing a total of 14,000 refugees and heavily favor-

ing Vietnamese "boat people".

This program combined with all the other refugee programs fails to match the incoming flow of refugees, which has approached 3,000 persons in peak months. In fact, France, which regularly accepts 1,000 refugees monthly, has been accepting more than any other nation for almost two years.

The International Rescue Committee proposals will certainly get prime attention. For one thing they are tacitly backed by a large number of individuals within the State Department and other executive branches concerned with refugees. Moreover, the study group—including such figures as author James Michener, civil rights luminary Bayard Rustin, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee and Msgr. John Ahern, director of social development for the Catholic archdiocese of New York—has the power and the ability to launch an effective lobbying campaign.

Cherne insists that the program "is in no way visionary." One main goal is to demonstrate a steady American policy that would "moderate anxieties" in Southeast Asian countries and encourage others to participate in a common endeavor.

Since mid-November of last year the government of Thailand has refused the admission of some refugees from Laos and has forcibly returned some others, although no figures are available. This is under a new policy which attempts to separate those fleeing for political reasons and those fleeing for economic hardships—a policy which Cherne called "unbelievably cruel."

The policy was instituted by Thailand after the refugee population here neared 100,000 (it now stands at 101,000). The government expressed fears that it would be swamped with unwanted refugees.

Cherne said the new American policy must relieve Thailand of these fears.

See slide-narration nos. 34-36.



# The Mass Killing of a Forgotten People

## America Turns a Deaf Ear to Cambodians' Screams, but It Could Act Effectively

BY CHIHANG SONG

The continuing slaughter of Cambodians by that country's present regime has so far aroused little concern among U.S. government officials.

The U.S. government that is ostensibly devoted to the preservation of human rights—a campaign initiated by President Carter—has largely ignored the wholesale killing going on in my country. Though the President has branded Cambodia "the worst violator of human rights in the world today," Washington has yet to approve the speedy admission of nearly 15,000 Cambodian refugees now in camps in Thailand. And the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations has yet to make a single statement on recent events in Cambodia.

It is a source of great personal pain that, despite occasional congressional resolutions and the remarks of a number of outspoken senators, the crimes being carried out by the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia have stirred the U.S. press far less than the trials of several Soviet dissidents.

The bloody border war between Cambodia and Vietnam continues to escalate, claiming lives on both sides, and may explode into an even larger regional conflict, yet international opinion is curiously muted. Indeed, this new Southeast Asian war has not even been the subject of debate in the U.N. Security Council.

Nevertheless, it is essential that an international consensus be reached if Cambodia is to

be saved. For, unless international sanctions are applied, the present bloodletting seems likely to continue. Pressure must also be brought to bear on Cambodia's chief backer—China—sufficient to convince Peking's leaders that it is in their own self-interest to withdraw their support from the Khmer Rouge.

Every diplomatic avenue should be quickly and carefully pursued by the U.S. government in this regard. Even the extreme solution of direct international military intervention, as

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*Chhang Song is former minister of information of Cambodia. He now lives in Arlington, Va.*

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Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) recently proposed, should not be ruled out.

At a recent hearing held by a Senate foreign relations subcommittee, one U.S. Southeast Asia expert opposed such intervention on the grounds that the decentralized structure of the present Cambodian administration precludes direct foreign intervention. This assessment is basically correct but vastly oversimplified, for it ignores the fundamental nature and history of the five-year Cambodian war. With massive foreign intervention, the Khmer Rouge leadership might flee into exile and have to revert to guerrilla resistance, forcing the momentary collapse of the present regime and preventing more killings.

But perhaps the most practical and affirmative action immediately open to the U.S.

government is to ease the immigration restrictions for thousands of Cambodian refugees now in limbo in other countries.

Such action would relieve, if only a little, the terrible burden now borne by Thailand in caring for some 100,000 Indochinese refugees and in coping with the daily influx of those who continue to flee the harsh governments of Cambodia and Laos. Their acceptance into the United States would also reaffirm the American commitment to its traditional humanitarian principles, and do much to bolster Carter's sagging human-rights policy.

The United States has already demonstrated its moral and political responsibilities by admitting tens of thousands of Indochinese refugees. However, many Cambodians continue to be excluded by the government's criteria for admission, which stress pre-existing family ties with relatives in the United States and/or affiliation with the government.

If Washington were to act to rectify this situation, it would help relieve the present intolerable condition of the Cambodian people.

It is my prayer and hope that the execution of hundreds of thousands of Cambodian citizens by their present rulers will touch the hearts of the representatives of the American people, and will inspire them to examine with compassion and courage the plight of our forgotten people. I urge that present immigration standards be relaxed in favor of those who have managed to escape the worst hell of today's world—the Cambodian people.

Months later, a former Cambodian official again appeals to the conscience of the world and the Carter administration to intervene on behalf of his people and to ease immigration restrictions for escaping refugees.

In several areas of the globe, the Jews live in precarious situations. The world is well aware of the condition of Soviet Jewry, whose numbers are now being allowed to slowly trickle out to Israel and the West, though they continue to be subjected to harrassment and psychological persecution. The world is less aware of the persecution of Syrian Jewry and Argentinian Jewry. On the following pages representatives of the Jews of the Soviet Union, Syria and Argentina tell of their plight and appeal to us for help.

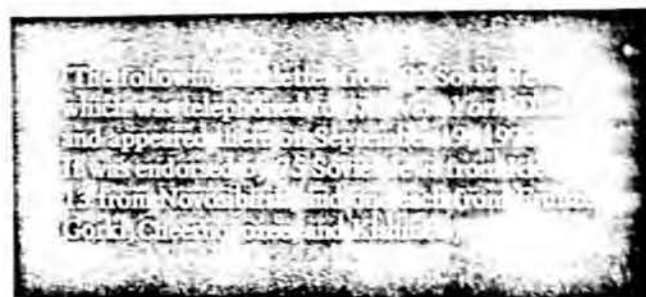


# **'Be with us today'**

## **an open letter to the world**

AN APPEAL FROM THE JEWS  
OF THE SOVIET UNION

This appeal, made as a direct result of the "exit tax" charged to prospective emigrants, was one of many that reached the West and later succeeded in encouraging western governments to pressure the Soviet Government to reduce the fees and allow some freedom of emigration.



*We the Jews, by will of a chance living in the U.S.S.R., Jews by birth and conviction, address all the people of good-will all over the world—people in large and small states, people of all religions and faiths, all the people for whom principles of morality and justice are not an empty shell. Our firm desire to unite with our people in our historical homeland, in the State of Israel, meets now obstacles from the Soviet authorities all over again.*

*For a long time the situation was quite impossible for us, which conflicted with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and other documents signed by the representatives of the member states of the United Nations Organization.*

*Quite recently, under the pressure of world movements of solidarity and struggle of the Jews inside the country, the authorities of the Soviet Union partially raised the curtain, giving possibility to the great pursuit on the part of Jews.*

*At the same time, around the Jews desiring to exit for Israel an atmosphere of psychological persecution was created, even to the extent of arrest and imprisonment. The state has built dozens of obstacles, large and small, to our obtaining visas for Israel, all of a malicious character. Among them there is a huge tax of 900 rubles for a person, which is equal to an average year's salary of an employee in the U.S.S.R., needed for a visa.*

*But all those measures, very serious obstacles, couldn't stop repatriation of our people completely. Aspiring to stop this repatriation, the authorities, contradicting all their previous statements, issued a decree erecting insurmountable fees to pay for our education—an astronomical sum of at least 16,000 rubles, approximately ten to twelve years' salary in the U.S.S.R. Even pensioners have to pay.*

*To a sensible person, this reaction has purely a political character and cannot*

*be taken from the economic viewpoint. The system of education in the U.S.S.R. is an activity of the state. We have been taught from childhood that education is free. Even if we don't eat for our whole lives, we cannot raise such a fortune in this country.*

*Our only goal, our only passionate wish and natural right, is to live with our people in our motherland, in the State of Israel. Still alive in our memory is the striking and criminal indifference with which the world watched the tragedy of our people not so long ago. Can it be possible that the lessons of the past serve no purpose? Can it be possible that once again care of personal wealth and indifference will lull your conscience? We do not want to believe it, and that is why we are appealing to you.*

*Be with us today. It is today that we need your help.*

A.B.C.  
Kiev, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.  
August 31, 1972



## AN APPEAL FROM THE JEWS OF ARGENTINA

For the most part, the Jews of Argentina are refugees or the children of refugees from the Holocaust. They, along with other minorities, are subjected to the repression of Argentina's military dictatorship. The persecution there has been described as "an organized campaign to discredit and intimidate the Jews of Argentina." The military government is particularly anti-Semitic but it harrasses anyone who it fears would be subversive.

There has been a wave of Neo-Nazism in recent years, and Jews can leave for safer havens, but many are patriotic. Others do not want to leave their homes and families behind.

Protests from international organizations and Western governments against the actions of the military regime are being heard in Buenos Aires and some of the repression has eased.

But the situation remains virtually the same...

### DEATH IN ARGENTINA: AN APPEAL

#### *To the Editors:*

In Buenos Aires hundreds of men and women, from all parts of Argentina, stand in line all day and night before the Ministry of the Interior. They seek information about their children who have disappeared. They want to know if they are among the 5,000 corpses that have been found in vacant lots or on the outskirts of cities since March 24, 1976, when the ruling junta took power. Only General Suarez Mason, commander of the first army corps, can authorize them to visit the morgues. He gives permission to only three or four parents to do so each day.

My own family did not have to wait very long. The bodies of my cousin Anna-Maria and her husband Mario Isola were recently found in front of her parents' house. They were both sociologists; she was twenty-seven and he was twenty-eight. They had been kidnapped six weeks before; their eleven-month-old baby was left in her crib.

Anna-Maria was the granddaughter of my aunt Donna Regina who had, many years ago, come to Argentina as a refugee from Nazism. My aunt was one of the few members of my family to escape death under Hitler, and now her own family is again victimized by fascism, along with many others. It is estimated that some forty persons disappear every day as her granddaughter did; that 20,000 people allegedly critical of the regime languish without trial in the prisons. Parapolice groups take the law into their own hands. Each army corps has its own jails. The books of Kafka and Freud are burned in the universities while those of Rosenberg and Goebbels are sold on newsstands. Bombs have exploded in synagogues and in the offices of Jewish organizations.

What can be done? Are we really as impotent in the face of this new rise of fascism as our parents were over thirty years ago? Must we wait for the plans of the governor of the Buenos Aires province, General Iberico Saint-Jean, to be carried out? He said a few months ago: "First we will kill those who are subversive, then their collaborators, then their sympathizers, then the lukewarm and finally those who are indifferent."

In Europe a protest campaign is being organized against the World Cup football matches that are to take place in Buenos Aires next year. Americans may not, perhaps, fully appreciate the worldwide attention that will be focused on these matches and the symbolic importance of a campaign to prevent them from taking place there. I hope your readers will support an appeal to athletes and amateurs of sport in all countries to refuse to take part in any sporting events in Argentina, so long as the regime will not free its political prisoners and stop the massacres that are taking place.

I hope they will support a similar appeal to doctors and scientists not to attend the international congress on cancer that is also scheduled to take place in Argentina next year.

At the same time letters and telegrams to the Ambassador of Argentina and to the Carter administration protesting the continuing repression may help to save lives. Unless international protest can be effective, harrassment will continue and triumph.

--Marek Halter