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# Ministers of Compassion during the Nazi Period: Gertrud Luckner and Raoul Wallenberg

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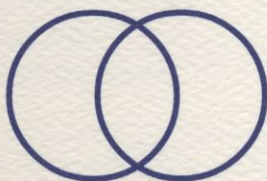
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# תשובה

Institute Papers

## Ministers of Compassion During The Nazi Period

*Gertrud Luckner  
and  
Raoul Wallenberg*



Sixth  
Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Memorial Lecture

The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies  
SETON HALL UNIVERSITY  
South Orange, New Jersey 07079

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This series of papers is entitled *Teshuvah*, "turning." As "turning to God," *teshuvah* is the biblical and rabbinical term for repentance. Here it bespeaks the re-vision, the re-orientation to which Vatican II, in its Statement on the Jews, summons Christian thought and action.

## Foreword

The *Shoah* or Holocaust, defined as the vicious, prolonged and deadly attack on the Jewish people and their way of life in Nazi-dominated Europe, has cast a long and dismal shadow over the latter two-thirds of this century. As we grapple with the inadequacies of so many people in virtually every walk of life and every religious or secular community to stand up to the Nazi threat, we are grateful for heroic examples of those who *did* act with courage and resolution. They remind us of the moral and spiritual challenge to follow one's conscience when it is not only unpopular but extremely dangerous to be different. Two such examples are Gertrud Luckner and Raoul Wallenberg.

In his address to the Jewish community in Mainz, Germany on November 17, 1980, Pope John Paul II recalled "the grim background of the persecution and attempted extermination of Judaism in this country." Recalling the Church's belief that all human beings are of the same value and importance before God, he continued:

In this spirit, during the persecution, Christians likewise committed themselves, often at the risk of their lives, to prevent or relieve the suffering of their Jewish brothers and sisters, I would like to express recognition and gratitude to them at this moment.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly Gertrud Luckner stands out among German Catholics in her prescience regarding the nature of Nazi ideology and in her quick response, both in education of youth and in collaboration with Jewish leaders. As the Nazi state came into power she quickly became aware of the vicious attitude of its leaders and "law-enforcers" toward those who aided Jews. Yet she persevered!

Monsignor Oesterreicher rejoiced to learn that she had survived detention in the women's concentration camp in Ravensbrück.

May I say how happy I am that you survived the concentration camp! How grateful you must be that the Lord considers you worthy to bear, as it were, His Stigmata!<sup>2</sup>

Soon the aid he and others could channel from the United States through her contacts reached those in need. After the War she founded the *Freiburger Rundbrief*, a scholarly journal dedicated to improving relations between Christians and Jews.

Raoul Wallenberg had moved in positions of privilege and, in the time of crisis, placed his diplomatic skills and bold courage at the service of Jews in grave danger. It is a sad irony of history that he survived the Nazi period to fall victim to its twin in wreaking evil upon humanity. Would that he, like Dr. Luckner, might have been able to give himself and his talents for the fostering of better understanding between Jews and their neighbors!

I invite you to share the written form of the lecture in memory of Monsignor Oesterreicher by Dr. Elizabeth Petuchowski, who has taught German language and literature as well as literature of the Holocaust at the University of Cincinnati for many years. She conducted extensive interviews over several days with Dr. Luckner in 1983 and draws from these and other sources to give us the portrait of a very unusual and courageous person.

In the context of his decades of research on the *Shoah*, Father John F. Morley, Ph.D. (New York University), Associate Professor in the Department of Religious Studies, Seton Hall University, sketched the life and work of Raoul Wallenberg for an appreciative audience on this campus on April 25, 1993. This symposium, "Ministers of Compassion during the Nazi Period," planned during the last year of Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher's life, took place shortly after his lamented death on April 18, 1993.

The situation of Hungarian Jewry has been the focus of Father Morley's work on a second volume of *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews*,<sup>3</sup> which has stood the test of time as a careful analysis of the Holy See's work in Europe during the crucial years of 1939-1943. This study of Raoul Wallenberg benefits from his wide-ranging knowledge of the period and the numerous records pertaining to Hungary.

During the last decade of his life, Monsignor Oesterreicher became increasingly concerned about "a renewed onslaught by certain corrupters of history, seeking to deny the reality of Hitler's mass murder of Jews."<sup>4</sup> Besides celebrating those who strove valiantly to save children of Abraham and Sarah, the presentation of various facets of this history provides a salutary reminder of the terrible burdens from this dark period of Jewish and European history.

Lawrence E. Frizzell  
Director  
Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies

- 1 Eugene J. Fisher and Leon Klenicki (ed.) *Pope John Paul II. Spiritual Pilgrimage: Texts on Jews and Judaism, 1979-1995* (New York: Crossroads, 1995) p. 14.
- 2 Letter of Monsignor Oesterreicher to Dr. Luckner on August 15, 1946. Drawing on the teaching of St. Paul, he alludes to his statement: "I bear on my body the marks (stigmata) of Jesus" (Galatians 6:17). Certainly she bore the effects of this experience throughout her long life. See Gay Block and Malka Drucker, *Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992) p. 146-148.
- 3 John F. Morley, *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews during the Holocaust 1939-1943* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1980).
- 4 John M. Oesterreicher, *God at Auschwitz?* (South Orange: Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, 1993) p. 4.

## Gertrud Luckner: Resistance and Assistance. A German Woman Who Defied Nazis and Aided Jews

*Elizabeth Petuchowski*

I was astonished to receive Professor Lawrence Frizzell's kind invitation to speak to you here today. I did not think I was an obvious choice to address experts in the field of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University. After a while I realized it was exactly ten years ago that my late husband, Rabbi Jakob J. Petuchowski, gave the inaugural lecture named in honor of Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher, and that, as it were, a double commemoration may have been intended. I am therefore doubly grateful for this honor and thank the organizers sincerely, especially the Chancellor, Father Thomas Peterson, O.P., and the President, Monsignor Robert Sheeran, and not least Reverend Lawrence Frizzell, the Director of the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies who dealt with all the details. The Institute was established at Seton Hall University in 1953, and Monsignor Oesterreicher was altogether its moving spirit.

### I. Gertrud Luckner: Her Achievements

When my husband addressed a similarly august group a decade ago to pay tribute to the honoree, he appreciated John Oesterreicher for being "one of the [ . . . ] master architects of the modern Christian-Jewish Dialogue."<sup>1</sup> The same has been said of the woman about whom I want to speak today, Gertrud Luckner,<sup>2</sup> and she, in turn, has said it about herself, not at all by way of boasting, but in her typically gentle, yet unblinking way, as if to indicate: See, this will follow quite naturally and simply upon people helping one another.<sup>3</sup>

To thumbnail a personality is an audacious undertaking, one unlikely to do justice to conflicting traits that make up all of us. I will try merely to limn a portrait of a woman who impressed me as possessing the mental and physical courage of a rebel and a heroine.<sup>4</sup> My sketch is based on selected published material and on quotations and passages from extended interviews Gertrud Luckner granted me in Freiburg in the summer of 1983.

Those among the audience who are familiar with her name may know her as the initiator, and subsequently as editor and co-editor of

the *Freiburger Rundbrief*, a journal dedicated to "the furtherance of friendship between the people of God's Old and New Covenant, in the spirit of both Testaments."<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly, the journal will prove to be a source of rare information for scholars working in the fields of German history and of Christian-Jewish relations.<sup>6</sup> Gertrud Luckner received numerous prestigious awards in Germany, among them the Buber-Rosenzweig Medal (1980)<sup>7</sup> and the Sir Sigmund-Sternberg Prize (1987).<sup>8</sup> The German government decorated her with the Order of Merit with Star.<sup>9</sup> She was an honorary citizen of Freiburg i.B.<sup>10</sup> She was the first German woman to be officially invited by the State of Israel.<sup>11</sup> To mark her 60<sup>th</sup> birthday, a thousand trees were planted in a grove near Nazareth.<sup>12</sup> She has a place in the Avenue of the Righteous of All Peoples (Jerusalem, 1966); and in Nahariyah, a retirement home for Christian women who escaped the Nazis bears her name.<sup>13</sup> In this country, the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion awarded her an honorary degree in June, 1977.<sup>14</sup>

These ceremonial highlights, however, appear like helplessly inadequate candles added on to an independently bright source of light. They serve to indicate, as indeed they should, that here is a woman who, during the Nazi era in Germany, comported herself persistently and effectively over many years with unmatched bravery.

There is no lack of books and articles that describe and interpret the twelve years of Nazi rule and the years leading up to them. European Jews were persecuted unto death, and anyone who opposed Nazi ideology was at risk. The aura of apprehension and the reality of fear that Hitler succeeded in spreading among the German population is conveyed convincingly in a pained sentence by Conrad Gröber, Archbishop of Freiburg, who pleaded shortly after the war in a pastoral letter:

The power confronting us was so great that any thought about revolution was impossible, even for us Christians and Catholics [ . . . ] because all resistance was shattered by reckless force, impervious to considerations of conscience.<sup>15</sup>

This moving admission by an Archbishop explains the behavior of most of Germany's citizens. Gertrud Luckner, for her part, worked alone for many years, assisted by personal friends, with no more than a foot in the door at the Caritas organization which stood under the auspices of the Bishop of Freiburg.<sup>16</sup> Gertrud Luckner was unencumbered by diplomatic considerations and possible repercussions to the Church or to Caritas workers.

Her considerable deeds of dissent came from a source that, to my knowledge, she has not discussed. Whatever mental image we may have of a person who devotes his or her life to helping others with disregard to his or her personal safety, is unlikely to be congruent with the life of Gertrud Luckner. Nor would the mantle of the saint sit well on her, though on account of her good works she underwent unspeakable suffering during nine weeks of excruciating interrogation by the Gestapo and in Ravensbrück, the concentration camp for women, located in Mecklenburg.<sup>17</sup>

Gertrud Luckner's emphasis was empirical. She refrained from abstractly reasoning why the work she was doing at peril of her life needed doing, or needed doing by her in particular. Vibrant, outer-directed and articulate as she was, she kept a great deal to herself, including her life story. There are intriguing lacunae in her biography, and there is silence about her innermost motivations.

## II. Biographical Sketch

Let me introduce Gertrud Luckner as best I can from the scant facts that have been established with certainty about her formative years. She was born to German parents in Liverpool, England, in 1900 and left for Germany at the age of six. That she missed out on some regular schooling during the First World War (1914-18) is one of the details she disclosed, as is her report that she did social work while attending high school in Königsberg, East Prussia, and later, while taking courses at Woodbrooke, a Quaker Study Centre, in Birmingham.<sup>18</sup>

Among data about her younger self that she conveyed, also to me, was that she had always been interested in social self-help, including improvised help for the unemployed in England.<sup>19</sup> She was particularly struck by the formation of clubs among the unemployed in South Wales: volunteers who got together for mutual assistance. During vacations, she worked in the slums of Birmingham as a hospital almoner. It was here, she said, that she became acquainted with prejudice. Racism and anti-semitism had always rubbed her the wrong way, she said about that period.<sup>20</sup>

She has repeatedly pinpointed the onset of her activity on behalf of Jews. In 1931, after returning from a year in England, she was appalled at the Nazi vocabulary of women students in Freiburg. She had been attracted to that city because she wanted to work on a dissertation at its university, and because she sought contact with the

Caritas organization under the auspices of the Catholic Bishopric there.<sup>21</sup> One reason was that some of the Caritas staff shared her international orientation.<sup>22</sup> She was to develop a love for Freiburg because of its broad-minded and tolerant citizens.<sup>23</sup> She was appointed to a semi-official position at the Caritas organization in December 1938, two weeks after *Kristallnacht*.<sup>24</sup> Later, when the war broke out, she was put in charge of its Church Bureau for War Aid ("kirchliche Kriegshilfsstelle"). At that time, Caritas became actively engaged in helping all the needy, regardless of religious affiliation. Gertrud Luckner carried a letter from the Archbishop stating: "[Miss] Dr. Luckner has been entrusted by us to execute certain essential tasks of extraordinary pastoral care [Seelsorge]."<sup>25</sup> She managed to hold on to this letter throughout her captivity in the concentration camp by concealing it in her shoe.

But back in 1931, Gertrud Luckner was new to the city, and indications that Nazism was taking hold there did not surprise her. She had already been alert to danger signs in the nineteen-twenties.

Some of these signs were plain, loud and unsubtle, and visible to everybody. It was Gertrud Luckner who correctly assessed their import: among them the anti-semitic slogans in the nineteen-twenties, and the singing of the Horst Wessel song.<sup>26</sup> She shuddered in retrospect when she said:

This goose step! When they marched through the streets, that was simply dreadful! The shrieking voice of the Führer! This ostensible unity of the *Volk*! [...] The suspicion. The block warden! That's how the whole thing started." *She guided some hikers from England to the Schloßberg in Freiburg where the Hitler youth, boys and girls, were marching in formation. She said to her guests: "Look at that. That is the next war, I tell you. (Interview.)"*

It is important to know that she had been a member of the German Catholic Peace Movement (Friedensbund deutscher Katholiken),<sup>27</sup> founded in 1919. Luckner reports being very impressed by Luigi Sturzo (1871-1959), Catholic priest and Italian politician, whom she heard "in a packed hall at the University of Birmingham in 1927."<sup>28</sup>

When, therefore, she noted the popular reaction to Hitler's propaganda, it was primarily the outbreak of a war that Gertrud Luckner anticipated, having been sensitized by the ideology of the peace movement. Her political views contributed to this exceptionally early identification of political and international danger.

When I wanted to ascertain: "Was your point of departure, then, chiefly political?," she replied:

Yes. Political, and international, and religious. Ecumenism interested me.<sup>29</sup> Of course, I know the Quakers very well. Everywhere. In England and here [in Germany]. They are international. It is through them that I had addresses [abroad]. And I suddenly found myself sharing a bed with Protestants in Ravensbrück. Somehow, we all know each other. (Interview).<sup>30</sup>

It is the practical outcome on which Gertrud Luckner focused at all times, even as a student and young woman. For her, politics was not party politics, international contacts did not mean foreign policy, and religion was not confined to one denomination. Religion was ecumenism. And in the period she was talking about, ecumenism was not yet a program sanctioned by denominational authorities. For her, it was a vital method of reaching out from one person to another, "von Mensch zu Mensch," Luckner's favorite expression with which she worked magic.

Gertrud Luckner's religious belief may have been so deeply ingrained in her that it did not need specific mention — considering how many practical matters occupied her attention.

So often she was asked why she did what she did, thereby risking her life, and almost astonished she would reply: "But that was obvious. That was obvious to me." I even asked her if it might be her religious conviction prompting her, and she admitted, with one word: "Probably." (Interview). When, after a pause, I dared to probe if perhaps her identification with suffering had given her such strength, she denied it:

"No. Identification does not describe this. It is rather . . .," and she struggled for words, to no avail, but she continued:

When I recall that day, that interrogation in the train [when the Gestapo finally caught her], this door banging shut in my cell, I knew very well that they did not mean well with me.

### Gertrud Luckner goes on:

I tried to reach clarity—in one second—"How does the situation stand?" And I thought: 'You must always comfort them. The only thing I can do is walk the way together with them.' That is thinking the obvious. The whole thing had been so terrible—the deportations, one city after another—so that it really did not much matter any more what happened to me.



"Would you describe that as fatalism?" I asked her. "No," she said without hesitation, and added slowly:

I was completely resigned to the fate that overtook me. I found it quite in order and found that the only thing I could still do was to go the same way, since I could no longer help. That was clear to me and that [thought] has always helped me.

The simplicity of this statement I find overwhelming—especially considering everything one might expect her to have said. Her knowledge that she was right and that the forces she opposed were wrong provided her with needed self-assurance, but alongside this, there was a modesty about her that cannot but inspire respect.

### III. Her Methods

The most astonishing actions she took appeared simple—in her telling. So, too, was the characteristic originality of her counteraction to the irritant she perceived upon her arrival in Freiburg in 1931. She clearly applied what she had learned about self-help in England and in South Wales. She made it her business to call on several high school principals in Freiburg: "We want to have a little discussion circle, in *English* [Luckner's vocal emphasis]," language practice, as it were. She supplied high school juniors and seniors with pro- and anti-Nazi tracts, and got discussions going along the lines of British parliamentary debates. Thus, she started some students thinking critically about current political issues.

All her later accounts about her relentless activities before and during World War II start out from this happening that she initiated, this "little discussion circle," as she called it almost affectionately, meeting chiefly in private homes in Freiburg,<sup>31</sup> but also occasionally in neighboring Basle, since Freiburg lies close to the Swiss border. Thus, she expanded the dimensions of this "little discussion circle" to spill abroad.

Gertrud Luckner kept in touch also with English friends, among them a physician and his wife in Leeds who were active in the youth hostel movement. She relates that a group from England might ask her to make reservations at youth hostels in the Black Forest, the beautiful area around Freiburg. And she would utilize their visit to introduce them to members of the Caritas organization — before she was officially associated with them. The contacts Gertrud Luckner established in a private capacity enabled her later to approach friends abroad for help with the emigration of Jewish families from Germany,

asking for immigration visas. In the super patriotic, nationalist Germany of the thirties, she saw a need for an international orientation and international rapport and that, for Gertrud Luckner, meant person to person encounters, a theme she did not tire of stressing.

More than once Gertrud Luckner smiled as she said:

That was something the Gestapo could not understand. They were forever looking for an organization standing behind what I was doing. There were no organizations. These were all private international contacts. Out of this help between person and person I created help between city and city. That was *my* [Gertrud Luckner's vocal emphasis] idea. That's how it was. That's how it all developed. (Interview.)

When I asked her: "Would you say that an individual can offer opposition if one wants to?" she replied:

Yes. And more than that, and one ought to be aware of this. There were earlier persecutions and they will recur in future. Unfortunately. It is this help from person to person that a dictatorship does not understand, strangely enough. People as a group could do nothing. We would all have been done for. One had to try, as long as that was possible. Of course," *she went on*, "one could not broadcast it. Open protest? That would not have worked. Even so, we did it, in Freiburg, this city. (Interview)

Many of Gertrud Luckner's eventual feats of assistance started out from deceptively domestic considerations concerning people's daily lives. For instance: Over a period of time, before they were transported to camps, German Jews in big cities were sent to work in factories during the day, to return to their homes in the evening. Paradoxically, or viciously, they were permitted to enter stores only between 4 and 6 in the afternoon. Consequently, they could not buy food. Gertrud Luckner, who knew this, organized women friends to shop for groceries for these unfortunate people. (Interview.)

Similarly, her untiring travel activity arose out of a private suggestion from a personal friend, as Gertrud Luckner herself reported:

Everything always started in Freiburg. Behind the city park were villas—they are all gone now [. . .]. Among them was a large villa belonging to a Jewish family. *Luckner reminisces*—and later that villa served as the gathering point from which people were sent away [to camps]. [. . .] Soon after my arrival in Freiburg, I made the acquaintance of this family. The woman was the widow of a



physician, and her 85-year old mother lived with her. Although they had relatives in Switzerland, they did not want to emigrate because the old lady did not want to be dependent on relatives. This woman was the one who started me on my travels. When the war broke out, people in Freiburg thought [ . . . ] the French would invade. The city voluntarily evacuated, most people going to Munich. The Caritas organization, too, brought most of its materials to a convent somewhere on the Danube. We, too, went to Munich. Jews also could still travel to Munich. When the first ten days of the war had gone by without a French invasion, we all merrily returned, including the Jews. So this woman said to me: 'You are always helping *us*. Things are much worse [for Jews] in Munich, the *Gauleiter* [local Nazi official] harasses them. Please travel to Munich and go to see Else Rosenfeld, in charge of social welfare for the Jewish community, in such and such a street.' So I went to Munich, and that is how my travels began. (Interview.)

As she traveled around Germany, including the annexed Austria, Gertrud Luckner knew what the Nazis were planning through information she herself gathered. Once the war started, her association with Caritas enabled her to get railway tickets [which other civilians could not get]. She traveled through days and nights. She warned those in danger, both Jews and non-Jews.<sup>32</sup> She brought comforts. She brought news to anxious family members. One thing led her to another. Gertrud Luckner relates:

In January 1941, I was in Munich and heard that Jews from Vienna had arrived [meaning: Jews from Vienna were fleeing to Munich]. Thereupon I phoned the general secretary of the Caritas organization [in Freiburg]: 'My aunt in Vienna is sick.' 'Aha,' *he said*, 'you ought to withdraw some money from the Caritas bank account in Munich and definitely travel to Vienna to visit your aunt.'

Frau Luckner and the general secretary understood each other in code. Her story goes on:

That is when the evacuation of 60,000 Jews from Vienna started. Cardinal Innitzer<sup>33</sup> there had a court, and barracks, and a priest. And to him I said: 'Father, you'll soon see that you won't be able to send packages [to Jews in Vienna], but we, in Baden, will be able to send them because our Jews are all gone and are no longer there to accept packages. Send the packages to us [in Freiburg] and we will re-address them to village addresses in Poland. You'll have to make sure that you entrust this to dependable people who will not sell the parcels on the black market when they dispatch them [ . . . ].' And that's how it came about that we, in Freiburg, sent packages to Viennese Jews [in Poland].

A suggestion from a friend, then, greatly enlarged the area where Gertrud Luckner brought and mediated help. The thought of the two Jewish women triggered other memories for Gertrud Luckner:

Freiburg. Then came [the time when Jews were sent to the concentration camp in] Gurs.<sup>34</sup> The first deportation, the one to the south of France. October '40. And the two ladies from the villa set out to pay me a visit. The two ladies were not at home [when the Gestapo knocked at their door to pick them up]. And that is typical for Freiburg: the Gestapo did not come back. [ . . . ] For three weeks I slept at their house almost every night because they were afraid to be alone in their villa; I went in at night and left in the morning. There followed other transports. [The two women] did not go on those, either. I was able to find them something. Namely: The mayor was a disciplinary transfer to Freiburg.<sup>35</sup> He was also acting police chief. Freiburg! He told me it would be important to know whether this was an old-age transport or a labor transport. If it was an old-age transport, one could try to place people in hospitals. I got medical testimonials from the best physicians in Freiburg—I did this randomly, else it would have attracted attention. If it was a labor transport, one needed an industrialist who said: 'I cannot spare any Jews, I even need more. I have received orders from the armaments industry.'<sup>36</sup>

"Of course," she said, "this varied from place to place. And there came a time when this did not help any more. But if one knew, it *did* help."

And in her recital of events, Gertrud Luckner has almost imperceptibly switched from her story about the two women to its general application, meaning additional opportunities for helping Jews who were endangered in other German cities.

A vivid sketch describing accommodations goes back, as so often, to the pivotal discussion-group days: Gertrud Luckner relates that, once a week, a physician in Freiburg, a member of the Catholic Peace Movement, put his waiting room at the disposal of the group free of charge. She inserts a breathlessly fast parenthesis: "Unfortunately he lost his life near Stalingrad where he served as physician, he froze to death." And she continues: "I once had an attic in his house where we could work." The attic room where she lived doubled as a meeting place for the group. The point is that she offers a realistic detail under conditions where people could not trust their neighbors and where a secure place for clandestine activity was of vital importance.<sup>37</sup>

Gertrud Luckner rounds out the picture: "And the Jewish brother and sister, who had been in the discussion group, business people associated with the local department store [that she names]— I continue to be in touch with them. They wrote to me how useful their English language practice turned out to be." That is how she spoke. No theoretical considerations, no political or religious avowals.

"I really always worked on my own," *as she periodically sums up*. "In the final analysis, one had to rely on oneself. But there were many people who helped. I could not have done it without them, people who did an awful lot, who would step in to bring things [to the victims] when I could no longer do it. It all started with that small circle to enlighten people, to let them know ways *could* [speaker's vocal emphasis] be found, things *could* be done. And later the work just continued, and that's how I got onto the island. It simply evolved that way although at the time I did not know that. If one starts one gets into it without noticing. I landed on the island, and really I am still there," *she told me—even in 1983*.

#### IV. Her Alert Intellect

Fifty years earlier, in 1933, when Hitler came to power, some Jews whom Gertrud Luckner did not even know, friends of the Jewish brother and sister, came to her attic and asked: "What shall we do?" She told them: "Get out of this country." And when they asked "How?" she said: "Let me see. I'll go to Basle and write some letters." From Basle, she wrote to English and American friends. As her mail was monitored because of her association with the Peace Movement,<sup>38</sup> she wrote in the living rooms of her Swiss friends, and the recipients would send an innocuous picture postcard to signal that her letter had arrived—in true cloak and dagger fashion.

As we now know, so many German citizens had no idea what was happening to their Jewish neighbors, namely: that they were gradually deprived of their rights, their livelihood, eventually their homes and all their possessions, until they were taken to concentration camps and extermination camps. Most non-Jewish Germans said later they did not know any of this.<sup>39</sup> Gertrud Luckner knew.

One of her qualities, rarely mentioned, needs stressing here. Whereas it is certainly appropriate to laud her bravery and her devotion, her live intelligence is rarely singled out for mention and deserves an emphasis it has hitherto not received. Her insight into the consequences of certain ideologies was perhaps uncanny; her familiarity with daily events and their significance would have done

credit to a keen news journalist; and the manner in which she immediately reacted was probably unique, and ethical to the utmost degree. Without flinching, she made it her business to be completely informed about the kind of Germany she was living in. "I knew what was being whispered," she reports (Interview). "I wanted to know, the others did not." In the reading room of Freiburg University, she read The Times until the outbreak of the war on Sept. 3, 1939, when this was no longer possible. As part of a dissertation on "Help for the Unemployed in England and Wales [on the Basis of the History of Economics and Ideas in England]," with English newspapers as her chief source, she went to the university reading room every Wednesday and Saturday to pick up foreign newspapers as waste paper. "Allowing for an English slant on things, I was as well informed as one could be," she said. "I did not need to read the *Völkische Beobachter*! I picked up *The Times* [. . .] with 'Grüß Gott.' If I had said 'Heil Hitler,' they might not have given it to me in Freiburg" (Interview).<sup>40</sup>

Gertrud Luckner's very precise and specific information about what help was needed where, and what help was possible, made her so effective. She updated modifications in the small print, as it were, all the time. It was the detail of knowing if parcels with food or clothing could be sent, if money could be sent, and this differed from place to place.<sup>41</sup> At one point she and her friends packed one shoe at a time, to minimize the likelihood of theft. She traveled to disburse money from the Archbishop's fund to communities, or to a specific family, where this was needed for survival.

Although Gertrud Luckner focused her efforts on seeming minutiae, she had, at the same time, a sweeping understanding of the larger picture. Gertrude Luckner explains that orders for transports invariably originated from outside Freiburg. She was curious to know who, at any one time and in any one place, gave these orders, and her curiosity lasted into the post-war period when she searched the proceedings of the Nuremberg trials to find out.<sup>42</sup>

At one point I asked her: "I can imagine that preventing a transport had greater impact than, say, sending a package."

"No!" *she shot back*. "Whatever the hour demanded. Whatever I heard that it was possible to do, I tried to do. I had no way of knowing if it would be successful, but quite a lot was."

Just how much was possible with Gertrud Luckner's determination is exemplified by this amazing account in her own words [in translation]:

For the [Jewish] High Holidays I happened to be in Cologne. The last remnant before they were shipped off, they were holed up in dungeons in Jüngersdorf that had not been used for decades.

'Let's go outside, we'll go for a walk,' I said to them.

[This implies that she had requested and gained entry to the dungeons to be with her Jewish proteges. She does not even trouble to mention this derring-do.]

'We can't do that,' they said.

'Why not?'

They were afraid, so I said to them: 'Come along. We'll walk around the fortifications.' We walked all around the Ring, down the Hauptstrasse, we took a long walk. Nothing happened to us.

Against all the rules of interviewing, I interrupted her: "That's just it. Reasonable people were scared, you were not. I am trying to find an explanation."

"I wanted to get people out of their isolation," *she said*. "They had no air. They were horribly incarcerated there, they could not come or go. That was so dreadful. *Nothing* happened to me. The Gestapo never found out. They knew enough, but not that. One had to try to help."

Gertrud Luckner's last resort, namely to "go with" the victims, she had taken quite literally earlier, when Jews had to start wearing the star, Sept. 15, 1941 [Gertrud Luckner recites these dates by heart]. A law had come into force: baptized Jews had to wear the Star of David.

The day the star had to be worn, I arrived in Munich on Friday. I went to the pastor and said: 'Herr Pfarrer, what are you going to do?'

He said: 'I will dispense them from coming [to church].'

'Herr Pfarrer,' I said, 'You are depriving them of their last consolation. Someone without a star has to go with someone with a star. We will go and pick them up [at their homes before services]. Give me addresses.'

I asked them [when I got there]: 'What will you do tomorrow?' They said: "O, we don't want to embarrass Herrn Pfarrer [by our presence].' [G.L. *imitates their genteel manner*].

'Nonsense,' I said, 'we are going together. I will pick you up.'

All Sunday long I walked with the stars—[to] brief Protestant prayers, Protestant and Catholic services. Baptized Jews, Catholic and Protestant people who had to wear the star. [...] I did not even know these people.

And others went up to these people in church to greet them.

*Nothing* [vocal emphasis] happened to me.

And in Cologne, the Protestant pastor, thank God, said from the pulpit: 'We are with the brothers and sisters who are sure to be saddened today.'

Gertrud Luckner adds on the subject of the stars:

Whenever I was in Berlin I went up to the stars on the street. I always asked them for directions. I did not want them to feel isolated.

To flagellate misdeeds with words was not Gertrud Luckner's style. For instance: on the night of November 9/10, 1938 synagogues were burned throughout Germany, Jewish residences and places of business were destroyed and Jewish men taken to concentration camps. A great deal has been said on that subject, with justified indignation. Here is what Gertrud Luckner said in 1983 about *Kristallnacht*:

I still visited the parents of the Jewish brother and sister after the synagogue burned. They were still here. I still cycled all over. One day they let the air out of my tires. That's the worst they ever did to me. I never got off my bike during those days, I visited all the Jews. Things were so disconsolate. I had been on the road all day, and, late at night, I got on my bike and still visited Mr. so and so. He was sitting in his villa up there, all the others were already gone. He alone was left, he had never wanted to leave. Former professor, in Freiburg for years. I still see him sitting there [that night]. He greeted me very timidly and said: 'I have reached the limit.' So we still managed to get him out.

She did not spend time deploring the deplorable, but got on her bike and did what she could. "There came a time," she said at one point, "when little more could be done. Yet, an enquiry, 'How are you?' could give Jews the assurance that they were not forgotten."

In conclusion, mention should be made of Gertrud Luckner's confinement in Ravensbrück. She had had regular contact with Rabbi Dr. Leo Baeck in Berlin who provided her both with names of people in various parts of Germany who could be relied upon to help, and of Jews in German cities who required help of various kinds. She would let him know that she was coming, they would agree on a code word with which she would introduce herself upon arrival and they would meet. She was always extremely careful about her movements and was familiar with emergency exits everywhere. If the Gestapo came up the front stairs, she would escape down the back stairs. "I was not foolish," she explained. She was again on her way to Berlin, even after Leo Baeck had already been taken to the concentration camp in Theresienstadt. This time, the Gestapo burst into her train compartment (24 March 1943). Nine weeks she was interrogated. She said later she did not give anyone away, ever. And she had the temerity to say to her captors, once her fate became clear: "If you are sending me to a concentration camp, send me to Theresienstadt where Leo Baeck is." The Gestapo had other plans for her. In Ravensbrück she met women from the resistance whose names were familiar to her.

Gertrud Luckner had to carry sacks of concrete for a while, unimaginable for a person of such slight build. She got sick and was reduced to skin and bones, but somehow survived, and somehow she made her way back to Freiburg, chiefly on foot, across the rubble that was Germany.<sup>43</sup>

She died shortly before her 95<sup>th</sup> birthday in Freiburg.

Hers was a formidable life that made a positive difference to many many people.

If I have succeeded in indicating as much, I'd be pleased. Such a life surely belongs in the series of endeavors occupying the attention of the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University. And like John Oesterreicher whom we gratefully remember, she created a bridge between Christians and Jews.

## Footnotes

1. Opening statement in an unpublished paragraph of "The Torah, the Rabbis, and the Early Church, *Anglican Theological Review* 74 (1992), 216-224. Similarly, "one of the pioneers of international Christian-Jewish dialogue," was the verdict of John Cardinal O'Connor, Archbishop of New York. See In Memoriam. Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher, The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, 1993.  
An inspirer and promoter of the Declaration concerning the Jews of the Second Vatican Council, Monsignor Oesterreicher's place in the annals of Christian-Jewish understanding is secure. Cf. Clemens Thoma, "Neuer Anstoss zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog: Johannes Oesterreicher: 'Die Wiederentdeckung des Judentums durch die Kirche,'" *Ein Buchbericht*, *Freiburger Rundbrief* 23 (1971), 49-50 [abbreviated FR in the following]. Cf. Anon., "In memoriam: Johannes M. Oesterreicher (1904-1993)," *FR, N.F.*, 1 (1993/94), 68-70.
2. E.g., Clemens Thoma, "In memoriam Dr. Gertrud Luckner," *FR, N.F.*, 3/1 (1996), 1, one example standing for many.
3. "Es war die Zeit der Ökumene, in der sich alle Gutwilligen, ohne Unterschied religiöser und sonstiger Anschauungen, zur Hilfe für Verfolgte zusammenfanden." This is one of Gertrud Luckner's published utterances on the subject. *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski. Briefe Deportierter aus dem Distrikt Lublin. 1940-1943.* Else Rosenfeld/Gertrud Luckner, ed (München: Biederstein, 1968), 9.
4. Professor Lawrence Frizzell kindly searched Seton Hall University archives to find a letter from Monsignor Oesterreicher to Dr. Luckner, dated Aug. 15, 1946: "May I say how happy I am that you survived the concentration camp! How grateful you must be that the Lord considers you worthy to bear, as it were, His stigmata!" Monsignor Oesterreicher dedicated "Salut an Israel" to Gertrud Luckner on her 70th birthday. *FR* 22 (1970), 7-11.
5. About the history of the *Freiburger Rundbrief*, see Clemens Thoma, "Dr. Gertrud Luckner und der bisherige Rundbrief," *FR, N.F.*, 1 (1993/4), 1-8. Also Clemens Thoma, "Freiburger Rundbrief: Dokument christlich-jüdischer Begegnung nach 1945. Festvortrag," in *FR* 37/38 (1985/86), 37-41.
6. Alone the dating of some of this journal indicates the thoughtfulness Gertrud Luckner lavished on its production. E.g., Vol. 11 (1958-59), where "9. November 1958" is heavily underlined on the front cover. The publication date marked the thirtieth anniversary of *Kristallnacht*. Note also Vol. 13 (1960/61), front cover: "Wir datieren dieses Heft von dem Sonntag, an welchem das auf Seite 3 wiedergegebene Gebet in den katholischen Kirchen Deutschlands gebetet wurde." It is the Prayer for murdered Jews and their persecutors.
7. Cf. *FR* 32 (1980), 29-33.
8. "Auszeichnung für Gertrud Luckner," (anon.), *FR, N.F.*, 1 (1993/4), 14-20.
9. "Friedensstifterin zwischen Christen und Juden," *Badische Zeitung*, Sept. 1995 [page not available]. Also *FR* 37/38 (1986/86), 41, col. 1.
10. *Badische Zeitung*, Sept. 25, 1985 [page not available].
11. N. Peter Levinson, "Laudatio," *FR, N.F.* 1 (1993/94) 17-20, here 17.
12. Thomas Schnabel, "Gertrud Luckner. Mitarbeiterin der Caritas in Freiburg," *Der Widerstand im deutschen Südwesten 1933-1945. Baden-Württemberg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung.* Michael Bosch/Wolfgang Nies, eds (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1984), 117-128, esp. 117.
13. *FR* 27 (1975), 147-149 and bibliography there. More recent news: *FR, N.F.* 3 (1996), 67-68.

14. *New York Times*, June 6, 1977, p. A35.
15. "Die uns gegenüberstehende Macht war so gross, dass wir, zumal Christen und Katholiken, an eine Revolution nicht denken konnten... weil jeder Widerstand and der rücksichtslosen, durch keine Gewissensbedenken gehinderten Gewalt zerbrach." Erwin Keller, 1872-1948, *Conrad Gröber, Erzbischof in schwerer Zeit* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder 1982), 282. See also Bruno Schwalbach, *Erzbischof Conrad Gröber und die deutsche Katastrophe. Sein Ringen um eine menschliche Neuordnung*. Karlsruhe: Badenia 1994. Cf. also Simon Hirt, "Erzbischof Conrad Gröber," in *Festschrift zur Feier des 350 jährigen Bestehens des Heinrich-Suso-Gymnasiums in Konstanz* (Konstanz: Direktion des Heinrich-Suso-Gymnasiums in Konstanz/Bodensee 1954), 77-88.
16. Cf. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (LThK)* (Freiburg: Herder, 1986), s.v. "Caritasverbände" and s.v. "Werthmann, L."
17. By contrast, see Edith Stein, e.g. Freda Mary Oben, *Edith Stein: Scholar, Feminist, Saint* (New York, Alba House, 1988), 34, 66-67.
18. Cf. Robert Davis, *Woodbrooke 1903-53*. London: The Bannisdale Press, 1953. I thank the Woodbrooke Study Centre for sending me material about the Centre.
19. In 1949, Gertrud Luckner gave a talk over the BBC on "Organized Oppression and Improved Help" (Interview).
20. Gertrud Luckner was familiar with the Fabian Society, and she had read the reports of the Oxford Movement. Her sympathies had always been on the left, rather than the right (Interview).
21. See, e.g., Rolf Böhme, "Grussworte," *FR* 37/38 (1985/86), 1, col. 1.
22. Caritas had taken on an international dimension in 1924. See *LThK*, s.v. "Caritas Internationalis."
23. A wonderful sense of the solidarity of some of Freiburg's citizens is conveyed by Karl s. Bader's contribution to "Gruss- und Gedenkworte für Gertrud Luckner," *FR* 12 (1959/60), 29-33.
24. Cf. Schnabel, 120.
25. Archbishop Dr. Oskar Saier, an address on the occasion of Gertrud Luckner's 85th birthday, *FR* 37/38 (1985/86), 34 col. 2.
26. See William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. A History of Nazi Germany*. A Crest Reprint (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1959) 201. Notable is the fact that Ploetz, *Deutsche Geschichte. Epochen und Daten* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 5th ed. 1991), a standard history reference work, does not list his name.
27. Luckner speaks about that also in an interview conducted by Susan Talve, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 25, 1978, Cassette tape C-78 at American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. I thank the Archives for their courtesy in letting me audit and quote from this tape (June/July 1998).

In response to Talve's question inquiring specifically about "the existing network," Luckner answers: "It was not existing, it was developing. I had to find a way to make a network" [Luckner's vocal stress]. She describes herself as "an old pacifist with a lot of international connections, with England and the U.S. through the peace movement and the Roman Catholic Peace Movement, "Friedensbund deutscher Katholiken," as she specifies in German in the course of her English interview.

28. Interview. Since the 1920s, Gertrud Luckner was also influenced by Franziskus Maria Stratmann, author of *Weltkirche und Weltfriede* (1924), *In der Verbannung Tagebuchblätter 1940-47* (1962), and *War and Christianity Today*. Translated by John

Dooble. Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press 1956. Cf. *LThK* 4, col. 371, s.v. "Die kirchliche Friedensbewegung." And cf. Karl Holl, *Pazifismus in Deutschland*. Neue Historische Bibliothek, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler. Frankfurt: Edition Suhrkamp, Neue Folge Band 533, 1988.

29. Religion/Ecumenism is notably one chain of association for Gertrud Luckner. This is not the only instance where this is so.
30. About Quakers reported to have helped Jews, see, e.g., Else R. Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Ich stand nicht allein. Erlebnisse einer Jüdin in Deutschland 1933-1944* (Köln: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 79, 203.
31. One of the venues was the waiting room of one of the local physicians. See Schnabel, 118. However, this was not the only venue, as is apparent from Gertrud Luckner's taped report with me.
32. Cf. Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, "Katholische Kirche und Judentum zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus eine geschichtliche Erfahrung und eine Herausforderung an uns," *FR* 35/36 (1984/84), 39-43, here 40, col. 1.
33. Theodor Innitzer (1875-1955). See *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1974, 15th edition), s.v. "Innitzer, Theodor."
34. Cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), 16 vols., s.v. "Gurs."
35. *Strafversetzt*: was moved to a post elsewhere because of an offense.
36. On a much larger scale, cf. Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List*. New York: Penguin, 1982.
37. People familiar with Gertrud Luckner in the post-war period will recall that she occupied a small room that doubled as editorial office of the *Freiburger Rundbrief*. To reach a chair, one had to step over heaps of printed materials: her archives and wall-to-wall work space.
38. Interview. Also Schnabel, 119.
39. See, e.g. Schwalbach, 256-257.
40. An example of Gertrud Luckner's implied praise for the independent thinking of people in Freiburg
41. How well and reliably informed Gertrud Luckner was is apparent from, e.g. *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski*, p. 7, n. 1, about precise dates when packages reached what destinations.
42. Cf. *Lebenszeichen*, 31-32.
43. Cf. *FR*, N.F. (1994), 17.

# Raoul Wallenberg and the Jews of Hungary

## *John F. Morley*

On September 15, 1945, the Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, William O'Dwyer, issued its final report summarizing the Board's activities from its establishment on January 22, 1944 to its termination on September 15, 1945. O'Dwyer specifically recalled the activities of Raoul Wallenberg in this report:

Raoul Wallenberg, a young Swedish businessman, volunteered to proceed to Hungary for the War Refugee Board to aid in the rescue and relief of the persecuted Jews. The Swedish Government granted him diplomatic status and stationed him in Budapest for the purpose of rendering protection to these people. The Board furnished Wallenberg detailed plans of action, but made it clear that he could not act in Hungary as a representative of the Board. Wallenberg, supplied with funds from the Board and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, carried on a relentless campaign in Hungary in behalf of the Jews. He issued Swedish protective passports by the thousands and hired extra buildings as official Swedish quarters to house several hundred rabbis and communal leaders under the protection of the extraterritoriality which attached to such buildings. He constantly pressed the Hungarian authorities for better treatment of the Jews and succeeded in having thousands brought back to Budapest from the forced labor marches. In all, approximately 20,000 Jews received the safety of Swedish protection in Hungary. As a measure of the devotion of Wallenberg and as proof of the risks involved in his activities, the Board received word on April 4, 1945, that he was missing. Despite repeated attempts to trace his whereabouts he was reported dead early in June 1945.<sup>1</sup>

Wallenberg's accomplishments, outlined sketchily in the War Refugee Board report, have earned him accolades and encomium unique to anyone in the twentieth century. He has been called "the angel of Budapest," "the angel of rescue,"<sup>2</sup> "righteous gentile," "a living legend,"<sup>3</sup> "a lost hero," "a fighter for humanity,"<sup>4</sup> and an "...unsung hero who saved the lives of thousands of Jews."<sup>5</sup>

### **I. Situation in Hungary**

Raoul Wallenberg was only 32 years old when he arrived in Budapest on July 9, 1944. By the time he disappeared into Soviet control on January 17, 1945, he had effectively saved the lives of thousands of Hungarian Jews. One Jewish writer, who along with her

parents was saved by Wallenberg's intervention, describes him as one "... who gave the gift of life to 100,000 [Jewish] men, women and children in Budapest."<sup>6</sup>

Of all the tragedies and horrors of the Holocaust, the greatest may be that of the fate of the Hungarian Jews during 1944. Hungary, at the beginning of 1944, was unlike any other nation in Europe then under German control or influence. Just under five percent of the population was Jewish, and although they were discriminated against in many ways, they were not ghettoized or subjected to deportation.<sup>7</sup>

According to the census of 1941, there were 725,000 Jews in Hungary, of whom 400,000 lived within the original borders of Trianon Hungary and another 325,000 resided in the territories ceded to Hungary just before and during the war. Another 100,000 Jews had converted to Christianity. The two major religious groups in Trianon Hungary were the Roman Catholics (65%) and the Calvinists (21%).<sup>8</sup>

In late 1940, Hungary signed the Tripartite Pact, aligning itself with the Axis powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan. In June 1941, it joined Germany in the campaign against the Soviet Union. By late 1943, however, many Hungarians had become disenchanted with their alliance with Germany and attempts were made by the various government officials to conclude a separate armistice with the Allies.<sup>9</sup>

In the middle of January 1944, the situation of Hungarian Jewry seemed so secure that officials of the World Jewish Congress [WJC] were envisioning the country as a place of refuge for Jews fleeing the Nazis, particularly from Poland. Jewish officials asked the Vatican to use its influence with the Hungarian government to encourage it to admit Jewish refugees. During February 1944, Jewish officials, confident of the safety of Hungarian Jews, were far more worried about Slovak and Polish Jews.<sup>10</sup>

This situation changed dramatically and drastically on March 19 when German troops occupied Hungary, and a new, pro-German collaborationist government was installed. Adolf Eichmann himself arrived in Budapest at the same time and ordered Jewish leaders to form a *Judenrat*. The new government was avowedly fascist and anti-Jewish and "... set to work with dazzling speed to accomplish in several weeks as much as and more than the Germans accomplished in other countries in five years."<sup>11</sup>

By the end of March, a whole series of anti-Jewish measures had been enacted. The most momentous measure of all, however, was the government's decision in early April to remove all its Jews by requesting Germany to "take over" the Jews.<sup>12</sup> This deportation process began in the middle of May and was so successful that by the first week of July, over 437,000 Jews had been deported to Auschwitz.<sup>13</sup>

This first period of Jewish persecution ended on July 7, when the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Miklos Horthy, ordered an end to the deportations.<sup>14</sup> Appeals from Pope Pius XII<sup>15</sup> and King Gustav V of Sweden doubtlessly had an effect on his decision. The next three months were ones of relative safety for the remaining Hungarian Jews.<sup>16</sup>

On October 15, the Germans deposed Horthy and installed the Arrow Cross party leader, Ferenc Szalasi, an ardent Hungarian Nazi, as Prime Minister. The 150,000 to 200,000 Jews still remaining in Budapest would now become the principal target. The Arrow Cross government resumed the deportations, expelling 80,000 Jews, mostly women, to labor installations at the Austrian border. Many thousands died on route. Arrow Cross gangs roamed the streets of Budapest, robbing and killing Jews. In December, the remaining 70,000 Jews were ordered into a ghetto. The liberation of the ghetto took place several weeks later in mid-January 1945 with the arrival of Soviet troops, but thousands of Jews forced into the ghetto had already died there of disease or starvation.<sup>17</sup>

The realization of the tragedy of Hungarian Jewry is increased when these events are placed into the context of the war. Rome was liberated by American forces on June 4, 1944 and by mid-August much of northern Italy was under Allied control. The Normandy landings began on June 6 and by the end of August all of France was free of German occupation.

Hungary's neighbors and allies were also involved in these changing circumstances. On August 23, Romania joined the Allies. On September 16, Bulgaria surrendered to Soviet forces. The Soviet campaign against Budapest began on September 12.<sup>18</sup>

The anti-Jewish activity in Hungary, at this late date in the war, when German military forces were in a state of collapse on all fronts, vividly demonstrated how high a priority the Nazis gave to their genocidal campaign against the Jews. At a time when military needs and response should have been paramount they chose ideology, an ideology that called for the elimination of all Jews no matter what the cost.



It can be argued, perhaps, whether tragedies can be graded or measured. Nonetheless, there seems to be a greater sense of irony and poignancy in a situation where months or weeks could make a difference in saving lives, and where people who thought that they had escaped the worst faced an anti-Jewish campaign that moved with unprecedented speed and efficiency to murder hundreds of thousands of them in record time. It is a tragedy, exacerbated, too, by the unwillingness of the British and American governments to intervene when they had concrete knowledge of these events.

## II. The Life of Wallenberg

Raoul Wallenberg was born on August 4, 1912, the son of Raoul Wallenberg, Sr., an officer in the Swedish Navy, and Maj Wissing. Unfortunately, his father died of a cancerous tumor at the age of 23, three months before the birth of his son.<sup>19</sup>

The Wallenberg family had long been prosperous and prominent in Swedish society and were sometimes referred to as the "Rockefellers of Sweden." Their members had included diplomats and ambassadors, bankers and bishops, artists and professors. For whatever reason, however, Raoul's branch of the family did not reach the level of success that others achieved.

Raoul's mother would later re-marry when he was six years old. The boy became very attached to his step-father, Frederick von Dardell, and his half-siblings, Guy and Nina, who would later lead the efforts for the release of Raoul.

Other than his mother, the greatest influence on Raoul was his paternal grandfather, Gustav, who had been Swedish Ambassador in Japan and in Turkey. During his teenage years, Raoul spent summers in England, France and Germany, devoting himself to learning their respective languages. He served in the Swedish army for nine months after high school, and then studied for one term at a French law school.

Grandfather Wallenberg felt that Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England, as well as the Ivy League Universities in the United States were too elitist, and so, instead, encouraged his grandson to attend the College of Architecture at the University of Michigan.

He was a particularly gifted student and achieved the highest scholastic standing at his graduation in June 1935. During his years in the United States, Raoul demonstrated a certain sense of adventure.

During one of his summer vacations, he hitchhiked to the World's Fair in Chicago, and worked in a variety of jobs in the Swedish Pavilion there. After graduation, he hitchhiked across the country to the west coast.

For the next few years, Raoul's life was somewhat unsettled. He returned to Sweden and worked as an architect for several months, and then, for six months after that, he was employed by two Swedish firms in South Africa.

Raoul's next move was one that, from all appearances, made a tremendous impact upon him. Again through his grandfather's intervention, Raoul went to Haifa, then in Palestine, in 1936 and worked in a bank. During his six months in Haifa, Wallenberg came into contact with German Jews fleeing the Nazi regime, learning from them about the growing anti-Semitism and persecution of the Jews there. One of Wallenberg's biographers indicates that "... as a compassionate, sensitive young man, the accounts of Jewish suffering in Germany had a profound impact upon him. These appalling stories grieved him greatly."

It would be of interest here to note that Raoul was aware that he had a Jewish ancestor. His maternal great-great-grandfather was Michael Benedicks, a German Jew who came to Sweden in 1780. He became a successful financier, married a Lutheran woman and converted to her religion.

Wallenberg, therefore, was one-sixteenth Jewish, yet, on at least two occasions, he gave the impression of being half-Jewish. A companion of Raoul during his military service in 1930 recalled a conversation they had during their months together:

He [Wallenberg] was proud of his Jewish ancestry and, as I recall, must have exaggerated it somewhat. I remember him saying, 'A person like me, who is both a Wallenberg and half-Jewish, can never be defeated.'

It also appears that in his discussions with the United States Minister in Stockholm, shortly before his departure for Budapest, Wallenberg exaggerated the extent of his Jewishness. The American diplomat described him as "half-Jewish" in a report to his superiors.

On his return to Sweden, Raoul was given some short-term assignments by his cousins, Jacob and Marcus, who controlled the

family financial empire. Through Jacob, Raoul was introduced to a successful Swedish businessman, Sven Salen, and through him came into contact with Dr. Kalman Lauer, a Hungarian Jew, who headed the Central European Trading Company.

Lauer hired Wallenberg as a trade representative and used him as type of troubleshooter for international assignments. For example, in late 1941, Wallenberg was sent to Germany, Switzerland, France and Romania on company business.

The most memorable of his assignments, however, were to Budapest, where he went in February 1942 and again in the fall of 1943. These trips familiarized Raoul with the social and economic conditions in Hungary and acquainted him with the Hungarian language and culture. Moreover, he became aware of the Jewish situation in the country which was one of legal discrimination against the Jews but not active persecution or deportation. It should be noted, too, that since the Trading Company dealt in foodstuffs, one of Wallenberg's duties was obtaining food supplies for the Red Cross in several countries.

It is of some significance to note here two other aspects of Wallenberg's personality. Like many of his social class in Sweden, he was humane and liberal, although not a radical. He had been baptized in the Swedish Lutheran Church and as a youth had sung in the church choir but he was not, to outward appearances, a particularly faithful or committed Christian. His half-sister, Nina, however, has responded to the question of Raoul's religiosity in this way: "In the formal sense, he had no religion, though in a wider sense I would say he was a deeply religious person."

A second somewhat dramatic aspect of his personality is likewise described by Nina, his self-identification with the principal character in the film, *Pimpernel Smith*. The British actor, Leslie Howard, played the role of an absent-minded professor who was able to outwit the Nazis and rescue dozens of potential victims from their grasp. Nina recalls that not only did her half-brother physically resemble the actor, Howard, but also he claimed that he would like to do what Professor Smith was depicted as doing in the movie.<sup>20</sup>

### III. Life-Saving Activities in Budapest

By 1944, the extent of Nazi atrocities against the Jews was becoming known. As a partial response to this, President Roosevelt estab-

lished the War Refugee Board (WRB) on January 22, 1944. The functions of the Board were to be:

The development of plans and programs for (a) the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression, and (b) the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims. To this end the Board, through appropriate channels, shall take the necessary steps to enlist the cooperation of foreign governments and to obtain their participation in the execution of such plans and programs.<sup>21</sup>

After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944 and the very real danger to which its 750,000 Jews were now exposed, that nation became of primary interest to the WRB. The Board's first action was to appeal to the neutral governments which had representatives in Budapest to expand their staffs and efforts on behalf of the Jews. All reacted indifferently, except for the Vatican and Sweden.

The representative of the WRB in Sweden, Iver C. Olsen, convened a committee of prominent Swedish Jews to solicit their suggestions about the best way to help the Jews of Hungary. Among the group was Wallenberg's business associate, Lauer. In general, the committee agreed that a non-Jew be sent to Budapest to aid the Jews of Hungary. This delegate could not go as the representative of an American agency because the United States was at war with Hungary. His link to the WRB would have to be subordinated to his role as a representative of the Swedish government. It was the committee's recommendation that the appointee should receive diplomatic status, be given a large amount of money, and be permitted to issue Swedish passports to enable Jews to leave Hungary for Sweden.

Wallenberg was not the committee's first choice but was strongly recommended by Lauer, even though some of his colleagues thought that he was too young and inexperienced for such a mission. Eventually, the committee agreed on Wallenberg. He had then to convince both Olsen and the United States Minister in Stockholm, Herschel Johnson, that he was the best person for the assignment. Both accepted him enthusiastically.

Far more problematic were Wallenberg's deliberations with the Swedish Foreign Office which began on June 13, 1944. He was anxious to undertake the mission but he wanted to do so free of diplomatic constraints, pressures and methods. So certain was he of his goals, that, to the amazement of the Swedish diplomatic service, he submitted a memo with nine requests.<sup>22</sup>

Within two weeks, the Foreign Office agreed, but only after the matter had been discussed with the Prime Minister and with the King himself. By the end of June, Wallenberg had his appointment.

The novice diplomat had proven himself a skillful bargainer. He was granted complete authority in saving lives- even if it involved payoffs. He was free to come home for discussions with appropriate officials at any time he saw fit. He would be given a list of trustworthy people on friendly terms with both the Hungarians and Germans. He had Stockholm's consent to ask for an audience with the Hungarian Regent Horthy. And perhaps most important, Raoul Wallenberg would leave for Budapest as secretary of the legation, the personal representative of King Gustav V.<sup>23</sup>

The appropriateness of Wallenberg's selection was also noted by one of his diplomatic colleagues already working in Budapest:

I was convinced that no one was better qualified for the assignment than Wallenberg. He was a clever negotiator and organizer, unconventional, extraordinarily inventive and cool-headed, and something of a go-getter. Besides this, he was very good at languages and well grounded in Hungarian affairs. At heart, he was a great idealist and a warm human being.<sup>24</sup>

During the months of April, May, June 1944, Swedish officials in Budapest had issued 450 passports for Jews who had any connection to Sweden. It became apparent, too, that both the Hungarian and German authorities accepted these documents as valid. Because of the burdensome process involved in the issuance of these passports, the Swedish Minister in Budapest asked the Foreign Office to send someone whose principal responsibility would be these documents. His request coincided with the decision of the War Refugee Board to send a delegate to Hungary.

Wallenberg arrived in Budapest on July 9, just after the deportations were halted by Horthy's order. This began a period of approximately three months of relative tranquillity for the Budapest Jews as well as for Wallenberg. He was put in charge of the Legation's Department C, with specific responsibility for the issuing of passports, of which there were three types. The first, of course, was the regular passport given to Swedish citizens. A second type was considered "temporary" and issued to those with family or business connections in Sweden. Wallenberg brought with him the names of 630 Jews eligible for these "temporary" passports; in addition, several hundred had already been distributed before his arrival.<sup>25</sup>

The third type was the "protective" passport, or "letter of protection," with this text:

The Royal Swedish Legation in Budapest confirms that the aforementioned... will travel to Sweden in accordance with the scheme of repatriation as authorized by the Royal Swedish Foreign Office. The aforementioned is also included in a collective passport. Until his repatriation the holder and his domicile are under the protection of the Royal Swedish Legation.<sup>26</sup>

Wallenberg decided to redesign this document, using the Swedish national colors of blue and yellow with enough seals and royal crests to impress the German and Hungarian authorities.

By the middle of August it became known that the German and Hungarian governments were discussing the resumption of the deportations. The representatives of the neutral countries in Budapest, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Vatican, decided to intervene. They made their protest on August 21, indicating their astonishment and condemnation of the prospect of renewed deportations and stating that they knew "... what deportation means in most cases, even if masked as labor service abroad." They also maintained that it was "... absolutely inadmissible that people be persecuted and put to death for the simple fact of their racial origin..."<sup>27</sup> The deportations were canceled by a specific order from Himmler on August 24.

During this same period, Wallenberg recruited five hundred young Jews to help him distribute these documents now known as *Schutzpasses* or "protective passes." Since these documents indicated that the bearers would be going to Sweden, Wallenberg used funds from his own government and from the War Refugee Board to purchase thirty-three apartment buildings in Budapest to house them. These residences flew the Swedish flag and were guarded by young Jews. Eventually, 30,000 Jews would be residing in them.

The month of September, however, was one of optimism for everyone, including Wallenberg who began to make preliminary plans to return to Stockholm. Horthy began consideration of taking his government over to the Allies, but when he announced this step on October 15, there was a swift reaction from the Germans and the Hungarian Nazis, the Arrow Cross, who took over the government and removed the Regent. The remaining two hundred thousand Jews in Budapest and in labor camps around the capital would now be

subject to the worst possible persecution until the arrival of Soviet troops in mid-January 1945.<sup>28</sup>

These are the months during which Wallenberg became a legendary figure. Someone who herself was saved by Wallenberg described his activities in this way:

Wallenberg himself... took on the distribution of *Schutzpasses* at railroad stations. He would drop them by the scores into the not-yet-sealed cattle wagons ready to depart for Auschwitz, all the while coaxing the unfortunate souls within to jump out of the wagon and stand by him - and reminding them that he had given them those passes at the Embassy before and that they had, of course, lost them on their way to oblivion. While Raoul Wallenberg, the elegant, dashing, fearless Swede would order transport commanders to release hundreds of victims whose invented names he read from the imaginary rosters on empty pages of legal pads in his leather portfolio, his new charges would be clambering onto fleets of trucks poised for a quick get-away. In his chauffeured limousine, Wallenberg would follow death marches... in order to rescue as many victims as possible, while providing food, blankets and medication for the rest.

Raoul was fast becoming an expert at brinkmanship who knew how to coax, cajole, bribe, threaten or bully the tormentors in order to snatch men women and children from the jaws of the death machine. His drivers prowled the streets of Budapest in diplomatic limousines and other types of vehicles, picking up victims and whisking them off to the "protected" houses.<sup>29</sup>

Another horror in which Wallenberg intervened was what the Germans called the "turkey shoot." SS and Arrow Cross guards would tie three Jews together alongside the Danube river. They would shoot the man in the middle who would then fall back into the river dragging his companions with him. On some nights, Wallenberg and his helpers would save several dozen Jews from drowning.<sup>30</sup>

Some officials in the Swedish Foreign Office were displeased about Wallenberg's activities, even during his earlier period. Olsen wrote to Pehle:

I get the impression that the Swedish Foreign Office is somewhat uneasy about Wallenberg's activities in Budapest, and perhaps feel that he has jumped in with too big a splash. They would prefer, of course, to approach the Jewish problem in the finest traditions of European diplomacy, which wouldn't help too much.

On the other hand, there is much to be said for moving around quietly on this type of work. In any case, I feel that Wallenberg is working like hell, and doing some good which is the measure.<sup>31</sup>

The Szalasi government was quite anxious to be recognized by Sweden and to have its representative accepted in Stockholm. The Swedish government was inalterably opposed to such recognition but instructed its envoys in Budapest to delay any response and to obfuscate as long as they could for the sake of the Jews under Swedish protection. If and when the Szalasi regime learned that it would not be recognized by the Swedish government, there would no longer be any reason for restraint against the Jews with Swedish documents.

On October 17, Eichmann himself returned to Budapest and ordered the establishment of a ghetto. A few weeks later the death marches toward the Austrian border began.

On November 17, representatives of the neutral governments, headed by the Nuncio, Archbishop Angelo Rotta, and the Swedish Minister, Carl Ivan Danielsson, again protested to the Hungarian authorities:

When, in the month of August, approximately half a million Jews were deported out of Hungary and the governments of the neutral countries had positive information about what deportation really meant, the representatives of these powers made a collective effort with the Royal Hungarian Government to prevent the resumption of the deportations. The effort was favorably received, and hundreds of thousands of lives could be saved.

On the day after October 15,... Szalasi himself made categorical and solemn declarations that there would be no deportations or annihilation of the Jews. In spite of that, the representatives of the neutral powers have learned from absolutely trustworthy sources that the deportation of all the Jews has again been decided upon, and that it is being pushed with fierce energy, while the world witnesses the brutalities which accompany its execution (small babies are torn from their mothers, old and sick people are obliged to lie down in the rain or under the insufficient shelter of the brick-works, men and women left several days without nourishment, tens of thousands of persons crowded together in the brick works, violation of women, shootings for no reason, etc.).<sup>32</sup>

It was at this time that the Nuncio himself was very active on behalf of the Jews, issuing 13,000 to 15,000 letters of protection to Jews, whether baptized or not.<sup>33</sup> It would also appear that, under the

circumstances of these days, the Archbishop was not opposed to the efforts of Red Cross officials to falsify ecclesiastical documents, even baptismal certificates.<sup>34</sup>

A report from the War Relief Board at this time praised the Swedish Foreign Office for its decision to send Wallenberg to Budapest. Wallenberg was described as "... very energetic, [with] great initiative and resourcefulness, and sincerely concerned with the urgency of the problem."<sup>35</sup>

Szalasi attempted to reach some kind of compromise between the neutral governments whose recognition he sought and the demands of Eichmann. He ordered the establishment of two ghettos, one of them "international," where Jews with documents from various countries could stay, and the other, or "central" one for all the other Jews. The thirty-one buildings already being used by Wallenberg for the Jews under his protection became the international ghetto.

There were many problems to be faced by the 15,000 Jews in the international ghetto under Swedish protection. Some of the Jews had no documents at all. Food provisions were constantly worsening. There was the ever present danger of typhus and dysentery because of the crowded conditions.

#### IV. Contact with Soviet Troops

Just two days before the first Soviet troops reached Budapest, Wallenberg was able to persuade an SS general not to blow up the ghetto. It was, perhaps, the last of his actions on behalf of the Hungarian Jews and saved the lives of 70,000 of them.

Wallenberg made his first contact with the Soviet troops on January 13 and explained to both the local and regional military commanders that he was a Swedish diplomat. Both officials were puzzled and mystified at the account of his activities during the previous six months. He persuaded them that he urgently wanted to reach the Russian Army Commander, Marshall Malinovsky, whose headquarters had been established in Debrecen, a city about 70 miles to the east of Budapest.<sup>36</sup>

Wallenberg was given permission for this journey, and accompanied by his chauffeur and two Russian soldiers, left Budapest on January 17. He expected to return in a week, but did say, as he looked at his Russian military escort, "I'm going to Debrecen, but I'm not

sure if I'm their prisoner or their guest." He would never be seen again as a free man.<sup>37</sup>

In dramatic, albeit accurate terms, one author describes these last days in this way:

Raoul Wallenberg had packed a lifetime's experience into six months in Hungary. The last few days had been taken at break-neck speed. Like a modern-day Daniel, he had reached into the lion's den to rescue the lost.

For a time, it seemed as though he could walk on water protected by some unseen guardian angel. But now he was skating on very thin ice.

Although he didn't realize it, time had run out for Raoul Wallenberg.<sup>38</sup>

The mystery of Raoul Wallenberg begins after January 17, 1945. There is little doubt that he was arrested by the Soviets who suspected him of being a spy, possibly for the Americans because they had financed a good part of his mission. The Soviets could not understand the humanitarian and altruistic motives that impelled Wallenberg to perform these heroic acts. In addition, as he always did because of the nature of his work, he had a great deal of money with him when captured by the Russians. They, in turn, may have felt that this money was taken from the Jews who had been deported and really belonged to them.

Another dimension of this may have been the Wallenberg name itself. The family were well-known capitalists, a class of people condemned by Soviet Communism. One other possible factor might have been a certain sense of anti-Semitism that did not appreciate Wallenberg's efforts on behalf of the Jews.

The original official Russian response was that he died in Lubyanka prison of heart failure on July 17, 1947, but no death certificate or corroborating evidence have ever been presented. Over twenty witnesses have testified that they saw Raoul alive in one prison or another during the intervening years.

In 1989, Raoul's half siblings, Nina Lagergren and Guy von Dardel, were invited to Moscow by the KGB and were given his passport and some of his money as well as several notebooks. In late 1991, the Swedish Government prepared a new commission to investigate the mystery. At that time, there was hope that he was still

alive because there had been a report of a sighting the previous year. If alive today (1993), Wallenberg would be a man over 85 years of age.

## V. The United States Congress

On September 20, 1981, the Congress of the United States passed the following resolution:

Section 1. Raoul Wallenberg is proclaimed to be an honorary citizen of the United States of America

Section 2. The President is requested to take all possible steps to ascertain from the Soviet Union the whereabouts [sic] of Raoul Wallenberg and to secure his return to freedom.<sup>39</sup>

This was an extraordinary honor given only once before in American history. In 1963, Winston Churchill, whose mother was an American citizen, received honorary citizenship.

Two comments made by members of the House of Representatives during their debate are pertinent for the claims (not necessarily totally accurate) they made about Wallenberg:

The scale of Wallenberg's actions is perhaps unparalleled in history. I do not make such a statement lightly. In the heart of Nazi-occupied territory, under the eyes of history's most monstrous regime, Wallenberg devoted himself to the liberation of those persecuted millions who were marked for extinction merely because of their religion. His success was beyond the limits of what was thought possible.<sup>40</sup>

Another member said the following:

It is important to note that Raoul Wallenberg acted on behalf of the United States. It is through him that we can claim that we did intervene to help save the Jewish people from total annihilation, that we did not just stand aside and allow this to happen.<sup>41</sup>

There remains now only the question of Raoul Wallenberg's motivation for the activities that he undertook in Hungary. A Christian or religious sense does not appear to have been present. Even though his half-sister thought him "... a deeply religious person," there is no evidence that he was influenced by specifically Christian principles. His faith might have been Christian, but its impact on him was not great.

There is the intriguing factor of Wallenberg's Jewishness, minimal in fact (one-sixteenth) but possibly more extensive than that in its

emotional and personal impact upon him. We know that, at least, on two occasions he claimed to be more Jewish than he actually was. The months that he spent in Haifa in 1936, its Jewish environment, and his contacts there with German Jewish refugees, had an effect upon him.

Interesting also is his half-sister's remark that he identified with the movie character, Pimpernel Smith, who was so cleverly able to outwit the Nazis. She also described her brother as "... a great actor... [who] could imitate brilliantly. If he wanted to, he could be more German than a Prussian general."

From another point of view, albeit psycho-historical, it is possible to consider that Wallenberg might have been motivated by a desire to outdo his cousins, Jacob and Marcus. They were the wealthier and more powerful members of the family and chose to remain in the safety of Sweden. Raoul might have felt challenged to do something that was not only positively humanitarian and dangerous, but also was something that his cousins could not, or would not, attempt.

I conclude then that Raoul Wallenberg was an idealistic humanitarian, inspired by some vaguely religious motivation but influenced more by his innate goodness and respect for other people. He had a special affinity for Jews because of his ancestry, possibly exaggerated at times. His experiences in pre-war Palestine and encounters with Jewish refugees from Germany would not only have given him first-hand information and impressions but also may have added a subjective and emotional aspect to his response to the "Jewish problem."

Wallenberg also wanted to model himself after the role of Pimpernel Smith in deceiving and tricking the Nazis. This required great acting talent and pretense. This skill was combined with a great level of bravery and willingness to take risks. Moreover, he was a skillful negotiator, organizer and innovator, talents needed to respond to the ever-developing and fluid situation of the Jews in Budapest.

I suppose that it may sound simple and trite but is anything more accurate than saying that Raoul Wallenberg was a man who cared about the suffering of the Hungarian Jews and the basic injustice that was part of their situation? Motivated as all of us are by a variety of factors as we pursue activities and goals in our lives, he used all of his abilities in the pursuit of his goal of saving the lives of Jews.

I mentioned earlier the tragic irony inherent in the fate of Hungarian Jewry in 1944-1945. Irony also touched the life of Raoul Wallenberg. He had survived for seven months in Budapest and had

succeeded in his task. Both the German and Hungarian authorities, begrudgingly, but legalistically, recognized his Swedish diplomatic status and did not move against him. How long this might have continued, particularly if it became clear that Sweden would not recognize the legitimacy of the Szalasi government, is very uncertain.

Wallenberg had every reason to fear that his activities on behalf of the Jews were angering Hungarian and German officials and that his life might be threatened at any time. Ironically, it was not they, but the Soviets who acted against him. The Soviet Union, indifferent to the principles of international law and lacking respect for the rights of individuals, arrested and imprisoned him. It was the Soviets, not the authorities in Hungary, who brought the career and life-saving mission of this man to an end.

## Footnotes

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- 3 Harvey Rosenfeld, *Angel of Rescue: Heroism and Torment in the Gulag* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1982).
- 4 Leni Yahil, "Raoul Wallenberg - His Mission and His Activities in Hungary," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 15, 1983, 8.
- 5 Report of Joint Distribution Committee, October 4, 1945; Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, C2. 18.
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- 7 Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981, 2 vols.), I, 77.
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- 9 For the history of Hungary during this period, see: Mario D. Fenyo, *Hitler, Horthy and Hungary: German - Hungarian Relations, 1941-1944* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), Yale Russian and East European Studies, 11; Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and Others: A History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania* (Stanford: Stanford University, Hoover Institution Press, 1970); Carlile A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary, 1929-1945* (Edinburgh: At the University Press, 1957) 2 vols.
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- 12 Nagy-Talavera, 202.
- 13 Ibid., 205.
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- 15 Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté, *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* [ADSS], X, *Le Saint Siège et les Victimes de la Guerre, Janvier 1944 - Juillet 1945* [SSVG], (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1980), 328.
- 16 Yahil, 26.
- 17 Randolph L. Braham, "Hungary: Jews during the Holocaust," in Israel Gutman, Editor-in-Chief, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1990) 4 vols.; 2, 702-703.
- 18 "Chronology," Gutman, 4, 1779-1780.
- 19 For accounts of Wallenberg's life, see Rosenfeld, 16-29 and John Bierman, *Righteous Gentile: The Story of Raoul Wallenberg: Missing Hero of the Holocaust* (New York: Viking Press, 1981), 19-37; Danny Smith, *Wallenberg: Lost Hero* (Springfield, IL: Templegate Publishers, 1987).
- 20 This biography of Wallenberg is based on Smith, 20; Rosenfeld, 23; Bierman, 25, 27, 29, 37.
- 21 Executive Order, #9417, January 22, 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt.



- 22 For these nine points, see Bierman, 33, Yahil, 30-31.
- 23 Rosenfeld, 27.
- 24 Per Anger, *With Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest*, trans. From Swedish by David Mel Paul and Margareta Paul (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), 49-50.
- 25 Yahil, 32.
- 26 Ibid, 34.
- 27 ADS, X, SSVG, 395.
- 28 Yahil, 34-36.
- 29 Goodkin, 331-332.
- 30 Ibid., 332.
- 31 Letter from Iver C. Olsen, Special Attaché for War Refugee Board, Stockholm, to John C. Pehle, Executive Director, War Refugee Board, Washington, August 10, 1944; Records of War Refugee Board Box 72, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY.
- 32 ADSS, X, SSVG, 498.
- 33 Ibid., 497, 499.
- 34 *Hungarian Jewry and the Papacy: Pope Pius XII Did Not Remain Silent*, Reports, Documents and Records from Church and State Archives Assembled by Jeno Levai, trans. By J.R. Foster (London: Sands & Co. Ltd, 1968), 44.
- 35 "Operations of War Refugee Board for Sweden," Nov. 20, 1944, Report sent from Olsen to Pehle; Records of War Refugee Board, Box 72, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY.
- 36 Yahil, 52.
- 37 Smith, 120-121.
- 38 Ibid., 122.
- 39 *Congressional Record*, Sept. 22, 1981, H6460-H6468.
- 40 Ibid., H6461; Congressman Broomfield, Michigan; note the error in his statement that the campaign against the Jews was religious; Nazi racial doctrine defined the Jews as a race, independent of their religion; the Nuremberg Laws did not recognize baptism as changing the status of a Jew (3 or 4 Jewish grandparents).
- 41 Ibid., H6462; Congressman Kemp, New York; the statement is obviously exaggerated as to American intervention.

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